

Expedition Photographs of Mongolia (1880-1930)

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Abstract

This paper presents an overview of the photographs taken by various indigenous foreign expeditions to Mongolia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to present these photographs as one resource for research. The original photographic materials are kept archived in the respective countries conducting the expeditions. Therefore, this report describes each institute that dispatched expeditions, as well as the present locations of photographs, such as the Russian Geographical Society or museums in Nordic countries. This comprehensive introductory paper will contribute specially to cross-collection, comparative analysis studies.

Keywords

travelogue, Geographical Society, missionary, photograph, Mongolia,

1. Introduction

Baasanjargal, who summarizes the history of photography using historical documents preserved in Mongolia, writes photographs were initially taken by foreign researchers and tourists. Later during the regime of the Bogd Khaan, in 1921, the Research Institute of Manuscripts, the predecessor of the current Academy of Sciences, of Mongolia, was established to conduct research and collect materials, which included photographs (Baasanjargal 2013:31).

In 1925, the Research Institute of Manuscripts signed an agreement with the Soviet Academy of Sciences by which the Mongolian Scientific Research Committee (commonly known as the Mongolian Committee, hereinafter referred to as such) was established in the Soviet Union under the jurisdiction of the Soviet People's Committee Council. The Mongolian Committee was set up to send several research expeditions to Mongolia each year (Yuspova 2006; Yuspova and Chuluun 2019:58). The expeditions had a broad range and included archaeology, biology, geology, and linguistics. Moreover, in 1929, a five-year plan was signed between the Research Institute of Manuscripts and the Soviet Academy of Sciences negotiated an agreement for a five-year plan, and in the following year, the Institute was renamed the Mongolian Academy of Sciences (Boldbaatar 2003).

In this way, collections of photographs of Mongolia were shaped by the visits of foreigners, especially Russian scholars. In this paper, based on the results of previous international collaborative research and a workshop held by the authors¹ and with reference to the papers of Baasanjargal (2013), Teleki (2001) and others, we describe the photography by visitors to Mongolia.

From the point of view of the history of photographic technology, we will limit the period to

roughly 1880-1930; it was not until around 1880 that the technique of photography by glass negatives, which was invented by the collodion method in 1851, was fully used in academic research in Mongolia. By launching the Leica in 1925, photography became universal; in other words, it was not until around 1930 that photography required a high degree of expertise.

The objectives of these visitors were diverse and closely interrelated, depending on their specialization: academic, commercial, missionary or military. In this paper we will show the history of photography divided into academic and non-academic categories, and we will further separate photographs by Russians and those from other countries, though it is difficult to actually divide the visitors by country or nation. For example, Mannerheim, a native of Finland, joined a French academic expedition for intelligence purposes at the behest of the Russian military. It should be clear that the modern era, from the second half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, was an era in which the nation state became of great significance. In other words, no matter how difficult it is to divide by country, this division makes sense. Thus, we will describe the materials by each country, focusing as well on the location of the materials.

The surnames of the photographers are given in the Latin alphabet at their first appearance, and then their year of birth or death is shown in parentheses. Although these prominent travelers were supported by local staff (Shearer 2019), this paper will not mention them except for the photographers.

Since some of them visited present-day the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in China the term "Mongolia" includes that area as well. The journeys that could be the sources of photographic material and the citations are presented separately in the lists of references.

2. Academic Expeditions from Russia

The earliest Mongolian photographs are stored in the Institute of the History of Material Culture (hereinafter referred to as IIMK), the Russian Academy of Sciences. D.V. Ivanov, who organizes old photographs and historical materials at the *Kunstkamera* (now the Russian State Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, founded by Pyotr the Great in 1714) researched these materials (Ivanov2014). There is an album of photographs taken by photographer A-N.E. Boyarsky, who accompanied Russian Scientific and Commercial Expedition to China sent by the Russian government, between 1874 and 1875.

The album consists of 138 photographs including a distant view of the Palace of the Living Buddha in Uрга (now Ulaanbaatar) and several photographs taken in Inner Mongolia. From the Inner Mongolia, the album includes two photographs of nomad tents and women in ethnic dress in Chahar, and three photographs of men in Tibetan-style costumes and aristocrats in Chinese costumes in Alashan. Even with such a small number of photographs, it shows the regional diversity of Mongolia, and at the same time, it reflects the photographer's cognition that the palace

of the living Buddha was the center of the center Urga.

The album of these photographs by Adolf-Nikolay Erazmovich Boyarsky (?-?) is now also stored in the National Library of Brazil and is available online in the World Digital Library supported by UNESCO and the Library of Congress in the United States.² <Also included are photographs of Urga at the time of the 1918-1919 preliminary survey and color photographs taken in the 1930's expedition.>

In addition, the institute IIMK has a collection of photographs by Vladimir Vasilievich Lanin (1826-?), who is said to be the first photographer in Russia, and traveled in the Far East and Irkutsk between 1875 and 1876, including several photographs of Maimachen (a Chinese business district, maybe now Altanbulag) (Ivanov 2014:59).³

After these early photographs, the academic institutes had sent some expeditions to Mongolia with photographers. In the following chapter, we overview the history of photography by Russian academic expeditions, reflecting institute and period.

2-1. Academic Expedition by the Russian Geographical Society

Until 1925, when the Mongolian Committee was founded, the Russian Geographical Society (hereinafter referred to as RGO) sent most of the Russian academic expeditions to Mongolia. The RGO was founded in 1845, during the era of Nicholai I (r. 1825-55) and was the fourth in Europe, after France, Germany, and England.

At that time, the conservatives and reformers around the Tsar were in conflict, with the latter seeking to adopt the Western pattern, while nationalists opposed reforms: "the messianic vision of Russia's future demanded a diplomacy that was adventurous, aggressive, even revolutionary" (Riasanovsky 1969:137-138). Messianism, or the sense of religious mission, is the basis of Russian thought (Takano 1998). The discourse of geographers at the time clearly recognized messianism, because Russians were the closest to Asia in Europe, and they were the ones who had to lead the Asian savages to civilization (Bassin 1983:243). Russian messianism was, so to speak, bringing a feeling of "de-Europeanization" to their people (Konagaya 2017:123). P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky (1827-1914), who expressed messianism by adding "Tian Shan" to his name, served as vice-president of the RGO from 1873 to 1914 and supported academic research in Mongolia.

Three years after its founding, the RGO became "imperial" in 1848, entrusted with the search for a national identity as the unanimous will of Russia rather than representing internal conflicts (Bradley 2009:86-127). The RGO established a succession of branches: the Kyakhta branch in 1850, the Siberian branch in 1851, the Northwest branch, the Orenburg branch in 1868, the Southwest branch in 1873, and the West Siberian branch in 1877 (Amano 2006:111). At the same time, it sent an array of expeditions to Siberia, Mongolia, and Central Asia. Although the name of the organization implies a focus on geography, its research covered a wide range of disciplines. It

would also go without saying that the development of branches and expeditions were closely linked to military interests in Mongolia (Hauner 1990:41).

From 1870 to 1920, 150 expeditions to Mongolia were organized (Darevskaya 2011:232). According to M. F. Matveeva (M.V. Medvedeva)⁴, who is the main archivist at the RGO, it has materials concerning 144 people, of which the photographic collections in Central Asia and Mongolia include those of N.M. Przhevalsky, G.N. Potanin, G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, M. Pevtsov and P.K. Kozlov.

Among the prominent early journeyers was Gustav Ivanovich Radde (1831-1903), a zoologist. In 1856-1859, he explored Ar Khangai and Lake Khubsugul (Khövsgöl), and wrote *"Travels in South and East Siberia"* (original in German, 1862-1863). Although the book has beautiful color illustrations, it did not include photographs. The plant specimens he collected are kept in the Komarov Botanical Institute of the St. Petersburg Botanical Garden.

This botanical garden also houses the specimens garnered by Nikolay Mikhaylovich Przhevalsky (in Polish Przewalski) (1839-1888). It is well known that he was a military man. He went to the Ussuri River in 1867, from Kyakhta to Gobi in 1870-1873, to Tibet in 1879-1880, and from the Yellow River to the Taklamakan Desert in 1883-1885, and in the second expedition, he collected many specimens of plants and animals. For his great achievements, he was awarded the Konstantin Gold Medal, the highest award of the RGO. In the case of Przhevalsky's report *"Mongolia and the Land of the Tangut"* (1875 in Russian, 1876 in English, 1880 in French, 1939 in Japanese), there is no photograph in the original book. However, the English translation contains photographs obtained from the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain and others. In the report of the second expedition, *"From Kyakhta to the Headwaters of the Yellow River"* (1888 in Russian), there are photographs, and they were taken by Vsevolod Ivanovich Roborovsky (?-?), a student who also accompanied him on the fourth expedition. Thus, it was not until the 1880s that photography by Russian academic expeditions was initiated.

