

Senri Ethnological Reports

154

Master of Mongolia, A. D. Simukov

His Life and Works

Translated from the Russian by

Mary Rossabi

Edited by

Morris Rossabi

Yuki Konagaya

National Museum of Ethnology

Osaka

2022

Published by the National Museum of Ethnology
Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan

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Publication Data

Senri Ethnological Reports 154
Master of Mongolia, A. D. Simukov
Translated from the Russian by Mary Rossabi
Edited by Morris Rossabi, Yuki Konagaya p.568
Includes bibliographical references.

ISSN 1340-6787

ISBN 978-4-910055-01-5 C3039

1. Simukov 2. Mongol 3. Tibet 4. biography 5. purge

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Preface

Yuki Konagaya

This book is a continuation of the Minpaku (the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka) publications on Andrei Simukov, the eminent and perhaps most important Russian scientist, cartographer, ethnographer, naturalist, and explorer of Mongolia. Senri Ethnological Reports No. 66: *Andrei Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia, Volume 1*; Senri Ethnological Reports No. 67: *Andrei Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia, Volume 2*; Senri Ethnological Reports No. 74: *Andrei Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia, Volume 3, part 1*; Senri Ethnological Reports No. 75: *Andrei Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia, Volume 3, part 2* were all edited by Yuki Konagaya, Sanjaasuren Bayara, and Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren and have had a profound influence on this major figure in modern Mongolian civilization. The Russian Academy of Sciences has welcomed the publication of this series, which has also been studied and cited in numerous books and articles. In addition, in 2007, the Minpaku sponsored an international conference on Simukov, which was attended by leading Mongolian, Russian, Japanese, German, and American scholars and scientists, and contributed to the assessment and knowledge of Simukov's life and career.

Yet the non-Russian but English-speaking world does not have access to Simukov's writings, life, and career. This book offers a step toward filling this need by translating into English his most important work, which was his exploration of the Khangai in Mongolia. However, it also adds the first translations into any language of Simukov's diaries and letters, an important contribution to the study of this great scientist.

Mary Rossabi, the translator of the Russian texts, initially collaborated to produce translations of Mongolian works into English of my interviews conducted with Dr. Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren. These translated works were published as Senri Ethnological Reports No. 96: *Socialist Devotees and Dissenters*; Senri Ethnological Reports No. 107: *A Herder, a Trader, and a Lawyer*; Senri Ethnological Reports No. 115: *The Practice of Buddhism in Kharkhorin and Its Revival*; and Senri Ethnological Reports No. 121: *Mongolia's Transition from Socialism to Capitalism*. Morris Rossabi provided introductions to each of these works.

The transliterations from the Russian of names of towns, rivers, and other sites are difficult. If such a transliteration is readily linked to a site in Mongolia, the translator provides it. If not, she transcribes it the way it would be in Russian.

In the chapter I and the appendices the footnotes (a, b, c) are notes by the translator, and the endnotes (1, 2, 3) are original in the Russian version by Natalia

Simukova.

This work is, for the most part, a translation of the Russian original published in Senri Ethnological Reports No. 151, along with other related articles published by the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka as follows. It should be noted that the original Russian versions mentioned above are partly composed of images, which can be viewed there on line and will not be included here.

Biography of A. D. Simukov:

Simukova, N. 2007 (in Russian) “Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov: Life and Work.” In Yuki Konagaya, Sanjaasuren Bayaraa, and Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren (eds.) *A. D. Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia* (Senri Ethnological Reports No. 66), pp. 15–23. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Chapter I to VI:

Yuki Konagaya and Natalia Simukova (eds.) 2021 (in Russian) *Explorer of Mongolia A. D. Simukov* (Senri Ethnological Reports No.151), pp. 1–435. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=8657&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21

Appendix 1:

Simukov, A. D. 2008 (in Russian) “Zoological Notes from the March Route of the Southern Party of the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of the Main Geophysical Observatory (Leningrad) under the Leadership of P. K. Kozlov, 1925–1926.” In Yuki Konagaya, Sanjaasuren Bayaraa, and Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren (eds.) *A. D. Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia vol.3 part 1* (Senri Ethnological Reports No.74), pp. 5–36. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=7634&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21

Appendix 2:

Simukov, A. D. 2008 (in Russian) “Diary of the 1928 Khangai expedition.” In Yuki Konagaya, Sanjaasuren Bayaraa, and Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren (eds.) *A. D. Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia vol.3 part 1* (Senri Ethnological Reports No.74), pp. 80–177. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=7641&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21

Appendix 3:

Simukov, A. D. 2008 (in Russian) Khangai Expedition of the Scientific Committee

of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic in 1928 (Travelogue). In Yuki Konagaya, Sanjaasuren Bayaraa, and Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren (eds.) *A. D. Simukov: Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia vol.3 part 1* (Senri Ethnological Reports No.74), pp. 178–195. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=7642&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21

Acknowledgements

Mary Rossabi

This work would not have been possible without the years of work of Natalia Simukova. Her determination, industriousness, intelligence, and selfless devotion led her to bring to light these accounts of her father's achievements. She collected and preserved diaries, family and business letters, and reports and provided detailed annotations about the people, places, and events mentioned in these writings. She also gathered as much information as she could about Simukov's imprisonment and life in the Gulag and added the correspondence relating to her and her family's success in securing her father's rehabilitation.

Having trained as a scientist, she worked in the USSR and married a fellow scientist with whom she had a daughter. She and her husband eventually moved to the U. S. and obtained research and teaching positions.

The translator would like to thank Anastasia Sidorenkova and Zvezdana Dode for assistance with some Russian words, Enerel Dambiinyam and Enkhjargal Damdinsuren for similar help with Mongolian terms, and Françoise Shein for translating a few French phrases. Jim Geising and Sally Greenland provided invaluable computer skills, and Oyun, Simukov's granddaughter, offered encouragement for this project.

Biographical Sketch of Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov

Morris Rossabi

Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov (1902–1942) was one of the last extraordinary nineteenth and twentieth century adventurers and explorers of East and Central Asia and the Silk Roads who included the Hungarian/British explorer Aurel Stein (1862–1943), the Polish Russian Nikolai Mikhailovich Przhevalsky (1839–1888) and the Swede Sven Hedin (1865–1952). Like many of his predecessors, Simukov had little academic training in the sciences to which he would make enduring contributions. The chaos attending Russia's involvement in World War One and then its Revolution undermined his access to the higher education to which he and his family would have aspired. Yet the political, economic, and social turbulence of his times did not crush his dreams and his passions. Since his childhood, he had had two obsessions: the natural world and Mongolia. His vision and his determination finally offered him a serendipitous path to fulfill his dreams. He leapt upon the opportunity and would, in his years of observations and investigations in Mongolia, make important discoveries in the geography, zoology, and botany of Mongolia. Yet, only a few specialists know of his research and his career.

This translation of some of his works into English may offer greater exposure of his writings to a larger public. The translations include a brief biography by his daughter, a diary which he kept in his early life, letters sent to and by him during his years in Russia and then in Mongolia, which offer unique descriptions of the impact of the Russian Revolution on individuals and families, and his major research study of the Khangai region in Mongolia.

His writings and reports about Mongolia reveal the extraordinary adventures he undertook as well as the hardships he endured. He climbed lofty mountains, forded rivers with fast-moving currents, and suffered from high altitude sickness. He mentions the perils he encountered but does not dwell on them. He also does not point out that he was the first Westerner to travel through some of the places he describes. His pioneering efforts resulted in contributions to science but also led to detailed descriptions of shamanic performances, patterns of movements by herders, and comprehensive catalogs of animals and vegetation in specific regions. In addition, he mentions Buddhist monasteries and alludes to political and economic developments in socialist Mongolia, but he omits judgements on religion and politics, perhaps to avoid difficulties with the authorities.

The overwhelming impression offered by these writings is Simukov's exhilaration in the field in Mongolia. He obviously loved the environment through which he traveled, and his beautiful descriptions of the flora and fauna attest to his

happiness. His insights about the landscape, the Mongolian people, the movements of herders, and the habitats of animals remain relevant to the present-day lives of Mongolian herders. His love of the outdoors offers a poignant and shocking counterpoint to his and the deaths of other scientists in the Gulag. His labor camp was in the coal mining district in the Vorkuta complex not far from the Pechora river, a desperately cruel and bleak location for a man so attuned to Nature.

Simukov was born in 1902 in St. Petersburg into an educated, upper middle-class family. His father worked in the Ministry of Finance, and his mother was a language teacher. He received a classical education in a *gymnasium* in St. Petersburg where he studied Latin, Greek, German, French, and English. From a young age, he had a passion for and was knowledgeable about geography, geology, and natural history. At the age of eight, he read and was intrigued by the renowned explorer P. K. Kozlov's *Three Years' Journey in Mongolia and Tibet*.¹⁾ He was astonishingly precocious. Even at the age of fourteen, he evinced great enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits. He not only studied Nature and science but would shortly be fascinated by European philosophy and regularly attended theatrical publications.

Until the Russian Revolution, he led a privileged life, with an excellent education, sufficient material goods, and a dacha. The Revolution undermined his and his family's existence. He spent the difficult years of the Russian Revolution and its aftermath in what is now Belorussia, where he continued his education in mediocre local schools, but he studied on his own. He witnessed appalling destruction of buildings, heard gunshots, learned about killings and executions, was robbed, and survived in uncomfortable conditions. Retreating to the countryside from St. Petersburg, he and his relatives barely eked out a living by farming. Despite his backbreaking drudgery, food was scarce, and hunger and starvation always threatened. He stood in line for hours to obtain bread, lard, and kerosene, and his demanding life contributed to repeated illnesses. Perhaps even more distressing was the interruption of his education. He attended, on occasion, inferior gymnasiums in the countryside, but he ached to study in a more sophisticated environment, which proved difficult to undertake. In his despair, he wrote in his diary that "Thinking more and more about the intelligentsia. How few of these people are around." Despite these dire circumstances, Simukov still had some happy moments. He attended plays in the countryside, was invited to parties with other young people, and continued to see friends and relatives. He was also an avid boy scout and knew well how to survive in difficult and extreme conditions.

He had hoped to continue his studies in natural history and the sciences at the University of Moscow, but the turbulence and the social restrictions on the upper middle class during the Revolutionary era forced him, instead, to enter the Auto-Technical Course of the Armored Car Division in Moscow. From there, he then

went on to the Lomonosov Mechanical Electro-Technical Institute. In 1923, he saw a notice for an expedition to Mongolia that P. K. Kozlov was organizing for the Russian Geographic Society and was selected from hundreds of candidates to serve on the expedition staff. Many of the letters translated here deal with the logistics he devised for the Kozlov expedition in which he participated.

In Mongolia, Simukov also went on many expeditions for what became the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and wrote numerous articles about his research on the flora and fauna, the geography and geology, the archeology, the economy, and even the political landscape of Mongolia in the 1920s and 1930s. He mapped vast areas, mountain ranges, much of the Gobi Desert, the course of rivers and streams, wells, and springs. He studied animal husbandry in Mongolia, its pasture lands and pasturage system, the fertility of its herds, as well as the different types of nomadic settlements. He was also instrumental in developing Mongolia's regional economies and took part in and led many expeditions to various areas of the country, where he studied and advised on the best place for spas or a provincial capital, helped establish meteorological stations, and excavated ancient archeological sites for the Museum in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Finally, he encountered some of the renowned explorers of Central Asia and Mongolia, in particular, Sven Hedin, whose exploits, writings, and drawings riveted many in the West until his love of Germany and his favorable attitude toward Nazism undermined his reputation.

He mastered both classical and modern Mongolian and wrote his reports in both Russian and Mongolian, earning him great respect and affection from his Mongolian contemporaries, from scholars to herders. His works include dictionaries of geology and atlases of Mongolia, as well as many reports on the topics suggested above.

His Russian wife accompanied him in Mongolia and gave birth to Natalia. A son born to them died, and, fearing that conditions in Mongolia would be hazardous for Natalia, she and his wife returned to Russia. Thereafter, Simukov fathered a daughter with a Mongolian woman who, in turn, married and had three children who have played an important role in modern Mongolian history. Zorig, one of these children, was the leader of the Democracy Movement in Mongolia in 1990, which led to the collapse of the Communist, one political party system. He was about to be named Prime Minister when he was murdered in October of 1998. His sister Oyun, the first Mongolian to receive a Ph. D. degree at Cambridge University, then abandoned her career in geology and, in honor of her brother, entered politics. She became a member of Parliament and eventually Minister of the Environment and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Her younger brother was chosen as Mongolian Ambassador to India. Simukov's descendants have had distinguished careers.

In 1939, Simukov was arrested in Mongolia and died in April, 1942 in the Pechorskii camp in the Komi ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). He leaves a vast legacy, and his personal integrity and brilliance are highly respected by many in Mongolia, Russia, and beyond.

Note

- 1) In Russian, *Trekhletnee puteshestvie po Mongolii i Tibet*. S-Peterburg, 1905–1906.

Biography of Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov

N. A. Simukova

Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov (1902–1942?) whose works are collected in this volume (Senri Ethnological Reports No. 66) for the reader, dedicated his life to research in Mongolia and devoted great energy to the development of science, education, and the economy in this country where he lived and worked, practically without end, for 16 years (1923–1939).

The goal of this proposed biographical sketch is to give the reader a picture of the person of A. D. Simukov, his life, and the basic direction of his work.

Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov was born 29 (16) April, 1902 in Petersburg. His father, Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov (1862–1922) came from a Belorussian village, received a degree from the History-Philology faculty of Petersburg University, and served in the Ministry of Finance. His mother, Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova (1875–1962) was born Miller, into the family of a Petersburg doctor. She completed the highest women's course and taught languages. Andrei was the eldest of three children.

He received a good education from his family and at the classical gymnasium where he displayed superior abilities; he learned German, French, Latin, and Greek, studied English, and took music and drawing lessons.

Under his father's influence, from childhood, Andrei was attracted to geography and natural history, and his father also gave his son a great love and understanding of nature. When he was eight years old, he was given P. K. Kozlov's *Mongolia and Kam*. At 13, Andrei took independent excursions in areas around Petersburg alone or with friends for which he organized "The Society of Amateur Naturalists." His childhood diaries included plans of localities, his wanderings in nature, "geographical surveys," and zoological sketches, and ten elaborately completed maps. At home, and especially at the dacha (rented in Suida) a constant mainstay of food was the variety of game.

Andrei actively prepared and strove for the life of an explorer. At 12–13, he had familiarized himself with the protozoa plane table survey, the technique of herb culture, and an entomological collection, as well as knowing by sight all the birds in the Petersburg area. In order to harden himself physically, he followed the discipline of camp life, was busy with sports, and joined the Boy Scouts. In the summer of 1917, he went with the scouts to do field work in the Ukraine.

Later, Andrei Dmitrievich wrote about subsequent events: "different kinds of circumstances at that time led me down a different path."¹⁾ These circumstances were the revolutions in Russia, the Civil War, destruction, and famine. Thus, as in all of the country, the Simukov family was ruined. Father lost his job. They lived

on the small savings of his mother. Andrei earned money giving lessons, and he found work as a courier, stood for hours for kerosene and rations, and at night was on duty with a defense committee to protect homes against marauders. In spite of all that, he walked across half of the town to an acquaintance who was a naturalist in order to learn to make slides and work with a microscope (by the light of a candle or kerosene lamp.) After the lesson, the teacher and student together nibbled on dried Caspian roaches, drank carrot tea, and discussed the outlook for the annual excursions...But this idyll ended.

The famine in the spring of 1918 during the entry of the Germans into Petrograd led the Simukovs to evacuate and follow the Ministry of Finance to Nizhni Novgorod. From there, Dmitrii Andreevich went to work in Moscow, and Natalia Yakovlevna and the children moved to her husband's patrimony in the village of Sigeevka in the present Briansk oblast. This patrimony had been divided between the brothers of Dmitrii Andreevich, so that Andrei and his family received 10 *dessiatin*^a of land and a half of the old cottage. It was necessary to begin from the beginning. His mother taught and did the agricultural work of a peasant woman. His father worked in Moscow, and when he became seriously ill, he came back to the village. His brother and sister were still children. 16-years-old Andrei undertook the farm work of plowing, planting, and scything in order to feed the family. Gradually, the cottage was repaired.

Here, in the village, Andrei met Milia Alekseenko, his future wife.

In August 1920, when his brother and sister were still quite young, Andrei finished secondary school and went to study in Moscow. There were documents sent to the Natural History division of the Physics-Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University, but Andrei entered the auto-technical course of the High Military Armored car division. Why he did not enter the university can only be guessed: perhaps his origin had been established and that he did not suffer from extraordinary poverty. The destruction of Russia in the winter of 1920 was terrible and besides learning things, his courses gave him what was useful for his future: a place to live, clothing, and small rations. After finishing the course, in the autumn of 1921, Andrei entered the Moscow Mechanical Electrotechnical Institute named for Lomonosov, "having given up thoughts of scientific research activities and geography as unrealizable."¹⁾ He worked as a night watchman and gave lessons. Each summer was spent on farm work in the village.

Early in the spring of 1923, the life path of Andrei Simukov changed. By chance, he read an announcement about a lecture by P. K. Kozlov and knew from the newspaper about the organization of the famous explorer on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition. Of course, he hurried to the lecture and hearing that the

a A *dessiatin* equals 2,702 acres.

workers were needed on the expedition, he quickly made an application. Out of several hundred wishing to go, three were selected, and one of these was Andrei Simukov. Later, Kozlov was fussier about a worker than about a bride. Perhaps Andrei was chosen because Kozlov was a good friend of Alexander Yakovlevich Miller, Andrei's uncle, who had been the general consul from Russia in Mongolia from 1913 to 1916.

About the beginning of his work "In Mongolia and To Mongolia" Andrei Dmitrievich wrote gravely that "September 26, 1923, the staff of the expedition of the Russian Geographical Society, under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov, equipped on the initiative of the Soviet Peoples' Commissar of the USSR, I went for the first time across the border to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic."¹⁾

He was 21-years-old—under his belt were two courses at a technical institute of higher learning.

But not in vain had Andrei grown up in a family that knew the cost of work and knowledge of which he had taken advantage at every turn. The expedition became his university. Simukov wrote about it, stressing, however, that his first task was to learn the language¹⁾.

The investment in Simukov led to the results of the expedition: the archeological excavations at the Noyon-uul kurgan or tombs, the geographical (together with S. A. Kondratiev and K. K. Danilenko), finds in southwest Khentii²⁾, and an essay on the fauna of the Gobi³⁾.

In February 1926, Andrei Dmitrievich went on a short trip to Moscow. On March 2nd, he registered his marriage to Milia Alekseenko at the Chemistry faculty of Moscow University, and she became Melania Alekseevna Simukova. In a month he returned to the expedition.

On the completion of the P. K. Kozlov expedition (autumn, 1926), Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov was invited to work on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia with its learned secretary Ts. Jamtsarano.

In a letter from Andrei to his mother he said: "I felt that if I came to Mongolia, I would not return soon, and I can't think about this."⁴⁾

On January 1, 1927, 24-years-old Andrei Simukov worked at Uchkom (in the leading Museum and cartographic cabinet). His mission was to open a new space (the former summer palace of the Bogd Gegen), which was completed in the summer of 1927.

However, on March 4, Simukov left with five workers for southwest Khentii, where he spent two months on an archeological dig in two new kurgans (or mounds). A small Chinese cup was found with writing on it, which could be dated from the Noyon-uul period⁵⁾. In May, Andrei Dmitrievich went with his wife, Melania Alekseevna, for a thousand-kilometer trip through Mongolia on an expedition collecting botanical specimens and taking photographs. In the middle of

July 1927, Simukov and two co-workers (an assistant from the museum, Jargal, and M. A. Simukova) and the worker Jamba set off on their first Gobi expedition, which was to last 5 months⁶⁾.

From 1927 until 1939, A. D. Simukov was the leader and participant on fifteen large scale expeditions and a number of trips and excursions. His march route (about 70,000 km) covered almost all of the territory of Mongolia. Simukov summarized in two works^{1) 7)} his study and analysis of the subjects and results of the research of the expeditions up to 1936. Here, in short, is an overview.

A. D. Simukov was the first to systematically conduct the complex physical-geographical research of Mongolia, especially in the Khangai and the Gobi areas of the country. He first produced a map of several mountain ranges and a large number of spurs in the Mongolian Tian-shan (or Heavenly Mountains); then he was the first to determine the basic natural zones of Mongolia with their horizontal and vertical shifts, which showed the fundamental complexes of flora and fauna in each zone; and he drew up a map of the growth and distribution of groups of mammals and the important trade in animals in all areas of the country. A. D. Simukov undertook the first physical-geographical regional analysis of Mongolia.

From the beginning of the 1930s, Simukov's basic interest was focused on the issues of economic geography, the impact of the geographic landscape on the "rent" derived from people's activities, and how to find a forward path to best use the elements of this landscape in the country's economy⁸⁾. To this end, A. D. Simukov was the first to describe in detail the pasturage of Mongolia—its condition and, especially, its productivity as linked to its geographical situation^{9) 10) 11)}. A. D. Simukov was the first to show and classify the different types of nomadic family settlements in the Gobi and the Khangai, as well as analyzing the methods of how they^{12) 13) 14) 15)} conducted the cattle-raising economy.

A. D. Simukov suggested a series of practical recommendations concerning natural conditions and socio-economic characteristics for the rational use of nature and the development of the economy.

He took an active part in developing a new scientific regional administration for Mongolia^{16) 17)} and proposed the first economic regional administration in the country¹⁸⁾ (See also footnote 16) and selected a place for the capital of the southern-Gobi *aimag*, the town of Dalanzadgad¹⁹⁾.

Simukov played an active role in creating in Mongolia a network of meteorological stations. He followed up on a line of heat sources, which led to the organization of spas^{20) 21)}.

Finally, A. D. Simukov outlined important directions for future research in Mongolia, frequently showing the strata useful for finding fossils of fauna²²⁾.

Simukov's expedition amassed the entire collection of ethnographic material, flora and fauna, specimen of fossils which were useful, as well as an abundance of

rich photographic material for the Government Museum of Mongolia.

It must be emphasized that so much of the expedition's work was carried out under very difficult conditions at a time which called for the courage, industriousness, and the talents of the participants, as well as the active support of the population among whom Simukov had many friends. Simukov's knowledge of the language and customs, his calm and steady demeanor, and his kind, open, and pleasant character were all very important and helped him build relationships with people in all the far corners of the country, where he was welcomed as a guest in their family settlements. The principal and conclusive thing about this was that Andrei Dmitrievich loved Mongolia and lived at one with its people. He knew their joys, their sorrows, their grief, and their concerns, and he worked on their behalf. They considered Simukov their own, they consulted him, and invited his family for holidays. His home in Ulaanbaatar was always open to friends from the countryside who called him the tall blond Damdinsüren. A. Simukov called his son, born in the spring of 1928, Altai and wanted to name his daughter Gobi, but his wife asked him to call her Natalia in honor of his mother.

The intensive research of the expedition needed time to process the results. Simukov's working day ended about midnight. As M. A. Simukova wrote: "Andrei is up to his ears in work, 'days off' I don't have... He works a great deal, always with great passion, and his work comes before anything else."²³⁾

Besides the expeditions, Simukov led work of an "extraordinary character."¹⁾ Besides his museum work, he led studies of general geography, cartography, a meteorological bureau, and photo technology, and for more than 8 years, he led the Geographical Division of the Committee of Science of Mongolia.

From his modest quarters, Simukov became acquainted with Mongolia's many scientists and specialists from the Union. From a letter of M. A. Simukova: "Andrei...in the Gobi...waited here, as for the academic expedition, there are many questions about everything, which need to be decided on and constructed... he has a ton of work which keeps increasing. I often receive advice from the Swiss about a "turning machine" for our modest home for various matters and issues."²⁴⁾

The active participation of A. D. Simukov in 1935 before the Scientific Committee led to the organization of courses for the preparation of specialists (the prototype of the future university), where Andrei Dmitrievich read geography in the Mongolian language, which he had completely mastered and so he could read and write the old Mongolian script. He wrote a terminological dictionary of geography²⁵⁾, collected a wide variety of materials for a geographical dictionary-encyclopedia, and prepared items for a defining dictionary.

According to the account of M. A. Simukova, Andrei Dmitrievich persistently undertook self-education and continued to work with periodicals, which facilitated

his knowledge of several languages. He studied the history of Mongolia, Buddhism, and eastern philosophy. On the request of a young head of the cabinet of the history Scientific Committee, Sh. Natsagdorj, he wrote in ancient Mongolian several chapters about the history of ancient Mongolia for a historical textbook. Simukov led a group in the Mongolian language for Soviet specialists, and gave lectures on history, for example— “The Education, Enlightenment, and Fall of the Global Empire of Mongolia from the 12th to 14th centuries.”

Without a doubt, he was especially influenced by his close friends in his understanding of Mongolia. His closest friend was Ts. Jamtsarano, B. Rinchin was another close friend, the poet D. Natsagdorj, the family of T. Badmajapov, the Buddologist M. I. Tubianskii, and the geologist I. P. Rachkovskii. He had a very close relationship with S. A. Kondratiev and family, and doctor P. N. Shastin. He also had many friends who had been participants on the expeditions—Fuchin, A. A. Turutanov, P. F. Chukhlomin, and the sportsman G. M. Korchanov and his family.

Amidst his work for Mongolia, in 1931 a great sadness befell the Simukov family when 3-years-old Altai died of scarlet fever.

Afraid to lose another relative within two years, in 1934, A. D. Simukov sent his family to Russia and after finishing some urgent business, hoped to join them there. He thought it necessary to complete his theoretical education in economic geography, as well as publishing a lot of scientific work, after which he wanted to return to Mongolia, but maybe, basically to Central Asia.

In 1934 in Ulaanbaatar, “The Geographical Atlas of The Mongolian Peoples’ Republic,”²⁶⁾ compiled by A. D. Simukov, was published in the Russian and Mongolian languages. The Atlas contained 18 maps and cartograms, which reflected in detail the natural conditions of the country, its administrative structure, including an ethnographic map, the numbers and density in regions and *aimags*, and described the cattle production in terms of each type of animal. This Atlas was the first such publication in the history of research on Mongolia.

In the same year, Simukov completed the fundamental work “A Geographical Sketch of the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic”²⁷⁾ with its complete collection of knowledge of nature, the population, and the economy of Mongolia—with a short version—a notebook²⁸⁾, with both works in the Mongolian language.

In 1936 at the 15th anniversary of the Mongolian Peoples’ Revolutionary government, MHR presented the order to a group of co-workers of the Science Committee. The work of A. D. Simukov was awarded the order of the “Pole Star.” In that year, which Simukov called “the tenth and last year of my continuous work on the Scientific Committee,”²⁹⁾ he polished and moved ahead with “the preparation for general use and in print” the majority of his works (the results of his many years of work in Mongolia), which were sent to the Scientific

Committee³⁰⁾ and the Embassy of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)³¹⁾.

But his departure to the Union did not come soon. The amount of work increased which was not equivalent to the past. From 1936 to 1938, Simukov led two expeditions to the Dzagan-Bogd region^{32) 33)}, one to the Gobi and the Khangai³⁴⁾, and, finally, a huge, almost five-month expedition to a western *aimag*, investigating the economy, the way of life, and the culture of all the nationalities in western Mongolia^{35) 36)}.

Dorjbalam, the second daughter of A. D. Simukov, was born in 1937 in Ulaanbatar.

In the mid-1930s, the situation in Mongolia, as in the USSR, was becoming increasingly tense and difficult. Friends disappeared. Rinchin were arrested. Natsagdorj was taken. In the newspapers and magazines of both countries was the endless proceedings of “the enemies of the people.” Andrei Dmitrievich sent a letter, not by the post, but by courier to Moscow. His last letter from Ulaanbaatar was dated August 2, 1939, which was addressed to his wife and daughter, Natalia, and was carried by D. Gocho, an old friend of Simukov’s, who was the representative of the agricultural artel in Ikh-Tamir *sum* and went to Moscow to the All Union Agricultural Exhibition.

On September 19, 1939, at the age of 37, Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov was arrested in Ulaanbaatar by an organ of the NKVD (Peoples’ Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR) in the Soviet Union. “The baseless guilt in statute No.58, p. 1 “a” UK RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic)” (Spying for a foreign government). “...guilt was not admitted by him and direct proof of criminal activity was not obtained.” On April 22, 1940, he was transferred from Ulaanbaatar in a special convoy to a prison in Ulan-Ude. On January 4, 1941, he was judged, in absentia, by a Special Group of the NKVD, in the 8-year camp, according to statute No.58, p.10 and p.11. UK RSFSR “for his participation in an anti-Soviet organization.” This judgement was from the government in Chitinskoi *oblast* in answer to an inquiry to the manager of the department of ethnography of the people on the border, at the Asian Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, A. M. Reshatov in 1990. At the beginning of February, 1941, A. D. Simukov was transported across Novosibirsk and Archangel to the Pechorskii camp in the Komi ASSR (the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), where according to the facts, an official concluded that on April 15, 1942 he died of “paralysis of the heart.” We believe that this information about the main cause of death has no basis. After long years of searching by A. D. Simukov’s mother and his wife, they received three different variations for the date of his death, and the reasons stated were practically the same in all the testimonies of the relatives of the deceased. One thing is clear: Father was still alive on April

24, 1941 on the eve of his 39th year. On that day, he sent relatives the second (and last) postcard from the camp in Archangelsk- "I am going to the northeast." In two months, the war began.

In December 1956, Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov was completely rehabilitated "in the absence of any crime."

A. D. Simukov reflected the results of all of his many years of work as an author of the "Geographical Atlas of The Mongolian Peoples' Republic" (Ulaanbaatar, 1934) and "The Social Map of Mongolia" known in Mongolia as "The Green Map" (Ulaanbaatar, 1937), his publication of nearly 30 articles in the journals "The Economy of Mongolia," "Contemporary Mongolia," "The New Mirror," and "The Masked Dance in Mongolian National Culture."

Following his arrest, the name of the author of these works disappeared for a long time from the Russian literature about Mongolia, and I knew of his works through the academic V. A. Obruchev's "Eastern Mongolia," which included annotations of almost all of the published works of A. D. Simukov³⁷⁾.

The basic works of A. D. Simukov, prepared for printing, remained unpublished and unknown to the world association of Mongol scholars, or, in all instances they remained nameless.

Mongolia, however, preserved not only the fond memory of A. D. Simukov, but also his work which survived his arrest, some of which was soon undertaken by the young workers from the Scientific Committee, including the last most respected students Ts. Puntsagnorov and Sh. Tsegmid. They collected and systematized the works of A. D. Simukov from the Scientific Committee's collection of manuscripts.

Ye. M. Murzaev, in September 1940, was sent to the Academic Committee of the MPR in his capacity as a specialist in geography and led the work of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In a book on the geography and the agriculture of Mongolia^{38) 39) 40)}, published by Ye. M. Murzaev in the 40s, the name of A. D. Simukov was not mentioned.

At the present time, the surviving works of A. D. Simukov are preserved in the archive of the Institute of Geography of the Academy of Sciences and in the National Archive of Mongolia.

Part of the work of A. D. Simukov had been prepared by the author for printing, and was discovered in the archives including a great number of "Geographical articles on the borderlands of the Gobi in the MPR (Mongolian Peoples' Republic)," "The Geography of the Central Khangai," "A Short Geography of the MPR, part III," "A Diary of the Gobi expedition of 1927," "Mongolian Cartography," "Notes on the influence of the surroundings on the density of the population and the herds" "Notes on the Argali," and the cartographical works: "the map of the monasteries of the MPR,"⁴¹⁾ "The agricultural map of the MPR,"

and “The general map of the Western Gobi.” However, the field diaries of the expeditions of 1936, 1937 and 1938, the material concerning “The Economic Atlas” (which in 1937 was about 75% completed), and a dictionary about geography as well as a geographical dictionary-encyclopedia, have not been found.

The first published notes of the work of A. D. Simukov, excluding his unpublished works, belong to his coworker, P. Tsolmon, Doctor, Geographical Science at the Institute of Geography of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences⁴²⁾.

During the period of Perestroika in the USSR and the democratic movement in Mongolia, the lives of some people in both countries underwent fundamental changes. At their source was Zorig, the grandson of A. D. Simukov, and the tragedy of his murder for his sister Oyun. From this, there was a possibility not only of the revival of national consciousness, but also the resurrection of the names of many of those killed during the time of the Terror, including A. D. Simukov.

His articles began to appear in both Mongolia and in Russia.

In 1990, I was given, for the first time, the possibility of becoming acquainted with the works of my father, which I could copy. I had always held in my heart deep gratitude for the leadership of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, at the time the respected academician N. Sodnom and S. Norovsambuu, and the Director at the time of the Mongolian Institute of Geography and Permafrost Dr. S. Jigju, as well as of course, the revered P. Tsolmon, under whose initiative I was able to meet with Mongolians and their cherished manuscripts.

I will never forget how time was not a consideration in every preparation and the people at the Institute of Geography and in the Government Archives of Mongolia helped me, as did the grandson of A. D. Simukov—my nephews and niece Bayar, Zorig, Oyun and others, and how considerate, concerned, and patient was my dear sister Dorjpalam on those very warm days.

I remember, with great thanks, the help of a coworker in the photo-archive of the Academy of Sciences in Mongolia, as well as the invaluable assistance of the expert on Mongolia and the superior translator, S. Batbilig, in working on the photo-archives of A. D. Simukov’s expeditions.

From the evidence of Mongolian and Russian scholars—in geography, geology, paleontology, history, and Mongolian studies—the works of A. D. Simukov did not remain unstudied for decades, and it is wonderful that so many have turned to them. Unfortunately, without reference to the author. Many countries keep notes on the users, and often a list exists. Especially, “The Geographical Notes of the MPR” suffered. However, the work entitled “The remains of the animal fossils at Shiregiin gashun hollow” with the strange droppings was generally found in the archive portfolio first uncovered at Nemegetu.

The realization of the project in the published work of A. D. Simukov is a serious addition to his archive.

With great appreciation, I remember the valued advice and help concerning the publication of fragments of the archive and other material concerning A. D. Simukov from the members of the Russian Society of Mongolian scholars in Moscow and Petersburg, a coworker at the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of Ethnography K. N. Yatskovskaya N. L. Zhukovskaya, V. V. Graivoronskii, M. I. Golman, I. V. Kulganek, A. M. Reshetov, S. B. Miliband, A. S. Zhelezniakov.

In April, 1992 at the Russian Academy of Science, the Asian Trading House and the Information-Cultural Center of Mongolia in Russia conducted a conference dedicated to A. D. Simukov's 90th Year. At the conference which was under the chairmanship of the academic A. L. Yanshin, a major role was played by the scholars B. Shirendiv, B. Luvsan-Danzan and R. Barsbold, the representative of the Mongolian Embassy in Russia, the Russian division of the International Association of Mongolists, together with the Mongolian-Russian expeditions, and Mongolian scholars. The greatest importance was given to the works of A. D. Simukov, which noted the wide range and humane direction of his work, and the important work of Simukov served as a foundation for those who followed, and for their enduring value and necessary publication.

A participant at the meeting proposed the work of A. D. Simukov in Mongolia as a paper, and it was included in the program of the VI International Congress of Mongolian scholars in Ulaanbaatar in August 1992. One of the sections at the Congress was devoted to the 90th anniversary of the birth of A. D. Simukov.

I have in my heart enormous gratitude for the chairman of the Association of Mongolian Scholars, the esteemed academician Sh. Bira for so honoring the memory of A. D. Simukov.

I thank Professor Caroline Humphrey for her interest in the work of A. D. Simukov.

I am deeply grateful for D. Badarch, Raymond A. Zilinskas, and P. J. Balint for the brilliant book which deals with the science, culture, and contemporary nature of Mongolia⁴³⁾ and includes memorial statements about A. D. Simukov.

I am also very grateful to the leadership and the members of the American Society of Mongolists for taking me into their ranks: Professors Henry G Schwarz, Christopher Atwood, Charles C. Krusekopf, as well as Alexey Ivanchukov, Denys Voaden, Peter K. Marsh, Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer, and Susan K. Drost, for their kind interest, hospitality, valuable advice, and information on and help with international contacts, which led to the active participation of A. Ivanchukova and to the cooperation of Professor Y. Konagaya.

I am extremely grateful to B. Mandukhai for her invaluable assistance with the literature of Mongolian scholarship and with scanning the microfilms and copying the work of A. D. Simukov.

Sincere thanks to the brilliant connoisseur of ancient Mongolian letters Zh. Gerelbadrakh for a translation of a fragment of a text and the copyright inscriptions accompanying the expeditionary photographs of A. D. Simukov from the family archive.

Working on the family archive of my father, I had the good fortune to appreciate the deep understanding and devotion of my family. I am truly grateful to my husband Ye. I. Budovskii and my daughter E. Ye. Budovska for their valuable advice and for creating the conditions which enabled me to fully concentrate on the preparation for the printing of the A. D. Simukov archive. My special thanks go to my grandson, Ilya Zhitomirskii, for his unquenchable interest and endless inquiries about Mongolia and the journeys of his great grandfather that undoubtedly led to the writing of some biographical pieces.

I bow my head in the memory of my mother Melania Alekseevna Simukova. In unimaginable conditions so different from those today, she preserved letters and the photo archives of my father and placed in my own heart all the strength of her love for him and for Mongolia. Everything I have succeeded in doing to resurrect the name and the works of A. D. Simukov, I owe to her.

The critical analysis of the scientific legacy of A. D. Simukov is a matter for the specialists: the geographers, the ethnographers, the botanists, the zoologists. I wish to point to some of the distinctive features of these works.

- 1) The work of A. D. Simukov was based on his own expeditionary material.
- 2) A. D. Simukov not only studied Mongolia. He also lived in the country, knew its problems from the “inside,” worked for its well-being, and with the love and the trust of its people.
- 3) The work of A. D. Simukov reflects the situation in Mongolia during one of the most complicated periods in its history, which is also one of the least covered.

Let us hope that the publication of the work of A. D. Simukov will prove useful to all who are engaged in studying Mongolia and will enrich the world of Mongolian studies in the broadest sense of the term.

It seems to me that there is no doubt about the humanistic character of his actions in his efforts to restore justice, and their relation to the memory of this researcher who for all his life was invested in working for the good of Mongolia.

I consider it my first and most pleasant duty to express my deep appreciation for the organization, and I support the implementation of the project to publish the works of A. D. Simukov under the leadership of the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan, the Editorial Board, and especially, the initiative and main

driving force behind the project—Yuki Konagaya whose extraordinary professionalism, energy, and organizational talents inspire great admiration.

I cannot say how touched I was by the part of this project that the esteemed academician B. Chadraa, the President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, played in offering a full commentary about the work of my father and his activities in Mongolia.

It was pleasant for me to observe the active role and high professionalism, coordination and implementation of the project by the grandson of A. D. Simukov—S. Bayaraa.

I am deeply grateful to all who took part in the publication of the works of A. D. Simukov and are dedicated to my Mongolia.

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Chapter I
Petrograd¹⁾ – Sigeevka
(1916–1920)

Diary (fragments), 1916–1920.

“My interest in geography and the natural sciences (botany, zoology) was evident at the early age of 8–9. Also, at about that time, I became interested in Central Asia and began to read about the expeditions of N. M. Przhevalskii, P. K. Kozlov, S. Hedin, and others, learning about the nature and geography of Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang. However, a number of circumstances pushed me in a different direction and, until 1923, I put aside my geographical research aspirations, thinking them as unrealizable at the time.”²⁾

A. Simukov. 5-B gr.³⁾

Diary⁴⁾ **<fragments>**

1916

Tuesday, February 23

The beginning of the Diary. Nothing special happened. In the music class, we practiced “The King of The Jews.”^a Papa announced to us that he was going <...> abroad, from Tornio to Stockholm and Bergen, and then via a steamer to Newcastle⁵⁾.

<...>.

Friday, March 4

Pavel Stepanovich accepted me into his drawing class. Today was the first lesson.

<...>.

Friday, March 18

Quizzed in Greek. Nothing special. Planning to make a terrarium. It is good to carry out one’s plans. The weather is warm. Broke the aquarium. <...>.

Tuesday, March 22

Went to the Zoological Museum. Went to the theatre on Friday. Nothing really special this week. <...>.

Monday, April 4

Saturday, we were dismissed. At two o’clock Friday morning, Papa came home with tons of stories to tell. He brought me a pen knife <...>. Yesterday, set off on an excursion with both Andreevskii⁶⁾. We watched the crows chasing the hare, how he was running away from them, saw young caddisflies and the first butterfly, which we caught right away (common brimstone butterfly); we heard a lark.

<...>.

Saturday, April 16

On Thursday was in Ligov with Andreevskii. Very good. Found a few small species. Didn’t find any lissotritons.

Today is my birthday. <...>. In the evening, I accompanied Ostrogorskii⁷⁾ home, and then we went to the garden. We caught a lot of beetles there.

a “The King of the Jews,” opus 95 by Alexander Glazunov, which was written in 1913, consisted of the incidental music for a play by Grand Duke Konstantine Konstantinovich.

Suida⁸⁾.

Thursday, May 19

Haven't written in the diary for a long time. We finished May 12^b. On the 17th, went to the Zoological Garden. Anticipating and getting ready for a big trip (Petrograd – Ligovo – Taytsy – Suida)^c. Mama went to Uncle Alyosha⁹⁾, and they decided not to let me go. <...>. Received my first award <at the gymnasium>.

Friday, May 20

Got up at 4 o'clock and first set out for the forest <...>, found myself in the valley of the dry tree, and heard here the remote mating calls of the black grouse. I became eager to see the mating. I heard sounds from O. S. O. I went along the swamp, frightened off the female grouse on the way, and finally reached the path where I had gone with Papa the previous year. On the path, I saw fresh traces of a doe, and they hadn't dried up yet. Turning toward Kobrinka, I saw a duck, heard a sandpiper, saw a bird I couldn't recognize, and arrived home at 8 in the morning. I walked around a lot during the day but didn't go far.

Saturday, May 21

Re<sults> of the day: I saw a corn crane^d, two hares. <...>. Papa came in the evening and worked in the kitchen garden. I helped a bit. Sat by the fire with a mandolin in the evening.

Monday, May 23

<...>. I saw a Eurasian wren, a funny bird. <...>. Alia¹⁰⁾ found a little crow in the park today, and we named it "The Professor" because of its serious demeanor.

Saturday, May 28

This evening we strolled along the main street a bit with Papa. Beautiful pictures in the sky: from one side, the entire part of the sky and everything below was in bluish tones – a quiet evening scene; the other part was in pale rose and yellowish tones; the third: light lead-colored clouds against the yellow background, pierced by red splotches here and there. So quiet and calm. Somewhere the cuckoo was cuckooing, and the crane was crying. Afterwards, Lesha¹¹⁾ and I exercised and competed with a bow and arrow and in throwing the spear.

b He probably means that May 12 was the last day of classes at school.

c An urban settlement in Gatchinsky municipality in Leningrad district.

d A landrail.

Monday, May 30

Yesterday on Pentecost¹²⁾, Mama came. We came out to meet her. She had an exam¹³⁾ on Saturday, and she got a 5. Today in the morning, we built a fort, and it turned out really well.

Monday, June 20

<...>. I went to Taitsi to the Ostrogorskiis. On the first day, I went with him to the Tsar's forest where we saw lissotritons. We chatted all night. <...>. Got up at 3 in the morning and with great difficulty found some boots at the other dacha, and went for a walk. Our feet got soaked through. During the week, Seriozha came to see me.

Sunday, June 26

<...>. Went again to Ostrogorskii. In two days, we saw 2 hares, a female grouse, 3 squirrels, small mice, and many tracks of a roe deer. <...> caught a newt which was frozen. The leaves are gradually beginning to fall, and tomtits are flying in flocks. <...>.

Tuesday, June 28

In the morning, as always, there was the French governess. During the day—a bath in the rain. In the evening, sitting home by the stove and playing the game of hunter. Built a trap <the drawing>.

Tuesday, July 5

On June 30th, I went across the rails. There are very beautiful places there. Suida is narrow. A field, a swamp, and lots of wild animals. The buzzard's nest is located down low in the dense forest. Looks like a formless, flat, and filthy heap of thin branches strewn about with down and bones <the plan of the trip>.

Wednesday, July 6

Wrote a story for the competition with Lesha. He liked that my description of certain parts was concise and vivid. Mama and Papa did not like the story because of its brevity. Today I suddenly felt a flood of some energy in my soul, which revived many almost forgotten plans. I have an idea for a book. Thinking about how to realize it... It will take a lot of work, but I will make sure nobody is hurt while I am writing it.

Saturday, July 9

Got up at 6:30 this morning and started writing about natural science. The writing led to melancholic brooding. Look at Ostrogorskii who isn't spoiled by gifts and

appreciates every little feather given him. And I? Shame. It's time to begin, better late than never.

Before and during the meal, there was a powerful thunder storm. I am sitting here writing, resenting myself because I haven't done enough. I am reading Vasilkovskii <a learned naturalist and writer, a student of local history and the preservation of nature who wrote "The Wonder of the Animal World," "The Wonders of the Plant World," and "The Journey of a Young Naturalist," etc.>.

Sunday, July 10

<...> having read the letter from Aunt Ania, (the stepsister of D. A. Simukov, the father of Andrei) my pessimism vanished. In spite of everything, our family is now enjoying some kind of quiet happiness, but she has to struggle. She lost two brothers: one had small children, and the other used to help her a bit; she is unable to continue her education now and teaches in the parish school to earn enough to go back to school—this is a sad letter.

Wednesday, July 13

We went rafting today, but after we left, evidently, No. 6 (the children from the neighboring dacha) destroyed the raft entirely. They had the audacity to do this! We were above resorting to revenge.

Thursday, July 14

The destruction of the raft let us do what we want, so we stayed home a while working and making small things (etc.) out of bark. In the evening, we played different games. The wren's chicks hatched.

Friday, July 15

Even though it was the middle of July, the weather was like autumn. Every now and then, the blue tomtits and kinglets/crests are chirping, and the wind is whistling through the forest. The hay making is almost over. Already thinking about the city. If only the first days go well! And then I will be like a well-oiled machine. I am thinking about the future summer in Mogilevskaya Gubernya <in Sigeevka – the major village of D. A. Simukov>.

Evening.

Reconciled with No. 6. We played a lot in the evening. It turned out that it was not them but someone else who had broken the raft... They now have a new raft, but it is less durable.

The wren is terribly funny. He jumps like a daredevil into the nest, feeds its babies, rummages about, and cleans it, etc. How many blessed minutes I spent

watching the wren while carving something from bark! It was so trusting as it jumped next to me, looking sideways – it's hilarious to watch!

Besides this, I saw a little shrew mouse today.

Sunday, July 17, Evening

I will endeavor to write a short piece about Suida.

Suida.

I plan to describe this place because I have spent three summers here and have had a chance to investigate it. I talk about the area which lies to the east of Warsaw railroad and runs, approximately, from the river Suida to the south up to the river Kobrinka. Inland to the east, this area stretches for 5 *versts*^e.

Relief: The land lies in shallow waves and slopes distinctly from west to east toward the valley of the river Kobrinka.

Irrigation comes from the Suida river, which is a tributary of the Oredzh river and its tributary the Kobrinka river. The Suida flows from west to east, and the Kobrinka begins to flow in the same direction and then turns north and falls into the Suida. Two bridges cross the Suida: one is a railroad bridge, and the other is at the dam. There is a similar character to the valleys of both rivers except the shores of the Suida are higher and drier than those of the Kobrinka. The valleys are cut in the following manner: <see the map.>

The Soil in this area is reasonably fertile. The subsoil is red clay, and below – the sand with a reddish hue.

The Climate is similar to that in Petrograd *gubernia*. In winter, the average maximum temperature is 25 °R. Spring is cold and rainy, and summer is hot warm with (the heat reaching 30 °R)^f.

Precipitation is sufficient. It was especially rainy in the summer of 1916.

The Flora of the terrain is diverse. At first, there were, evidently, forests everywhere with only small clearings here and there. Now around the villages, there is no trace of the forest for quite a distance, and all is meadowland. In the highest places, there are tall and rare evergreens. Little firs, the carpet of moss, ferns, and blackberries cover the soil in the underbrush. The vegetation is changing in the lower area of the forest. The foliage trees (aspen, alder, and birch) predominate, and they also create the underbrush here. Even lower, swamp

^e One verst is equivalent to 1,000 km.

^f R represents the Réaumur scale, also known as the Octogesimal division, which is the temperature scale, for which the freezing and boiling points of water are defined as zero and eighty degrees respectively. This scale is used in France, Germany, and Russia and is referred to in the works of Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Nabokov.

formations predominate. On bumps, between which there is often water, dwarf firs, birches and pine trees grow. The lushest vegetation develops in July on the banks of the Kobrinka, not far from where it flows into the Suida. There, on small mounds, grows tall thick grass with bright fragrant flowers. Umbrellas, which reach the height of a man, spring up from the grass. The thickets of dense dwarf alders are interlaced with wild hops, like grapevines.

Among other beneficial things, many mushrooms grow in these abundant woods (russules, saffron milk caps, chanterelles, red and white birch boletes), as well as berries (lingonberries, bilberries, blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, and red currents).

Fauna is also diverse. In sum, I saw about 84 mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, and fish. Among them, 14 mammal species (including the elk) 56 birds, and 2 reptiles (adder/or viper and lizard), 2 amphibians (frog and toad), and 9 fish. Part of the fauna, including the roe and pheasant, were brought here from elsewhere.

The Population consists of Finns and Russians. There are three villages in the area (Melnitsa, Pokrovka, and Kobrino, and there is also a church in Kobrino) and dachas by the train station Pribytkovo. In summer, people come to villages and dachas in Pribytkovo.

Monday, July 18

I stuffed the squirrel today, but she came out rather badly. I had been contemplating the life of the forest creatures. Those with good burrows have a peaceful refuge, but others live in constant fear for their lives. It is unpleasant to even think about this. <...>.

Taytsy.

Tuesday, July 19

<...>. Os is planning to publish the journal “Nature” in the winter. The plan is quite well worked out. Two copies of the journal will be produced. It will be printed in block letters with the ingenious device, which Os developed... <see his drawing.>

Suida.

Friday, July 22

A selection for “Nature”

Black Grouse (*Tetrao tetrix*)

The grouse is the favorite game bird of our hunters. They shoot the birds during the mating season, hunt young ones with dogs, and in general, they kill them by any means.

How handsome is the male during the mating season! All blue – black with red arches near the eyes, his tail like a lyre... At one moment, he spreads his wings and tail, bends to the ground and starts gurgling from his throat, at the next moment, having heard something, the grouse throws himself into a fray. The grouses are mating in early spring. I saw this only once. Soon after the mating season, the males become hard to find. When these birds first begin to molt, they hide in the most remote places.

The females are not as brightly colored (they are of a light brown, motley color). They select a secluded and comfortable place, cover it with some grass and lay there around 7–12 large eggs, the size of chicken eggs. They are white with brown spots. In three weeks, chicks hatch from the eggs, and they are all yellow colored. Having just emerged from their eggs, they run gaily after their mother who shows them how to gather food. These chicks grow quickly and are soon covered with feathers. You couldn't distinguish the male from the female by their feathering. At this time, the berries are ripe, and the young black grouse stuff themselves first with bilberry, then with strawberries and blueberries, and then with lingonberries. Now the berries are especially big and tasty.

The black grouse does not enjoy a very varied existence. The birds eat in the morning and, during the hottest part of the day, they hide or bathe in sand. Then, they eat again. The young birds are pretty stupid and trusting. For example, since the young males look like females, they can sit successfully unnoticed in the dry leaves without moving, and they dare to do this in the bright green grass.

The family of the black grouse includes the wood grouse or heather cock (*Tetrao urogallus*), which is distinguished by its large size; hazel grouse (*Tetrao bonasia*), etc.

Monday, July 25

Yesterday, I went to the place where I saw a slow worm. On the way, I caught a respectively large lizard. Having looked for the slow worm in the bushes, I could not find it and sat down. Soon I heard a rustling, and a field mouse ran quietly in front of me. What charm and grace are in its round head, thin paws, and tail! When I crept out, to my horror, I noticed that on the spot where I saw the slow worm yesterday lay the viper. The most unpleasant thing was remembering that I was crawling around in that very area. I hooked the snake with a stick and threw it onto the road <...> then shoved it into a jar, from where, at the very moment, the lizard sprang out. I closed the jar and brought the reptile home alive. How could I have made such a mistake? It became clear upon closer inspection: the stripes were not visible. The viper was 9 *vershoks* long^g. Now, she is sitting in my terrarium made out of a box <see the drawing>. She seems fairly comfortable on the bed of

^g A *vershok* is an old Russian measurement equivalent to 4.4 cm.

dry leaves. To attack, she is capable of throwing out her head 4 *vershoks*.

<...>.

Sunday, August 14

<...> yesterday morning, to his surprise, Papa found a dormouse. How this southern creature could have gotten here – I have no idea. It was already dead when Papa found it. I took off the skin and made a beautiful stuffed animal. How wonderful it would have been to have the dormouse alive!

Today, I firmly decided to bring my idea to fulfillment, no matter what. I was moved by this one word —Dauria¹⁴⁾. Help me God, not to abandon it!

Petrograd.

Saturday, August 20

Will try to figure out what I accomplished this summer. Not much material gain. My collection includes the nest, the feathers, the stuffed dormouse, and three vipers. There is some inner order. Significant spiritual growth. Thanks to frequent visits, Seriozha and I came up with useful ideas. For example: the journal, the museum, etc. Also, it seems to me that I've become more solid, and my knowledge is more substantial.

For D (idea), one must work hard. For example, today, I did not feed the toad, and I have to force myself to feed her every day. Tomorrow, I must go to the gymnasium and work for the rest of the day. I need to copy ten books, but I am not terribly ashamed. I shall keep my schedule book to myself.

Tomorrow I have to prepare for the gymnasium, clear the desk, find my student, etc. I must train myself to get up right after I wake up and read over my notes from the previous day. I shall start! <...>.

Wednesday, September 28

I have not written in my diary for a long time. A lot has happened. Seriozha attends the architecture-art division of the school for the advancement of art. I am “The Bogatyr.”^h Things are arranged well there. Classes are three times a week (basketball, gymnastics.) I am reading *The Precipice* by Goncharov. While reading *The Precipice* and *Childhood, Adolescence, and Youth*ⁱ, I notice that there is a certain similarity between me and Nicolenka and even more so between me and Raiskii. We all have the same restless condition of the soul which precludes mental balance, as well as the tendency to search for something. You think a lot. <...>.

^h By “Bogatyr,” he means “folk hero.”

ⁱ These three novels, by Leo Tolstoy, portray the young Nicolenka.

Music lessons have begun <...>.

Monday, October 3

I have been doing “somersaults” with mice for a while. I caught my very first mouse in the bathtub where she had fallen by accident and put her in a little cage from which she quickly crawled out. The second mouse fell into the trap but came out during the night. The third mouse <...>, I’m planning to catch my seventh.

Thursday, October 13

<...>. I took out a mouse from the mousetrap by the tail and put it in a jar – 26 cm in height and 14 cm in diameter – and covered it just with gauze, but it turned out that the mouse could easily jump and get a toehold, so I attached the paper roof. The jar is well arranged inside <drawing> and the mouse completely mastered the space and felt very peaceful. I am going to start taming the mouse. Seriozha and I worked out the program <...>. Today the mouse took a piece of bread which I had thrown her.

<...>. Several weeks ago, Seriozha and I went to Taytsy on a Monday, and I returned late Sunday evening. We went for a walk there and saw a pair of roe deer.

Wednesday, October 19

Sunday, I went to the theater and saw Ostrovsky’s “The Girl Without a Dowry.” It’s a very sad play that evolves from the characters’ mutual misunderstandings. <...>. I still can’t catch all the mice.

Wednesday, October 26

Fraulein promised me a pair of white mice in a month, or maybe longer. I want to buy a terrarium.

Sunday, November 20

<...>. Got up late this morning and dreamed at night of white mice. After dinner, a rehearsal for tomorrow’s concert.

Monday, November 28

On Sunday, went to the theater and saw Ostrovsky’s “Enough Stupidity in Every Wise Man.” Today, I have been diligently studying Shimkevich’s natural history <zoologist, academic (since 1920)> the author of textbooks on biology and zoology.

Monday, December 26

The second day of Christmas. What a life. Today is a trip to Kurort... But let me

explain what is happening. On Sunday, December 11, there was the first ski trip of the “Bogatyr” s<ociet>y in Kurort. The leading doctor at Kurort, Doctor Peskov, was a part of “Bogatyr,” and he arranged lodging for us and provided us with skis and tea (bring your own sugar). I brought my own racing skis. We went there by train. <...>. We took the whole compartment and sang songs. In Kurort, we went to the dunes and the seashore, skied the steep mountains, and shouted “illa lala igoo.” We returned to Petrograd at 5:30 am. The trip had cost us each 40 kopeks. The day after tomorrow, I am going with both Andreevskiis to Mshinskaya on the Warsaw railroad until January 5. What joy!

1917

Saturday, January 7

I am sitting at the table and in front of me is my white mouse. She is almost tame and runs freely on the table.

The day before yesterday, I returned from Mshinskaya. I will describe all of this in great detail, so I can remember it in the future. On the morning of the 28th, I got up full of emotion and managed to buy ski straps. I had already bought skis on the 23rd and they are short and wide – real forest skis. I had coffee, took my satchel and skis, and took off. I noticed Andreevski as I was getting down from the tram. <...>. On the train, we ate all the treats. The horses were waiting for us at the station, along with two sleds and two young ladies, Nina (of my age) and Tamara (around 19), the doctor’s daughter and the sister of the brothers Medovikovs from the 3rd gymnasium. The horses were called Belogrivy (red with white mane and tail) and Golubka (white). We went fast. Upon arrival, we went straight to the dining room, and I was blinded by the light (it was already getting dark) and all the people (there were 12 people at the table). I am going to describe all of them.

The first, Alexei Stepanovich Lomshakov <the host>, professor at the Polytechnic Institute, wealthy, with the estate of 1,700 des<yatin>^j a huge dacha, and an automobile. He is a Siberian: tall, wide shoulders, but above all else shrewd and already has grey hair. His wife, Ekaterina Alexandrovna, Tatiana Alexandrovna Andreevskaya’s sister, is quite elderly and a kind and jolly woman. Their daughters: the oldest Natasha (19-years-old) – very sweet, and evidently, quite a clever girl; the middle daughter, Marianna, (about 18-years-old) was a bit giddy; and the youngest, Nina, was the scamp of the three but also feminine. I tagged along after her <There follows the description of the guests and the property of the estate Natalino>. Let me tell you how I passed the time there. We slept

j A *desyatina* is equivalent to 2.7 English acres.

magnificently. At 9 o'clock in the morning without drinking, eating, or asking for permission, we set off to a certain mythological country named Perekhodnaya. Only Boris knew (?) the road. Instead of 4 *versts*, we went 12, going about 3.5 *versts* an hour (on our skis!!!). We took along a roasted chicken and sucked on every last piece. When we returned, we looked awful. Our faces were the color of the soil because we were tired and thirsty. Boris was wobbly and lay down without moving when we stopped. According to the number of *versts*, the difficulty of the route could be ascertained. We returned at 4 o'clock. They had already gathered to go and search for us!

The next day was like the first. In the morning we had coffee, bread rolls, butter, and buckwheat kasha. The four of us went skiing until 2:15 pm and then lunch, tea, supper, tea. To bed at 9:30–10 pm.

New Year <1917!> was met with such gaiety that a piano string broke. <Attached is> the map of our trip outside Lugu.

Monday, January 16

On Saturday, I went to the Lomshakovs for Nina's name day. As soon as I arrived, I plunged myself immediately into the familiar atmosphere. A lot of friends came to see Nina. We got acquainted right away and had lots of fun playing. I really don't want to write, but I have a lot on my mind.

Tuesday, February 7

Every Saturday at the Lomshakovs, there are small gatherings where we read something.

I began learning to dance <...>. I plan to become a scout⁽¹⁵⁾ for the summer.

Tuesday, February 28

What a time! Never would I have thought on Wednesday when returning with Mama from the Lomshakovs by car, that everything would fall apart. I was happy. In Petrograd, there was a revolution <...>. The disorders first began on the 23rd. The workers were rising up, there was a shooting in Viborgskaya, chaos on the Liteyny bridge <...>. On the 25th, the trams stopped running, and people flipped them over. On the 26th, it became known that part of the military had joined the uprising. On the 27th, Papa was not allowed to cross the Trinity <bridge>, and the agitation had dramatically increased. On the 28th, the store "Skorokhod," on the corner of Pokrovskaya street and Bolshoy Prospect, was shelled. Automobiles travelled the city with red flags, filled with armed striking soldiers. One could constantly hear shooting all the time. A crowd on Bolshoy <Prospect>. There was excitement. Most hope that the uprising will not be in vain but will be useful. We had enough provisions and we, the children, did not go out but stayed inside. What

would be, would be! <...>.

What a change in a year! Let me review: Papa went abroad, <...> he is in Ligov with the Andreevskiis. Our dreams with Ostrogorsky, Suida, Taytsy, Ligov, Gatchina, strolling and picking blueberries in Taytsy, its atmosphere, the vipers, the city, “somersaults” with mice, a powerful turn in my life – “The Bogatyr,” the music, and the skiing excursions. Christmas – new major turn – Natalino, Nina’s name day, Saturdays, feeling home at the Lomshakovs, the dancing, an invitation to a ball at the Rostovtsev – another turn – The Revolution! God knows how it will end.

Wednesday, February 29

Just now, the electricity has started working, and the telephone does! It seems that things are going back to normal. Now and then one can hear shots. There was shooting in the morning on Podrezovoi (Podrezova street is located in Petrograd district in Saint Petersburg). Searches take place throughout the city: the revolutionaries are looking for the police and guns. We just came back from Ostrogorskii’s and from Aunt Vera’s¹⁶⁾. The Revolutionaries have gained control of the city. Rumor has it that Protopopov¹⁷⁾ has been arrested.

Friday, March 3

All is peaceful on the streets. Yesterday I took a walk with Aunt Olia¹⁸⁾ around the city <...>. We looked at what the revolution has wrought. Nevsky was a bit more animated than usual, and we saw traces of shootings. Anichkov Palace had been shot at; the District Court burned down, the armaments stores were raided, and around the District Court was a barricade with 3 heavy guns. Red flags and hordes of soldiers were everywhere. Everyone had a red ribbon. There were no trams or horse carriages. All automobiles had been seized to serve the new government. No newspapers are coming out except “Izvestia,” which is thrown out of the cars for free. The two-headed eagles are being razed¹⁹⁾.

The Revolution was ending surprisingly peacefully and bloodless. All the ministers were arrested, along with Pitirim²⁰⁾, some are kept in The Duma, others are in jail.

The Composition of The New Authorities

Chairman of the Soviet Ministries	Prince G.E. Lvov
Minister of the Interior	also Lvov
Minister of Foreign Affairs	<P. N.> Milyukov
Minister of Justice	A. F. Kerensky
Minister of Communications	N.V. Nekrasov
Minister of Industry and Trade	A. I. Konovalov

Minister of Peoples' Education	A. A. Manuylov
Minister of Armed Forces	A. I. Guchkov
Minister of the Navy (temporarily)	also Guchkov
Minister of Agriculture	A. I. Shingarev
Minister of Finance	M. I. Tereshenko
Government Controller	I.V. Godnev
Ober-Procurator of The Synod	V. N. Lvov
Minister of Finnish Affairs	F. M. Rodichev

The new regime is set to work. It is sending out orders non-stop and proclaiming political amnesty.

Tuesday, March 7

The trams have started running today, and "The New Era" has arrived. I can't grasp the change – it is too massive and unfamiliar.

It is impossible to fathom it right away – those who say they do, don't understand. I am glad that everything is falling into place. <...> .

Sunday, March 12

Running around like crazy. Yesterday I came back late from the gymnasium, had lunch and left for the Andreevskii's. On my way, I dropped off a letter at Georgiev's (Children's Hospital), and then from the Andreevskii's I went to the Lomshakovs. Boris' research paper is on the fall of Catholicism in the Middle Ages, and mine is on the influence of nature on religion. From the Lomshakovs to the Andreevskii's where I spent the night. In the morning, I was home by noon, had lunch, and then went to Ostrogorskii with the axolotls^k, and with him we went to Nolda, and from there on to Krutikov²¹).

<...>. I have developed an interesting idea: temperaments can be represented by different colors. Boris <Andreevskii> is orange (his usual color), sometimes - blue. When the blue bursts, the orange underneath it can be seen. I am always light green, Krutikov - <...> light yellow. Dementev—dark-red. Seriozha—green, sometimes dark grey spots, Mischa <Andreevskii> is light green like me.

Saturday, April 1

Holy Saturday! What a mood! Yesterday morning I went to Os'. Again, we were resurrected!

Spring! It is warm in the sun, everything is still melting, the grass is beginning to show, and in the sky, one could see a lonely snow-white swan. What a scene,

^k Axolotls are Mexican salamanders.

what an unforgettable feeling! This year Holy Week²²⁾ has another color. I want to attend the matins at the Ioannovsky Convent where I have heard 12 Evangelists. Such a spirit there – it is so good. The church is in the Byzantine style, three priests, all grey-haired, the choir, the singing, serious, strict nuns who perfectly complete the picture! And, how beautiful is the parade of people exiting the church with the holy fire. But SPRING supersedes all of this!

Monday, April 3

<...>. Yesterday, Papa and I walked to Pavel Stepanovich. We left at 12:15 pm and arrived at 2 pm. On the way back, I went to Grandma's along the Kruglov Canal, passing Litovsky Barracks²³⁾. An unpleasant picture! At the entrance, in public view, hung shackles. There was neither a roof, floors, or ceilings, as everything burned down.

<...>. Today is the "Spring flight" of the nestlings. We four went (Andr. -2, Os and I). We heard and saw yellowhammers and a lark, and that's it. Today Papa heard a chaffinch. <...>. In certain places, the snow was above our knees! Under it was water.

<...>.

Sunday, April 9

<...>. Mama is preparing for my sixteenth birthday. No joke! I will have lived one and a half decades! I was a burdensome child, and now I am a young man...

<...>. We are going to the dacha in Mogilevskaya *gubernia* – this has been decided. I bet my diary will be interesting! Yesterday I was in the Zoological Garden.

Monday, April 10

For every action, there is a reaction. I have done some stupid things and now I have to pay for it. <...>. A scathing blow to my pride; here is the truism: avoid vanity and be careful in all you do.

Wednesday, April 12

The new rule, which I broke in the past, presented consequences: must never betray my light greenness. Even if it disrupts the overall tone a bit. Pretty bad mood. I have to pull myself together.

Thursday, April 13

<...>. This morning, I wanted to get into the workshops for defense, but couldn't. In the evening, visited the scouts. The atmosphere there was nice, jolly, and funny – but not serious.

Friday, April 14

<...>. This is true: It is indisputable to fulfill the order of the leader. <...>. In general, confused about the scouts, the summer, etc. The rule: Behave.

Monday, April 17

On Saturday, went to see the yellows²⁴⁾. It is much better there than in the 2nd division. The rule is: moderation in everything. Immoderation leads to disillusionment, and disillusionment leads to reaction.

Sunday, April 23

Today was the scouts' parade. <...>. It began with a ceremonial march (our patrol was setting up the tents during that time), and then we saw scouts' presentations <see the drawing>.

Tuesday, April 25

<...>. I will describe the parade. I was in the tent during the ceremonial march. After words from Bostrem²⁵⁾ and the comrade Minister of Trade and Industry Stepanov the whole crowd started buzzing around like ants. Here's the sanitary pavilion with our doctor from the 12th regiment, here is our tent, and close by me and Shamansky and boiling tea, frying potatoes in oil, along with bread and baking the potatoes. Farther away was the girl scout campfire. The blue cooks (see note 25) have set up the stove to cook sausages, boil kasha and compote; suddenly an accident - a straw hut has been set on fire. The fire brigade rushes in with hoses and fire extinguishers. The fire is out, and the firemen are splashing each other with water. The parade is over. I am walking home. <...> .

Monday, May 1

<...>. Uncle Seriozha²⁶⁾ died. Guchkov²⁷⁾ left.

It's not clear what I will be doing in summer. I am leading the attack.

Thursday, May 11

<...>. Today's news: we <the scouts> are going to the dunes for 5 days, and then to the Kremenchug *uezd* in Poltavskaya *gubernia*. Mama has washed her hands of this, and Papa keeps silence. What an interesting diary I am going to have! Then I will be going to Mogilevskaya <gub> alone.

<...>. I am a sergeant of <the scouts> patrol "Falcon." I am carrying out my mission with great zeal. On the 6th and 7th of May, I was on a two-day tour in Kovalev. We slept in a hut. The morning was cold as hell, but I didn't catch a cold, and so I triumphed over Mama's concerns.

Monday, May 22

I am definitely going to the camp on the 24th at 3 pm. I am going for a month with little luggage. Then on to Sigeevka²⁸⁾ alone. The route to Gomel is either by ferry (with a change in Kiev) or by rail through Romny and Bakhmach, and then up to Unecha, <from where> horses take you to Surazh, and then to Sigeevka through Dushatin by foot. Unecha – Surazh = 28 versts, Surazh – Dushatin = 10 versts, and Dushatin – Sigeevka = 7 versts.

I had to fight to go the camp, which cost me a lot. Above all, I don't think life in the camp is rosy, but I think that, in any case, it would benefit me. <...>.

In the compartment.

May 26

We have just passed Orel where we saw a feeble attack from soldiers. In Moscow, we spent 9 hours in passing and caught a glimpse. <...> From the Kurskaya railway station we went to Popov, the instructor and the leader of the Moscow scouts. We went on foot and made a short detour to see the Kremlin. It is very beautiful if seen from the Moscow River. <...>.

Onufriievka.

June 4

Yesterday we finally moved into the tents. Here is what our camp looks like (map). Terrific heat. I could hear the thunder from far away. <Sketches of the scout camp and the railroad car, see the drawings.>

Sigeevka.

Sunday, July 9

<...>. I haven't written for a whole month. Before describing my impressions of Sigeevka, I have to finish Onufriievka.

At the end, we were moving terribly slowly, along with freight trains. Yet all this time my mind was clear, and I was able to think straight. Finally, we got out at the station which ended our train journey. It was Pavlysh, the second largest station beyond Kremenchug. Waited 3 hours for a cart. <...>. We loaded up our things and marched altogether with a banner. Walked for about 8 versts. Finally, we saw Onufriievka, and the school appeared. <...>.

Our stay was calm for some time. Then we began to starve because the money from Petrograd did not arrive on time. Part of our own money and some flour were confiscated. Sometimes during those days, we got only one and a half of a big blini. Somehow, we got through until the day of the performance which went well and saved us. We earned decent money.

Now, here are my own impressions. I will make a few sketches.

Hot morning. The cultivated steppe. Neither a bush, nor a tree, only the artificial forest in the distance. Backache from stooping over...I am working in the water melon patch (with the hoe).

Hot day. Very warm water. I am dipping in with pleasure, and I am swimming confidently since the water is never deeper than my height.

A storm is approaching. I am sitting in a cart, stretched out in the hay. Around me is the endless steppe, covered with rye and wheat. I am being given a ride to Kamyenyets-Pototckoy.

I am sitting with Kupfer in a flat-bottomed row boat and rowing with a pole. We are among the bushes in a swamp. It's warm outside. There are enormous tadpoles in the water. A small heron is flying around.

The station Pavlysh. Boredom. I have been waiting for the train from 8 am until 2:30 pm I am off to buy stuff in Kremenchug. Getting into a test train to Kryukov, and then by foot to Kremenchug. Here is the bridge across the Dnieper. The river is wide. Everywhere the shallows glisten and several islands obstruct the view. I've had a pound of bread and a couple of pickles from a small Jewish shop. Here is Ekaterininskaya street, now called "Revolution Prospect." Trees, low-rise stone houses, stores. <...>. On my way back, loaded up with many purchases. 3-hour-wait. Having a glass of tea. The train is running late. Losing my clarity. Hungry. I lost the ticket and then found it. The train is approaching. Very crowded and stuffy, and I am standing in the aisle. Eleven o'clock. Arriving in Pavlysh. Walking to Onufriievka with two soldiers. All of us have taken off our boots. Cold dust. Dark night. Walking in silence. The shoes are a hindrance. Blisters on my callused feet. Approaching. The school is lit up. Putting on my shoes. The atmosphere in the hall is from the previous evening – stuffiness and tired faces. Greeting me with astonishment and horror. 2 o'clock in the morning. Submitting the report. Sleeping between Kortikov and Baum.

The Missing Piece.

Evening. The sun has not yet set. On the road between Onufriievka and Kamenka. Picking up speed. Walking together: Pertsov and Sabinin who are setting the tone of the race, Tumim who is praying for mercy, Sidorov and I. The blood is boiling in our ears, and our heads are hot. I am on my 23rd verst. Our record is 12 versts in 1 hour, 35 minutes (after 13 versts of walking).

The Crossing.

The cart. Three of us are getting on the train: Chamanskiy, Prelest' and I. Moving slowly. The station. Big bulky bundle. The area between the train cars. Kremenchug. Hustle and bustle. I buy the ticket and get on the train. I have my own bed by the window. I am at peace. I have all my things with me, the gopher

as well. Soldiers, soldiers, soldiers. Dozing off for the night. Romny. Verification of the documents. Bakhmach. Standing for 6 hours. Stations go by before Gomel – I see crowds of overdressed girls. Gomel. A wet spacious open station. The train to Bryansk is 2 hours late. Without any problems, I am already getting a ticket to Unecha. Easily getting on the train. Boredom. The night. Outside is a forest. Unecha. I am getting off. Large wooden station. Terrible diarrhea. I am feeling sick overall. I am sleeping in the second-class compartment on the floor. Waking up late in the morning. A Jewish coachman: “3 fives to Surazh.” I am terrified - I have only 16 rubles... All is settled. The company. Waiting at the Jews. The Jewish prayer. Departure. Distinctly Russian forest on the way. The jolly driver, Shlema. The villages - Kraskovichi, Koshovka, Surazh, Iput. A beautiful oak forest on the shore of the Iput river. A town in the *uezd*¹. Kozakevich²⁹). Looking for a cart to Dushatin. Barely found a soldier for a ruble. On my way with empty pockets. I am walking from Dushatin with the bags piled on my back. 8 versts. Empty stomach. Since the morning only one glass of plain tea. It’s already getting dark. Gloomy Mikhaylovskiy khutor^m. Mikhaylovka. <...> The end of all this torture—I see Sigeevka.

Saturday, July 22

I left Pavlysh in the evening of July 1st and in the evening of July 3rd I was in Sigeevka. Only now the clarity I lost on June 28 has returned to me. I was, as if, asleep. Only now I am beginning to get better.

Monday, July 24

Time for mowing. I began to learn mowing. Whole days were spent in mowing. Ate my lunches in the field. Finally learned to mow decently. Then the mowing season ended.

<...>. I need to give a general picture of what is happening in Sigeevka. I will begin.

Sigeevka belongs to the Moshevskaya *volost*ⁿ of the Klimovichskiy *uezd* of the Mogilevskaya *gubernia*. The neighboring villages of the Mogilevskaya *gubernia* include: Korostovka, Gavrilinka (the church), Boronki; of the Chernigov *gubernia*: Michailovka, Sencha, Gudovka.

The system of agriculture is based on the three-field cultivation of the soil. There are around 30 farmyards and a church school.

1 *Uezd* is a secondary-level administrative subdivision of the Russian Empire.

m Khutors are peasants.

n *Volost* is an administrative district.

The population—Belorussian with a very unique language. They are sowing rye, some wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, millet, flax, potatoes, hemp. Lots of gardens in the village. A few apiaries. <The sketches of the fields in Sigeevka>.

In the forest grow: pine, spruce, oak, linden, ash, maple, elm, alder, aspen, nut trees, birch, bird-cherry, mountain ash, guelder-rose, elm.

Animals: wolf (beyond Mizerich), seldom - fox; polecat, weasel, hedgehog, mole, shrew, house rat field and wood mouse, vole, bat.

Birds (which I saw): buzzard, kestrel, stork, crow, European roller, black grouse (which Papa saw), quail, common linnet, swallow (both types), wagtail, lark, cuckoo, yellowhammer, owl, great tits...I believe that's all.

Toads, frog (both), fire-bellied toad, adder, lizard, grass snake slowworm.

Now about the people: I shall discuss my relatives. <List of relatives>. <Drawings of farm buildings (the barn³⁰), the mill), of farm birds, a map of the neighboring villages>.

I have been writing and writing but I have not mentioned something important yet. We have here nearly 12 des<yatinas> of land, and we are starting a farm. Ordered the plow, bought a female foal, a scythe (for me), a suckling pig, etc.

Also, to avoid a misunderstanding, here is the dictionary of the local jargon. It begins with words related to grain:

Skorodít'—to harrow

Lapik—a piece of plowed field

Bugon—an unplowed piece

Log—a narrow or hilly untilled place midst arable land

Obabok—20 sheaves

Kopa—120 sheaves

Mojharii—a special cart for transporting grain, storage area below the barn.

Hay mowing:

Trepishka—a slab on which to sharpen a scythe

Klepat'—a rivet to flatten “the sting” of the scythe

Punia—a shed

Puga—a whip

Pugovishcha—a whip handle

Sunday, August 20

Bought a mare from Ereimei for 150 rubles. We are leaving on the 24th.

Monday, August 21

We are leaving on Thursday. Everyone in a sour mood. <...>. <Drawings – sketches of portraits, Sigeevka's huts>

Petrograd.

September 2

Thus, I finished my “tour” around Russia. Grand finale to the summer! The overall impression of life <in Sigeevka> – quite grey, monotonous but we were never hungry. Plenty of fruits.

September 6

<...>. A new acquaintance – the naturalist Georgy Sergeevich Shaposhnikov.

September 12

<...>. Lots of experience and much independence this summer. <...>. Quit the dancing lessons, etc., but mother does not know this yet.

Tuesday, September 19

<...>. Regarding the scouts. Os and I, with agreement from Chamanskii, hope to undertake the following reforms: to clean out the Augean stables and to start accepting people by recommendation.

<...>. The omniscient Ehrlich let us know in strictest secrecy that I would be the only instructor in the natural sciences. Way to go! I will need to get a course plan, and if there is none, to develop one, and to put together a staff of naturalist scouts. <...>.

Monday, September 25

<...>. Today after three lessons, the trio (Cham, Os and Sim) went to the principal's. After quelling our laughter and apprehension in the corridor, we rang triumphantly. The female principal slowly came out and was friendly, then the principal came out and invited us to the reception office. He said that he basically had nothing against the trainings of our <scout> group, that is of Chamanskiy, Stasov and me, but he thought that discipline was the most important, etc.

Wednesday, September 27

Things are moving along. Tomorrow I want to ask Cham about taking on the patrol of the short youngsters from the 4th and 5th grades. I want to try and see how the little ones will do. I will be on patrol as Elk, Os as Falcon, and Stasov, I believe, as Ocelot. <...>.

Friday, September 29

Well, tomorrow is the first meeting of our new division, but there will be only a few people. We must give, to both the inspectors and the directors, the roster and the application, arrange things with the doorman and then recruit, recruit, recruit,

but with common sense because without it, we could engender plenty of problems and lose prestige. The mood is good but not without some trepidation.

Sunday, October 1

Yesterday I was in a great mood. The scouts opened a squad at the 3rd gymnasium.

The mood is excellent. If only the Germans won't drive us out of Petrograd because they have occupied the islands of Lago and Ezel. <...>.

Monday, October 2

<...>. Lesha manages the recruitment, and it seems that Weiner Jr., Nidelshtadt, Sivers, and some others are planning <to join the scouts>. <...>.

Wednesday, October 4

<...>. I am sitting at my table with my lamp, my jar with carps, the manual of English self-instruction (today I've made great progress), and I am blissfully happy. A lot of people have rushed to join the scout squad. Soon, perhaps, we will have to say that there are no more spots! <...>.

Friday, October 6

Dear time! Please stop, damn it...How it flies, before I know it <...>. First classes <of the scout squad of the 3rd gymnasium> went splendidly. <...>.

Wednesday, October 11

<...>. Only God knows what will happen in the next days. Maybe, the railroads will stop running, maybe, the Germans will come here too fast, and maybe it is true that the employed workers and their families will be given the opportunity to leave by train.

Wednesday, October 18

People are gossiping about the upcoming 20th speech of the Bolsheviks. I want to do some sort of service work. I have time, and I need the money. <...>.

Sunday, October 22

<...>. The Bolshevik speech never happened. <...>. No news about the Germans' invasion of Petrograd, and the Zeppelins are not flying. I stopped following political events.

Wednesday, October 25

The situation is unpleasant...Went to the Gymnasium in the morning—we were dismissed. Things at home were dull and suddenly in the evening trrr-trr-trrr...A

machine gun. A flare. Boom...a Gun...Boom...A Volley! The ongoing fight is unbelievable. They say that the Provisional Government has dissolved, that the Bolsheviks seized power, and that the ships have arrived from Kronstadt. The evening papers have not come out. Now above us, in room No. 34, the question of protecting the house is being discussed.

Sunday, October 29

Many events. The Provisional Government, except for Kerensky, who fled, was arrested. The Winter Palace had been fired on from the fortress, from the military ships, and from Aleksandrovsky Park. Finally, it was taken. <...>. Lenin was appointed as the Minister-Chairman, and Lunacharsky as the Minister of Enlightenment. The ministries went on strike. Then they received the information that Kerensky was coming with the troops. <...>. Yesterday and today shots rang out, and today the Junkers were being shot at. Twice already I had to guard our house with a weapon. <...>.

Wednesday, November 1

<...>. Damn it, today there was no bread. <...>.

Monday, November 6

<...> hunger is approaching. People are talking about being searched. Starting tomorrow - $\frac{3}{4}$ pound of bread for two days. <...>.

Thursday, November 9

<...>. We have been living on Mama's savings; Papa never received his salary because of the strikes. One hope: in a month, possibly, the meeting of the Constituent Assembly will not be jeopardized. If the Bolsheviks win, the outcome will be suitable for the devil, if not - not so bad.

Today it was decided to forbid for the time being the wearing of the scout uniform.

<...>. Dear lord, when will this end? Give me the strength to fight against all of this. I know and can foresee everything. I wish I could run away and become one of those last workers to be in peace for some time. And I would have run away but then I wouldn't have been linked to the family if Papa had been arrested. Oh, if only I could flee! Farther away from the approaching horror...slow but steady. And now I have to sit and study Latin when who knows what is going on.

Wednesday, November 22

<...>. The old "Russian scout" – finished. In the evening, the parents were called – a fair number of them gathered together. I. F. Bostrem was once again elected as

the head of the squad and the chairman of the new “Russian Scout.” Many parents joined the committee, including Mama and Chamanskii. <...>.

Tuesday, November 28

No classes today. I studied nature – went skiing to Elagin Island. I heard what seemed to me was a bullfinch and tomtits and saw a pecked-out mountain-ash. Decided to push regarding Sigeevka. Either sink or swim; it’s 30 rubles total, if the fare hasn’t been raised. And think of the advantages and pleasures. I could carry two and a half poods^o of food. <...>.

Friday, December 15

Good and bad. The general depression and gloom, and the haunting hunger. Along with this, Vasiliev³¹⁾ wants me to join the Presidium Council of the Patrol Squad. <...>.

Sunday, December 17

Something interesting happened yesterday. After classes, <...> we went to Bostrem’s.

On the way, we met with Vasiliev in the neighborhood. Enormous apartment. Lots of scouts in the reception room. After greeting everybody, Bostrem leads us to the living room. The meeting of patrolmen and sergeants will take place there. Bostrem says a few words about the goals of the meeting. <...>. Now there is an election. <...> I am the first to enter the Presidium. The meeting ends. The Presidium stays on and selects, among themselves, a chairman (me), a secretary (Stasov), and a treasurer (Bruderer). We adopt a code of regulations, with minor additions, set up by Eugrafov. <...>. It would be necessary to work hard. OK, we will try.

Monday, December 18

The teachers have been on strike for 2 days. Nothing. I am studying English. <...>.

We have the friendliest relationship with Vasiliev.

Today I bought “Comrade Naturalist” from 1917. Things are going well with G. S. Shaposhnikov³²⁾. Whenever we get together at his place, we always have an interesting experience. Always after 8 in the evening-tea. We are sitting gnawing on Vobla fish^p, eating honey, sausage, and browsing books and chatting. <...>

^o A pood amounts to forty pounds.

^p These are fish from the Caspian Sea.

1918

January 2

<...>. In the evening - a Winter celebration with the scouts in our headquarters. Vasya was in charge (see note 34.) There was a free buffet, an all prize lottery, a wonderful fir tree, a magic lantern, games, an orchestra, and poetry. Great gaiety. Had a pleasurable time. All little “chicks” came too.

Now a few words about practical training. In the evening of the 28th, I went to G. S. Shaposhnikov, and together we went to 30 Syezzhinskaya, apt. 10 to Ivan Matveevich Lunts to the practical training on natural things. It was splendidly arranged. I was also there on the 30th, as well as 31st <...>.

At the end of December, our apartment was 6–7 °C warm.

January 4

Went to the practical training in the morning. After lunch <...>. I went to stand in the line for kerosene. Stood for 4 hours and got nothing, damn it. How annoying!

Let's see what 1917 has brought. At the very beginning, there was plenty of enthusiasm and then a nasty reaction. Then spring came. I was turning into a scout. The headquarters on Ligovka. Two-day walks. Huge change – left for the camp which gave me a lot. I became way more independent; What remarkable minutes I enjoyed there!

Swimming, walks in the park, trip to Kamenka, intimate conversations on night duty, beautiful nights, climbing in the ravines, the Dnieper. The only unpleasant thing was the hunger.

In addition, there was the passage to Sigeevka. Oh, it also gave me a lot of experience. I had to make this trip all alone and only vaguely knew the route from the map!

Then, Sigeevka: mowing, simple food, sleeping in the hayloft, dreams about my own farm, a trip to Aunt Sasha, ploughing.

The move to Petrograd gave me the chance to meet G. S. Shaposhnikov. The opening of the scout squad at the third gymnasium. The evenings at George Sergevich's. Seldom at the Andras'.

The outside world was getting gloomier. Little by little we are becoming malnourished. My prestige among the scouts is growing. The Patrol Council. I am becoming the chairman. A lot of work. Practical lessons on <natural science>. The scouts' Winter celebration.

Friday, January 5

<...>. Today the Constituent Assembly is supposed to convene. A demonstration by the masses. Already there has been carnage <which Fraulein saw>. How will it

end? I don't know.

Saturday, January 6

Tomorrow it will be exactly 6 years since I went to the gymnasium for the first time. How can I think about education now? The Constituent Assembly has opened up lots of victims and lots of outrageous things. The main events took place on Liteyny, Kirochnaya, Furshtatskaya, and Panteleimonovskaya.

Today, Fraulein said a funny thing to me: "Look for a position somewhere in the government." I must find the right time.

Sunday, January 7

<...>. I want to save $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound of sugar this month. I am making croutons from my portion of bread which will be advantageous later.

Monday, January 8

Just came from Vasiliev. Vasya arranged the independent patrol "The Beaver" from 8 scouts. It is still a secret. To be eligible to join: one must be tall and ready to go through fire and water without hesitation or delay from the parents. This is a <real> job with a salary, etc. Today I will talk to Mama. <...>. Mama has agreed...

Thursday, January 11

I did not go to the gymnasium <with permission> but stayed in line for kerosene. I got 5 pounds. <...>. There was a funeral for Shingarev and Kokoshkin³³⁾ who had been brutally killed.

Thursday, January 18

<...>. Papa's strike is over. <...>. The papers are full of warnings about the hunger and the strikes of the hungry.

Sunday, January 21

Recently, I've noticed the effects of malnutrition – I recognize them from my experience at the camp. I've lost a lot of weight, and I have become pretty weak and drowsy.

Friday, January 26

<...>. A decree about the introduction of the new style was issued on February 1st, so the 1st would be considered the 14th. <...>.

Monday, January 29

<...>. During the day, I had to go to Prokhorov's lecture about something Russian at our gymnasium – and here we are – it was cancelled. Some priest (Vvedensky) came instead and spoke about happiness and faith. I wasn't sorry to attend because I learned a lot. <...>

Friday, February 2 (15)

<...> Now we are going to receive $\frac{1}{8}$ pound of bread per day. Rubbish! <...>. Today Beaver gathered for the first time. Vasya said a few words. We talked about the apartment. Mama is offering the room. <...> Things are not going well with Os. It looks like he and his family will be evicted. Today, in spite of the cold, I am in a "spring" mood. Of course! The sun warmed the dining room 4 °C higher (from 8 to 12 °C).

Wednesday, February 7

At the gymnasium, today everything was very jolly. We arrived in the classroom, it was 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ °C. We revolted and refused to study until the long break. Then we had to wear our overcoats.

<...>. The atmosphere outside is getting tense. The summer is in question. I am alright because I can find everything I need anywhere. <...>.

Tuesday, February 13

The strangest peace has been made but it looks as if the Germans are still advancing. Today in the "Red Newspaper" a decree was printed, under the signature of Lunacharsky, concerning the immediate dissolution of the middle and upper student establishments. Our school is still all right. Yesterday there was a gathering of Beaver. We got things done.

Saturday, February 17

Things are bad. The Germans appeared at Unecha and occupied Zhlobin, under Luga, and they are now moving to Bologoye. No peace. Petrograd will be laid siege. There is no let up.

Beaver is still working. Spring is approaching, but the mood is gloomy. No activities. The gymnasium – I am doing the bare minimum.

Sunday, February 25

I have just arrived from George Sergeevich. He is determined to leave the city around March 16, new style. He has invited me to join him. Concerning the evacuation of Papa – it's almost certain that he is going, but he stubbornly refuses to take me. The inspector proposed that I tutor.

I've already made the arrangements. For 60 rubles an hour and a half every day for all subjects with a third-year student who, by the way, is like a piece of wood. <...>.

Thursday, March 1

Beaver's Program: <here is the (abbreviated) Beaver's program of 14 points, including:

- I. Activities – Meetings. Club, library, model building, games and minor things to do.
- II. Drill and gymnastics. Military drill of the Russian army. Scout tactical formation. Rifle methods, exercises, gymnastics on the apparatus, the Sokol movement^q.
- III. Athletics, boxing, wrestling, skiing, ice skating, biking, and horseback riding.
- IV. Life In the Open Air. Camping. Knowledge of navigation. Building bridges, river crossings apparatus, huts, and cabins. Setting up the camp and selecting a place for it.
- V. Special training. (mastery of Morse code, telegraph apparatus, field telephone, nursing, jack of all trades, topography, firearms, carpentry, metalworking, electrical engineering, automobile mechanics.)
- VI. Introduction to the sea and sea transport (rowing, running a motor boat, building a boat, equipment of the yacht, introduction to different types of boats.)
- VII. The practice of firefighting
- VIII. Introduction to Nature. Lessons on the natural world, the herbarium, the zoological collection, introduction to the life of animals in natural habitat, taming and caring for them; insects; microorganisms.
- IX. Agricultural work. Building a garden and a vegetable garden. Preparing the soil. Types of fruit trees and vegetables. Planting, sowing, and harvesting. Sowing and harvesting grain. Field work.
- X. Motherland Studies. Attendance at museums, exhibitions, factories, etc. The job of guide. Tours around Russia.
- XI. Attendance at courses and lectures: physics, zoology, natural science, agricultural studies, etc.
- XII. Work to support the patrol: factory work, public work, and small jobs.
- XIII. Social Service Work. Volunteering in the city's medical facilities, in the military and other ministries.
- XIV. All kinds of group games for the development of wit, initiative, dexterity,

q The Sokol movement was a mid-nineteenth century gymnastics organization.

endurance, and other scouting qualities. Games for the scouts on their expeditions.

<Stamp> “The Head of the Petrograd Scout Squad.”

<Signature> /S. Vasiliev/.

The Emblem of the Beaver <drawing>

Tuesday, March 4

<...>. My intention is to acquire practical knowledge in a trade and anywhere I can. <...>.

Thursday, March 8

Today Papa left. We said a warm farewell. I am hearing rumors at the gymnasium, and everywhere else in general, about departures from Petrograd, the advance of the Germans, etc.

Tuesday, March 13

<...>. Today mother sold everything from the dining room, the mirror-wardrobe, the writing table and two beds. <...>.

Wednesday, March 14/27

It is necessary to adopt the new style now because it will be harder later. <...>.

Saturday, April 13

We are gradually getting rid of things and packing up. As for the food, it is getting harder, as it is impossible to get things.

Tuesday, April 16

<...>. Exactly on April 1, old style, the Neva began to move. Now it is clear: it is flowing with little ice. <...>. Reading the newspaper – Klinty has been taken, the Poles are doing their mischief in the Roslavl region. <...>. Perhaps, I am spending my last days in Petrograd.

Tuesday, April 23

On Saturday, Papa arrived unexpectedly. As a result, our direction is Nizhnii <Novgorod>. We are decisively selling everything <...>. Received 3 pounds of rice today on a ration card.

On Sunday, I took a walk, possibly, for the last time. Almost all of the free scouts in Petrograd were at the Primorsky railway station <...>. Amazingly, there were only two scoutmasters, (Vasya and Zhirmunskiy.) I was at a bonfire with Kirill, Kleist, and Alia. There were 60 people total, and everything was wild. <...>.

Thursday, April 25

Will leave tomorrow about 5. Yesterday, we were the victims of “a perfect robbery” (to the tune of about three thousand rubles).

I stopped teaching—passed it on to Os. So, I had one hundred in my pocket from one and a half months of work.

Saturday, April 27

I am sitting on the train which is somewhere between Petrograd and Moscow. Yesterday was a nightmare. Today and tomorrow will be also. We were dragged around the Nicolaevsky railway station. I settled down alright on the train, even though I am cut off from Mama. My provisions – a pot of rice. I am terribly thirsty, but it is impossible to get out. In Moscow, I will have to cross the whole city to get to the other train station.

Moscow.

Sunday, April 28

I am writing while sitting in the Kursk station in Moscow. Yesterday, I spent the time (until evening), almost tolerably, as I had some fun in the 3rd class compartment, even though the window was completely broken. There were 11 people in our compartments, and we alternated lying down on our beds, and we drank tea. Sometimes, for provisions, I went to Mama, who has also settled in tolerably.

The evening, however, began as a nightmare. I moved to Mama’s, no place to sit, rumors are never-ending, one worse than the next. We got out of the train at night, on an empty platform in Moscow. Papa met us there. He and the Commissar ran around, asking if we could spend the night in the train car, but it didn’t work out. We moved under an awning, and I put a bag under my head and lay down right on the stone platform to sleep. I slept alright. Got up at 5 in the morning. By around 9 o’clock we finished transferring our things by a cart to Kurskii station. Mama, Lesha, and Alia went to Aunt Olia. I went to the second line. The train is leaving at 7 in the evening.

Tomorrow morning—at Nizhnii <Novgorod>. Even though there will still be a few difficulties, we will be alright.

Nizhnii Novgorod.

Tuesday, April 30

So, we settled in. All is not so bad. Three families (the Rhinebots, the Lipkins, and us) are in a corner room (which is semi-circular) with a marvelous view of the Volga. We are a nice community.

Sunday, May 5

Today is Easter. How strange it is for us this year! <...>.

I am longing for Vas'ka and Co. I was getting sick (not on my own volition). Overall, I am not feeling very well. Things will work out. After some grinding, we always get the flour.

Sunday, May 12

<...>. Took a walk today by myself. I made 15 versts. Saw a flock of lapwings feeding. I got rather tired.

Sunday, May 19

It seems that Mama found a room. The baggage came, but of course, it hasn't been unloaded <...>. We get ½ a pound of bread, and as of tomorrow, ¼ pound. <...>. I sleep all the time on my overcoat and get covered by feathers.

At one time, I became very intrigued by piers and jostled about for hours finding out the prices of goods, studying the steamships, listening and admiring the sunset from the Kremlin Wall. The prices of goods have gone up terribly. Potatoes are now twice as expensive.

Tuesday, May 21

<...>. If we go to Sigeevka, we will only take what is necessary, and we will leave the rest here.

Friday, May 24

We have packed almost everything. Tomorrow we will get tickets and will be leaving the day after tomorrow.

There are photos of the <scout> parade in Ogonek. I was so happy that, out of the blue, I sent a very personal letter to Vas'ka. How I would like to see them all! Now, above all, is the time of such great changes.

We are taking with us to Sigeevka no more than 5 poods, and all of this will go into our train car. They say that now the trains are overcrowded.

Saturday, May 25

<...>. We were remembering my scout acquaintances. What a shame to give up the Petrograd Druzhina! How many wonderful, jolly, and nice people! And, so many pleasant memories!

Sigeevka.

Tuesday, June 4

I am lying in bed and writing. Here we are, finally reached Sigeevka. We left on

Sunday. <...>. We all grabbed some baggage and set off. We entered the station and, right away, got in line for the platform. The porters, of course, were not available. We checked in 3 bags and barely climbed onto the full train, even though we were among the first to get to the platform.

In the morning, we arrived in Moscow. Papa met us and took a coachman to transport our stuff to the Bryansk station where it was kept for us. In the meantime, we took a tram to Papa's room on the Arbat. The Millers came. Papa soon came to work, and we went to see Aunt Olia.

Monday, June 10

I will continue. Papa came from work and treated us to a good lunch. Then we all got ready to go to the Bryansk station. We received some "pleasant" news that there was no 2nd class, but only 3rd and freight cars, so we settled into one of them. It was a nightmare.

The beginning was alright, but then it became unbelievably packed. In spite of the cold night, people rode on the roofs and put crossties on the buffers between the cars to stand on. At each station, a couple more people still managed to get into our car, withstanding the cursing, and even the fights. At the station Tikhonova Pustyn^r, the police even shot blanks in the air and at the people on the roofs.

There was quite a scene in Bryansk. As soon as the doors were open to let the people out, the crowd pushed in. I was able to jump out, Mama almost cried, and Lesha was crying. Finally, we were able to get our luggage off the train. One kind man helped us and didn't even want to be paid. The porter ran up and dragged our things down to a passage between two platforms. The weather was horrible: snow, wind, and extreme dampness. The wind on the platform was extreme; we didn't spend too much time there (stood for three hours). The porter got us tickets as far as Unecha. The train came, and we again sat in the freight car, less crowded, and it was much cooler. We slept somehow and arrived at Unecha at 3 am. There was no space at the station, so we finished the night outside in the snow.

In the morning, the train to Surazh arrived, and again we settled in the freight car. The train, however, did not go as far as Surazh but went only to the Iput river which was still 4 versts away.

I forgot to explain why the trains from Moscow to Bryansk are overcrowded. People are going for bread to Lgov and other places. Although the bread is relatively expensive, that doesn't stop the hungry people.

So, next. We nabbed a cart with a 14-years-old coachman who, for 7 rubles, took our luggage, Lesha, and Alia to Kozakevich (see note 29), while the three of

^r Near a branch of the Kaluga river.

us walked. Aunt Lena was getting sleepy. At Kazakevich's, we drank coffee with the finest white bread which cost 2 rubles a pound. At that time, Aunt Lena found 3 gavrilensky carts which agreed, for 50 rubles, to take us and our baggage to Sigeevka. It was an excellent ride.

At Kozakevich's, I suddenly developed a high fever, and for two weeks, I have been in bed most of the time. I saw a feldsher^s in Dushatin, and it turns out this was nothing very serious, but I still need to stay in bed. About the state of the property tomorrow.

July 5 (*old style*)

<...>. I have been in bed for almost four weeks. <...>. I wanted to write letters to Mishka (to Zadonsk, if he is there), and to Van'ka Rostovtsev (to Tambov, if he is there), and to Vas'ka and Sergey. I had sent letters to them from Nizhnii, and even a personal one. The letters take a hellishly long time.

I have a young European roller. I got it recently. <...>. Rearranged and fixed up half of the old house. The carpenters cost us 420 rubles (there were four of them) plus food. The house is ready, the window glass has been put in place, but we still lack hinges on the stove and windows.

Nevertheless, we have the house, a pair of horses, a cart, a plow, a couple of harrows with "iron teeth," a bore, chicks. Good for now.

Friday, August 3

<...>. We had enough work. Lately, all my time has been spent in the field. Mowing and harvesting the hay took up most of our free time. Getting up early in the morning, breakfast on potatoes, then to work, lunch in the field, coming back late, dinner, and the day is over. Even the two holidays were not much different, but we got to sleep until lunch.

I don't know what kind of education is available.

Tuesday, September 17 (*new style*)

I dropped a proper note to Sergei. He was in Orlovskaya gubernia, Livensky uезд, Vyshne-Olshanoe village. I am full of reminiscences of Suida, Taytsy, Seton-Thompson^t, Longe, and other good things.

Let me tell you about myself. Since the beginning of the year, we, and especially Mama, have become more and more convinced that we cannot run the household together <with our relatives>. Upon Papa's arrival, this belief reached its

^s A medical worker.

^t Seton-Thompson was a British born naturalist, author, and lecturer involved in setting up the Boy Scouts in the U.S., where he lived most of his life.

apogee, but he kept silent. Evidently, to him, it was a pity that such a rosy dream about a great household and co-operation with his step brothers didn't work.

Next Sunday Papa will go to Moscow (where the Committee he works at is located) and Mama will go with him (to pick up our stuff).

It was assumed that we would study in Surazh, and we all have been accepted there.

Tuesday, September 24

The day before yesterday, Mama left with Papa. The situation is serious. Tania³⁴⁾, Alia, and I are slightly sick. The mare has a serious limp. <...>.

Friday and Saturday, we were at Aunt Sasha's with Papa. Good Lord, how marvelous is the autumn forest! Against the dark-green background, red aspens, and yellow maples...The leaves... and amazing smell of autumn in this wonderful woodland.

Thursday, October 3

<...>. Mama is not here yet. Things have quieted down with the relatives. We are all ill. I am too: my chest is aching. A wave of melancholy has swept over me. I think a lot.

...longing for the forest, the north, and Petrograd, etc.

Saturday, October 5

I wasn't well, so I am lying in bed. Mama came back yesterday morning. We have found a room in Surazh, with a trustworthy owner.

In the evening, the cranes were flying...there were three flocks, around hundred in each... Their direction was southwest, almost west. The last flock flew, illuminated by the golden sky of the setting sun.

Sunday, October 6

<...>. I am still in bed. <...>. They say that 16-, 17-, and 18-years-olds are being conscripted, so I guess I will have to be a soldier for some time.

How naïve we were when we lived in Peter, very naïve. I am glad that I got forced into real life, but I pity Mama and Papa.

Sunday, October 10

<...>. Yesterday we went to Dushatin with Mama. The feldsher was not there. On the way back, the horse took off, but Mama prevented a serious disaster. She turned into a field and gradually stopped the horse. We were safe.

Michailovskaya school hired Mama.

Saturday, October 26

We were back in Surazh with Mama yesterday. We went to the district/local hospital where there were too many people, so we went to the Smelnitzkis.

Monday, October 28

Not long ago, Lesha and Alia left <to study in Surazh>. Mama brought me three books from Surazh with psychological essays by Professor Sikorsky. They were notably interesting and useful to me at this time. The themes - the work ethic, the development of a strong will, and one's inner self in general.

Mama told me that I shouldn't engage in unnecessary lessons or work, but I should study and discover my inclinations and abilities. <...>.

Tuesday, October 29

<...>. Mama brought me two more books by Prof. Sikorsky, my old diary, and a notebook for the natural sciences. Read the old diary. Lots of pleasant memories!

Sunday, November 10

The 4-day holiday has ended. Lesha came here on foot on Wednesday (from Surazh) and left today. In Surazh, they are installing electricity. According to Lesha, his studies are not challenging. The food is very good.

Letter after letter from Papa. His committee will be liquidated³⁵⁾. I am still sick. The day before yesterday the feldsher came and discovered that my lungs improved only slightly, which means that my education is postponed. Boring.

Yesterday in Sigeevka two people died: Zahariha and Dunya Michaleva from the Spanish flu³⁶⁾. In addition, the Zaharovs, Tit and Petrok, are seriously ill.

I have been occupied with photography. Drawing a bit. Excerpts from Schopenhauer³⁷⁾ are challenging. He is an interesting philosopher. Many of his ideas can be applied to life, even now. He is preaching asceticism and withdrawing from stupidity, i.e. mankind; that is to say, how one serves oneself.

I want to be in Surazh as soon as possible to begin work.

Tuesday, November 19

<...>. I am staying in Sigeevka and am slowly recovering. <...>. I continue to study Schopenhauer. He is invulnerable regarding logic. His logic is impeccable.

Thursday, November 28

Events—grandiose. There is a revolution in Germany. No more Wilhelm. Austria has disintegrated (I am not sure what happened) and concluded a dishonorable peace with its allies. Germany too. The Allies have moved toward Russia through Ukraine³⁸⁾. Rumors tell us they are in Gomel. The whole world is breaking apart

<...>.

On Saturday, Mama and I went to Surazh by sleigh. The journey was full of adventures. We left Dushatin after sunset. The wind blew sideways. It was so dark that we couldn't see the road, which was bad. We wove and wove into Koshovka and hardly found the detour to drive on. We had to lead the horses by the halter and, on top of it all, the shaft got torn. I fixed it a little, so we were able to pass the local hospital. It got worse, so we dragged along on one shaft.

Finally came to the Smelnitskis³⁹⁾. Lesha and Alia haven't settled in very well. Things were a terrible mess where they lived. There was no lavatory. They ate in a tiny room for the servants (but they did not complain of hunger), and they slept like on a camping trip. What a mess of a place to study in. Lesha has already started his German lessons, and he is participating in the social life.

Friday, November 29

Received a lot of letters from Papa and Aunt Olia. Papa was thinking about coming here. I went to Boron'ki for bread and got 5 pounds. I am suffering from doing nothing. There is not much light, so most of the time we spend in the dark, chatting, and dozing off.

I forgot to mention that the doctor forbade studying until Christmas. And then, most likely I will still be here <...>. I'm not recovering. I have started recording temperatures.

Friday, December 13

<...>. On Wednesday went to Moshevaya⁴⁰⁾ (with Aunt Ania) and picked up there *Geology* by Mushketov, *The Life of the Plant* by Kerner-Marilaun, and some popular literature. Life is lively there. They are erecting a theater.

Friday, December 20

We received a letter from Papa. Not a happy one. He is getting weaker, coughing and starving. Prices are outrageous. Lard costs 65–70 rubles a pound, sugar is 55–60 rubles a pound, horsemeat is 10 rubles, etc. I am scared to even imagine how the officials from Nizhnii are doing today when they were already so badly off some time ago. The majority will probably lose their minds or die of hunger.

I am still sick and see no end of my illness. This is the third day of the horrible blizzard.

Monday, December 23

Time flies. What is actually the mood of the times now? Close connection with Mama, constant sickness, but, overall, things are quiet and peaceful. Reading serious books (Schopenhauer, Ibsen, Renan, Kerner, Mushketov). I am gradually

realizing that I must look out for my parents, so they have peace of mind.

Saturday, December 28

Today Mama went to Surazh in her sled with her own carriage and horse. Alia arrived yesterday. Papa writes that he has become very weak. If only he would quit his job and come here! Mama says that if she makes 600, he can quit and come here. He fully agrees that Lesha and Alia don't need to go to Surazh anymore. <...>.

Today I gave the first lesson in gymnastics at school. It was alright. Aunt Ania came twice to study German. My temperature still has not fallen, and I almost don't care. I wonder what the feldsher would say. I have stopped recording the outside temperature for now because Aunt Ania needs the thermometer.

1919

Wednesday, January 1

On Sunday, Mama came and brought around fifteen hundred in salary, so we ordered a second yoke for the horse and almost paid off the debts. Now all the family, with the exception of Papa, is here. <...>. Bought some firewood, and it is being delivered. <...>.

Saturday, January 4

<...>. In school, lots of preparation for Christmas. We are learning the roles, etc., and Lesha is very involved.

Thursday, January 9

<...>. Yesterday and today the weather was great, and I took a little walk. One thing buzzed in my head: skiing, skiing, and skiing. Yesterday there was a little talk about the future. I expressed the wish "to live."

Friday, January 17

A new era *a la* "the beginning of 1917." It started with the Christmas celebration at Aunt Ania's <in school>. The weather was not bad, and so I went. Among the guests were father Andrei, Maria Andreevna with her daughters Shura and Dunia, father Mikhail with his wife, Seraphima Ivanovna, Anna Ermolaevna; and also from the *volost* comrades Azarov, Yudenkov, Krotov Terentii Pavlovich, Korshunov.

We began with the children dancing around the Christmas tree, and then there was a performance. All was going well, except the bullocks lost their horns, and the chieftain came with a wolf's tail. Later there was dancing. I was very eager to

dance. <...>. After dancing, we had supper. I wasn't there. 2 bottles of homebrew were drunk. After supper, there was more dancing, including the traditional dancing in a ring, flirting, and exchanging notes. This continued until 5 in the morning. The evening passed without any incidents, and it wasn't boring at all. <...>.

Sunday, January 19

<...>. They slaughtered a wild boar. Only $\frac{1}{4}$ was given to us and out of this we made 10 pounds of sausage and 30 pounds of lard.

On Thursday, the priest had a gathering. We went with Aunt Ania on foot. <...>. Azarov and Yudenkov were not there because something extraordinary had happened: The second had arrested the first when they were at father Andrei's, allegedly for counter-revolutionary thoughts, but, in fact, they had been in a fight over something. We were drinking tea. The music arrived—violin and tambourine. Dancing, flirting, and writing notes to each another. I did not tag along after anybody specific, but I went after everybody one by one. I mingled with everyone and not just one person. Dinner. Lots of home brew. We had a good time and then took off.

Wednesday, January 22

Still no routine. Yesterday again led gymnastics in school; today Ivan Vasilenkov came to classes for the first time. On Monday took Tania, who got a job at the War Commission, to Dushatin. The administrative center is getting transferred to the Klintsi district. Another complication. Now more and more questions come up - whether to return to the country or the city.

Friday, January 31

Sick with the mumps. All swollen. Gradually getting used to serious work. Today I even did some algebra. <...>. The family continues to buy food. Purchased almost all the grains, so we will surely have the bread, but we still need to get lard, and we are getting potatoes bit by bit.

Tuesday, February 4

Letter from Sergei. He got the post of *volost* librarian with a very good salary. He is getting ready to enter the university in the fall. <...>. We got all the hay, around 13 cart loads, that is we have 1 per week. Very-very little.

Thursday, February 6

So, yesterday I had fun. There was a wedding at Beresens. Pimen gave Aleksandra in marriage. The bridegroom, from Boronkovskii, was quite poor. The wedding

was jolly. The guests – all of Moshevaya. I made two new acquaintances: Elena Stepanova Pileko (“Panna Galena”) and a teacher from Razritinskaya *volost*. <...>.

Now I am concerned with the question of organizing my affairs, education, and social life. Nothing is certain, of course, but it is not enough to rely on God alone. The major principles have to be observed and followed. Let’s look back. <...>.

Read the beginning of my 1917 diary and drew strength from it.

Monday, February 10

I got to Moshevoe in spite of everything. I walked there. I dropped by Father Andrei, drank a glass of tea with “bourgeois” pastry buns and became acquainted with a very sympathetic man, a teacher from Birovka, somebody called Fedorovich. We sat around and then went to buy tickets. At the theater (a former pub), lighting was poor, and it was stuffy and crowded. We left and went for a walk. We had an intimate chat and stopped by the *volost* center where it was warmer. I saw Comrade Kozlov who had been sent from the *uezd* to collect emergency taxes⁴¹⁾. The most typical young man who spoke in clichés. Went to the play. First was the Tolstoy short play “From Her Come All Qualities.” Then there was “The Bouquet.” They sang. Comrade Kozlov performed “The Life of One Jew Who Had Seven Daughters,” dressed as the lowest chansonnier. Comrade Dubrovski performed pieces concerning the latest news about “all the responsible Soviet workers.” There was a balalaika orchestra. That’s it. <...>. At the event, we wrote and exchanged notes. Terenti Pavlovich wrote me a note in which he asked if I wanted to teach. I answered evasively. <...>.

However, the question of work, and of what I am going to do in general, is a serious matter which preoccupies me. The circumstances need clarification.

Monday, February 17

On Saturday, February 15 I went to a party in Vlazovichi. We went with Aunt Ania on the stallion. <...>. Vlazovichi is a relatively large but intricate small village with a lovely church. Smacks of Chernigovschina with its little Russian wattle fences, etc. The school was marvelous. The height of the rooms was 5 ½ *arshin*^u. Huge windows. So, we entered the classroom. Poor lighting. A gramophone without a speaker; trumpet was playing. Everybody sat and listened. The folks from Dushatin: teachers, the military instructor A. Ya. Alekseenko with his daughter⁴²⁾, N. I. Obidennik, other women teachers from Vlazovo, and some others greeted Aunt Ania and me cordially.

I received more notes than anybody else. Unfortunately, all were anonymous. Obidennik was offering a teaching position. Dancing, playing, drinking tea, eating

u An *arshin* is equivalent to 28 inches.

dinner. I was eagerly invited into the Dushatin company. So, I accepted. <...>.

Wednesday, February 26

Papa came on Sunday and brought with him his colleague Zakopaiko, a singer and sound imitator. Now, our old clock from Petrograd is ticking in the house —our *domovoi*^v that protects the house and our family. He brought a new suit (enormous trousers and a jacket) from a tarpaulin which I got.

Tomorrow at school we are planning a performance of the second act of “The Inspector General,” Chekhov’s “A Malefactor,” and then Michael Nikolaevich Zakopaiko will sing along with his guitar and tell funny stories. And we will chat.

We cut down and carried more than 100 log poles.

Saturday, March 1

The performance on the 27th was terrific. <...>. Yesterday, there was another performance of Gavrilenska. <...> Today – a truly grand Maslenitsa^w. Everybody hung out at both Nikanoroviches’. Homebrew and music. Red faces and sparkling eyes. Serious intoxication <...>.

Monday, March 3

Great Lent is beginning <...>. By the way, we are planning to open a “cultural enlightenment circle” in Sigeevka. It is interesting to draw some diagrams. <The following diagrams reflect events of the times, the author of the diary’s participation in them, and the degree of interest.

A selection of the text is further written in code>.

Friday, March 7

<...>. By the way, what I wrote in code is foolish. It is dangerous to play with fire, but one should not become blind. Be careful. Remember the past. God let me get through this.

Sunday, March 9

The feldsher came yesterday and inoculated everyone against smallpox. There was a lot of commotion. However, everything was done properly, and only one person fainted.

Then with Aunt Ania, we went to Razrytaya. Stopped by the teacher’s <...>. Dushatin people often visited Razrytaya, for example, military instructor

^v A protective house spirit.

^w Celebration of the last week before Lent in the Russian Orthodox Church.

Alekseenko (See Vlazovich).

A “cultural enlightenment circle” is running at Sigeevka and today we encouraged girls to join. Let’s hope everything will improve.

Wednesday, March 12

I completely forgot to celebrate the anniversary of this diary. So, three years have passed. Massive changes. Petrograd, perhaps, will remain an enchanted dream. What role Sigeevka will play is still a question. I doubt that we will have to stay here forever. It would be unpleasant. The circumstances, however, do not let us have much choice.

Let’s sum up this third year: the whole year has passed without Papa. Papa left. Selling our belongings. The walk in Pargolovo. Talks about evacuation. Solitary stroll. Finished recruiting for “Beaver” (the memories of which make my nose itch.)

Papa’s arrival and departure for Moscow. The last walk to Lakhta. (Damn it, this is getting to me) The first theft. Departure. Unpleasant troubles on the road. Nizhnii<Novgorod> (a short magical dream, except for standing in the queues and horrible weather). Easter. A walk to the scouts. Nizhnii’s scouts. Searching for a room. The baggage has arrived. Departure for Sigeevka. Impressions of Moscow. A nightmare of a journey. Briansk, Unecha, Surazh. I had fallen ill. Arrival in Sigeevka. Endless exhausting illness. Boring, rainy, and unpleasant summer. Correspondence with Os. Mama has left for Moscow. We cook separately. Sick. Lesha and Alia in Surazh. The beginning of winter and my intellectual work. Lesha and Alia have arrived. Christmas. The turning point. Holiday celebration at Aunt Ania’s and our secular, worldly life. Many acquaintances. Papa has returned. Maslenitsa. The Lent. Much spiritual growth.

Monday, March 17

My education is going nowhere. The year is lost. Well, hell with it!

On Friday, I was in Moshevaya. Went to the *volost* and asked for advice from E<lina> S<tefanovna> which books were suitable for the “circle of cultural enlightenment.” Then to school. I have taken a few books. Among them, *The Foundation of Sociology* by Spenser.

According to Aunt Ania, my shares stand sufficiently high everywhere. Sadly, it is hard to follow the rates. By the way, here is the list of my acquaintances: <further listing around 30 surnames>. <Writing for a few days in code>.

Monday, March 31

Bound a new diary. It doesn’t look so good. The paper is poor, yet the diary

reflects the times. What will be written on these pages?

Friday, April 4

Spring is coming. Yesterday and today have been sunny. For quite a while the lapwings have come and gathered on the mountain and near Klinna. The snow is melting, but brooks have not yet been formed. It is already dirty in the village. It will soon be necessary to think about our kitchen garden. We threshed the buckwheat which had stayed the whole winter in the *ovin*⁴³). I had thrown it down from the loft.

Sunday, April 6

Spring, the Devil take it! Left the garden - the moon and the stars. Spring fog, white night, and the murmur of water from the melting snow. It usually goes away quickly. Today, we had the first spring rain. Oh, if only Sergei was here. Being together is better... We could have wandered and dreamed!

Saturday, April 12

The snow is almost gone from the field. Today was so warm that Lesha and I wore only our shirts while we stripped the log poles. The cranes are flying, the storks have been here for about three days. Breathing freely, but, sadly, my memories are overwhelming me. Today at lunch we were thinking about Vas'ka and 'Co,' <see footnote 31> our last stroll, Nizhnii and other things. Exactly a year. So, what's next? All of this will be forgotten and consumed in eternity. How sad. <...>.

Monday, April 14

Yesterday, I went to Moshevoe. I wanted to go in the morning, but Gregoroy Petrovich caught me, and so I worked until lunch (I am the bookkeeper of the co-operative). Finally, I was ready to go. I got a ride to Gavrilinka and then walked fast. <...>. Stopped by the bank, got a curry comb and soap <...>. Then went to Serafina Ivanovna and borrowed books (Jack London, Conan Doyle, Strindberg). Three of us - the Krimskiis and I - set off <home>, and what's more, the mother drove. The evening was heavenly. The sky was blue and tinged with green, the moon, and the silvery trees.

Saturday, April 19

Holy Saturday! Sodom and Gomorrah! The stove man is plastering the stove, and Mama is baking, frying, and boiling. Enormous mess.

Yesterday Tania and I were in Dushatin. Had a productive and jolly time. Very busy. Ran about seven versts around Dushatin. Got everything done. Got the money. Went to the church - the service was solemn. Visited the blacksmith. Got

some sugar, etc. By chance, landed up at A. Ya. <Alekseenko>. His little apartment was charming. Two rooms perfectly plastered, airy, bright, and cheerful. Sat a while. Chatted and drank tea. Got ready to leave. <A further excerpt is written in code.>

Monday, April 28

We began dividing up the property with <the relatives> and split the *yar*⁴⁴ and the estate. Today I already started ploughing the field...

Tuesday, April 29

I will be keeping a record of my work. On the 26th, began ploughing the vegetable garden. On the 28th, I ploughed the area near the “cemetery,” and I finished on the 29th. Today, finally, after a period of bad weather, it is clear and sunny. In the evening, there’ll be a performance. After this - the constant routine of work all summer. <...>. In the summer, preparation for the winter, and therefore for our future. In winter, I hope to find a job nearby, but teaching is not for me.

Tried sleeping in the attic. Quite tolerable.

Thursday, May 1

Yesterday, we ploughed the soil near the well and began working near the bridge. Today we ploughed “the bridge.”

Completely forgot about my birthday. Goodness. <...>. I am now 17 and am going into my eighteenth year. The Devil take it! My youth won’t last forever. The work is now a well-oiled routine. One of these days, we will sow potatoes in our vegetable garden. Then in the field, and so things will get going. Wish we could finish sowing the early summer corn soon and then have a break.

1919

Sigeevka.

I am beginning a third notebook. Poor quality paper, no cover, and by the way, I will be describing the eighteenth year of my life here. Will the direction of my life become clearer?

Mama became acquainted with A. Ya. (Alekseenko), and he invited us over. When we arrived, we learned that his wife had gotten sick. We didn’t feel comfortable, so we didn’t stay long and left. Nothing more to write. Generally, one ponders and suffers less when there is no time.

Sunday, May 11

Finished the ploughing. Turned out not that difficult. Already on Wednesday

evening we finished sowing the potatoes in the vegetable garden. Off to Dushatin. Slept in the hayloft. In the morning took the blacksmith's wheel and plow and went to the *volost*.

Wednesday, May 21

On the 12th went to Surazh to go to the *zemstvo*^x but, as I found out over the telephone that nobody was getting anything there, I stopped and remained in Dushatin. Saw Shandra and was invited. We sat and chatted and had a snack. <...>.

Went to the Alekseenkos. <Further text is written in code>. There is no trace of the mood that I had at the end of March <...>.

Finishing the vegetable garden. We've done a lot. We sowed potatoes in the field (20 funts) and peas (20 pounds).

It is hard to write in this diary - the paper is bad. However, if I keep writing about something nice, I will make up for this.

Wednesday, June 4

<...>. Dushatin figures prominently in my life. Lately I've had to spend a lot of time there. So, I wander around, visit people, etc. <Further text is written in code>.

We finished sowing the oats yesterday (8 measures), and the millets on Friday (5 funts)^y. We still have to plant barley and buckwheat. So, things are moving along. <...>.

Wednesday, June 18

Rain and so we have a little break. <...>. Not much of a rest. On Sunday, I was in Dushatin, but the trip accomplished little.

Saturday, June 21

Yesterday and today I have stayed at home. An abscess on my foot. Tomorrow, in all likelihood, there will be a performance in Dushatin. I am going. <Further written in code.> If the performance takes place, then it will be, so to speak, the finale of my exploits in Dushatin.

I was surprised, after looking over the last few days of this diary, that I hadn't written about my important trip to Klintsy.

It went like this. Having received permission from Mama, I got ready on

x A *zemstvo* is a local council.

y A funt is approximately one pound.

Wednesday before Pentecost. I thought I could reach Surazh by nightfall, but I couldn't. It started raining heavily near Dushatin. I hid my boots under my arm and aimed straight for a hamlet. Got to the Alekseenkos through their vegetable garden. I got dried off a bit, and I was dragged to the rehearsal where I had a lot of fun. Spent the night at the Bashlakoviis in the *punia*⁴⁵⁾. Early in the morning (everyone was still asleep), I left Dushatin and arrived in Surazh at 7. I rested at Olympiada Ivanovna's for about an hour and got moving. The road wasn't bad. I soon took off my shoes and went barefoot until Klintsii. I passed by Belovodka, Kulagi and Kazhuch and others. Saw the opulent dacha of the former official Sapozhkov. Near the evening I was approaching Klintsi. I found Orekhovka and also Petr Bashlakov. Dirty, rough, and unpleasant. Papa came⁴⁶⁾. We had dinner and went to bed. I liked Klintsii. Little houses and lots of green. The people—Old Believers and Jews. We left there only on Saturday around evening. Went straight to Kosich.

The trip was heroic. Left a little late. We walked and walked until we reached Smolevich. So here we drank a *gorlach*⁴⁷⁾ of baked milk for 30 rubles. Rested and moved on further. Soon Papa took off his shoes and walked barefoot on the road for the rest of the trip. The weather was becoming gloomy. We were approaching Subovichii - the wonderful and vast view to the valley of the River Iput'. On the horizon, one could see the Kosich's mill. It was getting dark. We were walking along the flood meadows. Here was the Iput'. It was drizzling, and darkness had fallen. The nightingales were singing loudly and on the other shore, the fire was burning on the little ferry boat. In the rain (Papa had already fallen twice), we crossed by boat in the company of two other people going to Kosich. Papa fell for the third time. We found our relative Zakharov. Supper with milk and to bed. In the morning, were completely exhausted but moved on further. Here was Andreevka, Grakhovka, Sencha, Sosnovets, a busla's nest⁴⁸⁾, our garden and we were home. <Attached is a map of our journey>.

Wednesday, June 25

Sunday, I attended the performance in Dushatin. Visited the Alekseenkos. Things were gloomy there. A<leksei> Ya<kovlevich> has been called up to Klintsii. The performance began at 10 in the evening.

Thursday, June 26

The theater was located in the former barn across the river. It was a little dark, but not bad, and the stage was well made. The play "Live Not as You Would Like To."^z Roles: Old Father-Fedos Sukhoverkhii, His Son - Vasilii Obiidennik, The

z A play written by Alexander Ostrovsky in 1854–1855.

Aunt - Milia Alekseenko, The Wife of the Son—Katia Abramenko⁴⁹⁾, Young Grusha - Hanna Friedlander⁵⁰⁾ and others.

The actors' make-up was magnificent. Pretty good acting. Then, a few people danced, and we all chatted.

Thursday, July 2

Times flies crazy fast. Next week it is the time for plowing. Today we plowed potatoes.

Sunday again was in Dushatin.

I keep landing up there because I always have some errands. Went to the post office to attend the meeting of the "Circle of Cultural Enlightenment." <The rest of the text is written in code>.

Tuesday, July 15

Was in Dushatin the day before yesterday. On Saturday, I set off after lunch, visited the rehearsal. We had a walk in the evening. <The rest of the text is written in code>.

Monday, July 21

The haying began. Will start harvesting in a week (fortunately, *zhito*⁵¹⁾, thank heaven, is very good.) Yesterday, again in Dushatin. On Thursday, (the 4th in the old style - my name day). Katia and Milia visited us.

Let me tell you how everything has happened. On Tuesday in Sigeevka folks decided to mow "the mountain," and so 50 people gathered. I did too. In spite of the wet weather, we mowed a lot, covering in a day about 15 desiatin. We spent Thursday moving the hay. I got around 30 poods. Already on Sunday, when there was the performance, I invited guests. On Thursday, as I was standing on the cart in a proletarian outfit, I watched, from the height of my grandeur, Tania, Milia, and Katia parading toward our house. So, we had some tea at home in the garden, chatted, then sat around in school, had dinner, Uncle Kolia played, and we danced in the moonlight. They spent the night at school and in the morning. I walked with them to Mikhailovka and thus, ended my name day.

Monday, July 28

All last week I had been mowing. Yesterday I went with Aleksei to Surazh. Took care of educational matters there. I got acquainted with K. Locks⁵²⁾, and then went to the <Teachers'> Seminary to see Deineke. In two weeks, I am going again to finally arrange everything. <The studies> start on 1 September. We will all meet and talk. Then, in the evening strolled in Dushatin. After the rehearsal, we all went to the woods. We sang bass and went wild. We parted early. Spent the night in the

hayloft and was home by breakfast.

Tuesday, August 5

Oh, again in Dushatin, yes Dushatin. At home, they are already frowning. So be it. The situation is not very pleasant. For example, on Saturday, on Ilyin Day⁵³, we were raking the hay. Soon after lunch, I left for the performance in Dushatin. The overall mood now is the following: I was just living from Sunday to Sunday. However, time flows by so quickly because of all that work. <Further writing in code>.

I got fed up with doing only physical work. I am longing for a change, for intellectual work.

Maybe the time when I got excited about every small tree and the smallest forest, will come again. Now...the devil knows what. You are coming back from the fields in good weather, a beautiful sunset, the whole village is rose colored. Oak trees are scattered in the field, and buckwheat is in bloom. I can see, but I don't feel anything as if I am locked in a shell and looking at things through a dirty window. My senses are dull. <...>. I wish I could study, read, exchange thoughts with intelligent people. The time when I had many acquaintances has passed. Now, I have to look for someone with whom I could chat intimately, speak on intelligent topics. <...>.

For the second half of the winter, I again grew spiritually and arrived at a new level. There is no trace of that emptiness that I used to have. If I only had time to read but I will soon, perhaps. One day it rained all day. I lay about in the attic. Gloomy thoughts ran through my head. I am in my eighteenth year when one should run around, enjoying beauty, one's youth, falling in love, going crazy but all I have is never ending physical labor and such things. I am feeling sad, almost tearful, longing for something elegant in the spirit of Rostand^{aa}, reading exquisite stories, comfort, good music, and just everything that encompassed our previous bourgeois existence. Damn it. I am sad.

No news from Sergei. Perhaps he is under Denikin^{ab}. What a pity. We have enough food for now. Thank God, the bread will help us survive. We have some groats. But we are nearing the end of the lard.

Tuesday, August 12

Awful weather. Only yesterday, did it clear so we began bringing in the hay. Transported 4 carts of hay. Today sun and rain. Overcome by boredom from doing

aa Edmond Rostand (1868–1918), French poet and author of "Cyrano de Bergerac."

ab Anton Ivanovich Denikin (1872–1947) was a General in the Imperial Russian army and leader of the Whites during the Russian Civil War.

nothing. Idle thoughts are going through my head, gloomy and dull.

Friday, August 15

We have had 2 weeks of continually horrible weather, and the hay is rotting in the field. The day before yesterday I had a fever. Yesterday I just lay about most of the day, but I am better today.

Sunday, September 21

I haven't written for a whole month. Work has been continuous. For a while, the weather has been excellent, and the days are clear and warm. We gathered the hay, sifted out the corn, and transported *yar*⁵⁴. Ground most of it. Finished digging the potatoes. Tomorrow we will deal with the hayloft. We stocked it just like Samonov. Put a little hay into the hayloft near the "bridge" and onto the threshing floor. We have around 600–700 poods. We collected 4 carts of buckwheat, threshed and got 20 measures. We have 2 poods of peas and 29 measures of corn.

We sowed about 17 poods of corn. Gathered around 13 carts of manure. We dug potatoes for a whole week. We dug up 10 carts from the field, and these potatoes were good. We had also gotten 10 poods from the vegetable garden.

We have plenty to eat, and we are calm. I still don't know when I will go to Surazh.

Sunday, October 5

Well, here I am in Surazh. I came today. I found this apartment a while ago. It is at the end of the world; the owners are simple peasants. I shared the apartment with two sympathetic boys.

Tuesday, October 7

Yesterday we had classes <in school>. We are the only two boys among 15 girls. We already had lessons in physics, literature, and French. We kept going over what I had known for a while. After classes, I dug up some acquaintances from Sigeevka and stayed with them all evening. Talked, laughed, and then went home along Red <Street>. Ran into Katia Abramenko in the company of Milia and Lida.

Thursday, October 20

Let this diary serve as a record of these times. I get up with the sun, drink tea, and read until lunch and then go to the gymnasium. There, it is relatively boring until the evening; then, I chat with friends after dinner and go to sleep. I am thinking of transferring to another gymnasium. It is foolish, indeed, to review the basics when I could have been moving ahead.

Saturday, October 25

Damn it, on the way here, I was thinking of staying almost until Christmas, but it turns out that it's hard to be away from home and remain here even for a week. I still don't take care if my feet well enough.

Tuesday, October 28

Yesterday, I came <from Sigeevka> in bast^{ac} shoes. In the evening, at the Peoples' House, there was an interesting rally. Our comrade, Berezkin, said very interesting things. His heartfelt cry against the philistinism of the crowd filled the hall. He protested: "You aren't people, not men... You see what is happening so why don't you choose which side you are on? Do not be non-partisan. If you sympathize with the Whites – join them; if you sympathize with the Reds – here and now, join the Communists!" He called out to the youth, to the intelligentsia, complained and screamed, slapping this unmovable bourgeois crowd in the face. I left positively bewildered.

Today I applied for a transfer to a co-ed gymnasium.

Sunday evening <in Sigeevka> I went to see Aunt Ania at school. We spoke about Surazh. I complained about my solitude. And it is true that I haven't had a best friend recently. Not for the past one and a half years. Bad. But, perhaps, I will find someone in the new school. <The rest is written in code>.

Friday, October 31

It looks almost like winter. The snow has been falling since nighttime, a strong wind. No activities. Nothing to see. I am reading but without a system. And I don't know from which side I should approach and grab my life by the collar.

Life now, generally speaking, is not fun. Food shortages. Watery borscht, bad potatoes, almost without bread and only a few beans.

My head doesn't work well. I am not feeling so well.

Tuesday, November 11

Haven't written for more than a week. Last Saturday I went home in spite of everything, as I had run out of cabbage and potatoes. So, after the second class, I ran. Of course, in bast shoes. On the way, I bumped into Fedos, so we went along together. There was an enormous amount of snow, which covered the road, and it was very hard to walk. In Dushatin, I dropped off Milia's letter at the Alekseenkos, rested and moved on. Then things got even worse. Between Mikhailovka and Sigeevka, there was not even a trace of the <road> and I had to wade through the snow.

ac Shoes generally fashioned from tree bark or other vegetable materia.

In the morning, it was decided that I would sit out the week at home. Twice I went to the woods and then to Kosich to thresh the groats. <...>.

On Saturday, there was a performance in Dushatin. We went with Aleksei on the stallion. It wasn't so bad. Came by the Alekseenkos. Turned out that the performance had already begun a while ago. We only caught the end of the play "Poverty Is No Vice"^{ad} and the divertimento. The mood was jolly and carefree. By the way, it was not performed in the barn but in the Pan's House^{ae}. It was perfect for dancing.

Like all changes, the week at home was pleasant. The day <at home> goes like this: everybody is up at six, watering the horses and feeding the cattle (we also have someone else's cows at our place.) Breakfast. Then working until lunch. Lunch. Watering and feeding the cattle. Soon the evening comes, giving food to the animals, and then I sleep.

Yesterday, I arrived in Surazh with Aleksei. Went to the co-ed gymnasium for the first time. The class is big and noisy, just like in a real men's educational institution. I saw some familiar faces: Fedos, Lida, Franchuk, Sergei Abramenko. How do I discover common interests?

Wednesday, November 12

Nothing really important. Pavlovich <the teacher> is unchangeable. He will never become a good teacher. Still no mathematics teacher. Evidently, I have fallen out of the frying pan into the fire. To hell with them.

The general mood is extremely lousy. I am longing for physical and intellectual discipline, but don't know how to start. I wish I would not depend on external circumstances in my overall development. I am reading about the philosophy of the yogis. It is pretty obscure but has something in it.

Friday, November 28

The mood is bad. Intense skepticism, complete absence of a fulcrum, no interest in life. In a word, the devil knows what is happening! I even don't know how to creep out of this swamp, what to do. How such a comrade as Sergei could have helped. I don't have enough spirit, and I have lost my ability to focus. This is the trouble. I feel sort of stupid.

Wednesday, December 10

A bit of a shake-up. In the past week, on Wednesday I walked home and missed

ad A play by Alexander Ostrovsky and written in 1863.

ae "Pan" is a Ukrainian landowner or a polite form of address for a gentleman.

classes because I stayed there until Monday when, in spite of the awful weather, we went back to Surazh, dragging along on foot.

Coming to class. There are some elections. I am asking that they clarify that they are choosing delegates from Surazh, who are non-partisan, to go to the conference. 6 people have been selected, and I am among them. The following day I received a mandate. In the evening, there is a meeting. By the way, Foma is also a delegate.

Comrades Berezkin, Agranovskii, and Zuckerman from the organizational commission are opening the session. They announced two lists of candidates for the Presidium, and I figure on both. We are going onto the stage. Comrade Berezkin speaks about the issues of the day. The Komsomol^{af} offers a resolution⁵⁵⁾ and Shubov <from our school> presents his own, where he speaks against the dictatorship of the communists. A horrific hubbub. “Counterrevolution!” howls Berezkin. The whole matter smells of the breakup of the conference and the Cheka⁵⁶⁾. Shubov cuts out the part about the “dictatorship of the communists.” “Coward!” the others yell. Komsomol’s resolution wins (24 and 30).

Friday, December 12

The next day of the conference was more peaceful. <...>. The final resolution called for organization of the non-party group of workers of culture based in the school division of the RKSM. Thus, one representative from each 2nd degree school, from the Peoples’ Education Division, would join the Bureau. I was chosen from my school.

Sunday, December 14

Recently, I have become more of a leftist but my reluctance to submit to party discipline keeps me from joining the party. Strictly speaking, important business devolves around the Communist Party and the Komsomol. In the Komsomol, I was “tamed.” I think I will have a promising comrade—Lev Agranovskii. Now I often go there to read. I am no longer so pessimistic about the Komsomol. Foma also landed at the Bureau.

Tuesday, December 16

The 14th was the first Sunday which I spent in Surazh. Went to the Abramenskos to study mathematics. From there - to the Komsomol. I ran into Emelian Egorovich at market. He brought the note and parcel from my home. They sent linen, a chicken,

af The Russian Communist Union of Youth, also known as the RKSM.

money, and a book of the Kommunar^{ag}. I had already received my ration of 2 ½ pounds of sugar and as much salt, and matches. They promised clothing, soap, and rubber soles.

Spent some pleasant time in an intimate conversation with Agronovskii at the Komsomol. Yesterday, Voronov arrived with the jackets, and he will be giving them away today.

The first session of the Bureau of the Non-Party Collective of Workers of Culture -very interesting. Many practical and useful tasks. In general, I am beginning to see life in a new light. I was elected as the president of the Bureau. It seems my world view is dramatically changing. I now realize my view of the recent and not so recent past was naïve. My old diaries are the pinnacle of this naiveté.

What bothers me is that I am not reading systematically. Nor I am doing gymnastics - also bad.

After long warm spells, the cold has taken over. The jackets were timely.

Tuesday, December 23

Went home on Saturday. The trip was hard. Lots of events at home. A detachment of 40 men with a machine gun came to chase the deserters⁵⁷⁾. Nicolai Latutin was beaten.

We sold the foal for 17,000. We haven't found a new one yet.

Thursday, December 25

An odd thing happened. A future lesson for me. I received boots from the landlord's man Ivan, and it was written on the sole "I am asking for a 250 ruble raise." Itchy fingers.

Sunday, December 28

Meetings and rehearsals this week. However, the meeting of the circle for school reform, which was scheduled for Friday, failed miserably because of obvious sabotage.

The Lecture Circle of the Non-Party Collective of Teachers began its work. Several lectures will be presented this week. <the rest is in code>.

1920

Monday, January 5

So, I have been home almost a week already. On the last say in Surazh, I had to

ag Commune member.

conduct three sessions. My letter home was never sent, so I took to my heels. The cold was intense.

On Friday, I cut firewood in the forest, on behalf of the community. On Saturday, I carried and cut. Yesterday in the morning, I set off for Dushatin. Mailed a parcel and went to two rehearsals and returned at night.

Sunday, January 11

On Christmas Eve, I went to the fair in Surazh. I went in bast shoes into the world, in other words, like a peasant. The road was excellent. I left the horse in Yudovich's yard and went to the fair. 32 thousand rubles in my pocket for a horse. I saw Levon Ivanovich Kolosovskii and asked him to help me to pick the horse. Little choice. We walked around, looked, scouted, found, and bought for 25 ½ thousand. The mare was good.

On the second day of the holiday went to Dushatin. Dropped by the Alekseenkos' and then straight off to the *Economia*⁵⁸). No rehearsal. Chatted and began to put on make-up, and then the performance began. It went well but the rehearsals were jollier.

On the third day, we brought the hay and yesterday, we went to the forest.

Monday, January 18

I celebrated the New Year in Dushatin. Yesterday, I was in Surazh. Found out that the classes were delayed until February 1.

Thursday, January 22

Went today to Pan'kovskaya Buda^{ah} with Uncle Sasha on his new horse. We left at 6 in the morning. It was quiet and freezing a bit. Passed Boronki - the sun was rising. The horse sped along. In Tereshchin we cut three oak trees.

Sunday, February 8

Sitting in my new apartment, writing.

Monday, February 9

A new season in Surazh began. Yesterday we arrived here with a fully loaded cart. I stayed in Dushatin. Got my salary and went to see "the sick servant of God," Melania <Milia>.

Today the gymnasium is in full swing. All in its place. Received an invitation to a party, but I don't know if I am going <Further in code>. Must sketch my artistic impressions from Tereshchin.

ah A village in the Kostakovchskii in Mogilevskaya district. Oblast is a territorial unit.

Still dark. Lights in the village windows. A little cart in front of the porch, densely stuffed with fragrant hay. After eating quickly, I am told to bundle up and sit down. Uncle takes the reins in his hands: "Go, fellow!" And off we go. The village flashes by. As we are leaving, I could feel a fresh wind, barely shaking the dead birch branches in the cemetery. It's half-light. The sky is veiled in darkness, and only straight ahead, above the silhouette of forest, gleamed two or three stars. The horse moved at a steady pace. Its spleen throbbed slightly. The cold gets to your skin. You are huddling up and thrust your hands deeper into the pockets.

Then the stars in the forest have faded. It's brighter over there. The blackening spot of the cemetery in the distance is in the village which we had to cross. We are getting closer and closer. A small spark gleams, then another, then the dark spots of clumsy threshing floors, covered with heavy coats of snow. In the already yellowish background of the sky, a slender silhouette of the windmill with its intricate unmoving blades has been outlined. Here is a fence of the kitchen gardens, two or three newly cut log cabins, and the sound of the frozen street ringing out under horseshoes. Already the sun is coming up. The East is turning red. The rain cloud is retreating. Here and there around the village, I hear the screech of the opening gates. People are going to the forest. The snow is creaking under the horses' feet once more. We have passed through the village. Again, the threshing floors are floating behind us. We have to turn and take a side street. The main road, with birch trees on its sides, bears to the right. Lots of other carts have already gathered behind and in front of us. The little horses, harnessed to their old sleighs, are trotting very fast.

Thursday, February 12

The day before yesterday was the party at the Abramenkos. *Tout a fait intime*⁵⁹⁾, around 30 people. I had to force Aleksei to come but, at the end, he even found company, and by the way, the most interesting one - Liuba Rashkess⁶⁰⁾, daughter of the Abramenkos' neighbors. She is no more than 14-15, but very grown-up and highly intelligent, stylish, and pretty. She is one of the victims of war - a refugee from Vilnius, where her father, now deceased, was, evidently, a well-off man. She is self-possessed and tactful. She dances beautifully since she has been taught by a ballet master. Lesha joined her and started talking. From all of those around her, she favors three of us (she already met Alia and Lesha last year), likes Katia a bit, without a doubt, Milia - that's it. She is opinionated and a sophisticated little devil. It would not hurt Aleksei to talk with her more often.

Thinking more and more about the intelligentsia. How few of these people are around! Even less than the fingers on my hands.

Thursday, February 19

Foma, Andrei and I finished the Komsomol questionnaire yesterday. On the whole, the union this week has been going brilliantly.

In the evening, there was a concert. A rare delight in these times. And I truly enjoyed it. Violin, piano, singing, and ballet. Besides, right near me sat Enya Kagan and Liuba Rashkess. Lesha has made a good choice.

Tuesday, February 24

I, Foma, and Andrei were accepted as the members of <the Komsomol>. I was appointed to the Workers' Council, which has been organized in order to fight epidemics and insufficient fuel, and I had to jump right in. We will see.

Wednesday, February 25

Damn, I am having doubts about the work of the Komsomol. It seems, that there is too much talk and too little is done.

Aleksei is writing more now, and his poems come out brilliantly.

Sergei Abramenko joined the Komsomol.

Wednesday, March 10

Spring is in full bloom. It unexpectedly stole up on us. The snow is almost gone. The fog and awful weather have done their business. The streams are now flowing, covering the road. The river Klina and other little rivers are also flowing. Lots of water everywhere.

Today is a wonderful day. In the morning, however, it's frozen up a bit, but the sky is blue, and the sun is shining. From the porch of the house, you can see far in the distance, nearby clusters of pines and the road to Mglin. Bright spots of snow are glistening in the sun.

The mood is good, and I want to change my life, which has been rather empty. I wish to make it full of content. I often think about a beautiful, meaningful life, so that, in every step, I can find beauty every minute and savor aesthetic pleasure. Obviously, spring encourages these ideas.

In school, the most interesting thing now is my psychology lessons. Much of them are useful.

Saturday, March 13

In the evening in the Komsomol, there was a bit of panic among those in power. It turns out that the Poles are threatening Gomel. If they take over, we will have to run. But reassuring news came from Klintzi over the telephone.

Wednesday, March 17

I received an interesting offer to be the assistant manager in the Union of Co-operatives' book division. Tomorrow, probably, I will be running home to find out the details of the position.

Monday, March 22

I went home and figured everything out.

Wednesday, March 24

This evening, Agranovski and I are going to Klintzi for the district congress of the RCUY⁶¹⁾. Lev Agranovski is soon leaving for Nikolaev. I was enmeshed with the Komsomol. One of the most active workers. Lots of work. It is upsetting that you can't do much with the masses.

Sunday, March 26

Yesterday, I came by foot from Klintzi. The congress was not so good. There was a total of approximately 15 people from 5 organizations. We fell short of 3 organizations. It turned out that our organization was the best. The newly-elected UCOM⁶²⁾ is pretty bad because there are no real workers.

Thursday, April 1

Damn it! The illusions that have seemed so real are now crashing tumultuously. Sad, disappointing, and on and on.

When I arrived first time to ask Mama about work, it seemed that she agreed. For a week and a half, I lived thinking about this and suddenly - no, no, no. Damn it! Of course, to spend the summer in Surazh is selfish. But it is not as egoistical considering the decline of my intellectual activity during the summer, the fact that I will have to start all over and study a lot in the winter and prepare myself for the future. And here, once again, I will be in the dirt, among the croaking frogs, stagnation of the countryside, and the slime...

Monday, April 5

The season has begun. Yesterday I was in Dushatin and had the same impression as last year. We managed to wander around the park, walk in the woods, play Gorelka^{ai} and Rope.

Friday, April 9

Work is coming little by little. We have finished the firewood. It is still too early to

ai Gorelka is an old Slavic game based on a song and resembling the game Catch.

plow.

On Tuesday, we went with Andrei to Surazh. There was military action there. Some tumult in Lialichi and Drokov. At Surazh, things looked most normal. Sonia Shukova at her gate, Haikin and Risia Zaitzeva are together, Cherniak, Zlotnikov Chaim are talking about graduation. On the following day, wandered around the market, went to the fair, saw the Agranovskiis, Golod, and many others.

Here's the plan of action. In summer, I will prepare my bread for the winter and develop physically and in the winter, I will be working and use the earned money for "equipment."

And then - what will be will be. The mood is upbeat with hope for the future. <The rest is in code>.

Thursday, April 22

Coming and going. We have enough to do. We finished sowing the potatoes in the kitchen garden, and now are sowing barley. We took 17 carts of manure for the barley and 8 carts for potatoes in the kitchen garden. <...> .

On Thursday, went on the bay horse to Kostiukovichi. Got the plow from the Soviet repair shop. Gave 1 pood and 15 pounds of grain and 1600 rubles in cash. The road back was splendid. I didn't rush, sitting peacefully in the cart and looking at the literature I had received from the Komsomol in Kostiukovichi. The day was lovely. The road often went along the Tereshina. What beauty! The woods were straight out of a Shishkin painting!^{aj} <...>.

In terms of the current state of morality, life is not easy. All around, the communists are criticized, there are revolts, and people are waiting for the fall of the RCP⁶³) with malice, (as the Party had been named from 1919 to 1925.) They say that the minority is ruling, but the majority rule would be even worse, so, welcome to the minority. <...>.

Wednesday, April 28

Today I am lying in bed, so I am in a good-humored, philosophical mood. Yesterday and the day before travelled to Panki. A good trip. On Monday, ploughed until lunch and then went on to Panki. Spent the night in Buda at Levchenka's. That damn village! In the morning went on foot to Panki. What a road! Across the densest forest of Tereschina. What beauty! Now is the best time to be here. The leaves are tender and aromatic. The oak is only thinking about blossoming. As I was walking along the road, I imagined myself ten centuries ago, when such roads were travelled by provincial forest princes who collected their

^{aj} Ivan Ivanovich Shishkin (1832–1898) was a landscape painter and a member of the Perevijniki ("The Wanderers").

tribute in twigs and wild honey. By the way, to complete the picture here's also a hole in the ancient pine's trunk <the beehive in its hollow>. With each turn in the road, new combinations of forest species. Here's the aspen, here's the oak, and here in the mossy swamp is the thin northern pine. A clearing. A flat bright-green glade, variegated with yellow flowers. In the middle, wriggles up to its edges black, slowly flowing water of the seemingly bottomless river. That glade - a swampy bog. It seems as if a moose, or an aurochs or a bison would come out on a little hill there. But the time has passed. It's impossible to find even a chicken hut.

In Panki, a dam, a solid lake, fringed by the forest. I had to wait for a long time. I took a nap for an hour or so in the neighboring copse. I got the money according to an old rate, of course. I was pretty tired.

Thursday, April 29

<...>. Today I've turned 18-years-old - adulthood according to the new law. Now I can do lots of foolish things: I can marry, join the RCP, or other wonders. On this day last year, there was a performance at our Sigeevka; two years ago - I was sitting in the train car, leaving Petrograd for a new life; three years ago, a dancing ball with music.

Monday, May 9

<...>. Monday and Tuesday, we ploughed. On Tuesday evening went to Dushatin, spent the night at the Abramensos' place, stopped by the Alekseenkos in the morning and then set off to Surazh in the rain. <...>. Found my school diploma and other papers. Went to the Komsomol. There are a few problems there. The committee is getting re-elected almost every day. No workers. Lev is in Gomel.

In the evening walked along Red Street. Saw Liuba Rashkess, and we walked around for a while talking about high-minded matters. She is developed well beyond her years, already tortured by "damned" questions and so on. Our conversation took on the most cordial character, and we said goodbyes very satisfied with each other.

Saturday, May 22

The weekdays went by in continuous work. Planted the potatoes, as well as millet and peas. Now is the time for oats. However, for me, maybe this won't happen. Foma and I are getting mobilized for work in Surazh. Sergei Abramenko, Usharov, Gladchenko and Scherbatov went to the front under the united mobilization. They are giving us 2 ½ thousand rubles salary, living space in a dorm, food, which is quite poor, and a promise to find a place with rations for us.

In Surazh I attended the celebration of Ascension Day with Alia. From Dushatin

we walked with Milia.

Tuesday, May 25

Writing already from Surazh. The mood is not great. I doubt that I will be able to tear myself away from here. I will try. Now there must be a small re-evaluation of values. There will be a lot of work for me and Foma.

Wednesday, May 26

Everything is finding its own groove. Here's how our day has been going by so far. We are not getting up that early (I got my notebooks, so we will be getting up earlier to study.) Going to the Komsomol, then lunch in the cafeteria, then the bath, the dorms, the Komsomol, Red <Street>, and to sleep. In the dorm, life is tolerable. Foma and I have a separate room, and I was appointed by the Peoples' Education as the Commandant of the building, with a salary.

On Sunday, there was a conference on cultural enlightenment and of the Komsomols of the district. In general, we are planning to fix everything up, as much as we can, and then flee.

Saturday, May 29

Yesterday there was a general meeting where I began organizing the club. Today was "Subbotnik,"^{ak} kind of a failure.

We didn't get the ration food, yet we received a temporary allowance from the Rabcoop, of 3 pounds of salt, 2 pounds of sugar, 2 boxes of matches, and 5 pounds of bread. Thanks a lot! At today's prices all of this is equal to about 6 thousand rubles. On Tuesday, we will receive potatoes, sugar, and salt at the dorm. In general, life is tolerable when we are not hungry.

Thursday, June 3

Stuck up to my ears. Boris Agranovskii arrived and livened up the atmosphere which is beginning to get stale. The organization is asleep. The committee has to do all the work.

Sunday, June 13

Managed to break free! But not without some trouble. On Sunday, walked home. On Wednesday, went again to Surazh with Aleksei to finish up some business and had to stay on. We fought there fiercely, but things were getting worse. On the following day, an urgent meeting was called to deal specifically with our question. We, of course, did not waste any time and were "strengthening" the social opinion

ak Volunteer work day on Saturday.

in our favor. We thought, at least, of asking about a few months' leave <the work is waiting for us at the village!> but the day's agenda was "Of Demobilization," etc. and the problem was solved. No one objected. Tsukerman, fortunately, was not there.

Such a burst of individualism arose from the immutable order to stay! Everything was about to go bad because we talked on and on with little thought. In any case, I am home now and will have to be smarter in the future.

On the last day in Surazh, talked a lot with Monia Yudovich. Good boy.

Saturday, June 19

We have been working the whole week. Brought and sawed 4 logs into boards, which were very solid. They were expensive: 1 pood of bread and 8750 rubles in cash. 21 boards are more than enough for a barn.

Severe drought, still no rain at all. One more week like this - summer corn will disappear. Then we will be hungry for the whole year. It stinks.

Tuesday, June 22

Took a breather in these last two days. On Monday, went with Uncle Sasha to Surazh and then to Monia's. However, I will most likely be in Moscow. Went back on foot. Stopped at Fedos in Dushatin, shaved, and had a meal, and we talked. Then went to the Alekseenkos and stayed there until dark.

Thursday, June 24

Today, at last, we had a lot of rain with a promise of more. Haven't begun the manure yet. I am working on the peat. Carried 15 cart loads today.

The new potato is almost ripe. Already tasted it. The crisis, therefore, is over. The lard is almost finished and, since we have been eating it little by little since December 4, its time has come.

Must strike some sort of balance. Compare last summer with this summer. I dare say that there is more work, and it is serious. This year I can really relax on Sunday. No aimless gadding about and idleness for now.

I am very close with the Alekseenkos, and this year I have made some new friends from among the farmers.

What should I say about my spiritual life? It flows along steadily, with few upheavals. Progress undoubtedly. I am becoming more and more settled and goal oriented. Spiritual maturity is not far away, even though I am still a bit of a child. <...>.

Generally speaking, if I manage to go to Moscow, I need to take advantage of the time I have left here. It will be a major transition from where I am now to something higher.

But then, I wonder, if it is possible to be happy without advanced education at the Polytechnicum or in engineering, etc.? That is the eternal question.

Notes

- 1) The name St. Petersburg was changed to Petrograd on August 31, 1914 when the war with Germany began.
- 2) Simukov, A. D. Report on the results of twelve years of work in Mongolia (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 176–183).
- 3) Andrei Simukov studied at the Third Classical Gymnasium in Petersburg (on Solyanoin per.), which was founded in 1823.
- 4) The archive of the family of A. D. Simukov. The diary opened with 15 well-executed maps of the continents and countries, No. 4—a physical map of Asia, in the center of which, in large letters, is “Gobi.” (See the drawing in the original Russian Version).
- 5) Business trip; the father of Andrei – Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov, after finishing the faculty of history and philosophy at Petersburg University, served on a Commission to liquidate the debt in the Ministry of Finance.
- 6) The Andreevskiis, Mikhail and Boris (Andri) – friends of Andrei, children of the professor at the Polytechnic Institute.
- 7) Ostrogroskii Sergei (Os)—a friend and classmate of Andrei.
- 8) Suida—an area of summer houses, located 54 km from Petrograd, where the Simukovs rented a dacha for the summer.
- 9) Uncle Alyosha – Aleksei Yakovlevich Miller (1874–1927)—brother of the mother of Andrei, Natalia Yakovlevna, who also worked at the Ministry of Finance during World War I. He was in charge of the Red Cross in Tiflis.
- 10) Alia – sister of Andrei, Alexandra Dmitrievna Simukov (when married became Kovaleva) (1905–1988), later completed her studies in stenography at a university, worked at the Moscow Institute of Soviet Building Construction, Narkomfin (from 1946, the Ministry of Finance) in USSR, in the Moscow auto factory named after I. A. Likhachev.
- 11) Lesha—brother of Andrei, Alexsei Dmitrievich Simukov (1904–1995), later a dramatist, script writer, and writer.
- 12) Troitsa—holiday of the Holy Trinity.
- 13) Exam—mother of Andrei, Natalia Yakovlevna Simukov (born Miller) (1875–1962) graduated from a women’s higher education institution (Bestuzhev Courses), taught in a private gymnasium. Having passed the exam, she could teach in state gymnasias.
- 14) Dauria—the name of part of the territory of Zabaikalia.
- 15) Scouts—a voluntary, non-political movement founded by Colonel P. Baden-Powell (in England in 1907), and the writer E. Seton Thomson (in the U.S.), with the goal of introducing the young to the highest moral qualities, independence, and the skills necessary for everyday life, as well as emergencies. The Scout movement in Russia (1910) was founded by O. I. Pantukhov (Petersburg) and V. A. Popov (Moscow).
- 16) Aunt Vera—Vera Ivanovna Miller (nee Bevad) (1875–1945), wife of Aleksei Yakovlevich Miller, brother of N. Ya. Simukova, finished Smolnii Institute and Bestuzhev Courses, mother of five children.
- 17) Protopopov, Alexander Dmitrievich (1866–1918) – Minister of Interior Affairs of Russia

- (December 20, 1916 to February 28, 1917).
- 18) Aunt Olia—Olga Yakovlevna Miller (married name Peiker) (1873–1944) - sister of Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova; finished Froebel Courses in Petersburg (a higher education institution training teachers in pre-school education), taught languages.
 - 19) He is referring to the two-headed eagle on the coat of arms of the Russian Empire.
 - 20) Pitirim (1858–1920), Metropolitan of Petrograd and Ladoga (November 23, 1915 to March 1917), was believed to be a protégé of Gregorii Rasputin.
 - 21) Nolde, Krutikov—classmates of Andrei Simukov from the third gymnasium.
 - 22) Holy Week—the last week of Lent before Easter.
 - 23) Litovskii Palace—built from 1797 to 1799 at the intersection of the River Moika and the Krukov Canal. The Cavalier Guard Regiment and the Musketeer Regiment were billeted there, in 1810s – Guardsmen’s Regiment. Since 1826—a city prison.
 - 24) He is talking about the scouts from the southern region of Petrograd (who wore yellow ties); the scouts in the Northern region wore blue ties.
 - 25) Ivan Fedorovich Bostrem (1857–1934), Russian naval leader and Vice Admiral; From August 1914, he was a chairman of the Society Assisting “The Russian Scouts.”
 - 26) Uncle Seriozha, Sergei Yakovlevich Miller, brother of Andrei Simukov’s mother; finished the Naval Corp and participated in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, the commander of a ship in the Dobrovolnii Fleet and later the commander at the port of Petrovsk near the Caspian Sea (now Makhachkala).
 - 27) Alexander Ivanovich Guchkov (1862–1936), Russian politician, leader of the party “Union of Seventeen October,” chairman in the Duma (1910–1911), member of the government council (1907 and 1915–1917), War and Naval Minister in the Provisional Government (1917).
 - 28) Sigeevka—village in Mogilevskaya gubernia where Andrei’s father, D. A. Simukov, was born and where his relatives lived.
 - 29) This shop was named after its owner, Kozakevich.
 - 30) Barn for the storage of wheat sheaves, with an area for grinding.
 - 31) Vasiliev Sergei Dmitrievich (Vasya) (1900–1959) —scoutmaster of the Petrograd troop, later a film producer, screen writer, and one of the creators of the films Chapaev, Volochaevskie Days, and others.
 - 32) Shaposhnikov George Sergeevich—naturalist, specialist in local lore, student at Petersburg University; Andrei took his classes. Later, G. S. Shaposhnikov taught at the Nikopolski Pedagogical College; director of the museum of local lore and author of works on local lore; died in the evacuation in the Kuban.
 - 33) Shingarev Andrei Ivanovich (1869–1918)—political and government activist, Minister (March-July 1917) and leader of a group of Cadets in the Provisional Government.
Kokoshin Fedor Feodorovich (1869–1918)—jurist, Government Controller of the Provisional Government, one of the founders of Constitutional-Democratic Party.
On the eve of the opening of the Constituent Assembly, by the decree of the Soviet Peoples’ Commissars of the RSFSR, the Cadet party was deemed “the party of the enemy of the people,” and it was proclaimed that its leaders needed to be arrested. A. I. Shingarev and F. F. Kokoshkin were arrested and held in Peter and Paul Fortress; transferred to the Mariynskii hospital because of poor health, where they were killed by the patrol of the revolutionary sailors on the night of 6–7 of January, 1918.
 - 34) Tania, Tatiana Andreevna Miller, first cousin of Andrei Simukov.

- 35) Liquidation of the Commission that handles debts, involved annulling all loans, including foreign loans, which were taken out by “the representatives of Russian landowners and bourgeoisie” (Decree of the Peoples’ Commissars, January 21, 1918).
- 36) The Spanish flu—the flu pandemic of 1918.
- 37) Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860)—German philosopher; he highly esteemed the work of Immanuel Kant and the philosophic ideas of Buddhism. His fundamental work is *The World as Will and Representation* (1818).
- 38) See Golitsyn 2010.
- 39) At the Smelnitskis (in Surazh), the room was rented for Lesha and Alia.
- 40) Moshevaia—a village volost center.
- 41) The One-time Emergency 10-billion Revolutionary Tax on groups who own property, whether in the cities or villages (Decree: 30 October 1918). The calculation of the taxes was computed by the committees of the poor, the village committees, the volost committees, and the Soviet Deputies in the cities.
- 42) Alexsei Yakovlevich Alekseenko with daughter - a peasant from Dushatin, participated in World War One and awarded the Georgian Cross twice; his daughter Milia (Melania) Alekseenko (1904–1993), from 1926, wife of A. D. Simukov.
- 43) Ovin—a building for drying the wheat in sheaves.
- 44) Yar’—here means the field for the growing of grains.
- 45) Punia—a shed for storing the hay.
- 46) D. A. Simukov worked in Klintsi and took a room in Orekhovka.
- 47) Gorlach—a high, narrow-necked clay pot.
- 48) Busla—stork.
- 49) Katia Abramenko—a Dushatinian friend of Milia Alekseenko, later a student at the workers’ faculty at Moscow State University.
- 50) Hanna Friedlander—a friend and classmate of Milia Alekseenko in Surazh; killed in the occupation during the WWII.
- 51) Zhito here means rye.
- 52) Locks, Konstantin Grigorevich (1889–1956)—native of Surazh, finished the History-Philology Faculty of Moscow University; scholar of literature, critic, translator, memoirist; from 1918 to 1921, taught in Surazh, later at Moscow State University, the All-Russian State University, Gerasimov Institute of Cinematography, and the Maxim Gorky Literary Institute.
- 53) This refers to Iliia’s Day (August 2 according to the new style), the day commemorating the Prophet Iliia—a popular Slavic holiday.
- 54) Yar’—spring grain.
- 55) Commol (later Komsomol)—Communist Union of Youth.
- 56) Cheka (VcheKa SPC RSFSR)—The All-Russian Emergency Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage overseen by Council of the Peoples’ Commissars of the RSFSR (1917–1922), with branches in various places for “combating local counter-revolutionaries.”
- 57) According to Anisim Sergeevich Lisichkin (an inhabitant of the same village as the Simukovs and a contemporary of Andrei): “At that time former soldiers of the Tsar’s army and adolescents who were 19 (and, in some places 18) were being conscripted into the Red Army, however, many of them ran away and hid in the woods. So then special detachments were created to catch the deserters who were whipped mercilessly,

yet they deserted again. Then, having caught all of the deserters, they gathered them together, lined them up, and shot every tenth man. From that time, there were no more deserters. If a hungry Red Army soldier couldn't bear it anymore, he went home on the sly to gather a full bag of dried bread and other food, and so hurried back to his division. These people were not punished as cruelly." (Lisichkin 1969 in Archive Dmitrievich Simukov). These materials were kindly given by Dmitri Alekseevich Simukov.

- 58) *Economia*—Pan's *economia*, Pan's estate where the theater was organized.
- 59) *Tout a fait intime* (French)—here, intimate gathering.
- 60) Liuba Rashkess—a student in the Surazh gymnasium who died of tuberculosis; her brother, Efim Rashkess, became an aviator and test pilot, his first marriage was to Maria Alekseenko, sister of Milia.
- 61) Revolutionary Committee of Communist Youth.
- 62) Main Committee of the Russian Union of Youth.
- 63) The Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks)—the name of the Party from 1918 to 1925.

Chapter II

Sigeevka – Moscow

(1920–1922)

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II 1 Certificate from the Surazh City Division of Peoples' Education¹⁾, September 3, 1920.

USSR

City Division of Peoples' Education

3 September 1920

No. 1949

Certificate

Certificate from the Surazh City Division of Peoples' Education certifies that the papers and documents of Andrei Dmitreevich Simukov who has finished the current year at Surazh school II, grade Number 1, will be sent to the Physics-Mathematics Faculty of Moscow State University, and thus Simukov is on the way to Moscow for entrance into the aforementioned faculty.

The Government Popular Education Department requests all organizations and Soviet institutions to show comrade Simukov assistance in staying in Moscow for his studies and to distribute his stipend, lodging in a student dormitory, etc.

Director of Government Division of Peoples' Education <signature>

Secretary <signature>

<Print> Government Division of Popular Education Surazh Government Soviet Matters

<The text (manuscript, ink) on the other side of the certificate>:

Removed from the registry of military service by the Surazh City Military Committee 6 September 1920 and left for Moscow where he will register again.

<Stamp>: War Commissioner in Surazh *gubernia* <signature>

<Stamp>: Secretary <signature>

<Stamp>: Surazh Urban area. (...) War matters

II 2 Certificate of the Auto-Technical Course²⁾, February 16, 1921.

Certificate

Given this from the Auto-Technical course at the Highest Military Auto Armored Car School to student comrade Simukov who took a leave and was satisfied with 4,600 r. on the first of February 1921; from the 16th of February 1920 until the first of January 1921 he was not satisfied. His signature with an official stamp testified to this.

February 16, 1921

Property Manager <signature>

Clerk for the Manager <signature>

<Print> "Course of the Youngest Command Structure of the Highest Military Auto-Armored School RSFSR"

II 3 N. Ya. Simukova³⁾ – to A. D. Simukov, October-November 1920.

<October-beginning of November 1920>

<Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Dear My Lulenska:⁴⁾

With a great feeling of satisfaction, I am reading your coherent and detailed letters and my maternal feeling is also that of satisfaction. I see in you the reflection of my own strivings for the ideal. Take care of your soul and don't soil it. Very, very glad for you and Alia⁵⁾ that you manage to find a path, only Lesha⁶⁾ and we can't go out. Lesha, to my great distress, is ill with a gumboil, (...) and has a high temperature and doesn't go out. At this time, I experience sincere torment and have only one wish – to outlive our suffering. You have the whole story about the horse; he is pretty bad – we were duped. Evidently, this uncertainty weighs on me⁷⁾. If your letters hadn't come, I don't know what I would have done and thank God life has turned out. And, I am beginning to endure; life has taught me to survive and move irrevocably forward. (...)

Papa has to go through a lot, and these experiences are not pleasant. (...) Above all, my energy is weakening, and the onus of this weight lands on you. (...). Kiss Aunt Olia⁸⁾, babushka⁹⁾, Alia. (...). Greet Sergei Vladimirovich¹⁰⁾, Aunt Vera¹¹⁾ and the rest. I kiss you.

Mama.

II 4 D. A. Simukov¹²⁾ – to A. D. Simukov, November 14, 1920.

November 14, 1920 <Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

My dear Lulenska, many thanks for your letters; reading them let me rest from various kinds of annoyances and unsought unpleasantness. My past health is unimportant; after you left, I lay down for 5 days – legs and a fever; temperature up to 40 °C and then suddenly down to 36. This is what is going on in the household: the barn is still not in order – can't find a carpenter; now it is not possible to be thrifty-little bread-which we must put aside until spring. (...). And, my goodness, the horse is a disaster – he's very bad and can't even carry a 10 poods load to Belinkovichii. Our wild boar passes for a pretty good bear. It's a pity that he couldn't be kept for two more months; if there had been 2 bags of oats then maybe 5 poods of lard could have been gotten but now we must slaughter him at the end of the month. With very poor food; don't know how we will manage to hold out until Spring. Now there is no snow, but it is freezing at night

and often during the day; the cattle wander in the fields (...) but we need to feed them.

6 poods of potatoes are requisitioned¹³⁾ along with 1 ½ poods of corn and beyond the 9 poods of potatoes, 1 pood of grain; still 4 ½ poods of potatoes, 1 pood of oats and 20 funt of buckwheat were not given away; 5 poods, 30 funt of hay were transported, and 4 poods 15 funt of straw, but the receipt was for 4 poods of hay and 3 poods of straw, what robbery! (...).

The day before yesterday the woods in Sigeevka were visited by the Commission of Land Surveyors, the horse patrol and the foresters. In Barsukakh they planned to cut 10 desiatin of the Sigeevka forest and then they dropped by on us and ordered the confiscation of firewood while offering what remained of the wood to anybody. In a word, we had no forest. What an outrage. I am making myself heard in order to get back their windfall.

Do you know how much was requisitioned from Gomel *gubernia* in a voluntary deal of produce? 750 thousand poods of rye, 1,350 thousand poods of spring corn, 4 million poods of hay, 6 million poods of potatoes and 640 thousand poods of meat. Now, what is not demanded from the peasants. The inventiveness of the powers that be is amazing. Yes, we live in very difficult times.

Pass on to Ale my warmest kisses from this letter. I wrote him. So, stay well, greetings to the grandmothers, Millers, Peikers (...). I kiss you strongly.

Papa.

II 5 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, November 17, 1920.

November 17, 1920 <Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

My dear Lulenska:

I received your letter and was endlessly happy and content that you are healthy and cheery. Your health is most important and everything else will follow. Thank God that your studies have gone well. Your letter brings me great happiness; be aware, be strong, and don't give into temptation.

We live as always with life in full swing; requisitions, injunctions, concerns, troubles, being busy etc. (...). Leshka's departure was delayed for various reasons: (1) he was sick but now is alright; (2) firewood; (3) all trips are requisitioned. (...)

I kiss you, Aunt Olia and greetings to Sergei Vladimirovich.

Mama

II 6 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, November-December 1920.

<November-December 1920, Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Dear Lulia! Your presence is needed. Get your leave and go at the beginning of the week. Such a lot of complications that only with your help can everything be done. Papa is sick and is uneasy on the horse while sick. (...) So, we sit without firewood, and there is no one to bring it. I have been appointed to Gavrilenko¹⁴⁾ and will move there, so Papa must stay here without any support. The hay has to be brought in, otherwise it will be stolen, and our cattle could die from hunger. Still, many other things. Please don't leave your parents without support.

I love you, Mama.

Can you get hold of "Geometry" for the son of Vladimir Nikanorovich and for me something elementary (...)? Can you get any sort of certificate, like from the Red Army, for getting a horse by requisition, of course, perhaps here? Maybe this is a crazy thought, but I could seize all of them. (...). Mama.

II 7 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, December 7, 1920.

December 7, 1920 <Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

How did Lesha's trip go?¹⁵⁾ I will be transferred to Klimovicheskii *uezd*¹⁶⁾. I got my way and went to Klintsii¹⁷⁾. Tell to Lesha that the trip went well.

Kiss you all. Mama. Answer soon.

II 8 N.Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, December 20, 1920.

December 20, 1920 <Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Dear Lulenska:

Thanks for your letters which bring light and joy into our mundane life. Now all is quiet in our cottage. Not long ago they slaughtered a wild boar, which didn't disappoint us with 2 poods each of lard and enough meat, 4 hams over 2 poods each. We are now well satisfied and only wish that you could eat some of this meat with us. However, the hams remain untouched until you come, and we will try to do the same with the lard. Am preparing to send you a parcel with lard, sausage, and croutons; don't know how much I can send. My mood is better now. (...).

From now on, we will have a sled route. Today it snowed. I am sitting by the

window in our cottage, on errands. Sunday. Tomorrow I think I'll start teaching at the Sigeevka school.

I kiss you, my friend. Mama

II 9 Certificate Number 843 from the Auto-Technical Course¹⁸⁾, February 16, 1921.

CERTIFICATE No.843

awarded by the Auto-Technical Course V. V. A. B. SH. To

Simukov, Andrei for an indefinite leave for which he is given:

Provisions, Victuals through February 21, 1921.

Tea, Tobacco, Soap until February 24, 1921.

On this 21st year, by the signature and the supplementary seal of certification.

February "16," 1921

Director signature

Clerk signature

<Print> "The Course of the Youth Command Capital staff of the Highest Military

Armored Automobile School in the USSR."

II 10 O. Ya. Peiker¹⁹⁾ – to A. D. Simukov, April 26, 1921.

April 26, 1921 <Moscow>

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Lulia,

Christ has risen! I send you greetings on this holiday of light and hope you meet with joy and without a schism in your soul.

I am preparing for the holiday. Eggs and flour are here, but there are absolutely no curds. I am waiting for Alia as it is her name day. Not long ago I went to kolonni²⁰⁾ and I took Grandma and Alia. Grandma misses me a lot.

I was in Moscow for three years studying at the Electricity Institute. The entrance will be in the fall. Those who graduate from the gymnasium can enter the 3rd semester. The economic conditions are very sad. The students receive a card A for 5,000 rubles and no more. For this card A they receive 1 funt of bread and promises of meat, groats, and something else but they don't get anything. There is a Mosprofobre²¹⁾ dorm, but it is full. If you do get in there, you can study. It is busy during the day, so it is impossible to work.

The problem of the supply of provisions is getting worse, even though the markets are open, but with these market prices you cannot live on about 5,000

rubles and will perish. Clothes, shoes, light, heat, the apartment! My soul aches for you, but there is nothing to do. Still I go to the economics academy where it is said everything is lousy.

Of course, Alia wants very much to be home, and I consider it necessary that she visit. (...) But she hasn't decided to go on her own. They say that there is great confusion at the station. (...), so it is better if I go with her. With you she can even crawl up through the window. (...).

In July, Grandmother went to her permanent home in Moscow where she is bored and overwhelmed. Alia must go to boarding school. She is thin but looks good.

I am often giving private lessons. I have two boys for students, and I teach them French and German. My income has increased 30,000 rubles. There are changes at the Khrushchevsky monastery²²⁾. The homeowners, the Frolovs, live in the blue room. They wanted our room but, in view of the fact that Grandma has come to us, we did not give it up.

Tonight there was a search²³⁾ at Uncle Alyosha's²⁴⁾ but of course nothing was found, and everything then moved on.

My dear Andrusha, you will lay out a path in life like the American, Jack London. Read such books as "The History of Civilization in England," Buckle, Taine, the philosophy of Kant, and various texts on mechanics and applied trades. Try to draw when possible. Zhenya²⁵⁾ wrote to me and wanted to answer you as well. He is married! He promised to send his new address.

Tonight I was very worried. Enough for now. All the best. I send kisses to everyone possible and greetings to all the others. Best regards to all,

Your aunt Olia. Today babushka is 81-years-old.

II 11 E. A. Miller²⁶⁾ – to A. D. Simukov, April 17, 1921.

April 17, 1921.

<Cossack Village of Surovskaia>

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Andrusha! Many thanks to you for your detailed letter. It gave me something to think about. How fast time goes. How imperceptibly, but with inexorable consequences changes are perpetrated on us in the encircling world! Reading your letter, I think about you and the difference between the Lula I knew in the past and the present Andriusha and between the school boys Jenia, as he was so often called, and Evgenii Andrevich, which I am now called. In any case, I am very glad to renew the connection between us that was interrupted (...). Now, for a few words about myself and the truth about the main events in my life. I began with a military career and the duty of commanding the platoon of the reserve battery of

the IX army in the village of Sebrovo at the station in the Sebriakova Don Oblast. From there, I went with the platoon to the Don (during the retreat of the Red Army from the Don Oblast) to defend the crossing. There were the Cossack villages of Kremenskoi, Perekopskoi, and Kletzkoi. The detachment which I found with the platoon was destroyed by the cavalry of Mamontov²⁷⁾ but I was hardly the savior of the majority of the people and the horses. Returned to the battery and left from Sebriakov, on foot, to Balashov and from there to Penza. There I was the leader of the Artillery Command of the 9th army. (...). Then, again, to Balashov, onto nearby Saratov where I was appointed to command the reservist battery and where I spent from the autumn to the spring of 1920. In May, we were sent along the Volga to Tsaritsyn and from there onto Kalach and then to the village of Suvorovsk on the Don. (...). We stopped in Suvorovsk for more than two months. This was the best place of all in which I spent some time. Performances, strolls (usually in the evening), conversations (...) amongst ourselves. Wonderful food, great apartment, society – all promoting enlightenment and strength for the soul and the body of which, (especially the first), I was in great need. Voluntary work in the fields (gathering in the hay) and in the garden, complete the picture. This same Suvorovsk, was in many ways not like our village, at least not like those I saw in Tambov, Penza, and the Saratov *gubernia* and cities, especially in relation to the cultural level of the population, which is higher than the others.

In autumn the war situation prevented us from moving to the mouth of the Donetz(...) from there-to the station of Belia Kalitva and further along the railroad to Kamenskoi. My battery was assigned here and I, alone, went into action against Makhno²⁸⁾. It was in the middle of September and from the beginning of October my battery was transferred to Vrangeli's front²⁹⁾. Stayed in the Crimea and returned to the Donetz *gubernia* together with all the division to guard the warehouses and production in the Donbas. We stayed not far from the station of Debaltsevo. From the month of September up until now, we have walked almost 2,000 versts in one campaign with only the rare and short rest. Luckily, there were few losses – all of the wounded people (one from an airplane bomb) and the other two or three were run over at night. (From exhaustion, people slept on the gun carriage or forward.)

I am now recalling the memories of those winter expeditions. Cloudy, clear but dry. There was ice, the sun shone, wind and clouds, endless dusty clouds darkening the sun and the sky. Dust-grey and suffocating, coming into the mouth, the nose, the eyes, ears, and hair. (...). The evil piercing wind, scorching the cheeks, the ears, and the hands. (...). The downcast horses trudged along among the clouds of dust pulling the artillery guns, amidst the crowds of people. And on they went from daybreak to midnight. In the beginning, all was lively and gay, but by the end there was only anger and gloom. The endless line stretches out along the road, and they try to pile the artillery guns or the kitchen on the carts with

little success. And in the back, they wait a long time in the unknown, terrified before the cruel enemy, and then they advance with little vigor. And so, on it goes-day after day-often for whole weeks and months. But the spirit-where does it come from? The exhausted people, under the intense fire of the command, rise and go forward not stopping for a minute. They say, evidently, that in Germany (the First World War) it was harder to compel the people to advance. Was it courage, disdain for death and for the idea or the custom of risking oneself, apathy or the devaluation of life? (...).

Then the military action ended, and I sat in my quarters. I received a short commission in Suvorovsk with the special goal...of getting married. (...). "The Ways of The Lord Are Inscrutable." So be it and that is what happened and, it seems, the only reason that I am still alive. (...). We celebrated with a modest wedding. (The real "celebration" I was planning I managed to celebrate partially) and throughout the day we went by horseback to the Cossack village of Morozovsk. (...). In Suvorovsk I was ill, but I hurried the division along in order to make the date. Unfortunately, on returning, I was infected with typhus (...) and almost did not remember how I was taken from the Kamensk station to the village, where my battery was stationed. In the morning my temperature was already 40.5 °C and I was unconscious. I remained in such a condition for almost four weeks. To my great happiness, I was relieved that I was not sent to the hospital, which is why I survived. I was brought back to life by my self-sacrificing wife, Ana, who fed me, as well as the concern of the division doctor, the establishment of continual duties by the feldsher and the orderlies and the availability of medicine (seized from Vrangeli). No one expected such a good outcome. Much of my health and strength were taken by this illness, but "all is well that ends well."

II 12 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, October 1921.

<October 1921, Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>³⁰⁾

How have you settled in? Difficult, certainly, is your life! When I take a piece of bread or a dried apple, I always think of you. You are cold and hungry, and my waistcoat won't protect you from the cold (i.e. I am not with you and can't help you) and more important, is your well-being. How are your studies and do they satisfy you? Is your education meeting your goals? How are things with your room³¹⁾ and your work?³²⁾ You – a night watchman: shocking! Quelle horreur!³³⁾ How does the world look on this? Do you think that you with such hard work will arrive at the appropriate position? Write soon about everything. How was Alia and Anisim's trip?³⁴⁾ And everything else? Are you getting what you need? How is

your supply of food? Did Anisim get a position? Has Alia settled into her co-operative?³⁵⁾

Now, imagine our village. Today is Sunday; Papa is in Gavrilenko. Lesha is stretched out with a book and Aunt Ania³⁶⁾, interesting as always, is singing. The sun is already setting in the west and is casting “its last rays” on our dreary cottage. Looking at the clock, I have to get ready for the evening: prepare food for the two remaining pigs and piglets: a black and a spotted, and we have already butchered the wild boar.

Now only to bring your letter to Sergei Isakov. My poor Lulenska! Bread and water! Hard times for you! However, you will become tougher in this fight for existence.

We, finally, bought a horse (grey) from Mary Osipika for 15 poods of flour. We paid all at once, and remained, thank God, with 15 poods, which must be given back to the shepherds, Nicolai and Sergei. Everything is already ground: received 35 measures of oats. Good! 6 measures of buckwheat in grain, 5 measures in seed. It will be grain, and we will have at least one measure for blini.

Is it possible that you are not coming for Christmas? It is tedious without you. You know our wonderful family group; Papa is more and more at a distance from everyone. Morose, quiet, and lying down.

I hope that you are able to forget your concerns in Dushatin³⁷⁾, let them go.

I send you so much love, my dear one.

Your Mama.

II 13 Anisim Lisichkin Remembers³⁸⁾, 1969.

In September of that year (1921), I went again to Moscow with Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov and with others from Surazh. Andrei was on the way to his relatives in Moscow. (...) where he had entered the Mechanical-Electrical Institute in the name of Lomonosov. He lived with his aunt and since I wasn't there, I didn't know where to start. A “lucky star” came to the rescue. Andrei met a former student in the Auto-Technical course (...) and chatted with him. It was Michael Vasilievich Katerei (...). He had one free room in his apartment (...) and he went to talk with his house manager and ordered us to come in a day or two to meet this house manager. We had nothing valuable and so, for money, turned to sawing and splitting firewood into smaller pieces from the *sajhan* (10 square meters) or blocks to suit “the *bourjuiki* or stove.” Thus, he registered us at House No. 25, in apartment 12 on Novoslobodski street (not far from the present “Novoslobodskaya” metro station). Thus, in 1921 I settled in Moscow. During the first two winters we lived in an unheated room, even though we were in a nice stone wing. The central heating was only repaired in the summer of 1923. The

attempt to heat “the *bourjuiki*” by a pipe from the little window was not successful. (...). The student rations lasted for one or one and a half weeks but on “hungry rations,” they could last up to two weeks. During this time, it was necessary to work somewhere. Our neighbor M.V. Katerei, together with a friend, opened an auto repair shop in Dolgorukovskoi street, and with Andrei I sawed and chopped firewood for our neighbors’ *bourjuiki*, so that we were fed. We also served as watchmen and distributors of instruments in the workshop of “Katerei and Co.” as well as cleaning up the workshop and helping the locksmith. Once a neighbor found scrap from a car in the graveyard by the Savelovskii Station, and we were paid to transport it by sled to the workshop. (...).

Then, we didn’t have enough work. There were many unemployed people listed at the labor exchange in Romanovskii alley. Therefore, one had to find a job early in the morning (and it was often still dark when one got to work.) It was impossible to study at this time, and we missed classes. But it was also easy to get away with it. I went home on the holidays and stocked up with produce. (...). I succeeded, during the first winter, in finishing the preparatory division of the Practical Institute for the internal welfare of the local population (where the rations were given) but after that the Institute was closed. (...). Thus, I entered the Institute of Civil Engineers. Within a year, this Institute closed, and so the workers and their lodgings were given over to the engineering-construction faculty at the Moscow Highest Technical School. (...). I finished there in 1930. (...). During my studies in the Institute of Civil Engineering and in the first courses at MTU (Moscow Higher Technical School), I received stipends worth ten rubles. (...).

Moscow was very dilapidated during the years of the Revolution and the Civil War. For a long time, the closed stores dangled pre-revolutionary signs. In 1921, a few trams had started up but there were very few. One went primarily by foot, and our shoes wore out very quickly, and there was nowhere to get new ones. I bought, for 200,000 rubles, Austrian military boots at the Smolensk market and hammered down the nails into the shoes themselves, and they lasted for three years. The asphalt sidewalks were falling apart even if there were not many of them. Most of the important streets and alleys in the center of the city were only cobblestones, and there were only a few asphalt bridges. (...). All of the Tverskaya area was paved in experimental sections: a cobblestone checkerboard, a wooden block checkerboard, some asphalt, and the remaining area in the usual cobblestones. And this was Moscow’s main street. (...). The pedestrian walkways lacked bridges. The destroyed homes, (especially on Nikitskii boulevard) were not rebuilt until 1925–1926. The sidewalks as well.

II 14 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, November 1, 1921.*November 1, 1921 <Sigeevka>**<to Moscow>*

Dear Lulenska, thanks to you for your infinitely dear letter. (...). Everything is the same. Papa is busy now with cleaning the peas and from time to time jumping up with a whip³⁹⁾ to chase the herd of pigs of our kind neighbors. Recently, he has often complained of dizziness. In the past, working in Gavrilenko, one would receive a salary in kind: 1 pood 10 funt of bread; now that has stopped for some reason. (...). After this, it is assumed that the teachers will receive rations from the village, which will be taxed. This tax will go to the *volost*, from where we duly receive fixed prices on 1 ½ poods bread, 1 ½ poods potatoes, 5 funt lard, 10 funt groats, 10 funt beans and peas, and I don't remember how much for meat. If all of this is carried out, we can live.

Haven't heard about the cow. Trofim still has not come for her⁴⁰⁾, I hope that we can continue to keep her, but of course, we don't know. To be without a cow is impossible, and to buy a cow now is terribly expensive. (...).

It hasn't yet started to be busy at school because they are doing the repairs. I am attracted to the reading of Sheller-Mikhailova. Now we have a large lamp and can sit and read in the evening. Might you know anyone at the art school or elsewhere? (...). Write everything about Alia although far from her. How are Uncle Alyosha and Aunt Vera? Warmest greetings to all.

Now Trishka is crawling about the field gathering peas. We must hurry and feed the pigs. It is beginning to get cold, and we have had snow already. The lamp is lit, Papa is already lying down, Lesha is reading, and I am finishing this letter to you. A bit of bad news: the skin has turned grey and already hangs down. Lesha took it to Mikhailovskii and for 15,000 it was done. Recently I received a bonus of 130,000 with all sorts of additions! I got 77 boxes of matches! Welcome Soviet power!

Love to all, greetings to Anisim. Make sure that your goods are evenly distributed. I kiss you. Be frugal in all matters. The bags are alright. I will try to find the leggings⁴¹⁾.

Your Mama.

II 15 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, November 12, 1921.*November 12, 1921 <Sigeevka>**<to Moscow>*

Dear Lulenska:

No letter from you. (...). The other day I received a letter from Alia. Miserable

and lonesome. Was she at your house? Write to me about her. This year has already been endured, but the future, God knows. We get along with the bread in such a way that it will last until Christmas, Papa received 6 ½ poods – this will be for eating after Christmas. But, you know, the enormous expenses. We had to pay off the taxes⁴²⁾, an old debt, but others have arisen. We hope that we will receive rations from the village. (...). Our management made this promise clear to us: a salary of 1,200,000 for the month from which rations will be at the market price. That is a lot of money. We tempted Lesha, but he has enrolled in the *sckrabii*⁴³⁾. It is enough, surely, to serve in Boronkakh. It is necessary to earn one's bread. We are occupied with two changes with Ana. During this, there was no friction.

I am not healthy these days: yesterday I was a complete wreck, today – nothing. Now I am sitting by the stove for the evening entertainment.

Trofim announced that the cow will stay with us, but it is necessary to pay something for her. The horse is now out of action, and Lesha, only sometimes, uses the cart for firewood. The roads are still not good, there is little snow, and the ice is tolerable. In the cottage, the temperature is now 11 °C rising to 13–14 °C. The firewood is very good. (...).

How are you? Are you thinking of coming at Christmas? Do you have our books? Keep them safe. They are worth their weight in gold. (...). How are you and Anisim? (...).

I received a letter from Alia in which she asked what to do with the money, get the boots. Use it to buy the small, but necessary, things like soap, a comb, a fine-tooth comb, thread, stockings for you, soda, pepper for sausage. Part of the money could be saved, all of which could be useful. (Alia writes: "Or, perhaps with these 300,000 buy a saw or something of the sort.")

I am interrupted in writing to you. We have a storm. They are looking for land that has been concealed so they can tax it. For us that would certainly be 6 *desiatin* of plow land. What will we do? We, teachers, who now receive nothing. Lesha was mobilized by this tax on this hidden land and went to teach in Boronka.

It would be wonderful if you and Alia came for the holiday. But I don't insist, as you can see, so see what happens. How are your studies, and are they satisfying you? Write about all of this tomorrow. Tomorrow Lesha goes to Moshevoi, and it will be difficult to manage without him. Much love. Love to all. Babushka especially. Your Mother.

II 16 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, May 6, 1922.

<Moscow>

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Mother!

All goes well, and I can even say very well. Left Surazh on Friday night, and I was in Moscow on Monday in the afternoon. I put the grain in the baggage only in Unech, because in Surazh I didn't pay for a blank ticket to Moscow, and the ticket may have been in strange hands, because I didn't pay for half the ticket⁴⁴). On this trip besides oats to sell, there was still 5 funt of lard. Further: the prices in Moscow were not particularly high: the price of lard was 1,200,000-1,300,000 but it was uncomfortable for me to raise my prices to 750,000. Thus, it was raised to 600,000. Thus, I remained with all three pounds to eat. Now I sit without a penny (six joues baisent gros chat⁴⁵). The baggage is still here.

Today, I am going to congratulate Babushka on the Day of the Angels and do away with the name-day cake. Walking to my heart's content. (...). Aunt Olia sends you blessings. The *lopatka* (meat-shoulder cut) was splendid – pickled, fried, juicy, tender and superb. She again went on about her concern for me and my shirt (on the sly from S. V.) She held grandiose thoughts about our region, which focused on helping us construct a new cottage in a secluded spot. And then Aunt Olia asked the following: when the season arrives, there is the expense of feeding the pig. Of course, in spite of an excellent eye in doing this, on the whole, Aunt Olia said, you won't be there for the products that you use. Aunt Olia would, by and large, buy the goods under my guidance, which I will bring in the summer.

Uncle Aliosha⁴⁶) is still sick but on the road to getting better. He and Aunt Vera drove for a month to Ugresh, where they rented a room from the Metropolitan. Kolonia⁴⁷) truly shortened its existence as its credit was refused. (...). Thanks to sending a note in a book, one important thing was forgotten: both strands.

How is Aliu's health? I believe that she endures her illness with special consequences. Everyone here is anxious about this. (...). You must be about to burst! What's with Lesha? How is the germination of the barley and wheat? How is the daily Dushatin market going? Did you get some *dobrin*⁴⁸)?

The weather here is, for a while, excellent. There was rain, even a storm. Babushka sent greetings today to all of us. She welcomed me with port wine.

Immediately before me is the difficult period of intense intellectual work. I don't think that I will ever earn a salary. Thus, for the first time in two years, I address you with a solemn request for help, if it is possible. I have, for example, no money even for drawing paper, which I must have. Above all, I ask you to sell things and send me money for clothing, and I also need to figure out the cost of paint. So, send off immediately a pood, which should include the Hare⁴⁹). Think

about it as working capital. In the end, whatever is necessary must be done. Of course, when the exam is over, I still have 2–3 weeks here to earn, but I cannot do that now. This moment is important: a translation in the second course. No interpretation-forget it-about the meaning of war work, and one cannot count on any assistance. I need help now.

Everyone here and I send heartfelt greetings to Alia⁵⁰ and all wish you a speedy recovery.

Your Andrei.

II 17 A. Ya. Miller⁵¹ – to A. D. Simukov, May 26, 1922.

Motzstrasse 2, Berlin W. 30

<to Moscow>

Dear Andryusha:

Above all else, turn your attention to our change of address. Write me at the new one. The thing is that as a result of something that isn't clear, the pension owner has raised the price, so I will have to look for another cheaper lodging. Greed has overcome the bourgeoisie here, and they try to squeeze us all. Motzstrasse 2 is our office. Your letter from 3.V was received yesterday. I was pleased with the presentation and your tone, and you made such a lively impression on me. I am rankled by pangs of conscience that I have never sent you any clothing. No one took care of this. However, we will do that. Write me and tell me definitely whether Aunt Olia⁵² received my last 4 Nansenovskii parcels⁵³.

You are just beginning your life and already you have acquired experience and have toughened up. Guard all that is sacred and above all your health which, to me at my late age, requires a lot of work, from morning to night. Work is nerve-racking and hurried. Thank God for it. There is great sadness for my homeland and all its people. Much comes to me that I am resigned to endure and always before me is the picture of the ill Alyosha (your uncle), grandmother, your mama, and all the others.

Write to me... are they taking the tractor to the village for plowing? What is the condition of the farming equipment and tools?

The heat has started here, and this big city is unpleasant. Aunt Laura⁵⁴ is sick from time to time and can't get used to this climate. I hope she will be better in the summer. Best love to your dear Mama and Papa, Alyosha, Alia and everyone else. Don't forget those interesting letters to me. All the best.

Your A. M.

II 18 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, Autumn 1922.<Autumn 1922⁵⁵⁾, Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Lulia! How was your (...) and test?