In the history of photography, Grigory Nikolaevich Potanin (1835-1920) is the first person to be noted for his work. He was a geographer, botanist and ethnologist who participated in the Siberian autonomy movement with N.M. Yadrintsev (see below) and was exiled in Siberia (Tanaka 2013). In 1876, he joined an expedition at the request of the RGO to explore the possibility of trade with East Asia, and twice traveled in northwestern Mongolia during 1876-1877 and 1879-1880, writing a four-volume *"Introduction to North Western Mongolia"* (original in Russian 1883). He then explored further south in 1884-1886 and 1892-1893, writing two volumes about the Tangut Region (Xixia 西夏) in China, *"The Tibetan Frontier and Central Mongolia"* (original Russian 1893). The RGO awarded him the Constantine Gold Medal in 1896 for his significant explorations, which brought vast collections to the association.

The illustrations inserted in G.N. Potanin's works are exclusively sketches. The photography was done by Andrey Vladimirovich Adrianov (1854-1920), who participated in G.N. Potanin's second northwest Mongolian expedition from 1879. A biography about him has appeared. (Devlet 2004). According to the biography, A.V. Adrianov was one of the typical scholars of his time who was exiled to Siberia as a criminal where he aspired to study ethnology, as shown below.

A.V. Adrianov was born into a priestly family in Tobolsk and entered the St. Petersburg Medical College in 1874, and then the University of St. Petersburg. He learned photographic techniques while in medical school. In St. Petersburg, he met with G.N. Potanin and N.M. Yadrintsev and was greatly influenced by them, deepening his ethnological interest in Siberia. He was awarded a silver medal by the RGO in 1880 after joining G.N. Potanin's expedition. He lived in various parts of Siberia, and in 1915-1916 went independently to Uriankhai (now the Republic of Tuva), where he criticized Bolshevism in a newspaper called "*Siberian Life*" between 1917 and 1919. He was subsequently arrested and killed by the Bolsheviks in Tomsk in 1920.

A.V. Adrianov's photographs were taken by a camera with roll-holder for bromo silver collodion cassette tape. It is believed to be the world's first roll-holder and was developed by Polish-born L.V. Warnerke (1827-1900) in 1877. Seventy photographs taken during his participation in G.N. Potanin's expedition are included in G.N. Potanin's report (according to Matveeva's presentation, see note 4).

Also, an album of photographs of nature and life in western Mongolia (in Russian, and in French) was produced in 1879. These are the ones that are glued one by one on white Carton paper.

According to D.V. Ivanov 64 photographs taken by A.V. Adrianov, with negatives, were donated to the Kunstkamera (collection number 128). Some of them were published in Volume 2 of the series "*Mongolia and the Mongols*" (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015).

When Mr. and Mrs. Potanin came to Urga in 1888, they were accompanied by Nikolay Apollonovich Charushin (1851-1937), a resident of Troitskosavsk (Kyakhta). As well as being a photographic technician, N.A. Charushin was an entrepreneur who ran a photography salon (photo studio) in Kyakhta. Together with his excellent assistant Ivan Fedrovich Fyodorov (?-?), he took photographs of Mongolia and made an album of more than 200 photographs, "*The Landscape of Urga*" (1888). More information about N.A. Charushin and I.F. Fyodorov will be presented in the next chapter.

For G.N. Potanin's expedition into Tibet, the RGO archive contains 86 photographs printed on paper, and 170 negatives were attached to the 1893 report. Also, for Potanin's expedition to Da Xing-anling in 1899, the Library of Congress of USA provides online 18 photographs, including a view of the Kerlen River⁵.

After Nikolay Mikhaylovich Yadrintsev (1842-1894) conducted extensive research in Siberia

and Mongolia and discovered the Old Turkic inscriptions in 1889, Vasily Vasilievich Radlov (1837-1918) sent an expedition to the Orkhon Valley in 1891 and published the Map of Relics in Mongolia (original German 1892). Also, Dmitry Alexandrovich Klements (1847-1914) discovered the Old Turkic inscription of Tonyukuk in 1897. They took photographs of the area around these ruins.

D.A. Klements was born in the village of Goryainovka, now in the Saratov region and studied at the University of Kazan. In the 1870s, he joined the Circle of Tchaikovsky, a secret society, in St. Petersburg. After receiving a workers' education in 1872-73, he fled in 1875 and studied in Berlin and at the Sorbonne. Returning to Russia in 1878, he was arrested and exiled to Siberia. In Siberia, he prepared the materials for the Minsk Museum, published a collection of materials in 1886. He then joined his mentor Nikolai Mikhailovich Martyanov, and moved to Irkutsk with his family in 1889. The results of their research were reported to the RGO. In 1891, he arranged the Orkhon expedition with Radulov, and in 1893 they explored Yakutia. From 1894 Mr. and Mrs. Klements lived in Urga and engaged in ethnographic and linguistic research took nearly 400 photographs of wild animals (Baasanjargal 2013:9-10). Also, they provided specimen material and photographs (collection numbers 621 and 622) to the Kunstkammer for a long time. D.A. Klements's photographs are included in Volume 2 of the *"Mongolia and the Mongols"* series (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015).

In 1894, he traveled from Urga with Aleksandr Alekseevich Lushnikov (1872-1947), a merchant from Kyakhta, to Khangai, Altai, Gobi, and Uliastai. A.A. Lushnikov produced an album called *"Memories of Mongolian Travel"* (Lushnikov 1894). In addition, A.A. Lushnikov accompanied the Khövsgöl expedition led by P. S. Mikhno (1867-1938), and took more than 70 photographs of Mongolian flora and fauna. We will also refer to A.A. Lushnikov more in the next chapter.

Aleksey Matveevich Pozdnev (1851-1920) took part in G.N. Potanin's first expedition to Mongolia in order to collect manuscripts and oral traditions, and accompanied the above-mentioned I.F. Fyodorov as a photographer during his 1892-1893 trip to Mongolia, according to A.M. Pozdnev's detailed travelogue *"Mongolia and Mongolians"* (Russian original, 1896-1898). On 23 June, 1892 they hired Fyodorov, who was then 25 years old, at Kyakhta for 500 rubles for one year and 41 rubles for one month (Pozdnev 1896: X XVIII- X XIX).

The famous thinker Grigory Ephimovich Grumm-Grzhimailo (1860-1936) was an entomologist who accompanied the several expeditions led by N.M. Przhevalsky, G.N. Potanin and P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, and was awarded the Konstantin Gold Medal by the RGO in 1907. 38 of his photographs and about 40 of his negatives are in the RGO archives.

The explorer Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov (1863-1935) is also notable. The details of his expeditions are presented in Yusupova (Yusupova 2008; Andreev and Yusupova 2018). Of his six

Central Asian expeditions, the excavation of Karakhoto Black Water Castle in 1907-1909 and the excavation of the Noyon Uul in 1923-26 are particularly well known. The report of his expedition to the headwaters of the Yellow River (1899-1901) was published in five volumes of *"Mongolia and Kham"* (1905-1907), and the report of expedition in 1907-1909 was published as *"Mongolia, Amdo and the City of Death"* (1923). There are quite a few photos included in these books. The photographs taken during P.K. Kozlov's 1923-1926 expedition were published in Volume 4 of the series *"Mongolia and the Mongols"* (Chuluun et al. 2017).

P.K. Kozlov had his own camera and took many pictures. Numerous of his photographs are preserved in the RGO and in the Kozlov Museum. It is known that in 1905, he had an audience with the Dalai Lama, who was staying in Urga and fleeing from the British invasion. Kozlov presented a painted portrait of the Dalai Lama to the Russian emperor, but he expressed much interest to the photography (Lomakina 2012:128-130).

2-2. Academic research by the Mongolian Committee of the Soviet Academy of Sciences

After the establishment of the People's Republic of Mongolia in 1924, 64 academic expeditions were conducted over a period of about two decades, most of which were conducted by the Soviet government and the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Baasannjargal 2013:8).

In addition to the reports, photo albums were handed to the Mongolian side about the Soviet Academy of Sciences' findings in Mongolia. These photographic materials are currently being rearranged into the photo archive of the National Library of Mongolia. According to a survey of this archive (Yuspova and Chuluun 2019), there are the following five albums and photos:

Lydmila Alekseevna Amsterdamskaya (1903-?)'s photo album. As a graduate student at Leningrad University, she visited Öndörkhaan and other places in the summer of 1927 to conduct research on the Khalkha Mongol dialect. The album consists of 26 photographs.

Photo album by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kazakevich (1896-1937), who was sent to Mongolia by the Institute of Oriental Linguistics at Leningrad University from 1923-1925 to accompany an expedition led by the linguist Poppe (see below) in 1927, and conducted his own dialect fieldwork on the Dariganga region in 1929. The photo album of the Dariganga fieldwork consists of 40 photographs.

Photo album of Elizaveta Vladimirovna Kozlova (1892-1975). As an ornithologist, Mrs. Kozlov studied the flora and fauna of the Khangai province in 1929, identifying 117 species of birds, 16 species of mammals, etc. The report is accompanied by a book of photographs titled *"The Khangai Landscape"*, consisting of 31 illustrations.

Photo album by Kazimir Leonardovich Ostrovetsky (1889-1938), consisting of 139 landscape photographs from the Mongolian Commission's geochemical investigations in 1926-1927.

Photo album by Nikolay Nikolaevich Poppe (1897-1991), who led the expedition of the Mongolian Commission in 1927. The expedition consisted of four groups, with N.N. Poppe himself leading one of them in the investigation of the Daur language. The album consists of 12 photos, and all of them appear in N.N. Poppe's photo album titled "*Looks and Types of Mongols*" (Sizova and Shevelchinskaya 2014), which is in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Philology in St. Petersburg.

Although not an album, there is a large collection of photographs by Andrey Dmitrievich Simukov (1902-1942) and Melitina Ivanovna Klyagina-Kondratyeva (1896-1971), who were members of P.K. Kozlov's expedition.

A.D. Simukov was instrumental in the founding of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences after the expedition by P.K. Kozlov's unit. Some of his photographs appear at the end of Volumes 1 and 2 of the collection of his works (Konagaya et al. 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; 2008b).

Like Simukov, M.I. Klyagina-Kondratyeva also contributed to the library department of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and her research work on Buddhist temples from 1926 to 1930, have been recently restored to the pre-destruction appearance of the temples in Khentii and Khangai (Chuluun and Yuspova 2013).

Among the Mongolian expedition records stored in the Institute of History and Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences, photographs taken by archaeologist Grigory Iosiphovich Borovka (1894-1942) during a fieldtrip along the Tuul River in 1925 were published in Volume 3 of the series "*Mongolia and the Mongols*" (Chuluun and Matveeva 2017)⁶. The year of his death indicates that, like Simukov, he was also a victim of the Stalinist purges.

Individuals sent by the Soviet government also took photographs.

Financial advisors S.A. Kozin and A.V. Vitte, who were sent to Mongolia in 1916 during the Bogd Khaan's regime, produced an album called "The Mongolian Landscape," consisting of 72 photographs (Baasanjargal 2013:14). S.A. Kozin managed himself the forest resources in Mongolia, so that the tax for woods in the forest was called *goojin* in Mongolian after his name (Idshinnorov 1987 :43).

According to Baasanjargal (personal information), the first health and sanitation survey mission sent to the Mongolian government was organized by 15 people, including four nurses, for three months from October 1926, and an album of photographs by physician members N.A. Semashko, M.F. Vradinirsky, and G.N. Kamensky have been preserved.

Further research is expected on photo materials such as those of I.M. Maisky (1884-1975), who visited Mongolia from 1918-1920 and is known to have conducted a census. Some materials as letters of him and his members are available on line⁷.

3. Photographs by Russian and Chinese merchants

After the establishment of the Russian consulate in Urga in 1861, it is evident from the number of Russians in Mongolia that Russian commerce increased; according to E. Boikova, in 1876 there were 15-20 Russians in Khovd and 5 in Uliastai, in 1892 there were 100 in Urga, 15-20 each in Khovd and Uliastai, in 1910 there were 600 in Urga, 40-50 each in Khovd and Uliastai, and in 1912 it was reported to be 1500 in all, many of whom were merchants (Boikova 2002:13-14). The specific names of the Russian merchants in the "Brief History of the Khovd" are also mentioned (Gongor 1964:81-84). These informations are derived from the records of Przhevalsky, Pozdneev, and Maisky. According to Pozdneev, although in Urga Chinese trade became 10 times larger than before (Pozdneev 1896:100), northwest Mongolia, from Khovd to Uliastai, Russian trade began to surpass Chinese trade from the 1880s (Pozdoneev 1896:266).

In 1910, The Tomsk branch of the RGO had sent an expedition to Mongolia and a report "*The Journal of Russian-Mongolian Commerce*" (Bogolepov and Sobolyov 1911), containing 22 photographs, has been compiled. According to the attached map, 122 Russian shops were registered in Mongolia and its border area, with eight in Kyakhta, 20 in Urga, and a few groups distributed in Yöröö and elsewhere in between, and 11 in Uliastai and 10 in Khovd (Bogolepov and Sobolev 2011). In order to understand the degree of concentration, a small-scale modern map is shown (Fig.1).

There were two commercial routes from Russia, one from Kyakhta southward to Urga, and the other from Biysk in the Altai region westward to Khovd and Uliastai. The merchants who used the respective routes are divided into Kyakhta merchants and Biysk merchants. The latter route was called Chuisky Road before the Revolution. From Figure 5, it can be understood that the Chuisky Road enabled the Biysk merchants to develop extensive commercial activities in western Mongolia.

The Kyakhta merchants purchased tea and exported it to the north, while the Biysk merchants bought Russian goods from Irbit in the Ural region and sold them in Mongolia, and exported wool and *tarbagan* (Mongolian marmot) furs from Mongolia.

The Biysk merchants are described in relative detail in the travelogues of G.N. Potanin and Pozdneev, three of whom (A.D. Vasenev, I.G. Ignatiev, and F.I. Minin) have been included in photographs of D.A. Klements (Fig. 6) stored in the Kunstkamera (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015:91).

Academic expeditions were often accompanied by merchants with photographic skills. Not only did they take documentary photos of the academic expedition members, but they also ran photo studios and sold postcards for their livelihoods (Saburova 2020:64).

N.A. Charushin (1851-1937) and A.A. Lushnikov were based in Kyakhta.

The following is a summary of biographical information about N.A. Charushin (Sergeev 2004, Eklof and Saburova 2017)⁸.

N.A. Charushin was born in Orlov of the Kirov region and became a *Narodnik* who joined the

Circle of Tchaikovsky in 1871 while studying at the Technical High School of St. Petersburg, 1871-1872. He became acquainted with D.A. Klements, obtained ethnological knowledge, and after his arrest in 1874 was deported to Siberia. Apparently, he named his journal "Kara" according to the place name of his deportation. He was freed in 1881 and lived in Nerchinsk, learning the technology of photography from Aleksey Kirillovich Kuznetsov (1845-1928), who is well known for his album of 74 portraits of miners in Nerchinsk taken in 1891, and also learned to make a living by photography. N.A. Charushin assisted A.K. Kuznetsov in this enterprise, and in 1886 he moved with his family to Troitskosavsk (Kyakhta), where they started a photo studio the following year. He also went with his assistant I.F. Fyodorov to Baikal to take photographs of the gold mine of the Kyakhta merchant Yakov Andeevich Nemchinov (1812-1894).

G.N. Potanin asked P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky to allow N.A. Charushin, who had been exiled in Siberia, to go on an expedition outside Russia to Mongolia. In other words, Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky has promoted actually the photography in Expedition to Mongolia. N.A. Charushin's photographs are in the *Kunstkamera* (the Urga scene mentioned above is collection number 1697; collection number 1359 is the masquerade at the temple on Lake Galuu) and have been preserved to this day and donated to the St. Petersburg headquarters of the RGO, the Irkutsk branch, and to schools in Moscow, Tomsk, and elsewhere with which he was associated (Ivanov and Chuluun 2015:19).

In addition, postcards by N.A. Charushin's photo studio are often included in photographic collections in Scandinavian museums and other institutions.