We are worried in this period of unrest and agitation and its connection to the tax in kind⁵⁶⁾. Still don't know when this will end. Aunt Ania seems to be interceding for all of the proletariat. The Simukovs, who only (...) Ivan Sidor (...) can't pay the tax.

(...) spoke about the transference of the Sigeevka school in Velikii Bor, but it isn't known what will happen. Comrade Mikhailov stands to enlighten the Velikii Bor population. That means that my fate is up in the air.

Today the horse took Lesha to the market in Dushatin for 12 pud to George Leon (...). Trofim sold me an apiary for (...) for which I have already paid half. Lesha is going to buy a mare while for now we have one foal. After you, we haven't as yet threshed. How did you (go)? What sort of impression from our village remains with Aunt Olia?

Papa just lies around and does not help us at all. Lesha has had to become completely independent, and his educational connections have proved useful. We have covered the barn, and still not (...) and hemp, and the main (...) is little. Lesha has warmed up the barn and tomorrow will harvest the oats with Lena. Lesha noticed correctly that every year for us is a trial.

If you have some money, buy (...) and there is great demand for (...). Odarka Stepanovna gave me a cabbage out of her concern for my deprivation.

Much love. The letter is dispatched with Andrei Obidennik.

Your Mama.

II 19 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, December 1922.<December 1922⁵⁷⁾, Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Dear Lulia, our sad news comes late but through no fault of our own. In Surazh, there were no stamps, and without them we could not send the mail.

There is a great deal that I wished to say, but I hoped, that things would have been different and that we had been able to see each other and talk about everything. I want to come to Moscow so much, but I haven't the means. I received a salary for two months, but already there is no money. It is best that, instead of coming on a trip, that you save your money for when I come, and I will find the money to come.

On the 3rd day of Christmas since the death of Papa there will be a dinner. This

day is considered very important. If you can make the trip without constraint and difficulty for yourself, it would be good. All of us together will remember Papa on this day. I think that if you do come, that immediately after the so-called send-off⁵⁸⁾ that you go to Moscow on New Year's Eve. Write immediately of your plans.

Thanks for your letter. I love you. Your mama. It would be so good if you came for the 40th day. It is even essential.

II 20 Certificate of the Mechanic-Electrotechnical Institute, December 29, 1922.

USSR N. K. P.

Moscow Mechanic-Electrotechnical Institute in the name of M. V. Lomonosov
December 29, 1922, No. 7154

Certificate issued by the Government Mechanico-Electrotechnical Institute in the name of M. V. Lomonosov: Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, a student at the aforementioned Institute in the second course of the Mechanico faculty, is permitted a leave from January 15, 1923 to study at Unech.

Rector <signature>

For government business <signature>

<Print> "The Moscow Mechanico-Electrotechnical Institute in the name of M. V. Lomonosov"

Notes

1

- 1) This means the division of the Peoples' Education of Soviet Deputies in the city of Surazh. Andrei Simukov did not become a student in the physics-mathematics faculty and that of natural science as well as in the two programs of chemistry and biology at Moscow University. The reason is not known—whether it was because of social class or the devastation of poverty.

By the decree of the SNK from August 2, 1918 about the rules of admittance to institutions of higher learning, all workers had the right to enroll at any university or college for free instruction. Simultaneously, there was another resolution stating that the major groups to be admitted to the University were the proletariat and the poor peasantry. In practice, up until the mid-20s, entrance to the University was closed for children of priests, nobles, high officials, clerks/scribes, and groups of merchants and traders. Applications for admission required detailed information about social class and the occupations of the parents before and after the February and October Revolutions of 1917.

The father of Andrei-Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov was the son of a peasant who, before the revolution finished Petersburg University and worked for the Ministry of Finance

-he was a Tsarist “chinovnik.” His mother, Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova, was the daughter of a doctor who was considered a member of the gentry and who performed meritorious service for the gentry.

In the capital of Russia, devastated by two wars and two revolutions, by 1920 the situation with food, accommodations, living conditions, fuel and clothing was catastrophic. (From 1919/1920 alone, 12 professors at Moscow University were dead.) It was almost impossible to find work, which provided the minimum to live by. The dormitories were over crowded (with the opening of the workers’ faculty in 1919 from which the number of students at Moscow University grew from 7,000 in 1917 to 23,000). It was not wise to rely on stipends.

2

- 2) Andrei Simukov entered the Auto-Technical course at the Highest War Auto-Armor School (Moscow, Povarskaya, Trubnikovskii: alley 15). Besides providing useful knowledge and practical courses for the future, it also provided housing, clothing, and a small allowance.

3

- 3) Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova (born Miller) (1875–1962)-mother of Andrei Simukov; finished the faculty of history/philosophy in the highest course for women in Petersburg, taught the Russian and German languages and history and worked in the library at the Ministry of Finance (where she met D. A. Simukov, her future husband); in the village (1918–1931) she taught in the school and later in Moscow, worked in the library of the MVTU (today’s Bauman Moscow State Technical University) with the name Dr. Bauman, and was the main librarian at the Science Library of Moscow University named after A. M. Gorky.
- 4) Lulia-childhood pet name of Andrei Simukov.
- 5) Alia-sister of Andrei Simukov.
- 6) Lesha- brother of Andrei.
- 7) Evidently, these words refer to N. Ya. Simukova’s work place.
- 8) Aunt Olia.
- 9) Babushka—Grandmother. Aleksandra Fedorovna Miller (maiden name Eger) (1840–1926)—daughter of a captain in the coastal shipping trade (at the port of Riga), mother of nine children, among whom were doctors, teachers, a diplomat, a naval officer, and a civil engineer; four were still alive in 1920 (Alexander, Aleksei, Olga and Natalia).
- 10) Sergei Vladimirovich Peiker-husband of Olga Yakovlevna (Aunt Olia)—worked in the Ministry of Finance.
- 11) Aunt Vera.

4

- 12) Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov (1862–1922)—father of Andrei Simukov, native of the village of Sigeevka, Mogilevskoi *gubernia*, finished the gymnasium in Mogilev, Petersburg University, served in the Ministry of Finance in Russia, lived for a period in Sigeevka (1919–1922)—worked as a bookkeeper in the *volost* and *uezd* governments.
- 13) Bearing in mind the events of (1919–1921), the government demanded the obligatory handing over of agricultural products following established norms and without payment since banknotes were practically worthless.

In the words of Simukov’s fellow villager and contemporary, Anisim Lisichkin, “the excitement in our area went like this: a detachment of horse guards would approach

each village to go over matters of concern. Then the peasants, having loaded their grain on wagons, and carried them off to the forest so that when the detachment arrived, it would find nothing in the village. When the detachment did arrive, it would find nothing in the village, and so the leader would call a meeting to demand a specific quantity of grain. However, the village elders would refuse, saying that they had nothing and assuming that the detachment believed them. However, the detachment leader, by experience smarter, did not believe the villagers and asserted that within a specific time a certain amount of grain had to be given over. Then the bargaining began and when a certain amount was arrived at, the detachment would leave and go on to the next village. Finally, when the grain was amassed the detachment, unhindered, collected it. I cannot confirm what this process was like in other places, and it seems that each leader's (or, as it is said, commissar's) actions were based on his own reasons and abilities."

6

- 14) Bear in mind that the school in the village of Gavrilenko was 4 versts from Sigeevka.

7

- 15) Words said on Lesha's departure from Sigeevka to Moscow.
- 16) This means the opportunity of working at a school in Sigeevka.
- 17) Klintsii—*uezd* (county) town.

9

- 18) In February, 1921, the Auto-Technical Course closed. After an unsuccessful attempt to find work in Moscow, Andrei Simukov went back to Sigeevka.

10

- 19) See note 18 in chapter I.
- 20) Kolonia—during the famine of 1920 workers for the Ministry of Finance organized into co-operatives to found a kolonia or a boarding school for family members, which was lodged in the former Nicolo—Ugreshkom monastery.
- 21) The direction of professional-technical education before the Division of Popular Education Mossoveta.
- 22) Khrushchevskaya Monastery – after the Ministry of Finance was moved from Petersburg to Moscow, it was accommodated (in a room, one per family) in a mansion (Khrushchevskii alley 3 near Prichistenka), which had been confiscated from private owners.
- 23) The search campaign concerned “the withdrawal of anything of value attributed to the bourgeoisie,” as well as the search and confiscation of such valuables as art works and objects of precious metals from the intellectuals; See Kharcenko K. V., *Power-Property-People: the Redistribution of Property in Bolshevik Russia, 1917 — beginning of 1921*. Moscow: Russian Yard, 2000.
- 24) Uncle Alyosha (see note 9 in chapter I) also lived in House 3 in Khrushchevskii Alley.
- 25) Zhenya—Eugene Andreevich Miller (1898–1976), cousin of Andrei Simukov, participated in the Civil War on the staff of the Red Army, completed the Military Artillery Academy, was an Artillery Designer, spent 15 years in prison where he worked in a “Sharashka” [Tran. A secret research laboratory] (OKB NKVD (The Special Design Bureau of Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR)), and was three years in exile. Rehabilitated.

11

- 26) See note 25.
- 27) Mamontov (Mamantov) Konstantin Konstantinovich (1869–1920)—finished Nicolaevskoi Cavalry Academy, participated in the Russo-Japanese and the First World Wars; in the Civil War-leader of All Great Troops of the Don and the Armed Forces in the south of Russia, general-lieutenant (1919). On August 10, 1919 Mamontov's troops broke through the southern front of the Reds, and led a raid on the rear of the Red Army, took Tambov, Kozlov, Lebedian, Elets, Voronezh and the Cossack village of Kastornii.
- 28) Makhno Nestor Ivanovich (1888–1934)—finished the two-class school in Guliapolskoi, anarchist (from 1906), participated in terrorism and expropriation, in prison (1908–1917); from March 1917-chairman of the Guliapolskoi peasant union, from 1918-revkom (revolutionary committee of anarchists, Ukrainian SRs); led an insurgent rebel movement in Ekaterinoslavskoi *gubernia*; fought with German and Hetman troops, and after they left-with the Petlur regime; fought with troops of Deneikin (periodically in a union with the Bolsheviks), headed the Revolutionary-rebel army of the Ukraine (July, 1919); after the liquidation of the Deneikin front declared by Trotsky outside the law, refused union with Vrangeli and so joined the Bolsheviks. Immigrated in 1921.
- 29) Vrangeli Peter Nicolaevich (1878–1928)—baron, finished the Gornii Institute (1901) and the Nicolaevskii Guard Academy (1910); participant in the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War, Georgian cavalry, general-lieutenant; during the Civil War-one of the leaders of the White Movement, and in the Crimea and Poland; November 1920 emigrated.

12

- 30) Autumn 1921 after the conclusion of the village harvest Andrei Simukov went back to Moscow, and entered the Moscow Mechanico-Electrotechnical Institute named M. V. Lomonosov (Blagoveshchenskii alley, house 1).
- 31) Andrei, with a friend from Sigeevka, settled in a room in Novoslobodskii street, House 25, apartment 12.
- 32) Andrei worked as a night watchman, so that he could study during the day.
- 33) Shocking! What horror! (translated from the French).
- 34) Anisim (Onisim) Sergeevich Lisichkin—a friend of Andrei Simukov's from Sigeevka.
- 35) See note 20.
- 36) Aunt Ania-Anna Andreevna Simukova (1894–1988), step sister of Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov, father of Andrei, teacher at a Sigeevka school.
- 37) Milia Alekseenko lived in Dushatin-the future wife of Andrei Simukov.

13

- 38) Lisichkin, 1969; see note 57 in chapter I.

14

- 39) Whip.
- 40) The Simukovs fed the village's cow and so used her for milk.
- 41) Leggings-long striped material for enveloping the legs up to the knee; worn with bast shoes or soldiers' boots (puttees) or as a replacement for boots.

15

- 42) Prodnalog (March 1921–May 1923)—food provision tax in kind; a percentage of or a debt assessed on the production of agricultural products calculated against the harvest,

the number of mouths to feed, and the availability of cattle. The tax increases for the prosperous farmer while the poorest farmers are free from this tax.

- 43) Shkabrii—schools for workers.

16

- 44) Because of the inflation in Russia beginning in the 20s, the villagers paid their expenses (including transport primarily) from their agricultural products, and the rates for their transport (including cash for their tickets) were restricted.
- 45) Six cheeks kiss a fat cat (French) which sounds in Russian “sijhu bez grosha (“I sit here with a penny”)” but the literal translation is “six cheeks kiss a big cat”; according to an old anecdote, this phrase was sent from the son in Paris to his father in Russia, and he received the answer “Nous ici dix: We are ten here,” which sounds in Russian “Nu I sidi,” a translation of “we are ten here.”
- 46) Uncle Alyosha—note 9 in chapter I.
- 47) Kolonia; see note 20 in chapter II.
- 48) Dobrini-alehouse grain pellets- a by- product of brewing rich, cellulose remains from the seeds of barley or oats after the grain had been worked into must or wash; these entire edible remains are fed to the livestock.
- 49) The conditions of agricultural ruin in the 20s made the purchase of industrial goods for personal needs practically impossible; such products that were found in town were traded in the villages for agricultural products.
- 50) This means that it was Ali’s (Aleksandra’s) name day, May 6.

17

- 51) Aleksander Yakovlevich Miller (1868–1936)—brother of the mother of Andrei Simulov; diplomat, represented Russia in Persia, Bukhara, and Portugal; diplomatic agent and General Consul in Russia and Mongolia (Urga) (1913–1919); in 1917, emigrated (London, Berlin, Paris).
- 52) See note 18 in chapter I.
- 53) In 1921, at the request of the Red Cross, the well-known polar explorer Fritof Nansen headed an aid organization to help the starving European countries, and in great part Russia, where after the World War and the Civil Wars, two revolutions and a horrible drought and famine, more than 40 million people had been affected. The Nansen Committee accomplished many things (The League of Nations denied Russia aid), including the purchase and transport of provisions and the organization of eating facilities; it was a mediator between the ARA (The American Relief Administration) and the government of Soviet Russia. One form of individualized aid was the “Nansenovskii parcels”: wishing to help, one could buy from the Nansen Mission for a relatively small sum a coupon which the Mission gave to an addressee in a country experiencing hunger and which was exchanged for a certain amount of produce.
- 54) Aunt Laura—wife of A. Ya. Miller in emigration.

18

- 55) Dated from its contents.
- 56) See note 42 in chapter II.

19

- 57) Dated from its contents.
- 58) The send-off of the soul from the dead on the 40th day after death (in the Orthodox tradition).

Chapter III
Mongol – Tibetan Expedition¹⁾
(1923–1926)

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“...received information that P. K. Kozlov was organizing a new expedition, and I will apply all my efforts to this, so that I will be selected as a co-worker and will be sent off.”²⁾

III 1 (Autobiography^{*3)}), Beginning in 1923.

Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich.

Born in Petrograd April 29, 1902 into a family of middle-class officials. His father⁴⁾ was from a peasant family in Mogilevskoi Gubernia; his mother⁵⁾, a teacher at the gymnasium, was from a Petrograd family.

His childhood was spent in the salubrious atmosphere of intellectual work. “From my early years, my father, a great lover of geography and the natural sciences, knew how to interest me in the sciences and gave me a passionate love of nature. The best gift was always a book in this area, and my greatest pleasure was a walk with him as he explained and told stories about plants and animals. This love for each little leaf or inconspicuous bird will, I think, remain with me forever.

I studied at the 3rd Petrograd gymnasium where I went into the first class with my friends – lovers of natural sciences who were almost exclusively interested in related issues. I worked with a microscope, amassed a collection, and took notes, but the most interesting and fruitful studies were those of biological images of nature and observations of animals in their natural surroundings.

This was the situation until the spring of 1918 when father⁶⁾ was evacuated, first to Nizhnii Novgorod and then to Moscow. This difficult situation led us to think of father’s share of grandfather’s⁷⁾ farm and we went off to that village. There, with unbelievable strength for city dwellers, without father (he was still working in Moscow) we literally created from nothing a simple form of agriculture and learned how difficult were 14–16 hours of physical labor. I was the oldest in this working family.

I finished the last class of the gymnasium in the provinces⁸⁾ and with great effort I managed to leave for Moscow in 1920, where after two extremely bitter winters, I was lucky enough to create for myself a more or less tolerable life. Circumstances propelled me along a technical path, and at the present time, I am a student in the second course at the Lomonosov Institute.⁹⁾

* GARF. F.2307. Op.2. D. 79. L. 66–67; manuscript. The publication and notes presented by the leading scientific co-workers of the Saint Petersburg branch of the Institute of Natural History and Technology named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Science of the scientific coworkers T. I. Yusupova and N. A. Simukova.

Practical Skills and General Characteristics

I am educated about plants, insects, and the like for building a collection. I have observation skills. I enjoy fully examining the basic issues in the natural sciences and geography.

I know the practical system of estimation by sight. I can trace a march route and draft a plan of the local areas. I am good at orienting.

I am literate, coherent, and concise in stating my thoughts and observations on paper. I can keep a diary and notes.

Regarding my physical health, I have great endurance and am indefatigable, especially while walking. I love to work and am not afraid of exerting great effort. Good eyesight, a firm hand, and above all- I am in excellent condition. Frugal about what I eat, I have lived, time after time, through periods of great hunger. I am familiar with the routine of camp life and know how to practice the basic rules of hygiene. I live in a healthy and moral environment and consider myself such. In no way am I overindulgent. My nerves are absolutely healthy, I remain steadfast and also have a good disposition and spirit as well as being easy to get along with. I am also trained in military thinking.

I am free from any obligations and claims. I live independently. My father died not long ago, and my mother lives in the village with my brother¹⁰⁾ (19-years-old) and my sister¹¹⁾ (18-years-old)."

III 2 A. Ya. Miller¹²⁾ – to A. D. Simukov, March 22, 1923.

*Pension Luttich,
Motzstrasse 20,
Berlin W. 30
March 22, 1923.*

<To Moscow>

Dear Andrusha,

I received two of your letters from the 14th and the 18th of (this) month and was very pleased that you have found the good fortune to fulfill your interests even while on a difficult trip. You must not regard this great pursuit solely from a sporting point of view. No, you must undertake a definite part of the scientific work: the collection of plants and insects, meteorological observations, and whatever else Peter Kuzmich asks you to do. By all means, always maintain a brief diary and do not skip even one day because you are tired. On this trip, at no time and under no conditions partake of alcohol. Above all, remember this one thing: health.

Treat the natives with courtesy and don't let yourself be fooled. Never beat them. The French traveler Dutreil de Rhins¹³⁾ was killed by his camel driver

because of his nasty treatment. Soft pressure but no upbraiding or brawling. The natives value highly people who treat them this way.

Look at Urga¹⁴⁾ and what remains from my time there. Pay my respects to Vasilii Petrovich¹⁵⁾, the Postmaster. Maybe you will find Timothy Timotheovich Prokin with his wife Margarita Ivanovna and Nicolai Yakovlevich Ujhin. Send my respects to both of them, yes to all who remember me. And, bear in mind that there is syphilis all over Mongolia.

Today I was at Zachary Grigorevich Grinberg's (*Lietzenburgerstrasse 11* *Wissenschaftlich-Technische Abteilung* N. K. Prosa). He kindly promised to buy the instructions for your binoculars and deliver them personally to Peter Kuzmich in Moscow at the address Prichistenka 16, house K. U. B. U.¹⁶⁾ (You forgot to mention his address but Aunt Olia¹⁷⁾ corrected your mistake, but during the trip Aunt Olia will not be with you...)

Yesterday I forwarded to you a registered letter in the name of Frau *D. R. Schlechter*.¹⁸⁾ The receipt was affixed to the letter in the name of Peter Kuzmich.

I am turning to you for a last request. On leaving Urga, I sent from there through the Urga office of the Russian Transport and Insurance Society (1844) all my belongings which were in 8 large boxes according to the receipt (...) from the office August 1916 for No. 5589224. I never received this load. It had gotten stuck in February-March 1917 in Orenburg. From my letter from London from 6/19¹⁹⁾ February 1918 I asked the Petrograd office about the afore-mentioned Transport (...) to save my load for (...). All the documents regarding this load are found at S. A. Yurevich (Miasnitskaya 19, "Transport"). Bring the documents regarding this property, and there will be a reward. However, I understand that there is little hope.

May God protect you. Kisses from me from your mother, Aunt Olia, Babushka²⁰⁾, Lesha²¹⁾, and Alia²²⁾.

All the best! Write!

Your, A. M.

III 3 A. Ya. Miller – to A. D. Simukov, March 24, 1923.

<Berlin>

24 March 1923.

<to Moscow>

Happy Easter!²³⁾

Dear Andrusha:

Please give Peter Kuzmich the attached letter of Mr. Schlechter concerning the

receipt of my letter sent to you.

Turning your attention to the equipment (1) woolen underwear; (2) thick woolen stockings; (3) comfortable, roomy shoes: boots and felt boots; (4) above all, take a bashlik or Caucasian hood, four pairs of woolen gloves and 2 pairs of warm mittens. The ear flaps you can buy in Urga, Mongolian ear flaps.

For riding in wild Mongolia, the Mongolian gown, or deel, made out of sheepskin or fur, or a comfortable sheepskin coat. It is possible to buy in Urga, a warm and comfortable motor car driver's coat made from the skin of a Mongolian dog.

Do you know how to take photographs? It is a very valuable skill for the journey. Be sure to note down on each negative, the name of the place and the date. Memory fails in some cases. Take advantage of the time before your departure, so you can learn how to draw up surveys based on the estimation by sight system. That is most essential. Learn to use meteorological instruments and a compass. It seems easy but demands technical skill and experience for the most accurate results.

The family name of the venerable Vasilii Petrovich (postmaster) is Burdkovskii. Give him my regards. It is a renowned and good family. Find out about the learned and good Buryat Jamsarano.²⁴⁾ He is a remarkable person. My warmest greetings to him and to the former minister of foreign affairs, Tserendorj.²⁵⁾ The cleverest of Mongols.

Don't neglect learning about how to prepare the animals. Always important on a journey. Remember to get a portable filter/strainer. Don't drink the water without filtering it. The best drink is weak tea with cranberry juice. Brick tea isn't bad, but you have to become accustomed to it. A camp bed is essential. Sleeping directly on the ground is dangerous to your health.

You can make the Mankhatai pass on foot (it is between Kyakhta²⁶⁾ and Urga). Out of pity for the horse, half of the trip was made on foot. Look after your horse yourself to prevent him from being overloaded. The best saddle-cavalry of the new sort. The legs shake on a Mongolian saddle, so generally speaking, the Mongols try to ride on a soft place.

Great respects to Peter Kuzmich. Be in good health! Love to Grandmother and Aunt Olia and everyone.

Yours, A. M.

III 4 Certificate²⁷⁾, March 29, 1923.

R. S. F. S. R.

NKP

Moscow

Mechanical-Electrotechnical
Institute
named after M. V. Lomonosov

March 29th day of 1923.

No.2959

Moscow

Tverskaya street, Blagoveshchensky lane, No. 1

Phone No. 7–39

Job. No. 2834

Certificate

Issued by the Board of the Mechanical-Electrical Institute named after M. V. Lomonosov Simukov Andrey Dmitrievich, that he is a second-year student of the Mechanical Faculty, and that he is allowed to take leave from March 25 to April 15, 1923, at the station Unecha. 1923 on the station Unecha.

Rector

To the Superintendent of Affairs <signature>.

III 5 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, (End of April 1923.)

<end of April 1923>

<Sigeevka>

<to Moscow>

Dear Lulenska,

I send you my farewell kisses before our long separation. You are as close to me as when, once upon a time, I was close to your now deceased father. I am very, very unhappy to think that this summer's holiday will proceed without you. I, myself, feel doubly orphaned (...)

I send you much, much love. Take care of yourself.

Think often of your lonely mother.

III 6 Certificate, June 11, 1923.

R. S. F. S. R.

NKP

Moscow

Mechanical-Electrotechnical Institute Named for M. V. Lomonosov, Simukov.

June 11, 1923.
No.4993
Moscow
Tverskaya, Blagovechshenskii p., house No. 1
Tel. No. 7-39

Certificate

Issued by the Administration of the Mechanico-Electrotechnichestvo Institute
named for M. V. Lomonosov
the student in the second course of the Mechanical faculty
Simukov Andrei Dmitrievch,
that he is being sent under the direction of the leader of the Tibetan Scholarly
Expedition of The Russian Geographical Society.

Rector of the Institute, Professor <signature>

Administrative Affairs <signature>

<Print>: "Mock. Mechanic-Electro-Technik. Institute named for M. V.
Lomonosov"

**III 7 Title Page of the Book by P. K. Kozlov with a Dedication to
A. D. Simukov from the Author, May 3, 1923.**

The book-Tibet and The Dalai-Lama. P. K. Kozlov, Petersburg, 1920.

Dedication: Fellow-traveler on my new trip to Tibet, Andrei Dmitrievich
Simukov with remembrances from the author.

May 3, 1923, Moscow.

III 8 Certificate, June 14, 1923.

Russian Geographic Society

Leader of
TIBETAN SOCIETY EXPEDITION

expedition
June 14, 1923.
No. 409
Moscow, Prechistenka 16

Certificate

The present certificate presents to Andrei Dmitrievich SIMUKOV as an active member of the Tibetan Scientific Expedition Russian Geographical Society, by the established resolution of the Sovnarkom from 27 February of this year, and serves on behalf of the Mission, functions with its organization and equipment²⁸⁾.

POM. Leader of the Expedition

<Signature> *N. V. Pavlov*

Secretary: <signature> *Sarantsev*

<Print> Russian Geographic Society, Tibet Science Expedition

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-Administrative Matters of the Soviet Peoples' Commissars

III 9 Certificate, October 1, 1925.

No.82/6

Moscow, Kremlin October 1, 1925.

Certificate

 Issued to this member as an established resolution from the Council of Soviet Commissars on February 27, 1923 for the Tibetan Research Expedition, under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov, comrade SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrevich for the time of his stay on said expedition, for the period of 3 years, and that his family, in relation to its dwelling and property, are extended the right of active military service in The Red Army and thus space in the family apartment will not be reduced nor his family evicted nor their property confiscated.

Administration of the Council of Commissars of the USSR

<signature>

Establishment of the Chancery of The Council of Commissars USSR RSFSR

/A. Petrosian/ <signature>

<print>: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Administrative Matters of the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars.

(Stamp on the other side of the document):

"With this present document in (...) Moscow Government Office

Copy taken February 19, 1926 register No.6997."

III 10 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, September 13, 1923.

*Troitzkosavsk*²⁹⁾

September 13, 1923

<to Sigeevka>

My Dear Mamochka!

I have not written to you for a long time and do not, by and large, write enough. As far as I remember, two-three letters from the trip. I would like to spend a heartfelt minute talking with you. This place, somehow, reminds me of Sigeevka³⁰⁾ especially in these two weeks in the absence of P. K³¹⁾. when we sit here almost without working. I very much want to have news from you and hope that since Onisim³²⁾ came to Moscow he would have sent off to me a short note from you. All I know about our area is that the harvest was poor because of the weather and that there were few apples and other blessings of this sort. And doing such work for 4 months is like a year in the village! And winter isn't here yet. What sort of paper did you finally receive?³³⁾ Was it alright? I did everything possible, but they had received them even without us. What are you thinking of doing with the money? What did Onisim say, on the whole, about last year? All of this is of interest to me (Without being sarcastic, I ask Lesha³⁴⁾ about this, in reference to my concern for your affairs.) I would very much like to know your and Lesha's plans and...oh, sometimes, how I wish that I were with you, and I don't even have a family photograph, not even a picture of you. Write me even a few lines, don't be so lazy, I will repay you the money. The letter will catch up with me. In the name of Christ our God I ask, humbly,

Now a few words about my life here. These days conclude the period of life without Kuzmich³⁵⁾, which has been a time of peace for the expedition with little activity, except for personal matters, and a period of rest before the strain of activity. During this time, I took many excursions -sometimes going 40 versts a day as I went out to all the neighboring mountains, which I enjoyed to my heart's content, since what is here is so different from our natural environment. I do not sleep mentally as there is so much material to be processed and mastered, and I have found very helpful the deep conversations with some of my travelling companions, such as Nicolai Vasilevich Pavlov³⁶⁾. I turn more to those adults with the greatest experience.

Autumn is here right now with the amazingly colored forest. The shrubbery here includes: the rhododendron *daurskii*, and hawthorn from blood red to violet colors; the birches are yellowish, the aspens remain orangey, even the larch has become yellow-green. It is good now in the forest on the little hills. From the top in clear weather the spur of the North-Mongolian mountain ridge can be seen, from where the road to Urga goes, and in the northwest, barely seen, from 250 versts is

the wall of Khamar-davaa which ends at Baikal. The horizon is splendid here! The wooded and bare knolls, the church of Troitzkosavska, the Selenge wending its way in the distance, the endless waves of mountainous country with the bluest spines of these mountains, are like the background of a painting. The distinctive life here depends on much “from abroad”- almost every town makes its living from small contraband.

Among the wild animals here, there are many wolves, fox, large marmots and roe deer, and I saw two of these repeatedly. There are interesting birds and on a rare occasion, I saw a Siberian stag. Yes, I do see very interesting things because nothing diverts my eyes and ears. Many stories to tell. Time, however, goes so fast.

We travel by horse cart up to Urga and from there wait for the camels, which we have paid for, to grow fat for the trip across the Gobi. May they appear!

The next letter, I will write, perhaps not before Urga- and from there- all is darkness and the unknown. So, farewell for a while, don't forget your restless first born and, when possible, write.

Best, warmest, and brotherly greetings to Aleksei and Alia³⁷⁾. I want to receive letters from them very much. Let Lesha take a minute to write about himself as I really wish to hear about him.

A big kiss to you, my beloved Mama and heartfelt wishes for your celebration³⁸⁾, for which I wish you strength, good cheer, and energy, as well as spiritual peace.

Andrei.

“September 26, 1923, on P. K. Kozlov's expedition of The Russian Geographic Society, equipped from the beginning by The Soviet Peoples' Commissar of the USSR, I crossed the first border of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.”³⁹⁾

III 11 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov^{†40)}, June 27, 1924.

June 27, 1924⁴¹⁾

<Urga>

<to Sugu-nuur⁴²⁾>

Most esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

I have the honor of reporting to you that we arrived in Urga today, that is June

† Letters Nos. 11–16 and 21: Archive of the Russian Geographical Society. F. 18. Op.3. D. 629. Compilers express deep gratitude to the staff of the Russian Geographical Society for the high level of preservation of documents, assistance in their search, making copies and

27 at two o'clock in the afternoon. The Post⁽⁴³⁾ detained us, but we were alright—that is, the trunk⁽⁴⁴⁾ hasn't been touched thanks to the interference of the very gracious D. P. Rinchin⁽⁴⁵⁾ to whom I had turned. At the moment of arrival of Pakhomov⁽⁴⁶⁾ we dined with Madaev⁽⁴⁷⁾ and all was, as it should be, under lock and key. I took the key for the storage house which, from a superficial glance, seemed in order except for the dust which had free access through the storage house window, a difficult struggle.

The meteorological station seemed in order. The journal was clear, careful, and detailed (with notes about the weather conditions). I received this book of materials. During the time of the scandal, it was confiscated from Pakhomov N. V. Pavlov,⁽⁴⁸⁾ not having them at his departure. Pakhomov noted in his observations the time according to chronometry. I hope to arrange his things in an organized fashion and measure his day and observations accordingly. A can with spirits was found which shows you where to send it together with the sink⁽⁴⁹⁾ 3-x-linear⁽⁵⁰⁾ along with Georgii's.⁽⁵¹⁾ Wads 12 caliber or gauge of felt and cardboard taken from the cartridge chest, shown to you, and sent off with Georgii. Elizabeth Vladimirovna⁽⁵²⁾ received the post. Things were better with the departure of Pakhomov. There was certain unforeseen friction, but this will not happen, as everything has been discussed. I never saw Elena Petrovna.⁽⁵³⁾ According to Pakhomov, she lives in Bogd-uul, with Rinchin and is involved in our botanical collection. Perhaps Pakhomov, as you know, left with V. A. Kazakevich⁽⁵⁴⁾ for the south, in the Gobi. I reported this to you prior to your arrival.

I shall begin the matter entrusted to me by you tomorrow morning, while Elizabeth Vladimirovna is here.

The dust in this town is simply unbelievable and is everywhere. A strong wind blew up today, and we still can see it stirring up a cloud over the town.

Pakhomov has been near Urga for almost a week. Consequently, a misunderstanding might arise about the details of the warehouse, that may be possible to put aside.

Devotedly yours

A. Simukov

granting the right to publish. The publication and notes of the head of the Group of History of the Study of Central Asia (Museum-apartment of P. K. Kozlov) of the St. Petersburg branch of the Vavilov Institute of the History of Natural History and Technology. The publication was made by Dr. A. I. Andreev and N. A. Simukova, Head of the Group for the History of Central Asia Studies.

III 12 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov, July 5, 1924.

July 5, 1924

<Urga>

<to Sugu-nuur>

Highly Esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

I have the honor reporting to you the following.

1. I will verify the quantity of yambi⁵⁵⁾ and the small shot, first, and then the following list, 40 pieces each a bag, indicated on the register. The small shot in the bag includes: in bag No. 20–5 sacks (25 funt-[pounds]) of the 6th No. and 1 sack (5 funt) No. 13, in the Irkutsk bag 1 sack of the No. 10. Besides this, in the yurt lay the following No. No.: No. 3- a large sewn sack and a small one started; No. 1–1 large simple sack and a small one started; No. 4 (?) bought at Kabanov⁵⁶⁾ 1 small bag; In a bag I found a list in the yurt before cleaning up.
2. Cartridges in the following amount:
3-x-linear 27 in a package full-24,300 pieces.
“The Nagan”- 3 boxes completely full + Your zinc 16 bundle- in all 6,776 pieces.
3. Distributed to Ts. Badmajapov 5 packets of cartridges “Nagan”; thus, in Your zinc there are 21 packets.
4. The box with the birds⁵⁷⁾ is being sent on to the Consulate. The last two of our places⁵⁸⁾ still have not dispatched and no one is in a position to inform me when that will happen. And- not to forget Liuisov (machine guns)⁵⁹⁾ and the cartridges of A. N. Vasiliev⁶⁰⁾.
5. I received a paper from the embassy with a resolution from A.V. Vasiliev about the issue for the temporary use of the Uchkom⁶¹⁾ 2nd rifle, 3rd case, the saddle and 6003-x-linear cartridges necessary to fulfill the demand. A paper and receipt are enclosed.
6. E(lena) P(etrovna) left and took with her with a little less than a can of alcohol and at the personal request of Aleksei Nicolaevich, a canvas cloak for him and a Danish tent.
7. Articles and things from the box and bag of N. V Pavlov’s equipment which are not marked down in the book, and that is very bad, since you don’t know if there is a list about this matter.
8. The box with all the archeological things is in order.
9. Sent off the letter of K. M. Danilenko⁶²⁾ with the instruction about the desire to send away Pakhomov either on 1 August s. g. (of the same year) Pakhomov did not take the money. Following your instructions, I provided the equipment.

10. The yurt has been cleaned and is in order. Next the warehouse and the yard.

11. I send you the following:

10 f. lump sugar

15 f. buckwheat groats

20 f. the finest wheat flour

4 f. candles (Kabanov)

1 packet matches

10 boxes toffee

10 jars jam

4 jars cherry preserves

4 entomological boxes

1 jar of rifle grease (your instructions)

A plane

Nails (a few remained)

What was left (remaining cartridges etc.)

Brought from Elizabeth Vladimirovna.

Tsogto Garmaevich⁶³) arrived four days ago, badly burned and carrying with him a young dzeren (a young Mongolian gazelle.) He was bringing me my special favorite and so I tried to rise to the occasion. Madaev went home. The Uchkom party left in days; one (Lisovskii⁶⁴) to the east (Onon and Kerulen), the other to the south-west, with good intentions, where possible, to visit the survey mark Shara-kholosun (Kazakevich).

I have had enough of this. From the storage to the book, from the book to the meteorological station...The gate is constantly locked. After the exit of Elena Petrovna, the life of Pakhomov was more measured and proper. I thanked, in your name, Elena Petrovna for removing everything from your rooms.

It is very constantly pouring rain here, but the barometer, overall, is very steady.

Yours truly,

A. Simukov.

III 13 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov, July (14), 1924.

July (14), 1924⁶⁵

<Urga>

<to Sugu-nuur>

Most Esteemed Peter Kuzmich

I have the great honor to send to you the following:

1. In the evening of this 13th day of July E. Ya. Sakharov⁶⁶) gave me your letter with my instructions as well as the letter of Elizabeth Vladimirovna and three

letters sent by post.

2. Concerning the dunst, don't worry it will soon be available⁶⁷⁾ in bag No. 8 (as you indicated) there are 5 sacks-25 funt! They were not shown on the inventory, but it goes without saying that I did not go into that part of the bag.
3. I think the warehouse is clean. There was a lot of dirt. Now I am getting to work and am looking, in detail, at the inventory, starting with the roughest. The chest will not be touched without your permission.
4. The meteorological station is in order and the wind-up mechanical chronometer produces, without fail, the fixed time, and I am sending you the typical examples for May and June in this letter. I traced for myself the temperature curve, the atmospheric pressure, and the cloudiness in all the months of my stay in Urga and I am thinking of compiling the winter characteristics (December-January-February) and in the spring (March-April-May).
5. About the silver in the Gostorg, business was handled in the following manner:⁶⁸⁾ they changed all of the 400 dollars, as the market for silver seemed like more, then the price fell, and it was not accepted at the bank, the customs office and other places. Therefore, the last 200 dollars they gave me as a loan, and as security I left the silver. Some days G. N. Berdiev⁶⁹⁾ asked me to call on him to calculate and fully regulate this issue. In all likelihood, this matter of the price of silver could proceed if you agree on the discount to the cost. Of course, this may not be entirely in our interest.
6. E. Ya. Sakharov was most obliging and helpful in this situation and I hope left a good impression. With M. P. Kuznetsova⁷⁰⁾ the matter seemed very simple. The difficulty in all of this was just for her to show a photo and fill out a form in order to receive the necessary permit in Russia. However, the fulfillment of this mission will be delayed. Her application has not been lost and I, myself, saw her passport (Shakhov⁷¹⁾ had already pursued it.) He came here a long time ago and it follows those things would have been done.
7. They packed up the soft collection, but I have my doubts about some things: I have not a clue regarding the boar's hide- neither a number nor a label. How can it be restored and connected to the skull?
8. I am sending you a ream of paper for the plants, sugar, tea, and rice. The purchased bags for the expedition have arrived and I didn't find them especially large. Regarding the order, next time will you send the bags? The boxes, this matter is not as important. Gostorg, in the person of Berdiev, declared to me, that they themselves are buying boxes and took me to Kabanov. The box which was sent last was paid for. I sent you by post (three letters). The newspaper arrived with the following oddity- that it is necessary to catch Dadiani⁷²⁾. At Tsogto Garmaevich they all disappeared somewhere, in

Sangin⁷³⁾ but no one knows where. Marshall⁷⁴⁾ is still not here. Williams⁷⁵⁾ has also gone away. My life flows along very quietly. With the exception of your errands, I am at home all the time and besides Tsogto Garmaevich I see no one. My Mongolian language hasn't been put completely right, although I do chat a bit with the Buryats. I am studying English diligently. It rains frequently. Little dust.

Respectfully yours, A. Simukov

P. S. I am slated to receive the money today in the bank from a Gostorgovskom (government trade) check. It is possible that I won't receive it since today begins the "military holiday" which lasts, it seems, 5 days so visits from guests aren't happening.

P. P. S. Received the money (200 dollars) thanks to the actions of I. P. Jenkins⁷⁶⁾ through the backdoor. The bank is closed today.

III 14 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov, Beginning of August 1924.

<Beginning of August 1924⁷⁷⁾>

<Urga>

<to Sutzukte>

Most Esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

I have the honor of imparting to you the following:

1. Elena Petrovna came last week. She lives in the Consulate and in a camp which we have rarely seen. She brought herbs (about 80 specimen) and a few bird skins. Several raptor birds and one tern (*Sterna hirundo*, if I am not mistaken. This was determined by Elizabeth Vladimirovna at Kanaev's⁷⁸⁾).
2. Our account in the Gostorg is seen in the following position.

The range of our full account is given in bars of silver:

June 18th-1,000 dollars

20- 600 dollars

July 15- 200 dollars

- - - - -

Total 1,800 dollars

I received for the realization of the silver 545 dollars and 87 cents. The remains of the cash of silver is 1,126 lan⁷⁹⁾ 23 fin⁸⁰⁾. Thanks to this realization of silver by the official policy, Berdiev hopes to net the sum which would cover the money which

has been taken.

3. Your letter was sent off the day it was received.
4. Everything you ordered arrived with I. P. Smerdin⁸¹⁾. In Urga there is no jam.
5. Much has been counted again and it looks like we have found some conserves. Someone threw out what was spoiled (the boxes had rusted through and the contents stank.)
6. I am sending to you the July references for the meteorological ratios.
7. Knowing your deep interest in all of this, which touches on the sacred massif at Bogd-uul, I am sending to you a description of my short trip there. I changed the day for the sorting of Elena Petrovna's herbarium at the warehouse.
8. No Marshall, and since he has not arrived, (and he has the wallpaper), Tsogto Garmaevich will not have his repairs.

All is well at the warehouse and at the station. I live, as before, quietly and peacefully. Relations with Tsogto Garmaevich are the best. He sends you greetings. In Sangin, his children (I do not know their names) have scarlet fever. Basically, that is all the news.

Respectfully Yours, A. Simukov

P. S. I want, very much, after the conclusion of this work, to stay in Sutzukte. A.S.

III 15 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov, August 12, 1924.

August 12, 1924

Urga

<to Sutzukte>

Most Esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

I have the honor of bringing to you the following: yesterday, the 11th of August, at ten o'clock in the morning E. S. Vorobeva⁸²⁾ brought me the letter from you, Elizabeth Vladimirovna, and Sergei Aleksandrovich⁸³⁾. She said, regarding this, that everything that had been ordered had to be ready by 12 o'clock. Tsogto Garmaevich, as I have already reported to you, has left, and I have in hand all of 20 rubles. Thus, I am compelled to act in the following way: I bought everything that was ordered on credit at Kabanov and Topal⁸⁴⁾, things for the Chinese bought with available cash in the Chinese store. Everything was packed at Kabanov and from there Vorobeva took it herself.

Knowing that to you the money is really necessary, I will risk doing the following operation: take out a loan from Mongolbank in bars of silver within the

month. I gave in 10 bars and received 322 dollars and 40 cents, that is the per cent commissioned for nearly 7 dollars and 60 cents. The bars are listed (and on each you can see the number) and will be returned with the payment of the aforementioned sum. I have already paid today from this money the debt for the goods and 200 dollars I sent you from I. P. Smerdin, to whom this letter has been transmitted. It is a pity that Vorobieva was in such a hurry. Not a big problem. Berry jam cannot be found. On this first adventure, some small things and omissions have occurred due to being hasty; the newspaper as well. No news anyway. I will carry out the rest of the errands. Greetings to Elizabeth Vladimirovna and all of yours.

Respectfully Yours A. Simukov.

III 16 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov⁸⁵⁾, November 20, 1924.

November 20, 1924

Sutzukte

<to Urga>

Most Esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

I have the honor of sending you the first part of my account – the plan, its legend, and the hypsometric data. For the time when I set off on this new expedition, your side had not followed the changes of the first plan, so I solicited from you the permit for its completion through Sergei Aleksandrovich, but I must conclude that the second part of the account, in which everything had been entered, deals immediately with the plan. I noticed many mistakes in his work itself, and many more that you have shown to me, and I hope that in the future it will be possible to correct them through serious work. I must pay particular attention to geology. On the last expedition, owing to my complete inexperience, I only closely looked at this from the point of view of the consequences to the research.

Let's assume that my march route is this: the Bayan-gol, and from there to the river Terelj, and following along it to the falls of the Tsam-Terelj, and later up to the source, near which will be the camp. I intend to investigate: the sources of the Khongin (Iro), the river Kha (...) ⁸⁶⁾ (Tola), to conclude the inspection of the river and the source of the Tsam-Terelj and with it the lake and then penetrate, possibly, deeper into Khentii. Of course, what will come from all of this is a future question, but while I am healthy-my legs and back display the maximum ability to work. You see that the result is dependent on (from the fate of the previous expedition) how far the legs can go and what provisions for the night a man carries on his back.

The story tortured me for about an hour and continues to torture me now. In all likelihood, you will be in Moscow at K. M. Danilenko's – and not denying my humble request to finish the matter of the proper salary deductions on which I stand guilty before you and the expedition.

I do not dare to trouble you with different requests when you are on your leave in Russia.⁸⁷⁾ One request I do beg of you – put the enclosed letter in the mail box.

I wish you a speedy and pleasant trip and that you fulfill your wishes concerning the future fate of the expedition.

Respectfully yours A. Simukov.

III 17 A. D. Simukov – to S. A. Kondratiev⁸⁸⁾, End of November 1924.

<End of November 1924>⁸⁹⁾

<Sutzukte>

<to Urga>

Dear Sergei Aleksandrovich!

I am sending off by way of Mandal⁹⁰⁾ a report by post which has been done to the best of my ability. Today I set off for Noyon-uul. Now -to business. (1) I think a thermometer is essential on the trip. Aren't you bringing one? (2) The Chinese Vasya⁹¹⁾ requested to change his Mongolian passport. The problem with this is that he would be delayed and would be threatened with a fine of 28 yanchan.⁹²⁾ If you could intercede on behalf of the expedition-please do so. (3) I forgot to ask Peter Kuzmich in the letter for a little money, 20–25 rubles, from the salary to cover possible personal expenses. (4) Couldn't you send Kotika⁹³⁾ with me to the mountain range? He would not be superfluous, and I suggest following his work habits on several night-time walking expeditions. Together, it would be easier, and I would have fewer things to take care of. The animal count in Sutzukte is, by and large, weak. I haven't yet made any allowances for him – I am worn out.⁹⁴⁾ However, you must judge what is important and what is not important for the expedition.

Yours, A. Simukov.

III 18 P. K. Kozlov – to M. A. Alekseenko⁹⁵⁾, February 24, 1925.

Here. Spiridonovskaya Street, D. 34, kb. 20.

Melania Alekseevna Alekseenko.

<Stamp> “Moscow, 34-City. Post Division 24. 2. 25”

Moscow February 24, 1925

Tel. 1–86–37

<Here>

Milia Melania Alekseevna!

Take into consideration that next Friday I will leave for Petrograd where I will stay until March 9 and will return on the 10th to Moscow from where I will go to the expedition area on March 18.

Would it be possible to meet me in the morning, at 9:45 to have a talk either alone or with your nice Katia⁹⁶⁾ (in the next few days).

On Thursday, February 26, I am lecturing⁹⁷⁾ in a room at the Historical Museum. If you are thinking of coming, I can get tickets for you and Katia.

All the best.

Yours, P. Kozlov.

P. S. I receive the news daily from Mongolia; all is well there. Andriusha has been successful concerning my project in the bare summits⁹⁸⁾ and, by the way, he killed an excellent roebuck (deer).

III 19 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 27, 1925.

February 27, 1925

Sutzukte

<to Sigeevka>

My Dear Mamochka!

You can only imagine what joy I had on receiving your long letter – the second letter in the two years of the expedition! The letter travelled less than a month, from the distant Klimovichi⁹⁹⁾ to Sutzukte and it came fast. However, we rarely receive things from Urga. I heard about the beginning of your quiet life hermit. Three of us live together in Sutzukte, not including the Chinese cook as one of the workers. These three – S. A. Kondratiev, the assistant leader of the expedition, is a remarkable man with a deep soul. He is the son of an old astronomer from the

Pulkovskii observatory; Kotia Danilenko – the family name, known to you from Lesha's Moscow stories, and me. We are up to our necks in work. Above all, I killed three deer simultaneously (17 ½ poods [a pood =36 pounds] of pure meat), which gives us enough meat for a while for our monastery, so we don't even go hunting.

Just now, I finished a rough account about a trip to the Khentii mountain range, where I wandered through the taiga for a whole month. And thanks to this trip, my name appeared in the newspaper. The account stretched to 50 large pages written in a large format. Next, was the calculation of the absolute height in the recording and the reading of the aneroid, and finally, the drawing up of the survey.

Apart from that, every day, we go to the excavation. As soon as we start digging the "Wet" kurgan, we hit the papers. Looks like one of these days, we will finish it, as we are already rummaging in the sepulchral area.

All sorts of amusements. Sometimes in the evenings we sang as a chorus especially created for our voices by S. A. (he, besides everything else, is a composer. His talents are amazing.)

Now, we are severely agitated with news from the center where our papasha¹⁰⁰ now soars like an eagle. Judging from the recent newspapers, he knows how to show things to their best advantage and actively get the world interested in our work. Thanks to this, there are new prospects for our expedition...and increased work for a time. In all likelihood, we will go to the south, but it is not known exactly where. All of this will be clearer in the near future, and in June maybe our journey will start. You can imagine all the contradictory thoughts and wishes provoked by this! However, in any case, I must fulfill my position and my duty on this expedition until it ends. My influence and relative worth, more or less, have grown in these recent times, thanks to my independence on this trip.

And how wonderful these trips were! I spent all of the month of October under the open sky with a campfire for 44 nights, without considering spending those nights in a simple forest hunters' hut. The lowest temperature was -37 °C and went nearly to -30 °R. (the Reaumur scale)

I felt terrific. This was my domain. The first trip lasted for three weeks and had an exploratory character to it. I became acquainted with the taiga, climbed to the bare topped peaks at 2,600 m above sea level. I wrote an account and presented a plan for a future research project. And so, I was off again. At just the right time, the shortest days and the longest winter night...I walked a lot. I wrote all these details to Lesha and sent the letter through Milia. I don't know if he got it. Evidently, some of my last letters did not get there – the Moscow side (through Danilenko) complained of the silence. The second time I went for a month and walked 600 versts. The hunter was very busy and got all different sorts of game – more than our best hunter, S. A. Kondratiev. Our annual list – 12 goats, 5 roebuck

(deer), a wild boar with a suckling pig, besides these birds – 2 wood grouse, 4 black grouse, and about 50 hazel grouse. And for S. A., 20 goats and masses of birds. The quality of the illustration I am sending in this letter is a photograph of me in my special outfit over two deer – I was not successful with the third at that moment. However, the photograph remains in Urga and I don't know if E. V. Kozlova printed one of the shots for me. It was taken near a bivouac on the Khatsurte River, 10–12 versts from Sutzukte. It was freezing about -20 °C. Clothes are full of holes. Our feet are covered in Siberian shoes with cordage so as not to slip on the steep slopes. A deer was killed – a female weighed 7–7 ½ poods in live weight. The third weighed 10 ½ poods. All the skins, a skull, and a skeleton went into the collection. All of the roebuck on our expedition are mine! The weapon – a war rifle. Dirty physiognomy which wasn't noticed. All around the taiga, which feels like home by now, and does not seem so wild.

And enough about photography. Mama, mama, can it be possible that you doubt my relationship with Alia¹⁰¹⁾? Whether something happened to her that changed her, my warm relationship with her has not changed. You know she is ours from the Simukov flesh and blood. Can I be of help to you in all of this? Please, only this indicates the Petrograd address of our Leningrad acquaintances. Misha Andreevskii¹⁰²⁾ gave the address; Pileev Street, (really, don't know, which side), House 3, apartment 58. Of course, he himself is not very happy (see the letter to Lesha¹⁰³⁾) but they have orientated themselves all the same to help, and that means a lot. Through them, they help and the Saposhnikov's¹⁰⁴⁾ father – a professor at the University. I was with him before he left and took a letter to Irkutsk. For that reason, the address of S. D. Vasiliev¹⁰⁵⁾ – an old acquaintance of mine and Alia's: B. Pushkarskaya House 65 (or 63, rather the first), apartment 10. "Vaska" did a lot for me. Thus, the address Rostovtzev – it seems, Litenni 30, I don't remember the apartment, but in the courtyard, from the apartment that Vaska went out, the front door was open and in the yard is the exit to Litenni. Mother, if you remember, call Ludmilla Dmitrievna. The fact is that I have the exact address in Urga, but I can't get to it, nor it seems, can anyone else. On the other hand, these people came to meet Alia with an open heart. It will be spring so before leaving, I will try to write a string of letters which will find help for Alia. This letter went out in good time. Regarding all of this, I say the following to Lesha: I have two acquaintances in the world press: Konstantin Matveevich Danilenko (Lesha could especially talk with him in Moscow), working at "Izvestia TzIK" ("Izvestia Central News Committee") and Lev Agranovskii, who, at the moment of my departure, was studying at the Institute of Journalists (Moscow, M. Dmitrovka 8 or 10). Where he is now, I don't know, but think that his family in Surazh would know. It is easy to find them. In any case, you can get information at the Institute. Kotik Danilenko wrote to his father about the reason for the letter. On the spot, truly, it does seem impossible

but Konstantin Matveevich – an extraordinarily experienced man in the newspaper world – is full of advice. I don't know if I could still do more.

They have revised our budget, really, but I don't know about the salary. In any case, I am not going to worry about this. Regarding that (i.e. Lesha and Alia) —a path must be chosen —without a doubt. I believe it is impossible to doubt we are a united family. How I would like to receive a letter from all of you.

It is strange, Mamochka, that you write about Milia. Until the present, I cannot but grieve from my side. I have received no letters. Before your letter, the last news about her was from Andreevski, with whom Milia delivered some correspondence, namely for my sake. Your words, Mama, deeply distress me, and even more so because they are so unexpected. Of course, it is hard for me to know from 6,000 versts, but I will only change an opinion about someone on the basis of new and tangible principles. The past contradicts your words about Milia. Of course, such squabbles can't be put into words. You and Milia – alone in the world, are what clouds the joyous prospects of travels afar.

And how fast time flies! To think in two months, I am 23-years-old! It must be said that, of course, the time has not passed in vain, and my soul has grown older during this time even when there was no talk of the expedition and when I returned home for Christmas for the last time.

This seems, Mamochka, to say it all. The truth is that I know that I remain (or go) here peacefully, all prepared, and in very good spiritual conditions -and in this respect I am grateful for my relation to S. A. Kondratiev. At this time and so far away, your life and the life of your close ones is so difficult and tiresome for you. Mamochka! You know that I am always with you, and that every day I dream of the moment of our meeting-no matter where-in city or country. I know that you will not forget me. Remember, the spark from your love and my upbringing has never been extinguished and it, alone, is what I cherish.

Tomorrow morning this letter will go off to Urga. I am sorry for the few letters but there is enough work to make us sick. Thus, I am not sure when I can do things for myself.

I kiss you affectionately, Mamochka, and have confidence in me. Send brotherly greetings to Lesha and Alia. And to the rest – as you wish.

Your first born, Andrei.

III 20 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, June 23, 1925.

June 23, 1925.

Sutzukte

<to *Sigeevka*>

Dear Mamochka!

I wrote to you quite recently, but I wanted to jot off a letter to you again. It was barely two years ago that we left from Moscow on this distant journey. I remember the hot day, the asphalt yard at the KUBU,¹⁰⁶ loading the automobile... How much water has flowed under the dam since then! People, the countryside, and a mood have all flashed by since then. Several times we assembled for Tibet, and several times for home! As a result, much of the year we sit in Sutzukte as the departure has been postponed. And, how I long for home! I feel that for you and for others my presence is, simply, necessary, even though Milia writes to me quite a lot. I think about all of you often and a lot and send special love and thoughts to Alia. I am trying to offer myself in your relations and...exerted sadly... Considering the advances and the characters, I have reached the conclusion, that, in all likelihood, Alia is now standing alone, with no one close to her for support who could understand and clarify life's issues, but maybe she will find such a person, or perhaps find them through you. However, you know that in your circle there is a real desert in people's thinking. If some do hang around, they are either a shapeless mask, or morally depraved. To manage in such a medium, one must have a rich internal life or else one grows sour. Alia, however, is rather unformed and wanders, fumbling in the darkness.

My main request of you, Mamochka, if you love me even a little, is to give my love to Alia, simply and sincerely, and if she wrongs you in any way, regard it in the broadest, most humane context without bothering or trifling in words. Above all is love and the present must offer warmth, forgiveness, and constant gentleness! One must understand the young soul! It seems she has many issues arising from within as she tries to live independently without yet knowing her strengths and her own character. All around us is nastiness, a swamp...come on, Mamochka, this is not to blame you, but rather it is the basic maternal warmth in conflict with the freeze in mutual understanding. I don't believe, nor do I want to believe, that Alia does not respond. Alia is less than guilty of all of this because she is so alone. I will be sad if, on returning, I do not see her in the family, not taking, of course, this word literally.

I am very happy thinking of being surrounded by my friends! They are the best possible company. And...soon it will be like home! With Danilenko we often sit and yell the words "*ich will nach Hause gehn*."¹⁰⁷ Thank you, Milia. Her cheerful letter, so full of love, offered me great support. Each letter for me is a feast. As far

as possible, it takes me to my Moscow life and often to my Sigeevka life. Thus, I am not completely in the dark about what is most important in your Krushchevskii life.¹⁰⁸⁾

We have had no changes since the last letter. All is quiet, peaceful, and slow in Sutzukte. I think, however, that at the end of July, in August we will go to the south.

July 20. The letter has lain here for a whole month. Now we are leaving from Sutzukte. Maybe, in a week we will advance and move away from Urga. But this preoccupies me only a little. A much more interesting question for me is how quickly I can return home. Already, we are terribly depressed.¹⁰⁹⁾ Maybe this winter will be successful in escaping for a time or completely.

Write soon, Mamochka, don't wait. I am off to the south¹¹⁰⁾
I kiss you heartily and await the blessed moment of my return. Greetings to Lesha and Alia and to the others at your discretion.

Your Andrei.

III 21 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov¹¹¹⁾, January 18, 1926.

January 18, 1926

Verkhneudinsk

<to Urga>

Most honored Peter Kuzmich!

I am writing to you from Verkhne-Udinsk¹¹²⁾ where everything was found to be alright. Received already the ticket to Moscow and in half an hour, I will be on the train. The batch of 19 parcels for the SNK¹¹³⁾ sent altogether. 10 had still not arrived. The others that were sent to the SNK have not been processed. Greetings to you from D. M. Ubugunov¹¹⁴⁾. Danilenko¹¹⁵⁾ has returned.

Greetings to Elizabeth Vladimirovna and everyone.

Yours A. Simukov.

III 22 Certificate¹¹⁶⁾, October 26, 1926.

Individual price. No. in

Moscow, Provinces and on the r. r. 5 kopeks each

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9th year of publication

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With forwarding and delivery

For 12 months-10 r. 3 months-2 r. 25 k.

For 6 months-5. 50 k.

For 1 month –1r.

Tariff for an announcement (nrzb)

Editor: Tverskaya 48. Telephone (nrzb).

This attests that the young assistant director of the Mongolian-Tibetan research expedition A. D. Simukov received on 1 October 1926 eighty (80) for a month.

Leader of the expedition P. Kozlov (*signature*)

<Print> “The Russian Geographic. Society.

Tibetan Research Expedition.”

Authorized research of The Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition

Coworker of the newspaper “Izvestia TzIK and VTzIK”

K. Danilenko *<signature>* October 26, 1926.

III 23 P. K. Kozlov – to M. A. Simukova¹¹⁷⁾, November 11, 1926.

November 11, 1926

<Leningrad>

<to Moscow>

My dear Milochka!

I am hurrying to send you my counter-signature of my signature printed on this sheet of paper.¹¹⁸⁾

I wish you courage and hope for a bright and happy future.

At the very end of November, I will arrive in Moscow, so good-bye for the present.

Your P. Kozlov.

November 11, 1926.

Notes

- 1) In August-September 1922 the RGO (Soviet Russian Geographic Society) approved the initiative of P. K. Kozlov regarding the revival of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition, which did not take place in 1914, and petitioned before the Sovnarkon (the Council of

Peoples' Commissars) RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic) about its permission. February 27, 1923 SNK USSR (the Soviet Peoples' Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) stated: (1) Recognition of the contemporary and expedient expedition of the Soviet Russian Geographic Society in Mongolia and Tibet under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov for the period of three years. (2) The Government will assume the expenses of the expedition (Andreev and Yusupova 2003: 12; 13).

1

- 2) See note 2 in chapter I.
- 3) This manuscript document (the handwriting of A. D. Simukov) was found by a leading scholarly colleague from the Saint Petersburg branch of the Institute of History, Natural Sciences, and Technology with the name of S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences, d. i. n. (Doctor of the History of Science). T. I. Yusupova.
- 4) Father; see note 12 in chapter II.
- 5) Mother; see note 3 in chapter II.
- 6) Bearing in mind the Russian Ministry of Finance.
- 7) Grandfather – Andrei Minovich Simukov, peasant in the village of Sigeevka in Mogilevskoi gubernia.
- 8) Namely, in the town of Surazh in Gomel Gubernia.
- 9) Namely, the Moscow Mechanical Institute named after M. V. Lomonosov.
- 10) Brother; see note 11 in chapter I.
- 11) Sister; see note 10 in chapter I.

2

- 12) Aleksander Yakovlevich Miller – brother of the mother of A. D. Simukov; see note 51 in chapter II.
- 13) J. L. Rhins (Jules Léon Duteruil de Rhins) – French explorer of Central Asia, geographer, archeologist, worked in Eastern Turkestan and Tibet, where he was killed in 1894 at the age of 47.
- 14) Urga (Mongolian-orgoo-castle, headquarters) as the capital of Mongolia was called, used in Russian and Mongolian literature until 1924; the Mongolian name of the capital; from 1706-Ikh-khüree (The Great Monastery) around 1911-Niislel-khüree (Stolichni monastery). In 1924 the city was renamed Ulaan-Baatar; the contemporary name is Ulaan Baatar.
- 15) Meaning Vasilii Petrovich Burdukovskii.
- 16) Commission for the Improvement of Learning; from 1922 this organization could be found by the stated address under the name of “The House of Learning.”
- 17) Aunt Olia; see note 18 in chapter I.
- 18) Maybe, a member of the family of the botanist and taxonomist Rudolph Schlechter (F.R.R. Schlechter (1872–1925), who worked in Africa, Australia, Central and South America and elsewhere and who showed a major interest in P. K. Kozlov's Central Asian botanical collection).
- 19) The date is shown in the new style.
- 20) Babushka; see note 9 in chapter II.
- 21) Lesha; see note 11 in chapter I.
- 22) Alia; see note 10 in chapter I.

3

- 23) The orthodox Easter.

- 24) Jamtsarano Tziben Jamtzaranovich (Jhamsrani Tzeven) (1880–1942) studied at Saint Petersburg University (Mongolian-philologist, folklorist), enlightener, author of a book and a text book, social-political activist, organizer and scholar secretary of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1921–1929), initiator in founding the Government Library and Museum; accused of “right deviation”(1931), excluded from the MPRP so was compelled to leave for Russia (1932)-co-worker LO (Leningrad Department) IV(Eastern Institute) AN (Academy of Sciences) SSSR (The Union of Soviet Republics) (1932–1937) where was published a series of works on the legacy of the history and cultures of the Mongolian people, a monograph “Mongolian manuscripts of the 17th century”; arrested (1937), died in prison; rehabilitated (1956). About him, see Ulimjhiiev and Tsetzegma 1999; Reshetov 1998a; Yusupova 2011: 200–213.
- 25) Tserendorj (Balingiin Tserendorj) (1868–1928)-government activist in Mongolia: from 1913-deputy minister, then minister of foreign affairs; in the MNP (the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic)-deputy minister of foreign affairs (1921–1922), minister of foreign affairs (1923–1928), writer, poet.
- 26) Kyakhta – town (formerly a suburb) in Zaibaiikal on the border of Russia and Mongolia; founded (1727) as a trade outpost of the Troitzkosavskii fortress on the shortest route from Russia to Beijing. The most important trade center (China, Mongolia).

4

- 27) Before undertaking a three-year separation (the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition was planned for three years) Andrei Simukov went to Sigeevka to say good-bye to his mother and relatives.

8

- 28) “Here Kozlov concluded with Andrei the preparatory work for the expedition. In particular, he went to Kimri to buy shoes for the members of the expedition. When it began to be the time to load the equipment for the expedition in the wagon to the station, Andrei and I helped do that.”

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- 29) Troitzkosavsk-town on the Kyakhta river amongst mountains, several kilometers from the border of Russia and Mongolia; founded (1727) as a border fortress; in 1934 united with the town of Kyakhta under the latest name.
- 30) Sigeevka – a village in Mogilevskoi gubernia (now Belarus) Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov’s father, Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov, was born here, and where his family went from Petrograd in 1918.
- 31) Peter Kuzmich Kozlov, leader of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition (1923–1926.)
- 32) Onisim; see note 34 in chapter II.
- 33) Evidently, this refers to the document affirming the rights of the family of A. D. Simukov, a participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition. See document III 9 of this chapter.
- 34) Lesha – brother of Andrei Simukov, see chapter I.
- 35) Kuzmich – Peter Kuzmich Kozlov.
- 36) Nicolai Vasilevich Pavlov (1893–1971)-botanist, participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov, 1923–1926 and the expedition of the Mongolian commission of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R (1946); see Pavlov 1930.
- 37) Alia-sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 10 in chapter I.
- 38) The name day of N. Ya. Simukova on September 8.

- 39) Simukov A. D. Article about the twelve years of work in Mongolia and the results, Konagaya et al.2008b: 176.

11

- 40) The Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov did not start out in Tibet. See Andreev 1997: 92–120; Andreev and Yusupova 2001. The expedition worked in Mongolia and in the region of Khara-Khoto. A large sum remained as a result of the archeological excavation of the kurgan at Noyon-uul (Yusupova 2010: 26–67).

Apart from the research on the work (the geographic character of places, the topographical system, meteorological observations, the collection of ethnographic material, zoological and botanical collections, archeological and paleontological excavations), the workers on the expeditions, in turn, carried out certain economic and organizational work (tending the camels, “on duty,” cooking, work on the storage for the expedition and the security necessary for the excavations, and the departures of the expeditionary parties. Letters No.11–15 deal with the period when A. D. Simukov was sent out with P. K. Kozlov to the excavation in Sutzukte at Urga “managing the meteorological station and storage for the Tibetan expedition.” (Kozlov 2003: 226).

- 41) Date unconfirmed.
- 42) A. D. Simukov sent the report and correspondence usually to the Mandal settlement, from where an express messenger took it to the camp of P. K. Kozlov (in this case – Sugu-nuur.)
- 43) The customs station.
- 44) The trunk contained archeological materials and finds as well as a zoological collection.
- 45) Rinchin Elbegdorj (1888–1937)–an active participant in the movement of Buryat nationalism, the first representative in the Burnatskom (1917), chairman of Revvoensoviet (The Revolutionary Military Soviet) of the Mongolian Peoples’ Revolutionary army, member of the Central Committee of the MNRP (Mongolian Peoples’ Revolutionary Party) (1921–1924); taught at the Institute of Red Professors, taught in KUTV (Communist University of Workers in the East named for Sun-Yat-sen), subjected to repression, shot (1937), rehabilitated.
- 46) Pakhomov, Vladimir Pankratievich – fellow worker on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition (from the convoy.)
- 47) Madaev Aria-participant in two preceding expeditions of P. K. Kozlov – The Mongolian-Kamskoi (1899–1901) and on the Mongolian-Szechwan (1907–1909).
- 48) N. V. Pavlov; see note 36.
- 49) The sink-hermetically sealed tin box in which was preserved in the warehouse the cartridges and guns.
- 50) Evidently, they had in sight cartridges and 3-x linear rifles, formerly weapons in the Russian army from the First World War.
- 51) Georgii-coachman, driver.
- 52) Elizabeth Valdimirovna Kozlova (Pushkareva) (1892–1975) co-worker on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition, an ornithologist; wife of P. K. Kozlov (from 1912); participant in the expedition of the Mongolian Commission of the Academy of Sciences of USSR 1929 and 1931; director of biological sciences, co-worker at the Zoological Institute of the Academy of Sciences USSR.
- 53) Elena Petrovna Gorbunova (1888–1973) sister of Nicolai Petrovich Gorbunov (1892–1938), secretary to V. I. Lenin (1917–1920), with the governance of the Sovnarkom

RSFSR/USSR (1921–1930), curator of the Mongolian-Tibetan expeditions; E. P. Gorbunova finished the Highest Women's (Bestujhevskii) course, taught in The Women's Medical Institute and the Geographic Institute in Petrograd; participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition; 1924-a women's juridical consultant to the plenipotentiary USSR and the MPR; P. V. Vesviatsk (1884–1938); until 1930 lived in Mongolia, later-in Moscow (1930–1936) and Alma Ata (now Almati, Kazakhstan).

- 54) Kazakevich Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1890–1937)-student at the Leningrad Institute of Living Eastern Languages, led the NKVD (The Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Matters USSR in MPR, collaborator plenipotentiary USSR (1923–1925, 1927) and The Scientific Committee of the MPR, led the ethnographic, topographic, and reconnaissance research (Dariganga, the Southern and South-Western Gobi); Mongol hunter, worker at the Asiatic Museum (Oriental Institute. Academy of Sciences USSR); subjected to repression (1937), shot, rehabilitated (1989). See Kozlov 2003: 968. About him, see People and Fate 2004: 187–188.

12

- 55) Yambi – silver ingot of a certain form, weight, and standard-a means of payment in China, Mongolia into the 1930s of the 20th century.
- 56) Kabanov-store owner in Urga.
- 57) In reference to the ornithological collections.
- 58) Apparently, this is in regard to the boxes with specimens from the zoological and botanical collections which were being sent on through the embassy to the institutes and museums in Leningrad and Moscow for study and description.
- 59) The equipment for the expedition included three machine guns (possibly, in case of unforeseen situations in Tibet), which were being kept in the embassy; in July, 1925, they were given for safekeeping to the Mongolian army (Kozlov 2003: 550).
- 60) Vasiliev Aleksei Nicolaevich (1878–1941)-official commissar of foreign trade in Mongolia (1923), ambassador from the USSR in the MPR (1924–1925), general consul in Mukden (1925–1926), worked in Persia, Turkey, Egypt (1926–1929), managed matters for the Academy of Science of the USSR (1930), legal advisor on trade matters for the USSR in Paris, director of The Museum of figurative Art; arrested (1937), shot.
- 61) Uchkom- Scientific Committee (from 1930 Research Committee, The Scientific Research Committee of the MPR) created in 1921; became the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in 1961.
- 62) Danilenko Konstantin Matveevich (?-1928) authorized on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition in Moscow, journalist, worked for the paper "Izvestia" VTzIK (Central Government Institute of Communism?); father of K. K. Danilenko (Kotika), participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expeditions.
- 63) Tsogto (Tzogto) Garmaevich Badmajhapov (1879–1937) – Zaibaikal Buryat, officer in the Zabaikal Cossack troops, participant in the Mongolian-Kamskii expedition of P. K. Kozlov (1899–1901) first discoverer of Khara-khoto (1907), adviser to the Ministry of Justice, member of the government of Montzenkop, Mongoltrans, representative to Mongolstroia, (20-e years), coworker in Uchkom; forced to leave Ulan-Ude (1930), arrested (1931), after imprisonment and exile lived in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, arrested again in 1937, shot; rehabilitated in 1957. More about him, see Yusupova 2004: 75–96; Lomakina 1998.

- 64) Lisovskii Vsevelod Ignatievich-engineer-specialist in land-reclamation, coworker in the Government as a Russian advisor in Mongolia (1914–1917), participant in the expedition of P. A. Witte according to the statistical – economic inspection of Mongolia (1915–1916), coworker on the Scientific Committee (1921–1926); from 1927-assistant chairperson of the salt authority at the Donskoi agricultural institute (Novocherkassk). About him, see Shastina 1971: 202–203.

13

- 65) Dated by contents, see Kozlov 2003: 248.
- 66) Sakharova, Evgenia Yakovlevna – wife of the Russian colonist S. I. Sakharov (Mandal settlement).
- 67) Dunst (Mongolian duns)-smoking tobacco.
- 68) Gostorg – the government import-export office, founded in 1922; the representatives of the Gostorg worked at the border as trade representatives.
- 69) Berdiev George Nicolaevich – representative to Gostorg USSR in Urga.
- 70) M. P. Kuznetzova – wife of Aleksei Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov – formerly served at Mongolor, the company of the gold industry, keeper of the Tsun-mod goldmine and its property, offered great help to the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition by organizing and conducting the archeological excavations at the kurgan of Noyon-uul.
- 71) Shakhov Aleksei Georgievich (Ostrovskii Moisei Markovich) (1897–1938) – chief consul and partly ambassador of the USSR in Mongolia (1924–1925), worker in the division of economic law NKID (Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Affairs) (1925–1926), manager consul to the ambassador of the USSR and Poland (1926–1930), assistant and manager to the consul in the department of the NKID (1931–1939). See Kozlov 2003: 1021).
- 72) Dadiani, V. G. (Genkin-Dadiani Joseph Isaakevich)-political observer of the ambassador of the USSR in the MPR, coworker on "The Urga Gazette" (See Kozlov 2003: 1001).
- 73) Sangin – the tract on the incline of the Tuul River with a thicket of woods and an unfrozen spring, where the settlement of Tz. G. Badmajapov was found.
- 74) Marshall – Englishman, owner of a trading company in Urga.
- 75) Williams – Englishman, Urga acquaintance of P. K. Kozlov.
- 76) He evidently has in mind Eccle Ivan Pavlovich – brother of Edie Pavlovna Eccle (Badmajapova) wife of Tz. G. Badmajhapov.

14

- 77) Dated from the contents, see Kozlov 2003: 265.
- 78) Kanaev Vasilli Mikhailovich (1903-?) preparer, participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov, the expeditions of E. V. Kozlova in Mongolia (1929, 1931), co-worker on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (beginning in the 1930s).
- 79) Lan – a unit of mass measurement and the basic monetary unit in China from the mid 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. There were several types of Lan with different silver contents. (37.3g; 37.7g and others.)
- 80) Fin – the basic measure of mass and a monetary measure, equal 1/100 of a lan.
- 81) Ivan Petrovich Smerdin (Smertin) lived in the Sugu-nuur settlement.

15

- 82) Vorobeveva Efrosinia Stepanovna-resident of the Mandal settlement, wife of L. Ya. Vorobev, Russian colonist.
- 83) Sergei Aleksandrovich Kondratiev (1896–1970) – composer, conductor, poet; participant

in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition, guide on the mission of P. K. Kozlov's archeological excavations of the kurgan of Noyon-uul, studied the Mongolian music and folklore; a coworker on the Scientific Committee of the MPR (1926–1930), studied Khentii and the western Khangai, and on returning to Russia, led the musical department of the Moscow Drama Theater, was the director of the Central theater of the Red Army; author of the monograph “Mongolian music in epos and song”(1970). See S. A. Kondratyev and His Activities in the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (Jukov and Kulganek 2012: 116–135).

84) Topal – store owner in Urga.

16

85) On September 2, 1924 A. D. Simukov was sent by P. K. Kozlov from Urga to Sutzukte where, besides participation in the archeological excavations, he was occupied with the inspection of Southwest Khentii during several winter excursions; the results served as the basis of his first works: Simukov A. The Account of the Excursion in Southwest Khentii. Winter 1924–1925. The material from the P. K. Kozlov expedition (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 851–890).

86) Evidently, he has in mind the Khaggi River.

87) P. K. Kozlov left from Urga (since 1924 Ulaan Baatar city) for Russia on December 14, 1924 to give an account of the results of the work of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition and a clarification of its future fate; returned to Mongolia April 11, 1925.

17

88) Letter of A. D. Simukov, addressed to S. A. Kondratiev, kindly given by M. I. Kliagina-Kondratieva to the archive of the family of A. D. Simukov in 1970.

89) Dated by the contents.

90) For subsequent dispatches with those passing on to Urga.

91) The Chinese Vasya – worker on the excavation of the kurgan.

92) Yanchan – Mexican silver dollar, circulating in China.

93) Kotik (Konstantine Konstantinovich Danilenko) (1905–1931)-participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition having finished studying in the Leningrad Institute of Living Eastern Languages; died, returning from a practice in China; son of K. M. Danilenko.

94) Andrei assumed that in this way Kotik would be helped deal with his depression.

18

95) M. A. Alekseenko-Melania Alekseevna (Milia), married to Simukov (1904–1993), born in the village of Dushatin, Chernitovskoi gubernia (now in Brianskoi oblast RF) friend from his youth (from 1919), wife (from 1926) of Andrei Simukov; student of the chemistry faculty of Moscow State University (1925–1927).

96) Katia-Ekaterina Alekseevna Miller, cousin of A. D. Simukov.

97) Bear in mind the lecture concerns the archeological discoveries from the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition in Noyon-uul.

98) Goltzii – the bare summits reaching higher than the wooded borders (determined by A. D. Simukov); here it refers to the bare-topped summits in southwest Khentii.

19

A fragment of the letter is published; see Gatov and Erdene 1971.

99) Klimovich – the administrative center of the Klimovich region of the Mogilevskii oblast.

- 100) Bearing in mind P. K. Kozlov.
- 101) Alia – sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 10 in chapter I.
- 102) Misha Andreevskii – friend of Andrei Simukov; see note 6 in chapter I.
- 103) Lesha–brother of A. D. Simukov; see note 11 in chapter I.
- 104) Saposhnikov George Sergeivich; see note 32 in chapter I.
- 105) Vasiliev Sergei Dmitrievich; see note 31 in chapter I.

20

- 106) See note 16.
- 107) “I want to go home.”
- 108) Meaning House No. 3 in Khrushchev lane near Prechistenki in Moscow, where lived the sister (Olga Yakovlevna Peiker) and brother (Aleksei Yakovlevich Miller) and N. Ya. Simukova, the mother of Andrei Simukov.
- 109) Evidently, there was a serious conflict between P. K. Kozlov and S. A. Kondratiev (the end of April 1925); the possible consequences of which for the expedition were discussed with the youngest coworkers (June 1925); see Kozlov 2003: 483–486; see as well Kulganek and Jukov 2006.
- 110) The southern (in “The Journal” of P. K. Kozlov’s- Eastern) expedition party under the leadership of S. A. Glagolev left from Urga on July 28, 1925 and spent October and November in the Noyon-Bogd mountains, after which they reached the lower areas of Etziin-gol. For the results of the work of A. D. Simukov in this period, see Simukov A. D. Zoological notes on the route of the Southern party of the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition G. G. O. (The Principal Geophysical Observatory) under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov. 1925–1926 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 5–36) and Simukov A. D. Short notes on the results of a two-month camp in the mountains of Noyon-Bogd (Central Gobi) (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 37–39).

21

- 111) At the end of December 1925, P. K. Kozlov recalled A. D. Simukov from the southern party and on January 8 commandeered in Moscow the collections of the Mongolian-Tibetan expeditions.
- 112) Verkhneudinsk– a town in Eastern Siberia on the Selenge river; in 1678, Udinskii prison, from 1775 a town; in 1934 it changed to Ulan-Ude, now the capital of the Republic of Buryatia.
- 113) SNK–The Soviet of Peoples’ Commissars; evidently, the parcels were addressed to the manager of matters for the SNK USSR for N. P. Gorbunov, government courier for the expedition.
- 114) Ubugonov Daniel Mikhailovich (1897–1938) – member of the RKP, the Russian Communist Party(b)-participant in the Civil War, coworker in the Comintern (1921), polit-commissar of the Mongolian-Tibetan (1923–1924), occupied an important post in the apparatus of the BM ASSR (Peoples’ Commissar of Internal Affairs, Commissar of Trade, deputy chairman of TzIK and SNK), chairman of Gosplan BM ASSR (1930–1934).
- 115) Bear in mind that Kotik Danilenko had gone on leave to Moscow to November 1925.

22

- 116) After returning (from a mission in Moscow) to Urga in March 1916, A. D. Simukov was dispatched in April together with K. K. Danilenko to P. K. Kozlov’s camp in Kholt, from there- to Etziin-gol to the party of S. A. Glagolev, where he was occupied

with the zoological collection and participated in the excavation at Khara-khoto; in August the party abandoned Etziin-gol and returned through Khoit to Urga in the beginning of September; The Mongolian-Tibetan expedition left from Urga to Russia, September 17, 1926; A. D. Simukov went by train to the southern Khangai (from Minnarkhoz MPR).

23

- 117) Melania Alekseevna Simukova (1904–1993) –(Milia in childhood, Alekseenko) – wife of (from March 1926) A. D. Simukov, finished the Surazh pedagogical technicum (1923), student in the chemistry faculty of MGU (Moscow State University) (1925–April 1927); participant in the expeditions of Uchkom MPR under the leadership of A. D. Simukov (1927, 1931, 1932) (botanical collector and photographer); coworker in Narkomfilm (from 1946–Ministry of Finance) USSR (1936–1959).
- 118) Bear in mind the introduction here of a certificate on an “Izvestia” form, (see document III 22), which was evidently necessary to complete for the departure of M. A. Simukov to Mongolia and to her husband.

Chapter IV

Mongolia

(1926–1939)

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IV 1 A. D. Simukov – to S. A. Kondratiev¹⁾, October 15, 1926.*September 15, 1926*

<Khüree Dashidogun>

<to Ulaanbaatar>

Dear Sergei Aleksandrovich!

I am writing to you from the freedom of the Khangai steppe, with the gold sands of Baidarika. In Urga, you surely know already the details and the circumstances that keep me in Mongolia. The wanderer's staff dearer to me than anything else is in my pack as I set out freely to the mountains. The event with Uchkom (The Scientific Committee) has fallen through²⁾, I hope only temporarily. I served in the Minnarkhoz³⁾ where I piled up on the German and Mongolian as part of the survey⁴⁾. Wrote to the wife, that should one come here, I assumed that I alone must find ways to fill up a fair amount of time. It is unfortunate and vexing to me that I cannot meet you in Urga⁵⁾, and will not find you there, really, on my return⁶⁾ that is because I will return not any earlier, really, than December 1. I don't exactly know your future plans and your previous connection with Uchkom⁷⁾ but I would like to be here in Mongolia with you! Remember our spring-time plans?

Staying on until the end of the expedition is beneficial in practice if only because of "the joy of wandering" and so I did see Khara-khoto, felt the air of the Great Gobi, and was on the Nanshan glacier. It is difficult to talk about all of this in a letter or even on a trip. I can offer you reasons, which may seem a bit weak because the main reason is the absence of my wife. If she could manage to come here, this eternal wait would be over, and real life would begin.

Things remain well with papik⁸⁾ although he did get angry and gave me an unprecedented dressing down while at Etziin-gol⁹⁾.

I assumed that I alone would go on to Uchkom and shall arrive there at the first chance I have, although not with a large salary. Perhaps I will go on to some wooded area, maybe to Khentii.

I was delighted to learn that you went with Chuklomin¹⁰⁾ to Khentii-khan – what a good combination. As you know, I experienced this too.

I was wretched when the expedition set off as arranged with Kotei¹¹⁾ and Elizabeth Vladimirovna¹²⁾ but it is not necessary to tell you about this.

I am not now in a position to write a lot or in much detail to you. I sit in a part of the Montzenkop¹³⁾ khüree¹⁴⁾ Dashidogon (without searching within 40 versts, but finding there primarily the *ologoi*¹⁵⁾, archeological artifacts, on the road to Peking-Uliastai, to the East from the peak of Baidarik). Even though there are many interesting things, I can only say once again that life is not full.

On thinking it over, I would like to see you, talk with you seriously about what

is painful for me, and what will not be resolved soon. Thus, be so kind as to write, and the letter can wait for me in Uchkom. Write (from Urga), and I will always and often do for you what I can.

If no one comes for you in my name, and if at the Vsesviatskiis¹⁶⁾ there is nothing there from me, ask the chauffeur from the Mongolian bank, Krijanovskii. He has my apartment where I left for you an old Mongolian fortune-telling calendar book, if it interests you. Take it, for God's sake, as a memento from me. If it is utter trash – and I really don't know, I beg you to give it to Peter, or please, keep it yourself and it might even prove useful. I bought it from a poor old woman in the south Gobi aimag, in the Sivre mountains for 18 Mexican dollars¹⁷⁾. A special price for you. I will not be offended if you find that only she was of interest.

Forgive me, that this letter is short and disorganized – but at this time it could not be anything else.

My warmest regards to Melitina Ivanovna¹⁸⁾.

Always and everywhere yours A. Simukov

Heartfelt greetings to Papa Pete¹⁹⁾ and Elena Petrovna²⁰⁾

The Archive Museum My Mongol name is Dashi²¹⁾.

IV 2 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov^a, December 25, 1926.

December 25, 1926

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Leningrad>

Most Esteemed Peter Kuzmich!

Before anything else, I must ask your forgiveness for such a long silence. The reason for this was a general disruption in my personal life. Now, little by little, things are returning to normal, and so I am able to write to you, above all, concerning my trip west. The march route: Urga–Tsain-shabi–Urtu-Tamir–Khulusai-davaa–Tuin-gol almost up to old Tui-urton²²⁾ and then to the west and northwest to the Khüree Dashidogun, and from there a bit south and soon north almost to Baidarik. And then back along the postal road.

We left September 24. By car up to Tsain with no adventures. The only things of interest along the road – the ruins of a large monastery near the Khodas postal station. We looked around a bit, and the Germans²³⁾ took several photographs. In

a The Archive Museum of P. K. Kozlov (Saint Petersburg). F.1. Op. 7. D.139. Publication notes of T. I. Yusupova and N. A. Simukova. See Letters of A. D. Simukov to P. K. Kozlov and to E. V. Kozlova (Yusupova 2007: 103–104).

the opinion of V. I. Lisovskii²⁴⁾, it was a monastery that followed the doctrine of the Red sect²⁵⁾ and was destroyed by the Tsonkhavisti²⁶⁾. The masonry walls were of rough stone and large, irregular pieces alternated with layers of thin pieces of shale. All of this was mortared with a kind of cement. Around a rampart, traces of an irrigation ditch.

In Tsain we spent 7 days, fixing our small caravan with some sort of additional equipment. From there, we moved on to Urtu-Tamir. A pair of khainags (a cross between a yak and a cow) with a jalopy and 4 horses – and this was our caravan. I was very busy with the survey. Nothing much happened along this route, and we focused our attention on this classic, rolling moraine on the upper reaches of Urtu-Tamir. I received additional information that in Tuin-gol, near the Tuin-gol khüree, there was an inscription on the cliff, which could be read in Mongolian or Chinese. Unfortunately, I couldn't go to this inscription and copy it. We had to hurry to begin our basic work. Besides, this inscription, there were ruins near the monastery and words in Mongolian.

During two of our crossings from Dashidogon, we went on the first of our trips to the Mongolian “mines.” The narrow bottom of the dry valley was completely pock-marked by marmots. They dug, one by one, narrow and not deep – and not more than 2–2 ½ sajeen. The gold-bearing layer was thin and poor. Here there was the natural passage from the Khangai to the northern Gobi, which was somewhat reminiscent of the Kholt natural boundary or oasis. Far to the south, it turned blue, which was pleasing to the eye, the enormous Ikh-Bogd, and from the peak one could see the strip of Lake Boyun-tsagaan-nuur. Studying this place, where in passing, we found what we thought were the remains of ancient smelting ovens – with traces of iron and bits of stone and coal – we then moved on to Utiin-gol where it merged with the Baidarik. The mountains here were Gobi-like in character. In the area of Utiin-gol, there were many with several cliff drawings. The recognizable motifs were the mountain goat²⁷⁾ and the mountain sheep²⁸⁾, and, only rarely, a human figure. We were late and so had to hurry. How can the species wash when, at night, it freezes to 25 °C.! Having finished our work, we left for the north and to the Baidarik postal station, and then across to Yegin-davaa and the large postal station on the road to Urga.

As a result of these trips, there was the geological march route to Tsain-Utiin gol and a detailed study of the line of the gold bearing natural boundary or oasis.

On returning to Urga (we arrived on November 22), I continued to work in the Minnarkhoz. However, before long, V. I. Lisovskii received the offer to occupy the chair at the Novocherkassk agricultural institute, and he intended to go. Gnadeberg²⁹⁾ was not released from the Minnarkhoz, and Ts. J. Jamtsarano³⁰⁾ assumed that I would occupy Lisovskii's place and have the necessary power to substitute for him at Uchkom. But actually, I had already left Minnarkhoz, and I

tried to understand the situation at Uchkom because on January 1 I was to officially take up the post, and I wanted that position.

That is, properly speaking, my news. So, everyone in Russia, awaits a letter from me, while I have received all of one letter from my wife and the others are silent. Thus, I know nothing about them nor do I know about how the meeting with the government and the society went and how they met with our group of scholars and new students, etc. If you, Peter Kuzmich, can find the time, scribble off a few lines to me about this.

I think that my work for you will be interesting, so I intend to write to you from time to time about this.

I still wish to see the exhibition, "its" collection, how things were set up for the public, as well as hearing your lectures and learning from those familiar slides about those almost native places!

When this process goes well and the business about opening the museum and everything at Uchkom returns to normal, I will immediately begin to compile the plan for the summer work. I want to go to the Gobi again and to the southern border, the Central Gobi near Shara-khulusun, to the wild spaciousness as well as to what is familiar and close by.

I very much hope for your assistance regarding the start of permanent relations with the Academy³¹⁾.

How to work all of this out with the public? How is Vasya Kanaev³²⁾, Gusev Vasilii Andreevich³³⁾, Kolia³⁴⁾. Concerning Kotia³⁵⁾, I have already something. I often see here Fu-chin³⁶⁾, and sometimes Filchu Vtorushin³⁷⁾.

I, myself, don't live badly. I gave a lecture at the business club on the topic "A Tourist's Impressions of The Dead City (Khara-khoto)."³⁸⁾ The lecture was a success.

Sometimes in the evenings I visit the homes of acquaintances and the Shastins³⁹⁾, the Badmajapov⁴⁰⁾, Vseviatskiis⁴¹⁾.

I send happy returns to you and yours for the holidays. My warmest regards to Elizabeth Vladimirovna⁴²⁾ and greetings to Vladimir Petrovich⁴³⁾ and Olga Petrovna⁴⁴⁾.

Yours A. Simukov.

P. S. I would be most pleased to have as a remembrance from you several photographs, especially of Etziin-gol, Khara-khoto, and our group as well as, of course, a general picture of the caravan in movement (remember your photo between Uitsen-van and Mishik-gun).

My address; Ulaanbaatar, Uchkom, Simukov.

IV 3 A. D. Simukov – to S. A. Kondratiev, January 6, 1927.

January 6, 1927

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Moscow>

Dear Sergei Aleksandrovich

At last, I have gotten it together to write to you about my life and things here in Urga.

Above all, many thanks for the letter and the photographs. You must know that I am happy with all of them. The view of our home⁴⁵⁾ and what can be said about it is that “it looks as if noiseless goats had roamed in it” raised, for me, a wave of sweet and slightly melancholic memories. I arrived exactly 4 days after your departure, but the letter was much later. It was annoying that I might only see you in the spring.

Now the important news is that V. I. Lisovskii⁴⁶⁾ went to Novocherkassk to teach at the Soil Improvement Institute and so, from January 1, I am taking his place as the manager of the museum in the cartography section. Lucky...

The salary is 125 Mexican dollars – ⁴⁷⁾ which is enough for the time being. You don't have to write about work while I sit until the evening and work, sometimes, even into the evening. Several possibilities have narrowed because of a lack of resources from Uchkom, at least for the present, but we are accustomed to working with little, and later we can manage with more. This was the prospect for the summer: I very much wanted to go to the Gobi and would have liked to entice you there. Maximum *desiderata*⁴⁸⁾ is the following: The basic march-route: Urga and south on the Peking-Barkul road, along this road to the west, and then to the southern border, possibly Shara-khulusun⁴⁹⁾ and then back to Yum-beise⁵⁰⁾, Uitsunvan⁵¹⁾, Urga. A side trip on camels. An especially interesting region; the home of the dancing worm, or maybe at Etziin-gol, where there is a mass of pheasants, *Salpingotus*⁵²⁾, etc. argali, *Capra*⁵³⁾, the snow leopard, (ahh, a rare rascal!) on the crest of the Gobi Altai; the mysterious Shara-khulusun – the wild camels, *Equus prjevalskii*⁵⁴⁾ and the possibility of the residual small-fry fauna, a bear in the Gobi, etc.

What an inconceivable place! These days I could benefit from the maximum amount of money⁵⁵⁾. However, if you are not interested, I can make do with 2,000–2,500 dollars⁵⁶⁾. Oh well, it seems that you are ending your work in Khentii, so here the inspection of the hunting business can be done later in the autumn and even in the first half of the winter. The Gobi is completely unknown and to be offered its vast space and grandeur, part of which is still unknown, offers enormous “joy to the wanderer.” I know this myself. If only the trip would be confirmed along the lines of my plan, and I almost believe that, then I, with a shiver of

impatience, will await the spring as I begin to prepare, little by little, right now.

The fascination of this infinite desert cannot be presented in a letter: the blueness, the color of cigar-smoke, the distant unknown, and inconceivable mountain spine, the oases along the Etziin-gol with its most distinctive nature. The joy of seeing once again the central Gobi has been reinforced many times while travelling together with you.

At the time of my last trip west, I felt only a breath of the Gobi on my flared nostrils and saw from a distance its mountain peak. And in the quiet evenings after an hour taken off from the urgency of work, I would contemplate the noble form of the Ikh-Bogd, standing almost 200 versts in the distance.

How is your life in Moscow? I hear that you went abroad, to Vienna. Fact or boast? How is life in Moscow generally? Within the walls of Uchkom, I simply forget about the humdrum existence of the city. If, however, it happened that I landed in a city, I would accept the challenge.

I impatiently await Milia⁵⁷⁾. Last week I received a comforting telegram that the matters relating to her departure had gone well. I now await telegrams about her trip. I live my life without her only by half. That, however, is not enough, and I cannot wait.

Looked over your Ononskii albums⁵⁸⁾. Fedya⁵⁹⁾ was very enthusiastic about the treasure from this Ononskii expedition and hoped for a day of celebration.

How is Melitina Ivanovna?⁶⁰⁾ Does she remember favorably or unfavorably the Khentii wilds?

As soon as I handle the basic matters of the Museum and Uchkom, I will initiate an excursion and will include forays to familiar places: Bayan-bulik, Sugnur, Sutzukte...I have spent a long time in Urga and wish to be free. It isn't pleasant to see my whitening hands and face. I repeat that the thoughts about the summer make me tremble.

Here in Urga I have begun to organize domestically. Rented a separate house from friends. Fuchin⁶¹⁾ lives with us, but now Tsokhto G(armaevich)⁶²⁾ has asked me if he could live here for a while as he has left Ida Pavlovna in China and is rather frightened to stay in a house without a reliable (sic!) person⁶³⁾. I have lived here with him for two months. Now Papa Peti and Elena Petrovna⁶⁴⁾, at Shastin⁶⁵⁾, always somebody.

Your talks at Sutzukte give us a feeling. The wish to be on the road is as strong as before. Such possibilities try to lessen the evils of this world. And, as I said before, such work lessens my missing Milia.

Things have become worse for the Russians in Urga. Partly from Mongolization^b, and partly the deadly winter season.

^b In the thesis of the Central Committee of the Peoples' Party of Mongolia, a course was

The pipes of the Tsun-khüree drone as before. And, as before, the sun burns on the rooves of the Gandan and the Maidar, and, as before, the heavens turn lilac over the hills in the evening. To the northwest, the night moon floods the bristling taiga on the top of Bogd-uul with its warm blue light. Please write more. I await a letter from you with the indication of the time you will arrive. I wait for you, as always, with impatience.

Should you, probably, on your arrival write a sort of business letter on, for example, how the world market affects the Noyon-uul fortress?

If you are well versed on this issue, you could reply to this question by telegraph. It is not lacking in meaning. My address: Ulaanbaatar, Uchkom.

Greetings to you from all your acquaintances in Urga, from Fuchin especially, “with Chinese ceremonies.” My compliments to Melitia Ivanovna from Fedi and especially from me.

Yours, A. Simukov.

IV 4 A. D. Simukov – N. Ya. Simukova⁶⁶⁾, January 22, 1927.

January 22, 1927

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Sigeevka>

My dearest, sweetest Mama!

I received your letter, a letter of endless love from my Mama, which cut painfully to my heart. Don't think that your first born forgot you and remember my words that “I am always with you.” Here is why I did not write to you. It is almost impossible to write on an expedition, and, I thought, we would see each other in autumn. However, in autumn when I decided to stay, I did not want to write at first as I was not exactly settled, and then I left for two months. I assumed that I would find Milia here on my return to Urga. But things went differently. Without me, they could not get the necessary documents and did not send the letters. When I obtained the documents and sent them on, they were not sufficient, and so I sent new ones, etc. You know that without Milia I live my life only by half. I did not want to write because I was not enjoying a full life. This story has dragged on, and I have become bitter which would have caused you to suffer.