Furthermore, the photographs taken by N.A. Charushin are available online at the Library of Congress using the glass negatives held in the Obruchev Museum in Kyakhta⁹.

We don't know much about I.F. Fyodorov. According to A. M. Pozdoneev, he learned shoemaking at an early age, and later learned photography by working in photo studios in Irkutsk, Kyakhta, and other sites. He lived in Urga or Khüree (now Ulaanbaatar) for two years and worked for a Russian merchant, Vorobyev, as well as running a photography business. Although he was not fluent in Mongolian, he was close to the princes and monks, so that he could readily take photographs of them. A. M. Pozdoneev mentioned him specially in the preface of the expedition report book and stated that without his cooperation any photography would not have been possible. According to A.M. Pozdneev's explanation, in Khüree under the decline of Kyakhta trade, one of the biggest Russian Merchant Volovyov had already withdrawn, and Chinese merchants were replacing the Russian merchants in increasing numbers. Therefore, the photographs referred to by Vorobyev must be taken really by this Fyodorov (Ivanov and Chuluun 2015:18).

Research in the Kyakhta Museum collection led to the discovery of the *"Mongolian Mining Album"* by Mongolor (Urga branch of Russia-Chinese Bank), which consists of 83 photographs

showing the mining situation in Yöröö, Selenge Province and other areas. This bank was a mining company founded by the German mineralogist Paul Heinrich von Groth (1843-1927), and later became a subsidiary of the Bank of China (Korostovetz 1926: 187). The photographer is A. Porfiryev, and it was probably taken in 1913 (Darevskaya 2011:54-55). This is one of the cases that illustrates the close relationship between photographic demand and resource development.

Under the influence of the N.A. Charushin studio, photography became popular among the wealthy in Kyakhta. Aleksandr Alekseevich Lushnikov, who was born into a resident merchant family in Kyakhta (Fig.8), became director of the Ethnological Museum in 1898 at the request of V.V. Radlov, taking photographs as well as collecting artifacts and furniture. Together with his elder brother Aleksei Alekseevich Lushnikov, he practiced photography. Although technically inferior to N.A. Charushin or I.F. Fyodorov, A.A. Lushnikov's photographs stand out for the wide range of its themes and the accuracy of its captions (Ivanov and Chuluun 2015:18). Photographs donated to the Kunstkamera (collection number 1368) are included in Volume 2 of the series *"Mongolia and the Mongolians"* (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015).

Regarding Aleksey Vashilievich Burdukov (1883-1943), one of the Biysk merchants, a brief biography mentioned him as a "self-taught man" (Nyamdorj 2014:11). He was born to a farmer in Tobolisk. In 1896, at the age of thirteen, he traveled over the border of Khovd with the cattlemen and began working at a branch of the Khangiltsag River where the Bayat Mongols lived. Having acquired language skills locally, he aspired to study and wrote to P.K. Kozlov, B.Y. Vladimirtsov, G.N. Potanin, I. Maisky, and others for advice. At the same time, he supported their academic research in western Mongolia (Darevskaya 1994). He founded a cooperative with the local people in 1912 and served as an interpreter in the consulate from 1914-1917. However, he was arrested with his family when they evacuated during the 1921 revolutionary period and released by the forces of Khatanbaatar Maksarjav. A.V. Burdukov had provided them with weapons from Irkutsk. He worked in the branch of the Tsentrsoyuz (All Russian Central Union of Consumers' Society), organized for the purpose of exporting livestock products from Mongolia to the Soviet Union, and in 1926, with the closure of the Novosibirsk branch, he moved to Leningrad (St. Petersburg) to pursue his studies seriously. His memoirs were compiled by his daughter after his death (Burdukov 1969).

He took many photographs of nature, society, and life in Mongolia (Baasanjargal 2013:14), and in 1913 produced three albums of 125 photographs in each volume, one of which was presented to the Polish linguist, W. Kotwicz (see below), another to the Geographical Society in Tomsk, and the last to the Biysk Museum. In addition, he produced and sold postcards in 1914. The seven photographs in W. Kotwicz's *"Overview of Mongolian History and Modern Politics"* (1914) were probably provided by Burdukov. Also, in the Kunstkamera there are photos taken by A.V. Burdukov, the Yurganov family (1925), Russian merchants, and a photo of the Ignatiev

family, endorsed "In good memory of Uliastai"

In 1910, Pavel Pavolovich Riabushinsky (1871-1924), a leading Moscow entrepreneur, organized and sent a commercial survey mission to Mongolia to explore the future of trade with Mongolia, which was considered to be in decline (Endicott 1999). The report, "*The Moscow Commercial Expedition*" (Riabushinsky 1912), contains 97 photographs, with the exception of colorful two tanka, focusing intensively on commerce, such as the Ignatiev shop in Uliastai, the "Mongolor" in Urga (Russia-Chinese Bank) (Fig. 10), and agricultural and pastoral resources.

In subsequent years, there were seven photographers in 1928 and D. von Monteton's photographs show a Russian-operated photo studio (Baasannjargal 2013:27).

No details are available about the Chinese-operated photo studio, although it is known from interviews that it existed until 1948 (Baasannjargal 2013:28). This remains a subject for future research.

4. Academic Expeditions from Europe

We will describe the academic expeditions from Europe as follows:

First of all, we will focus on the institutes of the United Kingdom and France which had established geographical societies prior to Russia. These institutes have materials regarding not only academic expeditions but also travels for other purposes.

Next, we will deal with Finland and Hungary, which had a great deal of interest in Asia because of their unique national languages. Also, in the case of Sweden, the photographic material of the missionaries was added to the academic expeditions because it had ethnographic value.

It is difficult to separate academic interest from the political concerns of that time, although they vary between Britain, which actually had colonies in Asia, and the Nordic countries, which did not.

4-1. Institutes where the materials are stored in the United Kingdom

From the beginning of the 19th century to the 20th century, the Eurasian interior, from what is now Afghanistan to Tibet and even Mongolia, was the subject of a struggle for dominance between Russia and Britain. Russia was not confined to the Caucasus but was moving south toward the Indian Ocean, while Britain was trying to stop Russia through Indian colonial management. In 1840, in a letter to Sir H.C. Rawlinson in Kandahar by A. Connolly, an employee of the East India Company, the concept of the "Great Game" was likened to a game of chess, and the concept became widely known through Bombay-born English writer Rudyard Kipling's children's book, *Kim* (1901) (Hopkirk 1990).

The Royal Geographical Society was already established in England in 1830, which was followed by French (1821) and German societies (1828) (Yoshida 2010: 36-37).

Sue Byrne, an independent researcher, has identified 60 travelers who visited Mongolia between 1720 and 1935, of whom 34 are believed to have photographic collections. The results of the Royal Geographical Society survey on them are presented in the table.

Among them are photographs of the journey of Gerald Charles Binstead (1885-1915), a military officer stationed in Beijing and north all the way to Mongolia in 1912-1913, published as Volume 5 of the series *Mongolia and the Mongols* (Chuluun and Sue 2019).

SOAS (the School of Oriental and African Studies) at the University of London holds the materials of the London Missionary Society. The Association was founded in 1795, and in the beginning, the main mission focused on Oceania. In the nineteenth century, evangelism to Asia became more active, and the Missionary Museum was maintained from 1810 to 1910¹⁰. In 1966, when the British colonies became independent and local societies were established in each country, the Mission Society was abolished, and its documents and letters, were donated to SOAS. The list of materials is available as a catalogue¹¹ and can be searched digitally¹².

There are more than 70 documents on Mongolia, including more than 40 letters, reports, portraits, and poster cards by James Gilmour (1843-1891), who was born in Scotland. In general, dispatched priests were supposed to keep a formatted diary, and letters sent to headquarters were to be summarized and organized upon arrival. Interestingly, the material included a few photos of the English version of the *"East Asia Photo Album (Ato inga shu)"*. It is believed that the missionaries purchased it locally and sent it to headquarters as material. *"East Asia Photo Album"* is a collection of photographs produced by the East Asia Photo Album Association in Dalian from 1924 to 1944 and distributed to its members, and each photograph is accompanied by a commentary. The English version would be available for sale.

Gilmour's book, *"The Friend of the Mongolians"* (1883, 1941), despite its lack of success as a missionary work, won a large readership and motivated missionary work from Europe and the United States to Mongolia, such as Larsson's (see below) in Sweden.