Now about me. By spring, it was assumed that during the winter I would go to the centers⁶⁷⁾ to prepare the work for the Scientific Committee of Mongolia and for the money for this Committee. However, with the sequence of events⁶⁸⁾ in China, Mongolia was immediately made poorer and the Uchkom estimate was pared

contemplated on curtailing the presence of Soviet (advisors and instructors) and the apparatus of Mongolization (Luzianin 2003: 171).

down. I could not begin work immediately. I thought that if I left, I would not be able to return to Mongolia soon and couldn't even consider that, so I decided to try to stay and soon found a place even if not too important. Gave it a go. By the end of December, it was clear that a certain Lisovskii⁶⁹⁾, curator of the Museum, and my very close acquaintance, who had lived in Mongolia for 12 years, was leaving. There was no one to replace him in Urga except me. And so, in the new year I became the curator of the Museum, leading the department of cartography, etc. I received 125⁷⁰⁾. That was very little in Urga. Uchkom, however, was poor and, in this situation, could not offer me anymore. Its future depended on me. I knew about all of the work in the fullest sense of the word.

There was a lot of work. I entered deeply into life in Urga (...). I left during the summer for 4–5 months in the Gobi as the leader of an expedition, and I impatiently awaited Milia. I would have wished to see you here as well, but you must think about this yourself. In the material sense—I am alive. If one wants work, there is always work to be found. Money for the passage can also be obtained, although only in autumn. Now in some circumstances, we can only make ends meet. (...). Oh, if only you could come in autumn when it would be warm. Now things are going badly. Only for health and youth. (...). I can't come to Moscow before a year, or even two. Think about that. You could come here, and it would be nice to live together! (...). I have a wonderful separate little house – two rooms and a kitchen, for 45 a month. Not expensive for Urga. Firewood is now 20 rubles, a linear sajeen, and coal is 50 kopeks a pood. Fuel and living during the winter cost a lot.

Many quiet evenings are spent in this apartment, rereading your letters (a few of them) and talking with friends about whom I used to live with, about life with you, and about you and Papa. I think of Papa often. To the point (or not to the point) how is your heart? Life is difficult here for those who are not strong. The absolute height of Urga is 1,250 m, but the air is healthy until it turns nasty. It is dry. Dry. 40 °C can be easily endured, instead of 25 °C in Peter.

You would, undoubtedly, be delighted with Mongolia. I have found here my third motherland⁷¹⁾. I have many acquaintances here, and from different circles. Solid families of the local intellectuals, Chinese workers and small traders or merchants (among them even some friends), Buryats in varying degrees, Mongolians, Russian workers, peasant-settlers, the English (on Mondays, they dance the foxtrot), etc. There are many sincere, good people who surround me as I try to do nothing evil to others and, in my own life, stress being supportive of others. Besides, I am only half-conscious of my work, as I wait only for Milia, to lead us on our clear and determined path in life.

How are Lesha⁷²⁾ and Alia⁷³⁾ What is going on inside them? I hope to receive letters from them and from you, as well as good photographs. I haven't yet

received even a small photo. I am writing to everyone, and I forget no one, as I am given only time while establishing my life.

What is new in Sigeevka? How is our Anna Andreeva?⁷⁴⁾ I have warm memories from Sigeevka about everyone I knew there. Give my regards to everyone who remembers me. At Dushatin, greetings to the Alekseenkos⁷⁵⁾, especially Feodosia Makarovna⁷⁶⁾. She was a sensitive soul and unfortunately for her, I took her eldest daughter to the end of the earth. Manya⁷⁷⁾ – her health probably bloomed (i. e. blossomed).

Go, Mama, to Papa's grave and celebrate a requiem in the church. It will be on March 1st. I will be aware of this and will pray together with you. At 10 in the morning (it will be 3:30 in the afternoon in Urga.)

I kiss you with great affection, my dear Mamochka, and remember once again – I am always with you, even if for some reason or other I do not write. Your sacred precepts live within me and your blessings open the gate for me everywhere to the good spirits on my life's path.

Stay healthy, Mamochka, and take care of yourself. May we be together.

Your Andrei.

It seems I have forgotten nothing. 5 in the morning, but I am still not asleep. I can hardly keep my eyes open. Good night.

IV 5 A. D. Simukov – to E. V. Kozlova^{c78)}, March 20, 1927.

March 20, 1927

<Sutzukte>

<to Leningrad>

Most Esteemed Elizabeth Vladimirovna!

Forgive my long silence. I am writing to you partly because of matters about which more below, and partly because of thoughts that you might be interested in a few lines from yours truly, having worked in places which, undoubtedly, are connected to many of your pleasant memories.

I wrote a detailed letter to Peter Kuzmich, describing as promised, the trip to Baidarik. I received no response. Perhaps the letter did not arrive, or Peter Kuzmich did not wish to answer with even a few lines. If he had the time to write

c The Archive Museum of P. K. Kozlov (Saint Petersburg). F.1. Op. 7. D.139. Publication notes of T. I. Yusupova and N. A. Simukova. See Letters of A. D. Simukov to P. K. Kozlov and to E. V. Kozlova (Yusupova 2007: 104–105).

to Vera and Marina Badmajapova⁷⁹⁾ why doesn't he have even less than five minutes to answer this wanderer, for better or worse, who had served the expedition for three years? An accumulation of interesting material will be sent to him again and again. However, I would like to hear from both of you, forgetting me, about the fate of our collections and our work, in fact about everything that has been done in these three years which were so near and dear.

My fate here does not lack interest. During the week after the departure of the expedition, that is for three weeks, until the arrival of our caravan in Urga, I went on a new expedition to the Dashidogunskii gold reserves. It will not be repeated, and I remember only how sweet it was in the quiet autumn evening, to sit in my tent after a hard day, contemplating the grand Ikh-Bogd already covered in snow, which you know so well. It is true that it is up to 150 versts, but in the Gobi that isn't bothersome. Or I remember the Khangai woods in their autumn gold with white snow against the blue background... sitting in the evening with ganzoi [Tran. Chinese spirits] on my lips around the fire in "our blue field tent"⁸⁰⁾ and talking all at once in three languages (Russian, German, and Mongolian), I felt my true self in this atmosphere.

To return to "urgoi"⁸¹⁾ to the Baidarik postal station⁸²⁾, we dashed along the main postal road. 20 postal stations in 8 days, without hurrying. The fat autumn horses offered, at times, the opportunity for a truly valiant race. Only Herr Weiske suffered, his horse stooped under his 7 poods weight (a pood = 36.1 pounds) and refused to gallop. Then a substitute horse was hired⁸³⁾.

In Urga, I worked for the first time at the Minnarkhos, drawing up its survey. It was clear by Christmas that V. I. Lisovskii would soon leave for Russia, maybe forever. I advanced a matter important to me, as his deputy. From January 1st of this year, I entered the Uchkom family with a salary of 125 d. (without an apartment.)⁸⁴⁾ I rented not far from the Uchkom a wonderful separate little house, and I am now living there with my close friend (not known from the expedition), his 14-years-old little brother⁸⁵⁾, and our friend Fu-chin⁸⁶⁾. However, I anxiously await my wife. Without her, my life is only half lived.

So please be so kind to accept this song from our heart:

My dear friend, don't wait!
I am not returning home.
I lead you along my road
Blessed by a hand...⁸⁷⁾

From the narrow threshold
Along the expansive path...
Ah! To our Lord God

Many are such children!
 Some depart
 To the edge of oblivion.
 The stars lead away from the pain
 And the vanities of the day...

I wrote this down word for word. Although they waited for me at home, and even made jam, I did not return. The narrow threshold, I think, had already been crossed, as if being pulled on the path to freedom...

Which part of the Gobi has been forgotten and thus, draws one precisely there? These last two lines fully express why I have crossed that little narrow threshold...

I am up to my neck in work at Uchkom: in my cartography department, the museum, and everything else. Work in the evenings. Mongolian zoology almost does not exist in the museum. This will be, if you like, my hobbyhorse. I have already decided to start learning how to make stuffed animals. In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is king, really.

Went to Tsagalkhu (as in the text) to beat a small little bird. I think that this was in April. What to do in summer when the clouds are filled with dark water. Gave a report – an estimate from the trip to Shara-khulusun. I don't know about the money. This was difficult. And for this matter, I needed 2–3 thousand.

Now about this matter. Apart from the clearly rough work of collecting the typical Mongolian fauna, there were the tasks of organizing it and I knew I would do whatever was needed in my scientific work. Thus, I am turning to you with this most humble request for help in this matter. I do not want to wander in the dark. There is little guess work in this, and what is most important is the need to know. There is little time to absolve people. Above all, are the books. What is the Mongolian fauna? The newest list, the monographs. You see we do not even have such an important work as Nasonov's monograph concerning the species *Ovis*⁸⁸⁾. The best definitions. Then, a wish for Bialinitzkii-Biruul⁸⁹⁾, Sushkin⁹⁰⁾ and other academics. Fulfillment of this wish could help me clarify the essential task and enable me to present generalizations. *Noblesse oblige*⁹¹⁾. Alas! "Concerning the question about..." Remember? I am making a compromise in this respect thanks to the large fee and in view of the liberty it offers, which I consider only temporary. However, you see S. A.⁹²⁾ write "about several gravestones in the high Khar basin"...What sadness!...

I am thinking that if you are acquainted with an academic with my life and in my situation on this planet in its present regeneration, they might be interested in all sorts of possibilities and then I could ask you for patronage, and from 6,000 versts from one who is simply festering as a greenhorn and not risking the brink. However, probably there are many questions that interest you personally. You

would be confident that you had done everything that can be done and even *über*⁹³⁾ over and above, what is the usual procedure.

Concretely, in all cases, it should be known that it could be done in the southern frontier region, and so should we turn our attention there particularly? I could give a good general presentation without wishing to go into the details. I think that you are clear on what the Academy wants from me and what is needed in our Ulaanbaatar and the All-Mongolian museum.

On the first day of Tsagaan Sar⁹⁴⁾, I was in Urga. At midnight sharp, we went to the courtyard – as the drone from the Mongolian pipes began. It came from the Gandan, and the vibrations did not die down, as the mighty voice echoed from the Tsun-khüree, it began softly and then grew loud and louder and then suddenly finished pianissimo. Then other people arrived, all made a circle, provincials for one and story tellers for the others – of Urga.

For half an hour, they listened in silence to the glorious music. The night was clear and warm. The town was quiet, but it seemed that there was some sort of tension in my mysteriously Urga-quasi “European” vigorous life.

Did Peter Kuzmich receive the official letter from Uchkom concerning our very necessary copy of the survey? If it has been received, are the things connected to this issue?

Please give him my warmest greetings and thanks for all his training. There are already results, and also thanks to him for what I have often achieved. It is a very welcome debt.

Greetings to Vladimir Petrovich and Olga Petrovna and to everyone else I know.

Yazvu Kotika⁹⁵⁾ should be scolded or even cursed at. I wrote to him but have not received a word. Everyone has forgotten me. I begged Peter Kuzmich for some photos of what I recall was Etziin-gol, Khara-khoto, and the caravan groups, all of which I would very much like to have.

A low bow to you and Peter Kuzmich from Fu-chin and Kuznetsov⁹⁶⁾. Lidochka ran away off.... In Dadakh with a half literate chap of a landless peasant. Vasya Vorobiev⁹⁷⁾ is getting married. Pavel is in prison for strychnine and guns.

Your A. Simukov.

IV 6 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov^d, July 31, 1927.

July 31, 1927

<Lamen-gegen>

<to Leningrad>

Most Esteemed and Dear Peter Kuzmich!

Forgive me, for the sake of Christ, my long silence but I have had much to think over. Above all else, I must report to you the results of my excavations. (Your letter concerning them was severely delayed.) Number five appeared extraordinarily friable with loose soil. Everything rotted and almost nothing remained at the location. I took only an urn, two-three gold leaf (plates) and 4 green stone pendants with very interesting ornamentation. For that reason, I took them from one kurgan in Tsurumte, a little below Kondratievskii. It seemed very good there (thanks to the triple timber) and things were preserved at that location, even though the content was poor. I obtained, apart from some things of little interest, the usual objects and a well-preserved skull, a charming little relief with an image of a horse in the Scythian style and a little lacquered cup with Chinese writing connected to the burial but with the precise date of the burial removed.

I don't know who to send this inscription of Ts. J. (amtsarano) for translation. It is a very curious piece. I dug in exactly the same way as we had done at one time. Fu-chin was helpful.

Working at the beginning of the summer at the Museum^e near the first of July I received the possibility of equipping a small expedition to the Gobi. I got it together very quickly. Moreover, during the assembling I often remembered you when nobody seemed to entrust others with even small things. We did everything from beginning to end for ourselves. Every passage on each day during the trip will be remembered. You, with profound gratitude to your school with very noticeable results.

My march route is, by and large, as follows:
Lamen-gegen, which I will reach by car-Ikh-Bogd, Legin-gol, Nemengetu, Altiiin-

^d The Archive Museum of P. K. Kozlov (Saint Petersburg). F.I. Op. 7. D.139. Publication notes of T. I. Yusupova and N. A. Simukova. See Letters of A. D. Simukov to P. K. Kozlov and to E. V. Kozlova (Yusupova 2007: 105–106).

^e As head of the Government Museum, A. D. Simukov prepared to open a new location – the former palace of the Bogd-gegen. Simukov A. D. Document concerning the seventeen years of work in Mongolia and its results (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 178). May 10, 1927 was acquainted with the exposition of the Museum of G. Tz. Tzibikov (Tzibikov G. Tz. *The Diary of the Trip to Urga* 1927; Tzibikov 1981: 134, 138–139).

uul, the area of Shara-khulusun, and here the focus of attention – perhaps an easy trip to Etziin-gol. Noyon-Bogd and then straight to Urga. From Lamin-gegen, I already have been to Baidarek to study the agriculture there. Then my task took me to Tatsiin-gol and Legiin-gol.

The staff – me and my wife (I have a photo of Milia and the botanical collector) and two Mongols. One from Uchkom for the collection, queries and information, and dealing with the authorities, and as an assistant for the experiments⁹⁸⁾, and the other, a cook⁹⁹⁾.

It will be very difficult, i.e. in the south – the drought. It took all of one's strength to fulfill a task. On my return I will tell you about the results of the trip and the most interesting photographs. I am thinking of returning no earlier than November.

I beg of you, Peter Kuzmich, not to forget me in your possible trip to the Blue River¹⁰⁰⁾. As you can see, the passion for travel was put off, but not extinguished. Wishing still to work under your leadership.

Many thanks for the book.

Regards to Elizabeth Vladimirovna and Vasilii Andreevich¹⁰¹⁾.

Yours, A. Simukov.

My wife often remembers you, and so sends you greetings and best wishes. She reached Urga, thanks to you, and is very well.

IV 7 Moscow – Ulaanbaatar, April 1927.

Entry from the Account of M. A. Simukova, December 27, 1989.

In April 1927, I set off for Mongolia and Andrei. By train to Verkhneudinsk took 10 days. I asked at the station who is going to Ulaanbaatar? They pointed. They suggested. One of them knew the the Pashukanis whom they had seen a few times in the community of the MGU. The second – Khanzen. They directed me to get permission from the leader at the hotel. It was Bloomkin¹⁰²⁾. He would have gone after the group, separately. After his arrival in Ulaanbaatar this ditty appeared; “How easy it was for Yasha Bloomkin to fly to us like a bird, from the capital.”

There were 3–4 men and women with children about 4-years-old. They drove for approximately 5 days in an automobile from which everything had been removed. They drank and fired off some shots along the road. The chauffeur protected me. We were taken to the customs in Ulaanbaatar. I got out with my “large luggage”- a small canvas suitcase. I arrived at the Uchkom (with the chauffeur's assistance). I opened a large door and, (according to the telegram) Andrei and Fu-chin were to meet me, but we missed each other.

Andrei lived with Fu-chin at the time. Not far from the Uchkom was a small

bazaar where Fu-chin bought firewood. Fu-chin was like a friend, on the expedition and in everything.

I got settled and worked in a kindergarten – I had a diploma from the Pedagogical Technikum. And in two months, in July, we were sent off on an expedition to the Gobi.

IV 8 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, July 30, 1927.

July 30, 1927

<Lamen-gegen-khüree>

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Mamochka!

I am guilty of too long a silence. I wrote to you a long letter as it was spring in Sutzukte. However, it was lost in Urga and so it was not sent. I don't exactly recall when I last wrote to you, so I will start writing to you all about myself at this beginning of spring.

I worked during the winter on the Uchkom committee and in the Museum, and in the beginning of March, I happily went on an excavation to the site of the former expedition at Sutzukte. Worked there for two months and uncovered completely independently two tombs. I wandered to a familiar area, went hunting, amid the slightly melancholic memories of the irretrievable freshness of my first impressions of this wild place.

And its people there, who lived so comfortably and well. Anything in these tombs was a success – the boss was satisfied.

Returning to Urga to meet Milia in several days, and, at first, we lived as a family. She came from Moscow completely exhausted. I had lived a semi-military existence all this time in Urga, and now I had to become used to a different situation and sharply change the routine of my life. So, for the first time we had to adjust our lives together, and I did not want to write to you during that time. So, we went to live “at the dacha” – in Chinese buildings in the former Bogd-gegen's palace near the museum. Two versts from town, near the river, a little garden, a fanciful construction which was completely quiet. It was very nice there.

However, I always wanted space, and so considered the possibility of committing to going on a small expedition. Things came together quickly, and on July 12 we left from Urga. The march route I chose was to a remote corner of the Gobi, where almost no one had gathered anything for the collection. The members – Milia, myself, and two Mongols. We went to a place by car from where I am now writing to you, and from there we went on camels.

From here, I whisked off together with two Mongols for about 200 versts to

look at the fields of the Gobi. The day after tomorrow we will go south.

For the present, Milia remains here among the mountains, far from the town as she recovers and makes her own way. She is getting used to her new life quickly, even in the field, and without a doubt she will be a valued assistant. She handles the photography very well, and we must hope that the album of our little expedition will be of great interest.

We are returning later to Urga, probably in November, and so I will not wait to write until winter. It does not seem possible to send them.

Here is an outline of my recent life. I missed Milia very much and until she arrived my life was only half lived. Now everything is proceeding normally, and our journey to the desert and the mountains has offered us a time for contemplation. Soon our life will follow a determined path, and we will move forward along it. You can rest peacefully now concerning both of us, and me in particular. And further, I am more than convinced that with Milia I have created for myself a veritable couple.

It is hard to say now when we will see you. Often, very often, I yearn for you, Mama, and my heart aches. Milia has such fresh stories about you as if she had seen you only yesterday. I often remember our Papa, my first teacher of natural history. It is sad that he did not live long enough to know about the beginning of my wanderings in the expanses of Central Asia. (...).

Many thanks, Emma Leontevna. Now I have two photographs of Papa (one of little Jenina¹⁰³⁾, taken at Suida)¹⁰⁴⁾.

I listen with pleasure to Milia's tales of Lesha and Alia¹⁰⁵⁾ and from them I conclude that it will not be easy for us to understand one another when we see each other.

Gumiliev says in one of his poems:

...he feels in his heart,
That there is one law in the world,
Which is given to everyone
To experience anything once
By – the life among the city pass times,
By – the aroma of the wildest grass.

I chose the latter. I would wish, really wish, to help them both in their life experiences and with their thinking. And I can bring much that is new into your life. I hope that we will see each other soon and that at that time, I will have completely formulated a life path.

I kiss you with deep affection, dear Mother. Be sure that on my return to Urga that no one or nothing will hinder my writing to you regularly. Milia also sends

you a loving kiss and a photo of her work.

Greetings to all near and known who remember me.

Your eldest Andrei.

IV 9 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 10, 1928.

January 10, 1928

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Sigeevka>

My Dear Mama!

Forgive my long silence – the last letter that I wrote you was on August 1 at the beginning of my journey, and I do not know if it reached you. I have heard nothing from you for a long time. Are you displeased with me? It is painful without any word from you. I did not write during the time of the trip. We only returned on December 3. Now we are back to our old selves, and things are back to normal, so I am writing you.

My expedition this year – the first major independent one – I secluded myself. I travelled for four and a half months, and I visited the most remote corners of the desert. Milia and I were in the desert, as well as in the high mountains; we were either very hot or we froze, we became exhausted, and we rested. Perhaps a journal will publish my report about this expedition¹⁰⁶⁾ and, without fail, I will send it to you when the photos are organized. (see Konagaya et al. 2008a: 578 Photo No. 112). I took with me two of my Mongolian companions, on returning from a long (more than a month) and a rather dangerous trip to a completely unpopulated place in the Central Gobi where, at times, there were robbers. Milia remained with my Mongolian assistant in more populated and safer places, and can you imagine how she was, after I promised to return in exactly one month, and exceeded (the time) by 6 days? However, all ended well, I saw no robbers, and soon we were back living in Urga. We took the photograph in the fall, at the end of October.

During this trip, I was in a place no Europeans had visited. I saw the rare wild camels there – and with the Mongols killed one for the collection. We spent two nights with absolutely no water, and the camels sometimes did not drink for 3–4 days and moved up to 120 versts without encountering any water. I saw an absolutely barren and pebbly plain with an enormous hill and mountain. I saw animal life in a very primitive state, wherever there were large beasts, like the wild donkey, which is still unknown to man.

Visited Khara-khoto known as the “Dead City” to Kozlov. I was there with Milia, and we went to a large oasis in the Central Gobi – Etziin-gol – where I met with Sven Hedin¹⁰⁷⁾. (I think that you know the name of this famous traveler in

Central Asia). Hedin kindly met me and Milia. We met at the expedition's large camp (up to 80 people) for an entire day in the capacity of "notable foreigners" even though our clothes were in a rather sad state. He himself and his companions – Swedes and Germans – were surprised that Milia had decided to come such a distance and vied with each other to learn the most about our travels. The principal "moments of the day" were captured on movie film, and in the center was Hedin with both of us. It was most interesting and jolly. The conversation was in German, and Hedin, alone, spoke to Milia in Russian.

We froze on the return journey, and at night it went below freezing at 20 °C in the tent with a lousy fire, argal (manure) for fuel, which was not always dry. We generally travelled on this trip for about 50–60 versts, that is for no less than 12 hours in the saddle. For me, this was nothing, but it was more difficult for Milia. Now, however, from a distance, the adversity even seems pleasant.

We are now living in the courtyard of the Scientific Committee. I have a large bright room. S. A. Kondratiev¹⁰⁸⁾ lives here and you know of him from my letter from Sutzukte.

I have a lot of work – and work not less than 10 hours per day, but I distribute it accordingly since the work occupies a major part of the room. We live modestly and quietly, go to town rarely, and visit only 2–3 homes.

Why don't you write? It is hard not to know how you are or even to learn about you indirectly. Milia has already received two letters from home. Now, I will write to you often, until the spring, and then – another trip. If all goes well, it is possible that in the course of the next two years, that I will come home. I can come earlier if there are no unforeseen reasons.

Mama – send your photographs. I hardly have one. Write about yourself. What are you doing? How is your life? I received a long letter from Lesha¹⁰⁹⁾.

It was a good letter, friendly and frank. Milia and I live close and strong, and with no irregularity or hitch. She also sends you kisses. Soon, we will have both of our photos taken and will send you the card.

How are all of those near to you and your friends, and how are your relationships with Alia¹¹⁰⁾ and Lesha? Mama, write all the details.

I kiss you affectionately and hope not it will be not just in a letter but in reality.

Your Andrei.

Greetings to all those near and dear and your friends.

<Milia writes:>January 11, 1928

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

(...) How is your health and your spirit? Forgive me that I ask about the latter, but

I think that you were unhappy, and not just once during the long evenings in Sigeevka. Perhaps we will show up to our mother within a year and a half. Andrei and I talk and think happily about this. I hope that you have been well and are feeling well at this time.

How are Lesha and Alia? I wrote to Alia before the trip – from her – nothing, and in his letter, Lesha was distressed about my fate. Perhaps he didn't receive the letter with the photographs.

Andrei's work goes along very well – after the trip he wrote a lot and prepared for next year – another trip. The work at Uchkom and relations with those working there are excellent, as is the spirit. The only bad thing is that there is nothing from you (...). Are you well? You must write again as we are off for the whole summer and will not get even a line from those close to us.

I kiss you with great affection, greetings to Aunt Olia¹¹¹⁾, Alia and Lesha.

Milia.

IV 10 A. D. Simukov – to P. K. Kozlov^f, February 15, 1928.

February 15, 1928

<Ulaanbaatar city>

<to Leningrad>

Most Esteemed and dear Peter Kuzmich!

I stand before you guilty of a long silence. You probably received my letter, sent at the end of July from Lamengegen. I think that it would be of interest to you to know about the results of my trip to the Gobi. So, I will begin.

From Lamengegen, we followed the usual route down by Tuin-gol to Ikh-Bogd. Passing Orok-nuur, I went straight to Bitutin-ama, where we stopped for 5 days. With great effort, went on an excursion by foot, along all of your canyon and arrived at the upper reaches of Bitutin-ama, and reached its source. This part of the gorge, the icy beyond the canyon was interesting. The wide gorge – the icy bottom, the clear moraine, the glacial kars, the wild alpine meadow with patches of eternal snow on the surrounding crests. There was also a forest of wide-leaved dwarf willows (unlike the canyon). Collected enough herbs from the highest strip and took photographs. There was a charming waterfall, 8–10 meters high in the canyon. We left Bitutin-ama for the Sepsul-davaa pass, situated more to the west

^f The Archive Museum of P. K. Kozlov (Saint Petersburg). F.1. Op. 7. D.139. Publication notes of T. I. Yusupova and N. A. Simukova. See Letters of A. D. Simukov to P. K. Kozlov and to E. V. Kozlova (Yusupova 2007: 106–108). See also Simukov's work (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 74–79).

than Khustu-davaa. Going lower on the south slope, we went near Puntsuk-obao. I went to the hill with your Khan mausoleum¹¹²⁾. Made a sketch but could not take a photo because the mountain was covered in clouds. Arriving in Legin-gol but did not stay there long. South west of Legin-gol, the cattle thieves gamboled about as the people migrated to the north and east.

Directly to Shara-khulusun where they refused to take me. Then everything was clarified, and I left the caravan at Leg'e^g and easily went to Yum-beice and Iosty-beice (to the south from the SW of Mt. Gichigin-nuur). Crossed the march-route of A. N. Kaznakov¹¹³⁾ and V. F. Ladigin¹¹⁴⁾. The local Mongols still remember them and speak of them well. Returning, I collected the details about agriculture in Legin-gol, which seemed quite an ancient part of Mongolia's legacy (about this, see the Gan-suiskoe expedition of Potanin)¹¹⁵⁾. Later, I went to Nemeget. I stopped for a while and what I hoped would be an interesting ridge, was not – so I hastened on further. There I saw a mountain turkey¹¹⁶⁾. We went on and crossed the mountains, stopping at Tosta mountain. I then directed the caravan to Noyon-Bogd, and with two hunter-guides went on an easy journey to a safe place at Tsagaan-Bogd mountain. Unfortunately, there was a drought on the border of Tsagaan-Bogd, which made it difficult to collect zoological specimens.

50 versts to the south-west from the Potaninskii crossing, the town of Tosta was at the boundary line or oasis of the Chonii-boom – a group of sandy hills with saksaul and tamarisk. There I found a lovely, unspoiled example of a *Salpingotus* (jerboa), digging itself out of its burrow but barely noticeable. I remember poorly so cannot confirm if this was an *S. Kozłowi* like the one Kolei¹¹⁷⁾ caught in Khara-khoto¹¹⁸⁾.

On reaching Tsagaan-Bogd, I went along the northern slope of Khukhu-Temir to Shara Khulusu. The guide knew the road only up to the Khurudel-khuduka. (see the Ladigan survey), and I went on with some risk, since I followed only a rough picture. One cold night I spent with absolutely no water after a 50 versts excursion on foot. There were bear tracks. Unfortunately, in all likelihood, there were almost no bears to the east of Shara-khulusun due to a drought. We saw tracks of all of 2–3 people over a large area. So, in spite of all our efforts, we never saw a Gobi bear. Spent a week in Tsagaan-Burgusun, and from there I saw Shara-khulusun. Carefully caught two types of rodents (besides two types of a *Gerbillus*): the short-tailed little hamster and the long-tailed mouse. Both were seen in the rushes.

Got a most interesting antelope, rare in the Central Gobi. The Mongols called it “the devil's gazelle,” and I wondered wasn't it the Nan-shan devil (or Tibetan gazelle) the *Procapra pisticauda*? It was very much like the goitered gazelle (killed the female) but it was smaller than the last. Their coloring: the light, yellowish

g as in the text.

gazelle and the darker, reddish, white-gazelle A black tail.

On the way back, went to the south slope of the mountain. Generally, Khukhu-Temirt, was a disappointment. With the exception of Tsagaan-Burguson and Sharakhulusun, there was nothing to distinguish it from, say, Noyon-Bogd. I did not notice any interesting birds. No talk about the presence of bears, but one Mongol said that there had been a great number of them 20 years ago, and maybe there are now some in the mountains at Eteringiin-nuur, that were caught in the wild areas of Tosta. On the way back, we took a detour to the wildest desert to the southwest from Tsagaan-Bogd, where we encountered 110 versts without water, praying, and the wild camels. We did have a good view of an enormous old male camel¹¹⁹⁾ as it moved along. Took the hide and the completely unharmed skeleton. The wild camels here were, by and large, not that different in their grandeur than the domestic camels.

Thanks to this hunt, our camels did not drink for 4 days. We went to the settled area near the Kobden (Potanin) boundary or oasis to the south from Tosta. After our departure, we saw neither a yurt nor a Mongol.

Going to Oboten-khuruul, I went to the base near Gurban-Tushemil. Wasn't delayed in Noyon-Bogd (returned there at the end of October), stopped the caravan again and with my wife, went on to Etziin-gol. Was at Tsinde's (remember "those at Tsinde ?")¹²⁰⁾ They remember you.

Went on to our stop at the Bulhan-khub oasis where we were the guests of Sven Hedin¹²¹⁾, and we stayed for half a month at Ikh-gol. He gave me an excellent reception as your guide and fellow traveler. My wife and I were invited to an official luncheon. Hedin showed us his meteorological station, which had been in operation for less than one half a year at Etziin-gol. His expedition was large – nearly 80 people, with 20 scientific workers and up to 300 camels. He had left Peking, then went to Bautou, crossed the Alashan, and near Khara-khoto went on to Etziin-gol. From Etziin-gol, on November 8 he had to cross Maiji-shan and Beishan to go to Hami where he spent the winter. A small party, headed by a geologist, took the northern route near Khukhu-Teomirt, but then abandoned this plan, doubting that such a crossing without food and water would be good for his camels, which were in horrible condition and completely without their humps. He had gotten them while working in Tian-shan, and his future plan was not known. Meteorology was his principal focus of attention. On almost every excursion, he released balloons to study the high atmospheric levels¹²²⁾. He began a natural history collection, which was weak. A doctor on the expedition was in charge of this but had only a vague idea about its preparation¹²³⁾ and knew nothing about the flora and fauna of the Gobi.

Hedin spoke about you very warmly. On his expedition, there were many scientific coworkers and Chinese who, evidently, were tied to him. And all of his

expeditions had the title “Chinese-Swedish” although there was no Chinese money involved. Thus, the Chinese archeologists offered to work for Hedin in Khara-khoto. He answered “Khara-khoto is open and the property of my friend, the well-known explorer, Kozlov, and I will not go and work in his city.”¹²⁴ Hedin asked me to give you his best wishes and a heart-felt greeting.

Generally leaving Peking, to work in another settled area of China was not possible, especially in archeology, and the law forbade foreign expeditions from working without some knowledge of the scholarly Chinese establishment and the prohibitions against removing historical and archeological valuables. They would only let duplicates out of the country.

Going to Khara-khoto, I spent all of 2–3 hours there and returned to Noyon-Bogd on the following day, November 15, on the return route. Going through the main passages, without rests and not working along the road, we followed your route across Khoshun-khit to Ongiin, and in eighteen days, we were in Ulaanbaatar. This was on December 3. We were very anxious there having been involved in the exploration.

Apart from the details in the diary (that is, 120 pages)¹²⁵ I carried 20 skins with their skulls, about 15 rodents preserved in spirits, several examples of reptiles, up to 300 sheets for the herbarium (200 types), and 80 nature photographs. Almost no birds were collected, and we brought only about a dozen and a half to two examples of little interest. The best example-the Etziin-gol pheasant.

In brief, these are the results of my expedition to the Gobi, which cost 2,000 tugriks.

Much water has flowed under the dam since receiving your letter at the beginning of the summer, and much has changed. It would be most important, if you wished to see me soon as part of your new expedition. However, if that did happen, I would have to refuse because of various reasons connected to my marriage. It has been extremely difficult for me to reach this decision, above all, with thoughts, in the spring, of Tibet.

However, ...there is nothing that can be done. I very much hope that my decision will not evoke hostile feelings toward me. It is simply my fate...I will be sad when your caravan goes south, but what can I do?

All of this does not impede my pleasure in the fulfillment of your assignment if it comes to pass. I hope I will see you soon, see your work, listen to your advice, and receive confirmation about further work. You know that I am completely your student and will remain so.

I have heard from somewhere that you will be in Urga in April. Is that true?

I have heard no news from Tibet. Almost no information. Nothing is known about Roerich¹²⁶ although perhaps you already know about this from the foreign press. Donir¹²⁷ sits in the old place. I reported (from a letter of Koti) about your

expedition. How are the materials working out? Were there many new ones found?

Old friends have not¹²⁸⁾ forgotten me. I received a letter from V. A., Vasi, Koti, and Koli. How is Elizabeth Vladimirovna? Your children?

You, yourself, certainly must feel strong, energetic, and confident concerning government and society. The preparation for this new exploit is certainly a full-time job.

I have said, so it seems, everything I wished to say in this letter.

Please extend my warm regards and best wishes to Elizabeth Vladimirovna. Greetings to Vladimir Petrovich and Olga Petrovna if they still remember me.

Milia asks that I give you her best wishes on the successful preparation for the new expedition. We hope to personally see you off from Urga.

Your A. Simukov

P. S. I have already paid your debt of (100 tugriks) into your current account at Mongolbank. I am not sending on to you the receipt because I am afraid that it could be lost.

IV 11 My First Expedition (1927).

Notes from the Account of M. A. Simukova, December 26, 1989.

In July of 1927, the detachment was composed of 4 people – A. D. Simukov – the leader, Jargal – the assistant to A. D. Simukov, Jamba – a worker and me, M. A. Simukova – photographer and botanical collector who embarked on an expedition to the south – to the Gobi. My duties were photography and the botanical collection. The equipment – the photographic apparatus, cassettes, a special little box for planting the collected plants, and a flask. All of this for our daily collection of objects was stored in the netting every day. A. D.¹²⁹⁾ trained me, and he was trained by P. K. Kozlov.

We went by car to Lamen-gegen, where we hired a guide for two sacks of tsamba¹³⁰⁾ from the stock. A camel caravan further on. It was very strange to sit on a camel for the first time. Finally, I took heart. Andrei was concerned because a camel can jump quickly. And when the camel lay down, it reached up to my nose. The Cossack saddle (Elizabeth Vladimirovna Kozlova's) rested between the humps where the Mongols had placed a rug.

Reached Ikh-Bogd. Went far and wide until the evening. Sat and rested on a rock, facing north. Cliffs and scree. In passing, I saw to the left 200–300 steps, and something yellowish with spots. I thought, good – it doesn't see me, and I grabbed my photographic equipment but I wasn't successful and it disappeared. I continued to look carefully: spotted skin like on a good-sized plastic dog, "poured" out from between the rock.

Gathered myself together on the return path and while figuring out one cliff from another to the field of ruins and then to the crest, it grew dark. I heard shots, saw a fire, and went toward the shots. Only the shank of my boot remained (from the sharp stones that day), and my feet were wrapped in the sleeves of a field shirt. They said that an irbis¹³¹⁾ (a lynx) was seen. Everyone seized a gun “Where?!” and when I asked, he didn’t notice me, and the Mongols laughed a long time about the trick they had played on me.

And when Alik was born, the Mongols gave him a snow leopard skin.

IV 12 Expedition 1927. Notes of M. A. Simukova, 1980.

Went to the desert in the early morning when it was “a bit cold.” I was amazed – three dogs were sitting on the path (their sandy hued skins were the color of the surrounding countryside) – where did they come from? There were no yurts. My horse was unnerved and wished to hurry. She snorted but did not move forward, as “the dogs” came a bit closer and again sat down. Silence. Me – in the saddle, the horse-kicking up a fuss, would not go. I got down off my horse, reins on the shoulder, and it violently broke away from that place. Wherever we went on our trained camels, the wolves had disappeared, and there was nothing.

And that is how I went out in the early morning cold to enjoy the sunrise.

When we went out together, Andrei would read Ovid to me by the hour. Sometimes he even sang.

Andrei went with his two companions-Jorji and Sanjachei – on a trip west to Tsagaan Bogd. There was a small settlement with 2–3 modest yurts in the region of Noyon-Bogd in addition to my home—a blue tent.

I remember my first teacher of the Mongolian language – the 7-years-old, skinny, swarthy Dugar.

When they went south, the Mongols said that a large expedition of “non-Russian” people were working at Etziin-gol, so Andrei hid the tent in the thicket and left me there to go scouting. He returned and reported that Sven Hedin’s expedition was working at the fortress at Khara-khoto. Sven Hedin invited him and his wife to be his guest. In preparation for this festive event, I washed my hair! We went by camel to Etziin-gol (there were many branches of the river). On the shore was a tent camp, and a film operator was there. Headed by an old man was a group of young people. Sven Hedin knew P. K. Kozlov well, and the youths were very respectful and were dressed in the European style while we wore our Mongolian clothing and were sunburnt and dusty. They showed us their camp, served us

dinner, and spent the entire day with us. Then, a solemn send-off on our return trip.

We went across the border freely, because the Tsagen (border guards) knew P. K. Kozlov and Andrei well. (A. D. Simukov worked in Etziin-gol in the Khara-khoto area with the Kozlov expedition in 1925–1926).

Then we set off to Khara-khoto. The mud walls were so wide that a troika could go there. The gate was labyrinthine. Andrei showed me the stupa, which P. K. Kozlov had worked on, and talked about the books which were found and had been rolled up in material, and the most valuable were rolled up in silk, all in a chest. When a lama carried the books, special respect was paid to him.

The Mongols offered a friendly greeting. Sometimes they treated me like Andrei younger brother. Once on the path south, we arrived at a large yurt at the end of the day where the proprietess lived. After many hours on the camel, I was half dead. She laid me down, took off my shoes, grumbled at Andrei how young and far from home I was, just like a kindly relative babushka, and then said that “we Mongols do not go so far away.” She gave us tea and fed us.

Once we were in the yurt where we stopped, a former Mongolian Prince arrived. He was of uncommon beauty, and I could not take my eyes off of him – he was a living god!

IV 13 M. A. Simukova – to E. Ye. Budovskaya¹³², June 22, 1986.

June 22, 1986
Michurinetz
Moscow oblast

*<Novgorod archeological
expedition of the history
faculty of MSU>*

(..) I remember, how we returned in 1927 from one of the most interesting expeditions. In the autumn (November), it was cold and grew dark early, but we had to cover a planned number of kilometers. The picture was quite exotic: the black pebbly desert. A caravan of 5 camels (3 with saddles and 2 for our gear). I waited impatiently for the appearance of the star Sirius. It signaled lodging. The wanderer appeared late, at midnight. Finally, over the horizon to the right (in the east) slowly there appeared a splendid, large, clean green star. 2 tents, a meal, tea, and you lie a long time in your sheepskin bag. Then, to sleep.

I had tried to admire the stars in Moscow. But no! In Mongolia, I love the stars, and it seems as if you can touch them. The space is endless...and the Gobi Desert is strange to those who have not seen it or to those who have seen it but know nothing about it. One must learn how to behold it and even hold it in one's hands.

The desert was pebbly, sandy, full of sand hills...and green and full of flowers! The smell – is expressible, depending on its covering growth. (...)

IV 14 M. A. Simukova – to N. A. Simukova¹³³, June 13, 1978.

June 13, 1978

Saulkrastii, Latvia

<to Moscow>

(...) Read recently the introduction to a book by Kolesnikov¹³⁴ (up to now I had hardly read him although I had intended to for some time) and gasped – am I this, Lord? I remember I was amazed, although not surprised. Besides this, your father was, you see, a most interesting person. With him, there was always something interesting and lively. Eighteen years¹³⁵, about what! (...)

I remember as I jumped about Ikh-Bogd in the area that was missing, at the time, from the survey and only then was he afraid that something awful might happen or I would fall. I was amazed. Nothing was unusual or out of the ordinary. And so, we lived and made friends. I read every single article that went to the editor, and I criticized mercilessly in private.

(...) Naadam¹³⁶. Clearly a holiday with thousands of people. There is noise, laughter, and gaiety while Andrei was there. Once in a restaurant, sitting at a table with some Mongols, (talking about the expedition, joking, telling funny stories) I heard from behind me a hissing (in Russian) “Oh-oh-oh a Russian Mongolian...” I pretended that I had not heard, and Andrei said nothing.

A living witness and the only one. (...)

IV 15 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 21, 1928.

April 21, 1928

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

My lovely and dearest Mama!

Above everything else this is the most important: Congratulations to you on your grandson...A surprise? For us, Milia and I, this was, of course, not unexpected. However, we did not wish to write about it until this new citizen had arrived in this world.

It happened at 9 hour and 15 minutes in the morning on April 18. The day before, the first two days of Easter, we diligently went visiting. On the 17th, Milia also was with guests and in the evening felt the approaching birth. (...). We had expected this to happen a week later, and so were not completely prepared. I ran for the obstetrician while S. K. Kondratiev stayed with Milia who was afraid he would not arrive in time so asked where the scissors were. The obstetrician said it was necessary to hurry. I quickly called for our car, and we rushed off to the

hospital¹³⁷). (...) Milia lay in a separate section, and I went home to sleep but, of course, I could not sleep and was restive all night. Around 8 in the morning, I went back to the hospital and within an hour and a quarter I was told about the birth of my son.

The birth itself went very well but then a bad story begins. Milia lost a large quantity of blood, and because of a weakness in her heart (Urga is 1,300 m high), she fainted which severely frightened all the doctors in the hospital who quickly gathered around her and they began the injections. (...) After that, she grew better. I was let in to see her and saw my son. We even chatted in the evening when I went to the hospital again, and everything was peaceful. Then, suddenly, I was not permitted to see her and saw all the turmoil, the frightened faces of the staff, and how quickly they called for the doctor. It seemed that Milia had fainted once again (...) I survived this difficult hour sitting in a neighboring room and watching the extraordinarily anxious and upset people running for all the syringes and preparations for the attendants and the doctor. Besides all of this, I was asked to run to the apothecary. It seemed to me that I was being sent away at this moment of crisis. 15 minutes at the apothecary while the employee, frightened by my terrified face, hurriedly prepared the prescription with the inscription “hurry” – necessary medicine. These 15 minutes seemed to me like a century. I then returned and with great concern looked into the eyes of the doctor. However, within a few minutes, the crisis had passed and, following Milia’s wishes, I was allowed to go to her. (...) I tried to appear cheerful with a reassuring demeanor, but she looked pitiful. All night long, there was a doctor on call near Milia and me. However, in spite of this ordeal, she soon felt very well as she lay in her separate room. All (...) the personnel at the hospital treated her very warmly and with great concern. I benefitted from all of this concern and was permitted to stay with Milia any time and almost without restrictions. After 6 days, I took her home. Your grandson was very peaceful and did not cry. He promises to be a handsome little boy.

All the city heard about this, and everyone congratulated me and wanted to visit Milia and see the new little master, but no guests were permitted to visit her. I did not go to the office during this time but did not claim this at Uchkom.

The great happiness of Milia’s giving birth in the hospital could have turned out sadly. However, that is all now over and as soon as Milia came home, our lives changed. We still have not chosen a name for our son. We didn’t want to give him an ordinary name. We might possibly give him some sort of Buddhist name.

During her pregnancy (for the first half of it she was on the road on the expedition), Milia generally felt well. The worst was the first month, or two, and the last month. She felt nervous sometimes. She often thought about you. (...) As soon as she gets up, she will probably write you a letter. I beg you to write to her. Having your support will help her manage her new situation when she is alone

with her son – I leave on the 5th of the month.

Along with this letter, I sent to you (through Moscow) a newspaper with my first printed article¹³⁸⁾, and they told me today that my second article has been accepted¹³⁹⁾. You will see the progress of our trip in this journal. I wrote it this winter, and it is quite good: two articles in a Russian journal, in Mongolian¹⁴⁰⁾, which is like a diary in 120 pages, and a small, specialized article¹⁴¹⁾. Now I sit doing serious work on the geography of a major part of Mongolia where my experiences and observations must be organized into a whole, including from the fragments of many travelers. Besides this, I have a lot of work for the Museum and must prepare for this year's expedition. I am probably leaving during June. Milia is considering moving in with a family she knows not far from Urga, on the edge of the woods, in a yurt.

I am not looking too far into the future. My general principle – focus on your internal rather than on your external situation. Milia and I have a very firm relationship. I have been at fault which has affected her, as it has affected you, but I think that, by and large, I have changed. She kisses you with great affection and wants you to rejoice with us over our son and your grandson.

I kiss you affectionately, Mama, and may you live with contentment and joy.

Your Andrei Greetings to all.

<Milia writes:> April 24, 1928

Dear Natalia and Babushka!

I have given birth to my son and am now lying in the hospital for 7 days and nights. It is still not possible to get up because I have a bad heart.

The birth was not so good, but it happened, and it is only necessary to be careful and get better in everything I do. (...). I need now to improve and nurse him and, in spite of my lack of experience, I know how to do that. Unfortunately for me, yesterday, the 6th day, I nearly fainted again and was very frightened. I do not want to and am afraid I could die.

He has very clear blue eyes, a well-formed head, and is plump. (9 ½ funt or pounds at birth) I cannot make out who he looks like—sometimes me and sometimes Andrei (...). I am tired, but well. I will write details sometime. We haven't thought of a name yet.

Milia

Greetings from your grandson who is asleep.

<Andreï writes: > May 6, 1928

I'll add a few words. Received your letter today. (...). At the time, Milia was

not well and so delayed in sending off the letter. Now everything is alright, so tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, Milia will get up from bed. Your grandson is flourishing. (...). Very, very much wish to see you, but it is hard to say when that will be.

Your Andrei.

<Milia writes:> May 8, 1928

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

I received your letter not long ago. It is good that you remembered us on Andrei's birthday¹⁴²⁾, because we completely forgot it as we were so busy and distracted by the birth of our son, and even more by my illness. Poor, poor Andrei, for three weeks, he has worn himself out. I will bake krendel (biscuits) for him and his son together by this time next year since they were both born in April.

I would like to talk now with you about Andrei, but our son tries to turn my attention toward himself (...). I often think and say everything good about Andrei comes from you. What a wonderful, noble man he is. It is strange that there are only some weaknesses of will together with stubbornness and persistence. I don't know where one ends and the other begins.

However, as I write, all is well and though I wish to write a lot, now to our son.

I kiss you affectionately. Milia.

Greetings to Lesha, Alia, and Aunt Olia.

IV 16 A. D. Simukov – to O. Ya. Peiker,¹⁴³⁾ May 14, 1928.

May 14, 1928

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Aunt Olia!

The days in our lives flow by so quickly. They change as one flows into another, in various ways. You knew about my childhood very well – its gentle “idiocy,” as well as the calm of my first class of secondary school, my different passions – the Indians, dancing, and others. Then there was a break – you were interrupted in Moscow, us – in Sigeevka. But later you came to Sigeevka.

I remained a student. Things were bad for you and you were hungry; we had to chop and saw our firewood, set up the samovar and we drank our coffee with saccharine together. We repaired several things. You saw me at the

Khrushchevskii¹⁴⁴⁾ at the evening parties and saw my attempts at “paying court.”

When I became 23-years-old, I experienced enormous changes in my life. I found myself on an expedition, and then I disappeared from your sight, and you ceased to know about me or my life. And I...I find myself thankful that I have only written to you 2–3 letters in five (yes, five) years...There is little excuse, although it is partially because of my nomadic life.

I became 26-years-old not long ago—a respectable age. I have become a father, and my son (we have named him Altai) will soon be a month old. His birth was very painful for Milia. (...). Of course, this affected me as well.

This is already the second year that I have worked for the Scientific Committee. My work is quite multi-faceted, which I like. I am not tied to a specific work schedule and can organize the day as I wish. Of course, I generally work 6–8–10 hours a day.

I set up the Museum which is continually expanding, and I take care of the cartographical work as well as actively participating in research on Mongolia. All of this is very fascinating. They know and value my work. Last year I took an interesting trip to a little-known part of the Gobi – the first such trip undertaken completely independently. And in a month or so, I will be off on a five-months’ expedition and this time to the mountainous forests of northwestern Mongolia. Milia, however, will not be with me. She will be contented in the company of her son not far from Urga.

The yellow plain and the bare cliffs of the Gobi’s mountain ridge, where I travelled for three seasons, as well as the mountainous taiga of Mongolia where I spent half a year, as well as the relatives, remain with me. It is clear and sometimes seems that since I have been here that I only remember what is long-past and well known.

In a large town, I am not very drawn to many of the people from western Russia. Now I am connected to Moscow and Sigeevka and yearn, which may sometimes seem strange, to see Mama, you, Lesha, and Alia. It is hard to say when that will happen. I am trying to do so in the next two years.

Outwardly, my life here goes along peacefully and unassumingly. The three of us – Milia, our son, and I are in an Uchkom house where we occupy a large room. I work much of the time at home. S. A. Kondratiev is settled here in the yard. I receive a salary in the currency of Urga, which is not a lot, but we make ends meet. There are several families of friends with whom we spend the evenings. The movies are not very good here, so we rarely go to them. Work is the main thing of interest. Thanks to some knowledge of their language, I am close to the Mongols. We can see from our window Bogd-uul, the enormous mountain covered in the taiga, separated from Ulaanbaatar only by the Tuul river valley (4–5 versts). In summer, Milia and Altai go 20 versts from Urga where they live by the shores of

the river, and they can enjoy the sun, the air, and the water. In the winter, we have so it seems, a separate place to live in at our disposal. Little by little, we are, by and large, adjusting.

Many thanks for your warm letter; I will write again before my departure – perhaps on the road. I sent simultaneously with this letter and in your name, my articles in the journal “The Economy of Mongolia.” Keep this journal and after reading it, I hope that you will send it on to Mama as soon as possible. She has waited for it a long time. (...). Also, at the same time, send this letter to Lesha and Alia. I already sent it to Mama not so long ago.

<Milia writes:> May 24, 1928

Dear Olga Yakovlevna!

You certainly have already heard about the birth of our son – we wrote about it to Natalia Yakovlevna. (...). It is so odd that a month has already gone by since the birth of this new person, and I have recovered and look and feel like my old self. (...). He is very beautiful. I am becoming accustomed to the absolute quiet in our lives, but sometimes I am quite vexed by his crying. He eats very rarely and modestly – like his Papa.

I will not repeat all the suffering in the account of his birth. The story is known all over Urga, and I am so often asked by everyone I know about my health that, really, I am sometimes not sure, myself, what is happening.

Your letter gave me many pleasant moments. The last times I spent with the relatives I felt badly regarding the meaning of morality. Was about to die (...). Your letter arrived very opportunely, and I felt more peaceful afterwards. Many, many thanks to you for your concern.

If you can, write to me this summer. Andrei is off again until December. My son and I will console each other in his absence.

Forgive this scribble, but I was hurried. I now hurry in everything I do, and my son waits. Now the little fellow is out walking with his nanny. (...).

I am now rather melancholy because there is no possibility of my going off on an expedition. The last expedition touched my heart, and I had not known it would have so captured me so powerfully. Such vast a distance attracts me

I wish you and yours everything good.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 17 A. D. Simukov – to Al. D. Simukov¹⁴⁵), (May-June) 1928.

<Ulaanbaatar, House and address in old Mongolian>

<to Moscow>

My dear friend, my brother,
Contemporary of our golden childhood!
We have not met for so long!

Not only have we not met, but I have not written to you for an eternity. I began a letter to you three months ago but was not able to finish it. So, I decided to start again. I have recently written to Aunt Olia, Mama, Milia wrote to Alia, and I added a few lines. You, surely, are already offended but you must know our news. The most important thing from this is that you have a nephew, Altai. The Simukov family continues. Though, this phrase is yours. This is for me an unusual approach to the matter. The details of this event have been described in many letters. But that will not stop me. Things are going quite well. Milia is healthy, and our son, of course, is prospering. He is comely, and if you will, resembles me. His eyes are blue and clear, like crystal (...). All of our Urga friends have been involved in all of these events, and their moral support has been most helpful. So, as a result, in this 26th year of my life, I have become a father.

The expedition last year was known to you in my letters sent to Aunt Olia and Mama's diary, and I added a few words.

We passed 5 months with little that was bad during which I covered the distance of 4,000 versts, about 500 by car and the remaining by horse and camel. And there, spread out before me was the desert with the steep mountain cliffs leaping up, welcoming the green spots of the "oases." However, that word is not used here. The features of these oases are without the shadows of the date palms, without the Bedouin tents, and the other classic attributes. Again, for me were the appearance of the glorious desert sunrise and sunset, both a joy to behold against the jagged silhouette of the faraway mountain which during the day was the color of cigar smoke, while during the sunset it was violet or the amazing color of cobalt.

One month when I went on a distant expedition, having left Milia with my Mongols in a safe place, I went to an area referred to as "the country of the wild camels and the robbers" because you could meet one or the other. We did not really meet up with the robbers, although we saw their tracks, and I did see wild camels and killed one for the collection. This was a trip with two local Mongols which lasted for two months and covered 600 versts in completely unpopulated areas. We spent one or two nights completely without water and without a drop after a 50 versts trip – (10 hours in the saddle). One of our camels did not enjoy the pleasure of drinking for four days and nights in a row. However, I did see a

most curious place.

This month was not easy for Milia. Some 700 versts from Urga, she was alone among the Mongols who had no knowledge of Russian and, in addition, she was frightened for me if I met up with the robbers. And the public was armed with European rifles – that is, for an encounter – it was not pleasant. I had promised to return in exactly a month but was 6 days late, and those days were very important to Milia as she was in her third month of pregnancy.

Then, on to Etziin-gol, within Chinese Mongolia, and we had an excellent journey. Very easy. I knew the road well, we had a pleasant guide, and we covered 60 versts in a day (up to 12 hours in the saddle). After such a workout, really, Milia could neither stand, sit, or catch her breath. She was very sick. Everyone was frightened at the border and asked where she was. There was a lot of excitement for the uninitiated because I did not have the Chinese documents. But the border officials were not interested in any relationships that were not actually protected from one side or another. Whose interest was involved in guarding this almost waterless burning plain? At the oasis at Etziin-gol some Mongolian Torguts (another tribe) whom I knew had met me, along with an old acquaintance, and they took us in as their honored guests. I showed Milia the illustrious “Dead City” of Khara-khoto, where we both went.

We were the guests of the old wolf-adventurer-named Sven Hedin. And there were Europeans in Etziin-gol; I had heard on this side of the border. But who were they? I could not think of any: All had gone. Milia was hiding in a tent in the brushwood, four versts from the European camp, while the guide and I went to become acquainted with the Torguts and to figure out what was going on. However, suddenly roiling in my mind was the unpleasant little thought: was this a secret English military exploratory party? And would the first to the last (female) be considered a spy? Milia sat alone and wondered what was happening? She was soon distracted by the Torgotka who had run with a jug of milk for 3 versts to become acquainted with the first fair haired woman ever seen in Etziin-gol. She knew about Milia from me.

Sven was like a little old man who favored the society of women, like our Kuzmich¹⁴⁶⁾, but somewhat thinner, and Europeanized to the utmost. He spent the whole day with Milia and even kissed her hand (which was hardened and smelled of the camel), and he kissed her farewell. In the letter to Alia is a photo, which portrays an indecent variant on the subject of “old and young.”¹⁴⁷⁾

Back to the march – 23 days on the camels without rest during the second half of November. On the last day it was 10 – frozen at 20, damp argal (movay govay, as Zoichka would say). Great fatigue, cold and smokey in the tent. The third of December – a remarkable day, when “the exhausted travelers saw the last crossing into the sacred city of Mongolia – Urga,” as it was called of old. With the last bit

of strength, our camels let out a roar and lay themselves down for the last time to unload at the gate of the Uchkom Committee. We had been delayed a week because we had to find an automobile from a military expedition “as a sacrifice to science,” et cetera¹⁴⁸⁾.

During the winter we lived in a peaceful commune. S. A. Kondratiev, Milia, and me, and the cook, Fuchin. There was a great deal of work, but it was enjoyable. Visitors always came in threes¹⁴⁹⁾ (i.e. together). We had some jolly times at home, especially when the men had a drop or a bite.

In the near future, S. A.¹⁵⁰⁾ and I will be away again for 5 months. This time to the mountainous woods of the Khangai. Milia will spend the summer 20 miles from Urga with friends at the Veterinary Testing Station midst the air, the water, (on the shores of the river), the sun, and the verdure. Winter is still far away, and the specifics of our plans have not yet been completely worked out.

But enough about Mongolia. Your letter, so candid and thoughtful, did not please me. It is quite sad if even part of this *credo* which you have written in a poetic style, is your *credo*. And the sorrow is deep – Moscow is like Moloch. It slowly and finally devours the young, unformed soul. The terrible pace of life does not offer the opportunity to come to your senses, change your mind, and look around you. The fleeting pleasures, the sweetness of the superficial often has baser characteristics. There is the fog of hard work in competing for a piece of bread, as well the haze of enjoying leisure time so easily. There is always that haze. For a weak-willed individual to get out from under this is only possible by breaking away from the roots of one’s life. Go off somewhere, break away from the scum of “civilization,” think things through, grow stronger and find yourself – and convinced that you can return to the city.

If you were here, I would show you that I was a dandy from Khrushchei¹⁵¹⁾ where I know the score. Otherwise, life will fly past you, like a moving picture. You gasp before death, angry – and there is nothing. However – to life. Thus, life must be lived differently even if you find little meaning in it.

Set for yourself each day up to half an hour of leisure, 20 minutes, to be by yourself. Think hard about your actions, your attachments, your past times. If possible, no posing. To hell (...) a fracture. It’s not facing us. (...). And moreover, I am saying everything at length in this letter. It would be so good just to see you and share experiences. However, I can’t say when this will be possible.

Regarding your acquaintances and friends, I fear that you do not have the true measure of people. And it is very likely that you will be too lenient and often disappointed. Women are not very faithful and, by their nature, often lie without realizing it. She agrees with you when you unburden yourself, sighs, pines for you and says, “Yes, me too.” You, however, think that you have found your soulmate. So glad. However, it is really nothing like that. They have a simple tone and a flair

for our brother's weak points, and maybe, almost unconsciously they, so-to-speak, take the bull by the horns. Milia is of that opinion and always believes more in a man.

After you finish art school and have researched things a little further, it does not matter, whether in Kara-Kum or in Pechora, somewhere there is breadth and scope. Without a doubt, for the first time you have the opportunity to react against both the grandeur and the cruelty surrounding you. You will achieve victory. Step on land that does not welcome a newcomer, and the land will open for you. You will love it and will forever find all that is newly filled with joy, especially since you are an artist.

Milia, for example, always enjoyed the expanse, and if she did not have a son, and in spite of all the obstacles and scrapes, she would not stay in the city.

You cannot imagine how sometimes I yearn to be with all of you, especially, of course, Mama. Straightened out the issue of the money which I, with pleasure, sent to Mama myself. Unfortunately, it is now very difficult to go to the USSR from abroad for a short time, and it still counts that you must get a new passport to return¹⁵²⁾.

Write what you think about what I have written above. I won't wait to write and will try to write even when on the road if there is a possibility of sending it.

Greetings to every one of you. Especially to Modest Vasiliev¹⁵³⁾. Where is Lev Agronovskii¹⁵⁴⁾? Write about everyone.

That seems about it. I press your hand firmly.

Vale¹⁵⁵⁾ <signature in old Mongolian>

IV 18 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, July 19, 1928.

July 19, 1928

Sangin-Dalai

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna!

I was very happy to receive, not long ago, your letter from Sigeevka in which you first congratulated me on the birth of our son. (...). I am now living with him and some friends at a dacha, 20 versts from Urga in the Anti-plague station. Andrei left on an expedition¹⁵⁶⁾ on June 30th together with Kondratiev and his wife. They hope to return mid-November, but undoubtedly, they will be late. Two issues of the journal, "The Economy of Mongolia" (the first and second) with Andrei's articles were sent to you via Moscow—did you receive them? The third number¹⁵⁷⁾ was sent not long ago, as soon as I received it, and then it went off to Moscow.

If only Andrei had more time, he could take on a major, serious work, but time

passes quickly after each expedition since he has to work to gather the materials together and write up accounts and statutes for various Mongolian journals and Ministries. I think, in this way, (that is: in these articles) he gains practice in writing and precision while gathering more material. He works a great deal, his working conditions are good, and his working hours vary and are not restricted, which enables him to be creative.

He became very thin during my suffering and illness. I am glad that soon after this, he went off on an expedition, and got away from all the commotion, which did begin to quiet down after he left. (...).

Andrei went on the expedition, but before he left, he sent us to the dacha and arranged everything. He is, after all, a very tender and caring Papa and does everything that is necessary for his son, even to his own detriment.

I am completely rested now. There are three of us here, all women, including a maid (...). Sometimes I am very tired by the evening. This little man weighs 16 ½ funt. All of our time is spent in the open air, and I carry him in my arms since there is no carriage and nowhere to find one.

I have tried to write impartially about him to you. He is a very partial Papa, and I am a very loving Mama – Andrei constantly assures me that our son is the very best and the first time he took care of his sleeping son, he would jump up at the slightest rustle (it was only when I could not get up) (...). We named him Altai and we affectionately call him Alia, Alek (...). He was named Altai, for many reasons, on the wish of his father and of his Mama who loved the Gobi's mountain ridges in the Altai during the first months of her pregnancy, and her son's eyes were blue – blue like the distant mountains. (...). He is sometimes like Andrei and sometimes like you. His eyes are often like yours. (...). He smiles and sometimes laughs aloud, “talks” a lot, and rolls over all the time. (...). He loves songs. When I begin to sing, he starts to constantly stretch and purr (...). The most interesting time now is when he is awake and is aware of the feelings of those to whom he is dear. This is all so very interesting and joyful that I watch all of it and am, myself, overjoyed but I am also sad that I am alone. When Andrei returns, he will already be 7 months old.

I have a friend here whose son is the same age as Alek. He has all of his relatives here – grandfather, grandmother, aunts, uncles. They cannot dote enough over Pavlik¹⁵⁸). I am often sad, seeing them happy. Already as a person, something is always lacking. (...).

No news yet from Andrei – if there is any of interest, I will send it on to you. (...). It has not yet been a month since Andrei left, and I am sometimes very, very sad without him. You have raised a very good son and man. I never close my eyes to his weaker side. But more of him is good. In talking with the Kondratievs, we reached the conclusion that Andrei was an unusually noble and kind man, and I

value their opinion of Andrei.

I wish you well—good health and spiritual well-being. Take care of those things close to you¹⁵⁹⁾. Andrei and I would so much like to see you but since that is not now possible, our wishes for your peace and comfort must suffice. Andrei says he must “soothe” the relatives as he used to in his childhood diary. I think that his wish will be realized. I kiss you affectionately. My son has learned to laugh loudly and does so all the time. Every day, he does something new!

Your Milia and Alek.

IV 19 A. D. Simukov – to Al. D. Simukov, December 6, 1928.

December 6, 1928

<Ulanbaatar>

<to Moscow>

Mon frere!¹⁶⁰⁾

This is written in two languages to give you a bit of *couleur locale*¹⁶¹⁾. I returned from the expedition¹⁶²⁾ already three weeks ago and was not late this year. It was a good and interesting trip. The locales and work methods were completely different this year than in the past. Mountains, mountains, mountains, enormous mountain ridges, it is true without the eternal snow, but, still, up to 3,500 m above sea level, and higher. The woods, the splendid alpine meadows, the masses of flowers, the eternal sound of the little mountain river furiously breaking off stones from a pile on the mountain. The denuded naked summit, fields of enormous stones, traces of the ancient Ice Age, which can be seen in the enormous glacial cirque and moraine. I tried, under these conditions, to make this a major expedition. Already by the end of July, I saw snow, and it was cold. It was difficult to complete the ascent up to the steep summit, and one can become exhausted and overcome by a shortness of breath in its rarefied air.

On returning to the summit where I was alone with the heavens, with great pleasure, I saw at my feet rising upward and stiff with cold, a sea of mountains, and I glanced at the Gobi peak¹⁶³⁾ located about 300 versts from me.

With the constant leaping from stone to stone, climbing the cliffs and the stony fields which was often dangerous, one's feet should be made from steel, as the movements had to be exact and well-calculated. And the chest expands from the mountain air and the endless horizon.

This time we were with S. A. Kondratiev on a combined expedition of two march routes, which covered a huge region to the west and north-west from Ulaanbaatar. I visited the border area of Mongolia at Uriyangkhai (Tannu-Tuvan Republic) where our guide for two weeks was an elder-shaman.

I spent an interesting evening in his yurt, where he invited me to watch his “Kamlania.” For a description, see the end of this letter.

At the end of the expedition, I went with S. A. Kondratiev to Lake Kosogol (Khövsgöl) (up to 120 versts long and 40 versts wide.) A worthy object for your brush! The tinge of the lake’s water, in some small areas and at a great depth, was an incomparably clear blue, a very rich and deep blue. It was a pure joy. And just imagine: this colored lake, framed by the shaggy woods on the mountains. The golden autumn forest (leaf-bearing) saw itself reflected in the water. And on the horizon, in the background, the bright blue of the autumn sky, which seemed to arise as a distant blue wave above the enormous frozen summit of Mt. Munku-Sardik, which, itself, was a dazzling silver hue from the eternal glaciers on the summit and the freshly fallen snow on the slope.

And generally, *fili mi*¹⁶⁴, if you please, you could turn up for the summer here, wander a bit in Mongolia, and return “as a connoisseur of the East.” You could fill up not one but ten albums with interesting things. You could go with me for a while somewhere and live a bit of the camping life – although this would just be a superficial knowledge of this very distinctive country and its people. I would show you what is important and since you do not know much, it might be the shortest way to learn about the country.

I would greet the future “as the bearer of the Simukov tradition” with a full and kind greeting to you and to your nephew. There are generally many attractions! If this thought was to your liking, then in the spring, I will write you the details, like in a Baedeker¹⁶⁵, with the indication of price and what is necessary regarding them.

So, I returned on November 12. Milia and Altai were healthy and cheerful. Milia had spent a long time at the dacha – until October 10. While I was away on my trip, one of the Uchkom houses had been renovated, and now I live completely separately and occupy two warm rooms. Besides these, there is also a warm passage and one room, for the things from the expedition. So, in fact, I really occupy the whole little house. It is 40 steps away from the little house of the Kondratievs. We all sit in our former commune “headed” by Fuchin. I work at home and sometimes run to the Museum. There is a lot of work which does not fit into a six-hours workday. The work is very interesting, so one doesn’t notice. Milia is completely occupied with our son and our simple household.

Our rooms are light (all the windows face south) and are bright and clean. The outside of the house is white with green shutters. By and large, one can say, “the external design.” Life flows quietly and peacefully along. Not often to town, more on business. We go out and have guests rarely. The last time we went to the movies where we saw, with pleasure, pictures from and about Moscow which were long forgotten like “The Battleship Potemkin” and “The Ice House.”

I continue to study the Mongolian written language, and I am improving my spoken language, little by little, in almost daily conversations with Mongolian friends. Work, as always, follows two paths. The Museum and work on the expeditionary material.

A major holiday for me is reading and writing and receiving Milia for the summer. Tuapse¹⁶⁶⁾ simply hits me on the back of my head. I am very glad for you, but I cannot get excited about the sea; for me and mine, my position on the Gobi has not diminished. With some interest, I read something about “the liberation” of the village. I do not entirely agree with your enthusiasm concerning “the liberation” from the land. It is impossible to deny it so indiscriminately and also the work on it. However, I still have very good memories, and, after all my wanderings, I affirm that the earth is covered in beauty, and you can tread on it then and there. And both the automobile and the camel can take you to stay at the dacha in the woods, instead of working, as it is on the films (though few remain in one’s head) and tourism. And, to look on Sigeevna through such a glass does not serve you well.

I cannot say anything regarding Mama’s plans about moving to the city. You will see. You must have thought out very well everything connected to this plan. It seems to me that it could be very difficult to leave the village without burning your bridges. Are you willing to risk this? If so, wouldn’t it be wise to tell Mama about the present living conditions in the city? All in all, it is best to think this over.

I am pleased for you. In your recent letters I did not sense any faintness or fatigue, or pessimism resulting from the difficulties of city life. On the other hand, there still might be the faint tone of exhaustion and pessimism related to the difficulties of urban life. At your age, it is necessary to look upon life and people thoughtfully. It is true that the more you think on such things, the harder it is to just sit in “the peaceful armchair of the superficial.” Casting away from oneself what destroys one’s peaceful existence entails a journey that is quite apart, both materially and idealistically, from peaceful contemplation.

We very much wish to see you and know in earnest what sort of man you are now. It is really possible to come out here. The path for a citizen of the USSR is open to you. There was an Austrian artist – very good. He tried to come here on the strength of his being a European subject, but he clearly faced obstacles. What a wealth of things are here. Roerich¹⁶⁷⁾ was not much affected. He is both a landscape and a genre painter and decorator; I have found a lot to write about here.

In conclusion, let me give you a short description of the Shaman’s Kamlania that I saw in Uriyangkhai.

The ceremony took place near the southern slope of the mountain ridge of Tagnu-uul. At the wooded taiga by the river stood a lonely yurt in a small meadow and nearby arose the renowned high, white cliffs. I stayed in a camp near a thick

spruce grove. In the evening, I was invited to the yurt to see the monthly Kamlania of the elder Pelche, the shaman of the 9th generation. Following tradition, I enjoyed a cup of boiled tea while slowly talking about the hunt for the roe deer, bear, or the wild northern deer as it gradually grew dark. The elder did not hurry starting the preparations. A great tambourine, covered in bearskin, was drying by the hearth fire. Children dragged a small, leafy tree and hung it on its branches 9 white strips of material – a sacrifice to the spirits of the mountains and woods, and then drove this tree into the ground 15 steps from the yurt, opposite the door.

After this, Pelche began to dress in his ritual clothing. On his head, he wore a hat with a crown of eagle feathers, with a black fringe which covered his face. Then he pulled on a short deerskin jacket, on the back of which was sewn a thick, multi-colored fringe which reached to the floor, with metallic weights which clinked at every movement. On his shoulders, a small bundle of eagle feathers was fastened. Pelche's feet were shod in soft, decorated stockings made from deerskins (moccasins.)

Once dressed, he began on the tambourine. He lit the juniper and smoked a special resinous reed with his smoke surrounding his feet in a circle. Finally, he turned to the faces leaning against the door on the wall of the yurt, where there was a fire, which represented the soul, and sang while tapping his tambourine. Very soon, the tempo of the singing and the taps on the tambourine increased in tempo, and his movements became quick and sharp, and then we heard a snort – Pelche had fallen into a trance. He stopped chanting. His eyes were closed. His body swayed from one side to another. And there were resonant strikes on the tambourine, in a steady rhythm which grew faster and stronger. Illuminated by the reddish reflection from the hearth, Pelche circled in the violent dance of the ancient priest of the "black sect." At times, the long fringe of his clothing created a complete, flickering, and horizontal circle. The wild rhythms of the sounds from the tambourine accompanied by the iron fringes filled the space and poured over us in a mighty torrent and then faded. Listening attentively, Pelche ended his tambourine playing. A quiet laugh was heard, then a whistle, then a deep snort. Then this mad dance began all over again. The elder sang from time to time and moved faster, and he became breathless as the tambourine flew up to the very roof of the yurt.

Outside, the dense woods twinkled in the night. The shaggy crest of the taiga slept and seemingly guarded the quiet sharply pointed white cliffs. A roe deer, somewhere along a hill in the golden rapture of this crystal autumn, loudly trumpeted the spirit of the mountain.

In the second half of the Kamlania, Pelche unexpectedly leapt over the hearth and out of the yurt. His dance continued under the open sky near the little sapling

with the white ribbons where the sweet smell of juniper wafted in the air. Then, he returned to the yurt. The time had come for his prophecy. He threw the rattle for his tambourine, which was covered with the skin of the wild northern deer, to those of us in the line as he recited a few poems with indistinct verses, which prophesied the near future. He told me that I would kill a goat in tomorrow's hunt, and his prediction came true.

After the predictions, he continued the Kamlania for a long time. Finally, the tempo of his movements and utterances began to fade. The shaman's hat fell off, and he slowly began to slip off his clothes. His wife had prepared a fur coat for him. At the last moment, as his clothing fell to the floor, Pelche bent over and then with a shudder, jumped up onto the frame of the yurt where he slipped on his fur coat and with great strength was forced to sit down. Then, for the second time, with a shudder, they pulled off his shoes. He then, with pleasure, drank a cup of tea and took a drag on his pipe. In the yard, the stars moved in the midnight sky.

This Kamlania continued for a long time – no less than three hours. This endeavor would be difficult for most people, but at an advanced age, and Pelche was 50, such a whirlwind of movement was amazing. This serious Kamlania certainly involved both trances and ecstasy.

So, this is a clear picture of a small piece of my life here. My son grows steadily and displays remarkable physical strength. For this, it is important to have a godfather- “the grey haired 70-years-old Altai” of the Mongolian epos. He will soon sit on a horse. He is more than just a child—he is a pure joy.

Almost at the same time, I am sending the journal “The Economy of Mongolia” with my articles¹⁶⁸. The article is not important. (...), but it gives an overall view of the landscape. Send it to Mama soon. Besides this there is a photo enclosed in this letter from 1928. These – a mountain goat, a mountain sheep, and a grown male¹⁶⁹.

Your Andrei

Greetings to everyone. Aunt Olia and Alia especially. However, both and Mama should write.

January 3, 1929.

IV 20 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 25, 1928.

December 25, 1928

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Mamochka!

(....) It is already a month and a half since I returned from the expedition,¹⁷⁰⁾ but I still have not written you a letter. Milia shames me every day, and there is no justification. I am very ashamed.

This year's expedition proceeded successfully. Each year we gain much more experience.

Everywhere in Mongolia I feel myself at home. How quickly and easily I have joined these peaceful and cheerful steppe dwellers—I know their interests and their needs, and they say that I am one of them. So, I can see my “being a European” slipping away.

The local people are not uncultured as is customarily thought. It is always vexing to me when someone who has just arrived and has only superficial impressions states that the Mongols are unsociable. And in some situations, these people are more anti-social than the Mongols themselves. These people can live with the Mongols, side by side, for a number of years and still have little interest in them and the deep and distinctive roots of their culture and country, and they can even consider the Mongol people beneath them.

I travelled this year to the mountainous regions of Central and Northern Mongolia, which was a completely different landscape than last year. There were fewer dense woods but there were magnificent high, multi-colored alpine meadows and water everywhere with noisy little rivers, steep sloped mountains, and quite a few inhabitants.

However, much of the time I spent in unpopulated places in the high mountains – up to 2,500–3,000 meters above sea level. It was rather difficult. The steep ascent and the rocky fields made me cautious and precise with each movement, and I always searched for an easier route. The heart thumps like a piston in a steam engine and breathing is difficult. At the end of July, I saw snow on the summit.

It was good to be all alone on the summit, and I felt like I was the master of the surrounding chaos in those mountains because I was quick to examine and then consider the winding ridges and hills, which could restrain my approach.

A long march route this year – more than 2,500 versts. I returned on November 12 by a different route than last year. Then on to Urga but I was delayed, which made it harder for Milia, and I was tired from the endless, enormous journey (no

less than 1,000 versts in a month). However, when I arrived home, there were Milia and my son awaiting me. I had such a special feeling when I saw the smoke of Urga at the last crossing.

From that time on, I have been living very quietly and peacefully. All my work does not give me much time for diversions, but I really don't want them. "Excursions" are seldom. And almost exclusively for the two of us. During those times, we leave our son with our old friend and Chinese comrade Fuchin. However, as long they can be seen, Altai makes it difficult for his parents to get 12 hours of sleep. We seldom go to the movies, which are only available during the winter.

Our little white house (besides us, no one) is located in the farthest corner of the Uchkom yard. The windows face south, and you can see a bit of the wooded Bogd-uul mountains, which are 80 versts in circumference. The air is clean here, which cannot be said of central Urga. We live, by and large, in the dacha. We can see the rising and setting of the sun, and we love the amazing clarity of the stars. It freezes quite frequently and approaches 35 °C, which is lower (28–30 on the Reaumur scale). The cold, however, seems lighter here than where you are.

At the Museum, I work on the materials from the expedition as before. I work on articles for "The Economy of Mongolia" and read a little for the introductory course in Mongolian for Russians and as a sort of ambassador I offer two lectures (on the geography and population of Mongolia), which have gone well. My relations with colleagues and the leader in charge are, as in the past, excellent. As before, I do all my writing at home, and I am not bound by specific hours. No major expedition is planned for next summer and so, for the most part, we will remain in Urga. Too many unfinished things have accumulated in these last 2 years.

There was talk of the possibility of an official trip for higher training in Leningrad, but because of some regulations, this does not seem possible.

I so much want to see and chat with you, Lesha, Alia, and Aunt Olia. Maybe this will happen sometime soon.

Each day our son is a greater joy. As he gets older, he becomes closer to me, and I better understand the joy of being a father and following his development, step by step. He is a good size at 9 months and is really a well-proportioned and fine little boy. He loves to play peek-a-boo (and hides in Mama or in a pillow) and to dance (and jumps with amusement.) He prefers Mongolian to Russian and all day long, he romps and plays but is unassuming and not demanding. Blue, clear eyes and he is, in the opinion of his parents, "very expressive and smart" with 4 teeth and a charming, light-colored forelock.

I am ashamed to say that I wrote this letter almost two months ago. Alek will reach 10 months tomorrow. (...). We play joyfully with him in our free moments.

When we bathe him, he very much likes to splash in the water so that half of the bath lands on the floor. He also likes to look out of the window and can tell, even from faraway, if it is Milia or me. He watches happily and when we see this jolly, little figure at the window, he bangs on the glass with his little hands.

He understands what it means if Mama or Papa put on a hat, and then he grows sad. He tries to go with us and is quite proficient at this skill. Soon he will come with us on a hunt to shoot a goat, etc.

He loves the Mongols very much and regards the Russians suspiciously and is afraid of them. All of the Mongols whom we know constantly ask about his health, and in the Mongolian New Year always give him something, even silver money. (...).

We enjoyed the Russian and Mongolian holidays (these last were 10–15 of February). Guests came, and a few even danced the foxtrot. We met with the Kondratievs in the New Year, and 15 people came to a gathering at six o'clock.

On the first day of February (it was terribly cold – up to -45°C) and I went 80 versts from Urga to the taiga to shoot birds for the Museum and took dozens of photos.

This was the first Mongolian New Year celebrated in Urga – the previous year everyone had left. Five days are taken off to follow the revered custom of visiting whenever possible. We have heard all sorts of rumors that things are difficult¹⁷¹⁾ in your area. It is alright here; it could be the money.

I think a lot about a getting a permit to come and see you. When this will be given, I don't know.

I kiss you affectionately, my Mamochka, and hope to see you very soon. Milia and your grandson also kiss you with great affection.

Your Andrei.

IV 21 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 21, 1929.

April 21, 1929

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

<Date and signature in old Mongolian>

My dear Mamochka!

My silence during such a long period is unpardonable swinishness. (...). Milia has chastised me several times for not writing to you.

Altai turned one year old on April 18. He is an endlessly dear, kind, and amusing creature who is always cheerful. He went about independently already at 11½ months outstripping his contemporaries, and now he walks fast everywhere.

He is not afraid to fall, and there is always a bump on his forehead. He cries after a little mistake, but not much after such bruises and sometimes he does not cry at all. (...) He never begs but can be most indignant when you make him take a little rest, and then he stamps his little foot.

You experience a special feeling when he approaches, or rather, jumps on, you while you are working or when he puts his head on your knees and asks you something. (...).

Soon he and his Mama will return to the dacha, and he will run naked through the trees, enjoy the woods, the little birds, and he will splash in the brooks. It is very healthy, and he is already dark. He walks about almost every day. Fortunately, it is spring and there is less wind, but the dust and the cold winds often keep him at home. Spring is different here – dry and windy.

As for me, I am all work. There is the saying: “the further into the forest, the more firewood.” I am not going on a further expedition this year—too much old, unfinished things to work on here.

Perhaps, however, as the days draw closer, I might go to the Gobi for a month but in a car, not on a camel.

Much time, of course, is taken up with the side issues at work. Some things have been added – I now receive 150, but we must live with the comparatively high prices which amount to no less than 200. Milia works at home on the data from the meteorological station of our Uchkom network. We can, nevertheless, barely make ends meet and live very quietly and modestly all the time. We seldom have guests, and I work all day without major interruptions except for important concerns. Work is going well most of the time, and it is more or less creative. There is one drawback, which seems to have no end in sight, because all the time the newest directions must be revealed.

Concerning your assumption that we were frightened by your arrival – you have very much offended me. How could such a thought have come into your head? We so yearn for the people close to us, and thus if you come here it would give us great joy, and judging by everything, you should come now during the difficult period in the USSR. First, money is necessary, and second – managing here and back is difficult – a lot of trouble with the passport.

Neither Milia nor I wish to leave Mongolia now. I love Mongolia passionately—its steppe, woods, mountains which are near me. And Milia, too, has become very attached to her surroundings. Almost every day at sunset, we go out of the gate, and there is our beloved Bogd-uul with its enormous wooded mountain arising all of 4–5 versts from us.

I conducted some inquiries about your working here. I have been acquainted with the principals (the third in my memory) of the Soviet School here, and it turns out the present principal is a fellow countryman from Gomel. His name –

Barabanov.

It is very hard for me to say anything concerning our economy¹⁷², since I am quite bad at presenting the contemporary conditions of our village. Neither Lesha nor Alia will return to the village, and as for me, I am not returning to the west, and I am trying to build a life in the east. You could establish yourself in the city and even if the economy falls apart, I do not foresee too much trouble.

I can't say often enough how much we would like to see you here. I received a long and good letter from Lesha. (...). During the summer I will probably be in Urga, completely alone so I will write to you often. (...). I kiss you with great affection, my dear Mamochka, and hope to see and be with you soon. Write often and a lot.

Greetings to my native land (don't forget the spilled sweat) and regards to all near you and who I remember.

Your Andrei.

IV 22 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, May 8, 1929.

May 8, 1929

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

Please don't be angry with me for my long silence. Happy people often happen to be egoists, and I am very happy. Of course, this all is a result of our son. He was a year old not long ago, and he was already walking. (...) Now, he walks very well, sometimes very clumsily like a little bear, and he runs and chases the dog in the yard and struts importantly all over the Uchkom yard where he goes, independently, to the Kondratievs' house. He directs things in Fuchin's kitchen, looks into the yurts of the Mongols, and elicits great joy everywhere with an unusual word and a bit of conversation with people who can make out "Papa" and "Mama" and "Dai"—a word in a new language known only to him. He is dressed like a man – trousers, a shirt, boots and on the street a Mongolian smock or sweater.

Our family's relations are the following: Mama – strict and firm to begin with, Papa – gentle but he tries to be strict (and nothing happens). Generally, our Papa is the best of all Papas. He dearly loves his son, is attentive, and tenderly aches for him. He also tries to help me in taking care of him.

Nothing can be kept from this son. He grabs, snatches, and drops everything, and he finds everything within his reach, even the papers that Papa has written and left on the table. He approaches everything on tip toe, drags things with all of his

might, then washes them in a bucket¹⁷³), licks the soap, gets into the clock, licks a speck of dust on the floor, hungrily gobbles crusts of bread, kisses my old slippers, clatters around joyously in a puddle, and then wipes up the puddle. (...) All of this is done so quickly that it is hard to rescue anything in one place before he makes a mess in another. He loves spending the days in the courtyard. He is very sunburned and strong, if a little thin. (One does become thin here from all of the work!). (...) In a few days, Andrei must go to the Gobi for a month (it is the place in his heart!). (...) My son and I will go during his time away to the dacha of the Badmajapovs, our good friends. We will live in a yurt and will set off the day after tomorrow.

I am always battling with Andrei about writing. He has so much to do that he writes to you rarely. He says that for his letter to turn out well, he must collect himself and think over what has occurred in our lives. I, however, say that all he has to do is to write to his mother, and she will be just as pleased with it as with any long “psychological” letter. Andrei sometimes needs to be pushed about the simpler issues in life and, unfortunately, I am not always peaceful and calm about this, which can lead to his being a bit down. This is the only dark spot in our lives.

I am always in a bit of a nervous state as spring approaches. It is upsetting that I cannot go to the Gobi and poignantly, even adversely, look on the jolly, contented faces of other people who are less fit for such a journey. (I don’t, of course, share this with Andrei). However, as a comfort I have my son. I plan to go to the dacha soon so that I do not have to see those leaving on the expedition. This is less strange than it sounds on paper.

I very much want to see you but do not know how soon that will be. Andrei has not given up hope of seeing Lesha here. He wrote to him about this. There are endless things for him here. The visiting artist is seldom here.

Write as before to Uchkom, and it will be sent to us wherever we are, as well as for Andrei on his return. Affectionate kisses to you from me and your grandson.

Sometimes when I get down to work, he comes and snuggles up to me. Such endearments from him are so good.

All the best,

Your Milia and Alek.

IV 23 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, July 17, 1929.

July 17, 1929

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Mamochka!

I received your letter sent by air mail. Your hopes are not justified: there was recently another interruption in the air mail because of the bad weather. However, the letter arrived only in my name when I was alone in my empty apartment that was filled with work. In spite of all the work, I tried twice for the possibility of spending two or three days by automobile to visit Milia and Alek. I have heard nothing from them for two weeks. Surely, this evening I will receive a letter and perhaps tomorrow I will go on horseback to see them for five or six days when my most urgent work is finished.

Milia and Alek have been at the dacha for quite a while. I drove them there on May 11th. This year they are in another and better place than last year. It is seventy versts to the northwest of Ulaanbaatar, on the side away from a large road. This is on loan (i.e. a Siberian farmstead) from a family we know¹⁷⁴). This farmstead is situated at the estuary of a wooded ravine with cliffs and a pleasant little river flows at the bottom. The woods are all of a half a verst. The main part of the meadow is enclosed by a fence. In the middle is a neat little house – a winter dacha. A refrigerator, a barn, and a shed are inside the fence, where a brook flows, and there is an artfully constructed pond, and a clean cold spring, which is fenced in and is still separate to keep the water clean. My yurt was within the fenced area, along with an orderly garden and 3½ desiatin (from the irrigation) ditch. A half verst below the Chinese field, there was a small settlement with Chinese farmers, and farther on – the wild steppe, from where we could see the new mountains. From the north and the east, the farmstead was protected by the mountains. There was a pine wood and thick birches. A black grouse, a billy goat, and two or three reindeer wandered by. Not so good were the many snakes in the rocks, and they sometimes crept into the farmstead. There were a lot of different flowers, although there were fewer than in the past but still enough. There has been a lot of rain and the grass and the grain are good, even though the summer was cool with very few hot days.

I rented a large yurt for 10 rubles a month. The felt wasn't important, and I lined the roof with Chinese oilcloth, put mats on the walls, and set up a cast iron stove – so not one drop of rain would fall into the yurt. Inside, Milia kept it all very clean. She had a girl of about 15 to help her like a maid. Meat, milk, and potatoes, and ordinary vegetables were available. I brought flour and other city

products.

Alek has become tanned and rushes about the whole day like a madman, chasing the hens, climbing under the horses (Milia sometimes goes riding; she has a Cossack saddle) and into the pond. He is very strong. He doesn't like sticking out his hand, so we walk 'hand in hand'. It is hard for him to go up, so he runs back again. If there is rain, he has to stay in the yurt – he is very nervous and naughty. Milia has also become very strong and is healthy. Her nerves are strong, and she is lively. Sometimes, however, Altai frightens her because he is inclined to get colds (from me, mostly) and bronchitis. The greatest happiness for me and for Milia is going out to the dacha very early. Lately, in Urga, scarlet fever has developed. Although it is hard for me if one is sick, it is also hard for Milia without me. All in all, I am happy that she is resting and generally doesn't know all about what is going on, good and bad and that, in a word, when I do return to Urga I am like a squirrel on a treadmill.

And now such a period of flux¹⁷⁵⁾ has led to the reorganization of the Uchkom (so that the various parts were brought in line with the establishment) and with the committee on revision. Thus, the current campaign arose, and writing about what has happened, and what this portends for the future, has been necessary so that in the near future the opportunity to reorganize and increase the budget can be presented. Now besides the museum, I must also work on the cartography cabinet, together with Kondratiev, in the department of expeditionary research. Besides this there is the opportunity in profsoyuz work (as a member of the profsoyuz) and the invitation to be the representative from Uchkom on two commissions before the Mongol bank: for the promotion of agriculture and the arranging of an agricultural exhibition during the trade fair and the military holiday at the beginning of August.

And so, during the spring and summer the family budget always shows a gap and since it is necessary to prepare for winter with the subsequent not too large salary, (all of 150 rubles) so I must do this work on the side. From time to time, I write for "The Economy of Mongolia" and receive a lot of work at Shtabe¹⁷⁶⁾ and offer to write in a military journal, and I also help Milia in processing the meteorologic data. As you see, there is more than just one thing and at least three. It strengthens me to know that I can rest at the dacha and be healthy and that we can live there during the winter quietly and peacefully. Milia will be working more, which will make it easier for me, and our work lives will fall into a peaceful pattern which will be to read, to write, and to think.

Of course, I am not thinking of an expedition this summer. Perhaps in October, two or three excursions can be arranged.

In the spring, with the Kondratievs, we went off for a month (May 18 - June 13)¹⁷⁷⁾. Went by automobile about 2,000 km along the Gobi, 650 km without roads straight through the desert. We were barely at the center of the Gobi (600 km to

the south from Ulaanbaatar) where a large monastery was located (300 monks and a lama), and a meteorological station which had remained there for a year for Russian observers and oriental students¹⁷⁸⁾. The blessed hermetic life was lived here! The sand and the desert were all around them, and a vast panorama of the rocky mountainous steppe was before them. The sun, the sand, the sky and the quiet...the narrow passages in the monastery itself, and the little clay brick houses, most of them similar to those in Turkistan or Persia, only without a garden. Then there was the amazing dawn accompanied by the low, melodious sounds of the lama's pipe.

I went to the south, with pleasure, to some places where I had been three times before, (25–26–27) and where one could clearly expand one's knowledge of Mongolia (I now know most of this area but there still remains the west and the east). The desert still strongly attracts me – more than the northern forests – with its air and only there can one breathe with a full chest. Perhaps, also, because there is more sun, and its nature is simpler and cleaner with more space and air.

The tone of your letter greatly pleased me as it was calm and responsive about your well-being, at least outwardly. I am glad that you have decided to remain in Sigeevka. These last times, judging from all the news that has reached us, is quite bad¹⁷⁹⁾. My heart aches for those in Moscow – Aunt Olia, Leshia, Alia. Truly, it hangs heavy. How are they with money? How are they getting along? I haven't received news from them for a long time. Maybe in the summer they will have a vacation with you.

Unfortunately, the possibility of seeing you has been put off. A year ago, things would have been clearer and more definite about this. However, there have been changes¹⁸⁰⁾ and again, remember, that it could certainly not be early in the year, considering these circumstances. The efforts to return are most difficult. Neither Milia nor I want to be prohibited from returning here. We are accustomed to this country and to its people and we love them. We have adjusted to life here, and we would have to begin all over again there and under very difficult conditions, many of which we are not aware and could only become accustomed to gradually.

Our life is here. Even if there is insufficient knowledge of a country, practical knowledge – a country's conditions, and language supported by good memories for example – serve one well. Now, for example, everything I write about is from first-hand experience—no clambering through diaries and notes – except to pull a few trifles out of one's head. In reference to your words that I should not only sit in the Museum at Urga, I must say that such a “learned career” interests me very little. My present work has endless possibilities of creativity which are multi-faceted and inexhaustible. I also do have to work on drier material, but I have found my path is pointing out the omissions in the practical knowledge of this country, and I now have the possibility of doing this. There remains only the possibility of doing more

reading and, maybe, coming to Leningrad for a few months. This is all theoretical. For me, it is best to be in an established scholarly center as well as, from time to time, going on 2–3 months visits in different countries, and not become “rooted” in their life but staying “a tourist.” In a word, I am very much of this place, have a clear view of it, and of some of its blunders, even by great scholars, who are soon coming here.

I did not complete this letter which was delayed because of all sorts of unpleasant things. If I am not peaceful in my soul, I am completely unable to write. Now everything is more or less back to normal, and although my message is late it will reach you shortly.

Summer is coming to an end – I soon will go to Milia and Altai at the dacha. I spent all of the summer in the heat and dust of Urga and seldom went to be with Milia. How was your summer? A. Ya.¹⁸¹⁾ wrote to Milia about Alexei and his friends who came to you and did a lot of painting¹⁸²⁾. What is Alia doing? It always seems to me that her life is not easy. I have heard nothing about her for a long time.

Alek was healthy and jolly all of the time. I don’t know how it will be in Urga. In the spring, the scarlet fever did not end and especially regarding the city sanitarium and in the town it is so-so. Especially during the summer. It is true that we live out of the center with its dust, dirt, and the roar of cars. I am glad that Alek and Milia can be healthy during the summer. They both look wonderful. I, also, feel well. I will write regularly from now on. During the summer, there were all sorts of hustle and bustle.

I am putting the photographs in the envelope (...). At the same time, I am sending your letter on to Milia. I have received 4 copies of the journals with my articles which await dispatch to you.

I very much want to see you...but it is difficult. When will the period of your pension be over? It is very simple-you can live here with us.

I kiss you with great affection, dearest Mamochka, and pardon your dissolute first born for the silence. I will reform without fail.

Your Andrei

P. S. Pressure Aleksei to write.

IV 24 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, August 10, 1929.

August 10, 1929

Suchji

<to Sigeevka>

I have not written to you for a long time,
yes, and to everyone, dear Natalia Yakovlevna.

(...). I, probably and not as strongly as Andrei, especially now, am often burdened by the absence of close relatives. (...). And so, I wish that someone besides the two of us could enjoy our little man. I think that Andrei would like this also, and we both often dream of a grandmother.

I am now living with my son in the dacha, 70 versts from Urga with our friends the Badmajapovs. Alek is faring very well here – in the woods, pastures, and mountains. He is sunburnt and looks very well. He spends his whole day in the meadow around the yurt in which we live. I often take him by the hand to the woods where he likes to go for walks, pick the flowers which he smells and has me smell, gaze at the little birds, and listen to the noises in the woods. Then, he funnily raises up his nose in an effort to see who is making the noise.

Not long ago, a whole crowd went off all day to the woods to gather berries, and I brought along Altuska. I can't tell you how delighted he was with the trip. He walked in the woods, slept, started the fire, "boiled" his dinner, clambered up a cliff with me and solemnly contemplated the sea of mountains beneath his feet. He is unusually busy. He has a racecourse, chickens to feed, a dog to play with, a donkey cart to ride in, streams to jump across, horses to run to...He loves every living thing from horses on. He sometimes sits in a saddle when he rides. This pleasure is readily available since I have my own saddle, and the Badmajapovs have the horses. (...). His life here is very different than during the winter. Then, he was very little and had no company and he puttered around slowly for hours. Now he has a large and noisy company and does not spare the attention of his contemporary, Jam Badmajapov, as he tries to make time for everything, and romps around and plays with the older children, wrestles with them, and with the horses, and at football. I think about the winter when there will be rain, and we will be without friends—then what will I do with him?

Andrei says that he is even more interested in his son in proportion to his age. This is balm to my soul. You see, I watched, very suspiciously, the relationship between Andrei and Alioshka when it seemed less strong...(...). If Andrei, in my opinion, appeared less interested in him and wrote little about him in his letters while on an expedition, or admired him little when he was home, (although, thinking it over, a man cannot, like a mother, hang over the crib the whole day) I

was already aggrieved. (...) Now our son is older, Mama has grown wiser, and Papa has learned to express his paternal feelings. (Earlier, he preferred silence while loving him remotely). All is in order, and there were no better words for me than that, while in Urga, Andrei missed Alek.

August 23: I am continuing my letter a bit later. We are still living at the dacha. Yesterday, we went to the woods, and today on waking, we saw even though it was still summer, a winter landscape since snow had fallen during the night, and it came up to our knees. Altuska could not understand why all the green was now white. (...). Such an event in the middle of summer is a rarity here but certainly the climate is skittish – the day is hot, the night is cold. The whole summer is like that. (...)