Interestingly, the material included several photographs from the English edition of the *Atō Ingashū* (East Asia Photo Albums). It is likely that the missionaries purchased them on location and sent them to the headquarters as local information. This book was produced by the East Asia Printing Association in Dalian from 1924 to 1944 and distributed to its members. It has been confirmed for the first time that it was also sold in English.

4-2. Institutes where the materials are stored in France

In France, photographic material is handled by the maps department of the National Library. The department has moved from its old building on Richelieu Street, but as of July 2019, the old building was undergoing renovations. The new library, built during the Mitterrand Presidency, operates under the policy of making all materials widely available for inspection. A catalog is

available¹³ and can be searched on the Internet. In addition, much of the material has already been published digitally, with as many accurate comments as possible, and the results of searches from the catalogue can be displayed. Sixteen photos of Mongolia can be identified.

For example, there is an album of mineral resource expeditions by Georgian soldier and engineer N.E. Tumanov (1844-1917) entitled *Travels to Eastern Siberia and Mongolia (1878-1879)*¹⁴.

Military and intelligence officer Émile Antoine Henry de Bouillane de Lacoste (1867-1937) traveled to Manchuria in 1899-1900 with fellow intelligence officer Hippolyte Enseleme. During his trip to Mongolia, he visited archaeological sites and brought back a rubbed copy of an estampage (pressed against cardboard) of Sogdian inscriptions from Karabalgasun, the capital of the Uighur Khanate (Bouillane de Lacoste 1910:66). An album of 97 photographs (Bouillane de Lacoste 1909) is stored in the national library and also available on line for the public¹⁵. These photographs were used in an exhibition at the Albert Khan Museum, discussed below, in 2012, and were also exhibited in Ulaanbaatar in 2016.

There are about 10 kinds of 30 glass negatives (10 x 8.5 cm) marked as Molteni. This is the name of a company that manufactured glass plates. One example is the one used by J. Chaffanjon (1854-1913) when he gave a lecture to the Paris Geographical Society (referring to the French Geographical Society) on his research trip to Central Asia and Siberia in 1894-96 (Chaffanjon 1898). Most of the maps and photographs stored and maintained here were commissioned by the Geographical Society of Paris, which is still in existence and holds the ownership rights, but the National Library is in charge of all operations, including the provision of reading materials. These photos are provided on the EU's cultural assets digital platform Europeana¹⁶.

Among the materials provided by Paul Pelliot, the photographs have not yet been organized because they have just been transferred from the Guimet Museum of Asian Art to the National Library.

The first color photographs of Mongolia were produced by Albert Kahn (1860-1940). He was a Frenchman of Jewish descent who had a successful gold and diamond mining operation in South Africa and founded a bank in 1898. From 1908 to 1930, he sent photographers all over the world to build the "Earth Film Archive" with his private funds. Currently maintained as the Albert Kahn Museum, it was designed by Kengo Kuma and re-opened in December 2020. It is possible to search for photos taken around the world from a map on its website¹⁷. According to it, there are 142 materials on the Mongolian plateau, 119 on the current Mongolian state, including 21 photos from the border area of Kyakhta, and 23 on Buryatia. All photographs can be found online, though they are small. These were taken in 1913 by Stéphane Passet (1875-1941), a cameraman sent by Albert Kahn. According to his website, he has photographed in other parts of the world, with a total of 4,321 photographs.

4-3. Academic expeditions from Finland

Among the European languages, Finnish and Hungarian (Magyar) both belong to the Uralic language family. For this reason, Finland and Hungary have been the leading countries in the field of academic research into the East due to their linguistic interest in finding their ethnic roots (Aalto 1970, Tiitta 2009, Janhunen 2012).

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813-1852) collected material on the Samoyed and Altaic languages in his expeditions to East Siberia (1841-1844) and West Siberia (1845-1848) across the Ural Mountains. In the latter expedition, he traveled from Irkutsk to Nerchinsk, via the south of Lake Baikal. However, this was at a time when photographic technology was still just developing, and there appears to be no visual record of the expedition. There is a Castrén Society in Helsinki, where research records by Castrén are kept.

Castrén proposed the hypothesis that the Uralic Samoyedic and Altaic languages were closely related and that their homelands were in the Altai and Sayan mountains. Otto Donner (1835-1909) planned a more detailed study to test the hypothesis that the Finnish ancestors were linguistically located in the northern part of the Mongolian plateau.

Donnell founded the Finno-Ugrian Society and sent Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873-1950) to Mongolia. G.J. Ramstedt's academic expeditions as a linguist are summarized in a general book entitled *Seven Tours of the East* (original 1944). With the exception of going to Cheremis (Mari) people on the banks of the Volga, he conducted six trips: Mongolia (1898), Kalmykia (spring 1903), Afghanistan (autumn 1903), East Turkestan (1905), Mongolia (1909), and again Mongolia (1912). During these expeditions, G.J. Ramstedt made frequent use of his camera.

One of the two cameras he brought to Urga in 1898 was sold by the Russian merchant Smirnov (Smirnov Trading Company) to the Eighth Living Buddha (Jebtsundamba Khutugtu) Bogd Khaan. It was with this camera that the first photographs were taken by the Mongols. Meanwhile, photographs taken by G.J. Ramstedt himself, along with other research records, were lost on the way to Moscow.

During the 1909 expedition, the archaeologist Sakari Lemmitty Pälsi (1882-1965) accompanied the expedition and was solely responsible for the photography. There are about 2,000 photographs by S.L. Pälsi, 263 of which have been published in a volume commemorating the centenary of his birth (Halén 1982). It contains 84 photos of S.L. Pälsi himself as an archaeologist investigating rock paintings on the banks of the Tamir River in Ar Khangai Province and 30 photos of materials, such as folk costumes, that he collected.

The photographs by S.L. Pälsi, together with the glass negatives, have been transferred from the Finno-Ugrian Association to the Photo Archives Department of the National Museum of Finland. The museum has 396 photographs available on its website, including many from Finland,

and only 102 from Mongolia¹⁸. The majority of the photographs are from S.L. Pälsi's own writings such as *Journey to Mongolia* (Pälsi 1911), and a bibliography is attached to each one. Such information is the result of the organization of the Finno-Ugrian Association, and in particular of the bibliographer H.T. Halén.

The museum also holds hundreds of photographs taken by G.J. Ramstedt in Kalmykia and Afghanistan.

Although the linguist Otto Donner himself did not conduct the expedition, his son Kai Donner (1888-1935) conducted an academic expedition to East Siberia, which has been documented and published in English by his son Joakim Donner and the linguist J. Janhunen of the East Asian Studies Laboratory at the University of Helsinki (Donner and Janhunen 2014).

Alongside linguistic interests, academic expeditions to the East with geographic and geological interests were conducted, notably the geographer Johannes Gabriel Granö (1882-1956), whom G.J. Ramstedt met in Khangai in 1909 when he accompanied S.L. Pälsi (Ramstedt1978:211)

The collection of photographs taken by J.G. Granö remains in the hands of the bereaved family. The number is colossal, and most of it seems to be related to the terrain. A small portion was donated to the Finnish Literary Society, which was organized by the Russian archaeologist A. A. Kovalyov and used for the exhibition "The Blue Altai" in 2002. J.G. Granö's book (Granö1919-21) was reprinted, using glass negatives (Granö1993), confirming the precision of glass plate as an image record.

In 1917, the Finnish Swedish Mineral Resources Development Company sent Axel Olai Heikel (1851-1924) and others to Tuva to explore the site, and a photograph of the exploration was presented in an exhibition in 2016 by V. Peemot, a young researcher from Tuva¹⁹. In addition, the descendants of both photographers have been exchanging information. New encounters through time have become a contemporary issue in anthropology.

Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim (1867-1951), who served as president of Finland from 1944 to 1946, was dispatched to China from 1906 to 1908, under the order of the Russian General Staff, under the guise of accompanying Paul Pelliot on his philological expedition as a military officer, to explore the situation in the Qing (Manchu) Empire. There are about 1,400 photos from that time, which are kept in the above-mentioned photo archives, and as far as I can confirm by their website, there are currently 529 photos taken in China²⁰.

For Mannerheim, three large volumes of diaries (Mannerheim 2010) and research records have also been published in English (Mannerheim 2008) and translated into Chinese (Ma Dahan/ 马达汉 2009). The National Archives of Finland has only a small number of private, paper-burned photographs.

4-4. Academic Expeditions from Hungary

Among the European languages, Hungarian (Magyar), like Finnish, belongs to the Uralic language system and has been pointed out to be closely related to Ob-Ugric languages such as Khanty and Mansi in Western Siberia (Honti 1979). Despite the fact that the relationship between Hungarian and Ob-Ugric was proven in the nineteenth century (Budenz 1878), some researchers, influenced by Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913), supported the idea that emphasized the cultural unity of the various peoples (Uralic, Altaic, Japanese, Korean), which led to the idea of Turanism (pan-Turanism), the common origin from Turan, i.e. Central Asia.

One of the proponents of Turanism was linguist Bálint Gábor (1844-1913). He visited Astrakhan in 1871 to study the Kalmyk (Oirat) dialect (Nagy 1959), and in 1873 he travelled from Irkutsk to Ikh-Khüree (Ulaanbaatar). He also studied the Khalkha Mongol dialect (Birtalan 2016). However, there is no photographic record of his fieldworks.

It was Lajos (Louis) Ligeti (1902-1987) who initiated the serious academic study of the Mongol language in Hungary. He studied under Paul Pelliot in Paris from 1925 to 1927 and stayed in China from 1928 to 1931, during which time he studied the Chakhar, Kharchin dialects and the Daur language in Inner Mongolia (Dolonnuur and Barga) (Ligeti 1933). His research in Dolonnuur is described in the general book "*Sárga istenek, sárga emberek "Yellow Gods, Yellow People"*" (Ligeti 1934). In 1936-1937 he conducted research among the Moghul people in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, copyright law prohibits the use of the research material until 50 years after his death, which is 2037.

Ligeti founded the Department of Inner Asian Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest in 1942. Under him, eminent literary scholars such as Vilmos Diószegi (1923-1972), Katalin Kóhalmi (1926-2012), Bese (Ligeti) Lajos (1926-1988), András Róna-Tas (1931-), and György Kara (1935-) studied, and when B. Rinchen (1905-1977) of Mongolia received his doctorate under Ligeti in 1956, he immediately invited Hungarian scholars upon his return. After the "Hungarian Revolution", the Soviet Union gave permission to Hungarian researchers to investigate Mongolia.

In 1957, the first academic mission to the People's Republic of Mongolia was sent, joined by Katalin Kóhalmi (Khamnigan studies), Róna-Tas (Tibetan studies), and György Kara (see bibliography), who was still a student at the time. For this expedition, Róna-Tas wrote a book titled *Nomádok nyomában "Tracing Nomads"* (1961), which contains some photographs (Sárközi and Birtalan 1997).

In the same year, Diószegi also visited Western Buryatia in Irkutsk with permission, and in 1960, with Rinchen, he conducted fieldwork among the Buryats in Dornod province, Darkhad and Urianhkai in Khövsgöl province, and the Khotogoid in Central Province. His research material has been organized in recent years at the Institute of Ethnology (Somfai 2008).

As mentioned above, although there was an early interest in the East in Hungary, academic expeditions to Mongolia were relatively late (except Bálint's 1873 fieldwork), but their materials are useful for understanding the socialist period.

It was the Hungarian-Jewish Sir Aurél Stein (1862-1943) who realized his interest in Central Asia as academic expeditions. In his third expedition (1913-1916), he visited Khara-Khoto in 1914. He was a naturalized British citizen and received a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society. All his research materials are also held in the British Museum (Wang and Perkins 2008).

4-5. Academic Expeditions and Missions from Sweden

Frans August Larson (1870-1957) is indispensable to the story of the various expeditions that came to Mongolia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

He visited China as a Protestant pastor in 1893 at the age of 23, learning Mongol language and customs in Ordos and living in Urga for a year. Then he moved south back and settled north of Zhangjiakou. In 1900, to escape the Boxer Rebellion, he went to Siberia, and for a time served as an interpreter for a gold mining company and others in Kyakhta. Since 1902 he settled again in Inner Mongolia, Tsagan Khüree sum, often traveling to Urga for selling Bibles. In 1917 he co-founded the Anderson-Mayer Trading Company, and in 1922 he established his own enterprise engaging in export of Mongolian horses and transportation by the Dodge car. The caravan route, which had taken a month, has been reduced to four days by the Dodge cars he provided. He also successfully sold a Ford car to the Eighth Living Buddha, Bogd Khaan (see below). He was conferred as a duke (noyon) by Bogd Khaan, as the title of his book (Larson 1930).

It is understood from his books that he supported not only his countryman Hedin, but also many other researchers such as P.K. Kozlov from Russia, Henning Haslund from Denmark (see below), and Roy Chapman Andrews from the United States (see below). For this reason, Larsson appears in many photos they took. A little further down, the travelogue of Walter Bosshard (1892-1975), a Swiss photographic journalist who traveled to Inner Mongolia between 1934 and 1936, included two of F.A. Larsson's photographs among the 71 published (Bosshard 1938:48)²¹.

Sven Hedin (1865-1952) was one of those who received a great deal of support from F.A. Larsson. His total of nine expeditions to Central Asia were made in 1886, 1890-1891, 1893-1897, 1899-1902, 1906-1908, 1916, 1927-1928, 1929-1930, and 1933-1935. Of these expeditions, the one especially related to the Mongolian plateau was an expedition from Orenburg across the Ural Mountains to Beijing between 1893 and 1897, and three expeditions by the Northwest Scientific Expedition in conjunction with China. The Hedin Foundation has been established and holds its copyright until 2022, and most of the materials, especially those from 1929-1933, are deposited in the National Museum of Ethnology outside Stockholm. There are probably about 5,000 glass negatives, including those taken by the ethnographer Karl Gösta Montell (1899-1975).

What is noteworthy about Hedin's photographic collection is that the information about the photographs was written by his brother in Swedish (typewritten) and arranged in chronological order. It is still possible to match numbers to photographs. The catalogue also states which publication each photograph was used for. Thus, a great deal of information about the photographs, such as their locations, are recorded by the photographer (and the person close to it). However, this catalogue is unpublished and only partially available and is maintained by H. Wahlquist of the Hedin Foundation.

In the beginning, the Swedish-American Fredric Franson (1852-1908) founded TEAM (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) in Chicago in 1890 to send missionaries to China, Mongolia, Japan, India, South Africa, and South America. Their mission has pushed F.A. Larson to Mongolia, and also the Swedish-Mongolian Mission (SMM) started in 1898 with its first base in 1908 in Khaluun Us (now Ulanqab, Inner Mongolia, China)(Baikal 2019), and in 1919 in Urga; after 1924, its activities were limited to Inner Mongolia, and continued until 1949; in 1950 the mission moved to Japan, where it has since been called the Swedish Evangelical Church; the SMM archives contain reports and letters dating back to 1898.

In Sweden, the Uppsala University Library began publishing photographic material on its website in 2013, accompanied by a kind of photographic exhibition (Wahlquist 2016). At present, almost all of the 1,385 photographs are available on the Internet in high resolution²².

All of these photographic materials were donated by Erik Joel Eriksson (1890-1987) in 1985. He studied medicine in England and was sent as an SMM in 1913; he married in 1918 in Zhangjiakou (Kaalgan) and was the leader of the SMM from 1938 to 1947 (Ollén and Eriksson 1943) . The photographs were taken during his stay in Khaluun Us between 1914 and 1938. At Uppsala University, it is sorted by theme, and its structure is as follows in the order in which it is presented.

Archaeology 28 / Settlers 38 / People 88 / Ethnography: Pastoralism 91 / Mission work 270 / Ethnography: Sports and games 28 / Lamaism and shamanism 99 / Landscape and cities 138 / Ethnography: People 27 / Ethnography: Music 6 / Ethnography: Festivals 20 / People 98 / Ethnography: Dwellings 48 / Translation and printing 37 / Ethnography: Transport 48 / Princes and their environment / Ethnography: Costumes and jewelry 98 / Business travel 108 / Ethnography: Agricultural work 47.

At the Uppsala University Library, Mr. Staffan Rosen of the Swedish Royal Academy, who specializes in the Korean language, is in charge of organizing the photos. He has heard directly from E.J. Eriksson, who has already lost his eyesight, and hopefully his information will make the photos much more valuable.

4-6. Academic Expeditions from other countries

4.6.1 Denmark

Henning Haslund-Christensen's (1896-1948) fieldwork in Mongolia is well known for his readable book entitled *"Tents in Mongolia"* (1934) and *"Men and Gods in Mongolia"* (1935). H. Haslund-Christensen's collection, including some of photographs, is held in the National Museum of Denmark and has recently been compiled into a large volume of materials (Braae 2017).