August 25: It seems that my letter went out today. Our snow has melted, and it is warm and summer again. Your grandson runs and goes about to an endless steppe song – with some Mongolian motif. Every poet has his own native song, and Alkina's native land is Mongolia.

I await a letter from you. Will Lesha and Alia come to you over the summer? Write to me at length "about everything."

Kisses to you from me and Alka. We wish you good health and hope that you are not sad in Sigeevka. We dream of how we could visit "Grandma" in the village.

Your Milia and grandson.

P. S. We beg you to send a photograph to your grandson.

IV 25 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 8, 1930.

January 8, 1930

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna, such a lovely Granny!

Every evening I set out to write to you, and every evening I cannot – as I am immersed in the kindergarten. I am busy there until 5 o'clock, and then I go home and immediately have to take care of Alek. I had opened a kindergarten here and had worked in it for three months. However, because Andrei pestered me every day, I stopped this work. The salary was 100 rubles, and I was busy until the evening.

My child is growing and becoming tall. He is very funny. He seems to be very independent, very masculine – with his long and funny steps, and his round, little face, and rosy cheeks – he is very jolly. With great zeal, he often dances alone with Papa in a wild dance (when they dance together, I almost fall down

laughing). He marches into the room with a red flag and counts “one-two” and then cries out “hurrah!” does some gymnastics, and then plays with his blocks. (...). While he keeps house, we stand gaping at Papa’s desk where he often has his fingers in the ink well, and then he writes a letter to babushka saying “baba, Alia, Mama.” (...). All the walls and the floor are written on in pencil, and when I begin saying anything about this, he takes a rag and starts to clean.

He does not talk a lot yet, but already tries to repeat what the adults say. Not long ago, there were hilarious scenes when, for example, a Mongolian arrived and said to him “Sainnu” (a greeting) and bowed. Alka then did just the same and in front of the Mongolian man repeated just what he saw and heard. It was very funny with this tiny little figure squirming into a low bow before this tall Asiatic. (...). He often sings, and his tunes are not my old ones, but his own, and not our native songs. He was taught endless Mongolian songs of the steppe at the dacha during the summer.

He already understands enough to complete simple tasks like putting his games in order, since he knows where everything belongs. He knows the animals which he sees all the time: the camel, the donkey, the horse, etc. In a word, “he understands a little of life” as S. K. Kondratiev says. (...).

We live, as before, at Uchkom, in our old home which stands separately from the Kondratievs. This is very comfortable for Aliushka and the servant. Up to now, our financial matters were in a very lamentable condition – a mass of debt which has accumulated since the birth of our son, and my health after the birth, and then our going to the dacha. Now that the debts are paid off, Andrei wants to make our home comfortable and cozy. One of our rooms has suddenly been furnished with linoleum. He also likes to get all sorts of new things for the desk, etc., etc. True to the prophecy of Olga Yakovlevna! (...). She said sometime in Moscow that when he furnished his home, he would be indifferent to the external, and that “everything would fall into place.” As much as possible, I tried to satisfy Andrei’s new requirement.

If you wish, I can describe for you the interior of where we live – a mass of skins! Skins everywhere – on the floor, on the chairs, on the wall, and for Andrei – still not enough. Tell Lesha if he comes to us (and we very much hope he will), that he will sleep on a snow leopard skin, and cover himself with the skin of the antelope gutturosa, in Mongolian the “tsagaan tsere.”

In my opinion, I give you a poor impression of my present life. We now have concerns about our son, about improving our financial matters, the economy, the kindergarten. Of course, it would have been difficult to endure all of this, if not for Alek, the little monkey who so brightens up my life. It was sad in the spring when people connected to the Academy¹⁸³ and Uchkom had gathered for an expedition, and I was hurriedly sent off to the dacha. I had hoped to join this expedition, and

there was much of interest on this trip (even if we did not know where to meet Sven Hedin.)

Affectionate kisses to you, my dear Grandmother from me and my son. Write to us, please. It would be so nice to receive a letter from home.

Your Milia.

IV 26 Natsagdorj¹⁸⁴⁾ (1929–1930).

Notes of M. A. Simukova, December 27, 1989.

In Ulaanbaatar, we lived in a small home in the large yard at Uchkom. Across the street was the customs office, the slope down to the Tuul, and a pebbly area. Inside the yard were 2 large one story homes, and Bogd uul could be seen from the window. This was the Uchkom. In one house was the geography cabinet – not far from the Kondratiev's house.

The entrance to the house from the yard was through the kitchen. To the left – were our two rooms – on the right where, as I remember, Gombo always lived – ¹⁸⁵⁾ a student from a group of Mongols who had studied abroad.

Once, in the evening, I heard a faint knock on the door. Our Alek was still small and the guest, evidently, did not want to awaken the child. Andrei opened the door and told me that he was going out to see Natsagdorj. They walked for a long time which often happened when Natsagdorj and Andrei wandered quietly around the empty Uchkom yard in the dark. I once asked Andrei...why so long? He answered “if you knew this thin, lyrical poet! He reads his poems to me. Natsag will be a great poet!” I didn't often hear such words about our acquaintances.

Natsag lived in a yurt in the Uchkom yard and later there with his wife Nina Nicolaeva¹⁸⁶⁾ and later with his daughter Ananda Shri¹⁸⁷⁾. He only worked at Uchkom. He was a very unassuming and delicate man. Natsag visited us several times, and he and Andrei spent quiet and tender times together.

IV 27 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, July 30, 1930.

July 30, 1930

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Babushka!

I am writing to you for the two of us – I write, and Aleka turns somersaults on my bed. He started the day under his bed with a snake in his shoe and so when I lay him down, I went to sleep with him, and he was pleased with his behavior.

We are living in the dacha not far from Urga, surrounded by nature, as they say

– cows, chickens, children, and horses, and we are blessed with all sorts of grasses. It is only bad that the city is nearby Urga which in summer is a breeding ground for every illness and is full of the plague.

Alyosha has been a bit ill but is now alright although he is on a special diet. (...). He is now very interesting for me, whereas earlier, although I had tender feelings for him, now there is a new form of maternal feeling. It is interesting to follow this as manhood awakens in him (...). Often, when we are sitting at the table with him, and are busy with our own matters, he is busy cutting with scissors. All of a sudden you catch his attention, and you see from his little eyes that he is in a comical pose. He then repeats this performance. Often, he caresses me and says, “poor thing, poor thing.” He has borrowed this salutation from me when I was ill.

Andrei and I often wonder how you are managing on your pension. If we do not come to see you soon, it would be best if we could see you here. How is your agricultural artel doing? Simuchatam¹⁸⁸⁾ certainly, would be a gift to the artel. Here we have no hesitation about the products but rather with the geographical conditions. For example, there are no fresh fruits and vegetables. This is of particular interest to me because of Alek. I would love to see the flower garden which you wrote to me about in the spring.

Now about our life. Andrei went to the Gobi three weeks ago and is due to return in a few days. They are tired of waiting for him here, and there are many questions and even if they are on an academic expedition, there are still many questions and matters that need to be decided on and organized. Besides this, he still must go somewhere to the west in 2–3 months. There is a lot of work and since Kondratiev is in Leningrad, Andrei must answer for them both. And as all of this work increases, I often recommend that he takes me on as his secretary (secretary Anatole France¹⁸⁹⁾) and hire a doorman porter to set up a queue for cars for all sorts of matters and occasions in our humble little house.

For that to happen, certain information must be obtained from him or Kondratiev. Andrei knows well southern Mongolia, that is, all of the Gobi, and Kondratiev knows the west. Their theoretical knowledge is also solid. In addition, Andrei knows how to speak and write Mongolian.

They offered me the head of the Mongolian nursery school, but I was afraid it was a huge responsibility, and the local children are not stationary. For now, I have given up the notion of hiring a servant since we live on only one salary, and I think that it is most important to look after our son. (...). I was consoled earlier that I could follow Andrei’s work and somehow be helpful in his work, but he now has so much to do that he doesn’t try to draw me into what he is doing—it would be impossible. (...).

We both kiss you affectionately. Andrei will, perhaps, write to you from the

expedition.

Your Alek and Milia.

IV 28 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 11, 1931.

January 11, 1931

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Babushka – Natalia Yakovlevna!

(...). How are you? Are you really all alone at Sigeevka? Not with Lesha or Alia? They haven't been there for a long time.

My son and I are intending to come to the USSR in the spring. Please write to us how you are. I am interested as regards Alek in how you manage your nourishment. We, ourselves, can't really judge what is there and can only have an idea. We are thinking that this summer we will be close to Babushka – and we will see during the winter. Maybe Andrei will be able to come as well.

Our son is really growing, and he is learning to whistle, which makes us laugh. It is very funny – this tiny little figure pottering about whistling quietly. And still better, he amuses his parents with arias, which he believes are “Khaust” (we have several records of Faust) or Chaliapin.

Life is a game. To him now. He plays, all the time at what he sees and hears. If I could show you the disorder in this apartment! Sometimes you can neither move nor crawl. All of the caravan arrives, the herds of horses run, and then come the bulls, (and always a caravan), and Alek shoots at Mama and demands that I “was shot.”

And this never ends for Mama. (...). I always hurry to finish what I have to do in the morning so we can set out for a walk. However, we have not walked these past few days since Alek has the grippe, and it has been freezing for the past two weeks at -45–47 °C. However, the frost here is light, and so we can walk up to -36 °C.

Alek is growing up, and he loves it when his Papa is close by. He often sits and whispers about something as he is playing or sometimes runs about. I find it a lovely picture when they both sit at his writing desk and each of them is busy – Papa works and he is at the other end and his very serious head can barely be seen over the desk as he writes “a letter to Babushka” or “reads.” We are not good with reading – not even one little children's book. Alek, however, does “read” to us! I have not yet subscribed to anything. Besides all of this, they must send the expeditioners from the Academy. It soon will be certain.

So, this is how we live. Papa works with his trowels, and Mama keeps the

house and raises the son. I have given up thinking about a servant. It is a shame to leave the little boy to the mercy of strangers, and more important, to unscrupulous people. He is still too little to be on his own. (...). It is not good that I remain at home without going out, while Andrei is up to his ears, and I have no day off. However, all of this is eased with the joys of having this son. (...).

We both kiss you affectionately, write to us, please, in detail. Andrei will write to you separately.

Your Alek and Milia.

IV 29 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 15, 1931.

January 15, 1931

Ulaabaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Mamochka!

It has been a very long time since I wrote to you and almost as long since I received a letter from you. I have no idea about your life! I know only that you are on the kolkhoz and other than that – nothing. Try to describe this when you answer this letter.

My time flies by with maddening speed. I cannot even remember the slower, more contemplative tempo from 1923 and the next 3–4 years. As almost the sole (after the departure of Kondratiev) student of local lore, I have participated entirely in the economic, agricultural, and construction issues, as well as those pressing problems that you have in the USSR. I work all the time with the Scientific Committee, which is in a period of expansion, and is now establishing a cabinet of social geography, provisionally – a meteorological network, a photo-tech, and an instructive cabinet of cartography. Thus, I actually appeared as the manager of the Geography division before the Scientific Committee of the MPR. You can well understand the transfer of the cinematography to me. Besides this, I participated in the trade union by giving a little course on historical materialism, as well as sometimes offering lectures on the geography of Mongolia. I had begun to study English for a month but gave it up. My nickname here is “the living Mongolian encyclopedia.” My basic salary is now 250 rubles and sometimes there are additional earnings, which brings us up to more than 300 rubles a month. However, prices have risen over the past 2–3 years during our life here, yet sometimes I see no money. Milia ultimately was discouraged from hiring a servant and is doing the housework herself. So, we have a division: the husband earns the living, and the wife maintains the house and raises our son who is a never-ending source of joy. He is very interesting as he grows, and in April will be three (“tlii

years”). He is obedient, well-developed, and in a word – everything is as it should be. And nice as well. Milia, however, will write you all the details.

Now a few words about the near future. Milia and I are focusing on the journey of half (by weight) of the family – (that is, mother and son). The date for the trip – spring, when it turns warm. They are contemplating a prolonged visit to both grandmothers, in short in the summer or in the autumn spent in the native areas. And it will be seen what happens in autumn. It could be possible that I will also go to the USSR for academic reasons and for “the improvement of qualifications,” which will be the theoretical foundation for these eight years of the practical.

All of these plans must fit into the details of your situation. Is all of this possible? How much money is required each month to live adequately for these two “notable foreigners” – one who is called “Altai Simukov and is ‘tlii’ years old” (by his own declaration)? Is it possible that over time the visit of these foreigners can be under the wing of babushka Natasha? A calculation about how much money is needed, without the deduction for clothing, is necessary. I can manage 150–200 rubles without special work. The cost of the route we know already, and you know what is necessary to feed Alek. Write us both as soon as possible so we can know about the situation in advance. This summer there was the constant momentum from 4 trips, and all the subsequent complications of more than 6,000 km of travel¹⁹⁰. In the interval between the fuss concerning the matters at Uchkom, I went to the dacha from time to time.

I bought us a yurt this summer and set it up 6 versts from town, in a small poplar grove near a mountain and the river. There were a few families nearby. What a fortuitous place I chose: in 2–3 km we had sun, air, some greenery, water, and woods. It was, however, a bad summer – very rainy. The river overflowed which created difficulties. So, to reach the bridge, it was necessary to-and excuse me- climb up to my navel in the cold water of the mountain river and make my way through the fast current. This continued for nearly two months during which I went to the desert where I saw not a drop of rain.

I go from the straight geography in all of this work to the agricultural-economic geography, which is focused on forage, pastures, nomads, etc. Much time is spent in conflict with some workers in various departments who are interested in these issues. So, this cinematic life is quite exhausting and here is the usual picture: those on an expedition have faces like dried biscuits but they return with solid, broad faces. However, this quality diminishes in Ulaanbaatar and by the next season, there are once again dried biscuits.

Milia often stays at home with the housework even though it is clear that *kinder-kuche*¹⁹¹ is not her ideal. However, the specific conditions in Ulaanbaatar do not permit the establishment of this, so that *Kuche* does not affect Milia. A series of efforts were not crowned with success. The reasons – the impossibility of finding a

good housekeeper, her fear of letting our child attend kindergarten, and that there has been a scarlet fever epidemic.

So, that is how our life goes. “No guests,” and we generally go out separately and only on business.

I bought myself a good gun (a hunting vintovka). It cost me 275 rubles with the cartridges. Today I went at 10 to the taiga warm springs (a future spa) near the meteorological station. I used this opportunity to rest for several days and went hunting. I will go for deer (the roe deer and the Siberian stag), elk, roe buck, and wild boar. I hope to find a bear’s den and get a bear. There are many in this area.

After the trip—once again the cinematographic rush, running around, usually thinking about dozens of questions at once. In a word, the usual winter situation.

This week the freeze reached below 40 °C, but it is better now.

For a long time, I have heard nothing about the lives of Lesha and Alia. Especially the latter. How are they, how are they managing, what are they thinking about? I started a letter to Lesha recently, but it is time to have a talk since already rebellious streaks are apparent. Much water has flowed under the dam! On September 26, it will be the eighth year of my stay in Mongolia.

I kiss you affectionately, Mamochka. Write, take care of yourself, and wait for us.

Your Andrei.

IV 30 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 27, 1931.

February 27, 1931

Ulaanbaatar

<to Sigeevka>

Dear Grandmother Natalia Yakovlevna!

My letter expresses my joy, as always during convalescence, that Alek has recovered from tonsillitis.

When Alek had completely recovered, he went to the kindergarten for the first time. I had made enquiries about it, looked at it, put in an application and he was accepted. It is a good one.

I talked with him a lot about the kindergarten. And how was his first day? (...). While everything bad ceases at the mention of kindergarten where he is told what to do and that he can’t do this or that which should be done at home. He listens happily and does what he has to do.

Alek is growing up. (...). Andrei wants, and it is necessary, to help his son. Andrei has been back for a long time from his trip to Iro which I wrote you about where he wandered in the taiga, rested, hunted, and ate a wild boar.

I received from Alia a long and detailed letter. Andrei exclaimed – eight pages! He was quite pleased that Alia is getting married. (...).

In the spring, that is May, we are thinking of coming to visit Babushka. (...). I am thinking about what I need to collect for this. First, there is much that must be done and second, there is the cost and there is little money. I can't talk about our plans-we will see it all more clearly in autumn. If Andrei will come, etc. (...).

Our collection of pictures revives old memories. I suddenly think about shoes, which are not necessary in this mud. Here we go around in slippers, and the snow fell only once during the winter, and then evaporated and the ground was dry. There is, by and large, no mud here. There is a lot to tell you about all of this, and I want to see you very soon.

Our status is somewhat confusing at least to me. I kiss you with great, great affection and most of all from Alka. We await a letter.

Your Milia and Altai
and Andrei. (The handwriting of A. D.)

IV 31 A. D. Simukov – N. Ya. Simukova¹⁹²⁾, January 19, 1932.

January 19, 1932.

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Mamochka!

I have completely forgotten when I last wrote to you. And now everything has lost its sharpness (don't faint!) I am coming closer to appearing some time in Moscow. I think that we might be successful in leaving Mongolia at the end of February. This question has been decided, by and large, concerning Moscow and Leningrad. I want to come and look and more or less settle in. Perhaps, I will return to Mongolia in the summer. As of now our thoughts concern our departure for which we are preparing. Milia – the economy, and me – my work and the money. We are liquidating our economy. We have cut back on baggage and take only what is essential (excluding clothing). However, there are some details about the meeting. On arrival I will go to the Academy in Leningrad, and there are many matters to attend to.

It is very hard to imagine the apartment. We are looking at all the moves from here. I strongly ask you to explore this as well. (...). Besides we both ask not to be refused shelter, at first. That's all.

See you soon.

I kiss both you and Aunt Olia.

Your Andrei.

<Milia writes:>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

To my astonishment, everything that Andrei writes is correct. We had already, and for a long time, been ready to go and Alek had constructed projects to that end. (...). I hope the situation will change and that we will be able to see each other closer. I am, in a word, ready to come "home." All my thoughts are focused on finishing the economic hustle and bustle of our household, and I also hope to help Andrei in his preparations and his work.

Don't blame me for the short and disjointed letter, I don't remember if I wrote to you after the death of Alek¹⁹³). So often I wanted to write more, but I gave up after each attempt and just could not. I will tell you everything when I come.

Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna and to Simuchat as well.

All the best. Good-bye for now.

Your Milia.

IV 32 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, May 3, 1932.

May 3, 1932

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

Guilty again of postponing our leaving probably until the autumn. No one now believes that a telegram was sent. Andrei has taken on a lot of work in the spring and must complete it, and Uchkom expects him to work beyond the spring for the summer session – and, they say, looking past the summer to autumn – so we have stayed and it seems will remain until the autumn, avoiding our grief, and so are delaying meetings with relatives which would offer some joy, however it seems of little purpose to arrive during the summer.

"The circles" that Andrei would be part of will have dispersed over the summer. It seems that (we) are going this year with a detachment of the academic expedition somewhere and will find out more later.

For you in Moscow, you will probably be able to find us if you have lost the address, through the scholar secretary of Uchkom, Michael Israelevich Tubianskii¹⁹⁴) who can give you the details of the plan and the possibility of future plans. He has taken care of all the Uchkom business for a month and a half. He is an unusually pleasant and nice man, and it is a great pleasure to work with him. I am not working now so as to put in order the work at Uchkom before leaving. They have offered me once again a clerical job¹⁹⁵), but I am not interested. I work a bit at home and am careful about taking on work here¹⁹⁶) since I help Andrei and

sometimes in a fit of thrift, I give him more nourishing food. However, it is not merely horse feed, so first, he gobbles up everything and seems to appreciate the subtleties of the preparation (for this I invite Tubianskii) but secondly, collars are still loose. Now he sits in front of the detailed map of Mongolia which will be printed. I think that you will be pleased in your heart when you look at the signature of the author. (...). Just looking at Andrei's diary, so full of interest, and which he has managed to write accurately in ink in his clear handwriting.

Andrei recently reached 30-years-old¹⁹⁷⁾, and he noted that he lay from morning to evening reviewing and summing up the past. Now he is going to praise and speak to our Fuchin – “a man of steel.”

We have more days of spring. The day of the death and birth of our son have passed¹⁹⁸⁾. I have tried to think a bit less about him, but it was such a tragedy, and I am not good about this. We don't ever talk about him and if I catch myself thinking about him – I painstakingly turn (to other thoughts.) To completely banish this little boy from life. You can never heal such a painfully wounded heart. He was my first born, and my little son. We do talk a lot about him. There are just the two of us for long periods of time.

Well, I did start writing about him but now there is nothing more to be said. (...) Write to me, please. Greetings to Aunt Olia and Alia and Lesha.

Your Milia.

IV 33 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 8, 1932.

December 8, 1932

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

We have been back from our expedition¹⁹⁹⁾ for a month already. We dawdled back with the report, the stones²⁰⁰⁾, photos, etc. Letters were not written because of the expectation of an imminent departure. I will soon leave alone; Andrei has been somewhat detained with work reports.

The expedition went very well this year—a lot of material, travel, and much to see.

Your postcard from Garp²⁰¹⁾ will be received in the Gobi. I am very ashamed that we have not found the time to write to you about sending the money. This is your money and since you have not spent it, you must hurry to do so now. (...). I am sending you a letter to address to Lesha²⁰²⁾, to send on to him. How is Alia?

Forgive this short letter. I am depressed today and don't feel like writing. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. All best.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 34 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 30, 1932.

December 30, 1932

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

As I sit in loneliness, I find comfort in writing letters. Andrei has gone off for two weeks to the countryside. It was amusing to watch him these last days because, sensing his trip, and despite every effort to hold him here in Ulaanbaatar, he was very preoccupied as he contrived to go.

This evening was devoted to summing up all of that has passed. Tomorrow is my birthday²⁰³, and I will be 29-years-old. So very sad.

I think that I will avoid greeting the New Year and will sit quietly at home. The crowds and the gaiety are a bore, and there are those obligations to invite visitors. In this respect, Andrei is more youthful than I am. He does his work and then is cheerful too. Recently, I lived happily with my son, the joy of my life. With him, I spent those two gloomy winter months which were neither dull nor terrible.

We are now preparing for Moscow, but without Alek I do not have a strong desire to go. We are contemplating leaving in the beginning of February (if we succeed in reaching the end of the “queue”). There could be a possibility for an apartment. We have an acquaintance – an eye doctor, who is working in Mongolia. She wrote to me that they are due to get an apartment and move away this winter. I can assume, but don’t know the situation of a room for me at your home. She is a good and simple person who loved Aliusha and was delighted to take care of my child. Alek, in her words, was a real little man and a gentleman. I doubted this at first but became convinced. The girls always loved him, but he held back “because she was a girl and she would be hurt.” So, I was inwardly pleased and brightened when one Mama announced with a long face that Alek had punched her daughter, and she took offense. It was his first attempt at self-defense. Then I remembered your complaint that Andrei was very spineless (forgive me, gentle). What a pity that this ended so absurdly. Sometimes I am a bit undone (like I am now) and start to remember and think about things. It is silly.

Now to the present. Yesterday we transferred to Torgsin²⁰⁴ American dollars to my sister Shura²⁰⁵ at your address that is, if poste restante does not accept them. She might be planning to buy some things for you, or you could advise her to send them to her relatives. I am afraid that being the youngest she might just buy rubbish. Exchanges are limited, and Andrei hasn’t gotten most of them. (...).

Don’t be angry with Andrei for not writing. I know how he regards you, and so he wants to write only a “real or genuine” letter. By the evening, his head is

spinning, and his thoughts are jumbled, and in spite of my protests, he works a lot at night. (...).

Please write to us because we have not heard from you for a long time. Are you well? Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna, Alia, and Lesha. All the best,

Your M. Simukova.

I am sending three photographs from this year's expedition. My camera apparatus and work. M.S.

IV 35 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 17, 1933.

February 17, 1933

Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

<to Moscow>

Dear Mamochka!

I have not written to you for a very, very long time. I confess and humbly hang my head. *Mea culpa, mea culpa!*²⁰⁶⁾ Your letter arrived yesterday, and I have succeeded in reading and rereading it ten times. Judging from your promotion at work²⁰⁷⁾, you are finding yourself in academia much earlier than I am. Please don't forget that you have one poor son, and although he is a swine for not writing, don't deny him his favored status.

We read about the latest passport system²⁰⁸⁾ from the newspaper as well as about life, especially in Moscow, and also from fragmentary and various stories of travelers – stories which are very “diverse.”²⁰⁹⁾ Everyone has their own specific approach.

Your “children” (you yourself provide the words in quotation marks in your letter) which amazes Milia and me. We are starting already to think about how old fashioned and even backward we are and wonder if we should go around with the younger generation or separate. In talking this over, we decided it wasn't worth making a fuss about. Getting used to a new person, recognizing his ways and habits. *Fi donc!*²¹⁰⁾ It is tedious... there is a lot to do without all of that. One drags oneself to the same group of people.

However, jokingly, I greet everyone cordially and hope for success. For Liubov²¹¹⁾, I will tend to this old grandfather concerning the old English stories of the old grandfather in the Indian Service, and with Anatoly Petrovich²¹²⁾, we will have the usual conversations about the intrigues of the Japanese imperialists and his perspective on the Chinese revolution. I am someone, as you know, who is rather calm with a “fine” physique which seems to prevent arguments.

Now a little about us. We live well and are satisfied. We have clothes, shoes, electric light, and are warm. Those who come from Moscow to Ulaanbaatar are

killed by the absence of a warm lavatory, but we are used to this, and on the contrary, like to contemplate the frozen nightly sky with the myriad of stars *et cetera*²¹³⁾.

Fortuitously, I have just received an additional 300 rubles. The money was more or less sufficient to provide us with clothes. I have even begun to swagger a bit – went almost daily in a troika in new galoshes, not too far from the store of which there are only two main ones.

Milia has devoted a lot of time to the photos from the expedition²¹⁴⁾ and recently has finished an account of the notes she took concerning the geology of the march route. The household continues to run as we prepare to leave for the USSR. I am seriously pondering our departure and do not want to wait until the tenth anniversary of my sojourn to Mongolia, which will be in September of this year. There can be some perspective on this regard. I have been called to work primarily in Moscow, and I have agreed.

So, I must sum up all of the work in order to leave with a clear conscience. Uchkom does not wish to lose touch with me, and, in fact, in Moscow I will gradually continue to work on these materials. All of this is in accord with my wishes.

I also feel good about this from a moral standpoint. *Feci, quod potui, faciant meliora potentes!*²¹⁵⁾ I did what I could. I am now only one person, who knows the geography of Mongolia, a country of one and a half million square km in area. This is accepted as known and valued. Now it is necessary to take a further step. Spend a year in Moscow and then go again to Central Asia. I cannot sit in the city for too long.

Now I am drawing the maps, preparing a report, running to various institutes—a lot to do. I also well know that there will be even more to do in Moscow. But never mind, you can do anything you set your mind to.

Tell me about Lesha and Alia and that our Surazanians have not forgotten about Mongolia; after all, Ziamki Tzitrina and Lubi Karasik²¹⁶⁾ and soon Velka Kazakevich²¹⁷⁾ came. There was the scent of our lovely Surazh, especially because the people had not changed and still maintained the Surazh “spirit.”

Today is Friday the 17th at eleven o’clock in the evening. Our little home is quiet as is the Uchkom yard. In town, the dogs are barking. A thin powdery snow (there has been very little snow this winter). It is cold. There is no touch of spring, although the days have become a little longer. From our window (to the south) there is the wooded mountain range. The lights of the town. A car seldom passes.

I sit at my desk surrounded by maps. Milia has spread them out to dry and is sitting nearby reading “30 Days.” I will finish working in two to three hours, and we will go to sleep. Much to do tomorrow.

We get up between 8–9. Most of the time, I have lunch in the cafeteria dining

room, and supper at home. There are often people but a “baby’s cry” does not suit us this year and, we also seem to have lost a taste and wish for dealing with the noise, a meal, and some dancing.

Today I sent you 15 American dollars by Torgsin which is intended just for you and Aunt Olia. Address: Moscow 34, Khrushchevskii Alley 3, Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova.

Now we have a ticklish situation. Milia and I have reason to believe that in seven months we will have either a son or a daughter. But this is a complete secret. The layette has been sewn, but we are concerned about problems with a bath and pail, which could be difficult in Moscow. Could you ahead of time look for and purchase these things? I hope to have the remittance next month, so I don’t think this will be troublesome for you. That is more or less everything.

Kisses, greetings, and bows are all that remain.

I send you an affectionate kiss through this letter and hope that I will soon be able to do this “in reality.” Kisses from me to Aunt Olia. Greetings and best wishes to Lesha, Alia, and our new relatives of both sexes – Liubova Aronova and Anatolii Kovalev.

All other greetings to anyone else you choose and see. Milia repeats all of this.

If you send an answer slowly, then the letter might catch us here, although some people believe that Simukov will only leave Mongolia when hell freezes over.

Your prodigal son, Andrei.

IV 36 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 25, 1933.

April 25, 1933

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

We have recently received your two letters with the unexpected and pleasant news. We are very pleased that there is much interesting news concerning Alia²¹⁸. (...). Andrei is pleased for her, but he does not like the city and all the noise. He says that he would not go “to this civilization” and that the beautiful Asiatic spaces are for him.

Again, I am here by myself since my husband has gone off. I told Andrei to take his first leave in 7 years, and he listened to me and went off to the taiga with a bear-hunter friend. I urged him to take care of his own skin and not be concerned about the bear – they are, you know, harmful.

I am ashamed to write that everything is at a standstill and that we are not coming to Moscow. This summer Andrei is not taking a big trip, and soon I will

go to the dacha where he is now having a rest. (...).

Andrei was disconcerted in all of this and his own lack of consideration, which led you to think that we did not need “one poor, old mother” who is alone. Now maybe he will write you more often. He talks about you often and with love but is lazy about writing. The other day, I transferred 10 dollars to you. Write when you receive it. Forgive us for losing Shurkin’s address and the last transfer which was made in your name. I did not know that the receipt would present so much trouble. (...). I very much wanted through this transaction to give something to our old man. Please send Shura a postcard and let her send a parcel, mainly of foodstuffs, to him. (...).

Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. I kiss you affectionately. Be well.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 37 A. D. Simukov – to Al. D. Simukov, September 20, 1933.

September 20, 1933

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Fili mi!^[219]

The answer in your several letters was a bit late and must be considered a rather measly note so please – simply answer with a letter. Although it took a lot of time, we did receive your messages which enlightened us on the important part of your life.

Most important in our lives is the birth of our daughter whom we have named Natasha. The event occurred on September 2 without me, since I only returned from the expedition on the 7th. Fortunately, everything went well and was normal. Both Milia and Natasha (...) feel well, and I assume they will continue to flourish in the future. In spite of the many difficulties connected to “off-spring,” my sincere advice is to follow our example.

Now, concerning me and my work which hold such an important place in my life.

On September 26 of this year, it will be 10 years since I arrived in Mongolia. Only now do I feel that I know something about this country, and I have espoused the goal of working during the forthcoming winter exclusively on accumulating materials relating to my experiences. When this has been achieved, we will finally and irrevocably come to the USSR. In the spring, I started this process of completing this job and I already have to print The Geographical Atlas of Mongolia²²⁰⁾, and I am preparing to print the large general map of the country²²¹⁾, as well as working on the cartographic material (by and large mine) of the Gobi.

There is still one cartographical work and five written works which I have to prepare for print. I wish on arrival in the USSR to be asked the question “What did you do in Mongolia?” as I am ready with an answer...Moscow does not believe in tears!

All of the works except for the Atlas were the usual maps of “The Geography of the MPR,”²²²⁾ and will have the unique character which has been representative of my work for the past 3–5 years.

The character of my activities has gradually changed. In the first year, the shadow of Przhevalskii, who loved nature but despised people, especially “Asians,” fell on those of us who would participate in Kozlov’s Tibetan expedition. Therefore, this man and his economics and his way of life hold an important place in my research. I do not see geography, nor the geographic landscape as self-contained, and I regard him as having a kind of lease on human activity while searching for the best use of the landscape in a country’s economy. I must point out that this man interested me from the very beginning – and not without reason. Although I soon learned the Mongolian language, issues connected to him were absent in those years.

This summer I was only in the field for about two months – not very long. The work was mostly stationary – the radius of our trips was within a hundred kilometers. I went alone on horseback, spent the nights in yurts, and was exclusively engaged in conversations and questions. I knew the region from a previous trip, and consequently, most people knew me which was very pleasant—so the work was easy.

I love the local Mongolian *couleur local*²²³⁾ in a Mongolian khalat (deel), hat, with a knife in one’s belt, on a small, nimble horse, I rushed from *ail* (family group or small village) to *ail*, feeling as if the yurt was my home, for a cup of salty tea, a leisurely drink of kumiss milk-vodka amid the jokes and conversation which reflected the nomadic existence and the socio-economic secrets of the steppe, which concluded the trilogy of “the geography, the pastureland, and the economy.”

All of this took place against the background of the wooded mountain with its green slope studded with flowers and a clear little mountain river at the height of two kilometers above sea level.

It was good to dash along the narrow path on this strong horse above the rushing river, breathing the rarefied air at this alpine height. It was good to see the familiar nomadic camp in the rays of the evening sun, hear the bleating and mooing of the herds returning, watch the puffs of smoke from the yurts, and hear the ancient songs resound widely across the steppe. It was good to be part of this family of friends whose host had been interested in my life from the time we had first met, while the hostess bustled about entertaining, and the little children, who were settled by my knee, looked at a notebook, drew with a pencil, or rummaged

through my pockets for candy.

When neighbors gathered and koumiss or a bit of “arxi” (Mongolian vodka) was served, I listened with great pleasure to the long, complex, and tender melodious patterns of the songs of the steppes. Through listening, I wanted to understand the music and learn about the cycle of life through these songs of joy and grief. And this is the romantic in this year’s work.

It is possible that at the beginning of October, I will be in the field for a month and a half, and this time to the lovely heart of the Gobi. During the winter, especially in the evenings, I will sit at home and write, draw, and listen anxiously while sleeping near this little white being before it is time for Milia to feed her. Milia, if her health permits, helps me in my work – with the materials she helped assemble.

I am continuing after some interruptions. Evidently, I will not be going to the steppe again. *Ergo*²²⁴⁾ I am sitting down right away to work this winter.

I very much want Mama to visit us for several months. We have found the means- the issue is now the passport. To accelerate this matter, it might be necessary for all of us to pull all the strings (this goes without saying if Mama wants to come and can do so in her present health). I am writing to Mama separately.

Greetings to Liuba from Milia and me. I wish they had sent a card. Otherwise, the family album strongly smells of the past century and generally the NEP²²⁵⁾. *A propos*²²⁶⁾ Why don’t you send me your print productions? I wait impatiently. I will send all of mine. A. S.

IV 38 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, September 26, 1933.

September 26, 1933

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna:

The answer to your last letter is late for a variety of reasons. The most important- the birth of our daughter Natasha. Again, I shall write to you “Dear Babushka.”

My Natasha came into the world on September 2 (...). I was so very happy. However, in spite of all my joy, I still cried a lot for our dear Alek, although I was glad to have a little girl. How he begged me to give him “a real girl-doll.” (...).

Andrei very tenderly kissed (and here Milia uses the Mongolian word) his daughter on her little head. Can you believe that my half of our daughter cried while his half was quiet and slept (for Papa!). Papa is calm and tender. (...). During the day he goes off. I have someone to help me, so I do not have to take

Natasha to the market under my arm as I did with Alek – and sometimes I locked him up all alone – my poor little son.

All is well, write us a lot, and soon as it is so nice to receive letters (and photos would also be good.) Greetings to the youngest Simuchat.

Andrei will write separately.

M. S.

IV 39 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, October 2, 1933.

October 2, 1933

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Mamochka!

I criticize myself for this long silence which follows a pattern in my letters to you. Now I am ready to send this one off.

You know already from our telegram our important news and our happiness. What can I write about Natasha, our joy and delight? You must understand without words Milia's and my life when in our despondency and great grief, our lives were brightened by the arrival of this little, rosy baby with her button nose (...). We will try, in the near future, to send Natasha and her Mama to Babushka. We very much want you to come to Mongolia both for Natasha and also for the two of us. What can we offer you here? Peace and a respite from all the running around in Moscow and the constant worries about your daily bread. Life here is almost like life at the dacha – quiet, bright, and airy. We have two rather small rooms and a kitchen. The place is alright. After the first sad experience with Alik, we beg you to help us raise Natasha. We do not have a close circle of people, which is due partly to the character of my work, the nature of which is beyond my power.

I am sending a telegram at the same time as this letter. I do not expect an answer to it but am sending the information and certain details just in case.

1. Foreign Passport. To receive one now is complicated enough. It is necessary to pull all possible strings. Perhaps Kovalev²²⁷⁾ and Alia can help you. From this side, I can write one or two letters to whom it may concern stating that I can support you. Most important, the certificate should arrive at your workplace certified by the Consulate.
2. The Means. If possible, find our old Torgsiin receipt/transfers from the Soviet tokens – which should amount to about 350–400 rubles (150 +50 American dollars). I will telegraph the necessary remaining sum.

From Verkhnudinsk, you can fly comfortably to Ulaanbaatar by plane – 4 hours instead of 3 days in an automobile along a poor road.

If you do decide to come to us, we must start to work on the certificate and get

the necessary documents, etc. We impatiently await you. Looking forward to the joyous day when we will meet you at the airport.

Greetings and kisses to Olia. Her letter and photograph gave us great joy. I am sending Lesha a letter at the same time as this. Greetings to Alia and her husband. Your Andrei.

IV 40 Certification. November 3, 1933.

No.316

November 3, 1933

Ulaanbaatar-Koto

Certification

This present certification, that of the citizen of the USSR SIMUKOV, Andrei Dmitrievich, has verifiably been a worker in the Scientific-Research Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic which is situated in the city of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, in the capacity of managing the Division of Physical and Economic Geography

On the request of the mother of citizen SIMUKOV, Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova, library worker, living at Moscow 34, Krapotkina street, Khrushchevskii alley, house 3, apt. 1, regarding the subject of the presentation of the appropriate establishment in the USSR in applying for a petition for a permit to visit her son in Ulaanbaatar (Mongolia).

Research secretary <signature>/Tubianskii/

Technical Secretary <signature>/Nazimov/

(Print NIK MNP: text in the old Mongolian language)

(On the left side of the document – the text in the old Mongolian language (damaged).)

Consul of the USSR in the city of Ulaanbaatar witnessed the authenticity of the signature and the printed material.

Consul of the USSR in the city of Ulaanbaatar-signature

(Print) Plenary Power of the Representative of the USSR in the Mongolian
Consular Division

(Three consular stamps costing 1 ruble each. A trace from a removed stamp on the document which had cost 50 kopeks.)

IV 41 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 10, 1933.*December 10, 1933**Ulaanbaatar**<to Moscow>*

Dear Mamochka!

I am sending you the official certificate²²⁸⁾ in this letter which, I hope, will help you in all of the trouble connected to your visit. I purposely did not rush to send this so that you would have time to finish your matters concerning the pension and your spring visit.

We live, the three of us, Milia, Natasha, and I, quietly and peacefully. Natasha is a constant joy; a funny, jolly, and contented little girl. She is developing beautifully (...). She sleeps well at night and lets us rest. She asks for nothing... and all goes well (...). You have, by and large, a remarkable granddaughter. So, our life at home and at work is organized and goes along quickly. I set off for the office (which is in the yard), Milia sits home, keeps things in order, and feeds us, and in good weather she takes Natasha for a walk. I finish at three, eat a meal in the good cafeteria and from 4 until 7 spend time with Natasha while Milia goes to the market. Natasha goes to sleep at 7, Milia does her evening tidying up, cleans the cradle (as she does throughout the day), and is busy with the house while I sit down to work. We go to bed at different times: Milia between 11 and 12, and sometimes earlier and me from 12–2. We both were very busy this winter and almost never went out. Although we both were tired, we felt well. Milia looks healthy and Natasha, for the time being, is not being introduced to mixed feeding.

My primary workload is for myself, and I work the various tasks, which I have accumulated over these past 10 years, which must be done within the annual time period, (that is through the autumn of '34). I feel the strength within myself to achieve this, and I go after this goal with all my might. I am working in two areas- maps and literary works. The preparatory work has given me ideas and I have almost completed the design for all of this and most of my work will be published. Besides this, I am now trying to learn the English language, and there will probably be a small expedition in the region.

Your trip pleases us in all respects. I believe that you can rest here, and you will become acquainted with such an important part of this earth when you see Mongolia where I have spent 10 years of my life. You will have great joy in playing with your granddaughter – your namesake. In addition, you will help both of us with your presence, which will enable me to finish up my work.

To facilitate and hasten your departure, I must advise you from here. Go and see at Narkomindel Sergei Stepanovich Borisov²²⁹⁾ (The Eastern Department) who knows

me. The last time he saw me was in the spring of 1931. He also helped Milia come. In this letter I am enclosing a note to him. Narkomindel is not concerned with official registrations but could possibly offer help in this matter.

Don't worry about driving me into debt. We will find the money – I always have the opportunity to take on more work. Don't let that worry you.

Telegraph when you receive the certificate and all of the information connected to your leaving.

From Verkhneudinsk you will come to Ulaanbaatar by plane – a 4-hour flight – weather permitting.

We both await you and Natasha awaits her Babushka.

Greetings and a kiss for Aunt Olia, greetings to Lesha and Alia, the family, and friends.

I kiss you affectionately, Mamochka, and I wait.

Your Andrei.

IV 42 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 20, 1933.

December 20, 1933

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I am sending you photographs of Natasha which were taken recently. It is very difficult to photograph her here as she is carrying a bag with kittens. (...). I received your letter today. Andrei and I, it seems, have definitely turned into incorporeal souls who wander to family gatherings and celebrate with those present. These spirits, however, are not losing all hope of materializing. And through them we sometimes lick our lips in anticipation as we read your letters about your gatherings and activities. How good it would be to play the pranks as we used to do.

Our daughter is growing and is steadily getting fat. (...). She is a jolly little girl who laughs a lot. (...) and she is remarkably tranquil.

We received the photograph of you and Olga Yakovlevna, and we often admire it. You look very strong. I hope that my Natasha will be like her Babushka—so lively and energetic. Except with Papa. I stopped arguing with him. (...). He doesn't like to stop his work for anything even if his health suffers.

Give greetings to the Simuchat and their families (...).

I kiss you all. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna.

Your, M. S.

IV 43 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 8, 1934.*January 8, 1934**Ulaanbaatar**<to Moscow>*

Dear Grandmothers Natalia Yakovlevna and Olga Yakovlevna,

Greetings to you for the New Year; we wish you both health and happiness. We were pleased to receive your telegram, which confirmed your care for and interest in us.

I began to write this letter three times – these days Natasha has not been well, and, as soon as I sit down, she awakens and calls for me. The grippe is now here in Urga. Andrei goes about his work even though he fell ill, and Natasha and I were also infected. Now, at last, we are all well, and she soon will be 4 months old (...), and now weighs 17 funt (about 17 pounds) with the walker. We are all cold with the freezing temperature of 30–36 °C. She is still too small to walk outside in these temperatures, (...) but she has certainly grown stronger. She holds up her head and likes to be held in a vertical position. In short, she offers us great pleasure and joy and was trouble only when she had the grippe.

I would very much like to receive some sort of little book about weaning, and especially about feeding. Reading won't interfere.

I am very glad about Liuba²³⁰⁾ and Lesha. Please give Liuba my best wishes for a peaceful time and a peaceful child. One hopes that Lesha is smarter than his brother and is sufficiently concerned about and attentive to Liuba. Andrei will remain a baby until old age. An example of this is that during the week up to the birth of Natasha, I rushed around the roof and the garret, like the contractor, doing all the repairs. After that I was angry at him about this. Natasha didn't let me finish this letter yesterday. Today, however, she is fine. (...). What a pity that we can't show her to you now at this charming age!

On the days that we will be in Moscow, (we will see) the coworker at Uchkom t. (comrade?) Jhebrak²³¹⁾. We will ask him to see you. He has dined with us and could tell you about us and Natasha.

Already beforehand, I am uneasy...how can we travel with Natasha? I could come alone if there was an apartment, but we must wait for Andrei, although I am ready to come with Natasha²³²⁾. Andrei says that he must work until the autumn of 1934. He is, by the way, preparing to write to you.

We would all be pleased if you are planning to come to us. Don't let Kovalev worry about making a fool of himself concerning your departure²³³⁾. They treat the information about Andrei with great agitation and trouble. They know him. If it is so very difficult to get a passport, then don't waste your efforts and exhaust

yourself.

Write to us often – we now live a very secluded life. We don't go out anymore, and we have few people in. I am not interested in anyone but Natasha now. My little daughter and I both kiss you. Greetings to Babushka Olia and the youngest Simukova and her household. Why haven't they written?

M. S.

IV 44 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 6, 1934.

February 6, 1934

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Mamochka!

I am sending this note with Professor Jhebrak Anton Romanovich, whom I asked to find you and tell you in the capacity of a “noble witness” about our daily life, and about your growing granddaughter, your namesake Natasha. I will send more details in a letter by post. Now Milia and I are sending you a few photographs to illustrate the stories of Anton Romanovich. Now, with the first bit of warmth, Milia and Natasha are thinking of moving to Moscow. I, however, am delayed.

A big kiss. Greetings to all the relatives.

Andrei.

Milia writes: Not just “thinking” but coming no later than the middle of May. Greetings! M. S.

IV 45 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 13, 1934.

February 13, 1934

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

Many thanks for the letters from you and from Olga Yakovlevna, which we received recently. As always, it was such a pleasure to read them. Have you received our telegram concerning how to curtail all the trouble about the passport? When it warms up a bit, I can bring Natasha to Moscow. Don't feel offended if our plans abruptly change. Perhaps she and I will leave a bit earlier. Andrei will certainly remain here until autumn. He is now very involved in printing his Atlas of Mongolia²³⁴). It is really going well. There are, nevertheless, some issues about

the printing; he is also hurrying to complete *The Geography (of Mongolia)*.²³⁵⁾ which he began quite a while ago. Thus, to be brief, he is certain that he will be working here until the autumn of '34. He is not at home now, because today is the Mongolian New Year, and he went off to Mongolian friends. I think that when he returns home he will be in “an unstable equilibrium.” Natasha is asleep in the next room. (...). Alek slept deeply with hands extended in a cross. Is it necessary to keep speaking about him so I don't for one second, forget my first born?

Recently, I find myself in quite an uneasy situation – I am worried about fees, the taxes are troubling, and I must make clothes for Natasha and myself for our forthcoming journey. We have nothing for her to go out in, and little time. (...). I am afraid of this trip. I suppose we will go by car, or Andrei will accompany us by train to Verkhneudinsk²³⁶⁾. Otherwise, it would be impossible with her. And by train? I must be attentive every minute.

I don't remember if I wrote you that we hoped that in Moscow you would see Professor Jhebrak, so he could give you the letter and the bundle of photographs of Natasha. He left recently and the following day we received the news that the car he was riding in was involved in a wreck. A surgeon was called in, and we all were very concerned. Today, Andrei hoped to learn if the accident was critical. This letter to you will arrive sooner than the letter we sent with him. His condition is worrisome. We lived next door to each other this winter, and he was very attentive and anxious about Natasha. Our daughter has grown up (...). Now she is in fine fettle. (...). I don't know in what state she will be in when I bring her to Moscow.

I was shocked by Katia's death²³⁷⁾ – it is horrible. Poor Vera Ivanovna²³⁸⁾.

Write and tell me if I will completely upset your lives if we remain for a short while with you, Natasha. Natasha, however, is very peaceful but she is nonetheless still a baby and could be a burden to other people and could disrupt your routine.

Write to Andrei about considering the money to which we have paid little attention.

Write...always, I hope to receive many letters from you. We are planning to leave in May. My sympathies concerning the trouble over the correspondence related to your 8 years of work²³⁹⁾.

Greetings from Natasha.

February 20, 1934

Since Andrei did not send this letter, I am adding to it. We have had a holiday all of these days – the Mongolian New Year. The Mongols dress up for the holiday. Fur coats, silks, sable hats in the latest styles. Bright and gay. Andrei went on several visits since he has many friends. Arriving at our humble home and looking at me, he knows that I will be angry when he drinks too much. However, I

yield because it is the holiday.

My Natalochka is blooming. With each passing day, she does something clever and grows stronger. (...). We could find neither a chamber pot or a potty so can't buy one which is worth its weight in gold²⁴⁰). Recently, Papa, of course, missed her being weighed. She smacked herself on her bed, but it was nothing, and all three of us laughed.

I am sewing a quilt and a little shirt for Natasha in preparation for our departure. Is it necessary to bring cooking dishes, a primus and kerosene? I have an electric appliance but only for 220 volts. It is the local connection. What a pity it isn't the same as in Moscow.

They have news of that crash. Our Antosha (Jhebrak) has injured his hand and his head – he is recovering in the area of the accident and then will continue on. One of the Mongols who was with him had broken ribs. How will we get there?

All the best. Write. I kiss you all. (...).

M. S.

IV 46 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya Simukova, March 25, 1934.

March 25, 1934

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

I haven't written to for a long time, dear Natalia Yakovlevna.

(...) All is well with us. Natasha is healthy and cheerful. She is now 7 months old. (...). She is trying to stand up. She sticks her nose into everything and loves to eat her father's papers and soon will eat some document.

We are preparing for our departure. I have ordered outer wear for Natalka and shoes, I bought valenki (felt boots), and have sewn some shirts and frocks. I am upset with my sewing – a little dress in a week! This little person and I are on the go all the time, and we take walks every day. We still have a crib without railings and just look how children can fall. I am running around as if in a competition!

I hope to be there no later than the end of May, otherwise it is impossible – Andrei must be free to do his summer work. (...). Until we leave, we will keep writing to you and will send a telegram from Verkhneudinsk about meeting.

Andrei is staying until the fall. It is impossible for him to leave now because he must work on getting his works printed, and he also wants to clear up odds and ends. He wishes to help me prepare for our departure and send me off.

Did you receive the remittance of 10 tugriks in April? How are you and Olga Yakovlevna? What are the young Simukovs up to? I think about them with great pleasure and will be there just in time to bathe Lesha's child. I love little people.

Lately we have been thinking about your coming here and that you have not seen Mongolia. Such a wonderful country! Sunny. The sun is warm all winter and

Natasha and I go for walks when it is 25 °C and that is really nothing because it is still warm. There are very few cloudy days. Forget the raincoat and the umbrella! I remember that not long ago galoshes were necessary in Moscow, umbrella...

One of our friends says (she was in Moscow recently) that one wants to sing and dance every morning when you look out of the window because the street is so bright.

I want to take a lot of photographs, but don't know if I can mount all of them successfully. Pardon my rather sloppy letter, but I am hanging onto the corner of the table because Andrei, as usual, has his maps and all over the table.

Greetings from the three of us.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 47 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, April, 1934.

<April 1934>²⁴¹⁾

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Moscow>

Dear Mamochka!

It has been very, very long since I last wrote you, and I only seem to remember you by telegram. The correspondence is generally in the hands of Milia.

We live quietly, almost shut in (I am busy!) and all of our attention is focused on your namesake. The girl is growing up, and she is smart and, according to Milia, more “down to earth” than Alik whose eyes often looked “vacant.” Natasha is tall like a grenadier and is healthy, constantly cheerful, and generally has “all the qualities.” She is beginning to sit a bit and is a merry little girl who is also very peaceful.

Our life proceeds almost according to a schedule. We get up early at seven. I generally have time for some work until tea. Milia plays with Natasha, and I can hear their conversation from their room; Natasha laughs and bustles about. I go to work about nine and the house is tidied up, breakfast, then a walk (of course weather permitting). March was very cold, in the morning to -25°C. Around three I return home, having run to the cafeteria to eat, and I bring a meal to Milia and then we both are at home. I take a little rest, sit and work, or Milia goes to town for two hours and I stay with Natasha. Work in the evening and then to sleep at 12. That's it day after day. Every two or three days, we bathe our daughter, and she enjoys her bath enormously.

I now have a lot of work which I have undertaken, and which is more than what I had to do in all the past 10 years. Therefore, during the day I am busy with cartography, and in the evening – written work. By the time I leave for the USSR,

I will have about 10 works printed or prepared for printing.

Milia is preparing for the trip and will possibly set off in May. I will go with her to Verkhneudinsk by train, and we are asking someone of you (Lesha) to meet Milia at the station in Moscow. I will send you a telegram with the train number on the day she leaves. We are following this general plan: Milia and Natasha will leave here in the spring and after a short stay in Moscow with you (you won't chase her away, I hope) they will go on to Surazh²⁴²⁾ where they will live. If all goes well, I will come to Moscow no earlier than late autumn or winter where (or in Leningrad) I will be established. I am confident that I will figure out the system of the scientific-research establishment.

While I was starting to write this letter, I received your letter written March 1. From it, I see that you did not receive my telegram about all of this, and therefore all the trouble about this trip stays here when Milia goes to Moscow in the spring. So, I just sent off a second telegram with almost the same message.

Both of us very much enjoyed your letter. The joy you take in life and your energy are enviable and all of us should follow your example. I hope that your letter fully reflects your life.

It is good that you are insisting that Lesha is studying, but it is not clear if you are supporting him. Truly, it is difficult to find another way out, but it is time to do that so you are not tied down, and we must support you. And he is already moving into his fourth decade, and Alia is also approaching that time period. A more reliable age.

You ask about my "works." I have already said a few words about all of this above, and today I am writing the details to Lesha. There are a dozen and a half of short articles, but in the next 2–3 months, two books²⁴³⁾ as well as the Geographical Atlas, all of these in the Mongolian language²⁴⁴⁾.

The basic work for the completion of all of the material that I have accumulated, and its trials must be done this year when I hope to conclude "The Mongolian period."

You don't write about our village, but I will not ask you to write in detail about it because I must see for myself, and I will do that when I arrive in the USSR. You know that I have good memories of Sigeevka, and so I am very interested in what is happening and all the changes there.

Truly, I am so eager to be reunited with all of you, but if there are no unusual circumstances, that will only happen after all of this work is finished – that is, at the end of the current year.

A satisfactory conclusion of this work, to some extent, concludes the Mongolian hegemony in this epoch, and I enjoy a monopoly in the area of Mongolian geography.

Write if Professor Jhebrak has called on you. We sent him off with many

photographs (Natasha is in every one of them.) Now our thoughts are centered on collecting everything – clothes, and Milia is celebrating “her trousseau” and Natasha’s as well. Since we cannot find everything, we must search, order, and get the money. I hope that all of this grand collection is soon finished. (...).

A big kiss from the three of us to Aunt Olia. Friendly greetings to all the close brothers. Drink to our health! And when we are all together – drink to peace in the world.

Your Andrei.

IV 48 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, August 25, 1934.

August 25, 1934

Ulaanbaatar

<to Moscow>

My beloved little squirrels (small and large)!

It has been almost a whole month since you left, and I wanted to write you the first of many letters.

If only you knew how tiresome life is here without you. Especially those first days when, in the evening, I would sit and work. I would have often heard the little snuffles of the little squirrel and the, suffice it to say, the bigger snuffles of the big squirrel. I wanted, and want now, to get up and quietly come near to you and look at you in all your sleeping poses, (one this way, the other that way) and then, blessed by this scene, return to my desk and to your “write-write.”

My life is that of an old fogey, and it goes along quietly. I usually get up between 6–7, sometimes later, have some milk, drink it, and then go off to work. I dine at the club – and drink a second bottle in the evening. Such is my usual drinking regime. At three, I take myself home and sometimes even treat myself to a meal, and Gombo²⁴⁵⁾ – an interesting character (not Russian it goes without saying.) A banquet for 3(00) people! A luxurious table which broke from all the food! There were three dishes (sausages, macaroni, and omelets). Tea could be considered the fourth dish!

I have been so tired since the time of your preparation that I physically could not harness myself to immediately write. Run about – I didn’t run about but sat, then a tormented sleep, then I read, worked a bit – in fits and starts. Now I am weighed down like an ox.

All is quiet at Uchkom. Papa Misha²⁴⁶⁾ went off on a pleasure trip by automobile with mama²⁴⁷⁾ but then with another mama from Efremov (which was the cause of some merriment on the trip. He was very nice last time)²⁴⁸⁾, Efremov’s American²⁴⁹⁾, the film operator Belaev, (from there to you) with an assistant and

two lamas. All of this on a trolley and accompanied by great jollity. The American was all oily and sweaty and begged not to sit. I decided to go back as the operator took hold of the apparatus on the floor of the car. The lamas sat like Buddhas of the past and the future centuries. A new tona²⁵⁰⁾ was attached which Papa carried as a gift to Erdene-Zuu²⁵¹⁾, but the chauffeur and Belaev intended to use it as a spare wheel. Finally, Papa barely sat as there was no place for him.

After Papa, for some three days, Dendub²⁵²⁾ vanished (on the sly) on a holiday. After him, it was Amar's turn²⁵³⁾ (also on a holiday). You can imagine how happy that the people at Uchkom were! Tume (a woman machinist) has grown fat, and is like a saint. Papa went off on a big trip and will soon return. I decided not to rush off on his trip and move so fast that I could break my head or ribs. The summer, of course, is hot, but not overwhelmingly so (and the smell of autumn is already in the air) as we move toward winter, but I really can't say when that time²⁵⁴⁾ comes. I reassured Stolov²⁵⁵⁾ and gave him three articles. The Mongolian Atlas²⁵⁶⁾ came out once and for all (At Uchkom, there are 1,500 examples.) For the Russian atlas²⁵⁷⁾, I wrote and ordered a confirmation of the forward and then finished the index. The maps have been prepared.

I am getting a little out of debt. (...). I often ride on the autobus and, as a result, I doubled the translation²⁵⁸⁾. In August, I sent both translations to Mama's address in her name. I have written about the translation to Surazh²⁵⁹⁾. I sent in all this month, 23 rubles which can be useful in living! (...).

Not long ago, in honor of the republican holiday, Uchkom gave out its rewards. People, including me, received sufficient recompence. My name was first on the list, but the Presidium arranged, in view of my and Gava's²⁶⁰⁾ receipt of the entire reward last time, to award us more modestly now. I received a nice briefcase and 5 ½ m of good dordun²⁶¹⁾, (the best type of thick tussore silk) for a terlig²⁶²⁾. It is 80 cm wide and a bright orange color with a design. Gava received boots²⁶³⁾. These were in the second and third categories. The first category (which included Gombojav²⁶⁴⁾, Rinchin²⁶⁵⁾, Tonsag²⁶⁶⁾ and so on), received a gun (a Russian hunting Vintovka by Mauser.) N. P.²⁶⁷⁾ received a briefcase and watch (tochmex), Vera²⁶⁸⁾ got a dordun, as did I. They did not forget Tsebena J.²⁶⁹⁾ but I do not know what they arranged for him. It was uncomfortable to leave out "A herd of elephants"²⁷⁰⁾ so he was also given a briefcase as well as a clock. He was very satisfied, and I now have two bonuses, which will not hurt my service record. I put away the dordun for you or Natashka. It was given on credit (for around 50 tugriks).

My geography²⁷¹⁾ is nearing the end. I think that I will have pretty much finished it this week. Now I am completing the third part, and the day after tomorrow I will finish the second. The volume holds up.

Besides a telegram from you, I have received only a letter from Altanbulag which had been delayed. (...).

I am feeling well and have even broadened out a bit. I shave often, am clean, but I really am not enthusiastic about a bath. The apartment is all in order. It is clean and sometimes when the ladies visit, (Nina Nicolaevna²⁷²⁾ and Yuka), they are amazed. I do not often visit people as a guest, and have seldom gone to the Nosovs²⁷³⁾ - (maybe I have been there three times.) There was no rain today. Since you were here, it has only rained three times. It is now hot and dry and yesterday there was a real scent of autumn.

I was with Jirgal²⁷⁴⁾ not long ago. He had heard that you had gone and thought that I would also soon vanish, so he hurried to see me. I offered him tea and cognac, and we sat for a longtime sipping the wine and reminiscing. He was most eager to send his greetings to you. He remains very strong, looks fat, and important. Looking at the card of Natashkina, it is amazing how much she resembles Alik²⁷⁵⁾. I received a letter from Abrakhman²⁷⁶⁾ from Kazan. He was a chauffeur for a bank there. He writes living is possible, and the city is beautiful and that he is “passing the time” (in his spirit!) but he misses the Gobi and asked if I still go there and in what sort of car and with whom. He sends greetings to all and especially Tonsag, and he was very touching when he asked me to give him greetings and “would write himself but it wouldn’t be read anyway.” All the Mongols are so very interested in how you left, and they threaten to tell you if they notice anything that is reprehensible. Our gate, which is connected to the exit of Papa Mish, is boarded up, the gate is locked early, and our house becomes a monastery. A large garage stands near our gate with three cars that are not working. Anandashir has become a pretentious girl²⁷⁷⁾. I seldom went to them, and N. N.²⁷⁸⁾ has not shown me any special attention. She wanders quietly in the yard by herself²⁷⁹⁾.

I anxiously await detailed letters from you, about your trip to Moscow²⁸⁰⁾. It seems completely abstract, devoid of any palpable form, a sort of speculative construct. I can count on my fingers when I received a letter. How are things going, what about your relationships with those around you, what are our people doing, how are you bathing Natalochka and what is she doing? How does she sleep? What does she eat? And where are you walking? Did you receive the passport? How are you feeling? What are you going to do etc. etc.?? Please write often and a lot.

Greetings to Natasha on her birthday, and to you, babushka, and aunty-babushka²⁸¹⁾. She is nearly a year already! Special greetings to you, my little wife, and all you do for Natashka and to a great number of others and for me? I had hoped that you had not forgotten to tell me about your arrival. Then, I received a letter from your mother in which she believed you would be arriving.

It is tedious without you, my sweetheart. (...) Autumn...Kiss Nataska everywhere, possible and impossible. I kiss you fervently, my dear wife, little

squirrel, etc. Don't forget me and don't, in your exile, become a version of an automaton.

Greetings and kisses to all, especially the three babushkas.

Signed in the ancient Mongolian script.

IV 49 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova²⁸², October 17, 1934.

October 17, 1934

<Surazh>²⁸³

<to Moscow>

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna,

Natasha and I came to Unech and everything went well (...). Petya met us at Unech²⁸⁴ and carried our things to the little garden where we walked about and waited for the train until 3 o'clock during the day (it had arrived in Unech at 8:45 a.m.). Natasha took a long walk and breathed in the fresh air, so things were better. On to Surazh where things went well. Papa²⁸⁵ met us, we put our baggage on the cart, and Peter (...) delivered us home. (...). Our room here is large, light, and warm. (...). The area of the village is also not bad – up a hillock to the seminary. We walk with Natasha in the pine forest by the river, where Papa and I used to walk. (...).

The Torgsin²⁸⁶ is here as I expected. It was a large, empty room with completely bare shelves- flour, sugar, groats, and rarely butter, felt boots, and other trifles.

Regarding the transfer²⁸⁷ addressed to you in Papa's name. Transfer of 5 (tugriks) received on the 12th – although the notice of this did not arrive. Tomorrow we will send an inquiry for the Neglini (journey) to the bank. (...).

It seems that Surazh has not changed much in 7 years. It is just the same. (...). Still, it is good that we live in such a lovely and pleasant place far from the town. There was dysentery here during the summer, and many people died, so it is fortunate that we did not arrive during the summer.

Peter just went to the Post Office with a telegram for Andrei, and they could not find Ulaanbaatar and even doubted if it existed at all. Grey... (...).

The day after tomorrow Petya will go to Murmansk – how sad! Natasha has been friendly with him since Unech. He also, to my surprise, knew how to amuse her – they sat quietly together “chatting” and playing.

Write to us often. Greetings to all...Much love. Greetings from Mama and Papa. Your M. S.

IV 50 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, November 3, 1934.*November 3, 1934**Surazh**<to Moscow>*

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna,

(...) Don't be angry that I have not written in such a long time (...). I only hoped to create a pleasant life here, but then Mama was taken ill and was laid up for three weeks. There is the possibility of typhus here²⁸⁸⁾. The diagnosis was peritoneal typhus, recurring fever, and colitis. Now she is sick with colitis and malaria. Both the infirmary and the nursery (...).

Natasha is very well and tramps around the room the whole day, keeping house. We walk a lot which is harder now that I don't carry her in my arms, and it is cold for her to go out. (...).

How is your health and everything with you? How is Olga Yakovlevna? Write to me about both of you.

Have you heard anything about comrade Rijhik²⁸⁹⁾ to whom Andrei "sent the atlas?"²⁹⁰⁾ (He just telegraphed me). It is interesting – how many, and for whom? If it is a Russian (atlas,) then without a doubt, let Lesha collect the World Atlas and if they still have not been received, give them on behalf of Andrei (if it isn't already late.)

My arrival broadened the knowledge of the Surazh postal workers about the East. After a fight, they took a telegram to Andrei "at risk." And letters! They did not take a normally addressed letter of mine and when it arrived "for abroad" was written on it. (...).

It's all rather tedious. Life is quite primitive – a chamber pot, a novchovki²⁹¹⁾, a stove. Fortunately, this place is very nice for Natasha. (...). If you have time, it would be nice if you could come in the winter.

Here is the situation in terms of comfort: no kerosene, it is rare at the Torgsin and requires a ration card²⁹²⁾. The electricity does not burn but smolders. We sit much of the time by a little lamp which is dangerous in winter. I bought potatoes, cabbage, and what remained of carrots. At the Torgsin, I bought flour, groats, kerosene, and sometimes butter, but there was never any meat. I buy meat and milk on the Soviets, but I do not have any Soviet money. Could you send me 100 rubles if you know where to get them?²⁹³⁾ If everything is alright with you, perhaps we could come to Moscow at the end of December – I forgot to get these necessary little things like manganese and children's soap. There are no games here. Can't buy them. (...).

You might want to write to Andrei about hurrying up his trip here and finding

a place to live. I won't write, of course, until he arrives.

This evening I received a letter from Alia, who was very happy, and we read it to Natasha many times. Write please. I kiss you and Olga Yakovlevna both – Natasha and I both send greetings to the relatives.

Yours, M. Simukova

P. S. Write Andrei a little note.

IV 51 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, November 14, 1934.

November 14, 1934

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna.

Don't know where to begin. Life is so bad that one wants to lie down and howl. Mama has been in bed for a month and she has such a bad case of malaria that the doctor said she almost died, and he doesn't know how much longer she will last. She understands nothing and can't move. (...). These days have been very bad. (...).

In addition, Natasha has not behaved very well – today it was warm (in the morning 39 °C) and she has been crying and naughty and I stood firm (...). I didn't sleep at night – had to take care of mother and her medicine, so I couldn't sleep. My heart was breaking over Natasha (...) Called her doctor today who did not come since he had been sent to Vlazovich in the fight against typhus (...). A woman came to heat up the stove for me. I am afraid that typhus could come in the next few days since the epidemic is unprecedented here.

What are you dreaming up to help me? If I had known that you would have changed my money, then I would not have written about it to you. Incidentally, many thanks for the money (100 rubles) that was received today. However, it would be better if you would sell part of the rubles (valuta) and keep it for yourself since you might need some Soviet (money). Moreover, you must take from this exchange what you need for food²⁹⁴). I can't understand will this help me? In fact, it makes Andrei angry that his Mama has to help him. He didn't write this to me, but it wasn't necessary. Of course, he has always worked which is good but like you, I am jealous – perhaps he could think of Natasha instead of his work.

As far as writing, I haven't written to anyone but you and Lesha. Old friends have not excluded me, but they are not here. One friend died, and others have moved away.

So, this is how we live. I fire up the stove since the woman often doesn't come,

bake the bread, chop and carry in the firewood, carry in the water sometimes, nurse Mama and take her to the doctor so there is little time left to care for Natasha. Yesterday she got burnt by the poker (...). Grandfather doesn't count because he is so accustomed to living with Mama, like Christ at the breast, that now he acts like a little child. It is impossible for Natasha to trust him.

Don't be angry with me for what seems a sharp letter. (...).

We both kiss you – Natasha and me. Greetings to all. M.S.

IV 52 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, November 21, 1934.

November 21, 1934

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I have not written to you for a long time. There has been very little change – Mama shakes with fever, then she lies in the heat, is delirious, and this awful horror takes hold of me. It is especially awful when Papa works the night shift, and I am home alone with Natasha. When I have been busy, she would sometimes amuse Natasha who is very fond of her. She would take her on walks and laugh and sing songs about what they had seen on the street. (...). It would be nice if you could send Natasha a few little books and games. When she puts eyeglasses on her nose, and with an air of importance, she looks like “the stoker's herald.”

Andrei telegraphed that in Surazh the transfer is for 30 and in Moscow for 7 (tugriks for a voucher at the Torgsin). I am confused about this, and by necessity it had to be the other way around. (...). I have stretched these 30 for not less than three months. The signs from the Soviets are very worrying, and so it may not be worth having them delivered here although they are very much needed. I will write you about this need, and you must act as you think best. Of course, I do not mean to fleece you. You have already sold as many bonds as necessary. (...). Therefore, unless I request it, send me no more money.

Poor Andrei! He will soon arrive, and we will soon all live together in our “home”! (...).

We are waiting for Marusia²⁹⁵ to arrive here to help care for Mama. If she visits you, give her, please, the vial with potassium permanganate, children's soap, and other things for children. (...). The arrival in Moscow, it seems, will bring a smile. Work loves a fool and moreover a black one.

So, all the best to you. Greetings to everyone. Natasha sends kisses to both her grandmothers.

Your M. S.

IV 53 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 3, 1934.

December 3, 1934

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I can finally write you a more cheerful letter than the last one I wrote. Following the old rule, everything settles down and everything finds its place.

Many thanks to you and for your warm letters, which were very helpful to me. You know that you always offer support and take care of my aching soul.

Mama continues to be ill with malaria. She is often feverish, but there was a break when she could go out and help me a little by amusing Natasha. Papa is busy with the firewood and water, which I am not able to do. As for Baba helping out, it is easier for me without her and less frightening as she could be infected with typhus. By the way, that has started to decline. I am working with all my might and mane and, by golly, I have begun to feel better.

Most important in all of this is that I place Natasha above everything, so I must have time to take care of her health first, and then feeding and going on walks with her. I am a frantic and unhappy mother about all of this. I could not keep calm when my child was ill although now Natasha is healthy and happy. (...). We walk a lot (3–4 hours). I sometimes think of getting a little sled for her, but this gets lost under the weight of it all.

Living here in Surazh is, from now on, the only possible thing to do. Natasha is, of course, better off than in Moscow. (...). I will make up for it when Natalochka grows up. So, this is my life since she is well and happy and has begun to talk a lot. (...).

I received the 20 rubles from you (in bonds), which you sent, and when they will arrive, 30 rubles (...). Treat this with discretion, and don't be angry with us because Andrei is unnecessarily economical with himself. You and Olga Yakovlevna must take everything you need from the Torgsin. Coffee if it remains and spend on what you need for your health. Andrei, after all, can still bring things, and I have few needs here. I have not made coffee once – and there is never any kerosene.

So, why not scold Andrei? Barely one letter after the first which was received in Moscow! I have written him several. It is true that from time to time I do receive telegrams, but they are short. Sometimes I am quite vexed with him, and sometimes I am very worried about him. I fear that when he doesn't write, that there is something wrong. You write to him, so he doesn't frighten me with such long silences. Oh, so stubborn...hush, hush! (...).

Give my greetings to “all of ours.” I am touched by their affection for me. Has Lesha taken any “position”? (...). And how is Olechka? (...).

I am glad that you are going on a holiday in Leningrad. What a pleasure and a time to relax. My mother-in-law certainly serves as an example of industriousness and efficiency for her daughter-in-law.

Her eldest son has certainly succeeded in following this work ethic. Ah, how sorry I am for this ugly duckling! (I think that without me he would have been rotten.) And now, I am not able to help him work for his family, so Natalochka must grow up and find her own place.

Mama was advised to go to the clinic in Moscow. I do not know how things will go for her in the future, and I cannot predict her recovery.

A kiss to you both from me and Natasha. Have you received any letters from Andrei?

Your M. Simukova.

IV 54 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, December 2, 1934.

December 2, 1934

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

My Milii, my loving little squirrel!

I will not talk about how ashamed I am for my long silence. From now on, I will write little, but often, every week. My habit of sparse but voluminous letters does not seem to be the best. How are you living? I think of both of you every day during this time of your absence and also feel your loneliness. Such sadness happens! Very often I stop and think of you, Milia and my little daughter, after your last letter from Surazh in which I felt that you were somewhat alone and that things are not easy, although you mention that you are not any worse.

At this moment I am interested, above all else, in the apartment in Moscow. Is it still possible to purchase it? Regarding my work, I would not want to depend on this. So, Milia, I urge you not to put off Gilis (if he still works in the old place²⁹⁶) and find out how much, in general, the apartment costs at the Torgsin (...). Although unlimited transfers from here are not foreseen, some accept transfers of gold. (...). If such a sale is possible, then let me know the prices by telegraph (1 room, 2 in an apartment out of 3). It seems that a private purchase of living space, for bonds, should be pursued. (...). The cost of gold, by and large, is about 10 tugriks for a gold ruble. Besides this, I am writing to ask Mama or Lesha about the cost of an apartment in a housing co-operative.

Now about the Torgsin. I am very touched by your gratitude for the transfer,

but you know that only I can do that for you, my dearest little squirrel. I flatter myself hoping that you will have enough from now on. Now in Ulaanbaatar there are serious conversations (...) concerning an increase in the Torgsin limits. In any case, with those 15 tugriks, I was in a fortunate position – as many transfers here are for less (not considering the category M. I.²⁹⁷⁾ and others). If you are still in the same situation regarding all of the work you have to do at home and with Natasha etc., would it be possible to have help through the Torgsin? I could easily transfer a fiver to keep you from worrying.

I realize from your account how you are taking care of your health and yourself (more about this below). Please do not spare me, try to settle in, and meet the head of the family, so jolly and fat, (probably without the dimensions even of Nina Art(urovna)).

Now, concerning myself. I have the honor to report that, in spite of sitting in Ulaanbaatar, I am well and have even put on weight. There is not a trace of the summer Kashchei. (“Immortal” Slavic folk hero). I feel very well. Certainly, your first telegrams and letters about life in Moscow have helped. And they were not returned. Is it good that both of us are at different points on the globe ($\frac{1}{2}$ of its circumference from the equator) and will grow old like this? However, this does not mean that you should pull the wool over my eyes in letters and telegrams. If you try, I will know all the same, and then I will lie down and die. That I know! Try to take a medicine which will help you live more comfortably and, I repeat, do not spare me. Of course, this problem should have been resolved by both of us, but you know it is premature for me to leave Mongolia and so doing would spoil and be a weight on the material and moral side of life in Moscow. Keep in mind that I am not tied to the agreement that I appear in Moscow at the first call.

You left during an extraordinary time. Typhus continued for a long time here, as well as smallpox, in a particular bloody form. This has all ended and now there is mass inoculation – I was inoculated twice for smallpox – the first time it did not take. And as if that was not enough – we have had these nasty diseases – scarlet fever, diphtheria, and so on. Bukinich²⁹⁸⁾ became ill with croupus²⁹⁹⁾ and is in the hospital. The X-ray showed a dilation of the heart and now he has gotten out of here. I also had an X-ray which showed that my heart was alright, (it was even less than necessary in the words of Nosov and Nadjharov) and the same old problem³⁰⁰⁾ has so grown over that, according to Nosov, nothing will happen. In short, I am in good shape physically, which reflects my very quiet life, plus the well-roundedness of my personality. I must also say that I am not applying myself very intensely, and I take time to rest and for diversions, although the circumstances of my life gnaw at me constantly.

I get up at 8 o'clock and often drink milk by 9. In the autumn I once drank 2 bottles, but now it has become more expensive. My usual time at work is often

concerned with running around about trifles, then lunch (imagine this – sometimes fixed at home!) then on to different matters in town, visits between 8–9, home, work. I go to bed late.

I just recently finished *The Geography*³⁰¹⁾, which has grown to 700 pages on the typewriter. Now Comrade Zlatkin³⁰²⁾ is “politically looking at it.” Diplomatically, I first sent it to Rjzhik³⁰³⁾. And you should receive from him 1,500–2,000 for the advance. At last, I wrote a book for Mongolia as a whole.

But there is less physical geography – all of 120 out of 700 pages. The main principle was to write about a little of everything, and so I wrote an historical section, a section on Lamaism, emblems/arms, the monetary system, and in a word, everything. The *Atlas*³⁰⁴⁾ is now all stitched together and ready for sale. The Russian (*Atlas*) is also finished. I have begun to mail out some “from the author.” I have also finished the material for the “Explanatory Dictionary” and tomorrow or the day after tomorrow I will definitively raise the issue of the *khudon*³⁰⁵⁾.

By the way, I received a letter from our friends in Arkhangai about the situation with oil or butter. One of these letters (sent by Terkulov) was addressed: Ulaanbaatar, The Russian Damdinsuren (do you remember in Chekhov Vanya Zhukov “in the village of grandfather Vasilli Nazarich”?)

Since you left, I feel somewhat differently about Uchkom: “I want -I love, I want-I fall out of love” all the more so since in the East³⁰⁶⁾ the relationship with me is excellent. Little things affirm this belief.

The other day I received a telegram from the World Atlas praising the Atlas that was sent (...). It is good to know that my work is not completely philistine and that I am putting my bricks into an all-Soviet business.

I have, but not often, visited the Nosovs – the expedition, by my orders, is now working in Arkhangai at Ikh-Tamir. Was at the Kombinat two or three times³⁰⁷⁾. I heard an excellent wireless program today at Tsander’s³⁰⁸⁾ – he is married... to Danar and lives in the same apartment where he was born and where he spent time with Nastashechka³⁰⁹⁾. From here, we can hear well Moscow, all of Siberia, Japan, and China. The last time they spoke almost daily for one or two hours to the white guard in Harbin and heard clearly about the plague. They are not full of nonsense, and I felt sick listening to the report that at the time of the October anniversary “corpses of those who were killed from hunger were picked up on the streets of Moscow.”

I heard on the radio today the alarming news about the murder of Kirov³¹⁰⁾ in Leningrad. Some are itching for a fight, so they will be forced to quiet the swine-the international killer. You see, for sure, that the thread leads to the German/Japanese group. (...).

I have almost settled my various debts. There was not much left to do since, and I do not wish to constrain myself. Now I am moving toward the second stage

in preparing for my departure.

I received letters from Roppov – he is in Tuva, from Abdurakhman³¹¹⁾ (Kazan), and ...from Papashka Kozlov who has asked for things from his past expeditions, materials, and sent greetings to you. His letter generally was imbued with “his” tone. I wrote a long answer to him – after all, but you see he is the “never-to-be-forgotten” teacher.

*A propos*³¹²⁾ the information from Leningrad (here are many students – easterners including...Kolikov³¹³⁾, and Vasenka Yakimov³¹⁴⁾ who didn’t come, since his only ladder to the top was the theme concerning...the Mongolian kolkhoz. He could not sit through anything. Kolikov remembers him with great respect and also recalls his sharp tongue. The leader of the Moscow students often called to Narimanovskii³¹⁵⁾, and already wrote about me, Rjzhik³¹⁶⁾ from whom we took our final leave – in KUTV³¹⁷⁾, the Leningraders³¹⁸⁾, – to themselves. I am fixing up everything in the apartment.

Forgive me that I have filled up this letter with so much. It is dreary here without you and our little girl. Very dreary. I wish so much for the warmth of a caress, and so want to lay my head – if only for a moment – on your knee, and I also want to hold Nataska (she is so warm!) and see how she twirls her head about and dangles her bare legs. Above all (...), this single life is miserable. Dreadful. Be aware that although I am working for you, my beloved, I must leave Mongolia honorably and then immediately move on to being the master of my next life in Moscow.

Greetings and filial kisses to Fedosia Makarovna and Aleksei Yakovlevich. A big kiss to you, my dearest.

Your Papa (signed in the Mongolian script).

IV 55 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 5, 1935.

January 5, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

Happy New Year to both babushkas – we wish you both health and happiness. Received the telegrams “from Khrushchev³¹⁹⁾” We are grateful for your very, very nice letter and the parcel. The duck and the “Vanka-vstanka” (a doll with a weight attached to its base enabling it to always recover its standing position) have captured Natasha’s fancy, and she goes to sleep with one in each hand.

My greeting was late because Natasha was ill with the grippe (...). 39–40 °C all the time (...). (Gamrat) cheered me up – either the measles, either the grippe,

or diphtheria. Such a block head! I, myself, am afraid of all of these “eithers,” especially the last one. I could not get through to a better doctor. (...). Now Natasha is cheerful, so I am happy again.

Forgive me, for the sake of Christ, that I did not write when I received the second 100 rubles. Mama was so very bad that I was distracted, and I forgot. Many thanks. I am still interested in where you found this one hundred, dear mother-in-law! I think it must be from your pocket.

Mama’s condition has recently been terrible. She moans constantly and looks frightful, (...) and cannot turn over or get up on her own. She was clear of malaria when she was in Moscow³²⁰ with no sign of malaria. She has run a fever, and, because of a complication, she has developed a bowel illness. Maria wrote to me that they presumed that she had cancer. She suffers terribly, and we have endless pity for her. I have straightened things out concerning Natasha, Mama, firewood, water, and more independence. It is alright, I have extricated myself honorably. Now just Natasha and I are living together (...). The apartment and the area are good, we have adjusted to the food, and everything will fall into place one day.

I received a telegram from Andrei, and it was good and long like all of his letters. This is the first letter from him to Surazh! He is still true to himself, although this was the first good letter in four months, we will next expect something bad from him but those (young and healthy) relatives will teach this renegade.

How is the Eastern Institute publishing Andrei’s Geography? He wrote to me, that through Rijhik, there was talk with the KUTV as it had been sent to Rijhik. I remember when tis Geography was unrolled before me that there were still some “easterners.” If something is not completely clear, it would be best to ask Andrei by telegraph. Excluding all the people and the personal affection, Andrei’s letter was full of business issues, so I sent him to you, so you could be aware of his plans. You are only reading of course. As regards the apartment at the Torgsin and the information from Gilis, I think it is better to simply talk personally about it with someone (probably Lesha) because he is valuable since he knows everyone from everywhere.

Kisses from us both, Natasha and me. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna, Alia, Lesha, and everyone else. Leshina’s play³²¹ was read and approved. Its staging will be alright. It is nice to hold the little book in my hand – it is really something! I am also pleased with the cover. Be sure to send one to Andrei.

All the best. Write.

Your M. Simukova.

P. S. I sent on Andrei’s letter in a separate envelope.

IV 56 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 8, 1935.

February 8, 1935

<Postcard>

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

Yesterday, I received the 100 rubles, many thanks. (...). From January 31, there is no news about Mama, and she is to have an operation on February 1st. Will she live? Write if you know anything about her. I received a telegram from Andrei – he is healthy, isn't bored and sent 15 rubles to Moscow in January. You and Olga Yakovlevna, keep them. Really, your supply must be running low. (...). I kiss you both.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 57 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, January 4, 1935.

January 4, 1935

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

My Own Little Squirrel!

I miss you very much. I think about you, about your life every day and every hour. It is very difficult to imagine Natasha herself, so tall running about and babbling away. In the next letter, Milia, write down how tall she is so I can mark it on the lutka³²²) and if possible, take a picture of the old man Eidlin (to show how little has changed in a place like Surazh!) Your letter from Surazh threw me into despair. We had been expecting the complete opposite! As they say, man cannot live by bread alone but with meat and butter, however, in the present case, the provision of this same bread seems to take over peoples' lives completely. As I wrote you earlier, thinking about your coal worries me incessantly. I await news from you about what is possible to do about this. I repeat that all the possibilities must be known from the Torgsin and the Sovznak (temporary Soviet money). I have determined here some sort of possibility about the importance of earnings, etc. and besides this, soon I will receive information from Moscow and Leningrad about the possibility of publishing my work in detail and as belles lettristika (light reading). It is hard to think that you have fallen out of step there, have grown thin and pale, and with all of this, it is as if we hadn't earned the right to the best. After all, we have achieved something, helped others as much as possible – and suddenly there is all this confusion. Again, no letter from you for a long time, so I

assume that Fedosia Makarovna is again very ill and that you are pulled in a thousand directions, swear at everyone and everything, and often at me regretting that you had not stayed in Ulaanbaatar.

On greeting the New Year (at the Badmadjapovs) or rather at Keiva and Marina³²³, I thought, with sadness, that in Surazh, so far away, there was little of the joy that we have here and that things were rather gloomy, tedious, and sad. Of course, in Moscow, there should be gaiety at this time, and the shortages should have been forgotten. Worst of all, I cannot now help in any way, nor can I advise on anything there. On the other hand, I would not want to go to the USSR now without having finished everything that needed to be done. And this, to a major degree, has led to quick and necessary arrangements that must be considered against their results in Mongolia and what must be done to continue moving ahead. However, as I have always said to you, your words have been enough, so that in a very short time I would have been in Moscow. It is clear that you are not listening to any of the rebukes on this subject. Although you sometimes have spoken “about the difficult moments in life” on the other hand, for me you are both dearer and closer to me than all “work” (...).

I feel myself very well – better, than last autumn and winter. My whole body is well. I already wrote to you during this time (4 months after you left), and I don’t work much sitting at the desk, but I run around (almost exclusively with the accounts). As I think of leaving for Moscow, I now prefer Mongolian society and hardly ever go to Russian homes, in spite of some resentment (like from Nina Arturovna)³²⁴.

Again, my course has changed – and I sit at my desk. A trip to the countryside has been, up to now, uncertain. If in the next 2–3 days it is clear that I will not go anywhere, the time will not be wasted, as I prepare to leave for Moscow.

The frost is now strong -30–35 °C and more. I wear felt boots and a leather coat and do not freeze. My home is dry, warm, and clean for a bachelor—tidying up daily.

These days I am finishing work on the details of the geography of the Gobi – 6 printed pages. Rjhhik³²⁵ sent the finished examples of the Geography³²⁶ – be sure he hasn’t messed with it.

The Great Khural³²⁷ met before the New Year, having not been convoked in five years. A friend came from the Khangai – stayed three nights with me. I went twice to the movies with him (sound), he was with me almost every day, more or less, and it was just what I needed. The people in the countryside have not forgotten me – during the winter I received five-six letters and I also wrote (or rather Sodbo³²⁸ wrote) many. Before leaving for the USSR, I would have wanted to go again – even if only for a short time – to the Khangai and the Gobi.

Bukinich³²⁹ still hasn’t gone. For a bachelor, he is an excellent neighbor. He

sings all day (is still a phony), hunts for the mice and feeds them bits of bread from a tzolikov³³⁰), fights off the dogs on the street, and unsuccessfully and quietly curses the mice.

My apartment is always warm, sunny, and dry – thanks to you.

Although all is well, it has been so long since there was a telegram or a letter from you which accentuates my fears, assumptions, and pain. What is the matter? What has happened? Not even a telegram of two words of interest from you – not even to mention the letters. Write, at least, more often. Have you received my New Year's telegram, which was a bit late? Your silence seriously worries me; does your silence mean that there is something wrong? Don't be concerned about me – what could be so stunning in Ulaanbaatar? All is alright, but this eats at my conscience and in the New Year there will be no more drudgery, as I will help and make up for it.

In your letters from Surazh, I have not read about any reminiscences of anyone, except the little family circle. Evidently, you don't really have a social group. Or maybe you don't meet with them? It is clear that you have broken completely off from your former circle. It is hoped that in this year we will have a new circle, and really, not a bad one. All my thoughts in Moscow are about our arrangements (in the year's apartment).

By the way, my atlas³³¹) was distributed by a delegate to the Khural, and it made a great impression. Besides, I received congratulations on this occasion from Kartotresta and Atlas Mira. The Russian edition (of the atlas) is now for sale here. 1,500 out of 4,000 remain from the Mongol edition.

What else is there to tell you? People in Ulaanbaatar live as always, including Radna³³²) and Gavikh³³³) (they pushed Gava out from the museum). There was something with Dandar³³⁴) – went to a church service and had a meal of bobo (bortzak – strips of meat). Haven't hardly been to the movies – little time.

If there will be nothing from you today-tomorrow, I will enquire about sending a telegram. I am very concerned about this matter, while sitting in my old place, and rarely writing – here there is nothing to worry about. Your situation is completely different, and if only you could let me know more often about it.

As kiss from me for Natashechka, strong and everywhere – possible and impossible – only not just a blown one – look! I kiss you fervently, my little squirrel-it is very dreary without you. It is hard to live alone with no one to caress or be caressed by.

Very warm greetings to Fedosia Makarovna and Aleksei Yakovlevich.

Your Papa (written in the ancient Mongolian language)
or simply Andrushka.

Everyone asks after you and sends you greetings. Mostly, of course, from the women.

IV 58 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 28, 1935.*February 28, 1935*

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

I have not written for a long time, nor have I heard anything from you. Are you well? We are living as always – sneezing and coughing a bit because of the February weather, which has now arrived. Such damp and grey weather has flooded over me. I am not accustomed to such fog and the grey skies.

Yesterday, I received a telegram from Andrei that he will go out into the field in two months. He did not spoil us with his letters, anyway. From the time we left Ulaanbaatar, I received exactly three letters from him. Concerning his arrival, candidly, I am astonished at my uneasiness, and so will simply say that with him, nowhere, and never, could anything happen and that is the truth, from a simple and pure heart, etc.

By the way, don't let the Moscow well-wishers be confused by the expeditions and write to him – all the letters and telegrams are quickly and efficiently handled by express messenger, which is a convenient way to send them. Maybe he will be working near some center in which case there is no need to worry about news (...).

The proxy or power of attorney came from Lesha for Andrei but not the receipt for the money...did Lesha receive it? I have joined in Lesha's complaint that his brother is not of this world. It is true. The world, and especially the business circle there, is far from official, as it is in Moscow – his circle decides all matters more or less in their own way. Andrei is used to this but, God willing, he will somehow manage the business situation in Moscow.

I, myself, with Natashka feel a little like nobodies, and no one writes to us. Andrei would send off the occasional telegram. I understand that from him, and it would not be possible for him to abuse my long suffering. I have, by and large, been spoiled.

Write to us, please. Why have you forgotten us? Kiss Baba Olga and granddaughter Olechka. I kiss you both. Greetings to Alia and Lesha.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 59 A. D. Simukov – to Al. D. Simukov, February 21, 1935.

February 21, 1935

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Moscow>

Most esteemed and dear brother!

Our last correspondence had a completely menacing character: the telegrams all began with such words as urgent, hurry, not slowly, etc. I await your long-promised letter, but because I will be gone for several days, (to the “countryside”-locally), it was necessary to write you earlier before receiving it.

This trip was planned long ago, and it must be the final link in my field work in Mongolia. I assume that for a month or two I will cover 2,000 km, moreover half on camel. I am travelling, perhaps for the last time, to my well known and favorite places with my old friends, and this trip does not demand the mastery of new areas. On the contrary, my present tasks are strongly connected to the population because I am now engaged in a study of nomadic life, mainly from the social-economic side. For half a year, I haven’t been more than 20 km from Ulaanbaatar, which has been difficult for this ancient who is not accustomed to it.

I am starting out by automobile to the west to the Khangai, in the mountainous area, which is well forested and is also a densely populated area with a beautiful landscape. I have already lived there amongst friends – unfortunately, I am late for the Mongolian New Year (4 February), which I declare had been with close friends. Conversations lasted for several nights, and I was literally in every yurt. From there to the south and across the Khangai ridge to the Gobi depression in the desert below, where already the sun will be warm. The yellow sandhills near Lake Orog nuur, and the enormous cliff wall of the denuded ridge of Ikh-Bogd, raised two and a half km over the lake, while amid the sandhills, the Gobi yurts with the camels tethered near them and a herd of camels returning from the pasture in the rose-colored smoke under the setting sun. Again friends. From there a trip across the uninhabited desert one hundred and fifty km wide, (without a guide, which was not necessary for me), at the end there were rumors of a dinosaur cemetery which supposedly existed there. This place is located in the middle of an enormous (up to 100 m) sandy sandhill, with a bright red precipice and, in the deep hollow, the remains of the tertiary sandstone outcroppings of stunted saksaul bushes. After the dinosaurs, the steep mountain chain on the southern outskirts of the republic, and from here was the boundless space of the Southern Gobi, the hunt for the snow leopard, and the mountain goat and the ram. I was working among my old friends here who had witnessed my first and almost legendary trip to the desert. I took the obligatory pilgrimage to the place of our two months’ camp in 1925 at Noyon-

Bogd mountain³³⁵). (what a pity about Kotka Danilenko³³⁶ – he alone was in a condition to understand the fullness of this relationship).

A short delay in “my” town-Dalanzadgad. I played the role of Peter the First there: “here a town shall be placed, to spite our arrogant neighbor...” which presented a task for the government of the MPR – a new place for a town, which and ...where nomadic people roamed for 200 km. This “town” consists of yurts, almost completely, while inside there was a telegraph (they just now installed it – and I was very proud), a radio station, bank, hospital, post office, the authority, a shop (also in the yurt), gossip, news, and then onto the automobile road to Ulaanbaatar.

So, you now have the atlas³³⁷), and don’t be lazy. Follow my route: Ulaanbaatar, then west – Tsetserleg, the Khoitu Tamir river, turn to the south, then south-east across the large desert to Mt. Nemegetu (to the east the dinosaur cemetery can be found) and then to the southwest to Noyon-Bogd mountain, then northeast across Tsolen and Gurvan Saikhan to Dalanzadgad and back to Ulaanbaatar.

After this trip I want to have two weeks rest, go north from Ulaanbaatar, 200–250 km, to the Iro river to hunt for bears. Unfortunately, I cannot find myself there in the autumn because there is something special going on there. Because of the bad harvest of cedar nuts in the taiga, and perhaps for other reasons, the bear population in the deep mountainous taiga in the outlying districts was in a panic everywhere. In a small region (the upper reaches of the Iro River and north to the borders of the USSR) and the ocean, 62 bears were killed in the early winter – a legendary number. A pair of hunters was eaten clean by the bears on a rampage! I hope that there will be some left for me. However, I must finally take my leave from the taiga, which has given me unforgettable memories. Then, back to constant work in Ulaanbaatar and the return of the prodigal son, husband, and father to the abandoned Penates (the Penates=the roman household gods). *Dixi*³³⁸).

Now about other things. Milia has already sent to you one of my few letters with all sorts of things to consider. I don’t know that you wrote to me, but I will repeat the requests. Most important is living space. Without troubling with astronomical numbers, let me know the possible and impossible variants on the costs of living spaces with the exception of the method of finding space through an armed attack on the philistine world. Is it possible to get this flat (...) through the Torgsin and at what price or prices? Is it possible to buy a place in the Mossovet at the Sovznak (where, it is said, that in Leningrad, an apartment costs 12,000–15,000). Is there such a possibility in Moscow? (...) Can one simply buy an apartment in Moscow from the departing owner? Can one buy a share in a living co-op? And so forth and so on. I repeat that is necessary to know the range, without confusing the numbers – in relation to one room, two rooms and a small, little apartment. This is my major request.

I am sending you at one time two warrants of powers of attorney concerning the reception of an advance³³⁹⁾ and, in general, the authority over my affairs or business matters I wanted to send this by consul post, but the consul persuaded me that it was forbidden. There will be a lot of fuss for you on the receipt of the letter. Give it to Rijnik³⁴⁰⁾ on the very closest day to its arrival with all the corrections for my geography³⁴¹⁾. It is necessary to write still one more chapter because I simply forgot the historical research on the country. I will face this on my return, together with the draft and the photographs.

In the coming days you will receive a pair of atlases³⁴²⁾ with the request to give an Atlas to Mira (the second copy) and the second to the cartographical factory Goskarttotresta. Your telegram about sending the second example of my geography was madly intriguing. There were two reasons for my last, quite harsh, telegram with its question about the entire dispatch: First, I considered the possibility of an appearance of Kovalev³⁴³⁾ at your house and the uncomfortable thoughts concerning the translation of a book in Moscow into the Mongolian language (at the publishing house—"Foreign works"), but then, how true it is that the publication in this language belongs completely to Uchkom. Second, I considered the possibility of sending the book only by dip-post, and for this I have to offer the embassy a precise explanation of the entire dispatch. So, don't be angry. I await a telegram from you tomorrow with the explanation of whether you actually sent it. Partly on account of these telegrams, I am sending you a second power of attorney "concerning the authority in all matters and the protection of the rights of the author." It is good and necessary in the case of a translation into another language and a new edition of the book to inform Rijnik about it so there will not be a misunderstanding. It goes without saying don't forget the material side of the business.