In 1923, H. Haslund-Christensen joined a pioneering party under the charismatic physician Carl Immanuel Krebs (1889-1971) to build a dairy farm and trade in fur around Lake Khövsgöl, in what is now Erdenebulgan county. The photographs from his book (Krebs 1937) can also be found in the above-mentioned book dedicated to H. Haslund-Christensen. After he was expelled from Mongolia in 1925 with the establishment of the revolutionary regime, he continued his interest in Mongolia while staying in Beijing and then joining Sven Hedin's expedition (1927-1930). In the S. Hedin Corps, he was responsible for conducting camel caravans and collecting materials of ethnology, especially ethnomusicology (Haslund-Christensen 1943). He also organized his own Danish expeditions to Eastern Mongolia from 1936 to 1937, and after the war, went to Afghanistan in 1948, where he died and is buried together A. Stein (died in 1943) in the British Cemetery of Kabul.

There is a chapter on explorers from the Scandinavian countries in the volume of H. Haslund-Christensen's materials. In the chapter, he describes the photographs taken by the engineers of the Danish telegraph company The Great Northern Telegraph Company that are currently in the museum. K. P. Albertsen and E. A. Steffan visited Urga in 1922 to inspect and maintain the wires installed in 1899 (Albertsen 1921).

4.6.2 Norway

Ethel John Lindgren (1905-1988), an American woman of Swedish origin, lived with her banker father in Beijing and developed an interest in Mongolia. She studied Chinese at Cambridge University in England and visited Ulaanbaatar in 1928. At the time, while the communists were expelling Larson and other non-Soviet foreigners, she was supported by Oscar Mamen, a Norwegian who worked for an Anglo-American tobacco company and then married her. She has not been known because she forbade the release of her materials during her lifetime for fear of harming friends and acquaintances. It was not until 1992 that her son donated to the University of Cambridge Lindgren's fieldnotes on her research in the Khingan Mountains, Da Xing'an Ling (大兴安岭) and other places from 1929-1932, along with about 10,000 photographs by her husband O. Mamen, the photographer. Some of the photographs were provided to the local community by professor U.E. Bulag of the University of Cambridge, which led to a new exchange²³. The Norwegian National Museum also has a specimen of materials from O. Mamen's 1912 collection, which was exhibited in 2020²⁴.

4.6.3 United States of America

The American Museum of Natural History in the United States sent expeditions to the Republic of Mongolia three times in 1922, 1923, and 1925, and to Inner Mongolia twice in 1928 and 1930. The leader of the expeditions was R.C. Andrews (1884-1960), a naturalist known as the Dragon Hunter and probably the model for the movie Indiana Jones. Of his many books on Mongolia, "*Across Mongolian Plains*" (1921) and "*On the Trail of Ancient Man*" (1926), contains 39 photographs of the former and 60 photographs of the latter. Photographs by many members of the interdisciplinary expedition are organized in the museum, some of which are available online²⁵.

Prior to Andrews, the diplomat W. Rockhill (1854-1914) visited Tibet and Mongolia and published "*The Land of the Lamas, Notes of a Journey through China, Mongolia and Tibet*" (1891) and "*Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*" (1894), which received a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society. Unfortunately, there are no photos of the former, and the latter are exclusively from Tibet.

Furthermore, in Poland, the National Scientific Archive in Kraków contains the materials brought by Władysław Kotwicz (1872-1944). He conducted fieldwork in Kalmykia in 1894, 1897, 1910, and 1917, and Mongolia in the Orkhon Valley in 1912. In particular, a collection of documents containing many photographs of the Erdene Zuu temple has already been published and is widely used (Tulisow et al. 2012).

5. Recording of photographs by ordinary travelers

The American George Kennan (1845-1924) began to work for the Russian-American Telegraph Company in 1864, conducting a preliminary research for the installation of telegraph lines and becoming familiar with Siberian affairs. Then he took a job with the Associated Press in 1878 and, as a journalist, visited Mongolia in 1885 on the way of his trip for crossing the Siberia. His material, the George Kennan Papers, is available online from the Library of Congress, and we can confirm the seven photographs of Maimachen (now Altanbulag)²⁶.

The German Hermann Josef Theodor Consten (1878-1957) stayed in Mongolia on a secret Russian mission from 1907-1913 and experienced the upheavals of the revolutionary period in Ulaanbaatar, Khovd and Uliastai, and became a member of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society. He had returned to Germany via Moscow just before the First World War and served in the intelligence in Turkey in 1914 and Hungary in 1918. Later, in 1928, he was detained on re-entering Mongolia, and after his release in 1929, he stayed in Beijing until 1950. More than 3,000 black and white photographs, ranging from natural to social environment, have recently been compiled into a collection of photographs (Götting 2005). 100 of them were selected and

exhibited at the German-Mongolian Society in Cologne in 2005 and also at the German Embassy in Ulaanbaatar in 2006. The exhibitions on Mongolian history held in Heidelberg and Stuttgart, Germany, have made considerable use of Consten's photographs.

The Irishman Henry George Charles Perry-Ayscough (1875-1915) was employed by the Chinese postal service in Shanghai, and at the invitation of the Russian Plenipotentiary H.E. Monsieur J. Korostovetz (Ivan Jakovlevich Korostovetz), who had made his acquaintance in Peking, he visited Mongolia in 1913 on a vacation. The travelogue contains more than 50 photographs, including those provided by J. Korostovets and also by the famous journalist George Ernest Morrison (1862-1920) (Perry-Ayscough, H.G. and H.G. Otter 1913). I.J. Korostovetz's book also contains many interesting photographs including post stations (Korostovetz 1926).

From Austria, Hans Leder (1843-1921) traveled to what is now Bulgan and Övörkhongai provinces in 1891-1892 to study insects. He was fascinated by Mongol culture and collected artifacts, especially at the Erdene Zuu temple, which contributed to Mongolic studies in Europe (Lang and Bauer 2013). However, although he traveled many times (1899-1900, 1902, and 1904-1905), there are only two photographs of Erdene Zuu (Lang and Bauer 2013:10).

In 1912, Ethan C. Le Munyon, who drove from Tianjin to provide a Ford car to the Bogd Khaan wrote *"The Lama's Motor Car"* with 34 photographs from Mongolia for the National Geographic Magazine (Le Munyon 1913)²⁷.

In the 1920s, Mongolia began to receive technical assistance from foreign countries, and some of coming specialists took and left the photographs.

For example, from Germany the agricultural engineer Digeon von Monteton was successful in introducing tractors to Mongolia and left 720 photographs of agriculture, historical figures and temples. About 150 of them are preserved by Hans Roth at the University of Bonn, but they have not been published.

During the First World War (1914-1918), Hungary joined the German side as the Austro-Hungarian Empire and fought against the Russian army. Some Hungarians who were captured by the Russians were sent to Siberia. Some of these prisoners returned to Hungary via Mongolia and also left photographs of Mongolia (Teleki 2001:110-112). Below, by Teleki.

József Geleta (1895-1965) was an officer during the First World War and was sent to Siberia as a prisoner of war. He did not join the October Revolution or the Red Army, but fled and arrived in Urga in 1920 before General Ungern, against whom he helped China army. He married in Kyakhta and after the death of General Ungern he backed to Urga and worked as an electrician, and returned to Hungary with his family in 1929. His reminiscences, as told to László Forbáth, were subsequently published in Hungarian and English (Forbáth 1934; Forbath 1936).

According to Forbáth, J. Geleta was the important engineer and he designed the theater with green round roof (for a while it is used for parliament) and the first electric power plant in the

capital city of Ulaanbaatar. At the time, the capital was only 48 square kilometers in size and had a population of 80,000. The book contains about 100 photographs (46 in the English translation), including some not taken by J. Geleta himself, and although the captions are somewhat inaccurate, they are rare in terms of the revolutionary period.

Andor Radnóti-Róth (1893-1964) was a medical student at the University of Budapest who enlisted in 1914, was captured by the Russian army and served as a physician at the hospital in Verkhneudinsk (now Ulan-Ude, Buryatia), and visited Mongolia in 1922, where he served as a physician to the Mongolian revolutionaries, including Tseven Jamtsarano, Dambadorj and Sühkbaatar, and confirmed Sühkbaatar's death. 66 photographs, including of the Chojjin Lama temple, are stored in the Hungarian National Museum and were also donated to Mongolia during his return visits to Ulaanbaatar in 1958 and 1962. It will be published in the sixth volume of the *"Mongolia and the Mongols"* series.

The linguist J. R. Kruger, who was trying to list travelers from Europe and the United States to Central Asia and Mongolia, mentions Elizabeth Kimball Kendall (1855-1952), a travel writer who traveled north from Yunnan to Lake Baikal in 1911; Harry A. Franck (1881-1962), a travel writer who traveled north from Zhangjiakou to Ulan-Ude in 1921-1922; and Nikolai Konstantinovich Roerich (1874-1947), a Tibetan scholar and painter, and Owen Lattimore (1900-1989), who was a reporter for the Keishin Times (Kruger 1982). The photo collection of O. Latimore is stored at the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, consisting of about 2,000. They require further research.

6. Conclusion

During the 19th and 20th centuries, many expeditions from the East and West were sent to Central Asia. As British colonial rule of India unfolded and Russia moved southward, the so-called "Great Game", between England and Russia developed, and academic interest, stimulated by research in philology, as well as archeology, increased. This paper only deals with expeditions reaching Mongolia, and describes the photographic materials of those expeditions; how they were used in publications, etc., where and how they are being preserved. As the result of our study, the following can be pointed out.

Russia sent many expeditions to Mongolia, and its materials are kept at several research institutions. In the imperial period, based on the idea of "messianism", the Russian Geographical Society had sent quite a few expeditions that conducted multi-disciplinary fieldtrips, utilizing the fieldwork of exiled intellectuals in Siberia.

At the time of the expeditions by N.M. Przhevsky, famous for his discovery of wild horses in Mongolia, there were almost no photos. P.K. Kozlov's expeditions, famous for the discovery of the abandoned city of Khara-Khoto (Ejine), took numerous photographs. Between these two

figures, the photographs at the time of the expedition of G.N. Potanin, A.M. Pozdneev, and others were taken by local Russian photographers who were exiled intellectuals in Siberia. At Kyakhta, the base of the trade between Russia and China, photos were developed as well as other Siberian towns. Therefore, considerable photographs are also held in the museum of Kyakhta.

During the socialist era, the Soviet Academy of Sciences sent numerous expeditions and contributed to the formation of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. However, at the initial period A.D. Sumikov, G.I. Borokov and others became victims of Stalin's purges, and it is only in recent years that their materials have been published.

The legacy of expeditions from Scandinavian countries are considered as part of a cultural heritage. Finland, as well as the non-Scandinavian Hungary sent expeditions to focus on their linguistic links with Mongolia. Their expeditions were sometimes supported by missionary residents in conducting their research. In addition, the records from visitors as diverse as telegraph company engineers, pioneers, and prisoners of war are valuable because they capture a period of revolutionary turmoil.

The renowned famous Hungarian-British A. Stein, Frenchman P. Pelliot, and German A.A. von Le Coq obtained the materials for the study of Central Asian philology or archaeology, it was those who worked in Beijing and Tianjin who developed an interest in Mongolia in the north.

As mentioned above, each photo collection has its own characteristics. In other words, each photo collection has its own context. The context of photo collections presented in this paper would be useful in future comparative analysis between various collections.

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Notes (The following URL is accessed September 30, 2020)

¹ The results of our research are available on the following website.

<https://historicimages.mn>.

² The World Digital Library shows on line an oldest photo of former Ulaanbaatar.

<https://www.wdl.org/en/item/2128/#q=hutuhta&qla=en>

³ On-line from the Library of Congress, 155 photographs taken by Lanin are available, but no photographs of Maimachen can be found.

<https://www.loc.gov/search/?fa=contributor:lanin,+v.v.&sp=2>

⁴ Based on the presentation at the International Joint Research Conference, November 2017.

https://historicimages.mn/sites/default/files/2020-04/Matveeva%20report_1.pdf

⁵ Some of Potanin's photographs of the Great Xing'anling Survey, taken in 1899, are available online from the Library of Congress.

<https://www.loc.gov/photos/?q=potanin>

⁶ The institute that holds the materials offers the book online.

http://www.archeo.ru/izdaniya1/vagnejshijeizdaniya/pdf/Medvedeva_Culuun2017.pdf/view

⁷ <http://doc20vek.ru/node/2418>

⁸ In the biography by the local historian Sergeev, the part about photography in Mongolia was translated into English.

https://historicism.mn/sites/default/files/202007/V.%20D.%20Sergeev%202001%2C%20Charushin_1.pdf

⁹ The Library of Congress of the United States of America provides online a collection of 71 glass photographs taken by N.A. Charushin and N. Petrov in 1878.

<https://www.loc.gov/search/?fa=partof:russian-chinese+cross-border+trade>

¹⁰ The catalogue for the exhibition is as follows.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013007870&view=1up&seq=32>

¹¹ The list of the London Mission Society's materials on file at SOAS is as follows.

<https://digital.soas.ac.uk/content/AA/00/00/08/85/00001/LMS.pdf>

¹² The archival catalogs for searching are as follows.

<http://archives.soas.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=CWM&pos=1>

¹³ The catalog search for materials is as follows. <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/>

Here are the results of my search for Mongolia + Geographical Society + Photography.

https://catalogue.bnf.fr/changerPage.do?motRecherche=mongolie&listeAffinages=FacLocal_Lcl3BRdJTolSGEMag%3BFacNatDoc_i&nbResultParPage=10&afficheRegroup=false&affinageActif=true&pageEnCours=2&nbPage=2&trouveDansFiltre=NoticePRO&triResultParPage=0&critereRecherche=0

¹⁴ [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10524070x.r=tumanov?rk=64378;\(\)](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10524070x.r=tumanov?rk=64378;())

Tumanov's album is also available as a video.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eE1djoRXII0>

¹⁵ The album by Bouillant de Lacoste from the website of the Digital Archive of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105240861.r=Henri%20BOUILLANE%20de%20LACOSTE?rk=21459;2>

¹⁶ There are 136 photographs related to Mongolia.

<https://www.europeana.eu/en/search?page=1&vview=grid&query=mongolia%20photograph>

¹⁷ <http://collections.albert-kahn.hauts-de-seine.fr/?page=accueil>

¹⁸ The National Museum of Finland Photo Archives is provided in the Finnish language. Below is a screen of search results for Ramstedt's photos.

https://www.kuvakokoelmat.fi/pictures/search?hakuehto_1=tekija&hakusana_1=%22Pälsi+Saakari%22&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&operaattori_1=AND&hakuehto_2=aihe_paikka&hakusana_2=%22Mongolia%22&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&operaattori_2=AND&hakuehto_3=&hakusana_3=

[usana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3](#)

¹⁹ A record of that time is available on YouTube.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dBAjzMuyZ4>

²⁰ Screen of Mannerheim's search results from the National Museum of Finland Photo Archives.

https://www.kuvakokoelmat.fi/pictures/search?hakuehto_1=tekija&hakusana_1=%22Mannerheim+Carl+Gustaf+Emil%22&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&off_hakusana_1=&operaattori_1=AND&hakuehto_2=aihe_paikka&hakusana_2=%22Kiina%22&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&off_hakusana_2=&operaattori_2=AND&hakuehto_3=&hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3=&off_hakusana_3

²¹ The 1950 edition has 111 more photographs.

Some of these photos can be found in the Swiss archives.

The book also includes photos from interviews with Mao Zedong and Gandhi.

https://fss.e-pics.ethz.ch/index.jspx?category=522&r=1586256782857#1586256787538_0

²² You can see photographs donated to Uppsala University by Pastor Erickson.

<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A81400&dswid=-6871>

²³ BBC Online News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-33202411>.

²⁴ Montsame Online News. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?V=9nSMtlqGthg>

²⁵ The result of a digital search for Andrews' expedition on the American Museum of Natural History site.

https://lbryweb007.amnh.org/digital/search?query=Central+Asiatic+Expeditions+%281921-1930%29&query_type=keyword&submit_search=Search

²⁶ The result of a digital search for George Kennan Papers on the Library of Congress site.

<https://www.loc.gov/photos/?fa=location:mongolia&q=george+kennan+papers>

²⁷ Thirty-five photos can be found online in National Geographic Magazine. One point that more than the one listed in the paper is due to the fact that number 946820 is duplicated with number 60419, which is actually the 34 points listed.

<https://www.natgeoimagecollection.com/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2KWGFRBG8O634&SMLS=1&RW=1199&RH=762>