Are you familiar with the writers Boris Lapin³⁴⁴⁾, Z. Khatzrevin³⁴⁵⁾, and Lev Slavin³⁴⁶⁾ (the last is the most well-known)? If I succeed, I will try to send you now, from the road, in a return story or in a fragment or chapter of an "unfinished novel," which could serve as an experiment for getting an apartment as a responsible journalist. If there is a possibility, then connect with any one of those guys (start out by phone) and remind them about their promises to help me on this first step.

Here, besides "The Economy of Mongolia" and the continuation "Contemporary Mongolia," I have also published in the Mongolian literary and artistic journal "The Path of National Culture" (undusin soialin tsam)-unique of its genre-which includes "propaganda activity" which is new for this Mongolian genre of literary-touristic adventure literature as in the writing in "Along the Khentii Taiga." Now I am writing "In the Country of the Wild Camel."

I conclude my scholarly work with "A Geographical Survey of the Mongolian Gobi's Outlying Areas," which is 10 printed pages. Besides finishing the changes

in the large “Geography,” the smaller one (11 printed pages) is for the textbook³⁴⁷. Talked with the Minister of Education about publishing in the Mongolian language a series of articles about Mongolia in various sections that focus on “homeland studies.” These articles in a reworked form could be looked at and published in Moscow. I wish that I could be the second Arsenyev³⁴⁸ (“Dersu Uzala”). Is there now a demand for this kind of literature, especially concerning Central and East Asia? I know of only one very respectable little book about Mongolia, which I advise you to read. This is “In Mongolia” by A. Formozova, Gosizdat, 1928.

About receiving your advance³⁴⁹ for “The Geography,” it is necessary to first compensate Mama for all her expenses for Milia and Natasha. I simply cannot transfer, and so was touched by your, and especially by Mama’s attitude as “a lovely old lady” toward this husband and father who dangles in the center of the Asian mainland.

How are you and your family including that miraculous bogatyr Olga Aleksandrova? What are you working on now, and how is your play going? I only saw the sketch about the Baltflot (The Baltic Navy) in “Projector.” How is your material situation and where are you living, what are your future plans, and what literary direction are you headed towards? I want to try my best to go from here as a member of the Mongolian Union of Writers.

Why have you not, up to now, introduced your family? Why haven’t I actually met Liuba, and haven’t even talked to your daughter? To both, my heartfelt greetings.

A big kiss from me to Mama and Aunt Olia. Tomorrow I will write a letter to Mama. I actually don’t know all that you have done for me, so that I can restore some “balance” to this relationship.

Greetings again and a brotherly kiss. Write. I am waiting.

Your brother Damdinsuren (this is my Mongolian name in old Mongolian)
– or Andrei.

IV 60 Power of Attorney, February 18, 1935.

I, the undersigned living at this time in the city of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, citizen of the USSR, SIMUKOV, Andrei Dmitrievich, now entrust to my brother, Aleksei Dmitrievich SIMUKOV, citizen of the USSR, living in the city of Moscow, on Krapotkin street, Khrushchevskii alley, house 3, apt. 1, to receive the advance, owed to me from the Scientific Research Association for the Study of the Natural and Colonial Problem at the Communist University for Workers from the East for transferring to me from the said organization the right to publish the work “A Geographical Essay of the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic” to scale, with the careful conclusion for me on the terms of the representative of the said organization,

Comrade Rijnhik.

My address: the city of Ulaanbaatar, Scientific Research Committee, MPR, A.
D. Simukov.

18 February 1935

Ulaanbaatar city, Mongolia

Coworker of the Scientific-Research Committee of the MPR

<signature> /A. Simukov/

This Power of Attorney is notarized and certified at the Consular department of the Plenary Power of the Diplomatic Representative from the USSR in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.

The signature on this document is the product of the actual hand of gr-nom SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrievich, representing the certification of this person's foreign passport No. 112153/21503, issued in Moscow 27.II.26.

Manager of The Consular Division

The Embassy of the USSR.

<Signature> /Levani/

No. 3

25 February 1935

Ulaanbaatar city

Authority of the Government of the USSR in
Mongolia. Consular Division.
(Consular stamp valued at 10 rubles).

IV 61 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, February 22, 1935.

February 22, 1935

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

Mili, my blue-eyed little squirrel!

After a mass of promises and good intentions, finally here is a long letter to you. The main reason for delaying in writing was the long and irksome uncertainty about the trip to the countryside, which I have asked for all winter. Finally, (like drops hollowing out a stone) I obtained it – and in days I am going off for two months. The order concerning this trip was signed, and the money was given. You

know, Milia, how important this trip is to me for the completion of my work. And now, I am rounding out the last facts in this stage, so my work in Mongolia will be done (however... don't count your chickens before they are hatched since I am not yet on my way). They held up to me all the serious and known reasons concerning Uchkom developments in regard to missing the winter period. I will leave in the spring. The march route is as follows: Tsetserleg–Ikh-Tamir (for, you might say, a gathering of friends)–Lamin-gegen–Orog nuur–Dalan zadagad (and maybe I will go to the Southern Gobi and across to Uitzen van) – travelling to the south up to Noyon-Bogd finally) – Ulaanbaatar. I will go by car either up to Tsetserleg or from Dalan zadagad to Ulaanbaatar. I will only see all my old friends. The subject of this work, as in 1933, is the nomadic village and that is Zaglainu in the Chudinovski yama³⁵⁰) a blessed fellow traveler will evidently be Dondokodont³⁵¹). The march route is already set, but we can make a lyrical digression to all those beautiful places en route, which would be impossible to describe to you in a letter. After the trip, I will work hard, and there will be no place else to go but Moscow.

Your last letters from Surazh pleased me more and more. They were so good that sometimes a suspicion crept in that everything was so good that you must be keeping silent about something or maybe you are just writing through Alia who always sends a few words in the note, which is very pleasant for me. Nothing could show me Natasha herself, so tall, jumping about, babbling – so I get a sort of unreal picture. Thank you for the parcel – her tender, sweet lock of hair, as if still warm from being preserved on her body. (...). It would be so lovely for us (I am now writing in the evening) to be seen at our evening spectacle: “they are packing up.” (...).

Before leaving, I must take two shots – the town and the countryside – you chose which of these you have taken without too much difficulty. Don't be bored, my little darling, and if you are bored it must be because there is an absence of suitable people around you. From your letter, I can see that you are completely alone, not counting Natashkina and her mischief. When I am clear about my position, I will write often. I wrote in detail twice from Tsetserleg, and now I am writing again before I leave. Moreover, they installed a telegraph at Dalan zadagad! (Across Arbai kher, that is, Uitzen van). I will definitely send you a telegram from the foot of Tsun Saikhan! So, this Romantic will, little by little, arrive at the Gobi Desert or Shama. (a possible reference to Shambala or Paradise.)

Regarding the future, I think most of all about our home. I wrote Lesha a long and quite lyrical letter about all of these matters. I also sent by post (a telegram is awkward) two Powers of Attorney to assure the reception of my advance and the authority over my affairs, which was witnessed by the Consul. This often happens here. Relations are excellent. A new ambassador has arrived³⁵²)–I still have not seen him. “The Old Chutzkaev”³⁵³) was chosen for the VTzIK, and the representative to

the Budget Commission Blokhin has returned from a leave. They come anew...V. N. Tikhonov and the venerologist Orlov (from ancient times.) And here is all the likely news of our Russian friends. N. P. Shastin³⁵⁴) has performed very well and has been caring for everyone; Nina Pavlovna³⁵⁵) is still here and we enjoy good and peaceful relations. To Tubianski³⁵⁶) only for business, and sometimes I go to Nosov³⁵⁷).

I had many responsibilities during Tsagaan Sar³⁵⁸). (The first day was February 4.) I visited many Mongolian homes, about 30, for two weeks during this, my last Tsagaan Sar. In order not to lose sight of anyone, I could not stay too long at each home. Following the tradition, on the first day I started with the bosses-Sechen Khan³⁵⁹), Dendub³⁶⁰), and Badmajab Tsed³⁶¹), who was very touched. The holiday visit to Dandar was tedious because he has been guilty of being involved in embezzlement relating to trade. I was at a Tsagaan Sar table all the time and was “unaccountable” for only a day when the young people visited me. I was a proper host and still could work 4–5 hours at night.

Several times I did the foxtrot mostly at Dashinem’s (a photograph) where I went with Grushei³⁶²). She is “the straw widow”³⁶³) in our relationship (Gombojav³⁶⁴) is in Leningrad) – so it is fine. She is very well, better without him, and carries herself with dignity.

Sodbo³⁶⁵) was not in (he had secretly been married). I made the rounds to the Chinese. Misha, the watchmaker, is concerned with me morally and constantly asks after you and Natasha.

They probably might have waited for me in the countryside to celebrate Tsagaan Sar, which would have been very interesting, but I was late in getting there. In the villages, Tsagaan Sar was celebrated like in the olden days – people in great crowds went about their visits, which lasted for two weeks. Especially during the first days, people wore new deels and carried small parcels. It is the custom to give a shawl, or a flagon of spirits, or an eau de cologne with a flowery fragrance. Tsagaan Sar – trumpets-and suddenly TEZHE!³⁶⁶) A beaver hat was lacking (for up to 700 tugriks). One can buy a beaver collar at the Torgsin in Moscow for 30 rubles and wear it as a hat. Ladies judge which hat is the highest and “for blat” get silk (that is, of course, the Mongolian ladies).

Evidently out of sympathy for Natasha, just before Tsagaan Sar, I was ill for a week, but stayed on my feet or at home. I had the grippe and a temperature of 38 °C in the evening at a party with some drinking and dancing – but the next day I was absolutely fine. The grippe has not returned.

I don’t think that I have written to you since I saw the film “Chapaev,”³⁶⁷) which I liked very much. I saw it twice.

The Eastern event, which you certainly have read about in the newspaper (I hope you have read about it!) concerns the fight at Buir nuur (Khalkhain soum)³⁶⁸),

and to my astonishment, they were not challenged for their Philistinism in the panic that would have been expected.

In the spring of 1932 (remember when I was not allowed into the USSR), there was more panic but fewer specifics³⁶⁹. We haven't talked about this, and I am glad that you both are far away and that neither of us will lose any sleep over this. Now, everything is peaceful, and life is back to normal.

Now Gavril Karchanov³⁷⁰ is in UB (Ulaanbaatar). They "suggested"³⁷¹ to him and partly at my request, to postpone until the summer. What would he do in the USSR after his taiga? All of his children, except the youngest Nadka, had worked here, and the oldest was drawn to the Union.

The Kuznetzovs³⁷² are still at Iro. Earlier, in the autumn, was an unusual "bear harvest." In the area of the main camp, that is primarily at Iro, 36 were killed and along the belt by the border (Belchir, etc.) – 62 bears. This is very unusual³⁷³. A sign of war! There were no nuts at the beginning of the winter. The bears had come down to the people. It is a pity that I cannot be there in the autumn. There were many "non-sleeping bears" at the beginning of the winter. They ate clean two Russian squirrel hunters. Of course, there were many "bear" stories.

Aleksei³⁷⁴ has visited me during his trip. He now works at Neftesindikat³⁷⁵. He has become more solid and independent and does not drink at all, which is amazing and remarkable.

Fede Bolshakov was also offered³⁷⁶. There are generally few old people. Our darga³⁷⁷ Dendub³⁷⁸, evidently, is not excited by my departure and always sighs about what it will be like without me and my experience, and yet in the weeks and months another language has to be learned – so why leave Mongolia? I begin each and every conversation with "as I am leaving," or "it makes little difference because I am leaving," or "I have one foot already in Moscow." Then we look into each other's eyes diplomatically and tenderly. I have heard that the Mongolian action circle stands by me. So, I will leave when I, myself, consider it necessary. And I have the means to do just that.

The *papa* shares (*papii*)³⁷⁹ seem to have been undermined.

Things at work are so-so. I am very agitated by the uncertainty of departure and am anxious to conclude what needs to be decided. However, all is now settled with Minpros³⁸⁰, and I have almost finished a new and major work which I have already written about. (The Geography of the Gobi). I spend a lot of time running around (but, it goes without saying, not on personal matters). However, if these plans are unhindered, they shall be carried out, in regard to the proposal for the expedition. (Rachkovskii³⁸¹, Luce³⁸², etc.)³⁸³.

By the way, it must soon be decided how to transport the little photo machine, etc. I have worn out the Uchkom enlarger, which was unfastened from Dodki's³⁸⁴ confounded legacy. Gonbojab-shilte³⁸⁵ began to print my order – I want to take away

from here no fewer than 2,000 prints, which have been put in some sort of order.

So, I have written to you in good health, and now you know all about my lonely existence.

And now, my little darling, we will soon be together, and I will be able to lay my head on your knees (...). You can imagine, there are the times when I am so very starved for your voice, your loveliness, stroking your hair, just to be in your presence. You hardly speak like this in your letter nor do you tell me that you are awaiting me, so... do you love this red-haired devil even a little bit? You are very cold, my little sun, and I have only you. Nobody else can warm me or be warmed. I will hush up or I will be completely sour.

I kiss you tenderly, my little rabbit, and a gentle kiss for our daughter.

Your Papa.

IV 62 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, March 16, 1935.

March 16, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna!

(...) I have not received a letter from anywhere in such a long time and have begun to think terrible things about everyone who is, as they say, enjoying healthy and comfortable lives in Khushchakh and Mongolia. Now that I have received your letter, everything is alright, and today there was a letter and a telegram from Andrei (the last from the expedition.)

It is clear from your letter that you are very strained. My poor, hard-working mother-in-law. Don't lose heart or sink into despair. There is always a way out of these impossible situations, it seems, and they will not become progressively worse if only you do not lose your will and give in to gloomy thoughts about sclerosis and other unpleasant things. I speak from the bottom of my heart that when you came, I found you a thousand times better than I expected. It would be so good for you if you could take a vacation (if it is possible) without pay and simply vegetate for a week or two. Do you think that it is possible that Andrei is anxious about how you are feeling? You see, you could help me with Natasha and, why don't you want to use more of his assistance? Keep your load of voluntary lessons and very quietly take the compensation that Andrei has sent. I worry, for Andrei, that you do not want to take care of your health. It does not look as if your grandchildren as they grow up will learn the wisdom of the German language. (...) Don't hesitate about relief from your work. Your children must help you, I think, and now there are possibilities for Andrei in the future.

Andrei remains true to form – a letter that arrived was, of course, "bigger and

better” but I simply cannot find where I put it. Three months without a letter! And it wasn’t even possible for him to be angry. He told me that he had sent Lesha 2 Powers of Attorney, one for the reception of money and the second for business matters, and both were certified at the Consulate. Could they be just lying with some authority there? First at the Narkomindel? (...). If, contrary to expectation, you receive Andrei’s money, take for yourself what I took from you and send me a little that I will use for my sewing. I want to redo something and am bored with this old fur coat of Mama’s, which I wear to the market where the men gave me the nickname of Auntie³⁸⁶.

I want Natasha to take the inoculations for diphtheria and scarlet fever. Recently, I have not heard much about them, but diphtheria is sometimes announced in the villages. I have been running around for three days and have bowed and scraped before every ram – it is hard to get things organized here. (...) Such is the Wise Man of Gotham! The letter to Andrei went by post, and they are thinking there – should they return it or should they give it to him? So, they will open it and give it back.

Natasha is cutting a molar and so she has been uncomfortable all week. (...). The little Mastodon is growing so all her clothes and shoes are too small. Looking at her, even my insatiable heart is pleased. (...). It is true that she has not had meat for most of the winter – it has been hard to find. And there was little fruit at the Torgsin – it was there only twice.

Mama is recovering and so I can go about my business more peacefully. Summer will come during the holiday. It is nice here in Surazh-our village, the pines, the little river, the whole region.

I kiss you both. Don’t be sad or ill. Greetings to all.

Your M. Simukova

IV 63 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 3, 1935.

April 3, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

How are you and how are your nerves? I have found a room near here (...). Can you write and tell me roughly when you will come? (...). Natasha and I are now already at the dacha. We have a nice place! I didn’t suffer over the winter for nothing. You must come without fail and Alia says so too. We, of course, will be so very glad to see Grandma and Aunt. (...). I am now living comfortably. Mama and Papa will welcome you from your trip. He carries the water and collects the

firewood here and only rarely is he away. He works as a provision agent for a factory. Sometimes he carries water for Baba and sometimes I do but only when the water is faraway. (...).

A big request from you-please readdress to me the transfer of rubles to 15 (Torgsinovskii). I have come to the end. I telegraphed Andrei who is still on the expedition but have not received an answer. I don't like to bother you with this, but I have to.

How are things with Leshina? How is his Olia doing? (...). I would, sometime, like to stay in Moscow but not now. No money, and Natasha could not leave. I cannot – that's all. I have become firmly established in Surazh and will live here until late autumn.

Natasha is now very happy here. She runs outside in the fresh air all the time, babbling little by little. She has become tan, friendly with a neighboring goat, and if someone gets into a fight with her, I have diligently taught her to give it back. Alek was offended by the children as he was already rather delicate, but Natasha does not seem to be offended.

I received a beautiful book from Andrei – “The Art of Palekh.” Very touching. Give my greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. How is her health? Alia will write soon. All the best. Natasha and I kiss you both. Greetings to everyone.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 64 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, May 29, 1935.

May 29, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

(...) I reached Surazh safely – not counting Natasha nearly flying out of the coach whenever she passed every little pine tree she saw on a knoll. The meeting was fantastic! For the first time in her life, Natasha genuinely ran (to me!) She was very delighted with the game, which she certainly enjoyed, and all the running around. (...) The spaciousness here is wonderful. (...). We sing and dance a lot. I hope, even though she is now cheerful, that she has a “sweet” temper (...).

Our garden is now in full bloom, and things appear white in the light. It is lovely now in Surazh. Write after talking with Alia and maybe make the arrangements regarding the rooms. (...). It will be difficult to find a place to live in Surazh during the summer because there will be many people working here on the completion of the construction of a new electro-station. How is your health and your work? (...).

Have you received anything about Andrei? Well, surely it will be from him if he is still alive! Tomorrow I will send a telegram to Uchkom since I haven't received even a fig from the Gobi in more than two months, and since I know full well the situation, my uneasiness is well-founded. He certainly knows that I would be upset, since I have been there myself more than once.

(...) Sometime, without resentment, we will talk – all three of us – you, me, and him. (...). We both kiss you. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna, Alia, and Lesha.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 65 M. A. Simukova – to Al. D. Simukov, June 8, 1935.

June 8, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Lesha,

Why is there no news from Moscow? Is everything alright? How is your health, your life, and all the relatives? Write.

Not a sound from Andrei! In mid-May, there should have been a telegram from the desert³⁸⁷ because at the end of May he should have been in UB (Ulaanbaatar) and, of course, telegraphed. However, I have become accustomed over time that for your big brother dates do not coincide with intention, but I am still afraid of something terrible. Everything maybe...etc. Surely, whatever happens to him seems to be alright. Yesterday I sent a telegram to Uchkom, and if it is not answered in 4 days, I will go to the Embassy, as my big red-haired husband has vanished.

You see – he is such an idol that once, when he had to do something, he took me like a poor sheep (in that 27th famous year) and we travelled the wide world, but when the time came for our return, a search expedition from Ulaanbaatar, headed by Sergei Alekandrovich (Kondratiev), was about to set off!

I am now not too interested in this situation. I sit and wait – for what? It is not known. (...). Write to me soon if you have any news.

How are you living now? Are you sending your family to the dacha or where? We have not had a very pleasant summer – windy and cold. (...). How is my dear niece and her Mamasha? (...).

You know since my arrival from Moscow that I have not received even one measly little letter. I also haven't written. (...).

Leshenka, if there is any money, could I have some? I have not had any money for quite a while.

Please write to me. My heart still skips a beat when I remember you in your little basement³⁸⁸. (...).

All the best.

I am still am not happy and am very sad. Where is that red haired devil? What has happened to him and where is he? If he turns up – everything is broken between us!!!

Greetings to Babushka and Alia, and kisses to the family.

IV 66 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, June 16, 1935.

June 16, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I was very pleased by your letter. Andrei has turned up. I had not received the telegram from him and was upset because before the expedition he wrote to me that he would telegraph from Gurban-Saikhan³⁸⁹) around mid-May. By mid-June, I was uneasy. However, he remained true to himself. Always close to the expedition, I harass him for his mysterious absences.

Everything is fine here. Natasha is growing, running about, and babbling (...). When will you have your vacation? Write. I am trying to find a room. (...). Now I have a request for you. Address to me a small sum (6–7 rubles) at the Torgsin. We hear persistent rumors about the small stores closing. Maybe I can go and buy a supply of all sorts of products. (...). Ask Lesha also to send to me a little Soviet money, since I have been living for quite a while on what my father gave to my mother. (...). Come to us soon. Did Olga Yakovlevna write? How is her vacation in the new place?

I am incredibly weary and unhappy and find nothing that I like to do. I am busy with Natasha, go to the market, do the housework – that's my life. The weather is now splendid. I would like to go for a walk, but I am afraid to do so alone. Because of the great number of workers here, you can't go anywhere.

In short, my principle is to not get in the way of Andrei attaining his projected goals. But this, of course, was and will always be so, and it always oppresses me that I cannot take on the responsibility for the well-being of the family. It's just not my specialty.

Don't be mad at me for the last angry letter. I have been and am afraid for Andrei. You see it is just Natasha and him – that's all – so I have to be good and close. If there is anything else from him, write. The mail often does not come to Surazh. Yes, and he, is a redhead – a fine one!! The last letter was from March 26! I am angry at him and will not write to him at all. Everything from the Gobi can be sent by special messenger with a packet to UB (Ulaanbaatar). Write to us often.

We kiss you both.

(...). Natasha awaits her babushka from Moscow. All the best.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 67 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, September 2, 1935.

September 2, 1935

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

To my dear little squirrels, big and small!

It has already been two weeks since I returned from the expedition, and only today, on the birthday of Natasha, have I sat down to write about my life for this entire half year. The question of my departure must be clarified in Ulaanbaatar. Since it will be of most interest to you, I hope, I will write from the beginning about the date I wish to return. Uchkom continues to follow its old ways concerning the implementation of designated work. A conversation at the embassy seemed to determine that position. With the first mail, they wish to enquire about the change. This issue is to be determined at the time of the termination of work, but it will not delay me. Above all, the ambassador himself was interested in my studies and has helped me in this matter. Thus, I will depart for Moscow within approximately 3–4 months. I am guilty, in relation to you, for “dawdling” on the expedition, which has necessitated postponing the time of my departure.

And I travelled to my heart’s content. I visited for the last time all the people and friends not only at Etziin-gol but all the way to Noyon-Bogd.

The three of us—Dondok³⁹⁰, Fuchin³⁹¹, and I went in the Uchkom autocar to Tsetserleg, where we stopped at Akatov³⁹² and then went on further to Ikh-Tamir, and to a friend’s yurt. In the Khangai, I hung around this one soum and worked as a nomad for the whole month. And Dondok and I both developed upset stomachs from the five heavy meals each day. Fortunately, there was no koumiss or arak – it was the early spring. In Tsetserleg, I bought three camels (950 tugriks), and we sat on top of the baggage we had loaded on them at Tuin gol, and then we went down to Orok nuur, travelling an average of 30 km a day. We spent five days in Orok nuur near the yurts of Demchik. Unfortunately, I did not see him since he was visiting his sister – (Do you remember how you took photos of all of us at Shine usu before Khukhen-davaa?) Having taken on some help for one of the camels, we then moved further and crossed the eastern part of Ikh-Bogd – the easternmost Ubta. I saw many mountain sheep (mazal! – a Gobi bear!) and climbed the cliff. Then we went to Legin gol and almost in our old tracks we went to Tsuntoli (by Nemegeta). I did not use guides, followed my old memories, and asked people

about the route. From Tsun toli we turned to the east to Bayan tukhumu, and followed my old automobile tracks from 1931 surveying the Chudinovskii ditch by the road³⁹³⁾. I found myself where, in 1931³⁹⁴⁾, we were almost dead from no water. However, there was water along the road. Like Bayantsag, there was a sandy precipice and no bones from the bottom to the top. If all of this is true, there were no dinosaurs running about. Evidently, tertiary fauna. I did find, after all, a complete skull but I had to take it piece by piece. Barbarism!

We went further across Khongorin gol, Khabtargu, Bayan tukhum, and Bayan dalai to Dalanzadgad. We were sick from the heat of the sands of Khongor Yelis, and there was a snowy blizzard in Khabtarg. In Bayan tukhum, everyone asked after you, especially the Babas. Sangi-do to Bayan dalai. There I saw Khandu, the bookkeeper for the primary!³⁹⁵⁾ Few people-5–6 yurts. I saw Budun Galsan, Nariin Galsana and lots of old friends. At the Oxin settlement there was a sudden snowstorm, so we appeared at Batsar's³⁹⁶⁾. He was really pleased, slaughtered a ram, and looked after us as best he could. He lives modestly as before. I had helped him with a lot with money and other things, but you said that he took a lot from me.

I stayed in the aimag³⁹⁷⁾ for 10 days, waiting for the money. I visited Tabkhaya – he works there now. Few Russians now – there only three people. “My town” is growing. Many homes, a radio, and often a postal automobile. Life goes on!

Dondok went to U. B. After trudging 900 km, I sold the camels for quite a fair price and returned to Bayan dalai, where I bought new ones. Having finished my work here, the two of us and Fuchin set off to Noyon-Bogd. The first yurt with friends was the yurt of Jhamts (without us to UB in 27), the second – Churuma (father Sanjijaba). Dugar³⁹⁸⁾, who is already married, the old people are all the same, Sanjacha³⁹⁹⁾ is married. They are established in Khabchil, on the southern slope Tushimil. To all the old places! I went to Ikh Debseka where there were visible traces of our old nomadic camp from 1925! Went to Ara Shandu. Very, very good that Dagva dorj and his wife came with me – (they were at Ara Shandu in 1927). The health of these people has changed, and they have developed a broader mental outlook. It is good to see such a change.

All three of us went on further to Tostu and across the Chonai bom and along the old tracks to Tsagaan Bogd where, at this time, there were yurts. I hired a guide and a pair of camels⁴⁰⁰⁾ for 10 days and went to the mountains, moving west 100 km further than in 27. In the Atlas⁴⁰¹⁾, you can find Mount Ata Bogd – the extreme western point of my travels. From these mountains, I could clearly see the eternal snow of the Tian Shan's Aji Bogd, a large slice of the Mongolian Altai, and Bei-shan – in a word, a radius of 200 km. On the route, I climbed to Tsagaan Bogd from where I could see Matsunshan. There was no trace of those thieves who had robbed people in 27 – the Kyrgyz had massacred them. So, with the sweat of my brow, up the mountain I went, and saw all the wilderness of the

western Gobi. Now there is almost nothing left there for me to do. We returned quickly – about 40–50 km a day (yes – we certainly were not lazy) and were only detained at the soum⁴⁰²⁾ (on business) and at Sanji. (The koumiss had begun). In the aimag, we had the good luck to find a car, so we only spent one night there. On the return trip, I gave all the camels to Batsar. He took us to the aimag and had a seat in the car.

I travelled for 5 months and covered 1,000 km by car and 2,500 by camel. We pushed hard – from 30–50 and even 60 km a day. I was very contented with Dondok and Fuchin. Fuchin honorably went the entire trip without a word of complaint, worked like a youngster, and got over his old, bad habits during the trip⁴⁰³⁾. My health has recovered. V. V. Nosov⁴⁰⁴⁾ said it is impossible for me to get fat anymore. Besides in his opinion, at this time I am gaining in strength, and the last juvenile features have disappeared. It's about time!

Now I sit at work. I am living in Rachkovskii's⁴⁰⁵⁾ apartment since our home is about to fall apart. I eat at three, take milk, and look forward to good health. I am becoming used to the future (and soon) Moscow where I want to strut about in a new felt hat, always shaved, and in a clean collar (fall into a swoon!). Debts have been paid, and now I just hang around and collect things for my departure. I am writing to Lesha about affairs in Moscow. Read his stories in Ogonyek, and I liked them. Transferring⁴⁰⁶⁾ immediately half to Surazh and half to Moscow. We will have a "refuge"⁴⁰⁷⁾ – we will have sufficient strength. I gave Lesha specific instructions concerning the account. I am not afraid of the dacha and even prefer it, if it is not possible to find anything good in town. In order to brighten these last minutes of separation, I will write to you, my little squirrel, every week, and tell you about my works. Now I am finishing a map of the expedition⁴⁰⁸⁾, an essay on the Western Gobi⁴⁰⁹⁾, and an essay on the Nomadic Ubur Khangai⁴¹⁰⁾.

Sent a photo "on the camel." In the following letter, I will send a picture of elegant me strutting about, and I very eagerly await your pictures, so please send them soon. Write, little darling, all the details about your life and everything, and more about Natasha. I promise you to regard and to fully carry out everything in the letter.

I so very much wish to begin a new life with you. It is awful alone! I will not write much more in order not to detain mailing this letter.

I kiss you both with great love, and long for and await your caresses, my own. Here I sometimes look with envious eyes at other people's happiness.

Greetings to the relatives and friends.

Your papa

IV 68 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, September 27, 1935.

September 27, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

(...). Finally, I received a letter from Andrei. Do you know when he is coming? He says no earlier than 3–4 months. From my calculations, this will be around May. I know too well his time frames! He sent photographs of the expedition – on a camel and the caravan. He wrote that he put on weight, was rested, and drank koumiss. He goes around, he says, in new felt hat (!) and a clean collar. I fear that with this smart appearance in his Moscow costume that he will try to get used to himself in “the Moscow image.”

I received, completely unexpectedly, a letter from Misha Andreevskii⁴¹¹ who proposed renewing our old correspondence. It seems that in his eyes Andrei and I are crowned with the romantic halo of adventure and are familiar with, and close to, the cities of the dead and the thousand-years old antiquities. It is a little like that. Down with modesty – why isn’t Andrei’s little cup (from the grave site at Noyon-uul) being sent, you know, to an expert in Paris, and why are my exhibits from Khara-khoto not being shown in the Moscow Museum? By the way, the little cup is 2,000 years old and is the only example of an inscription which indicates the date. (...).

Natasha speaks well and about everything. She often remembers her Baba and points out all sorts of things: “There is the red roof where Baba lives.” Suspecting that Mama is not happy without Papa, she hurries to sing “Chizhika” and other songs which she thinks will make Papa come home soon. It seems to me that she is very aware that other children have a Papa and that she does not. In any case, seeing Ania with her Papa she often says to me “here is the train with my Papochka on it.” (...).

We kiss you both.

M. Simukova.

IV 69 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, September 27, 1935*September 27, 1935*

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Surazh>

My lovely dear little squirrels,
Big and small!

I finally received, two days ago, the long – awaited letters, from my little wife and Mama. The post is disgraceful, and these letters have sat around here for nearly a week before reaching Uchkom. But first of all, I object to the accusation of my silence.

Near June 1, when I was in Dalanzadgad, first of all, I sent you and Mama radiograms that I was detained in the countryside for quite a long period. You did not receive any of these telegrams. It is clear that if you had, you would have been less unhappy and would have abstained from the premature funeral of your dissolute husband.

Your letters made me very happy but also pained me. I am tormented all the time by you staying in Surazh. Any change is not possible because of Natasha. Nor can I imagine how it would be for you to live in Moscow separately from Khrushchei without me⁴¹². I cannot tear myself away from here without finishing what must be done. It is absurd to go on a holiday when above all there are 4 months of work. I wrote to you in a past letter about this, and that my departure at the end of the winter depended in both instances on how the ambassador considers my departure and any further essential study.

At Uchkom, I raised the matter that there was no misunderstanding and that I hope to have “a connection” so I could bring in the prepared work while waiting for “The Essay on the Western Gobi” (Tsagaan Bogd etc.) in three printed sheets, “The Nomads of Ubur Khangai” in ½ a printed sheet, and that the task can be accomplished, and they can be processed which was not included in the plan. My current work as of yesterday to today was to start teaching geography to a small class organized by Uchkom⁴¹³. For an hour a day, I don’t need to prepare for all of 6–7 students.

I get up early – 7–8 o’clock and have my tea with milk. Then, depending on the circumstances, I either work at home, or I go to Uchkom or elsewhere. From 3–4, a lesson, then lunch. From 5–6 “reception hour” when I do all sort of things. Then a walk and the necessary visits until 8 o’clock. Home, tea, and work at my desk. I rarely drink and do not enjoy all of this – these are pitiful times. I seldom go dancing and avoid going out in the evenings. It is true, a week ago I went for the evening to the Nosovs “to attend” one of four ladies. They were full of praise.

There is still powder in the powder flasks! [Tran. meaning “there is still life in the old girls yet”]. However, the whole situation in Ulaanbaatar is different, and I consider myself completely on my own, not overcome by trifles, with my attention basically focused on my work from dawn until dusk. I usually sleep for 6 hours. I have no new interesting friends. For days, I was with people from Arkhangai and have already received letters from the countryside.

It is a wonderfully warm fall day. I long for the woods, the golden woods of the Mongolian autumn. The roe deer are already roaring. But these are sorry times. I am remembering you and Surazh, as I turn away from Bogd uul. My health is excellent, no problem with my stomach or things like that. My health was recharged in the countryside.

Now for the gossip about Ulaanbaatar and the countryside. In Ulaanbaatar they have begun to cobble the streets from the Univermag to the Militzia (the old GVO)⁴¹⁴. On the autobus, it is not permitted to stand and the stops from the front platform are based on the number of miles for women with children. Culture!

In the near future to N. P. Sh.⁴¹⁵ when I leave for Moscow. Nina Nik⁴¹⁶ came from Natzoka⁴¹⁷ to Tubend (Danara barely went to Tsandra) and went to Soyuz. Radna has a good son⁴¹⁸. She has grown stout but is as fresh as before. The Nosovs also. They are both working. Of them, Svetlana is a large and fierce marvel of a bogatyr. Nelli Gitman left. There are, by and large, fewer and fewer people. Misha⁴¹⁹ is seldom at his father's. Now we have two secretaries – one and Tserigtsin. Mergen Gombojav⁴²⁰ went to Leningrad with all of his family. He likes the Union better than here. Gava (from the museum) now works at the vinmonopoly and earns 140 tugriks. Dandar works at the auto base. So, all in all, no other remarkable news from the old days.

I have written about our friends in the countryside and will say once again that such a remote corner as Noyon-Bogd has barely changed. The people talk about the same timely things, and I do not fear being misunderstood. I talked for a long time with Sanjach, Davgadorj and others. On the return trip when we were very tired, it was good to rest for two days at the Churomovskiis. They stay together in their yurt where, in 1925, I treated an old man. So, live, running, and working. I went from yurt to yurt, drank endless amounts of koumiss, gossiped with the elders, joked with the young, played with the children, and gazed at those familiar mountains.

By the way, I was aware only in Tsagaan Bogd of all the practice I had had at that time in 1927. I went on the march route alone without a guide and, without much effort, deciphered, as if blind, enough about this confusing place where I had arrived. Until “An Essay on the Western Gobi” – there has been, up until now, little that is intelligible discovered about the region.

You are remembered everywhere with great warmth – at Orog nuur, Legin gol,

Bayan tukhume, Bayan dalai, Noyon-Bogd and Tosto. I do not remember if I wrote to you about this and sent on a photo of Tsinde⁴²¹⁾, in his yurt, where you waited for me in Tortso⁴²²⁾ while we, with Luvsanjab, went to Tsinde. From the top of Tosto I could see both of the Etziin-gol lakes. C'est la vie! Now automobiles go there from China and Xinjiang. What has happened to that endless, romantic journey of the camel caravans?!

It was very pleasant to rest at Batsar's⁴²³⁾ which felt like home. He was very pleased and Dondog and Fuchin both tried, as best they could, to show him attention and gave him presents. By the way, Dondog will soon leave for Leningrad. I asked him if it would be possible to drop in at Krushchi.

Generally, the trip this summer left me with many impressions. For the last time! In Tsagaan Bogd I heard a lot of stories about the robbers, who in their time, were considered rather romantically.

And, without you, my own little squirrel, all of this is very tedious to me. A life alone is an empty life with nothing to fill it. I will say again that it pains me to think of you sitting in Surazh. It was good to learn that Mama's arrival cheered you up a bit. Don't be angry with me about this long time, my own, as it was necessary. I now wish so very much to both caress and be caressed, and to be near and together with those close to me... I just cannot find the right words to express all of this.

I kiss you both with great affection.

Your Papa.

IV 70 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, October 27, 1935.

October 27, 1935

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

My lovely, dear little squirrel!

I was unspeakably overjoyed with your letter, the one in which there was a photograph of Natasha. (...). From the photo, she has ceased to be a baby and now has turned into a little person. This and your letters, Milia, have helped present Natasha to me in a lively and joyous manner. Cover her with kisses for me as much as your pedagogy permits.

It is very bad for me here. There is too much illness in Ulaanbaatar. I think of you and my leaving here all the time and I picture myself as a self-supporting man (it goes without saying – being my own man away from Ulaanbaatar.) Bored and tired of amusement, I seldom visit people and only with a special invitation. I almost don't want to go to the movies. Went once to the theater (in Mongolian)

and then, although I had bought a ticket, I returned home with it.

I am living for the present in the Rachkovskiis' apartment⁴²⁴⁾ in the Baranovskiis' house⁴²⁵⁾. I sometimes think of moving back to the old apartment after it has been refurbished a little. There is a lot to do as always. The assumption is that the plenipotentiary believes that the Mongolian language circles at the Minskotsem and the Government must be based on the quality of the examiners. Now this assignment has been given to begin teaching geography to the oldest classes in the Soviet school (8 hours a week), which is impossible to refuse. I was offered an extra one hundred a month for my review of the geography and my experience in teaching. However, it would be much better to do that in Moscow than here.

The basic work moves forward. I am now working on forage in the Gobi, and I am rereading your notes which recall our travels. I refer with pleasure, in the forward, to your assistance in all of this.

I sensed a faint note of regret in one of your letters as you remembered Ulaanbaatar, but don't labor this. Everything has changed, and the situation is now very different than when you were here⁴²⁶⁾. It is a rather troublesome and not very good time to be finishing up everything.

Nosov's "establishment" is active on Saturdays. I go there sometimes. Many people have left or are leaving⁴²⁷⁾.

I have had the grippe for a week and a half, but I am now fine. However, that is why I put off writing this letter until now. There is grippe all over the city and already the invective is "the gripper."

Our Sechen Khan⁴²⁸⁾ has gotten married! ... to a Buryatian cleaner (daughter of the old woman and the stoker⁴²⁹⁾ Daba.) The road in town from Univermag to the GVO and the bank has been cobbled. These certainly are the two most stunning bits of news for you!

I have already written regarding my leaving and the corresponding times in Moscow, which are subject to change⁴³⁰⁾, so I will not wait (as agreed upon). My plan of work in the current year at Uchkom was shortened somewhat owing to the long stay in the countryside. I did not assemble everything right up to the end and just gave them what was most essential.

Don't be sad, sweetheart, we will see each other soon. I well remember you are reaching 32. And I was hardly a little boy! A good trick. You have to be strong.

While finishing this letter, the charge remains for the next one.

I kiss you both.

Your nokhor⁴³¹⁾ and papa (acha).

IV 71 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, November 18, 1935.*November 18, 1935*

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

I read in the paper yesterday about the liquidation of the Torgsin.⁴³²⁾ What a shame that it was so fast. (...). If it is possible, I am asking you to buy material for Andrei's fur coat. Natashka, of course, does not have a fur coat or a demi-season overcoat, for the next year.

(...). I received a letter from Andrei who was ill with the grippe. It is very tiresome. Evidently, he is worried there and wants to leave very soon. Please God! He was delighted with what he received, and even though things were often bad, he received the card from Natashina. (...). I watch how fast Natasha is growing. She is like a four-year old in her long Mongolian fur. (...). She often remembers you and Aunt Alia. (...). She longingly awaits her Papochka and asks, "where is my Papochka?" (...).

November 19, 1935. Was at the Torgsin just now and did away with 19 rubles. Bought Andrei 3 m of cloth for his fur coat which he cannot buy there. Instead of material for a skirt. If there is a little left, then buy Alia and me a pair of good (but not silk) stockings. (...).

I kiss you both. Greetings to all.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 72 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, November 10, 1935.*November 10, 1935*

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Surazh>

My dear little sunshine!

Because of my poor health, this letter was put on the shelf for the last two-three weeks. I wrote to you earlier about my grippe which continued for a week and a half during which time I barely left home for several days. It wasn't so easy and led to a complication in my unfortunate belly, so I was "out of commission" for a while. However, here is the letter which I wrote alone, quiet on the bed! Went to V. N. Nosov for an X-ray and gloomily ate the barium sulfate kasha as I shivered from the cold frame of the apparatus. (...) V. N. found that my stomach was in good order. The one demand was that if the pain continued, I should take the

gastric juices once again (...). I had been on a salt diet for several days and just drank tea or bouillon. However, all of this was cut short on the holiday when I returned to V. N. and his apartment for some “merrymaking” which, as usual, was served by the four ladies. I am now, again, healthy and would like to say, jollier, but that is not so. I repeat that I am fed up with Ulaanbaatar, find everything irksome, and I very much long for you, my dearest, and our home together. I certainly do not foresee the possibility of my staying here⁴³³) even with you. Fortunately, I am unequivocal about leaving here, and it is possible that I can manage that earlier than I assumed. In addition, the work has not become pleasanter, and I regard it now as an obstacle to my leaving. However, in a sober moment concerning what is most essential, since I still have obligations to Uchkom, it is best that I write here, rather than at home, and so leave Mongolia with honor. In addition, I am compelled to carry out the minimal processing of all the materials in the program. I think that in the new year this program will be almost finished.

I now have a full load. Twice a week I go at ten o'clock to the Sovschool (as a teacher at the gymnasium!) in the consular settlement. The school is now located in the area of what was the Stormong⁴³⁴) opposite the Embassy. The children take a special autobus from the town, and I go with them. I rattle off the four lessons (6a, 6B, 7 and 8 classes) and hurry to the autobus for the two o'clock lesson in the Uchkom course⁴³⁵) (on the geography in the Mongolia language.) Then home and to work until late at night. When there are lessons at the Sovschool, all business in the morning. I often visit the east⁴³⁶). Generally, there is a lot to remember. I think that I wrote to you already about my activities as an examiner of the two groups in the Mongolian language. For this, I even had to go to Songin and I went in style on a Sovetnik MSZ⁴³⁷). I worked for the Headquarters – again the verification of name⁴³⁸). During these past months, I will, by and large, have worked for 500–600 tugriks. I have not been to the cinema since the creation of the world. At the Lenklub, there was a solemn meeting, and that is why I was sent a ticket. However, I go as a guest with an urgent invitation frequently once a week.

My health has been ground down. Many lost evenings when I was sick. I had received 4 printed sheets and could hardly finish all the applications for “The Forage of the Gobi.” In the background of all of this was the painful time of your several “short” letters, little squirrel, which produced the not entirely well-deserved “slap-in-the face,” which I literally and physically felt. However, I held myself back so as not to turn the very tips of my hair red under the very curious eye on N. P. Sh.⁴³⁹), who brought me the letter. Henceforth, I decided against the habit of opening letters and telegrams slowly on delivery and am more careful when they arrive.

Today, I was very anxious when I received your telegram from Moscow. How and why was it lost and why was this note about my service necessary? By the way, I have the possibility of giving you “a supplementary” translation or you can send the original. Write me what is best.

That’s enough on my infamous, little life in Ulaanbaatar. With the exception of the Nosovs, I only have casual acquaintances locally, most of whom are for business. I live in Rachkovskiis’ apartment⁴⁴⁰⁾. Our home has become dilapidated and will be pulled down in the spring. If I was to live there for two to three months, it would have simply shamed the NIK⁴⁴¹⁾ into deciding against throwing money to the winds to the tune of 400 tugriks for minimal repairs. Although they complied in relation to us. It is comfortable here. I can use the kitchen, the entrance hall, and A. L.’s room. When it was warm, I worked in Z. A.’s⁴⁴²⁾ large room, and Natsog⁴⁴³⁾ and more Mongolian children live nearby. A yurt still stands in the yard. Fuchin⁴⁴⁴⁾ lives with me and temporarily works in the cafeteria in the neighborhood. The people are the same, and we know how to keep silent and thus we speak little to one another. He helps me in household and non-official matters (firewood, laundry, etc.). I already wrote to you that on the trip he was almost completely free of his bad habits⁴⁴⁵⁾ which have not, by and large, returned. He wishes you and Natasha good health and is always interested and concerned that I can come to Moscow, and we can build our nest there.

Radna⁴⁴⁶⁾, whom I rarely see, always asks about you. Nina Arkadevna⁴⁴⁷⁾ asks me to send on her greetings to you, but I seldom see them. She works now at Vostvag⁴⁴⁸⁾. They say that Papa Misha’s⁴⁴⁹⁾ position has been precarious for some time and now it is only so-so. I am now quite conscious of the insufficient time and of being very much on my own.

After your letters about your “charming” life in Surazh, our period of separation becomes disproportionately palpable with each passing day. I think of you, my beloved, and about my life which could be pictured as me trying to escape cooking in a frying pan by quickly jumping out of it to you at home, now this very minute. However, to do so would be leaping from the frying pan into the fire and would lead to serious consequences for all of us. I think from this letter that you can see that I now have fewer sentiments about my work than in the past. Now my main thought concerns a quick and complete exit and for us to go on an eternal bivouac suitable for our age in our own true “nest.”

I kiss you fervently, my love, and my only. For at least a minute, have a little pity on your Papa and Andrei.

IV 73 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 2, 1935.

December 2, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna!

I intended to write to you on the first snow which produced a great impression on Natasha. (...). Her heart was filled with joy, and she took great delight at the abundance of the snow to roll in; she dug in the snow, threw snowballs, lay down in it, fell into it, and went sledding. I am glad that it pleases her and that she plays in it so merrily. Now she goes about in her Mongolian blue fur coat, her white fur hat and her tremendous old felt boots—quite the little person. (...). She eagerly waits for her Papa. She talks about him and about the doll which he will bring.

Today, I received a telegram from Andrei, and he wrote that the basic work is finished by the 1st of January (how much of his work isn't basic?), and he sent by fast mail the information from the November-December telegraph to Moscow. Good health and greetings to all.

Concerning a pessimistic view of life – you certainly see from my letter that my only joy and desire in life is for Natasha. Why would I put her at risk? I am not reckless in my other dealings with her, nor do I hang over her blindly, (as I hope you noticed this summer). However, since Natasha was born, there was little peace in my accursed soul – I know how easily a child can perish, and this could lead one to be very pessimistic. However, all Nataska needs is a healthy and well-organized life, and I am grateful that she now has such a life.

Things are bad without the Torgsin. There is no meat at the market because the cows have still not begun to calve. It's enough to make you cry! (...). If you do see felt boots, please buy them for me (...). It is not possible to get them in Surazh! It would be good for us to get 3 kilos of oil. (...). Try to send some.

Natasha and I both kiss you with great affection.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 74 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 18, 1935

December 18, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I received your letter, and I am very glad that you are all healthy and well. Such a

long silence always disquiets me. I received a letter from Andrei, again stomach troubles.

I am grieving about the liquidation of the rest of the “Torgsin vouchers,” which has caused us such difficulty. We can hardly go out. Now there is no money, and I am very afraid for Natasha. (...). What is there to buy but perhaps you will come across good things for men – for example, a jumper or socks. It would be good to buy him white (fabric) for a summer suit!

Natasha has grown a lot and talks about everything. (...) She misses her “Papochka.” Today she called out to him: “Papochka, come soon! Oh, how soon will our Papochka come?” It is hard to live like this. Natasha often remembers you and Aunt Alia and waits for you to return soon. Her face is already fully formed. When Andrei comes, she will already be a big little girl!

We both kiss you with affection. Greetings from Mama. Greetings to everyone.
Your M. Simukova.

IV 75 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, December 1, 1935.

December 1, 1935

Ulaanbaatar

<to Surazh>

My dear little family!

I am sending this letter by fast mail asking you, Milia, for a document. I think I have done it correctly and am sending a copy with your information to be delivered to the Embassy in your name. It is reliably from Uchkom with all the information. It might be necessary for you to furnish immediately your paper, or a copy, from Uchkom certifying your work there – I will send it immediately.

Everything comes to an end like, for example, the Torgsin. Two days ago, I sent a telegram to Moscow and, evidently, the last transfer was for the months of November and December. You know they have arranged for what remains of the Torgsin.

I am now working on few wild activities that are of a violent character; besides, I am finishing the amount of work by the new year so that everything is completed and prepared for leaving. By January 1, I will have finished everything on the nomads, the countryside, and the pastures, completed the economic atlas and polished the journal. This work goes along at full speed. After a trip to the countryside, I wrote (1) The Gobi nomads (2) The Ubur khangai nomads (3) An essay on the Western Gobi (4) The Gobi pasturage (5) The Khangai pasturage – including 15 printed leaves (450 pages).

This is my schedule: 8 hours a week – the Sovschool, 12 hours – Uchkom

courses, and now 2 courses in Mongolian given for 8 hours a week – with occasional lectures promised. It goes without saying that I am paid for all of this. As always, I do most of my work in the evenings or at night. I sleep 5, and not more than 6, hours. I run around for absolutely nothing and only in the direction of the Nosovs where I am very well treated.

I think of nothing except leaving here. Enough! Quarreling! It seems there are no unforeseen obstacles to my departure, so we can count the remaining days. The time at work goes quickly – day after day and week after week – only whistling in the air. I hope to think that by the autumn of next year in Moscow, it will be possible to have found the time to breathe a little, and to stop racing around and to start looking around.

All I want now is to be near you, my children! My life now is so uncomfortable and homeless.

I am hurrying now to finish this letter.

Your Papa.

IV 76 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 28, 1935.

December 28, 1935

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I wish you a Happy New Year, good health, and all the very best. (...).

Today, I received a parcel from you. Many, many thanks for it and for everything. Natasha is now all dressed up in her woolen stockings, felt shoes, and scarf. (...).

I received a telegram and a letter from Andrei with the promised certification. He says he will get everything together for leaving at the end of January and wrote that obstacles for his departure are to be expected. He works a great deal and does not write much about his health. It is probably only a bit better for him to say it was good.

How are things – from your frame of mind to your health? (...). I don't remember if I wrote you that Liuba⁴⁵⁰, from my money, bought at the Torgsin stockings and other things for Olechka⁴⁵¹. I am very pleased that Alia and Liuba bought things (...). I kiss you with affection. Good health and write to your granddaughter and daughter-in-law.

Greetings to the young.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 77 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, January 14, 1936.*January 14, 1936*

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna,

I arrived very well, having taken the second berth, and we lay down all the way. They stole from me (for the first time in all of my trips!) all the newspapers and magazines that I had bought at the station for Natasha to cut out the pictures. The evening, as always, was joyful. (...). The mandarins left quite an impression, and I heard all the time- “Mama, give me a little mandarin.” She also enjoyed the delicious chocolate and ham. (...). She remembered “Baba Tata” from before and even asked her to tell the story about Moscow and Grandma Natasha. Today, we decorated the New Year’s tree with her, and tomorrow there will be guests for Natasha. The tree was brought from the forest, and Grandfather Mitya strengthened the trunk. (...). She enthusiastically pasted together little chains and baskets for the pine tree. (...). I “made a visit” yesterday, and of course was entertained with pictures! The main thing here, as in Moscow, when several people gather, is to dance. (...). But I am sick and tired of being a stray. I have been on my own on this trip to Moscow, and I do not like being alone. It was not a good time at Zhenya’s⁴⁵² (just between us!) but a melancholy time for me. No more going anywhere, anytime alone! (...). I do hope that my husband (...) will arrive for the tenth anniversary of our life together. In March, it will be ten years! He will be late, as usual!

Write us sometime soon. Greetings from Mama.

M. S.

IV 78 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, (February 1936).*February 1936⁴⁵³*

<Ulaanbaatar>

<to Surazh>

My lovely sweethearts and rays of sunshine,
big and small!

As the days go by, it pains and sickens me to sit in Urga where I can only think about you and cannot hear Natasha’s voice or her joyous footfalls, caress the merry little creature, tell her a story at bedtime, and feel ourselves a family with the only people who are close to me. I want to give and receive the tenderness that I feel. What can I say about this! I think it is well understood.

I do not entirely believe what you, Milia, think about my prolonged stay here. I want you to know that I am sitting here because of you. Your words about my “returning on my shield” and not visa-versa, have left a strong impression on me which has been imprinted on my mind. I wrote to you earlier that all such sentiments... had disappeared a long time ago and now I am with you in Moscow, Leningrad, in a word – the Union. I want, however, to return with my completed works in my luggage and not just with scraps.

So, in regard to this, things stand as follows: I finished reviewing, working on, and correcting all the journals; finished selecting and looked over the lesser works (not counting the journal articles, about 25 have accumulated); finished those concerning the forage and the pastures (two new works and reworked an old one); finished those on the nomads and the countryside (three works). Two purely geographical works remain (Gobi and Khangai) as well as drawing the diagrams for the Economic Atlas.

The work these days on the forage in the Gobi is, essentially, finished but there was more to write, and the result is a voluminous manuscript of 300 pages (11 printers’ sheets). One chapter, (“The Analysis of the Bayan tukhumskoï hollow”), was written completely from your material. I consider this work “the best” like my “Geography.” I crammed as much as I could into it. It was difficult to cover all the sites in the Khangai pastures – those that you and I didn’t examine, but Mikhalevskii did⁴⁵⁴). However, we managed. So, my baggage will consist of the following:

1. The edited journals 1927⁴⁵⁵), 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32⁴⁵⁶)
2. The complete geography: “The geographical essay on the MPR”⁴⁵⁷)
 “A short geography of the MPR”⁴⁵⁸)
 “Geographical atlas of the MPR”⁴⁵⁹)
 “Economic atlas of the Gobi MPR”
3. Specific geographies: “The Outskirts of the Gobi”
 “The Central Khangai”
 “The Western Gobi”⁴⁶⁰)
4. The Pastures: “The Complex system of vegetation in the MPR”⁴⁶¹) (together with Baranov)⁴⁶²)
 “The Gobi pastures”⁴⁶³)
 “The Khangai pastures”⁴⁶⁴)
5. The Nomads and the countryside: “The nomads and the countryside in Ikh-Tamir”⁴⁶⁵)
 “The nomads and the countryside in Gurban Saikhan”⁴⁶⁶)
 “The nomads of Ubur Khangai”⁴⁶⁷)
6. Different Works: around 25 short notes in all.

“Map of the monasteries”⁴⁶⁸⁾

“Mongolian cartography,”⁴⁶⁹⁾ etc.

7. Journal articles: also about 25 and with all the short works about 50.

I underlined the work that is still unfinished. The complete number of printers’ sheets – really, more than a little over a hundred.

Roughly, during a month I did, really (they came to meet me about this), current reports⁴⁷⁰⁾ about my work at Uchkom and the Embassy, and I do not want to go into the history of this issue and the specific results (which, above all, are advantageous.) Enough of being modest!

It must be said that even with all of these enumerated works I have far from exhausted the supply. There are several, both in geography and the economy, that I am taking with me to the Union to use in a dissertation towards this last advanced academic degree. Besides this (dream! dream!), if only some of this material is possible for those evenings, while Natasha is asleep. I hope to quietly sit encircled by you, occupied by belles lettres, under, perhaps the influence of Leshino. I have an idea for a story and maybe it will be attractive to a scenarist. But enough about work.

What can I write that is good about Ulaanbaatar? The winter is cruel now and is only letting up a little. For the past two months, the frost stung at 30–40 °C, and there were many instances of people freezing. In the southern Gobi, disaster for people when a huge amount of snow fell. I was glad that I had not set out for the countryside – there is little pleasure in travelling during such frigid times! Uchkom has given me firewood several times (I swear, just don’t faint) and, at every chance, I just sit around. I live at the Baranovskiis (see note 425) in Anastasia Lavrentevna’s room (A. L. Smolianovna – coworker on the geological detachment in 1931–1933). They put in a little cast iron stove, thank heaven. Fuchin – next door, in the kitchen. We don’t crowd or mix with each other and live like old friends who can keep their silence for several days.

I am loaded up: at school (the Soviet) – 12 hours a week (3 days, 4 lessons), in the Uchkom course – 8 hours a week and, socially, I am the secretary for the permanent meeting of the teachers and the senior circle. True, all of this is, money.

I was indisposed for a short time – it was a kind of angina, but not in the throat but in the mouth. Swollen gums, glands, etc. Enough – I sat at home and wrote and wrote and wrote. Now, I don’t wish to slave away anymore. I am in good shape and not sick. Wonderful!

It is amusing to describe “the gymnasium teachers.” Fate really does play with people and people do blow their own horns as Ostap Bender says. [Tran. a fictional con man and the main anti-hero in the novels “The Twelve Chairs” and “The Little Golden Calf” by Ilya Ilf and Yevgenii Petrov]. Questions, marks,

scheduled lessons, class registers, notebooks to be corrected. And one's colleagues – I teach teachers the Mongolian language. Everything is set up strictly – marks, etc. They blush and they pant while putting together phrases and confuse “abxu” and “yahxu,” and say “bakhugii” and “zaxadir” etc. The second group – the geological secret service (Nilitin and Ko).

I am praised for the Uchkom courses. I had to create the course and dictate it in written form. The Darga⁴⁷¹⁾ was sly and smirked and told me that I had enough students but Tsandri-buryat did not understand.

In the New Year, I met with the Nosovs at the Petukhovs, which wasn't so bad. It wound up that I spent three-four days with the Nosovs. Generally, there were few people. By the way, V. N. Tikhanov often showed up. By and large, though, I don't gad about much and when I do it is only selectively or “by necessity.” I have completely stopped visiting Tubianskii.

On the days of the birth and death of his daughter, I visited Aleksei Turutano⁴⁷²⁾, (I received a telegram from Altana⁴⁷³⁾). I sometimes get letters from friends in the countryside. Here, they are all, by and large, from Ulaanbaatar.

Generally speaking, I have risen above my former tone – (the illness, once again, spoiled the effect)-but the major role was played by your more tranquil letters for which I thank you.

And generally (...) there is a change of atmosphere⁴⁷⁴⁾. Fortunately, (and I hope mutually) we can go from counting the months to counting the days.

I kiss you both with great affection.

Your ghost of Hamlet's father

Andrei.

Fuchin sends you greetings and wants to send something to Natasha. Send her size quickly.

Greetings and best regards to everyone.

IV 79 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, March 10, 1936.

March 10, 1936

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

Natasha and I are very pleased to now be living in a new apartment. Mama remains in the old one alone – while she is not selling honey. Natasha, as usual, is constantly examining and becoming acquainted with everything and announces: “it is so nice here, and so pleasant.” She is adjusting very well to the new place and everything seems to have won her heart and delight her. I am glad that she is able

to adapt to all these changes but am nervous about Moscow. (...).

Hasn't Andrei arrived yet? You are waiting for him in vain. Summer, and there is still one "last" expedition. Such is life! We all are bidding him farewell and God be with him. Worse than that. He regrets missing so many interesting parts of Natasha's life.

What is the latest news about the Simukovs? How are you feeling? Have you been relieved of some of your lessons? I hope so. (...). It is good that the heart is behaving well and hasn't yet burnt itself out.

Natasha has masses of new words and expressions. (...). She gets in the way at OGIZ⁴⁷⁵⁾ and is always asking for the "Russian Popular Tales," which we saw in a friend's collection of old stories. She loves little books and stories.

We kiss you both. Write to us. My address is: Surazh, of course, Belorusskaya Street 6, House Grigory Afanasevich Panus (this is "Panusevka"). To me.

Milia.

IV 80 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, March 23, 1936.

<March 23, 1936>⁴⁷⁶⁾

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

We received your letter which Natasha constantly carries close to her heart. It was good to hear about the scarlet fever, and I will refrain from moving. (...).

Why did you write the letter to Andrei? Was it, in all likelihood, because Nosov said that he would not soon bestir himself? I wrote him last in mid-February but was also afraid that the letter might not reach him there. What naivete on my side! In the end, you know him better than anyone. He may receive a dozen letters. (...). Ekaterina Feodorovna Nosov sends greetings from me; she is a very lively and cheery woman. She saw Natasha when she was still a little baby and was sympathetic about the period of swaddling.

Natasha and I live quietly now. (...). Our landlords, grandfather and grandmother, are quiet and good people who spend time with Natasha, worry about her and her health. (...). Our grandfather has two gardens – one near the house and the other on a promontory along the river. (...). To Natasha's joy, there will soon be a little calf. However, she is quite dismayed by the bees and says "Grandfather, tell the bees not to sting!" (...).

Again, I am asking you to send a little money. Each time, I think to myself, that "when Andrei arrives here" little by little we will put everything in order. Impossible! For God's sake, write down all my debts.

Write about both of you and what you are doing. How is Olechka? What does she say? (...). We both kiss you with affection. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna.

M. Simukova.

Today, March 23, is the anniversary of Alek's death.

IV 81 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, March 31, 1936.

March 31, 1936

Telegram

From Urga

to Surazh

Have been ill for two weeks with the grippe. I am going to the Gobi to rest for two weeks. I kiss you both. All is well, Andrei.

IV 82 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, March 31, 1936.

March 31, 1936

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

I received just now this telegram (for the telegram See document IV 81) enclosed in this letter. I can't increase this to him anymore and he knows, because I wrote to him, our situation (especially monetary) (...).

P.S. A thought about "the last" expedition crossed my mind and disappeared.

IV 83 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya Simukova, April 10, 1936.

<April 10, 1936>

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

Today I received the money (200 rubles), many thanks. The post held on to it for a whole week. We have no news. We live from day to day. Snow fell up to our knees today. Natasha is healthy. (...) She isn't good all the time now, so sometimes I have to be strict with her, which is hard for me, because I also want to protect her gentleness and her good character. I lead a joyless life, and without a perspective and a plan, the outlook is tedious. I vainly keep myself amused with "here comes Andrei..." He always was, is, and will be like this. He has achieved everything through his own strength and endless efforts while also expending more than thrice his (and my) time. I do know that everything between us will be as before, and then, maybe even a bit more. (...). And it is remarkable that this really

is not premeditated egotism! The man has certainly come to believe (by my letter) that all is well for me in Surazh, since it has been calm for so many years. I wrote that we are “satisfied to be provided with shoes and clothes,” which seems to have quieted him if only for a few months. It is interesting to note the complete absence of thought about how the postponement of his arrival affects the victim. (...).

We both kiss you with great affection. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. Greetings to you from Mama.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 84 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 17, 1936.

<April 17, 1936>

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

(...) Natasha is healthy and happy and walks a lot. (...). She often amazes me with something new: if they say “egg yolk” then “egg white” must be said. She counts – fourth, seventh, etc. She has been quite successful recently in quoting from memory some poems in her little book. (...) It is very tempting for Natasha to come to Moscow on May 1. The radio would give her a lot of pleasure, and she loves music and singing. I can’t say if we are coming, as there is whooping cough and grippe everywhere. (...).

Concerning Andrei (...)– in Mongolia I often reacted like this: I was not such a valued person as Andrei, nor could I give as much to the work as Andrei could, which consequently was a detriment to his progress and the creation of the productive work from which he would grow. (...). Now, he cannot bid farewell to his beloved places of beauty, but don’t I also admire them? Am I also not unhappy that I, too, saw them for the last time? (...). I often talked about this with him and told him that he was guilty of both obstinacy and some sort of weak will, which was not good for our life together. I (poor lamb!) had planned to live in Surazh for 6, and at the most, for 9–10 months. Otherwise, I never would have left. I don’t work here because “Andrei is coming,” and it will be easier to move when I am not constrained. It is infuriating to receive a letter once in six or four months when he promised to write every week. (...). So, I am finally all worn out. (...). I want a family and not this eternal waiting. (...). And it is already so difficult for Natasha without a father, although she has become used to it. In addition, I am not just the mother of Natashina – I am also a living person who wants to finally enjoy herself and laugh. I haven’t been to the theater for ten years, nor to a good exhibition or concert. By the way, I treated him at 26-years-old to the Rachmaninov “Mass” ...

(...). I have accumulated many offenses and grievances which are entirely undeserved. (...).

We both kiss you. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. Greetings from Mama.

M. Simukova.

IV 85 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya Simukova, (April-May 1936).

<April- May 1936⁴⁷⁷> Telegram

Urga

Moscow

Received letter from Milina and sent Milia 500 on the day it arrived in addition-full stop – as for school, I finish on June 15 – preparing departure for health reasons – telegraph – health and greetings to all. Andrei

IV 86 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya Simukova, May 9, 1936

May 9, 1936

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I haven't written to you for a while. Natasha is healthy, runs about, is jolly, and is a little sunburned. It is summer here already, everything has turned green, and soon the garden will be in bloom. (...). Natasha still wears the red bow in her hair, which delighted her on May 1st. On that day, we went to the demonstration where we saw and heard everything, and she met children she knew. They ran about, gamboled on the grass, while from the rostrum the words peeled forth. The meeting took place in a garden near a former new church, which is now a movie house. (...)

Papa has begun to be forgetful. It is, of course, understandable, that any fire will go out without support. Now Andrei has been detained by the school where he teaches in the Mongolian language. In the Gobi, he was detained by a blizzard... Sometimes all of this is funny to me, still, however, it is mostly sad. (...). If you would consider coming to us to rest in Surazh (and it would be worth your coming because summer is very nice here), write early so I can try to find a room near us. (...).

All the best. Write often, if only a word. We kiss you both. Greetings from Mama.

M. Simukova.

IV 87 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, May 22, 1936.*May 22, 1936*

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I have heard nothing from you—how are you? (...). Maybe some of the letters I have written have gotten lost which isn't unusual here. (...).

There was a telegram from Andrei at the end of April. He asked where to send the money. I answered but nothing. I am uncomfortable and worry that Uchkom inquired about him last year. We wait. Summer...The last expedition...On the other hand, there is typhoid, which rages during the summer. (...).

We kiss you both.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 88 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, June 19, 1936.*June 19, 1936*

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

I received your letter today and was shocked by the death of Tatina. I am speechless. It is awful about everything that has happened to them. I feel sorry for Zhenya⁴⁷⁸). Natasha wondered if Baba Natasha had offended me because I cried as I read your letter. I had to lie to her.

Natasha has grown a lot. She swims for a long time every day. Come and we will go with her to the river. (...).

Andrei sent me another telegram in which he said that the matter of the departure is going well and then advised me to have “a little patience.” He has been silent since June 1. And for me to have a bit more patience! I have had, in my opinion, the patience of the dead in regard to all circumstances related to him. Under no circumstances will I ever be in a situation to make those efforts to return him to his family. Before the birth of Natasha, we talked “about life” and how to prevent the family from breaking up, and he made a little promise to live for his family. (...) For example, he hasn't written a letter in several months. (...). The telegrams he sends are very affectionate (and very rare) and then off he goes some place, where he can't write – nothing to force him.

I am bad to write all this to you, but I can't be quiet any longer. Two years of

waiting, hoping, and agitation. And what about the apartment – when and where is it? Should I go, perhaps, and look for a winter haven in Surazh? I am worn out from this life with so few prospects. And besides everything else, starved for money! It is good there is credit for the apartment and for milk. Ah, to talk like this. Write to me often, and all will be well. (...).

Come – Mama went to Marie’s in Moscow, and we can live here comfortably. Grandfather catches fish, Grandmother has a cow, milk, curds, sour cream can be brought fresh to us. It is green everywhere, and the river is nearby. Could, perhaps, Alia come? Natasha remembers her so fondly from last summer. (...). Could that good-for-nothing father of the family bestir himself? He could settle all of this discord and keep a silent watch. (...). I kiss you both strongly. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna. Write and don’t be sad. All will turn out alright.

M. Simukova.

IV 89 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, June 26, 1936.

June 26, 1936

Telegram

from Urga

to Surazh

Everything is going well -full stop- at the beginning of July I received all of 2000 as a travel pass- full stop - received the rubles for 100% of the subsidy from the beginning of the year, and I am taking measures so that you receive it in Moscow- full stop- finishing the collection- full stop- Uchkom asked to prepare the exhibition of the fifteenth year of the revolution all in very good health kisses until a meeting soon. Andrei.

IV 90 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, June 26, 1936.

June 26, 1936

<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natasha Yakovlevna,

(...) I am sending you the telegram I received from Andrei (see document IV 89). If everything goes well for the departure and for the exhibition here... (...). The fifteenth year of the revolution will be celebrated simultaneously as Naadam⁴⁷⁹⁾ and it is a very solemn military-national holiday occurring in July. An exhibition is, of course, necessary for the holiday, as are all the preparations including the rewards⁴⁸⁰⁾ and maybe Andrei will be delayed altogether. (...) Don’t be sad, I still

wish to see him. Generally, “it will all work out” (his favorite expression), but at first there will be a big battle. Can I, once in two years, give vent to my feelings? (But don’t be scared – it isn’t at all frightening like on paper. Your great son usually arrives when I am already completely “unconscious”). (...). Andrei reports about the grant, which is very good, but he must still receive it himself. Yegorova told me that everything received in Moscow is a percentage of the pay. (...).

It is the best time to come to us. If you plan to, telegraph us, the train runs again at night and I can meet you. (...). If you wish to bring Natasha a game, bring a watering can, she dreams about one and those here are too large. (...). And regarding the coordination of your visit with Andrei’s arrival – telegraph him. Greetings to Olga Yakovlevna.

Your M. Simukova.

IV 91 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, September 1, 1936.

September 1, 1936
from Ulaanbaatar

Telegram

to Surazh

Warm greetings, and I kiss my dear little daughter Natasha and well wishes to all friends-full stop- Uchkom finished⁴⁸¹⁾ on condition of a monthly trip to the Gobi⁴⁸²⁾ to film-full stop- and with luck I will get many pictures for my participation and the scenario to go to the Union and abroad-full stop- leave the third at the same time giving over the drawing up of documents all is well-full stop- all documents about receiving money sent dip telegraphing Mama I beg for strong kisses from both and send a letter Papa.

IV 92 M. A. Simukova – to N. Ya. Simukova, September 1, 1936.

September 1, 1936
<Surazh>

<to Moscow>

Dear Natalia Yakovlevna,

(...). How did you go to spend the day in Unech? Write. There was a fire on our street the day before yesterday, and it burned two of the houses opposite. (...). The emergency people were terrible, but it all turned out well for us, although the straw roof of the barn caught fire. In spite of being frightened, I showed my usual efficiency and good management, but Natasha (...) watched in silence, it stuck in her mind, and she retained traces of that fear. I quickly turned her over to a girl and ordered them to move further away. (Then I saw that the girl, with Natasha,

had been jostling about near the horses). I then grabbed two people to help carry things out and so, in a word, everything was removed and again in the evening, so nothing was lost or stolen. I caught a bad cold, but Natasha did not suffer much at all. It is a pity about Savelevnina's home – however, I began to gather things together to help her move. (...).

Received a telegram from Andrei (...) I am sending on the document. In all honesty, I have thought about his silences. They are a bad sign and mean that he is off somewhere. I have had no possibility of breathing fire at him by telegraph during these past days. This time he is acting slyly. You know I hardly wrote you or Alia that he is still going to the Gobi. He simply cannot bid it farewell. It is easier to part from us. (...).

Now down to business. Yesterday I received 100 rubles. Probably from Lesha. Thank you. I can pay the landlady. (...). This evening I will clarify things concerning the apartment. The landlady is interested in waiting for the arrival of Andrei and our leaving. Now this interest has diminished a bit. I ran into Philip Andreivich today – he has a room for rent for the winter. Why take another apartment if I am leaving in 2–3 months? (...). And to move to Moscow and live in a dacha, perhaps alone with Natasha, frightens me. Firewood. Sawing. Chopping. Lugging. This seems not to be for me⁴⁸³⁾. (...).

Don't be upset anymore by Andrei. (...) We kiss you both strongly.

Milia.

IV 93 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, October 17, 1936.

October 17, 1936

Telegram

from Urga

to Surazh

Returned today from an interesting trip⁴⁸⁴⁾ in excellent condition today-full stop-not clear to telegraph for several days-full stop- telegraph health reception of money news kiss both Andrei.

IV 94 A. D. Simukov – M. A. Simukova, (November-December 1936).

November- December, 1936

Telegram

from Urga

*to Moscow*⁴⁸⁵⁾

Go to meet at Kaliaev street 6 apt. 114-a (k) daughter of advisor Vorobev⁴⁸⁶⁾ leaving Mongolia communication necessary-full stop- telegraph your address⁴⁸⁷⁾ subscriptions to paper greetings Papa.

IV 95 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, (December 12, 1936).*<December 12, 1936>**Telegram**Ulaanbaatar**Moscow*

Confirm telegraph reception of transfer power of attorney in Milia's name at Mama's address-full stop- healthy autumn had long holiday at health resort-full stop-kiss Mama Natasha and Milia - Greetings to all- Andrei.

IV 96 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, (January 6, 1937).*January 6, 1937**Telegram**from Ulaanbaatar**to Moscow*

I am reporting on the days of my date of leaving the reason for-full stop-concern the very important demands of negotiations having been communicated in case of need telegraph Uchkom Vorobev-full stop- with Uchkom finished ⁴⁸⁸⁾ I leave for the countryside on urgent business for another organization⁴⁸⁹⁾ full stop refused I asked to support serious trip. I kiss you – Andrei.

IV 97 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, June 6, 1937⁴⁹⁰⁾.*June 6, 1937**Telegram**from Urga**to Moscow*

Letter received -full stop-Vorobev came (to) urgent Kommandirovka (official visit) to Moscow's third village by courier (train to) Ulan-Ude -full stop- without fail exit (to) China See each other and receive parcel strong kisses to you both yours (in) all situations⁴⁹¹⁾-Andrei.

IV 98 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, (June 1, 1937).*June 1, 37⁴⁹²⁾**<Ulaanbaatar>**<to Moscow>*

My dearest Milia and Natasha!

Pavel Ivanovich Vorobev is hurriedly leaving for Moscow on an official matter. I am using this opportunity to provide you with news about all matters and circumstances that relate to me. P(avel) I(vanovich) knows everything about my

life, past and present, and so you can talk to him without feeling shy. For this reason, I will not write in detail in this letter since he will tell you everything.

The entire story of this delayed departure has weighed heavily on me, and I have recently⁴⁹³⁾ begun to experience real apprehension regarding Mongolia⁴⁹⁴⁾, and the subsequent delay hangs like a cross over my future and all of the second half of my life. Therefore, it must be understood that, by all means I will be in Moscow depending on my departure⁴⁹⁵⁾. These people understand your situation, especially as I am always sending you telegrams and letters.

Most important, my darling, is that I do not enjoy my life faraway and without you and strongly hope that we can wipe away the memories of these difficult years of our irksome separation. Grasping all of this, I cannot live the life of a scoundrel and face my own family. I beg you, Milia, that in the future, you do not just witness my efforts but help me to adjust quickly to our life together.

I kiss you deeply. Your papa.

IV 99 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, (September 2, 1937)⁴⁹⁶⁾.

December 2, 1937

Telegram

from Urga

to Moscow

How is Natasha(?) My birthday greetings to her sent by telegraph four hundred power of attorney by post health I kiss you Andrei.

IV 100 The Autobiography of Simukov⁴⁹⁷⁾, September 11, 1937.

In order to fully shed light on myself, and on the other hand, supply a possible answer to the basic question⁴⁹⁸⁾, I consider it advisable to begin with a not large “curriculum vitae.”⁴⁹⁹⁾

Place of birth – Leningrad, year of birth – 1902.

Father – Dmitrii Andreevich Simukov⁵⁰⁰⁾ came from the peasantry in Mogilevskii gubernia, Klimovuchskovo district, Moshevskoi volost, village of Sigeevka. Grandfather – Andrei Minich – went to a neighboring landowner and, knowing how to arrange a cheap sale of land for himself and his fellow villagers, went on to make this land prosperous. There was little poverty, and the kulaks were not noted for any great wealth. During my time there, I knew of no landowner who had more than 40 desiatins of land. My father began school and entered the gymnasium in Mogilev (?). However, grandfather married for the second time unsuccessfully as his wife was an extravagant woman, and so while in the 5th class father had to continue his studies in another way. He preferred the custom at the time of being a rehearsal – gymnast and then went on as a poor student in Petersburg. On finishing

the university, he entered government service where he served for 20–25 years. However, his origins hampered his success, although he served as a state advisor and outstripped many of his long-time colleagues. He worked at the Ministry of Finance before the revolution and was the chief bookkeeper at Goskomiss, liquidating the debt. He never lost his ties to his village, sent money there, and often helped when it was in debt. He dreamed, when he left his work, of retiring on his pension to live on his farm and look after his home.

My mother – the daughter of Dr. Jacob Miller⁵⁰¹). Grandfather Yakov – a Latvian from the lower class, left his apothecary apprenticeship and worked as a doctor in St. Petersburg for many years until the end of his life (he had his own dacha and carriage). Babushka⁵⁰²) Ieger, half-German, half-Russian-was born in Pribaltika and was raised as a companion in a wealthy family. There were many children, and all were typical bourgeois intellectuals primarily in the mode of k-d⁵⁰³). One of them⁵⁰⁴) was a railway engineer, the other – Sergei Miller⁵⁰⁵) – the captain of the cruiser Dobflot (anchored at Port Arthur), and the third, Andrei,⁵⁰⁶) was a military doctor and, evidently, an intelligence officer during the time of Russian imperialism, as he often went to live in Persia and traveled around Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf. Finally, there is still one son who is well known in the history at the beginning of this century and who was an eminent diplomat, especially in Mongolia. This is – Alexander Miller⁵⁰⁷), who represented the Russian side in the negotiations about Mongolia's autonomy. However, to move on from them (except for the last one), it can only be said that they all died during the Revolution and that A. Ya. Miller emigrated abroad. Besides him, Aleksei Miller⁵⁰⁸) served on the Sovvlavst in Narkomfin and Gosspirt and died after I left for Mongolia.

Mother⁵⁰⁹) and aunt⁵¹⁰) both followed a progressive path and became teachers, refusing a comfortable domestic existence.

Our family was obliged by our father to live rather modestly, so Mother took in boarders, gave lessons etc., and I taught in the 3rd Petersburg gymnasium. My basic interest which determined my present activities was my passion for natural history and geography. Father led me in this direction and inculcated my love of nature and the study of it. I was 8-years-old when he gave me Kozlov's book about his expeditions to Central Asia and from that time on, I began to be interested in this part of our earthly sphere. Przhevalskii, Kozlov, S. Hedin were my heroes. I studied them well (and Father strictly followed all of this) and read a great deal. The friendly environment at the gymnasium was, specifically, bourgeois and intellectual. There were also quite a few well-known aristocratic families (Baron Nolde, Prince Trubetskoi, Prince Galitsyn, etc.) and I had the opportunity to

visit some of them in their homes. However, my closer circle of friends grew out of our mutual interest in natural science, and this led me to “the famous” names of ordinary intellectuals. In preparation for the role of explorer and researcher, I already, at 12-years-old, had studied how to produce the simplest form of map-case or plane-table, I knew all species of birds in the environs of Petersburg, and I wrote “a geographical overview” of the places where we had dachas where we lived during the summer. Already during the time of the “Imperialist War,” I had become a Boy Scout (at that time the organization was quite popular.) In the summer of 1917, I went with the Boy Scouts to do agricultural work in the Ukraine while the family spent the summer in the village of father’s birthplace.

October burst forth and as we sat at home, father took part in the massive sabotage of civil servants, the majority of whom went back to work, even if not sympathetic to the Soviet powers. Then came the hard winter of 1917–1918. Spring came as a relief to Petrograd, and the establishment of the evacuation to Nizhii (Novgorod). However, the situation had started to change rapidly, so our parents decided to take the family to the village and to settle there. Father went to work in Moscow, and we settled on the land with Mother. We had to divide this land with the brothers and father’s share included 10 desiatin of semi-neglected and worn-out fields and meadows, a shed in ruins, and half a cottage. There was neither cattle nor livestock. Everything had to start from the beginning, and there was very little money to do that. Mother taught in the neighboring village and did all the women’s work on the farm while I did all of the men’s work. My brother, and especially my sister, were still children, and I was only 16-years-old. There was a lot of work to do for unskilled hands and without any help. I quickly mastered the wisdom of the village and within the year even began to work for the neighbors (with the mowing.) It was difficult at first, and then I more or less took hold and rather quickly grasped our new situation and threw myself into it. It must be said that this healthy work life during this period imprinted itself on my consciousness, supplanting the poor reminiscences of my Petersburg childhood.

I stayed at home during the winter of 1918–1919 (I had contracted tuberculosis), and so I finished in the nearby town⁵¹¹⁾ in the last group with a second degree. At first, I clashed with those in political life here. A heated article by one of the Party workers (I remember his family name even now) and his solution which made him the target of the town’s philistines when he asked the question: “Who is with us-who is against us? There is no middle!” There was also at this time the situation with the Poles (who were only 100 km away), and all of this awaited me at the Komsomol. At home, father grumbled (he had already stopped working and as a semi-invalid, lived at home), and Mother supported me. Unfortunately, little came of my endeavors. The little village was narrow-minded,

the organization was without a rudder and a direction, no one was interested in or engaged with me, nor did anyone in the Komsomol have the presence of mind to create any sort of firm base. In the following summer (1920) there was the execution of a voluntary mobilization and in spite of all those years in the Komsomol, it was not known what was needed to do this properly. I completed this and then was urgently needed at home for the hard work of summer.

Since further study was necessary, with a heavy burden on my shoulders, in 1920 I left for Moscow where my aunt lived. I had decided not to study natural history at that time and began to attend a technical institution of higher education. One of the teachers at the Lomonosov Institute advised me to attend the course at Higher School of military auto-technology⁵¹², on the same premises. My papers and learning were accepted as sufficient, and I began the military course, although there was little of the military in this course. I studied as a “volunteer conscript” and so there was not a course from the organization of the Komsomol, and I was transferred to become a candidate of the VKP9(b). I felt like a “man of the plow” and frequently forgot when asked questions about some measure of Soviet power for the peasantry. It must be said, no one helped me, and I alone did not know how to enter into Party work, and my candidacy offered little. The courses did not last very long and, for me as a volunteer-conscript, they finished at the end of the winter, so, (until call-up) I had a break and went home. I was then stupid and cannot forgive myself even now because I did not register at the district organization of mechanics and so became a casualty for a candidacy. I was motivated, basically, by a fear of a long stay in the district (in addition to spending the summer here) and being appointed to an organization which would have made it impossible for me to continue my studies. There were examples of this in the Komsomol and the Party in my circle.

Having spent the summer working at home, I went to Moscow again (in my bast shoes and a “pood” (about 36 pounds) of flour on my shoulder and thanks to the little record book of the military course, even without an exam I entered the first course at the Electro-Mechanical institute in the name of Lomonosov⁵¹³). I found an apartment and food and worked as a night watchman for an auto repair workshop. By the beginning of 1922, I had received several lessons and had left the workshop, more or less, and a landlord – a former Kadet – from the military course, arranged a room for me. Such was my student life.

At the beginning of 1923 when I had finished the second course at the Institute, I was thunder struck to see a notice about a lecture by the traveler/explorer Kozlov who, as reported in the newspaper, was preparing for a new expedition. All the old dreams from my childhood and youth about Central Asia and Tibet resurfaced, and I abandoned the Institute and applied to Kozlov to participate in his expedition,

although I did not at that time see him personally. However, I was not hopeful, and I tried to stick together with three Mongolians who had already been accepted out of the 400 applications from which only 1–2 more would be taken. Then I decided to go to Kozlov and “finagle my way,” calculating that he knew my uncle Alexander Miller who was of a prerevolutionary frame of mind and that he would take into account my family and this would enhance my case. Relying on Kozlov’s good mood after one of his lectures, I took advantage of the moment and asked him if he knew Miller and about the joy of the new Kozlov expedition. In addition, I told him that my uncle had asked me to send him his best wishes for success. Nothing was said, and such letters seemed a fantasy. In fact, Kozlov had recommended me, and I became the future traveler.

From the 400, it seemed that I was the only one craving to go on this trip to Tibet. I was supported in this by my late babushka who wrote about her son, A. Ya. Miller, and so now I could answer for Kozlov, the questions about where he lived, what he did, and what he felt. Kozlov begged me to write a letter to Miller about the possibility of obtaining binoculars. As I recall, my uncle answered that there were no binoculars, and the correspondence ended.

On September 26, 1923 P. K. Kozlov’s expedition left for the Soviet-Mongolian border. It must be said that there was certainly Soviet activity related to this: a passport for the participants, funds, equipment, the stamp, and the commissar (D. M. Ubugunov), already attached to it in Kyakhta. Undoubtedly, Kozlov deliberately selected travelers without a party, or those who were not well-versed in the concepts of scientific work, merit etc., and all of us were completely dependent on him. The interaction of this leader with his subordinates, his domestic regime, and his system of sycophancy and being shadowed (he inspected our correspondence) were completely based on prior expeditions. One kept quiet so as not to be chucked out on the cusp of one’s long-awaited goal – the expedition. An earlier image of this hero-traveler P. K. Kozlov has been tarnished in the eyes of his fellow travelers who have basically, from the beginning, enabled him to do his work.

As is known, the expedition to Tibet did not happen. A question arose in the middle of the winter about its complete liquidation and subsequently Kozlov decided to extend his work in Mongolia. Most of the participants (about 20) were dismissed and returned to the Union. Eight people remained, and my dearest friends on the expedition implored him to include me.

The work of excavating the grave at Noyon-uul began in the spring of 1924, and the workers included Kondratiev, Danilenko, and me. We lived in the woods, isolated from the world (100 km from Ulaanbaatar), and worked and hunted fruitfully. In fact, the results of our work on the excavation at Noyon-uul were

world famous.

I remained in the MPR for all this time because I had come to love this country and its people after working for three years on the Kozlov expedition. The country was first since, at that time, I knew the people less well. In addition, there was no arrangement for me to return to the Union under the aegis of Kozlov and with a plan for further training.

However, in the MPR there was the boundless prospect of working with complete independence in the field that complemented my love of serious geographical work. Then, I was somewhat disdainful of the diploma and the rather lifeless environment of the Academy of Sciences, and if I wished to earn a name for myself, I could return to the Union with a number of completed scientific works written by this self-taught scholar.

The work in the MPR seemed politically under the same conditions as Soviet work in all the other territories of the Union.

However, I am not going to live in Mongolia forever. I had enlisted the support of the participants from the academic expedition in 1931 and at the beginning of 1932 I decided to go to the Union. This plan was being considered by the Scientific Committee, but I was detained for two months of work by MPR Headquarters. Then the endless delays began. I had already sent my family to the Union (my wife and little daughter) and thought that the presence of my family in the Union would make my exit easier. In addition, having buried a son in Ulaanbaatar, my wife and I were afraid for our daughter. As a result, our family has already been separated for three years, and my wife and daughter have had to rough it with no fixed living space, wandering from dacha to dacha in Moscow. I now live from moment to moment arranging my exit. However, there is all talk and no action.

As a result of all of this, my wife could be considered suffering from a nervous disorder⁵¹⁴.

I was 35-years-old and had fourteen years of practicing scientific research work in conjunction with theoretical studies and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and this scientific research work had to be realized in print. I had to consider that after reaching this critical point that I could start to gradually lose what I had acquired and that all of my life's work would be for naught. This was tantamount to suicide. Therefore, leaving for the Union might, if only provisionally, be helpful in this realization and as necessary as air.

In finishing my "curriculum vitae" I wish to present "on a full scale" the remaining portions of my life.

The first step was the realization that in a short time I had to write and publish

a smaller share of my material and experiences in Mongolia. This included fiction; being acquainted with a wide circle of Soviet readers who have a real interest in Mongolia and its people somewhat in the spirit of Arsenevskii's "The Forest-like Jungle of the Ussuri Region." At the same time, there is the need for the serious studies of Marxism-Leninism, which are in accord with the theory of geographic specialization with an economic bias. All of this is relevant to securing an advanced degree.

My future dream is to become not only a specialist of Mongolia but also of all of Central Asia, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, KuKu and Tibet. My experience in Mongolia, without a doubt, enables me to learn about those countries in a very short time. I am not so involved in this now and am merely an armchair explorer and I could remain in Moscow for a long time. From a member of the office staff, now, I do wish to be in "the capital of this new world" securely with my family, and with the recognition of the Soviet community and know that my work is beneficial to science.

My closest relatives

Mother – Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova, on pension but continues to work in the library of 1 MGU, Moscow 34, Khrushchevskii, alley 3, apt. 1. Lives with her sister (my aunt) Olga Yakovlevna Piker.

Wife – Melania Alekseevna Simukova⁵¹⁵⁾ works at Narkomfin, lives in the environs of Moscow (owing to the unsettled state of apartments and the constant changes of address write to my mother's address). My wife lives with our four-year old daughter.

Brother – Aleksei Dmitrievich Simukov⁵¹⁶⁾ beginning writer, worked on the newspaper "Kolkhoznik," wrote the unsuccessful comedy "The Wedding"- and was honored with an impressive rating in "Pravda" Moscow.

Sister – Aleksandra Dmitrievich Kovaleva⁵¹⁷⁾, once worked as secretary to Zamnarkofilm. Married to A. Kovalev⁵¹⁸⁾. (I do not know him personally), worked at a Literary Agency on a foreign exchange. (Narkomindel – International Books). Several years ago, Kovalev went to England (he was appointed to Torgpredstvo). Moscow.

I have already listed only the telegrams to my wife and my mother (while awaiting my imminent future departure), and I do not know now what my brother, sister, and her husband are doing, nor their addresses.

September 11, 1937

A. Simukov

<signature>

IV 101 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, October 16, 1937.

October 16, 1937

Telegram

from Urga

to Moscow

Telegraph health of Natasha full stop. Sent power of attorney... I found a friend who in two days can help with money for an apartment better than I can full stop Can't leave myself but hoping for a good outcome in every respect⁵¹⁹⁾ I await an answer. I kiss you – Andrei.

IV 102 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, October 22, 1937.

October 22, 1937

Telegram

from Urga

to Moscow

I am sending at once uniform power of attorney as well as money full stop urgently report on Natasha full stop silence regarding the uncertainty of the situation owing to the non-arrival of Vorobev⁵²⁰⁾ which destroys my plan of leaving full stop Now at Uchkom alone as result of consequences pending specialist full stop Depending on embassy departure prevented in January comma ask immediate compensation for Moscow apartment full stop Vorobeys went to Kitaev⁵²¹⁾ telegraph I strongly kiss you both always – your Andrei.

IV 103 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, November 4, 1937⁵²²⁾.

November 4, 19/37

Telegram

from Urga

to Moscow

I am going to the countryside⁵²³⁾ today for a period of a month full stop I ask you to urgently telegraph Tsetserleg to send health of you and Natasha full stop reception confirmed for both translation and power of attorney full stop health and kisses to you both – your Andrei.

IV 104 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, December 29, 1937.

December 29, 1937

Telegram

from Tsetserleg⁵²⁴⁾

to Moscow

Felicitations to Milia for her birthday comma New Year's greetings to Mama, Natasha and everyone telegraph Ulaanbaatar health and greetings – Andrei.

IV 105 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, (January-February) 18, 1938.

January-February 18, 1938
from Urga

Telegram

to Moscow

Graduated from the Plenum of Uchkom and congratulations on membership full stop still actual position of advisor with following consequences full stop salary from beginning of year increased to 418 times receive difference in March full stop In March I will be coming to Moscow on leave or kommandirovka I am arranging everything on the spot full stop all letters and photographs received. thank you I kiss Mama Milia Natasha. Greetings to all – Andrei.

IV 106 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, (March-April 1938)⁵²⁵⁾.

March-April, 1938
from Ulaanbaatar

Telegram

to Moscow

Confirm receipt of power of attorney full stop received three months leave plus a month kommandirovka full stop the matter of the tax is being held up until June first answer quickly details by letter thanks for congratulations – Andrei.

IV 107 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya., M. A., N. A. Simukova, (August 1938).

<August, 1938>
<from Ulaanbaatar>

<to Moscow>

Dear Mama, Milia, Natasha and all the relatives!

I am sending the power of attorney and a photograph taken in winter.

I am going on an expedition for three months⁵²⁶⁾ after which I will come to the Union. I am delayed by the generally strained situation⁵²⁷⁾ and the absence of any change⁵²⁸⁾.

I myself am in good health and am enjoying complete well-being.

I will telegraph on route. Your Andrei.

IV 108 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, September 1, 1938.*September 1, 1938**Telegram**from Tsetserleg**to Moscow*

Greetings to Natasha for her first five years full stop Telegram Khobdo (until) post restante received second transfer and power of attorney all healthy full stop I eat well Kisses to all – Andrei Simukov.

IV 109 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova, (September-October) 1938⁵²⁹).*<September-October, 1938>**Telegram**from Tsagaan nuur**to Moscow*

Thanks for the telegrams received Khobdo full stop eating well healthy telegraph Uliastai until poste restante-Andrei.

IV 110 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya., M. A. Simukova, (January-February) 1939⁵³⁰).*<January-February 1939>**from Ulaanbaatar**to Moscow*

My Dears!

Leaving for the USSR finally progressing well. I am coming with two or three Mongols from Uchkom to ascertain links with the Academy of Science⁵³¹).

Before leaving, I am spending 10 days in the Gobi and 5–6 in the Khangai⁵³²).

Began the official registration.

Wait for May⁵³³).

Big kisses to all. Andrei.

IV 111 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, August 2, 1939.

Moscow 34

Krapotinskaya Street

Khrushchevskii alley

House 3, apartment 1

Natalia Yakovlevna

Simukova

From A. Simukov
Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar
Scientific Committee MPR
August 2, 1939.

Dear Mamochka!

The bearer of this note, my old friend Gocho, is a delegate to one of the first in the MPR selkhozartels (agricultural artels), and, like me, is a correspondent. I am sending him to you as the living witness of my existence.

He does not know the Russian language but perhaps Milia could help if she is in Moscow. I think that she has not entirely forgotten the Mongolian language. Comrade Gocho is a delegate attending the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition and is also becoming acquainted with the progress of the USSR.

My leave has not worked out, and all of you certainly can understand why⁵³⁴). It is hard to say when the situation will change. In 3–4 days, I am going to the Khangai for 20 days, and then will return to Ulaanbaatar and try to rest since I will be very tired, and in September I have to return to the Gobi. After this, perhaps things will be clearer concerning my exit.

I kiss you with great affection.

Your Andrei.

Greetings and kisses to all near and dear. Tell Lesha that I saw the writers Slavin, Lapin, and Khatzrevin⁵³⁵). What is Lesha writing now?

**IV 112 A. D. Simukov – to M. A. Simukova and N.Ya. Simukova,
(August 2, 1939).**

Moscow
Melania Alekseevna Simukova and
Natalia Andreevna Simukova

Sent A.D. Simukov, Mongolia
Ulaanbaatar, Scientific Committee MPR

Dear Milia!

I am sending this note with Gocho, my old friend from Ikh-Tamir soum,

Arkhanghai aimag, where he is the chairman at the first session of the artel, and a “correspondent” like me. He is a delegate to the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition.

Once again, there is nothing happening about my leaving, but I keep hoping. I am tired and really need a change of scene and a rest⁵³⁶. Many thanks for your telegram. It helped me a lot and showed that you understand the situation.

Soon I will go to Arkhanghai for a short time. There are already 4 agricultural artels. Then I will try to rest in Ulaanbaatar (although this is unlikely to succeed), and then I will go to the Gobi from where there is also news: at Dalanzadgad, they are now mowing in an experimental field there, and in Bayantukhume, the feathergrass is mixed in with the hay⁵³⁷. In the spring, I visited Noyon-Bogd. Many friends have died, mainly Sanjach’s relatives⁵³⁸. It is possible that by the end of autumn that my leaving will be determined somehow.

I kiss you and Natasha with great affection.

Andrei.

IV 113 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, August 28, 1939.⁵³⁹

*August 28, 1939
from Tseterleg*

Telegram

to Moscow

Congratulations to Natasha on her birthday-full stop -Secondly, I ask for Milia’s address for the new power of attorney full stop I will be in Ulaanbaatar on the fifth health and greetings to all-Andrei.

IV 114 M. A. Simukova – to N. A. Simukova, September 2, 1939.

*September 2, 1939
from Moscow*

*<to Domodedovo Moscow oblast
Kindergarten Narkomfina USSR>*

My dearest little girl, Natalochka!

Congratulations to you, my little sunshine, on your birthday!

Big, big kisses to you. Be healthy, merry, and happy.

I am sending you a little note which has been brought to you from your Papochka⁵⁴⁰ by a Mongol, and today I also received a telegram in which Papa congratulates and kisses you on your birthday. Papa sent with this Mongolian man a gift-little boots.

Greetings to you from Baba Olga⁵⁴¹, from Lialechka⁵⁴², and from Grandma Fena⁵⁴³. Everyone sends congratulations and kisses to you as well as greetings and congratulations from all my co-workers⁵⁴⁴.

Your mama Milia.

1939.

September 2.

IV 115 A. D. Simukov – to N. A. Simukova, August, 1939.⁵⁴⁵⁾

from Ulaanbaatar

to Moscow

My dearest daughter Natasha,

We can now write letters to each other. I am very sorry that I cannot come to you. I will come later and shall bring you everything you asked for. It is very warm, and there is a lot of rain in Ulaanbaatar.

Your Papa.

**IV 116 NKSviazi USSR – to N. Ya. Simukova,
(October-November) 1939.**

Telegram

Moscow street Krapotkina

Khrushchvskii alley 3

Apartment 1 Simukov

From Ulaanbaatar 082 18 25 11 30-

Your 12/0191. 23/10 Uchkom to Simukov not delivered not residing

Notes

1

The letter of A. D. Simukov, addressed to S. A. Kondratiev, was kindly given to the archive of the Simukov family in 1970 by M. I. Kliagina-Kondratieva.

- 1) S. A. Kondratiev; see note 83 in chapter III.
- 2) In the spring of 1926 A. D. Simukov received an invitation from Ts. Jamtsarano to work on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia after the end of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition (see letter No. 4 from January 22, 1927 in the present chapter). In the summer of 1926 the Chinese military-political situation changed, Chiang Kai-shek began the Northern advance, and in Mongolia mobilization was declared. The budget of the Uchkom was sharply cut, taking away A. D. Simukov's autumn work.
- 3) Minnarkhoz—The Ministry of the Peoples' Economy of Mongolia.
- 4) In 1925–1926, the Mongolian government invited 26 German specialists who were experts on furnaces as well as mechanical and technical production (Luzianin 2003: 166). Having a command of both the German and Mongolian languages, and the methods of the topographical survey, A. D. Simukov, for the Ministry of the Peoples' Economy, accompanied the furnace engineer F. Weiske (Baabar 1999: 277) in his mission investigating the gold bearing regions of the Khangai.
- 5) During the summer and at the beginning of autumn, 1926, S. A. Kondratiev was on an expedition to Khentii. Concerning the work of this expedition in Mongolia, see Simukov, A. D. Concerning the Work of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia. Research on the country. (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 83–84).
- 6) On the request of Ts. Jamtsarano and his arrangement with P. K. Kozlov. (Kozlov 2003: 485). S. A. Kondratiev in 1925 was on a mission for the Scientific Committee of Mongolia until 1930 and went periodically to Russia on extended missions (Yusupova 2006: 50).
- 7) See note 2.
- 8) Keep in mind (here) P. K. Kozlov.
- 9) At Etziin-gol, (a river in Inner Mongolia near Khara-khoto) where the southern camp was situated. "The Journals" of P. K. Kozlov—Eastern Party of the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition; see note 116 in chapter III.
- 10) Chuklomin Porfiry Frolovich (Frolich)—a Za-Baikal peasant who worked in the economic division at Uchkom and was a participant in the expedition of A. D. Simukov and S. A. Kondratiev (carter, hunter).
- 11) Kotia—K. K. Danilenko; see note 93 in chapter III.
- 12) Elizabeth Vladimirovna Kozlova (Pushkareva); see note 52 in chapter III.
- 13) Montsenkop—The Mongolian Peoples' Central Co-operative (for the preparation of the export of cheese and products of the Mongolian economy, as well as the importation of consumer goods.)
- 14) Khüree-large monastery with settlements.
- 15) *Ologoi*—(mong. Olgoi) hose, pipe; here-appendix, shoot, branch of a road.
- 16) The names here: Vseviatskii Peter Vasilievich (1884–1938) finished the Juridical Faculty of Moscow State University; advisor to the Mongolian government, co-worker Plenipotentiary of the USSR in Mongolia (1924–1930), High Court of the USSR (1930–1936), Narkonust Kazakh SSR (until March, 1938); arrested and shot (1938),

rehabilitated; his wife Elena Petrovna Gorbunova participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition; see note 53 in chapter III. In the home of the Vseviatskii, in Ulaanbaatar in the autumn of 1926 N. K. Roerich and his family stayed until the spring of 1927, lived as coworkers on Roerich's Central Asian expedition. About him, see Gorbunov Aldar. Contact with Nicolas Roerich in "Thought" No. 4, 2013. Republic of Kazakhstan (<http://www.roerich.kz/shurnal/texts/Gorbunov.htm>).

- 17) Bear in mind, the Mexican silver dollar (yanchan) was one financial unit and was used in China and Mongolia until the introduction of the national Mongolian currency—the tugrik.
- 18) Melitina Ivanovna Kliagina-Kondratieva (1896–1971)—wife of S. A. Kondratiev, Orientalist-Indian scholar by education, head of the European division of the Uchkom library (1926–1930), participant in the Uchkom expedition (1926–1929), researcher of the Mongolian monastery. Kliagina-Kondratieva M. I. Material on the study of Buddhist monasteries. A test of the characteristics of the cultural and habitation structure in the monasteries in Khentii and the Khangai (Kliagina-Kondratyeva, Chuluun, and Yusupova 2013: 65–184). 1st Khentii (Ononskaya) expedition was published and noted by K. N. Yatskovskaya, Russian Mongolian authority (Yatskovskaya 1966: 125–142), her Khangai expedition 1928 (Yatskovskaya 2001: 125–151), and her Gobi expedition 1929 (Yatskovskaya 2001: 412–435); afterward a member of Writers' Union of the USSR (translation section) translator of R. Tagore and R. Kipling, folklorical works.
- 19) Bear in mind P. V. Vseviatskii.
- 20) See note 16.
- 21) Mongol name is Dashi.

2

- 22) Urton (Mongolian-ortoo) postal station, the distance between stations was generally 30 km.
- 23) See note 4.
- 24) Lisovskii, Vsevelod Ignatievich; see note 64, chapter III.
- 25) Keeping in mind one of the directions of Buddhist schools (sects) the Karmapa, whose lamas wore a red headdress.
- 26) Keeping in mind the followers of Tsongkhapa (Tsongkhapa Lobsandrakpa) (1357–1419)—a Tibetan religious figure, founder of the Buddhist Gelugpa school (Tib. law of virtue) (The Yellow Hats), it was widely dispersed in Tibet, Mongolia and other countries. Tsongkhapa—author of the philosophical tract "Lamrin Chkhenmo" ("Stages of the Great Path,") founded several monasteries which followed strict monastic regulations, the first allowed by the monks to have property, which was a cardinal change in the church's role (Tsendina 2006: 128–131).
- 27) Wild goat (Yangir in Mongolian) is the Siberian ibex (*Capra sibirica*).
- 28) Argali-Mountain sheep (*Ovis ammon*).
- 29) Gnadeberg, A. G.—Fellow worker at Minnarkhoz, Mongolia, chief forester.
- 30) Jamsarano Tsiben Jamsaranovich; see note 24 in chapter III.
- 31) Keep in mind here the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
- 32) Kanaev Vasilii Mikhailovich; see note 78 in chapter III.
- 33) Gusev Vasilii Andreevich—assistant, participant on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition. After that was over, he worked in Irkutsk at the Anti-Plague Institute.
- 34) Przhevalski Nicolai Vladimirov (1908–?)—the grand-nephew of N. M. Przhevalskii,

- participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition (1925–1926), and afterwards was an engineer-builder of the autoroad (Pribaikal, the North, Cuba).
- 35) Kotia; see note 93 in chapter III.
 - 36) Fu-chin, a Chinese hired worker, cook on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov, later on a friend, assistant, and participant on the expeditions of A. D. Simukov.
 - 37) Vtorushin Filipp—hired worker on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov.
 - 38) Khara-khoto (13th-14th centuries)—it was a major trading center (on the lower Etziingol river) during the Tangut government of Xixia (982–1227); conquered by the Mongols (1227), destroyed by the Chinese forces (1372). The ruins of Khara-khoto were first found and photographed in 1907 by Ts. G. Badmajapov. The archeological dig at Khara-khoto was continued by the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition of P. K. Kozlov in 1908–1909 and provided rich material on the ancient Tanguts' written language, history, and culture of the Xixia contiguous government, and the excavation was continued by the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition in 1925–1926.
 - 39) The Shastins—the family of Pavel Nicolaevich (1872–1953), doctor, invited by the Mongolian government to organize a public health system (1923); in Urga he set up a dispensary and a hospital which was named after him, worked in Mongolia until 1937, rewarded with a Mongolian order; 1937 worked at the All-Union Power camp Artek (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 197–201). Wife of P. N. Shastin is Maria Ignatevna feldsher; eldest son Nicolai Pavlovich Shastin (doctor, also worked in Mongolia) with family's three other sons lived in Leningrad at the time; the daughter—Nina Pavlova Shastina (1898–1980), a known Mongol scholar; P. N. Shastin's brother, Michael Nicolaevich, lived with them, for more about him, see From the memoirs of M. I. Klyagina-Kondratieva (Yatskovskaya 2007b: 97).
 - 40) Badmajapov-Badmahapov Tsogto Garmaevich (1879–1937) (see note 63 in chapter III); his wife, Ida Pavlovna Yekkel, from a Russianized German family, fourth of the daughters from a first marriage, (one of them, Vera, (1909–1995) participated in the Gobi expedition of A. D. Simukov in 1930, worked in the government library), there were three children in common: a son Gavat and daughters Densima and Devi, see From the memoirs of M. I. Klyagina-Kondratieva (Yatskovskaya 2007b: 96–97; Lomakina 2006: 134–135).
 - 41) See note 16.
 - 42) Kozlova Elizabeth Vladimirovna; see note 52 in chapter III.
 - 43) Kozlov Vladimir Petrovich (1897–1971)—son of P. K. Kozlov from his first marriage, student and soil scientist.
 - 44) Kozlova Olga Petrovna (married Miasodova), 1903–1982, daughter of P. K. Kozlov from his first marriage, artist-illustrator.

3

Letters of A. D. Simukov addressed to S. A. Kondratiev, kindly forwarded from M. I. Klyagina-Kondratieva to the archive of A. D. Simukov's family in 1970.

- 45) Keep in mind that this home was in the area of the mine at Sutzukte in Khentii where the participants in the archeological excavations of the Noyon-uul kurgan lived.
- 46) See note 24.
- 47) Keep in mind the Mexican silver dollars; see note 17.
- 48) *Desiderata* (fr.)—wished for.

- 49) Shara-khulusun (“yellow reeds”)—a rich natural boundary or oasis in the region of the northern slope of the mountain system of Tsagaan Bogd (Konagaya et al.2008b: 482).
- 50) Yum-beis-monastery with a settlement on the southern spine of Baibayan undur (Konagaya et al.2008a: 65–66).
- 51) Uitsun-van (later—Arbai khürre)—a large monastery and important trading point in Uburkhangai aimag (Konagaya et al.2007a: 418).
- 52) *Salpingotus*—three fingered dwarf jerboa.
- 53) Evidently, having in mind *Capra Sibirica*; see note 27.
- 54) Having in mind the Przhevalski, (in Mongolian takhi), a wild horse.
- 55) *Maxima* (fr.)—maximal.
- 56) See note 47.
- 57) Milia—Melania Alekseevna Simukova, wife of A. D. Simukov; see note 117, chapter III.
- 58) Evidently having in mind the album of the Olonskoi expedition of 1926.
- 59) Fedya-Feodor Fedorovich Bolshakov—topograoher, co-worker on the Scientific Committee, participant on expedition of S. A. Kondratiev and A. D. Simukov, manager of the cartography cabinet.
- 60) Bear in mind Melitina Ivanovna Kliagina-Kondratieva, wife of S. K. Kondratiev; see note 18.
- 61) Fuchin; see note 36.
- 62) See Tsogto Garmaeovich Badmajapov; see note 63 in chapter III.
- 63) *Sic* (fr.) so.
- 64) Keeping in mind the Vsesviatkis; see note 16.
- 65) See note 39.

4

Letter fragment published: see Simukov A. D. *Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 209).

- 66) Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova—mother of A. D. Simukov; see note 3 in chapter II.
- 67) Keep in mind, perhaps, Moscow and Leningrad.
- 68) See note 2.
- 69) See note 64 in chapter III.
- 70) Keep in mind the salary is 125 Mexican silver dollars; see note 17.
- 71) Evidently, A. D. Simukov considered Russia (Petersburg) where he was born, his first motherland, Sigeevka in Belorussia his second and where he spent his youth.
- 72) Leshka—brother of A. D. Simukov; see note 11 in chapter I.
- 73) Alia—sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 10 in chapter I.
- 74) Anna Andreevna—stepsister of D. A. Simukov, the father of A. D. Simukov; see note 32 in chapter I.
- 75) The family of Milia.
- 76) Feodorovna Makarovna Alekseenko (died in 1942 during the evacuation) a peasant from Dushatin, mother of five children including Milia (M. A. Simukova).
- 77) Manyā—Maria Alekseevna Alekseenko (married to Raikhman) (1908–1999) sister of M. A. Simukova.

5

- 78) Kozlova Elizabeth Vladimirovna; see note 52 in chapter III.
- 79) Badmajapovas Vera and Marina—foster daughters of Tz. G. Badmajapov.

- 80) Blue field tent.
- 81) To travel to “urgoi” (Urga?) a rented saddle horse from the nearest settlement.
- 82) Station for postal-passenger service; see note 22.
- 83) Zavodnay—a substitute horse, from the stud farm, which carried an overweight person.
- 84) Keep in mind the Mexican silver dollars; see note 17.
- 85) It could possibly be either Aleksei or Sasha—sons of Gavriil Mefodevich Karchanov, prospector and hunter; working for Uchkom in the economic area.
- 86) See note 36.
- 87) The first verse of this little song—from a poem read by E. V. Kozlova to S. A. Kondratiev at Sutsukhte (see The Life and Scholarly Work of S. A. Kondratiev (1896–1970) in Mongolia and Russia, prepared for publication, the preface, introduction, commentary, and indices (Kulganek and Jukov 2006: 163).
- 88) Nasonov Nicolai Victorovich (1855–1939)—biologist, zoologist, academic at the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Possibly referring to the book: Nasonov, N. V. *Geographical Distribution of Wild Sheep of the Old World*, Petrograd, 1923, 255 pages.
- 89) Bialinitskii-Birulia Alexei Andreevich (1864–1937)—zoologist, zoogeographer, arctic researcher, member-correspondent. AN (1923), director (1921–1929) Director of the Museum AN, professor at LGU. Laid off from the position of Director, November 1929 and until he was arrested; he fulfilled the duties of senior zoologist. Arrested in November 1930 for “academic matters” and was sentenced to 3 years in a camp.
- 90) Sushkin, Peter Petrovich (1868–1928)—ornithologist, academic AN USS.
- 91) *Noblesse oblige* (fr.) —rank has its obligations.
- 92) Sergei Aleksandrovich Kondratiev; see note 83 in chapter III; Simukov does make clear which work he is writing about.
- 93) Über (ger.)—(here) over, above.
- 94) Tsagaan-sar from the words “white month,” the first month of the New Year. And thus the name of the New Year’s holiday according to the Mongolian lunar calendar.
- 95) Yazvu Kotika-K. K. Danilenko; see note 93 in chapter III.
- 96) Kuznetsov; see note 70 in chapter III.
- 97) Vorobiev—family of Russian colonists in Mongolia (pos. Mandal) offered help to the expedition in the construction at the excavation at Noyon-uul. Vasya—Vassa Vorobiev.

6

- 98) An assistant to A. D. Simukov at the Museum—Jargal.
- 99) A hired worker Djhamba (mong. Jamba)—a former lama.
- 100) In November of 1922 P. K. Kozlov presented to the government a plan for consideration of a three-year expedition to Tibet to the source of the Lkhas. However, the Narkomindel and the OGPU were sharply against the next Central Asiatic initiatives of the travelers. P. K. Kozlov was forbidden, at the end of February, 1928, to organize a new expedition, in spite of the support from the Academy of Science, the Geographic Society, and other friends of P. K. Kozlov.
- 101) Keep in mind Vasilii Andreevich Gusev; see note 33.

7

- 102) Bloomkin Jacob Grigorevich (1898–1929)—left SR, Bolshevik (1921), coworker VCHK(1918), INO OGPU (from 1923), studied in the Eastern Faculty of the Military Academy (1920–1921), worked in the Secretariat of the Chairman of Revvoensoiet

(The Revolutionary Military Soviet) of L. D. Trotsky, in 1926 sent to Mongolia as representative of OGPU and the main instructor in the Government Internal Okhrana, in November 1927 at the insistence of the leadership of Mongolia he was recalled to Moscow; worked in Zakavkaz, then in the Near East (1928); arrested and shot in 1929.

8

103) Jenia-Evgenii Andreevich Miller, cousin of A. D. Simukov; see note 25 in chapter I.

104) Suida—place of the dacha near Petrograd; see note 8 in chapter I.

105) Brother and sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 11 or note 10 in chapter I.

9

Letter fragment published: see Simukov A. D. *Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 209–210).

106) A. Simukov, An excerpt of work of the party of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (July–November 1927). *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1927 No. 1 (81), pp. 86–99 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 52–73).

107) Sven Hedin (Hedin, von Sven Anders) (1865–1952) a famous Swedish traveler-researcher of Central and Middle Asia (Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia, China, Pamirs, Caucasus, Persia, Iraq); the Simukovs met the Chinese-Swedish expedition of Sven Hedin (1927–1932); about him, see Sven Hedin, *From the Great Trip. My Expedition with the Swedish, German and Chinese through the Gobi Desert 1927–1928*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1929 and *Across the Gobi Desert*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932.

108) Sergei Aleksandrovich Kondratiev; see note 83 in chapter III.

109) Lesha—brother of A. D. Simukov; see note 11 in chapter I.

110) Alia—sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 10 in chapter I.

111) Aunt Olia—sister of O. Ya. Simukova; see note 18 in chapter I.

10

112) P. K. Kozlov visited Puntsuk-obao (Puntzen oboo) July 6, 1926. See Kozlov, P. K. *Diary*, pp. 877–879.

113) Kaznakov Alexander Nicolaevich (1871–1933)—traveler, graduating student from the Pajheskii academy, naturalist, geographer, traveler, participant in the Mongolian–Kam expedition of P. K. Kozlov (1899–1901); director of the Caucasus Museum of Natural History and the Public Library in Tiflis, participant in the First World War (colonel) and the Civil War; died as an emigrant (Paris). Description of the march route of A. N. Kaznakov (Kozlov 1907: 136).

114) Ladigin Veniamin Fedorovich (1860–1923)—participant in the Tibetan expedition (1893–1895) of V. I. Poborovskii, leader of the of the Duganskii school in Semirechie, co-worker on the Mongolian–Kam expedition (1899–1901) of P. K. Kozlov; botanist, ethnographer, fluent in Chinese. From 1912, the senior commercial agent of KVJhD in Harbin. Description of the marchroute of V. F. Ladigin, see Ladigin, V. F., *Concerning the Crossing of the Gobi from Daliin-tur to Suzhou* (Kozlov 1900: 169–197), *Trip upriver on the Urungu (Bulugun)* (Kozlov 1900: 47–66), *Mongolia and Kam* (Kozlov 1907: 169–197).

115) Keep in mind the third Gansu expedition (1884–1886) of G. V. Potanin.

116) Ular—mountain turkey-hen.

117) Kolia; see note 35.

- 118) During the time of the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition, P. K. Kozlov, in 1907–1909, was not far from Khara-Khoto and caught a rare example of a jerboa. It was later put in the expedition's collection and the zoologist V. S. Vinogradov stated that this jerboa represented a new type and family. He named it after P. K. Kozlov (*Salpingotus Kozlowi*).
- 119) Bur-(Mongolian-buur) a male camel.
- 120) Tsinde (Tsende) in May-July 1926 was the guide for P. K. Kozlov on the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition.
- 121) Sven Hedin; see note 107.
- 122) 8 German coworkers on Sven Hedin's expedition studied the atmospheric conditions for the Lufthansa firm in order to clarify the possibility of using aviation for surmounting inaccessible desert areas; see Hedin, *Auf Grosser Fahrt*. Leipzig, 1929, pp. v–vii.
- 123) As in the text. Keep in mind “preparation.”
- 124) See note 38.
- 125) The extensive excerpts in this diary of A. D. Simukov in 1927 were brought out by the author in an afterword to the book of *M. V. Kolesnikova, M. C. Kolesnikov*. The expedition had this goal. *Childrens' Literature*, 1977. pp. 261–270. The authors worked in Mongolia from the spring of 1939 until the autumn of 1945. The diary of the Mongolian expedition of 1927 has not yet been found in the archives.
- 126) Roerich Nicolai Konstantinovich (1874–1947)—artist, explorer, initiator of the movement to protect cultural monuments. From 1916 he lived in Finland and the USA, from 1927 in India. In September, 1926, as the head of the Central Asiatic expedition, he came to Urga, where he stayed until April, 1927. See *Roerich in Mongolia*, supervised by Sh. Bira, composed by E. Bondarenko and Ch. Narantuya, Ulaanbaatar, 2008.
- 127) Donir (dhonir, Tib. Mgron gnyer)—master of ceremonies, here—lama, representative of the Dalai Lama XIII in Mongolia.
- 128) Keep in mind the members of P. K. Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan expedition: Vasilii Andreevich Gusev, Vasilii Mikhailovich Kanaev, Konstantine Konstatinovich Danilenko, Nicolai Vladimirovich Przhevalskii.

11

- 129) A. D., Andrei—keep in mind A. D. Simukov.
- 130) Tsamba-flour from roasted grain-wheat or barley.
- 131) Irbis (Mongolian tsookhor irves.)—snow leopard.

13

- 132) Elena Edwardovna Budovskaya—granddaughter of A. D. Simukov and M. A. Simukova, graduate of Moscow State University, worked in the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies at RAN (The Russian Academy of Sciences), degrees from universities in the USA: Stony Brook, UCLA (Ph. D.), Columbia, employed at Georgetown University.
- 133) Natalia Andreevna Simukova (1933)—daughter of M. A. Simukova and A. D. Simukov, graduated from Moscow State University, k. x. n., worked at the Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Worked in the USA (Johns Hopkins University, Boston University, Northeastern University).
- 134) See note 125.
- 135) A. D. Simukov and M. A. Simukova only lived together for seven years (May 1927-

July 1934).

- 136) Nadom (Mongolia-Naadam)—national festival, including the traditional three types of competitions: wrestling, galloping, and shooting with a bow and arrow; the largest Naadam was devoted to the anniversary of the 1921 Revolution which took place in July.

15

- 137) Keep in mind the hospital that was set up and headed by P. N. Shastin; see note 39.
138) A. D. Simukov's A Sketch of the work of the Gobi Party of the Scientific Committee of the MPR. July-November 1928, *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928, No.1(8), pp. 86–99 (Konagaya et al.2008a: 61–73).
139) A. D. Simukov's Excerpt on the nature and life in Khentii, *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928. No.2 (9), pp.93–103 (Konagaya et al.2007b: 561–571).
140) A. Simukov. About the Work of the Gobi Expedition of 1927. The Party Newspaper (in Mongolian). 1928.
141) It was not possible to establish which article was referred to.
142) The birthday of A. D. Simukov—April 29 (in the new calendar).

16

- 143) Olga Yakovlevna Peiker (born Miller); see note 18 in chapter I.
144) Keep in mind house No.3 in the Khrushchevskii lane in Moscow (near Prechistenki), where the relatives of A. D. Simukov lived; see note 108 in chapter III.

17

Letter fragment published: see Simukov A. D. *Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 210).

- 145) Alexei Dmitrievich Simukov (1904–1995)—brother of A. D. Simukov; attracted in his youth to painting, completed the art course-later-dramaturg, film scenarist, writer.
146) Keep in mind P. K. Kozlov.
147) See photo No.113 (Konagaya et al.2008a: 578).
148) *Et cetera* (lat.)—etc.
149) *en trois* (fr.)-3.
150) Keep in mind S. A. Kondratiev.
151) Al. D. Simukov lived at the time in Khrushchevskii alley in Moscow; see note 144.
152) The official registration for a foreign passport cost about 500 rubles with many organizational complications from the receipt of the characterization of the labor collective to the decisions of the NKVD about a trip abroad; see also Yusupova, T. I. *The Mongolian Commission of the Academy of Sciences: The History of its Creation and Activities 1925–1953*, St. Petersburg: Nestor-History, 2006, p. 148.
153) Possibly, a word about S. D. Vasiliev; see note 31 in chapter I.
154) Lev Aronovich Agranovskii (1902–1938)—a friend of Andrei Simukov from Surazh, studied at the Institute of Journalism in Moscow; arrested and shot on March 1, 1938 in the area of Vorkhuta (Ukhto-Pechorskii ITL); rehabilitated; see Doikov 2010: 341.
155) Vale (lat.)—Be well.

18

- 156) The Khangai Expedition of the Scientific Committee, 1928.
157) In the third issue of the publication: A. D. Simukov. Excerpts on Nature and Life. II. Gobi Altai and the Central Gobi. *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928, No.3 (10), pp. 79–92 (Konagaya et al.2007b: 672–583).

- 158) Pavlik (Pavel Nicolaevich) Shastin—son of N. P. Shastin, grandson of doctor P. N. Shastin, nephew of N. P. Shastin, the pediatrician and surgeon.
 159) Keep in mind Moscow.

19

- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 211).
 160) *Mon frere* (fr.) —my brother.
 161) *Address and date* (staromong-old Mongolian.)—Ulaanbaatar city December 6, 1928. *couleur locale*-(fr.)-local color.
 162) Keep in mind the Khangai expedition of the Scientific Committee of the MPR of 1928.
 163) It seems the reference is to Ikh-Bogd.
 164) *Fili mi* (lat.)—my son.
 165) Guidebook of the German publisher Karl Baedeker which gave precise and full information on various countries.
 166) Tuapse—seaport and resort on the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea.
 167) Roerich; see note 126.
 168) This apparently refers to the work: A. D. Simukov's The Khangai Expedition of the Scientific Committee of the MPR in 1928. (Travel Impressions), *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929, No.1 (14), pp.78–96 (Konagaya et al.2008a: 178–195).
 169) See photo No.122 (Konagaya et al.2008a: 583).

20

- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 211–212).
 170) See note 162.
 171) A poor grain harvest (in the Ukraine and the northern Caucasus) in 1927 and 1928 led the government authority to hold the price of grain firm in 1927 and with the growth in the industrial sector, the absence of a grain supply led to hunger in a number of regions in the USSR (Ukraine), and a ration card system was introduced to supply the cities as the agitation of the workers increased in some of the producing centers (the cities of Shakhti, Donbas 1927). In the spring of 1928, “the Shakhtin Process” (the matter of the economic counter-revolutionaries in the Donbas) in which more than 100 leaders and specialists in the coal trade from VSNX, three hundred from Doncoal, the management and the mine, were accused of sabotage, wrecking and creating secret organizations connected to foreign, anti-Soviet centers, and five were shot, and many were sent to a camp. In 2000, all the condemned were rehabilitated “due to the absence of guilt and the falsification of evidence.”)

21

- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 212).
 172) Keep in mind the peasant economy in the Belorussian village of Sigeevka, birthplace of D. A. Simukov—father of Andrei Simukov.; see note 30 in chapter I, July 24, 1917, July 5, 1918, and note 28.

22

- 173) Water in a barrel was transported by a horse-drawn water carrier.

23

- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971:

- 212).
- 174) Keep in mind the family of Ts. G. Badmajapov.
- 175) Evidently, keeping in mind the discussion at the VII meeting/session of the MPR party (October 1928) and the so-called “right deviation” which was moving away from the government of the country, as well as the national-democratic partisans and the gradual political and economic development of Mongolia with the calculation of the national features and uses of the experiences not only in the USSR, but also in the developing countries of the world, along with the approach to power of the “left” who were the adherents of a faster construction of socialism by example of the USSR. In 1929 there were discussions about those who were considered to be “right leaning” and there was the removal from their posts of N. I. Bukharin, A. I. Rykov, and M. P. Tomskii who were opposed to the curtailment of the NEP, the forced industrialization and collectivization, and the quick start of industrialization, (which was thought to be achieved by moving from the agrarian to the industrial sector) in order to complete collectivization (Roshchin 1999: 210–212). The change in leadership of the MPR was laid out and realized by the direct part of the representatives of the Comintern (Luzianin 2003: 1975–1977).
- 176) Keep in mind the staff headquarters of the MNRA; it is possible so to speak that in other cases concerning the unification of the names of the map of different provinces, they have footnotes 309 and 438. In the summer of 1929, relations with China deteriorated, and in July Peking declared an economic blockade of MPR; consequently —there was a dearth of commodities in Mongolia and at the beginning of August China captured the KVJHD, making a joint government that resulted in the Soviet/Chinese armed conflict and the breakoff of relations (Luzianin 2003: 190).
- 177) See A. D. Simukov’s The march route – Ulaanbaatar – Ude – Baishintu (Gorban – Saikhain) – Ulaanbaatar. (travel notes of the Gobi expedition of 1929), *The economy of Mongolia*, 1929, No.4 (17), pp. 72–83 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 196–209). S. A. Kondratiev. The Gobi expedition of the Scientific Committee of the MPR in 1929, *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929, No.4 (17), pp.66–71.
- 178) Puchkovskii Leonid Sergeievich (1899–1970)—completed the Faculty of Social Sciences at LSU (Leningrad State University) (1925) and LGILI (1932), studied at LIJHVGYA, the last Mongolist, specialist in Mongolian history and Mongolian manuscripts, K. F. N., coworker at IV AN USSR, taught in the Eastern Faculty of LGU. About him, see Yakhontva et al.2019: 6–31).
- 179) The government purveyors of the grain crisis (1927) and the injunction against the free sale of grain (1928), the resistance of the peasants on the collectives (1929) led to the curtailment of the production of grain and its export, that is, to the lowering of the currency coming in and the lessening of means for the industrial program, employment, and to lowered rations for the urban populations; see for example Vasuk 2008. In 1929 when the ration card system of supplying the urban population with products and industrial goods was initiated, the workers received 800 grams of bread daily; office workers—300, the unemployed, pensioners, and invalids-200; cards were not distributed to the “non-working element.”— (priests, traders, housewives younger than 56-years-old). The supply was differentiated depending on which town and enterprise. The card system did not include the peasants. The delivery of Promtovar, or manufactured goods, to the villages depended on the fulfillment of a prepared plan,

which in practice, was not often fulfilled.

- 180) Regarding the change of the founder at Uchkom and of Secretary Ts. Jamtsarano who on July 13, 1929 wrote the following to B. Ya. Vladimirtsov: “In our time, Uchkom is surviving and experiencing a real crisis between the Academy of Sciences and the State. Only Allah knows what remains from Uchkom. It is not known if I personally and Jamian-gun shall remain. The hope is that the Uchkom will be preserved as a scientific and research establishment but will also undergo a radical reorganization in its personnel and its composition and in its ideas that will bring it closer to the revolutionary public” (Reshetov 1998b).
- 181) Aleksei Yakovlevich Alekseenko—Milia’s father; see note 42 in chapter I.
- 182) Aleksei Simukov, brother of Andrei, studied in the High Arts course; see note 11 in chapter I.

25

- 183) Keep in mind the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

26

- 184) Dashdordjin Natsagdorj (1906–1937)—poet, dramatist, translator, historian, social activist, schooled domestically, one year course at the Military-Political Academy (Leningrad, 1925) in the school of journalism and in the seminary Ye. Khenisha (Berlin, Leipzig, 1926–1929), mastered Russian, German, and Chinese languages, worked as a writer at the Ministry of War, assistant to the Glavkom MNA of Sukhbaatar, secretary to the Military Soviet, government (for the Prime Minister Balingiin Tserendorj) and the TZ Party; member of the MPR (from 1922), delegate II and III Party conferences, co-worker on the newspaper TZ union of youth, organizer of the young pioneer movement in Mongolia; took an active part in the creation of the Mongolian Association of Revolutionary Writers (1930) and the formation of the Mongolian National Theater, where in 1934 the first opera, “Three Sad Hills” with the libretto by D. Natsagdorj was performed. Participant in the expedition of V. A. Kazakevich (1923), translator, later, co-worker on the main cabinet history of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1930–1936), wrote a short history of Mongolia, lectured on the history of Mongolia at the Pedagogical School. First marriage (1923) to Damdin Padmadulam (1907–1938), active in the women’s movement, studied in Germany; daughter—Tserdulam (1923 g. r.). At the beginning of the 30s, his wife was Nina Nicolaevna Chistiakova; daughter—Ananda Shri (1934 g. r.) In May, 1932, D. Natsagdorj was arrested on a false denunciation, sent to prison for 5 months, ousted from the Party; later, “not one person expelled during this time soon returned to it.” (Yatskovskaya 2007a: 14). Having left his wife and daughter in Russia (winter 1935/1936), he tried unsuccessfully to get a permit to visit his family in Leningrad. February 8, 1937 he was arrested again and sentenced to 5 months of forced labor. He died suddenly on July 13, 1937 according to one version from a stroke, on the street by the Trade Union Hall; according to another source—as the result of poisoning after visiting an eating house. His place of burial is unknown. He was rehabilitated in 1989. D. Natsagdorj’s archive was preserved and given to the Committee of Science of Mongolia by Sh. Natsagdorj. Research on the archive as well as research on his separate unpublished works (Tsendiin Damdinsuren, B. Sodnom and others) came to light in 1960 with around 140 single artistic works—poems, stories, songs, operas, librettos, as well as translations of Pushkin, Chekhov, and Edgar Allen Poe. All of D.

Natsagdorj's discovered works were published, many in the leading languages of the world (Yatskovskaya 1974; 2002: 14–94; Sanders 2010: 631–633).

- 185) Gombo—co-worker on the Science Committee of the MPR, director of the Museum. Chuluun S., Tordalai R., Onkhodin Jamian and the Scientific Committee of Mongolia, *From Tradition to Science (1921–1930), Mongolian-Russian scientific collaboration; from the Scientific Committee to the Academy of Science* (Chuluun and Yusupova 2012: 60), participant in the cattle raising detachment expedition of the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR in 1931.
- 186) Nina Nicolaeva Schistiakova (1909-?)—came to Mongolia in 1930 with her husband O. Namnandorj, worked as a secretary for the jurist Khlopov; at the beginning of the 30s became the wife of Dashdorjin Natsagdorj; in 1932 spent a month in detention; gave birth to their daughter Ananda Shri; in the winter of 1935/1936 without receiving official permission to leave for the USSR, she and her daughter secretly went to a sister in Leningrad where she worked as a medical secretary. About her, see Yatskovskaya 2002: 175–176.
- 187) Ananda Shri (Natzagdorjhiin Ananda Shri) (1934–1994)—daughter of Natsagdorj and N. N. Schlistiakova, born in Ulaanbaatar, lived in Leningrad and during the war was evacuated with her mother to the Altai (1942–1945); married in 1953 Leonid Gregorievich Kondratiev, finished the Leningrad Polytechnic Institute (1958), worked at the Hydroenergy project (until 1963), at the Leningrad Building Institute, from 1966 lived in Estonia, taught mechanical engineering at the Talliin Polytechnical Institute (1966–1979), while also working at the Talliin (1976–1979) Institute of Silicon and Cement; visited Moscow for the 60th anniversary of Dashdorjhiin Natsagdorj (1966); from November 1986 lived in Ulaanbaatar, received Mongolian citizenship. Ananda Shri was a talented scholar and an artistically gifted person—she drew, wrote poetry, stories (Natsagdorjhiin Ananda Shri 1997). She tragically perished on the eve of 1995 (Yatskovskaya 1974, 2002: 90–92; Sanders 2010: 633).

27

- 188) Keep in mind the youngest Simukovs: Alia and Aleksei.
- 189) Anatole France (1844–1924) French writer, literary critic and social activist; Nobel Laureate prize in literature (1921), he donated the money to the Russian famine.

29

- 190) Keep in mind the two expeditions and the participation in areas concerning the work on the division into districts of the MPR. Notes of the march route of the Gobi expedition of 1930 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 242–273). Materials on the Gobi expedition of 1930 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 274–281). Travel Notes of the Khangai expedition 1930 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 232–240). Article on division into districts of the former Tsetserleg-Mandalskii aimag of the MPR (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 7–12).
- 191) *kinder-kuche*—part of the famous expression “*kinder-kuche-kirche*” (German)—“children-cooking-church,” outlined “the ideal” circle of women’s interest; the phrase, acknowledged by Emperor Willian II and appearing in the German press at the end of the 19th century.

31

- 192) Typewritten.
- 193) Altai Simukov died on March 23, 1931 in Ulaanbaatar from scarlet fever.

32

- 194) Mikhail Izraelevich Tubianskii (1893–1937)—Indian, Tibetan, Buddhist, Mongolian scholar. Completed St. Petersburg University (1919), student of F. I. Shcherbatskii, studied Latin, ancient Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Monmgolian languages, teacher PIJhVYa/LIJhVYa/LVI and co-worker at AM/IV AN USSR (1920–27, 1937), founder of the native Bengalistik, researcher and translator of R. Tagore. Worked in Mongolia from 1927–1936; co-worker ambassador of the USSR, scholar secretary to the Scientific Committee of the MPR (1930–1936); set up the indices for the dictionary of philosophical Buddhist terms, prepared the translation, commentary, and index of the philosophical tract of the founder of the Yellow Hat Lamaism of Tsongkhapa “Lamrin-chkhenmo” (The stepped paths to the Enlightenment), conducted a course in Sanskrit with a group of lamas, displayed in a monastery library the earliest and unknown to the Buddhist world Sanskrit books and manuscripts and after that, prepared in print (with an index of names) the works of Sambo-khambo’s “The History of Buddhism in India, Tibet and Mongolia” and the translation and commentary on the works of Chjdorin-khambo’s “The Reform Movement in Lamaism;” author of nearly 20 printed works; during the period of the fight with “superfluous academism” in the USSR and in the MPR (1929–1930) prepared a dictionary of the material about the practical aspects of Mongolian cattle production. In 1936, co-worker IV AN USSR. Arrested 1937; shot on November 24, 1937; rehabilitated. The majority of works which were prepared for printing out of M. I. Tubianskii’s archives disappeared without a trace. Concerning them, see People and Fate 2004; Kojhevnikova 2013; Chuluun and Yusupova 2012:166-177. See also Ermakov and Ostrovskoi 2019.
- 195) Keep in mind clerical work.
- 196) M. A. Simukova worked on the data concerning the yield from the hay harvests from the 1931 expedition, as well as on the summary table and graphic of the data from the network of the meteorological stations, as well as many other works.
- 197) The birthday of A. D. Simukov—April 29 (April 16 in the old style).
- 198) Altai Simukov was born on April 18, 1928 in Ulaanbaatar.

33

- 199) Keep in mind the Gobi expedition of 1932. The Scientific-Research Committee of the MPR (further NIK); see Simukov, A. D. A short preliminary account of the work of the 1932 Gobi Expedition (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 388–400) and Travel notes along the march route of the 1932 expedition (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 401–452).
- 200) Keep in mind the geological collections (collector—M. A. Simukova).
- 201) Spa town on the shores of the Black Sea in the Caucasus (Abkhazia).
- 202) Aleksei Dmitrievich Simukov worked at the time at Kronstadt, see Aleksei Simukov, *The Devil bridge, or my life as a speck of dust in history*, Moscow: Agraf, 2008, pp. 173–181.

34

- 203) A note from the registry of births, marriages, and deaths, (the village of Dushatin in the district of the Chernigov eparchy) shows the date of birth as January 3, and the christening—January 4, 1904.
- 204) Torgsin (1931–1936) (*here*) “trade with foreigners” —a network of stores where for valuta, gold or silver, one could get scarce goods: products, clothes, etc.
- 205) Shura-Alexandra Alekseevna Alekseenko (married name Bendrikova) youngest sister of

- 206) *Mea culpa!* (lat.)—my fault!
- 207) In September, 1931 N. Ya. Simukova began a job at the Main Library of the Moscow Mechanical-Machine-Construction Institute named Bauman (later MVTU) as an assistant librarian, and in 4 months was transferred to the post of cataloguer and then subject cataloguer.
- 208) December 27, 1932 by a resolution of the VTZik and the SNK in the USSR a unified system with compulsory regulations for a passport was introduced. The agricultural population of the country, with a few exceptions, was not given passports. A passport/visa office service, following the structure of the NKVD, was entrusted “with the registration of the town population, the workers’ settlements and houses, and easing places from out of the cover of the kulaks, criminals, and other anti-social elements.”
- 209) Milia remembers: Raskovskii came to dinner; see note 381. I saw their Katenka put aside pieces of some tasty food and I said to her: “Katia, eat everything, and I can give you some more if you so wish.” The child answered: “It is not for me this food—I will give it to Babushka. She is hungry.”
- In 1932, hunger spread throughout much of the USSR, enveloping a territory of 1.5 million square km and a population above 65 million people (Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, the Northern Caucasus, the Volga area, the Southern Urals, Western Siberia, and Kazakhstan). The newspapers stated that “such failures were from the time of industrialization and collectivization,” “the sabotage of the peasantry,” “the sabotage of the engineers, the scholars, the landowners, the economists and the clear action of economic organizations disregarding the quality of those accused by the OGPU of fabrication in 1930–1931 as a matter of the “Prompartii,” “The Worker-Peasant Party” and “The United Agency of the Mensheviks.” In fact, the reasons for this lay with the forced industrialization and the continuous collectivization, which led to a massive outflow of peasants (especially the young) not the towns, and also the exile of “the dispossessed kulaks” which deprived the villages of, effectively, 2.5 million workers; as a result, there was a 35–40% loss of grain before the harvest in 1932, and the collection of grain, forcibly carried out, frequently led to a complete removal by the peasants of the wheat that had been collected, except for the materials for sowing; the resistance was forcibly suppressed so that an entire stanitsa or large Cossack village was deported to the northern Caucasus. Nearly 200,000 from Kazakhstan fled from the towns to the borders of China, Mongolia, and Afghanistan. There also began a massive exodus from the villages to the towns. In January 1933, the government of the USSR ordered the OGPU to forbid “all possible mass movement of the peasants of the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus to the towns.” To defeat the hunger, regions had to curtail the sale zh/d (without) tickets, which created an obstructive network of cordons of the OGPU. For 1932–1933, about 40 million suffered and were hungry, and up to 7 million died (Polian 2001: 62–81).
- 210) *Fi donc!* (fr.)—interjection, expressing a scornful or disdainful attitude or indignant denial.
- 211) Liubov Vladimirovna Simukova (Aronova until she married) (1913–2002)—wife of Alexei Dmitrievich Simukov, in her youth, participant in the independent agit brigade, final year student at MGPI, school teacher, coworker in the lab of physiology at

- TashGU and AN SSSR, selfless mother of two children.
- 212) Anatolii Petrovich Kovalev (1902–1978)—husband of Aleksandra Dmitrievich Kovalova until her marriage —girlhood Simukova; member of the RKP(b) from 1918; finished the public section of rabfak 2nd MGU (1925), worked in a leadership position at In-te Soviet construction/project (later In-te government and law), ARKOS'e (1932), newspaper "Izvestia," Glavite, was the director of Goskultizdata, deputy director Izdatelstva AN SSSR; at the time of the Great Patriotic War—political officer of the military sanatorium troop train.
- 213) *et cetera* (lat.)—and so on.
- 214) M. A. Simukov worked on the collections and photographs of the expedition.
- 215) *Feci, quod potui, faciant Meliora potentes!* (lat.)—I have done all that I could do, let those that can do better! (A medieval reworking of the words of Cicero.)
- 216) From the notes of M. A. Simukova (1979): My friends from my youth—in Surazh, girls from the Kholm'skoi gymnasium: Eva Shubora, Hannah Friedlander, Benkovich, Khaia and Liuba Karasik, and the Surazh boys — Misha Krongauz, Tzitrin, Abram Reznikov...a clear heart and soul, bold eyes. True friends. I remember how the Surazh youth "stole" Natasha Shubabko—they helped her go to Moscow and enter Medvuz (the medical university). Many of them perished at the hands of the Fascists—a most bitter fate! Natasha Shubabko worked as a doctor, was shot for her son's Komsomol member, Hannah and all the Friedlanders...That is the story told by Aunt Polia, when I visited her roughly in 1963.
- 217) It is possible to keep in mind V. A. Kazakevich.; see note 54 in chapter III.
- 218) The news was about the trip of Andrei's sister, Alia, to London with her husband A. P. Kovalev on a business trip for work at ARKOS.

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Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 213).

- 219) *Fili mi!* (lat.)—My son!
- 220) The Geographical Atlas of the MPR/composed from the newest material by the coworker of the Scientific-Research Committee of the MPR by A. D. Simukov/Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar: Pub. The Lenin Club, 1934. Also: in the Mongolian language, see Konagaya et al. 2008b: 296. Supplement (compact disc.) The Atlas contains 18 maps and many diagrams and cartograms: a physical map and a map of the geography of the provinces of Mongolia. The administrative and ethnographic maps of the MPR, a cartogram of the population density, a map of the vegetation (pasture types) and a cartogram of the specific weight of different kinds of cattle production and a cartogram of the dispersal of important types of cattle producers and the condition of these agricultural regions and others, as an index of the names in the physical geography, the names of the soums, and the population points.
- 221) Evidently, the map, which should be kept in mind, is known in Mongolia as "The Green Map," published in the Mongolian and in Russian languages: Simukov, A. D. A Physical and Administrative Wall Map of the MPR, Ulaanbaatar: Mongol Press, 1937 (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 297, supplement CD).
- 222) Keep in mind "The Geographical Sketch of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Part I. The Physical Geography. Part II. Population and economy and government construction in the country. Part II. A composite description of the aimag in the MPR"

(Konagaya et al.2007a: 137–641).

223) *Couleur locale*(fr.)—local color.

224) Ergo (lat.) Consequently, so, thus.

225) What is meant (here) is the early 1920s.

226) *A propos* (fr.) incidentally, by the way, in this case.

39

227) See note 212.

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228) See document IV 39.

229) Borisov Sergei Stepanovich (1889–1937)—coworker in the Far Eastern Secretariat NKID, representative to the Central Committee of the MPR and Director of the authorized NKID in Mongolia (1921–1922), coworker in the Eastern Division of the NKID (1921–1922), coworker in the Eastern Division of the NKID (1922–1933, 1935–1937), secretary of the Mongolian commission TzKVP(b) (1933–1934), leader of the Tibetan expedition KNID (1923–1925), about him, see Andreev, A. I. *The Time of Shambala*: 2nd edition. St. P. “Neva” Press, 2004, repressed, shot (1937), rehabilitated (1956).

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230) See note 211.

231) Jnebrak Anton Romanovich (1901–1965)—geneticist and selectionist, member of VKP(b) from 1918, participant in the Civil War, finished MSXA named for K. A. Timirlazev (1925) from the Institute of Red Professors (1929) coworker in the chair of zootechnician MCXA (horse breeding and large horned cattle), worked on probation in the U.S.A. at L. Danna and T. X. Morgan (1930–1931), co-worker at Uchkom MPR (1933), manager of the department of plant genetics MSkhA (1934–August 1948), academic at the Academy of Sciences BSSR (1940), president of The Academy of Sciences BSSR (May–October, 1947), co-worker Agitprop Central Committee (1945–1946), Manager of the Division of Sciences of the Central Committee of VKP(b) 1946, during the period of destruction of genetics in the USSR (1941–1948) and was subject to persecution and deprived of all positions; from 1949, professor and chair of botany in Moscow at the Pharmaceutical Institute from 1953, and he worked as a researcher at the Institute of the AN BSSR focusing on hybridization, polyploids, and immunity growth in the biological selection of wheat and buckwheat (Shnol 2001: 506–531).

232) The wish to bring her daughter from Mongolia was dictated by a fear for her life; the first child of the Simukovs was their son Altai who died in the Spring of 1931 during the scarlet fever epidemic.

233) Perhaps A. P. Kovalev (see note 212); he was sufficiently well-versed concerning issues on home policy in the USSR, and, namely, the experience of working along the border with its uneasy absence of intelligence from the USSR concerning A. D. Simukov’s mission to work in Mongolia after the end of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition.

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234) See note 220.

235) See note 222.

236) See note 112 in chapter III.

237) Katia (see note 96 in chapter III) fell under a tram in Moscow in the morning crowd

which stormed the rare means of transportation (and if one was late for work, one was threatened with dire consequences.)

- 238) Vera Ivanovna Miller (see note 16 in chapter I). The mother of Katia.
- 239) Keep in mind that, evidently, it was necessary to obtain an official pension certificate for her work in teaching before the Revolution from the Leningrad archive.
- 240) A child's potty.

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- 241) The date is contested.
- 242) Surazh—a district town in Gomel gubernia (1919), regional center in part of the Kintzovskaya region of the western oblast (1929), the regional center of Bryansk oblast (from 1944); the parents of Milia lived in Surazh—Theodosia Makarovna and Aleksei Yakovlevich Alekseenko (see note 76 in chapter IV and note 42 in chapter I).
- 243) Keep in mind, evidently: Simukov, A. D. *A Short Geography of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic*. Textbook in the Mongolian language. 300 pages (mentioned by the author), and possibly Simukov, A. D. *The Short Geography of the World* (in Mongolian language). 80 pages (mentioned by the author) (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 230). A detailed search for the works of A. D. Simukov in the Mongolian language in the Mongolian archives has not been conducted.
- 244) See note 220.

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- 245) Gombo; see note 185.
- 246) Papa Misha—Mikhail Izrailevich Tubianskii; see note 194.
- 247) Mama—Nina Arkadevna Tubianskaya (born Bukharin) 1902–1985—wife of M. I. Tubianskii, Indian scholar, coworker on the Scientific Committee of the MPR. Arrested (1941); 10 years in ITL Kazakhstan until 1957, exiled to the Altai; rehabilitated.
- 248) Efremov Andrei Andreevich (1900–1968)—theater producer and pedagogue, student and associate of K. S. Stanislavskii; set up a studio to train actors for the National Theater of Mongolia (1929–1934); see Efremov, A. *The Creative Paths of the Theater of the MPR*, *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1933, No.1, pp. 47–54; *Three Years, Contemporary Mongolia*, 1933, No. 1, pp. 55–60.
- 249) Efremovskii's Amerikanka—Margaret Wettlin (1907–2003)—wife of A. A. Efremov, writer, translator, author of the book *Fifty Russian Winters, an American Woman's Life in the Soviet Union*, New York: John Wiley and Sons. Inc., 1992.
- 250) Tona—the highest part of the frame on the roof of a yurt— “the massive wooden hoop of the aerie with a connection at the periphery of the curved vault and the cross beams.”
- 251) Erdene-Zuu monastery, founded by Abatai Khan in 1586 on the shore of the Orkhon in the area of the ancient Kharakhorum.
- 252) Dendub — Dendev Lkhamsurengiin (1895–1956) — son of the arat (the People of Mongolia), civil servant in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (1911–1919, 1921–1925), Minister of Justice of Mongolia (1925–1930), member of the Small Khural until 1929, removed from post as Minister (1930) and excluded from the MPR Party (1931) for work in the government of the Bogd-khan; deputy with responsibility of representation of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1932–1933), representative to the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1934–1940), author of the book “Ancient and Contemporary Legal Codes in Mongolia”(1927), “A Short History of Mongolia”(1934); repressed

- (1941), freed 1946. Concerning him see Chuluun S., Lkhamsuren Dendev and The Scientific Committee (1932–1940): from government service to serving science (Chuluun and Yusupova 2012: 9–29).
- 253) Amar—Anandiin Amar (1884–1941)—Mongolian government statesman, scholar, Prime Minister of the MPR (1928–1930, 1936–1939), representative to the Presidium of the Small Khural (1934–1936), representative (1930–1932) and co-worker on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1933–1934), author of a series of books. Arrested in March 1939, shot in the USSR in 1941; rehabilitated (Roshchin 1999: 175–176, 208, 275, 291–294; Luzianin 2003: 230).
- 254) Baidol (*Mongolian-baidal*)—situation, condition, position.
- 255) Stulov E. A.—main secretary (until 1935), editorial board of the journal *Contemporary Mongolia*.
- 256) The Mongolian Atlas; see note 220.
- 257) The Russian Atlas; see note 220.
- 258) Keep in mind, possibly, that Simukov took a bus to his geography teaching assignment in a middle school.
- 259) See notes 242 and 280.
- 260) Gava—coworker on The Science Committee of MPR.
- 261) Dordun— (Mongolian Dyrdan)—fabric for a Mongolian summer robe.
- 262) Terlig (Mongolian terleg)—light summer Mongolian robe.
- 263) Gutal— (Mongolia-gudal)—Wide Mongolian boots with sharp turned up layers and a thick turned up sole.
- 264) Gombojav—keep in mind *Monkh-Ochirin-Gombojav (Mergen gun)* 1906–1940—linguist, philologist, historian, educated in Russia (KUTV< LIJHVVYa), Germany, France (at the Sorbonne with Paul Pelliot); fluent in Russian, French, and German, and he knew Chinese, Tibetan, Manchu, and others; worked on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia, in Leningrad (IV), in Buryatia (with Baradiinom and N. Poppe); arrested (1937) sentenced (1940) for 8 years in a camp, killed (according to the official data) in Sev-Vostov-lage in 1940 (Khishigt 2016: 6; Kulganek 2016: 11–23; Nosov 2016: 26).
- 265) Rinchin-Rinchin Byamba (1905–1977)—linguist, philologist, historian, writer, studied at LIJHVVYa(1924–1927), coworker on the Scientific Committee of the MPR (Director of the Linguistic Cabinet), participated in the organization of the government press; arrested in (1937); freed in 1942 tied to the issue in Mongolia of a Russian language newspaper, a worker on the newspaper "Truth"; in the scene in the film "The Glorious Taij" which received a government prize in the MPR (1946), which was given to the children in Leningrad; director of the Language and Literature Institute of AN MPR (1958), academic of the AN MPR (1961); worthy of the Golden Medal of RIAS (1965), The Silver Medal of the Writers Union' of Poland, (1970), civil orders and medals of the MPR. In 2005 a sculpture in his memory by Denden Barsbold was erected by the Mongolian government. About him, see Atwood Ch. R., Rinchen, Byambyn in *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2004; *Modern World History Online*. Facts on File, Inc., 2004; Rinchen-Khabaev 2001: 12–13; *Britannica Mongolian Abridged Dictionary* (further "*Britannica Mongol*") 2012: V.2–478.
- 266) Tonsag— (Mongolian Tunsagt) co-worker on the Scientific Committee of the MPR.
- 267) N. P. Nina Pavlovna Shastin (1898–1980)—co-worker on the Scientific Committee of

- the MPR (1928–1936), librarian (An USSR) (1937–1942), IV AN USSR (1946–1980), Mongol scholar, philologist, historian; see further in note 39.
- 268) Vera—Vera Viktorovna Badmajapova (Balashova, Khurlat) (1909–1995)—adopted daughter of Ts. G. Badmajapova; co-worker on the Committee of Science of Mongolia, participant in the Gobi expedition of the Committee of Science of Mongolia (led by A. D. Simukov), later-coworker at the Government Library of Mongolia.
- 269) Tseben Jh. — Jamtsarano Tzeben Jamtsaranovich (see note 24 in chapter III); the credential of honor and a valuable gift were sent to him in Leningrad (Chuluun 2012: 27).
- 270) “A herd of elephants”—it has not been determined to whom this nickname applied.
- 271) My geography; see note 222.
- 272) Nina Nik(olaeva)—Nina Nicolaeva Chistiakova; see note 186.
- 273) Nosovii—family of Dr. V. N. Nosov.
- 274) Jirgal (Jargal)—helper to A. D. Simukov at the Museum, participated in the Gobi expedition of the Scientific Committee of Mongolia in 1927 (led by A. D. Simukov).
- 275) Alik—Altai Andreevich Simukov (1928–1931) son of M. A. and A. D. Simukov.
- 276) Abdrakhman—Abdurakhman Abdullaovich Vagapov, participant on an expedition of A. D. Simukov (chauffeur).
- 277) Anandashiri—Ananda Shri; see note 187.
- 278) N. N.—Nina Nicolaevna Chistiakova; see note 186.
- 279) In the translation with “censored,” the three last phrases mean that D. Natsagdorj was again “isolated,” Andrei visited his wife and daughter—both were well.
- 280) In the summer of 1934, M. A. Simukova and her daughter lived in Moscow with the mother and the aunt of Andrei Dmitrievich and later moved to Surazh where they lived with the parents of M. A. Simukova. A. D. and M. A. Simukov did not have a life together in Russia—that is, they both had gone to Mongolia after their student days.
- 281) Here it refers to the mother of A. D. Simukov—Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova (1875–1962) and her sister Olga Yakovlevna Peiker (born Miller) (1873–1944).

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- 282) Letters from the wife of A. D. Simukov disappeared during the time of his arrest; a partial replenishment of the lost information can be found here and later in the communication between M. A. Simukova and the mother of her husband—N. Ya. Simukova.
- 283) The complete address is: Surazh, Western Oblast, factory alley, apt. Alekseenko.
- 284) Petya—Petere Alekseevich Alekseenko (1912 g. r.), brother of M. A. Simukova, student at the Murmansk Maritime Technicum, arrested (1935), transported to the Kolyma mine “The Red Partisan,” 1941 went to the front with the penal battalion, seriously wounded; after the war worked in an automobile factory; rehabilitated (1963).
- 285) Papa—Aleksei Yakovlevich Alekseenko; see note 42 in chapter I.
- 286) Torgsin; see note 204.
- 287) Keep in mind the monetary transactions (tugrik to Torgsin paper money) sent by A. D. Simukov for the upkeep of his family and material upkeep for his mother.

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- 288) Sipniak—spotted fever, typhus.
- 289) Rijhik, Ya. L.—economist, co-worker at the Scientific Research Association for the Study of Social/Economic Problems of the Soviet and Frontier East and the National

and Colonial Problem for the KYTV (Communist University for Workers of the East), member of the subcommittee of the Scientific Committee of the TzIK of the USSR for the consideration of the plan for the expedition of the Mongolian Commission, 1930 (Yusupova 2006: 122).

290) See note 220.

291) Nochovka—a shallow tub or trough, in which meal is sewn and the grain is rolled and then the corn and the grain are separated from the chaff and prepared for roasting.

292) Regarding the massive hunger or famine in 1932–1933; see note 209; in 1934 the card system, which had been introduced in 1929, was used for the most necessary provisions. The cards for bread/wheat were rescinded on January 1, 1935, on October 1 for meat, fish, fat/oil, and on industrial products from January 1, 1936.

293) The exchange of valuta into Soviet money could be done at specific exchange points following Gosbank's official procedure; in 1934 the cost in dollars for this was 1.2 rubles but its real cost (on the "black "market") amounted to 55 rubles.

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294) The average earnings of the Intelligentsia in Moscow in 1934—200 chervonny (gold) rubles that are the equivalent of 4-ruble bonds from Torgsin (the real value of the rubles—2 gold kopeks.) There was a shortage of products which could be purchased on the card. At the market, glass of milk—1 ruble, one potato (in winter) up to 50 kopeks, a pound of meat— 2–15 rubles, pork—40 rubles. See kapuchin.livejournal.com.

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295) Marusia — sister of M. A. Simukova; see note 77.

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Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 214).

296) Keep the Torgsin office in mind.

297) M. I. Tubianskii; see note 198.

298) Bukinich Dmitrii Demianovich (1882–1939)—anthropologist, archeologist, ethnographer, engineer-meliorator (specialist in land reclamation); completed Engineering-Agronomics Division of the Petrovskii (contemporary Timiriazevskii) Agricultural Academy (TSXA) (1907); 3 courses at the Anthropological Institute named for Anuchin; leader of research in the Pamirs, Mountainous Bukhara, Kara-Kum, Northern Persia (from the Division of Land Improvement up to 1917); participant in two expeditions in Afghanistan (in 1924—on the staff of the expedition of N. I. Vavilov); leader and participant in expeditions in Central Asia (1920–1932); pioneer of the anauskii settlement Ak-tepe, founder of the mission and now the history of irrigation in Central Asia and a map of the area of Afghanistan/L.1929; works on archeology, anthropology, ethnography, geography, land reclamation, and irrigation; co-worker on the Scientific Committee of Mongolia (1933–1934)—leader of the Orkhon expedition (a hydroelectricity and archeological party)—excavation in Kharakhorum, Khara Balgasun, Khadacan, Khusho-Tsaidam, research on the region of Tsaidam Lake, ethnologic collections. Accounts preserved in the Archives in the Institute of History AN Mongolia. After Mongolia, worked in Central Asia. Ended his life by suicide caused by the terror of the 1930s. (See for example Formozov A. A., Russian archeology and political repression in 1920–1940-x g. g., *Russian archeology*, 1998,

- No.3, pp. 191–206). Concerning this, see Vavilov N. I., Dmitrii Demianovich Bukinich, *Publ. All Union Geography o-va (VGO)*, 1939, vol. 71, No. 5. pp. 758–759.
- 299) Keep in mind light croupus inflammation.
- 300) In 1918, Andrei Simukov was ill with TB.
- 301) See note 222—monograph concluded in 1934, introduction by the author in the Mongolian language in 2007; 1 language (1936) published (in the Russian language) in 2007; Simukov, A. D. Geographical Essay on the Mongolian Peoples' Republic (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 137–641).
- 302) Zlatkin Ilya Yakovlevich (1898–1990) participant in the Civil War, general consul of the USSR in Western China (1934–1938), co-worker MID USSR (1938–1941), participant in the Great Patriotic War, finished Istfak MGU (1947), k. i. n. (1948), d. i. n. (1962) scientific co-worker IV AN USSR (from 1950).
- 303) See note 289.
- 304) See note 220.
- 305) Khudon—agricultural area, a province; Simukov received permission from the Academy of Sciences to organize the expedition.
- 306) Keep in mind that the Embassy of the USSR in the MPR was located in the Eastern part of Ulaanbaatar.
- 307) Keep in mind, evidently, the Club of the Kombinat in the name of Sodnom—the first major enterprise/business for handling wool and skins—planned by Soviet engineers, put into operation in 1934 (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 391).
- 308) Tzandra (Tzandra Tzeveeniin, 1919)—coworker on the Scientific Committee; later, producer – film documentarian; finished VGIK (1948), teacher was considered to be A. V. Schneiderov (films: *The Great Flight* 1925 and others); worked in the Mongolkino studio (1948–1991). Films: “The New Year” (1961), “The Mistake” (1955), “Our Melodies” (1956), “Two Friends” (1963) and others. Coauthor of the book “The Basic Creation” (1949), “Basic Film Art”). About this see *Britannica Mongol* 2012: V.1–282.
- 309) In August, 1933, Simukov rented two rooms in the home, which were refurnished while the father of the family was on an expedition, and M. A. Simukova lived at friends.
- 310) Kirov (Kostrikov) Sergei Mironovich (1886–1934)—Soviet government and party activist, first secretary of the Leningrad obkom VKP(b) (1924–1934), member of the Politburo TzK VKP9b (from 1930), Secretary Tzk VKP9(b) (from 1934), was killed on December 1, 1934 in the obkom building. It officially appeared that Kirov was sacrificed to a conspirator—an enemy of the USSR. Massive arrests followed, in the first place were former supporters of the Zinoviev opposition, G. E. Zinoviev (from the leader of the Leningrad Party organization) and L. B. Kamenev. During the process (December 28–29, 1934) in the organization for the killing of S. M. Kirov, 14 people were charged (most of them leaders of the Leningrad Komsomol) appearing as participants of “the Zinoviev anti-Soviet group in Leningrad” and “the underground terrorist counterrevolutionary group” under the leadership “of the Leningrad center.” Then there followed the process of “the Moscow center.” The murder of S. M. Kirov started the beginning of the new wave of massive repression. In Leningrad alone in 1934 and in the Leningrad oblast close to 40,000 people: more than 24,000 were sentenced to various punishments. The actual reason for the murder of S. M. Kirov and the subsequent repression (the fight with Stalin over unrestricted power of the Party and the government) was first exposed in a secret article by N. S. Khrushchev at

the XX Party Congress (February 25, 1956); made public in the Soviet press and which appeared at the end of the 80s. In short: at the XVII (17th) session of the party (January 26–February 10, 1934) there appeared a growing discontent for Stalin among his oldest party members; in a lobby session, there were conversations concerning his replacement of Kirov in the post of General-Secretary (Kirov refused); for the choice of Central Committee, nearly 25% of the delegates voted against Stalin; the results of the secret vote were falsified, Stalin remained the General Secretary. In the next year, more than 56% of the delegates at the conference called “The Congress of Victors,” were arrested on the charge of counterrevolutionary crimes, nearly 70% of the members and candidates as members on the Central Committee, chose at the conference, repression and destruction; 5 people killed themselves. See e.g. Rogovin V. *Stalinist neonep*, There was an alternate (series). Vol.3, chapter V, IX. M. 1994.

- 311) See note 276.
- 312) *A propos* (fr.)—incidentally, on the occasion, by the way.
- 313) Kolikov—participant (practicant/trainee for V. D. Yakimov) the Gobi Expedition of the Scientific Committee 1931 (led by A. D. Simukov).
- 314) Yakimov, Vasilii Dmitrievich—from a family of Zaibaikhal Kazakhs, from 1921, in the Red Army (ChON), finished the military-political school. In the Siberian military region (1924), political worker in the cavalry brigade (1924–1928); 1925–1927 – in political work in the MPR; studied LVI (1928–1932); commanded in the MPR (1930); participant (from the economic council in MPR) Gobi expedition 1931. Scientific Committee (led by A. D. Simukov); aspirant LVI (1933–1935); teacher at LVI and LGU (economics and the modern history of Mongolia); coworker LO IV AN USSR (1937–1941); killed on the Leningrad front in 1941.
- 315) Keep in mind the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies (MIV) (1920–1954) sometimes at the Institute in the name of M. N. Narimanov.
- 316) See note 289.
- 317) KUTV—Communist University of Workers in the East (1921–1938, from 1923 in the name of Stalin) —the educational institution of the Comintern (in Moscow) for students of Asiatic nationalism (in a different time—until 73) from the USSR and other countries, students of KUTV including Deng Xiaoping, Ho Chi Minh, Liu Shaoqi, Nazim Khikmet, Urjigiin Yadamsuren-(a Peoples’ Artist of the MPR), Yeldev-Ochir (member of the Presidium RSM), Luvsansharav (secretary Tzk MPR Party), in 1929 in KUTV to teach 38 students from the MPR: in 1927 the KUTV created the Scientific-Research Association for the Study of the Social-Economic Problems of the Soviet and the eastern borderlands and the national and colonial problems. In KUTV and published a newspaper “The Revolutionary East.” (Rupen 1964: 222; 235).
- 318) Evidently, keep in mind the coworkers at the Oriental Educational and Scientific Center in Leningrad.

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- 319) Keep in mind the relatives of A. D. Simukov living with the family in their home in Khrushchevskii alley.
- 320) Fedosia Makarovna was examined in the clinic in Moscow where her daughter Maria lived with her children and husband, R. S. Raikhman, a neurosurgeon, and coworker of N. N. Burdenko.
- 321) The first play of Aleksei Simukov, “Spring,” was written with his co-author and friend

Efim Goldberg (later the writer Efim Dorush): Simukov A. and Goldberg E. “*Spring*,” Moscow: Artistic Literature, 1934.

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- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 214).
- 322) Lutka (ukr.)—lintel, a door or window jamb.
- 323) Marina—adopted daughter of Ts. G. Badmajapova and her husband Yelmar Keiv—chauffeur, participant in the 1929 Gobi Uchkom Expedition (see Kliagina-Kondratieva 1929; Yatskovskaya 2001: 412–435).
- 324) Possibly keep in mind Nina Artunovna Tikhanova.
- 325) See note 289.
- 326) See note 222.
- 327) Keep in mind the Great Khural of the People (the modern Great Government Khural)—the supreme legal organ (parliament) of Mongolia.
- 328) Sodbo—apprentice on the Khangai expedition of the Scientific Committee and the Mongolian MS3 MPR 1933 (led by A. D. Simukov), coworker in the cabinet of cartography of the Scientific Committee.
- 329) Bukinich D. D. (see note 298) was the neighbor of A. D. Simukov in a little home in the yard of the Scientific Committee.
- 330) Tzolik (dzolik, Mongolian-zolig)—figure of a man, usually made out dough, representing the spirit and is a sacrificial substitute for a sick person to pay them off.
- 331) See note 220.
- 332) Keep in mind Radna Ochir (1900–1978), wife of V. Rinchin (see note 265), mother of Niamsa, Shintsa, Indra, and Barsbold; knew four languages, worked on the newspaper “Unen.”
- 333) Keep in mind the wife of the coworker Gava of the Scientific Committee.
- 334) Dandar—participant in the work of the geological detachment of the expedition of the AN USSR 1931.

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- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 214–216).
- 335) See note 110 in chapter III.
- 336) See note 93 in chapter III.
- 337) See note 220.
- 338) *Dixi* (lat.)—I said.
- 339) Assuming an advance of “The Geographic Essay of the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic.”
- 340) See note 289.
- 341) See note 222.
- 342) See note 220.
- 343) See note 212.
- 344) Lapin Boris Matveevich (1905–1941) poet, prose writer, journalist, knew several European and Eastern languages, author of the books “*The Story of Pamir Country*,” “*Pacific Ocean Diary*,” “*Twenty Days in India*,” and others, co-author with Z. Khatzrev and L. Slavin “*Summer in Mongolia*” (1939), war correspondent in Khalkhyn Gol (1939), killed on the front in the Great Patriotic War.
- 345) Khatzrev Zakhar Levovich (1903–1941)—writer, film scenarist, finished the external

- Student Institute of Eastern Languages (1925), author of the book “Tegeran,” co-author with B. Lapin – “America Borders with Us,” “Stalingrad Archive,” “Voyage,” and others. War correspondent in Khalkhyn Gol (1939), killed on the front in the Great Patriotic War.
- 346) Slavin Lev Isaevich (1896–1984)—writer, dramaturg, film scenarist, participant in World War I, Civil War, Great Patriotic War; author of the novel “*The Heir*,” Stories “*My Countrymen*,” (film – “*Two Fighters*”), Play “*Intervention*” scenarist of the film “*Son of Mongolia*” (1936) and co-author with B. Lapin and Z. Khatzrev, “*The Return of Maxim*,” war correspondent at Khalkhyn Gol (1939).
- 347) See Simukov A. D. A Short Geography of the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic (Textbook) (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 642–772).
- 348) Arsenev Vladimir Klavdievich (1872–1930)—traveler, geographer, ethnographer, researcher of the Far East, writer, finished Petersburg Junker Infantry Academy (1895); in the Far East around 1900, described the relief of the Primoria, the first detailed study of the mountain system of Sikhote-Alina, published the source of the largest river of Primoria, the first to pick out and study the two sharply different climate zones of Primoria, initiated the creation of the nature preserve in the Far East; described the life and customs of the native populations of the Far East; member of IRGO (from 1909); author of the books “*Along the Ussuri border*,” “*Dersu Uzala*,” “*Through the Taiga*,” “*The Chinese and The Ussuri Border*,” “*The Life and Character of the People of the Ussuri Border*” and others.
- 349) See note 339.

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- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 216).
- 350) The location of the remainder of the fossil fauna north of Gilbentu mountain ridge was detected in 1931 under the direction of the local population and by the writer B. Chudinov on the trip from Khövsgöl to the southern Gobi aimag. See *Simukov A.* The remains of the fossil fauna at Shiregin-Gashunskoi hollow (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 837–850).
- 351) Keep in mind Dondog Yumtsunov—aspirant on the Scientific Committee accompanying B. Chudinov on a trip in 1931.
- 352) Evidently, he had in mind Vladimir Christorovich Tairov (Ruben Artemevich Ter-Grigorian) (1894–1938)—military advisor in China (1924–1927), worked on different jobs at RKKA (1927–1935), USSR ambassador to the MPR (July 1935–1937); arrested in August, 1937, shot.
- 353) Chutzkaev Sergei Yegorovich (1876–1944)—deputy representative to Sibrevkom (1921–1922), representative to the Far Eastern Executive Committee (1927–1929), member of the Presidium of the TZhK (1929–1933, 1935–1938), ambassador from the USSR to Mongolia (February 1933–July 1935), excluded from the VKP(b) (1938), left Moscow, worked in Kamishlov, Sverdlovsk.
- 354) Shastin, Nicolai Pavlovich—doctor, son of the doctor P. N. Shastin (see note 39), worked in Mongolia from 1926, one of the founders and teachers of a course for nurses in Ulaanbaatar; his son (Pavel Nicolaevich Shastin Jr. —pediatric surgeon) and grandson (Nicolai Pavlovich Shastin Jr.—a pediatric orthopedic surgeon) continued the family tradition and also worked in Mongolia.

- 355) See note 267.
- 356) Family of M. I. Tubianskii (see note 194).
- 357) See note 273.
- 358) See note 94.
- 359) Sechen Khan (Mongolian-Sechen Kahn)—possibly keep in mind Tzerendondov Navaanneren(monastic name Yundenbazar) Deputy Chairman of NIK of MPR, Yundenbazar about him, see *Britannica Mongol*, 2012, V.2.-397.
- 360) See note 252.
- 361) Badmajav Tsedenova—wife of Tsebena Jamtsarano (see note 24 in chapter III); before the forced exit of Ts. Jamtsarano to the USSR, stayed in Mongolia, died in Ulaanbaatar in 1938.
- 362) Grusha (Agrippina Nicolaeva Borzhanova, Oyun Bilig)—wife of Mergen gun Gombojav (see note 264); Mongolian scholar, finished at Irkutsk University, co-worker Buruchkom, assistant to N. N. Poppe on the expedition in 1930 to Eastern Buryatia, participated in the compiling of the dictionary of the Alarskii language; In 1935 she and her children joined her husband in Leningrad. After the arrest of Gombojav his family was evicted from their apartment, their property was confiscated, and his wife and children were sent to the Urals where she taught the Russian language and literature in a rural school. To 1958 she lived and worked in Tashkent; in 1958 she received permission to return to Ulaanbaatar with her daughter. Her son Zorig (1931–1982) finished the Military Medical Academy in Leningrad where the principal medical doctor was Sizran (1966–1981), the honored doctor of the USSR (1978). Her daughter, Bilegt (1933–2013) finished the Pedagogical University in Tashkent (1955) taught Russian language and literature, worked in the educational system. Her children including the grandson of Gombojav and A. N. Borzhonova, finished the Medical University in Mongolia. T. Tamir-honored Mongolian doctor (2009). T. Aira received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in Japan. The debt fell to him to inform the world about Mergen gun Gombojav and his history in the remarkable documentary book which covers the Institute of history and archeology AN Mongolia for the 110 years of the scholar (Mergen gun Gombojav 2016). See also Rupen 1964: 253; People and Fate 2004.
- 363) “solomenaya” or “straw widow”—a married woman who lives apart from her husband; a married man in the same situation is a “straw widower.”
- 364) See note 264 and see also Kulganek 2016: 11.
- 365) See note 328.
- 366) TEZHE—trade mark for the abbreviation of the name Trust Fat-Bone (Government Trust of the Highest Perfumery of the Fat and Bone Workers’ Industry); the revived perfume production in Russia was, by and large, from the famous factory Brokar up to the Revolution (later “New Dawn”), led by a trust (1932–1936) of Polina Zhemchuzhina-wife of V. M. Molotov. [Tran. see Karl Schlögel, *The Scent of Empire: Chanel No.5 and Red Moscow*. Tran. Jessica Splenger. London: Polity, 2021].
- 367) A film about the Civil War hero, V. I. Chapaev, made by G. N. Vasiliev and S. D. Vasiliev (literary pseudonym “the brothers Vasiliev”) in 1934 (from the material of D. Formanov and A. N. Formanov) S. D. Vasiliev – a friend from youth of A. D. Simukov, scout master of the Petrograd druzhina in 1917–1918; see note 31 in chapter I.

- 368) Keep in mind the conflict between Mongolia and Japan with detachments in the area of the Mongolian-Manchurian border beginning at the end of January 1935; negotiations about the demarcation of the border between Mongolia and Manchuria (June–November 1935) led to no success (Luzianin 2003: 200–204; Shishov 2005: 97; Voronov and Krushelnitsky 2019).
- 369) At the beginning of 1932, A. D. Simukov was mobilized by the MPRA staff for two months of work (see note 438), possibly linked to the events in Manchuria; after seizing a large part of Manchuria (September, 1931) to February, 1932, Japan proclaimed the independence of Manchuria from China, and in March, created the government of Manchukuo (part of Inner Mongolia, Barga and Manchuria), the government which was in control of the staff of the Kwantung army of Japan quartered in its territory. At the time, Japanese troops went to Shanghai (Luzianin 2003: 192). March 16, 1932 the Mongolian Commission was organized by the Politburo Central Committee of VKP9b) under the leadership of K. E. Voroshilov “for deciding all questions concerning Mongolia,” liquidated March 17, 1939 (Luzianin 2003: 238; 258). In 1932–1933 in the Plenum of the MPR the Japanese threat to the MPR and the USSR was discussed, and the Mongolian invitation(permit?) to the Soviet military leaders K. K. Rokossovski, Ya. Z. Prokus, V. A. Sudetz, and others. The USSR granted Mongolia credit for its defenses which led to the modernization of the Mongolian army (Luzianin 2003: 197). In the summer of 1935 the Soviet Union directed the techniques, the armaments and the small units of the RKKA, including aviation, armored cars, anti-aircraft guns and other things (Voronov and Krushelnitsky 2019).
- 370) Gavril Methodovich Karchanov—hunter, gold prospector, worked in the economic area of the Scientific Committee.
- 371) Keep in mind “the recommendation” (factually—the order) of the Soviet officials for the instant return to the USSR.
- 372) See note 70 in chapter III.
- 373) Keep in mind this “sign.”
- 374) Turtanov Aleksei Alekseevich—chauffeur, worked for the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of P. K. Kozlov on the Scientific Committee of the MPR, participant on many of A. D. Simukov’s trips in Mongolia. About him, see Lomatkina 1971.
- 375) Keep in mind Unioilexport—the All Union Government Union for the Sale of Oil and Gas Products Industry of Narkomvneshtora USSR, prior to Neftesindikat (1923–1929) attached to VSNX; in 1934 it had oil bases in Ulaanbaatar, Altanbulag, Turte, Bayantumen, and agencies with three storehouses and settlements in the MPR.
- 376) See note 59.
- 377) Darga (Mongolian-darga)—leader.
- 378) See note 252.
- 379) Keep in mind M. I. Tubianskii, see note 194.
- 380) Possibly keeping in mind that this refers to the completion of the work on the geography notebook, see Simukov, A. D. A Short Geography of the Mongolian Peoples’ Republic (Konagaya et al.2007a: 642–771).
- 381) Pachkovskii Ivan Petrovich (1878–1961)—geologist (The Geology and the Techtonics of Central Asia), participant in the expedition of the Mongolian Mineralogical Society (1903), Geological Committee (1916–1917, 1920), leader of the Mongolo-Urianhaisko

expedition of the Geological and Mineralogical museum (1922–1923), expedition of the Mongolian Commission AN USSR (1927, 1928, 1930, 1931, 1933); Scholar Secretary (1931–1945); Deputy Chairman (1930, 1946–1948) Mongolian Commission AN USSR. About him, see Mandrik M.V., The Biography of the research of Central Asian geologist I. P. Rachkovskii, In T. I. Yusupova (ed.) *Russian study of Central Asia; The Historical and Contemporary Aspects (for the 150th anniversary of P. K. Kozlov)*, pp. 122–137, St. P: Polytechnic-Service, 2014.

- 382) Lus (Lusis) Ianis Ianovich (1897–1979)—geneticist, coworker at LSU, Institute of Genetics, Institute of Evolutionary Morphology, AN USSR (1942–1948), Professor at the Latvian State University, member-correspondent AN Latviiskoi USSR (1958). Leader of the cattle breeding detachment of the expedition of the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR. (1931).
- 383) The planning in 1935 for the complexity of the expedition of the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR was called off by the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee VKP(b) in June, 1935 possibly in line with the expansion of the military tension in the Far East and the “lack of verification concerning the composition of the participants.” See Yusupova T. I. *The Mongolian Commission of the Academy of Sciences*, p. 156; see note 6).
- 384) Keep in mind Fishev David Moisevich—photographer, worked in Mongolia in 1930–1932, included a great number for the photo cabinet of the Scientific Committee of the MPR and sold his enlargements to Simukov.
- 385) Gombojav-shilte – keep in mind a coworker and then a leader in the photo cabinet of the MPR’s Scientific Committee.

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- 386) Tzetka (Belorussian)-Aunt.

65

- 387) Keep in mind Dalanzadagad (see letter IV 60 of February 22, 1935).
- 388) In the summer of 1934, Al. D. Simukov and his wife and newborn daughter lived in Moscow in a semi-basement room—4 ½ m² apartment at House No. 3 on Khrushchevskii alley; see Simukov Aleksei, *Devils Bridge or My Life as a Speck of Dust in History (Notes of An Undejected)*, Moscow: Agraf, 2008, p. 186.

66

- 389) Gurban-Saikhan—The Gobi mountain ridge in the foothills of which the tract (in the area of the spring) of Dalan tzada-gai, was founded as the town Dalan-zadaga (mong. Dalanzadgad), the capital of the South-Gobi aimag, the place for this town was selected by A. D. Simukov (1931) as a task from the Mongolian government, and in 1935, a telegraph station was installed at Dalan-zadagad.

67

Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 216).

- 390) See note 351.
- 391) See note 36.
- 392) The family of the doctor.
- 393) See note 350.
- 394) See Simukov A. D. Notes on the March Route of the Gobi expedition in 1931 (Konagaya et al. 2007a: 337–340).

- 395) Pervichka—primary division of the Mongolian Central Cooperative (MNTzK-Montzenkoop)-preparation and export of cheese and other Mongolian products and the import of consumer goods.
- 396) Batzar-(Mongolian-*Bazar*) worker on the Gobi expedition of the Scientific Committee of 1931 (led by A. D. Simukov).
- 397) Keep in mind the aimag center-Dalanzadgad.
- 398) Dugar—7-years-old Dugar was the first teacher of the Mongolian language to M. A. Simukova on the 1927 expedition, see document IV 2.
- 399) Sanjacha – participant in the expedition of A. D. Simukov to Tsagaan-Bogd (1927).
- 400) Temen (Mongolian-*temee*)—camel.
- 401) See note 220.
- 402) Keep in mind the soum center.
- 403) Perhaps referring to the smoking of opium.
- 404) Nosov V. N.—doctor in Ulaanbaatar.
- 405) Rachkovskii; see note 381.
- 406) Keep in mind the monetary transfer (in the paper money of the Torgsin).
- 407) Merlok (here) —a den or refuge.
- 408) Not found in the archives.
- 409) Simukov A. D. The Western Gobi (geographical essay) (Konagaya et al.2007a: 774–814).
- 410) Simukov A. D. Materials Concerning the Life and the Nomadic Population of the MPR. II. The Nomads of the Ubur-Khangai aimag MPR, *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1936. No. 2 (15). pp.49–56 (Konagaya et al.2007b: 470–479).

68

- 411) See note 6 in chapter I.

69

- Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 216–217).
- 412) Khrushchevskii; see note 144.
 - 413) The courses were organized with the goal of preparing the national cadres. From the explanatory notes of M. I. Tubianskii about the program of the course: “the teachers will be Tzandra, Simukov, Shagja, and Dondog.” See National. Archiv of Mongolia. F. 23. D. 2. No.172. p.32 (by the condition of 1992).
 - 414) GVO—Government Interior Okhrana MPR; created in 1922, from 1936 The Ministry of Internal Affairs.
 - 415) Nina Pavlova Shastina; see note 267.
 - 416) Nina Nicolaeva Chistiakova; see note 186.
 - 417) Natsag—Dashdorjiin Natsagdorj; see note 184.
 - 418) Keep in mind Barsbold Rinchin
 - 419) Keep in mind M. I. Tubianskii; see note 194.
 - 420) See note 264.
 - 421) Tsinde; see note 120.
 - 422) Keep in mind the episode about the trip of A. D. Simukov and M. A. Simukova to Etziin gol on the 1927 expedition (see letter IV 16, May-June 1928).
 - 423) Batzar; see note 396.

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Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 217).

424) See note 381.

425) Baranov Vladimir Isaakovich (1889–1967)—geobotanist, professor in Perm (1929–1932), in Kazan (from 1933) University; participant in the expedition of the Mongolian Commission AN USSR 1930 and 1931.

426) In Mongolia (as in the USSR) a revolutionary machine of repression was set up directly from the pressure from the Soviet leadership and with the direct participation of many of its advisors and instructors. Against a background of periodic conflicts on the Mongolian-Manchurian border, there arose the hysteria of espionage, raids on internal enemies and above all, on the highest lamas: “The internal feudals, the highest lamas, and other counterrevolutionary elements prolonged this open fight against the popular revolutionary powers...It was necessary to be vigilant and follow the plots of these internal enemies, intensify the fight against them, and in good time expose their criminal activity and ruthlessly punish them as traitors to the Motherland and enemies of national independence, without waiting for when they would openly advance against the power of the people.” (Concerning the Monasteries and Lamaseries. In accordance with the material of the 7th great Great Khural. Translation from Mongolian, *Contemporary Mongolia* (further *Contemporary Mongolia* 1935, No.2 (9), p. 37). At the major monasteries there began the authorized government control to carry out the administration’s monastic laws passed by the government (*Contemporary Mongolia* 1935, No. 2(9), p. 29). Despite this “new course” taken by the Mongolian government, after the suppression of the uprising, important areas of the country were seized in 1932 (Roshchin 1999: 258, 268; Baabar 2010: 321–325, 330), which includes the evil pressure from Stalin and the Politburo of the Central Committee TZK VKP(b), laws, decisions, directions for the destruction of the Lamaist churches. Violation of the law concerning the interdict, against the construction of new monasteries and the “repair of the old,” the taking of youngsters under the age of 18, with the deprivation of freedom for 3 years, by fines, and the confiscation of property; the appropriation or acceptance of the title “hutukhta,” “hubilgam” and other religious titles is punishable by up to 5 years in prison with confiscation of property. (the specific parts of criminal code of the MPR)—(October 1934) statutes 114, 115, 116 (Rupen 1964: 248). A new variant of the military tax was published concerning the government tax on the monastic economy; a decision about measures, which drew in the lamas for productive labor and for working in trade and other organizations (*Contemporary Mongolia* 1935, No. 2 (9), pp. 133–138.) There appeared a “counterrevolutionary organization” led by the lama Jamiantib in 1935 in an eastern aimag (Damdin. *The Lamaist Church in MPR*, see *Contemporary Mongolia* 1936, No. 1, p. 88). The number of “internal enemies” besides the lamas and feudals impinges on all of the major party and government workers. In March, 1934 there was the discovery that in 1933 there had been “a counter-revolutionary group” in Khentii and the Eastern and Central aimags—so responsible party co-workers and the government apparatus executed 56 people (Baabar 2010: 335–339; Roshchin 1999: 272; Rupen 1964: 237, 253). The first large scale political “matter” after “the conspiracy of Bodo and Danzan in 1922.” In 1935, there was a fire in the textile department of the Promkombinat “which was arson.” 3 people were sentenced to be shot-and 4 were deprived of their

freedom (*Contemporary Mongolia* 1936. No. 1, pp. 106–111).

427) In 1934 the Mongolian government made the decision about the reduction in the number of instructors and specialists with the aim of replacing them with Mongols.

428) See note 359.

429) Galchi (mong. Galch)—stoker.

430) In January, 1934, the chairman of the Scientific Committee of the MPR L. Dendev directed a letter to the permanent secretary of the AN USSR V. V. P. Bolgin with the request concerning the renewal of the discussion (the recent period of 1934) between the AN USSR and the NIK about the continuation of the activities of the combined expeditions and the proposal to send expeditionary detachments for 2–3 years instead of for 2–3 months. The supporting ambassador S. E. Chutzkaev requested the SNK USSR together with an agreement from the Academy to organize these events and take on the preparation of the scientific cadres for Mongolia. However, the necessary financing from the AN USSR was not received. Besides that, in 1934, a special commission of the TzK VKP(b) was created for a mission to the border to study the issue “not only from the point of view of political loyalty, but also from the point of view of expediency,” the last was now determined by the Party leaders and not by the scholars and specialists. At the end of 1934, the chairman of this commission became the future Peoples’ Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, N. I. Yezhov (Yusupova 2006: 146–148). The final and repeated request of L. Dendev was often up against the problem of the cadres. During the planning of this complex expedition of the AN USSR in 1935, the Institute of Genetics could not select two co-workers needed for work in Mongolia and not one for the Institute of Geography (Yusupova 2006: 153–154). In the final account, the Politburo VKP(b) cancelled the expedition as “inopportune and of no purpose.” (See note 383).

431) Nokhor—husband.

71

432) See note 204.

72

433) See note 426.

434) Stormong—joint trade society of the USSR and Mongolia.

435) See note 413.

436) See note 306.

437) MS3—Ministry of Cattle Production and Agriculture.

438) Keep in mind, evidently, the agreement on the large number in the unification of the names in the geographical maps of the different provinces. In the conflict on the Mongolian-Manchurian border, the Mongolian side referred to the ancient Chinese maps, the Manchurian – on the much later Qing maps. NKID USSR and the Genshtab RKKA used a map of the Genshtab of the Russian Army from 1906 and the Soviet variant of this version was printed in January, 1934. The government military topography RKKA and the last version at the beginning of 1936 was given to the MPR for marking their maps (Luzianin 2003: 219; 226). See also note 369.

439) N. P. Sh. —Nina Pavlovna Shastina; see note 267.

440) See note 381.

441) NIK—The Scientific Research Committee of the MPR (see note 61 in chapter III).

442) Z. A. —Zoya Aleksandrovna Lebedeva (1893–1975)—geologist-morphologist, coworker

at the Geological Museum and the Geological Institute of the AN USSR, research in the geology of Mongolia and Tuva from 1920, participant in the expeditions of the Mongolian Commission from 1925–1931 and 1933.

443) Natzok—Dashdorjin Natsagdorj; see note 184.

444) See note 36.

445) See note 403.

446) Radna; see note 332.

447) Keep in mind Nina Arkadievna Tubianskaya. (See note 247).

448) The Western-Eastern-European barter shareholder society.

449) Keep in mind M. I Tubianskii (See note 194).

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450) See note 211.

451) Olechka – Olga Alekseevna Simukova (1934 g. r.) married Kuznetsov. Later Gradov – niece of Andrei Simukov, daughter of Alexei and Liubova Simukova; finished the Theater faculty GITIS and worked for the publisher pf “Art: The Journal of the Soviet Stage and Circus,” senior scientific worker GII, member of the editorial team and author of about 200 articles published, “The Russian Stage in the 20th Century. Lexicon” (2000) and “The Russian Stage, 20th century, Encyclopedia” (2004), main editor and compiler and author of the collected articles/essays “The Stage Today and Yesterday” (2010).

77

452) At Zheni Miller’s (see note 25 in chapter II) where there was a New Year’s party.

78

Letter fragment published: see *Simukov A. D. Letters to Relatives* (Gatov and Erdene 1971: 217–218).

453) Dated by content.

454) Mikhalevskaya A. M. —geobotanist, participant in the Khangai expedition of the Scientific Committee of MSZ MPR 1933 led by A. D. Simukov.

455) See note 125.

456) See Konagaya et al.2008b: 80–177, 196–209, 212–240, 242–273, 298–378, 401–452.

457) See Konagaya et al.2007a: 137–641.

458) See Konagaya et al.2007a: 642–771.

459) See note 220.

460) See Konagaya et al.2007a: 774–814.

461) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 283–340.

462) See note 425.

463) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 5–202.

464) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 203–282.

465) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 480–492.

466) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 452–469.

467) See Konagaya et al.2007b: 470–479.

468) The original maps, at the present, have not been found in the archives. See The Systematic Map of the Monasteries of Mongolia as of 1937, assembled by D. Maidar, Ochirin Ina, R. Ravzhir, N. Baldorj, S. Dorjsuren; Three Maps of the Towns and Settlements of Mongolia (Ancient, Medieval, and the Beginning of the 20th Century) edit. by N. Ser-Oldja, Ulaanbaatar: Publ. AN MPR, 1970 (in the Mongolian and

Russian languages).

- 469) Not found in the archives at the present.
- 470) See Simukov, A. D. "Essay on Twelve Years of Work in the MPR and its Results" (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 176–183).
- 471) Keep in mind Dendev Lkhamsurengiin; see note 252.
- 472) See note 374.
- 473) Keep in mind, evidently, Altan-Bulak-(Mongolian-*Altanbulag*) – the population point on the border of Mongolia and Russia opposite Kyakhta.
- 474) Evidently, except for the loneliness resulting from being cut off from his family, keep in mind the series of internal factors, which inevitably weighed on him and his professional activity in Mongolia at this time. The real situation of affairs became partially known only at the end of the 20th century.
- 1) The tension on the eastern border of the MPR increased: November 25, 1935 lessened the work of the Mongolian conference meeting at a station in Manchuria-which led in July, 1935 to the settlement of the border conflict. The Japanese-Manchurian side offered to establish diplomatic relations. The Mongolian delegation was limited to the task of negotiating the border (Luzianin 2003: 202–204). There were more frequent armed clashes between Mongolia and the Japanese-Manchurian forces. (*Contemporary Mongolia* 1936, No.1, p. 111; Luzianin 2003: 205).
 - 2) After the 1932 and the active border conflict Stalin's attention was sharply heightened: in the period 1934–1936 the issues concerning Mongolia were discussed in the session of the Politburo of the CC of the VKP(b) about 50 times (Yusupova 2006: 156). December 30, 1935 there took place the next meeting in Moscow of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the MPR, P. Genden with I. Stalin, V. Molotov and K. Voroshilov concerning cooperation. P. Genden accompanied the War Minister, the Commander-in-chief of the MPR G. Demid and the leader of the GVD MPR D. Namsrai. Stalin raised the issue concerning the lamas and demanded their annihilation. Genden was annoyed and raised an argument (Roshchin 1999: 287–288).
- On the request of the CC of the MPR, on February 1 in Mongolia, the regulars from the Red Army were introduced in Mongolia where they were basically located along the eastern and south-eastern borders of the MPR (Luzianin 2003: 230). During the first quarter of 1936, there were more than 10 border conflicts and out of those were the major collisions at the outpost of Adik-Dolon on March 30 with the participation of aviation, tanks, armored cars. (Luzianin 2003: 209; Shishov 2005: 97). At the end of February 1936 under the persistent pressure of Moscow GVO MPR the MVD reorganized and the first deputy prime-minister Kh. Choibalsan was assigned the title of Marshal. (Roshchin 1999: 287–290).
- 12 (in other data 14) March 1936, the Protocol of Mutual Assistance was signed between the USSR and the MPR. -At the plenum of the CC MPRP (11–22 March 1936) it was decided by the staff of the Central Committee that P. Genden would be relieved of his post as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (due to illness) and at the session A. Amar was selected for the position. (Concerning him; see note 253 in chapter IV) (Roshchin 1999: 288–290; Luzianin 2003: 208).
- At the end of February 1936, under the persistent pressure from Moscow's GVO,

MPR was reorganized as the MVD, the head of which had been the first deputy under Prime Minister Kh. Choibalsan and was awarded the title of Marshal. (Roshchin 1999: 287–290).

- 3) The heightened attention of the Politburo TzK VKP(b) toward Mongolia was reflected in the activities of the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR. From 1933, the Commission could not organize a single expedition in Mongolia “because of circumstances beyond control” of the Politburo and because there was “inadequate verification” of the participants on the expedition (Yusupova 2006: 156–158, 166). This led to the curtailment of Simukov’s relationships with both his professional colleagues—geologists, hydrographers, zoologists, botanists and his friends. The national cadres were only educated in their specific specialty.
- 4) Having published a great number of articles and journals in both the Mongolian and Russian languages, A. D. Simukov, at the time, did not have the possibility to publish his basic works which he had already accumulated. The representative of the Small Khural of the MPR, A. Amar, appeared at the Plenum of the NIK’a (August 5–7, 1935) and noted “we haven’t, up until now, published the geography of the MPR.” (*Contemporary Mongolia* 1935. No. 5, p. 122)
- 5) Finally, other than the rare visitors from the countryside, by the end of the mid-30s, almost his entire circle of friends with homes in Ulaanbaatar, like the Kondratievs and N. P. Shastin and their families, had gone, Ts. Badmajhapov was arrested and sent into exile, M. Gombojav (see note 264) was working in Leningrad, and Doctor Nosov and family had gone.

79

- 475) Keep in mind the store OGIZ (The Joint Government Book and Magazine Publisher for Narkompro RSFSR (about 1930) since 1946—before SM USSR).

80

- 476) In the angular brackets here and further on, the written dates are based on the postage stamps.

85

- 477) Without the date, the telegram was dated by its contents and according to the letter of M. Simukova.

88

- 478) Zhenya—E. A. Miller (see note 25 in chapter II). Cousin of Andrei Simukov. Tata—wife of E. A. Miller who ended her life by suicide.

90

- 479) See note 136.

- 480) In 1936, Andrei Simukov was awarded the order of the Pole Star for his research work on Mongolia and his investment in the development of the country’s economy. (See A. D. Simukov, For all his work on the Scientific Research Committee of the MPR for 15 Years, *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1936. No. 4(17)-5 (18), pp. 67–86; New Dictionary, 1936. No. 3–4. pp. 109–155 (in the Mongolian language).

91

- 481) A. D. Simukov assumed he would complete his work in Mongolia in 1936. “The past year seemed like ten as I worked continuously for The Scientific Committee.” (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 169–172).

- 482) The expedition was sent to the region of Tsagaan Bogd—a strategic bend in the wide

bend (nearly 50,000 square km) in a nearly unpopulated region along the south and southwestern borders of the MPR. The task of the expedition “consisted mainly of critically monitoring what was received on the earlier (the expeditions of 1927 and 1935) intelligence and draft of the mastery of the region.” Vorobiev P. I. and Simukov A. D.) “Notes from the report on the need for mastery of the Tsagaan Bogd region and the southwestern borders of the MPR.” (Konagaya 2008b: 119–122). The needs of the expedition provoked a strained position on the southern border of the MPR: the change in the political situation and the activities of Japan in Inner Mongolia as well as the large number of military constructions: airports, fortification points, armaments caches, roads, radio stations, etc. in the region of Dolonnor (Luzianin 2003: 198; 222–223) and the penetration deep into Western China (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 120).

92

- 483) In the autumn of 1936 M. A. Simukova went with her daughter from Surazh to Moscow and began to work at Narkomfin USSR where Andrei’s sister, A. D. Kovaleva, worked and lived in a dacha of the Narkomfin village of Tomilino near Moscow where each family had a room, a well, and “a convenience” in the yard, along with a heating stove. It was three km from the station on a dirt road with no transport in the deep winter snow drifts. The train did not run regularly and if one was late one could receive “time” (which was like sabotage). Natalia Simukova remembered “We left before dawn (I had to be taken to her kindergarten before work). On hearing the train’s horn, Mama hurried to leave and literally dragged me through the snow drifts to the station.”

93

- 484) Keep in mind the expedition in the area of Tsagaan Bogd with P. I. Vorobev, Dashdorj, film operator of Mongolkino, A. A. Lebedev, worker (Van-Fuchin) and the chauffeur in the autumn of 1936 (Vorobev P. I. and Simukov A. D., *The Expedition of Tsagaan-Bogd, Modern Mongolia* 1937, No. 4(23). pp. 85–92; No. 5 (24). pp. 85–94 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 504–514; 515–527). A number of results of the expedition: detailed map of the region on the scale 1:500,000 on the basis of the topographical work of the expedition in 1935 and 1936, the overall map of the western Gobi (except for the border area), the geographical monograph about the Western Gobi, a photo album, a documentary film about the Western Gobi. The expedition adopted the most expedient variant of the factually absent line of the governmental border of the MPR and China in the area between Etziin-gol and Xinjiang and the arrangement, necessary for the realization of this variant, Vorobev, P. I. and Simukov A. D., *Memorandum concerning the necessity of mastering the region of Tsagaan Bogd on the south western border of the MPR* (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 119–122).

94

- 485) The telegraph in the name of his wife after her move to a district near Moscow (see note 483). A. D. Simukov addressed it to his mother (Moscow 34, Khrushchevskii alley 3, apt. 1).
- 486) Vorobev Pavel Ivanovich (1892–1937)—Manchu scholar, China scholar, Mongolian scholar; finished FVYa at Petersburg University in the Japanese-Chinese and the Chinese-Manchu-Mongolian classes (1915), posted to China (1914), student of the Practical Eastern Academy (1912–1916); member of RKP(b) in 1917, mobilized into the Red Army (March 1918); manager of the business PIJhVYa (1921), scientific

coworker, resident rector (1922), rector PIJhVYA/LIJhVYa (from 1927LVI named for A. S. Enukidze)(1923–1930), held position of parttime director GRM(1926–1930), director GIM in Moscow (1932–1933), Director of the Ethnography Museum of the Peoples' of the USSR and the managing director IV AN USSR (from 1934), led to MPR (summer 1936) where he worked as an advisor to the Scientific Committee of the MPR, sent to USSR (June,1937) to discuss the issue of opening in Ulaanbaatar a university, arrested in Leningrad August 11 (or sometimes given as September 11) 1937 as guilty of espionage and k/r activity, shot (November 24, 1937); rehabilitated (1957). About him, see *People and Fate: Bibliographical Dictionary of Oriental Scholars Sacrificed During the Political Terror in the Soviet Period (1917–1991)* compiled by Ya. V. Vasilkov and M. Yu. Sorokina, St. P: Petersburg Oriental Studies, online version, 2004; Reshetov 2012: 160–161.

- 487) The address of M. A. Simukova in the Moscow environs of Tomilino changed several times.

96

- 488) See note 481.

- 489) Keep in mind that the expedition was undertaken “on the suggestion of the MVD in order to become acquainted with the region and those who worked there as frontier guards as well as a rough idea of the locations of the border posts. Simukov A. D., Account of the winter expedition of 1937 (January) in the area of the western Gobi (Konagaya et al.2008a: 528–540). In the account in the geographical supplement, there is a description of the region given by the author from his expeditions in 1927, 1935, and 1936. Evidently the trip was a consequence of the acute situation on the southern border of the MPR (see note 482) and resulted in the 1936 expedition to Tsagaan Bogd (see note 482) and the notes of the report of P. I. Vorobev and A. D. Simukov (October 1936) under the leadership of NIKa (later – the government of the MPR), with the proposal “to settle, in fact, the line that was absent on the governmental borders of the MPR with China in the area between Etziin-gol and Xinjiang” and the handling “of the more expedient variant of it.” (Konagaya 2008b: 119–124). The expedition turned out to be more than timely in 1937, and profiting from the disturbances in Xinjiang, Japan began a hasty transfer of troops to Chahar and to the area of Etziin-gol and Alashan; avoided a strike with the south of Mongolia and its reinforcements which had been strengthened along the frontier posts on the southern border. In 1936, the USSR allotted the Mongolian army a subsidy of 8 million rubles (Luzianin 2003: 230; 234).

97

- 490) In the published correspondence, there is not an accessible compilation from January 6 to June 1, 1937. During that time, there were important events: in February 1937 in Ulaanbaatar the youngest daughter of A. D. Simukov and Dorjpalam was born.
- 491) Keep in mind, evidently, the unpredictable events and the possible arrests of any citizens of the USSR or Mongolia at that time.

98

- 492) Dated by the contents of document IV 97. The letter was sent, via P. I. Vorobev, and not by post.
- 493) The period mentioned is characterized by the following events in Mongolia and the Soviet Union.

The repression spread in the MPR. In the autumn of 1936, representatives of the high clergy in Mongolia were arrested. Abbot Yenzon, Luvsankhaimchig, the high abbot Damdin, Manzushirskii Khututku Tserendorj and others (during the year, 19 of these were shot). From December, 1936 to January, 1937 during the time of the official visit by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the MPR A. Amar to the USSR, Stalin rapidly reached the decision regarding the issue of the lamas – that is, “to remove the lamas.” (Roshchin 1999: 292). After 1936, there were 5 open proceedings concerning the lamas (kamsha.ru/journal/analitics/Mongolia.html). In January, 1937, the MVD wrote a ukaz concerning the census of the lamas and the feudals, registered the monasteries, and the operation was led by the Soviet Chekist Kichikov (Baabar 2010: 363–364).

On February 8, D. Natsagdorj was arrested and sentenced to 5 months of forced labor (Sanders 2010: 632).

The Scientific Committee of the MPR planned in 1937 a complex expedition to study the natural history and culture in parts of the agricultural economy and the resources of the country. In a letter from February 17, 1937, in the name of the plenipotentiary of the USSR, the Prime Minister A. Amar turned to the Soviets with a request to send help from the specialists and scholars of the AN USSR. In answer to the telegram of April 15, 1937, the President of the AN USSR V. L. Komarov promised, in May a linguist, an archeologist, a specialist in cattle breeding, a forage detachment, a geologist, and topographers and expedition leaders. However, the expeditions of the AN USSR to Mongolia did not take place in 1937. In April, the Politburo again decided to tighten the rule concerning missions abroad; “all decisions on trips abroad must be examined by the commission Tzk VKP9(b) in a personal document appropriate to the narkom with the binding conclusion of the NKVD USSR,” after which they must be approved by the Politburo (Yusupova 2006: 158–159).

The main reasons for the changes concerning the expeditions, as with many of the reasons concerning such undertakings, was the beginning of the unprecedented increase in repression in the USSR. There was the destruction of the leading staff of the RKKA. At the end of May, Marshal M. N. Tukhachevskii was arrested, commander I. P. Uborevich, A. I. Kork, komkor, B. M. Feldman, R. I. Ideman; earlier (1936) komkor V. M. Primakov and V. K. Putna. May 31 “Pravda” communicated about the suicide of the leader of the Politgovernment RKKA, Ya. G. Gamarnik, removed from his post May 20.

June 11, 1937 in “Pravda” there was information about a closed trial of those arrested, and the following day that they were shot.

494) Apparently, it is evident that these words are not about the country, but about the unimaginable situation today in which it seems that Mongolia and its people (in great numbers and A. D. Simukov) are caught up in the cast iron repression, crushing everything living, destroying the culture, religion, historical memory, economy, and, really, the country, in spite of the urgent increase in its defensive ability. Possibly, in the spring of 1937, there was an analogous situation in the Soviet Union, where the account of the repression was already in the millions, and this was not yet clear in Mongolia.

495) Evidently keep in mind the decision of the Embassy of the USSR, under which citizens

of the Soviet Union could leave for the USSR. At the end of the 30s, the NKVD put aside Mongolian affairs. Arrested and shot was the former “torgpred” A. I. Birkengof (1936), S. S. Borisov (1937), after many years of heading the Mongolian section in the Second Eastern Division of the NKVD, the former ambassador A. N. Vasiliev (1937) and A. Ya. Okhtin (1937), and in August, 1937, V. X. Tairov was arrested. At that time, the ambassador in Mongolia was controlled by the Politburo through the NKVD. From August, 1937, it was S. N. Mironov (1892–1940), commissar of the third rank GB, Chekist with a 20 year term of service, until Mongolia—leader of the UNKVD of the western Siberian krai (administrative unit), leading on the scale of “the kulak operation” and fabricated the enormous “plot of POVsa”; from 1938 until spring 1939—M. I. Golubchikk (1906–1940). Earlier the main advisor for the MVD MPR about him, see the <https://karagodin.org/?p=35075>; See Essays on the History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia 1802–2002, vol.2, pp. 222–226; Teplyakov 2015, chapter 3).

99

- 496) The circumstances leading to the events from the beginning of June to the beginning of September 1937 made the exchanges of real information in letters and telegrams from the border practically impossible.

June 8, 1937—arrest of coworker from eastern department HKID S. S. Borisov; see note 229.

June 19, 1937—arrest of Ye. D. Rinchin; see note 45 in chapter III.

July 7, 1937—beginning of the Japan-China wars. Assistance from Russia for China during time of war; financial, military technology, specialists; part of the aid went to Mongolian territory, later – opposite Xinjiang (Baabar 2010: 394; Vladimirov P. P. *The Special Region of China: 1942–1945*, Moscow 1973, p. 506; Huffman J. L. *Japan and Imperialism, 1853–1945*, Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2010, p. 57; Baturin 2014).

August 21, 1937—Conclusion of negotiations about non-aggression between (USSR and – China) (Luzianin 2003: 221).

June 13, 1937—D. Natsagdorj died in Ulaanbaatar; see note 184.

June 17, 1937—In USSR former Prime Minister of MPR P. Genden arrested in the USSR (Tserendulam G., *P. Genden; To the Memory of My Father*, Ulaanbaatar, 2000, pp. 71–72).

August 11–12, 1937 in Leningrad arrested Ts. Jamsarano (see note 24 in chapter III), M. Gombojav (see note 264), M. I. Tubianskii (see note 194), P. I. Vorobev (see note 486) (for the other version of the arrest—September 2, 1937 —V. A. Kazakevich (see note 54 in chapter III) and others. NKVD fabricated “the matter of a Japanese-Buryat espionage center.” Besides this “matter,” at different times there were repressive measures taken against many scholars which led to consequences in Mongolia or were connected to the work of the Mongolian commission AN USSR (among them A. V. Burdukov, A. N. Samoilovich, B. B. Polinov, B. I. Krizhanovskii, A. I. Pudnev, G. I. Borovka, S. A. Teploikhov, S. I. Rudnev) and a wide circle of a variety of Orientalists, including D. M. Pozdnev, N. A. Nevskii, and many others. See, for example: People and Fate 2004; Yusupova 2006: 160; Reshetov 1994; Alpatov 1990: 110–121.

August 22, 1937 (in another version August 23)—Marshal G. Demid, Minister of Defense and glavkom MPR died from poisoning on the train to Moscow, in the area of

Taiga station (Baabar 2010: 365; Roshchin 1999: 292).

August 24, 1937—There was an increase in Ulaanbaatar, deputy of Narkom Defence USSR, D. I. Smirnov, deputy Narkom Internal Affairs of the USSR, M. P. Frinovskii, new Plenipotentiary S. N. Mironov (Baabar 2010: 366).

August 25–26, 1937—the decision of the Little Khural to turn to the USSR with the request to bring troops (30,000 men); an infantry division, 280 armored cars, 265 tanks, 107 planes, artillery, field engineers, an engineer-construction brigade, signal corps (Baabar 2010: 367; Shirokorad A. *Japania. Unfinished Rivalry*, ch. 26 (online version).

September 4, 1937—narkom order of USSR defense from Voroshilov to all those involved and those parts of the RKKA in Mongolia that were informed at the Special korpus (OK) under the command of komkor I Konev (Voronov and Krushelnitsky 2019: 06.29).

September 21, 1937—The work of the Mongol-Japan-Manchurian conference came to an end concerning the exact border and leading to an aggravating situation on the Mongolian-Manchurian border (Luzianin 2003: 228).

September 7, 1937—The work of the Mongol-Japan-Manchurian conference about the destruction of the border; it intensified the situation along the Mongol-Manchurian border (Luzianin 2003: 228).

September 10, 1937—B. Rinchin was arrested (see note 265); repression of more coworkers of the Scientific Committee, among them: Shagja, Buianchuluun, Khukhte, Yu. Batsar (Tsetsen Khan), Bat-Tumur, Loto-Bachir (Lomakina 2006: 189; Rupen 1964: 234).

100

- 497) “The Autobiography of Simukov”- one of the documents received by the Deputy in the Division of Ethnography of the Border People at the Asian Institute of Ethnography of the AN USSR by A. M. Reshetov from the Government KGB in the Chitin oblast in 1990 in answer to an inquiry on the fate of A. D. Simukov. The document represents his 9 pages—parts of the fragment are typed texts, assembled by the typist. 8 pages of the typescript were numbered. The pages without numbers (information about relatives) have the signature of A. D. Simukov and the typist’s date. In the upper righthand corner of each page is the manuscript number, distinct from those typed (possibly on the enumerated list “business”). Half the pages of the text have clear under linings, evidently from officials, on the limits of the written autobiography. There are insertions to strengthen some of the weaker printed parts of the letters in the text belonging to A. M. Reshetov who, in 1997, kindly offered a xeroform copy of the document to the A. D. Simukov family archive. Below are the separate pages in xeroform as well as the printed text of the document.

Judging from the contents, the style, and the date, (see note 496) “The Autobiography” was written on the demand and in the presence of coworkers of the NKVD, evidently for the Embassy of the USSR (at the embassy from August 19, 1937–May 3, 1938 komisar GB 3 rank S. N. Mironov; see note 495; about him http://vk.com.wall211983592_16381). The writing of the document accompanied the interrogation or “conversation” (see the first lines). While reading “The Autobiography,” it is impossible to neglect that this document was “under surveillance.” Evidently, it was in conjunction with the details of a reliable witness concerning the life and work of the

family in Petersburg and in the village and about the deceased relatives (who had not yet been harmed) and “the ignorance” about the address of those living other than the mother whose address was known earlier to the Embassy. The fact of the correspondence with the emigrant A. Ya. Miller (see chapter II and chapter III) must have been closed (by the court in 1937!). A. D. Simukov gives an account of the turning point in his life—the episode of his going on the expedition of P. K. Kozlov – describing it as a successful stunt, and in the language of his Komsomol cell in 1919–1920 as (“pulling a fast one,” “hood-winking,” “telling a story,” and “getting away with it.”) Elements of this sort of talk were encountered in the text— “going with the flow,” “pushing on to the university,” etc. It is possible that the author believed that such language was closer to his readers. A separate negative remark about P. K. Kozlov who died in 1935, did not present a danger for Simukov.

- 498) Judging by the contents, the basic question could be “Why did you remain in Mongolia and not return to the USSR with the P. K. Kozlov expedition?” It is possible that this was a question concerning A. D. Simukov’s lack of the Party membership.
- 499) *Curriculum Vitae* (lat.) —life’s race (lit.) autobiography.
- 500) See note 12 in chapter II.
- 501) Jacob Mikhailovich Miller (in the XIX c.-1903) was born by Lake Yezel, which became part of Lifliandskoi gub. of Russia (now Lake Saaremaa, Estonia), and grew up orphaned, worked as a herdsman, was adopted, taken on as an apothecary’s apprentice which, gave him the family name of Miller (in a family legend his birth name was Khaan) entered the Imperial-Medical Surgical Academy (from 1881, Military-Medical Academy), where the first- time students were fed free of charge in the commons. On the completion of the academy, he served in the Kamchatkii regiment in war and was quartered in the Pridunaiskii principality, under the direction of N. I. Pirogov and took part in the Crimean campaign of 1853–1856, participating in the defense of Sebastopol. From 1857, an intern in the Mariinskii hospital for the poor in St. Petersburg; from 1862 “appointed to the vacancy in medicine for the Governmental Senate from 1875 – doctor in the governmental office (for the preservation of hospital duties). The salary for his annual service came from the nobility. He retired in 1889. He was first married to Emily Lesgaft of the family of P. F. Lesgaft, a doctor of anatomy and pedagogy who created the scientific system of physical education as well as a series of educational institutions, one of which became the contemporary Government Academy of Physical Culture in the name of P. S. Lesgaft. The son— Vitalii Yakovlevich Miller, the last major doctor at the Nadezhda midwifery establishment in St P, had grown up together with the nine children of Jacob Mikhailovich from his second marriage to Aleksandra Fedorevna Yeager from Riga. (The sources: Simukova, N. Ya. 1953; Archival information No. 10058 from August 12, 1931, Leningrad oblast archival bureau; oral meetings with Andreyka Aleksandra and Nina Vitalevna Miller and Milena Andreevna Miller).
- 502) See note 9 in chapter II.
- 503) Keep in mind the Constitutional Democrats party or the “Kadets.”
- 504) Michael Yakovlevich Miller.
- 505) See note 26 in chapter I.
- 506) Andrei Yakovlevich Miller – finished the Military Medical Academy in the name of Witte, served as a doctor on the Pacific Ocean fleet, particularly on the gunboat

“Koreetz,” in 1914 was a civil servant with the special assignment as deputy in the Caucasus, died on the eve of World War I.

507) See note 51 in chapter II.

508) See note 9 in chapter I.

509) See note 3 in chapter II.

510) See note 18 in chapter I.

511) The town of Surazh in Gomel gubernia.

512) See note 2 in chapter II.

513) Keep in mind the Moscow-Mechanical-Electrotechnical Institute in the name of Lomonosov (Blagoveshchenskii alley d.1.).

514) Evidently, this happens if the wife with her decisive character and sharp tongue provokes “a conversation.”

515) See notes 95, 117 in chapter III.

516) See note 11 in chapter I.

517) See note 10 in chapter I.

518) See notes 212, 218.

101

519) Perhaps keep in mind that he hoped he would be free and would obtain the decision about his leaving.

102

520) See note 486.

521) Evidently, this concerned the family of P. I. Vorobev from Ulaanbaatar to the USSR, see document IV 96.

103

522) For the characteristics of the situation in Mongolia and in the USSR in October-December 1937, it is necessary to remember the following events (May-September 1937; see note 496).

October 2, 1937—In the MPR, the Extraordinary Commission (the troika) created the Ministry of Internal Affairs for Choibalsan, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPR for Luvsansharav, the Minister of Justice, for Tserendorj, evidently following the image of the special troika of the NKVD, created in the USSR on July 30, 1937 the Commission to control the judicial processes during the period of its existence (it was abolished in April 27, 1939) after it had judged about 26,000 people and sentenced 20,000 more to be shot (Baabar 2010: 370).

October 4–7, 1937—opened process of 23 of the highest representatives of the Buddhist faith in Mongolia (see note 493) 19 of them were shot (Baabar 2010: 364).

October 18–20, 1937 – The public judicial process for 14 Party-Governmental leaders of the MPR, including Vice-Premier Sambuu, member of the Praesidium of the small Khural Lamjhav, member of the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the MPR, chairman of the Central Revisionary Committee of the MPR Yandag, Deputy of Glavkom L. Darzav, leader of the General Staff J. Malj, Government Procurator M. Yadamsuren, Minister of Enlightenment, Tz. Battumur and others; 13 of them were sentenced to be shot.

In 1937, many major activists in the government leadership, the Party, army, economy and culture in Mongolia were repressed and among them were members of the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the MPR, including Kh. Luvsandorj, R. Mende, N. Yelee, and the former leader of GVO D. Namsrai, the writer and political activist S. Buyianemekh, members of the government D. Ulziibat and Ch. Choidogsuren and others (Baabar 2010: 369–370; Roshchin 1999: 292–293).

October 22–26, 1937—at the III Plenum of the CC of the MPRP, Choibalsan, in the name of the national groups in the population, gave his authorized opinion of the “the social base of the Japanese imperialism” —the Chinese, the Barguts, the Buryats (in the USSR there was repression along national lines—the Germans, Poles, Latvians, Repression). Estonians, Finns, Iranians, Greeks, Koreans, and others at the beginning of 1937. Repression of the Buryats (Rupen 1964: 236–239) and the anti-Buryat campaign in the MPR was linked with “the Buryat problem” in the USSR, where in the autumn of 1937 the leadership of the BM ASSR proclaimed about “the bourgeois nationalists, pan-Mongolists, and Japanese agents” and shot them. There was a change in the administrative structure of the BM ASSR, and almost half of the territory was transferred to the authority in the Irkutsk and Chitinskii oblasts. (Luzianin 2003: 232–233). Several years earlier, a pogrom had begun which led to the closing of the Buddhist monasteries, illegal arrests, and judicial persecutions of the Buddhist clergy in Buryat-Mongolia and the Kalmitzskii oblast. In 1937 in Leningrad, the Tibetan-Mongolian mission of Agvana Dorzhieva was liquidated, and all the lamas living in the cloister around the Buddhist temple were arrested. At the end of October, 1937, the 85-years-old A. Dorzhiev went to Buryatia where he was arrested on November 13, 1937 for being a leading “part of a counter-revolutionary, Pan-Mongol, terrorist, insurgent diversionist-espionage group,” and he died in prison January 29, 1938. (Andreev 1998: 93–105).

November 24, 1937 – P. I. Vorobev, M. I. Tubianskii, N. A. Nevskii—all shot in Leningrad.

December 20, 1937—V. A. Kazakevich (People and Fate 2004; Reshetov 2012: 160–161).

- 523) Keep in mind the winter expedition of the Mongolian Committee of Science along the Khangai and the Gobi (November 4–December 29 1937) with the participation of a coworker s/x the cabinet of Sanja, probationer and coworker at the Museum (Dendub and Idamsuren). For the mission and the results, see Simukov A. D. An answer concerning the work of the 1937 expedition (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 541–548). For the course and conditions of the expedition, see Simukov A. D., Travel notes in the Khangai and the Gobi in the winter of 1937/ *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1938, No.2 (27), pp.69–75 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 549–557).

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- 524) On the return route of the expedition to Ulaanbaatar; the expedition lasted for more than 2 months partly because of the snow drifts and the automobile breakdown.

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- 525) For the characteristics of the situation in Mongolia and the USSR in the first half of 1938, it is necessary to recall the following events in the stated countries and in the

world.

Mongolia

January 20, 1938—by the decision of the Mongolian Commission before the Politburo VKP(b) the estimate concerning the construction of the narrow -gauge railway from Ulaanbaatar to Nailakh (47 km) increased to 20 million rubles. (In January 1937 SNK USSR considered the construction of the railroad- selecting the 2.8 million rubles subsidy.) The movement began in 1938.

In 1938 the Soviet Union prolonged the realization of the programs of economic assistance from the Soviet Union to the MPR, in which the construction of bricks, lime, cement, a mechanical repair factory, scientific projects, and other Soviet grants to the MPR in 1938 reached 10 million tugriks, not counting the credit given for industrial concerns (Luzianin 2003; 230–231). In the 30s, the USSR supplied the MPR (under the control of Commissar for Defense of USSR K. E. Voroshilov) war technology, armaments, means of communication, and uniforms. In 1938, the USSR sent to Mongolia war planes, artillery, ammunition, summer uniforms (the Russian government military archives, notes, documents No. 21–23), online version (cikrf.ru/guns/docs/o-rgva.doc).

The destruction of the monasteries and the annihilation of the Buddhist clergy continued. From the account of the Soviet embassy in the MPR of M. I. Golubchik from Moscow in August, 1938: “the highest strata of lamas was almost completely destroyed...from the 771 temples and monasteries that had existed earlier, and on July 20 of this year 615 were turned into dust. There are now 26 active monasteries. From 85,800 lamas the number today is 17,338. To avoid arrest, lamas became laymen...” (Baabar 2010: 372). The closing of the Gandantegchenlin, the center of the Buddhist faith in the MPR, was announced in 1926, as well as the disappearance of the statue of Migjid Janraisig.

Ts. Damdinsuren wrote: “The Party and the government leadership are guilty of two crimes in losing touch with the people and profiting from them more than even in feudal times, by the laws (1) in 1937–1938 they destroyed the Mongolian intelligentsia (2) they destroyed the traditional Mongolian culture – its monuments and the books.” (Yatskovskaya 2002: 158).

There was an increasing number of signs of repression among the nationalities, and most of all against but not only, the Buryats. In a message from the department of internal defense, Marshal Choibalsan demanded in the summer of 1938 that “the feudal Kazakhs and all Kazakhs fleeing the Soviet Union would be arrested.” At the end of this operation, 2,000 men from 21,000 Kazakhs in two khoshos of Western Mongolia had been killed (Baabar 2010: 374).

USSR-China

Construction of the basic part of the highway (“track Z”) from the USSR to China through Xinjiang (more than 3000 km) for the delivery of military equipment, armaments and ammunition (including aviation and artillery, etc.) on military credit

(250 million dollars in 1938–1939) within the limits of the non-aggression contract. In 1937–1938, according to the plan, transported close to 11,000 tons of various kinds of armaments (Baturin 2014: 323; 327–329).

Europe-Asia

January 4, 1938—Hitler declared himself the superior chief commander of Germany, Ribbentrop became the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

March 12, 1938—Hitler's troops enter Austria ("The Anschluss").

May 12, 1938—Hitler's government recognized Manchukuo.

March 26, 1938—Japanese passed a law concerning universal mobilization.

March 28, 1938—Japan sets up a puppet government of China in Nanjing.

USSR

The tornado of repressions continues.

February 9, 1938—N. P. Gorbunov (see notes 53, 113 in chapter III); arrested in Leningrad, shot, September 7, 1938, rehabilitated.

March 3, 1938—P. V. Vseviatskii (see note 16) arrested in Alma – Ata and shot in October, 1938, rehabilitated.

March 2–13, 1938—In Moscow the judicial "process of the 21" opened over "the participants in the Right Trotskyite anti-Soviet bloc" (including N. I. Bukharin, A. I. Rykov, N. Krestinskii, Kh. G. Rakovskii, and others). N. I. Bukharin—member of the TZK VKP(b) (1917–1934), one of the leading ideologues and economic theorists in the Party, opposed to the rapid collectivization and in favor of an evolutionary path of development, was ousted from the Party, arrested and convicted of "conspiracy" in 1937, shot together with others accused, "in the trial of the 21" March 15, 1938; rehabilitated.

Stirring up repression along "national lines" (see note 522), the number of those sacrificed or "disappeared" was already in the hundreds of thousands. The political emigrants running to the Soviet Union after defeats of revolution in their own countries were a "suspicious group"—as were those subject to arrest, numerous fugitives, former prisoners of war, recipients of letters or parcels from the border, foreign visitors at the embassies, participants in emigrant and cultural/nationalist movements, and others.

The widening repression in the RKKA was first of all directed against the high -ranking command staff: the deputy commissar of defense, commanding the military district (VO), navy, command corps, command division, command brigade, command link of staff and military educational establishment. This led to a stronger purge of the RKKA along national lines.

June 8–24, 1938—The Principal Military Soviet (GVS) RKKA decided to dismiss the commander and the political workers in the ranks of these nationalities (German, Polish, Latvian, and others) from OKDBA, and some from LVO, and finally "from the bordering military districts," and then "transfer all of the officers of these nationalities, if they are found to have compromised material, by an organ of the NKVD."

According to those arrested by the decision (1941) and sentenced to be shot, was the cousin of A. D. Simukov, Andrei Vitalevich Miller (1895–1979) —leader of the division of the Red Army military hospital, military doctor 1st rank (having finished the Military-Medical Academy in 1917). His sentence by shooting was replaced with ten years in a camp (he had quickly and urgently operated on the son of the prison's superior officer.) The punishment was carried out in Norillag. From December, 1941 he worked in his specialty, and later managed the division of TzBL. Rehabilitated (1957).

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- 526) Keep in mind that the expedition of the Scientific Committee to the Western Aimags (August 18 to December 3, 1938) under the scientific leadership of A. D. Simukov with the participation of Sanj and Tseven (from the agricultural cabinet), Gombojav, (fotocabinet), Dambarabchzh (the Museum), Chuluun (MSZ), Dembril (Mongolkino), the artist Pomerantzev, the chauffeur and the cook. The field work did stick to the work plan of the Geography cabinet in 1938, however, the total activity of the Scientific Committee required the organization of a scientific expedition, and it is possible that it was linked to the “Kazakh question” and the aggravation on the western and southwestern borders of the MPR. The principal results of the expedition: “enlightenment about the three western aimags of the country and their relation to issues in the agricultural economy”— (the nomads, the winter stays, settlements, methods of raising cattle, agriculture, the khashaas, haying, the water supply, mechanical haying stations (MSS), artels, etc.) “Visits to all, without exception, nationalities and tribes individually in the west, in order to study the economy and the economies of each nationality and tribe separately,” with studies of their basic needs and concessions on the proposals presented, which related to a series of nationality problems, as well as measures necessary for a successful economy and existence. The collection of this information was important for the regulation of relations between the nationalities and for knowledge about the ancestral situation of the Kazakhs, and especially about the Uriyangkhai, Dorbets, and Baits – all of this was important ethnographic material. The expedition also offered a translator of the Kazakh language to the aimag government in Jirgalant to answer letters and inquiries from the Kazakh soums, which would bring special attention to the Kazakhs’ goods for national consumption.

This geographic enlightenment was “completely unknown up to this time in the literature of the southern border region of Khobdo aimag,” “a roughly completed study of the little -known south-western frontier belt begun in 1935.”

“The full picture confirmed the spread of the largest and most important mammals of Western Mongolia,” and contributed to the proposal to preserve the rare and extinct types, the Przhevalskii horse, the saiga (*Saiga Tatarica*—a type of antelope) and the rationalization of the hunting trade economy, including a path to the expansion of the organization of preserves and wildlife sanctuaries.

On the basis of material collected on a meteorological expedition in the Khangai and the western aimags, and the slow humidification of the climate in the last decade, it proposed establishing in Ulaangom a weather station and organizing a network of

snow gauge points in Ubsunur aimag.

Information was collected for a more precise border between the MPR and Xinjiang, on the position of the Tuvan border, and along the geographical frontier belt.

“In the course of all of these expeditions (A. D.) —a diary or journal was written concerning our possible observations along our route, including the special remarks and notes of comrades, totaling 25 printers’ sheets.” Up until now, this journal of the expedition of 1938 has not been found in the Mongolian archives. Concerning the expedition, see Simukov, A. D. A short account of the work of the expedition of the Scientific Committee in the western aimags in 1938 (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 558–560); Simukov, A. D. Thesis report concerning the work of the expedition of the Scientific Committee (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 561–573); Simukov, A. D. A short account about the work of the Geographical Cabinet of the Scientific Committee of the MPR in 1938 (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 189–190).

- 527) Keep in mind the intense situation on the eastern and southern borders of Mongolia and the growing conflicts (more than 30 major military collisions) on the Soviet-Manchurian border after the start of the Japanese war against China. By the order of the commissar of defense USSR from July 1, 1938 OKDVA (The Special Order of the Red Banner Far Eastern Army) was reorganized into the OKDF (The Special Order of the Red Banner Far Eastern Front) “due to the growing military danger.”

July 12, 1938 The Soviet-Japanese conflict began in the area of Lake Khasan (at the junction of the border of the USSR, Manchuria, and Korea) (hrono.ru/1938/). After a short period for the organization of the access to the archives during the course of the publications, there was the occasion for conflict which was called one of the stages of the multi-pass provocations of Stalin, essential to the special services USSR. See for example Voronov 2019a; 2019b).

July 19, 1938 Completed raid on the Soviet embassy in Tokyo. In the beginning of August, all the Soviet consulates in Japan were closed, as was the Japanese Consulate in the USSR. Essays on *The History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia, 1802–2002*. vol.2. pp.222–226 (online version).

July 29, 1938 In the region of Lake Khasan, there was a serious battle between the Japanese and the Soviets under the command of Marshal V. K. Bliukher (1889–1938) and Komkor G. M. Stern (1900–1941) with troops from parts of infantry divisions, the cavalry brigade, aviation, artillery, and tanks. August 2, 1938 a proposal from the Japanese side led to the conclusion of a truce; the borders were set by the agreement of 1886.

- 528) In 1938, the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR did not plan an expedition under the direction of a specialist in the MPR due to the pressing military activities on the eastern border (Yusupova 2006: 162) and the wider repression of the great number of scholars in various sections doing research in Mongolia; see note 493.

529) The events described below present the situation in the second half of 1938 in Mongolia, the USSR, and the world.

August, 1938—The USSR appointed as ambassador to Mongolia M. I. Golubchik (see note 495). In his account to Moscow, he spoke of “the decision to utterly defeat the active counterrevolutionary strata among the lamas.” The arrest and abolition of the lamas moved along rapidly (Baabar 2010: 372–373).

August 7, 1938—M. I. Golubchik in a letter to M. M. Litvinov (Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR), approved the necessity of removing A. Amar from the leadership of the MPR “for pan-Mongolism and enmity toward socialist matters” and appointing Marshal Choibalsan as Prime Minister. (Luzianin 2003: 235).

August 21, 1938—To the post of Deputy Commissar of NKVD USSR L. P. Beria, formerly the 1st secretary TZK VKP(b) Georgia, was named to replace M. P. Frinovskii.

September 7, 1938—Marshal Choibalsan went to Moscow where he stayed until the end of January, 1939.

September 25, 1938—N. I. Yezhov took the post as commissar NKVD USSR. Commissar of the NKVD USSR went to L. P. Beria. Marshal Choibalsan received the support of J. Stalin and L. Beria on the issue of the removal of A. Amar from the leadership position. (Luzianin 2003: 236); consultation with Beria on the specific tactics along the lines of the MVD (Roshchin 1999: 293).

December 11, 1938—negotiations of Marshal Choibalsan with NKVD regarding further development of cooperation on trade and economic issues and grants. At the same time, the Marshal received the support of the Soviet leadership on the confirmation of “their” people in key posts (Mintorgprom, Minkoopsoyuz, Gastorg, and others). (Roshchin 1999: 293; Luzianin 2003: 236).

At the end of 1938, the Presidium of the AN USSR confirmed a new staff at the Mongolian Commission to the AN USSR including V. A. Obruchev, V. V. Struve, A. A. Borisiak, S. G. Strumilin, member-correspondent N. N. Poppe, and also A. Ya. Tugarinov, I. P. Kachkovskii, Z. A. Lebedev, Ya. Ya. Lus, A. Amar, L. Dendev, G. I. Bainshtein (Yusupova 2006: 162).

In 1938 in Mongolia and the Soviet Union the Stalinist terror continued to sweep away many thousands of most of the activists and workers, who were the most able and talented and who were tortured and trampled in an attempt to make them meaningless: they were shot, died from hunger and thirst, lice and vileness, froze in prison, and at work. The livestock farmers and agricultural workers, the clergy, the merchants, teachers, doctors, party people, military people, writers, poets, artists, theater and film actors, scholars, engineers, research pioneers...In great numbers and in each case an entire world, irreplaceable and not forgotten. “I would like to call them all by name.” (Akhmatova, A. Requiem).

Let’s name at least three who were arrested in 1938.

Tsendin Damdinsuren (1908–1986) from a family of hereditary cattle raisers, in

childhood he learned the Mongolian alphabet from his father, a writer; in his youth “he took seven long trips from his birthplace so as not to join the Union of Youth” but later on the “advice of his grandfather “he became a member of the MPRP (1924), was a delegate at the V session of the party from Khentii aimag, worked in Revsomol (1926–1929), led the Central Soviet of the Mongolian profsoyuz (1929–1930).

In 1929, he became a member of the Writers’ Circle (he had begun writing in his early youth); worked in the Bur. Uchkom (1931–1932) and the Uchkom MPR (1932–1933), coauthor of “The Dictionary of the Mongolian Language;” student at the Institute of Minorities, then IV (1933–1938, Leningrad), in February, 1938 was called back to Ulaanbaatar.

Arrested November 4, 1938 and held for 15 months under a cruel investigation and no “fault” found, freed January 27, 1940.

Coworker at Uchkom (1940–1942); main editor of “Unen” (1942–1945), concerned about the style of the old script of the Mongolian language and attempted to reconcile it with contemporary speech.

A postgraduate IV from 1946, Ph. D. (1950), representative to Uchkom (1950–1953), secretary of the Union of Writers MPR (1953–1955), teacher MonGU, director (1959–1963), and then a scientific coworker at the Institute of Languages and Literature AN MPR; academic AN MPR (1961), Doctor of Philosophy (1972), three times laureate of the government prize of the MPR, awarded orders and medals; member of international and national learned societies.

Ts. Damdinsuren gave his unprecedented support to preserve the writings of the Mongolian people and the publication of their literary memoirs gathered in rare manuscripts and xylographic editions, published in the contemporary Mongolian language. “The Secret History,” “Gesera,” (a Buryat epic) “One Hundred Samples of Mongolian Literature,” “The Life Story of the Lunar Cuckoo,” and others; he became a major man of learning with a worldwide reputation in Mongolism, historical and comparative philology, linguistics, author of basic scientific works, among them “The Historical Basis of the Geseriad,” “A Survey of Mongolian Literature” in 3 volumes (XIII–XIV, XVII–XVIII, and the XIX c.); the creation of the new orthography, co-author of the Russian-Mongolian and German-Mongolian dictionary; one of the founders of the contemporary Mongolian literature and the shining translator of world classics. About this, see: *Tsendin Damdinsuren. For the 100th year anniversary of his birth*, compiled by A. Tsendina, Moscow: Eastern literature, 2008. pp.3–14.

May 3, 1938—Near Moscow, arrested (again, after exile) the great Russian poet of “the Silver Age” O. E. Mandelstam (1891–1938); died December 27, 1938 in a deportation camp “The Second Little River” below Vladivostok (Osip Mandelstam. The complete collection of his works and letters in three volumes. Supplement. Manuscript of the life and creations compiled by A. G. Metz with S. V. Vasilenko, L. M. Vidgof, D. I. Zubarev, and E. I. Lubiannikov, Moscow: Progress-Pleiades 2014, pp.497, 498, 502).

June 27, 1938—in the USSR a young engineer at the Reaktivnii Institute, S. P. Korolev (1907–1966) was arrested; on questioning, he received a fracture of both jaws (from a blow to the face from a container of sorts); held for a 10 months investigation with 8 months at Kolima; in March, 1940 settled at OKB 29 NKVD (“Tupolevskaya sharaga”-

or Tupelov's prison workshop) where was gathered all the best Soviet airplane construction engineers who had been arrested. Freed (1944) in connection with facts about the rocket weapons in Germany. From August 1946, the main constructor OKB-1 (rock construction); later, the main constructor of the Soviet cosmic ship, under the leadership which executed the launching of the world's first Sputnik from the earth (October 4, 1957) and the first manned flight to the cosmos (April 12, 1961). S. P. Korolev died in Moscow January 14, 1966 during abdominal surgery. The official reason was from a "heart attack." In a memoir of the doctor—it was impossible to intubate the trachea correctly (for the general anesthesia) because of the old and untreated fracture of both his jaws.

Europe-Asia

August 12, 1938—mobilization in Germany.

September 29–30, 1938—Munich conference with Prime Minister of England (N. Chamberlain), France (E. Daladier), Italy (B. Mussolini) and the Reichschancellor A. Hitler, for the signing of the agreement concerning the transfer to Germany of the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia (about 90% of the population – Germans, development of trade and, to a great extent, the military, nationalism—the separation of the Sudeten German party, to be financed by Hitler); motivation, sounding out from Hitler —“saving our German brothers who find their lives in a horrible condition”; the official motivation of Britain and France was to preserve the peace in Europe.

October 1–10, 1938—Germany occupies the Sudeten land.

November 9–14, 1938— “Crystal night” in Germany (excluding Austria and the Sudeten land): massive, well-coordinated Jewish pogroms (synagogues, dwellings, stores and other enterprises), carried out by the storm troopers (militarized forms of the nationalist socialist German workers party) and citizens.

October 2, 1938—Japan leaves the League of Nations.

October 10, 1938—Japanese troops enter Hankow, the government of Chiang Kai-shek moves to Chongqing.

October 25, 1938—Japan seized Guangzhou.

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- 530) Below are the events which characterize the situation in Mongolia, the USSR, and the world in the winter and spring of 1939.

Mongolia

January 22, 1939—Marshal Choibalsan arrived in Mongolia from Moscow. According to the fabrication of business concerning the military counter-revolutionary organizations at the end of January-beginning of February, there were arrested the deputy war minister Damba, the leader of the reserve staff MNRA Namsarai, the deputy leader PUR Amar Saikhan, leader VVS MPRA Shagdir Surun, leader of the staff VVS MNRA Munko, commander and commissar 1st division Tukhtokh and Chojil, commander and commissar of the armored brigades Lkhagvasuren and Purvo, commissar of the armed division Dami, commander and commissar of the regiment connected to Tsagaan Bilig and Demid, leader of the travelling military college Dendip, secretary to Choibalsan Bayar Saikhan. There were those arrested from the

evidence of the preparation of armed action concerning the order about prime minister A. Amar (see note 253).

February 21, 1939—deputy ambassador from the USSR to Mongolia Skripko sent to Litvinov (commissar of the USSR) and sanctioned by the Soviet leadership and composed together with Choibalsan, the exact scenario concerning the dismissal of A. Amar.

March 7, 1939—On the convocation of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the MPR, the Secretary of the Central Committee Luvsansharav “unmasked” A. Amar “as a feudal who wormed his way into the Mongolian leadership, spoiling the Party and the government.” A. Amar exiled from the staff of the Central Committee of the MPR and excluded from the Party. On the same day the 22nd session of the Small Khural, at the suggestion of Choibalsan, A. Amar was removed from the post of Prime Minister. The session adopted the resolution concerning “the counterrevolutionary activity” of A. Amar. After the session closed, A. Amar was arrested and soon sent to the USSR where he had to endure a long Soviet inquest, a staged trial, and the death sentence. A. Amar was shot in October, 1941 according to the official record.

March 22, 1939—session of the Small Khural confirmed Choibalsan as Prime Minister of the MPR and reserved for him the duties of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Minister of War (Roshchin 1999: 294; Luzianin 2003: 237–238).

In January 1939, after the change in government, Japan strengthened its efforts on the Mongolian-Manchurian border, and simultaneously, on the Soviet-Manchurian borders. From January to March, more than 30 border conflicts between the armed detachments from the Mongolian and Manchurian sides.

USSR

January 10, 1939—in a telegram from the secretary of the CC VKP(b) of J. Stalin secretary of the regional committees of the CC of the National Communist Party, the Commissar of Internal Affairs, from the leader of the UNKVD: “...The Central Committee VKP makes clear that the application of physical coercion against those arrested in the practice of the NKVD was sanctioned in 1937 by a decision of the CC VKP. (...). The CC VKP considers that this method of physical activity must, without fail, be changed and henceforth, in view of its exclusion in relation to the evident and armed enemy of the people must be accepted as a completely lawful and advisable method.” (APRF. F.3. Op.58. D.6. L.145–146 in the given collection of documents: Lubianka, Stalin and NKVD-NKGB-GUKP “Smersh,” 1939-March 1946//M., 2006). (<http://a-dyukov.livejournal.com/280975.html>).

January 10, 1939—Order of Commission of NKVD “concerning the organization of the special design office” (see note 25 in chapter II, note 529 in chapter IV).

End of January, 1939—the All-Union Census of the USSR.

Official data: 176 million people; 33% town population. (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

February 22, 1939—Military Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced to shooting the former Marshal of the USSR A. I. Yegorov, the former General Secretary of the CC RKSM A. V. Kosarev, the former first secretary of the CC KP (b) in the

Ukraine S. V. Kosior and others. Rehabilitated in 1956.

March 10–21, 1939—meeting of VKP(b), account of Stalin, confirmation of the third Five-Year Plan.

March 17, 1939—liquidation of the Mongolian Commission of the Politburo CC BKP(b), fulfilling the function of the main coordinator and executor of Soviet politics in Mongolia. The decisive issue by the MPR transferred to the various ministries and departments (in practice, this was an effort to make the MPR part of the Soviet governmental mechanism). This actually deprived the NKID USSR of a priority position in Mongolia and preserved for it the rights and activities of the ministries in the MPR. (Yusupova 2006: 163; Luzianin 2003: 238).

April 6, 1939—arrest of Commissar VMF USSR, earlier the Deputy Commissioner of NKVD, M. P. Frinovskii (see note 496).

April 10, 1939—arrest of N. I. Yezhov, former Commissar NKVD USSR.

May 3, 1939—dismissal of M. A. Litvinov. V. M. Molotov became the Commissar of Foreign Affairs USSR, went to Mongolia.

Asia-Europe

Mid-February—in China, there were 712 Soviet fliers and aviation mechanics.

(http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

February 27, 1939—Great Britain and France recognize the government of General Franco in Spain. At the end of March, the Scandinavian countries and the USA recognize him.

March 15, 1939—Germany surrounds Bohemia and Moravia (Czechia).

March 28, 1939—Troops of General Franco occupy Madrid and Valencia. The Civil War in Spain (1936–March, 1939) with 280,000 killed from both sides (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

April 7, 1939—Italian troops occupy Albania.

April 17, 1939—USSR proposes to Great Britain and France to begin three party negotiations about the creation of a military-political union against Hitler's Germany. (Solonin2019: 09.02)

May 17, 1939 —Sweden, Norway, and Finland turn down offer from Germany to conclude a joint Non-Aggression Pact. Denmark, Estonia, and Latvia agreed (http://www.hrono.ru/1939_.php).

- 531) Evidently, it must be assumed that the trip to carry out the plan was expressed by the chairman of the Scientific Committee L. Dendev (see note 252) in a letter to the President of the AN USSR, Chairman of the Mongolian Commission of the AN USSR the academician V. L. Komarov (September 15, 1938): “in the realization of the research of the Committee it is necessary for the continual help and advice from those in the AN USSR. Thus, I ask you, esteemed Vladimir Leontovich, to exert your influence on the actions concerning the establishment of direct links within your jurisdiction in the institutions and scholarship.” (Chuluun and Yusupova 2012: 26).
- 532) It is possible that the trip to the Gobi was planned to coincide with organizing the work concerning haymaking: “The wide use of feathergrass among the hay not only could ensure cattle fodder in the Gobi during the severe winter-spring period, but also add to the quantity of suitable hay for some of the border war troops, who had been getting their forage from very remote regions of the country.” Simukov, A. D. Article Notes

concerning the organization of the work of haymaking in the Gobi (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 143–147).

- 533) During the first decade of May 1939, there was a violation on the Mongolian-Manchurian border in the region of Khalkhyn Gol, and the Japanese-Manchurian detachment was supported by Japanese aviation, and this grew into a major conflict. All of the population in great numbers and A. D. Simukov found themselves in a wartime situation.

His knowledge and his many years of experience studying Mongolian geography and cartography led, in this situation, to a demand for A. D. Simukov. (See notes 176, 369, 438). In his short notes to members of his family in Moscow during the summer of 1939, there was not a word about the war (censored!). However, several things led to the consideration that A. D. Simukov was involved in some way with the events at Khalkhyn Gol and that he had visited the area of the battle.

Connected to this, see Appendix IV-3 in the original Russian version for the chronology of the military action at Khalkhyn Gol and brief information about the participants and their roles in the events. The use of published memoirs of eyewitnesses and articles of military historians, familiar with the documents which were declassified a short time after 1993.

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- 534) See note 533.

- 535) The writers Slavin, Lapin, and Khatzrevin (see notes 346, 344, 345) were assigned in the beginning of 1939 to Khalkhyn Gol as military correspondents. The regimental commissar D. Ortenberg, the main editor of the newspaper “The Heroic Red Army,” and of the editorial staff which was sent to the war zone at Khalkhyn Gol, recall that “the writers took the train to Ulan-Ude. From there, by car across the border to the nearest airbase. Their credentials were received and from the instructions they went into two light planes. Finally, they arrived at the “polotniani” tent town of our paper.” (Ortenberg D. *Lev Slavin, The Time of No Power* 2nd edition, Moscow, 1979). At the end of the ground war, Slavin, Lapin, Khatzrevin were sent out from the editorial office in Khalkhyn Gol and through Ulaanbaatar and returned by plane to Moscow. See Simonov, K. *Far in the East. Khalkhyn Gol notes* (<http://militera.lib.ru/prose/russian/simonov6/01.html>). From the aforesaid, it follows that in the summer of 1939 until August 2 (the date of the letter) A. D. Simukov was able to meet with Slavin, Lapin, and Khatzrevin only in the war zone at Khalkhyn Gol.

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- 536) There is an allusion here to the extreme work situation (see note 533) including, possibly, Khalkhyn Gol (see, for example, Appendix IV-3 in the original Russian version, May 21, 1939). No expeditions were difficult or dangerous for a long time, and A. D. Simukov did not complain.
- 537) Evidently, the trip to the Khangai and the Gobi were connected to the organization of the work for the protection of the forage for the troops (see note 532), and possibly their rations. On the staff of the MNRA at Khalkhyn Gol, together with other types of troops, there were several cavalry divisions (see Appendix IV-I in the original Russian version).

- 538) See note 399.

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- 539) Enumerated below are the events that present a picture of the situation in Mongolia, the USSR, and the world in the summer and autumn of 1939.

Mongolia

May 2-September 15, 1939—the undeclared war on the Mongolian-Manchurian border in the region of Khalkhyn Gol ended in a victory for the Mongolian-Soviet troops (see Appendix IV-3 in the original Russian version).

September 15, 1939—on the request of the Japanese government for a signed agreement between the USSR, MPR, and Japan which shortened the military action.

September 16, 1939—the military action was shortened.

September 19, 1939—The ambassador from the USSR in Mongolia, A. I. Ivanov (1906–1948), and formerly in Mongolia June 3, 1939, became the major of state security by the direction of Commissar of the NKVD USSR L. P. Beria. (See Appendix IV-3 in the original Russian version, June 3, 1939). The official list of I. A. Ivanov, member of VKP(b) from 1926, included work as the secretary of the Sebezkhii district committee of the VLKSM (until 1929) service on RKKA(1929–1938), the post of ambassador to the MPR (November 19, 1939–May 9, 1941) Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Envoy USSR in Mongolia (May 9, 1941–October 9, 1947), of the Extraordinary and Envoy of the USSR in Afghanistan (May 27, 1948–July 2, 1948); order of Lenin for Khalkhyn Gol, rank of major general and order of the Red Star (February 4, 1943).

In other publications: October 25, 1938–November 9, 1938 the head of the division OO GUGB NKVD senior lieutenant GB I. A. Ivanov led 11 interrogations (often together with Beria) of Marshal Bliukher (see note 527). At the conclusion of, or during, the last interrogation Marshal Bliukher died (Martirosian A. B., *100 Myths about Beria, Inspirer of repression or talented organizer? 1917–1941*)

In July, 1948 I. A. Ivanov was recalled from Afghanistan to Moscow where he died after a vaccination, necessary before leaving on a new assignment (Oral communication with a family member).

Europe-USSR

August 10, 1939—after four months of three sided political consultations (from April 17) in Moscow there began negotiations concerning the war mission of the USSR started in Moscow with Great Britain and France and with the goal of signing a military convention for the organization of defense against aggression in Europe. In this first stage, the main (and deliberately impossible) demand of the USSR – permission for the Red Army to go through parts of Polish and Romanian territory. August 21, 1939 the negotiations were interrupted. August 25, 1939 (after signing an Agreement about non-aggression with Germany), the Soviet side announced that in the changing situation of war that negotiations “lose all meaning” and so they were terminated (Solonin 2019: 09.02).

August 19, 1939—the end of the trade-credit agreement between USSR and Germany. Germany allotted USSR credit of 200 million German marks with obligatory delivery of coal. Thus, the USSR was obliged to pay off the credit by delivering raw materials (ores of various metals, oil, oil products) agricultural goods (mostly grain), wood, gold and platinum.

August 23, 1939—in Moscow, the signing of the Agreement about non-aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) and accompanying it the secret protocol concerning the demarcation of eastern Europe's "sphere of influence" regarding the USSR's eastern oblasts in Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Bessarabia and in Germany (western Poland and Lithuania).

Japan

July 1939—conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement, with the provision that Japan did not intervene with Great Britain in Chinese matters (Luzianin 2003: 240–241).

August 25, 1939—The government of Japan appealed to Germany to protest relations regarding the conclusion of the Soviet-German negotiations, considering it a denunciation of the Anti-Comintern pact. The developing situation demanded a complete change of orientation and strategy in the external politics of Japan.

August 28, 1939—the present government (a proponent of the joint Japanese German war against the USSR) was obliged to go into retirement.

August 30, 1939—a new government was formed in Japan headed by General N. Abe (promoter of the southern strategy of the government). April 13, 1941—concluded Soviet-Japan neutrality act.

Europe-USSR (2)

August 3, 1939—extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ratified the Soviet-German Pact.

August 25, 1939—in London, negotiations concluded concerning the mutual aid between Great Britain and Poland (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

September 1, 1939—German troops invade Poland. This day is considered the beginning of World War II.

September 3, 1939—England, France, Australia, and New Zealand declared war on Germany. In England the war government was formed and was headed by the first lord of the Admiralty W. Churchill (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

September 16, 1939—By order of the HKO USSR, there was formed the Murmansk military group (14th army) and directed with the task: to deploy forces on the border with Finland to October 1, 1939 (Solonin 2008).

September 17, 1939—The Ukaz of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerning the introduction of universal military service. NKO announced larger training fees (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

September 17, 1939—"The Soviet Union unilaterally ripped up the non-aggression pact which had been concluded on June 25, 1932 between the USSR and Poland, and its enormous forces (...). (618,000 and 4,733 tanks) backstabbed the Polish army, fighting at this time against the German Wehrmacht, as a pretext for justifying this perfidious attack" as was voiced by V. M. Molotov on September 17 on the radio: "The Soviet government considers its sacred obligation to offer a hand to help its Ukrainian and Belorussian brothers settled in Poland..." (Solonin 2008).

September 28, 1939—The Polish army resistance. Germany and the Soviet Union subscribed to an Agreement concerning friendship and the border, which concluded with the division of Poland. The staff of the USSR went to the eastern Polish oblasts, henceforth designated as "Western Ukraine" and "Western Belorussia."

September 28, 1939—In Moscow, the treaty concerning mutual aid between USSR and Estonia was signed.

October 5, 1939—Treaty of mutual aid between USSR and Latvia was signed.

October 10, 1939—Treaty of Mutual aid between USSR and Lithuania signed. “In all three cases of “mutual assistance” it was assumed that accommodation regarding the territory of the PriBaltic states in the Soviet military contingent, was approximately equal in number to the armies of these states.” (Solonin 2008).

October 8, 1939—Germany proclaimed the inclusion of Silesia and Pomerania in its composition.

October 8–20, 1939—negotiations between the USSR and Finland. The Finnish side agreed to give to the USSR a series of small islands and move its border 10 km from Leningrad. Finland rejected all the remaining proposals from the Soviet Union.

November 15–25, 1939—USSR concluded its preparation for the invasion of Finland: besides the 14th army only in the Karelian isthmus, in Priladovskii and Northern Karelia there was concentrated 17 artillery divisions and 6 tank and motor brigades.

November 17, 1939—The order of the NKO with the task for the troops “to finish this concentration and prepare for a decisive attack.”

November 21, 1939—By the order of the military Soviet LVO there was established specific military tasks for the army and the navy. “The starting period of the operation would be indicated.” (Solonin 2008).

November 26, 1939—provocative shots were fired at the population point of Mainila on the Soviet-Finnish border. A note of protest to the NKVD USSR was delivered by the Finnish ambassador.

November 30, 1939—Soviet troops invade Finland.

December 14, 1939—The Soviet Union was excluded from the League of Nations as a country conducting a policy of aggression (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

USSR

September 11, 1939—a circular from the NKVD with instructions from the leader of the camp organized for the security ITL among the prisoners who committed domestic crimes, to replace the shooters of VOXR conscripted into the army.

September 19, 1939—NKVD created an office for matters relating to military and internal citizens (UPVI).

September 19, 1939—By order of the Commissar of the NKVD concerning the organization collection points and camps for prisoners of war in the territory of Ukraine SSR and Belorussia SSR; protection—convoys of NKVD troops.

After September 28, 1939 in Soviet captivity there appeared to be more than 450,000 Polish soldiers and officers (according to the official data); besides this, there were on the invader’s territory interned Polish policemen, customs officials, border guards, and civil administrators. The NKVD led a “purge” in the territory of “Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia”; former landlords and members of nationalist groups and “antisocial elements” were arrested (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml). After “the liberation campaign,” the Red Army in 1939 deported 56,371 Polish citizens only in Archangel oblast, 10,344 were sent from Lvov oblast (Doikov 2010: 129). *A Candle Burns ... German Shadows in the Arkhangelsk Gulag (1920–2010)*,

Archangelisk, 2020, p. 129 (online version).

October 3, 1939—order of the NKVD about the release from the prisoner of war camps the rank and file and the non-commissioned officers of the former Polish army, and according to the official data. 42,400 people were freed and the German side transferred 42,492 prisoners of war-natives of Western Poland (http://artofwar.ru/w/wolkow_a_a/text_0030.shtml).

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- 540) See document IV 115.
- 541) Olga Yakovlevna Peiker (see note 18 in chapter I).
- 542) Aleksandra Grigorevna Bendrikova (1935-g. r.), cousin of N. A. Simukova, daughter of Shuri, sister of M. A. Simukova, (see note 205) later finished MSU, a physicist.
- 543) Fedosia Makarovna Alekseenko (see note 76).
- 544) In September, 1939, M. A. Simukova worked in the Staff Management of the NFK USSR. Her co-workers knew Natasha well—as many of them (including M. A. Simukova) periodically had to work into the evening and the night. (Favoring night work, I. V. Stalin left the necessary commissars at the workplace and, selectively, the department heads and coworkers.) If it was not possible for her daughter to spend the night in the kindergarten, M. A. Simukova would take her to work with her. After “lights were out from above,” the night was spent going to a communal apartment, or to those colleagues who lived nearby, or if the metro was still running, to relatives.

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- 545) The original notes are not preserved. A published copy (in pencil) was taken down at the arrest in September, 1939.

Chapter V
Ulaanbaatar – Ulan-Ude
– Arkhangelsk –?
(1939–1941)

List of Documents

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V 1 A. D. Simukov – to the Director of the Prison of the Department of the NKVD (Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs) of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR¹⁾, January 10, 1941.

January 10, 1941

<Ulan-Ude>

<to Ulan-Ude>

To the Head of the Prison Department of the NKVD B-M ASSR

The prisoner²⁾ Simukov, Andrei Dmitrievich
(prison No. 1, III korpus, cell³⁾ No.13)

Declaration

Despite the fact that you agreed in your own words to answer my mother's⁴⁾ inquiry concerning my situation and the money she sent to me in my name⁵⁾, (about which it was reported that it was sent to me on October 28, 1940) and up to this time I have not received one remittance. For this reason, I find myself at the end of sixteen months of incarceration⁶⁾ in a difficult position⁷⁾, because I have used up the money in my account and am not permitted to write, I earnestly appeal to you to write to my mother at this address about my not receiving the monetary transference and my need for money: Moscow 34, Krapotinskaya street, Khrushchevskii alley house 3 apartment 1. Natalia Yakovlevna Simukov. Perhaps, might you have decided that I could even write a few words myself? I have nowhere to turn except to you, and thus I beg you to grant my request, which is applicable to me because of my imprisonment. I take this opportunity to thank you for your advice (see the other side)

to address through this declaration on the occasion of the position of the military procurator, to be attentive to offering, in its name, a statement of the accuracy of notification concerning the results of this application. The Special Meeting⁸⁾ was silent about my situation, and it is now, already, the ninth month which appears to be almost a record.

Again, I ask you to inform me about the result of this application.

The Prisoner A. Simukov

January 10, 1941.

V 2 Director of the Prison Department of the NKVD of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR– to N. Ya. Simukova, February 12, 1941.

February 12, 1941

<Ulan-Ude>

<to Moscow>

Gr-nke Simukov

In answer to your inquiry. In the name of z/k Simukov, the postal and telegraph remittances have been ordered: in January 75 rubles, in February 75 rubles, 50 rubles and 100 rubles, adding up to the sum of 300 rubles.

The last remittances, Archangelsk the government of Kuloilag⁹⁾, the whereabouts of zek Simukov.

In the future, the correspondence will be addressed to the above.

Director of the Prison Division of the NKVD Buryat-Mongol ASSR
<Signature>Orlov
February 12, 1941

V 3 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, February 21, 1941.

February 21, 1941

<Moscow>

<to Kuloilag, Archangelsk obl.>

Dear Andrei:

I am, at this time, very worried about your health. Did you receive my letter from the head of the prison division in Ulan-Ude? When were you sent away from there? What did you wear? What did you eat? All of my money which I transferred to you has remained untouched, which upsets me. I received notification from the head of the prison division in Ulan-Ude that the money (300 rubles) was transferred to this address: Archangelsk, Government of Kuloilager¹⁰⁾. Try to receive them there. Write to me in detail: the address and what you need¹¹⁾. If the money is satisfactory, I will send it to you and will try to send you parcels of food stuffs and other necessities. If we could only find the opportunity to see each other. Perhaps, with a lot of trouble, you could, through your director, get a permit over the summer, and I could visit you¹²⁾. You must decide which month would be best for you: June, July, or August, and I beg you to let me know ahead of time, so that I can arrange my leave. You see, I must arrange my leave with the professional workers in advance¹³⁾. I very, very much want to see you. You must write to me the details of my march route, until I reach you. Don't even think or worry about the money.

Write to me about all of this, and when I will know your address, I will write you a more detailed letter. In the meantime, good health. Write soon. I wait for a letter from you.

I send you a greeting and a kiss.

I embrace and kiss you.

Mama.

February 21, 1941

I will come without fail at even the slightest possibility. Take care of your health!

Stamp: Government of the Kuloilager

HKVD CCCP

Received March 14, 1941

Entry No.274- (nrzb.)

V 4 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, February 27, 1941.

February 27, 1941

<Novosibirsk>

<to Moscow>

Moscow 34

Krapotinskaya street, Khrushchevskii alley, house 3, apartment 1

Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova

Address of sender Novosibirsk, deportation prison¹⁴⁾

A. D. Simukov

Novosibirsk

27 February 1941

My Relatives!

For the first time in one and one and a half years it is possible to write a letter. I will be brief. By the judgment of the administration¹⁵⁾, I have been condemned to eight years in the lager¹⁶⁾. I am going to the west, but I do not know my next place. In good health and look to the future in good spirits. I will write in detail on arrival. In Ulan-Ude I received on January 31, 1941 a remittance of 75 rubles for which I am very grateful. I kiss you all. Andrei.

V 5 From the Government of Kuloi (ITL) Corrective Labor Camp and the Colony of the UNKVD in Archangel Oblast – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 3, 1941.

April 3, 1941

<Archangelsk>

<to Moscow>

Gr-ke Simukova N. Ya.

Moscow Kraskotkin street

Krushchevskii alley house 3 apartment 1

I am returning your letter and report that

Simukov, Andrei Dmitrievich is not here.

Sentence: mentioned.

N-k I-go otd-ya IInd otd.

The Government of Kuloi lager and
Colony UNKVD AO

Sevorin <signature>

V 6 A. D. Simukov – to N. Ya. Simukova, April 24, 1941¹⁷⁾.

April 24, 1941

<Archangelsk>

April 27, 1941

<to Moscow>

Moscow 34 Krapotinskaya street
Khrushchevskii alley, house 3, apartment 1
Natalia Yakovlevna Simukova

Address of the sender: A. D. Simukov, Archangelsk, left bank, n/ya 20/11¹⁸⁾

My dear relatives! Greetings and I kiss all of you and each of you. I am alive and healthy and feel good and upbeat¹⁹⁾. I have spent several days in Archangelsk, and I am now going to the northeast²⁰⁾. I will write immediately from this final place of settlement and tell you the address for regular correspondence²¹⁾. Don't write here to Archangelsk because I leave today. I wrote to you from Novosibirsk. In Ulan-Ude, I received one remittance (75 rubles) on January 31, 1941 that I know you have looked for through the NKVD. Many thanks for your concern and attentiveness. Once again, I kiss you affectionately and await the possibility of regular letters²²⁾.

Your Andrei.

V 7 Ulan-Ude Office of Communication – to Archangel Office of Communication, May 20, 1941.

May 20, 1941

<Ulan-Ude>

<to Archangelsk>

S.S.S.R. K.X.X.K.
Ulan-Ude
(Xkisi..e-xolböönör) kontora
U.S.S.R.
NARKOMCOMMUNICATIONS

Archangelsk KN²³⁾
To your No. 716/p from May 9, 1941
We report that the remittance²⁴⁾ for nr.
nr. 141- 75 rubles 1430–100 rubles
2020–50 rubles to address in Ulan-Ude

Ulan-Ude Office of Communication
Department of Claims
May 20, 1941
Number 38
Ulan-Ude

in the name of Simukov was transferred
to his account
No.215006²⁵⁾ February 5, 1941.
np.847–75 rubles entry negligible.

Office leader<signature>
Ct. Agent<signature> Topov
Cpr<signature>

**V 8 Archangelsk Office of Communication – to N. Ya.
Simukova²⁶⁾, May 28, 1941.**

U.S.S.R.
N.K. Communications
Archangelsk Office of Communication
Bureau of Claims
May 28, 1941
No. 716/p
Arkhangelsk
Vinogradov street 53,
Communications Office

Moscow No.4 street Kropotkin
Khrushchevskii alley apartment 3,1
Simukova, Natalia
Yakovlevna
Directed your answer to the
Ulan-Ude Communications
Office about a transfer in
your name. Transfer
to the account 2150006²⁷⁾
February 5, 1941.
Office of the Director
Signature
Bailiff signature

Notes

1

- 1) The original statement (hand-written in pencil) was sent to N. Ya. Simukova in accord with the resolution “Directed to Addressee (signature). January 14, 1941” (manuscript, ink: see upper left corner of first page).
- 2) According to the information from the government KGB USSR in the Chitinskii oblast from June 21, 1990 A. D. Simukov was arrested in Ulaanbaatar by the Special Department of the NKVD army group of the Soviet Army September 19, 1939 (see document VI 25). On that day the representative of the GUGB of the NKVD of the USSR in Mongolia as well as the supervisor of the military group, major GB I. A. Ivanov (see note 539 in chapter IV) officially entered in the post of plenipotentiary of the USSR and the MPR.
“In spite of the spread of opinions about this, and that the arrest had engendered denunciations, and despite the dissemination of opinions regarding this matter, and that

the arrest led to the denunciation, all went otherwise and proceeded in an orderly fashion: at first, they decided to arrest, and having realized this, denunciation and slander followed, which managed to separate them from others who had been arrested.” (Zubchaninov 1995: 142; see note 496, September 2, 1937 in chapter IV). The last twenty-four hours standing before the charging inspectors with no sleep for weeks. The choice of torture was unlimited. “And not simply torture, but those things I did not even know about, as I had no conception about such wretched, medieval methods, known to such an expert of the Gestapo executioner. Often with the examination, people crept half dead, and shattered, with their limbs twisted. Sometimes a convoy fetched them and threw them on the cell floor like a bundle of old clothes.” (Razgon 1994: 99–100). Besides the infinite humiliation, the physical torture, and the intractability of being under investigation, they carried out threats to those closest to us, especially to our children who “confessed” to their non-existent crimes and signed the slanderous inspectors’ papers.

“No one has the moral right to prosecute victims and then justify the executioner.” (Razgon 1994: 103).

They simplified the recording technique of the “confession” in the protocol. The signatures of those interrogated were required at the end of each page of the protocol. The last page was only half filled, then the signature was taken, and then the “acknowledgment.” Or, the “specialists” simply falsified the signatures of those under investigation by the inspector of protocol (Teplyakov 2015, chapter 2).

- 3) Keep in mind a single cell; here was a typical one–5 steps long and wide. A stone floor. A closed window with a grille from the top, which was covered by a wooden shield or barrier which created continual semi-darkness. The iron door with a *fortochka* (a small hinged windowpane for ventilation) and a peephole. An iron cot was screwed into the wall; one could only lie down after the signal was given. A small iron table and a collapsible iron stool (it was forbidden to lean against the wall). In the best case, twice to the mandrel and a 15-minute walk in solitude in the yard, which is barely larger than a cell and without a roof. However, generally no opportunity to walk was provided, so they “walked” in the cell. The prisoners heard these 5–6 words a day: get up, the cart, boiling water, shirker, bread, all clear signal (Ginsburg 1989: 130, 133, 185; Razgon 1994: 404–405). In the Vorkuta prison the cell was measured in these dimensions with the “night pot” in the corner, and there were three men in it without a mandrel or opportunity to walk (Zubchaninov 1995: 144).
- 4) After Simukov’s arrest by the organs of the NKVD of the USSR, all inquiries and monetary transferences for him were in the name of the family (wife and mother) and were sent only from the address and name of his mother N. Ya. Simukova. The reason was the operative order of the NKVD/USSR No. 00486 from August 15, 1937 “concerning the operation about the wives and children subject to repression as traitors to the Motherland”: “...Wives condemned as traitors to the Motherland were subject to confinement in a camp for a period, depending on the degree of their social danger, but not for less than 5–8 years...The socially dangerous children were condemned, and depending on their ages, their degree of danger, and the possibility of correction, they were subject to confinement in a camp or in a corrective labor colony of the NKVD, or the settlement in a children’s home set up by the regime of the Narkomprocov (Peoples’ Commissariat) in the republics (outside Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi Minsk, and

the maritime and frontier towns.)” In Moscow a special reception center for children was located in the former Danilov Monastery. Concerning the conditions for children there and in the camp see, for example, Razgon 1994: 255–256. In accordance with secret instructions, many children changed their surnames. The circular NKVD USSR No. 106 from May 20, 1938 “Concerning the children from the children’s home of parents subject to repression (such as backward children or those completing their studies) without special instructions from the AXY NKVD USSR.” (GULAG 2000: 106–111).

- 5) Those who were incarcerated would receive a small sum of money every month from their closest relatives (in 1938—10 rubles, in 1941—75 rubles) which would be used for products from the prison stall (Ginzburg 1989: 135; Razgon 1994: 78).
- 6) The investigation into the matter of A. D. Simukov led to his co-workers in the NKVD USSR in Ulaanbaatar. He was charged with espionage and participation in counter-revolutionary organizations, which was punishable by shooting. The application of torture for those under investigation in order to obtain a confession of presented charges was sanctioned by the Central Committee of the VKB(b) (see note 530 in chapter IV—cipher gram of J. Stalin from January 10, 1939) and widely followed from 1937 (Ginzburg 1989: 59, 61; Razgon 1994: 99–103; Zubchaninov 1995: 145–148).
The investigation lasted for seven months. It was not known where the investigation was held or what methods were followed. A. D. Simukov, himself, did not know what he was guilty of. Following the termination of the investigation, the matter was given over to the OSO (see note 8). On April 22, 1940, A. D. Simukov was transported by special convoy (for protection) to the prison in Ulan-Ude where he remained until the end of January 1941. (See document VI 25).
- 7) Keep in mind the hunger. At the time of the investigations, there was the repudiation of and the refusal to acknowledge guilt, which was generally punished both by torture during the interrogation itself, as well as being put in the punishment cell; a cupboard-like room without a plank bed, a bench heated in winter, 200 grams of bread, and a mug of water a day, a basin of “balanda” (a watery, tasteless gruel) once in three days (Zubchaninov 1995: 145; 149). Here is an example of prison rations: “In the morning—bread, boiling water, and two pieces of lump sugar. For dinner—“balanda” and dry kasha with no fat. For supper—soup made from small fish with a sickening smell of grease (Ginzburg 1989: 133).” “There is the 450 grams of un-germinated, damp bread with its marshy moist dough, half of a potato...wait for the tea or be greedy now? Is there lunch or only dinner? And how much? There is a pound piece in hand, more water than grain.” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 148).
- 8) The Special Meeting before the NKVD of the USSR (OSO) created a resolution of the Tzik and SNK of the USSR November 5, 1934, as an extrajudicial organ, having plenary powers to look into criminal matters of those accused of crimes which present a social danger, in the absence of the accused and his lawyer, but in the presence of the public procuror, to carry out sentences, deportation, confinement in prison or a corrective labor camp, in the period of the war from 1941–1945 to the VMN. On the staff of the OSO were found: the deputies of NARKOM or the Peoples’ Commissar internal department, commissioned by the NKVD of the RSFSR, the leader of the main government of the worker peasant militia, the Peoples’ Commissar of the united republics, on the territory from where the matter arose. The resolution of the SNK and

the Central Committee of the VKP(b) from November 17, 1938 in OSO made the decision to pass only those matters which could not be considered openly working to reach an understanding. In the practice of the following organs directed by the OSO, most matters had insufficient evidence of demonstrable guilt for the accused. In 1939, the Procurator of the USSR, A. Ya. Vyshinskii, reported to the Politburo concerning the examination of from the 200–300 matters in each session of the OSO. At the meeting of the OSO February 10, 1950 matters concerning 1592 people were looked at (Doklad of the MGB in the Central Committee of the BKP(b). The OSO abolished the ykaz of the Presidium of the High Soviet of the USSR from September 1, 1953. (GULAG 2000: 94; 128; 148).

2

- 9) Keeping in mind the Government of the Kuloi Corrective Labor Camp and the colony of the YNKVD in Archangelsk oblast (in the center of the town of Archangelsk, p/ya 236); production–timber cutting service at the Archangelsk navigation port 1941; quantity: in January 1, 1941–13099 to July 1, 1941–16255.

3

- 10) See document V 2 and note 9.
- 11) The letter never reached A. D. Simukov; the answers to the questions of N. Ya. Simukova about his needs in his confinement, the conditions of his life and work in the Corrective Labor Camp which can be found in the Appendix V-4 of the original Russian version.
- 12) In compliance with the temporary instructions concerning the regime on the substance concluded in the Corrective Labor Camp, Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from August 2, 1939, conclusion from the 58th article in the sentence decided on the correspondence once in two or three months, a meeting once in six months, only with the authorization of the leader of the Gulag.
- 13) From 1934, N. Ya. Simukova worked as a librarian and then the chief librarian in the Library of Science named after Gorky at MGU (Moscow State University) (from the list of personnel of the Library's cadres from October 4, 1949, the archive of the family of A. D. Simukov).

4

- 14) After passing the sentence January 4, 1941 (see document VI 25), at the beginning of February 1941, A. D. Simukov was transported from Ulan-Ude to the deportation prison in Novosibirsk. "The stopping point was the most abominable and dangerous of any lager." (Razgon 1994: 213). The train was fitted out like a prison, from the freight to the sleeping cars. The freight cars: plank beds were nailed to the wall with two or three on top of each other. There was a small window with a grating or grille, on the floor was a pipe or a vent, or simply a hole instead of a slop pail, and an unreliable stove. From 70–250 people were squeezed into such a wagon or freight car, the door was tightly shut leaving no way to breathe, and it was opened three times in twenty-four hours–twice for counting, and once to distribute rations which included a hunk of bread, herring or dry Caspian roach, or watery soup with fish tails. A mug of water, which had not been boiled, was given once a day. Talking was permitted while the train was moving but absolute silence was demanded when it stopped. On the wagon was written "Special Equipment" or something like that (Ginzburg 1989: 185, 188, 201; Begin 1991: 31; Razgon 1994: 300–301).

The sleeping compartments on the train (5 sleeping compartments for the arrested, 4 for

the Okhrana) were separated from the corridors by a grille from the ceiling, and a small window was cut out of the opposite wall, and two shelves were connected for a cot. From the instructions, each sleeping compartment had to hold 11 people, but in practice there were two or three times more than that (and the Okhrana crammed people in by their feet) . “Autumn 1946, N. V. Timofeev–Resovskii (geneticist, see Schnol 2001: 205–236, he went from Petropavlovsk (Kazakhstan) to Moscow in such a compartment where there were 36 people. For a long time, he hung in the compartment between people, with his legs not touching the floor. Then they began to die—and they were pulled out by their legs (but not immediately, on the second day) and then they were freed. His trip to Moscow lasted for three weeks.” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 350). The train with those who had been arrested began in 1941 and moved slowly, standing still for hours and even days. It passed troop trains in the west with soldiers and military technology (Begin 1991: 30).

Loading and unloading from the train cars usually took place on the western routes or at a small station (far from peoples’ gaze). “The following procedure (...) was obligatory at each stage: Leave the train car or on the chute coming down from the truck, immediately gather on the main deck, in spite of the weather, the snow, the mud or the rain when you are forced to sit or get up on your knees, so that when they do move, everyone appears suddenly to be in a sheepfold, and they then are forced to get up in groups of four for the roll call, and then they are forced to hear the convoy ‘prayer, step right, step left the convoy shoots without warning’ or the convoy moves on.”(Razgon 1994: 216)—to transit, to the camp, or to nowhere...

“The zek rarely visited the three-five transit prisons...They were entangled in their memories: the illiterate convoy ; the calling of the names of ‘the good for nothings; long waits for the extra flour; the lengthy body-search while undressing; the slovenly haircuts; the cold, slippery baths; the stinking lavatory; the quieting corridors; the always crowded, smokey, and almost always dark, damp rooms; the warmth of human flesh on both sides of you on the floor and on your cot;...the damp, almost liquid bread; the watery soup, as if boiled from silage” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 374). “...the transit prison...The sticky, mud, left over from past transit stops; lice and bedbugs; the hours of lines to the bath where one got a small wash tub of water; which only spread around the filth on one’s body; the roasting (for disinfecting clothes) which...burnt fur and melted buttons, but the insects survived...And the unappeasable hunger where in the transit prison it was almost legal not to feed those who had been arrested; robbery served the feral rage of the Okhrana...In the transit prison, it was always “someone else.” Today went, tomorrow will come and disappear. This promotes the feelings of absolute irresponsibility. From here, one can do anything and from there anything is done (Razgon 1994: 354). Neither parcel, nor remittance, nor money for the stall. Only the rations (Ginzburg 1989: 122). The transit prisons were overcrowded. The winter of 1937–1938 in Ivanovskii transit camp “room 21 held 323 people instead of 20! There was water on the bed, which had spread to the boards where it lay. (...) The room was twenty times overcrowded, with no slop pail, and in our dispatch, the mandrel going twenty four hours!” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 376).

- 15) According to the report of the KGB from June 21, 1990 “The Special Meeting of the NKVD (see note 8) January 4, 1941 concerning participation in Anti-Soviet organizations, Simukov, according to statute No.58, p. 10, No. 58, p. 11.

UK RSFSR (charged by statute No. 58, p. 1 “a” (“espionage, treason against the Motherland” exclusively) was condemned to 8 years of deprivation of freedom, and the imprisonment in a correctional labor camp” (see document VI 26). Text of statute No. 58 UK RSFSR (Ivanova 2006: 69–73).

- 16) They had in mind the place of imprisonment, in which the deprivation of freedom was accompanied by forced labor. The term “concentration camp” in the USSR was first encountered in an order of the BChK concerning “the red terror” (November 2, 1918): “... in the presence the Narkom justices and the representatives of the Presidium of the VTzIK resolution 1) To arrest all of the visible Mensheviks and the right SRs and put them in prison. 2) Arrest, as hostages, the major representatives of the bourgeoisie, the landowners, the manufacturers, the bourgeoisie, the merchants, the counter-revolutionary priests, all of those hostile to the Soviet power of the officers, and hold this part of the public in a counterrevolutionary camp, set up a very reliable guard, and force these gentlemen into a work convoy.” The order affirmed the resolution of the SNK RSFSR concerning “the red terror.” “September 5, 1918:” “...it is necessary to secure the Soviet Republic from its class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps.” The order to organize the concentrations camps rests with the decision of the VtziK concerning the camps with forced labor. (April 15, 1919). One of the first “camps for this special purpose” was organized in 1920 at the base of the Solovetskii Monastery (SLON) for “the isolation of members of the counterrevolutionary parties of all types: the white guard, the reactionary priests, etc.” In the mid-20s, those imprisoned in the SLON worked in forestry, fish products, and agriculture. In the year of “the great crisis” (1929) a new Five-Year plan under the slogan “industrialization for all the countries, complete collectivization, and liquidation of the Kulaks as a class.” It was necessary to have the power of labor to industrialize, as well as natural and industrial resources. May 13, 1929.

The Politburo of the TzK VKP(b) passed a secret resolution “...to launch a system of the massive use of the paid labor of arrested criminals, who had a sentence of at least three years.” (GULAG 2000: 14–16, 296–297; Morukov 2006: 10; Borozinets 2009: 12). Compulsory labor was cheap. “The cost of incarcerated labor, including expenses for clothing, protection, living and bonuses, ranges from 10 to 70 kopeks a day, not exceeding 5 rubles a day, and then in civilian or volunteer works one could earn from 1938–1940 close to 10 rubles.” So, in 10 hours of work a day, the incarcerated can earn in a year 880 hours, which is 40% more than a civilian.” (Kustishev 2010: 31).

The resolution of the SNK USSR (July 11, 1929) “the OGPU confronted the task of developing the lives in the economy of the least accessible and the least organized, along with those who possessed great wealth in the outlying districts of our Union, as well as properly using the labor of those isolated–socially dangerous elements and settle them in areas of low population. “From the beginning of the 30s in all areas of the USSR, from an island in the Arctic, to the Polar mainland, to Central Asia, from the Far East to Siberia, to Karelia where there was a system of several dozens of camps and labor settlements, where, almost with no money for their labor, a million of the incarcerated and the special settlers, “the dispossessed kulaks” peasants, and those who were sent because “of the indication of nationality” or as “SOE” (Polian 2001: 47; 53–94) and who had developed the natural wealth, especially in the almost inaccessible regions (the prospecting and extraction of coal, oil, gas, iron ore, non-ferrous ore, rare

earths, and precious metals, wood, etc.), the construction of canals, rail and automobile roads, airports, sea ports, tunnels, bridges, mines, oil pipe lines, factories, towns, etc. In 1930, in the organizations of OGPU in the government camps and labor settlements, from 1931 were the main government management of the camps and the special settlers (GULAG). In 1934, The GULAG NKVD USSR had inherited all of the places of imprisonment in the country. During the years of industrial activity, the GULAG took over 17 branches of industry, agriculture, and the construction of large industrial centers. February 26, 1941 organized the independent central industrial board of the NKVD, the main government camps: for railroad construction, hydrotechnical construction, mining-metallurgical, fuel, forest industry, and for the construction of the Far Northern (Dalstroï), the highway and others. (GULAG 2000: 335–341; Ivanova 2006; Borozinetz 2009: 12; Morukov 2006: 10).

For the mapping-system of dislocation in the USSR of the huge system of camps and regions for the special and the labor settlements, see Polian in Appendix V-1 of the original Russian version.

6

- 17) Dated by the postmark: “Arkhangelsk 24 4 41” (Arkhangelsk-wood/forest trans-shipping hub for Northern forest development).
- 18) Address of one of the Arkhangelsk deportation camps. In 1930, the Arkhangelsk oblast included the GULAG system, and besides the OGPU's system, from which expeditions went to Lake Vaigach (lead and zinc ore), there were camps in Solovka, Novoi Zemlia, Zemlia Franz Iosef, etc. and they went to (the camps): Kargopolag, Kilyloilag, Oneglag, Yadrinlag, Kotlaslag, Arkhbumlag, Sevdvinlag, Construction Project 510 (Doikov 2010: 40; Ivanova 2006: 167).
- 19) Judging from the several changing handwritings of A. D. Simukov, the almost three months of stopping places were burdensome for him. There was no direct communication between Novosibirsk and Archangelsk in the spring of 1941. The roundabout route across Yaroslavl and Vologda was unlikely. Usually, those arrested went to the deportation camp in Kotlas, where the routes to the north east opened up. Over the Central Kotlas parade gates, for those deported in September, 1938, hung the placard “death to the enemy of the people!” along with a portrait of N. I. Yezhov, from the Narkom of Internal Affairs of the USSR (Razgon 1994: 313). “There was a simple strip of land, divided by fences into cages, which were all bolted. (...) in 1938 far from everyone was housed in lousy, one-storied barracks made from slabs and covered...by a tarpaulin. (...) Sometimes there were twenty thousand people at one time. (...) Later, tents were put up in these cages, while in others, there were two story log frames (...) and in the empty area between the floor and the ceiling an enormous pile of cots reached up six floors, which created a vertical step ladder along the side. (...) It is said that at the Kotlas deportation camp in the 40s, the criminals in line at the stalls, extorted money from the hands of the politicians, and they began to beat them, but that did not work out so well either, so to protect their thievery, they went to the protection area with machine guns...” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 377; 382). In the spring of 1941 in the town of Kotlas, the focal point of the transit base in the northern camp, the space (from the Northern Dvina and the Vichегда to the Urals) was equal to the area of France. The access roads, the warehouses, the deportation points, the radio stations, the cemeteries...Thousands of prisoners were occupied with processing the trucks,

necessary for coal, gas, asphalt, radium, helium, and forest products, for the railroads, the automobile roads, bridge construction (see Rozanov 1951, chapter 21). There was a problem with the delivery of trucks. The navigation on the short northern river. Along the railroad from Kotlas to Kojhve there was “the beginning of a workers’ movement” in December 1940, which grew “sewn together into a living thread” which continuously repaired itself. (Begin 1991: 32; Morukov 2011).” You are like on a sled going over the bumps. Slept on the rails that sank under us and then emerged on the surface. They made an embankment in the winter, from frozen soil. A bit of sun warms it and turns it into jelly. (...) Three times a part of a train car went off the rails. They got out, use a jack, and after two and a half hours the train hobbled along further (see Rozanov 1951, chapter 21). From Kotlas to the Arkhangelsk stopping place, they transferred to a barge on the Northern Dvina (about 500 km). Besides being condemned following statute No. 58 and other statutes in the 30 years, “the dispossessed kulaks” were on the open barges, which carried things in bulk, sometimes covered by a tarpaulin. At the beginning of the 40s, there were “the liberated” from the western Ukraine and western Belarus. “Those who were arrested were in prison—and this was not just for twenty-four hours.” (Solzhenitsyn 1991: 402). The Northern Dvina, the Vichегда, in 1938: “The prison was crowded with four hundred or five hundred people. There was nowhere to sit, and one had to sleep in a queue. No cots in the prison so we had to simply sit or lie down on the muddy or greasy floor. We ate only some sort of selodka (herring) with the skin, scales, guts, head, tail, and bones. We were given a mug of raw pump water only twice a day. At the hatchway leading to the deck, there was a long line day and night. (...) Upstairs on the wet deck, the drunken deathlike convoy danced and broke out in heart-rending songs. From time to time the hatch was opened, accompanied by kicks from to the next in line, and the dozens of those arrested hurried to make their way along the smallest of planks to the exit at the stern” (Razgon 1994: 331).

- 20) Northeast from Arkhangelsk the pripolar territory of the Archangelsk oblast in the present Komi ASSR and the Nenets autonomous district (NAO). The system of maps of this administrative unit is cited in Appendix V-2 of the original Russian version. This—the taiga, tundra, many rivers, and swamps; the spur of the Pripolar Urals and the Timanskii mountain ridge. In the northern part of the land, the zone was in perpetual permafrost. The climate was sub-arctic. The mean temperatures: annual-5.3 °C, summer +10 °C, winter-30 °C. The winter minimum-60 °C, the summer maximum up to + 30 °C. Except for 2 months in summer, the rest is winter. A snow cover remains on the average 232 days. Strong winds, the winter—blizzard and snow drifts. The minimal duration of daylight (December 21) in Ukhte—4 hours, 30 minutes., in Kojhve—3 hours and 30 minutes; in Vorkhuta—the polar night from December 17 to 27 the polar day from May 30 to July 14. The population Komi (Zirian), in the north Nentzi; the basic occupation (until 1929) the hunting trade. The density of population until 1929 was less than 1 person per square km. The basic means of communication – the rivers (navigable—about two months of the year). The central and southern part of this administrative unit was rich in forests. Geological research at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century showed that there was an abundance of useful minerals (oil, coal, and later gas, and valuable minerals, ores, etc.). The first oil industry was on the Ukhte river (1898) and ceased to operate in 1917.

March 4, 1920 during the time that the VSNX RSFSR was created, the Northern

scientific-trade expedition (from 1925-The Institute for the Study of the North, and in 1930 The All-Union Arctic Institute, 1938–1939-The Arcticheskii NII) for the coordination of all scientific research in the Arctic. The leader of the Northern Expedition was R. L. Samoilovich, and among its scientific advisors was A. E. Fersman and Yu. M. Shokalskii.

From 1921–1924, the geological detachment of the Northern expedition, under the leadership of A. A. Chernov (1877–1963), in the past—a participant in the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition of P. K. Kozlov, and they researched the Pechorskii coal basin. A. A. Chernov’s geological substantiation and prognosis made it possible to open the Timan-Pechorskii oil-gas provinces, the commercial production of the Ukhhtinskii oil, the opening of deposits of gold, diamonds, iron ores, fluorite, phosphorous, and others.

The decision of the SNK USSR from July 11, 1929 (see note 16) namely in this region (oil, coal) marked for economic production “by the forces of the OGPU” at the first opportunity. The information concerning the organization and the type of work of the ITL in the territory of the Komi region to where A. D. Simukov was transported is given in Appendix V-3 of the original Russian version.

- 21) In accord with the contemporary instructions from the regime concerning the matter of the incarcerated in ITL NKVD USSR from August 2, 1930 and the articles on the verdict (see note 15) of A. D. Simukov who was allowed correspondence once in two months.
- 22) This letter is the last.

Few surviving witnesses could offer a picture of the probable farthest route of A. D. Simukov to the camp in the Northern region. Some official documents and historical works were accessible when the archives were partially opened in the 90s.

7

- 23) KN (here)—leader of office relations.
- 24) Perteli—this was perhaps a home-made word for “telegraph remittance”: further shown is the number (nr) of the remittance and the sums of the remittance.
- 25) Whatever cell in a repressive system appertains to an established account which had moved away.

8

- 26) Over the course of months, N. Ya. Simukova wrote on a number of occasions and tried to learn where to send the monetary transfers for A. D. Simukov, which she hoped would be passed on to him and that she would learn his location. Notification from Archangelsk was received on May 31, 1941 which offered a faint hope of finding the addressee through the finance division and the already stated account number. M. A. Simukova decided to set off for the North in search of her husband and asked Natalia Yakovlevna to take care of Natasha for that time. The refusal of her mother-in-law saved Milia’s life.

In three weeks (June 2, 1941) the Great Patriotic War started. From the beginning of the war the correspondence of those incarcerated in the ITL was forbidden (Razgon 1994: 26). This ban was revoked in 1942.

- 27) As in the text.

Chapter VI
The War, Search
in the Gulag, Rehabilitation,
Search for the Truth (1941–1990)

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VI 1 N. Ya. Simukova – to M. A. Simukova, October 22, 1941.*October 22, 1941*

<Moscow>

<to Kazan¹⁾>

Dear Milia, On October 19th I sent you 50 rubles by post, which you had requested for firewood. (...). Sometime ago I enclosed in the parcel from Tarnizhevskii²⁾ ½ a kilo of sugar for Natasha, and I don't know if it ever arrived. Now all the roads, and especially those in Kazan, are subject to bombardment. I remain an utter orphan. Lesha³⁾ and Alia⁴⁾ have also gone. Lesha was evacuated from his organization⁵⁾, and Alia joined him at the last moment. They left, I think, on the 17th or 18th. Lesha is immersed in the 16th⁶⁾. He went to Tashkent, and I was very pleased that Alia wanted to make her way to Zlatoust to the wife of the brother of Anatolii Petrovich⁷⁾, Natalia Stepanovna Trostnikova. She works as a doctor there.

Lesha proposed, and even insisted, that I leave Moscow, but the two⁸⁾ of us have such a lot to carry that is cumbersome, that I had no wish to leave Moscow. Here, everything is overcrowded, no apartments, poor food, but we can still live in Moscow.

I have had enough at work⁹⁾ where everything is pretty uncertain, but on the evening of (October 21) everyone connected to the evacuation is fired, so I am now without work, but I am going there anyway to finish up my work¹⁰⁾. Each day there is a new solution. On Sunday (October 19) there was a meeting where it was decided that everyone should come to work, and on Tuesday (October 21) everyone was fired. The Director of the University flew off without permission, and our Director and several people at the top suddenly just took off¹¹⁾. The university was evacuated; the first groups have left and now they are picking up those remaining. Today, they must go by foot, except, of course, for those who are the young and old people, and they must line up and wait for the train.

During this time there has been no very strong bombardment¹²⁾, except for yesterday, during the day and the night, but it was intermittently. Our house is empty and is becoming creepy. I really miss Lesha and Alia. When will we see them? Or, will we see them at all? I remain completely alone. I have little hope of Andrei appearing. By and large, life is now full of the unexpected.

How is Natasha? I received all her letters and thank her for her patience to write so much. Our schools of higher education are closed. Almost all the institutes are evacuated. Think about us and remember those of us who are remaining in Moscow¹³⁾. (...)

Give my heartfelt greetings to Vera Ivanovna¹⁴⁾. I hope she received my letter. Greetings to the boys¹⁵⁾ and Ivanov¹⁶⁾.

Give Natashechka a big kiss. Alia received her letter. Anatoli Petrovich is commissar of the medical train. He is constantly exposed to danger.

I kiss you, write, comfort me.

All, all the best. Greetings from Olga Yakovlevna¹⁷⁾.

N. Simukova. October 22, 1941.

VI 2 O. Ya. Peiker¹⁸⁾. Diary, October-November, 1941.

Moscow 1941. October.

Oct.18 Lesha and Alia probably left. Natasha¹⁹⁾ was at the station (Kursk) and did not find them on the train. The day was tedious. Stood in line for bread from 6:30 in the morning until 6 in the evening. Received black bread and white sugar. (...) The night was completely quiet. Not one shot.

Oct.19 The weather was wet and warm on Sunday. At 9 in the morning people went out to shop. There was an eerie line near the shop that took my card. Many shops were closed. Could only buy sour cream on my card. Milk at the market was 5 rubles for ½ a liter. Didn't see the militia on the street, and there are fewer riding in cars; everyone hoped to evacuate. Prices are rising. The day continued aimlessly. I was by myself. Natasha was tidying up Leshino's room.

Oct.20 The day and especially the night continued peacefully. Rainy weather. I couldn't buy anything. Awful line. I went twice. (...). A new commandant was appointed in Moscow, and a state of siege was declared, and still they keep leaving. The enemy is surrounding Moscow.

Oct. 21 When I returned from the baths at 11 o'clock in the morning, there was anti-aircraft fire. An hour or two later, a high explosion bomb was dropped, but I do not know where it landed. The shooting continued with only short breaks. The Government Committee of Defense named Comrade Zhukov commander of the Western Front, and Comrade Artemev to the leadership of the garrison in the city of Moscow, and it was assigned the defense of Moscow and its approaches. (Izvestia newspaper October 2, 1941). The Commandant of the city and the suburban regions was Comrade Sinilov (also Izvestia).

At the market, the price of meat reached 60 rubles (for a kilogram). Milk is exchanged for bread. 1 loaf – 1 liter of milk. People's tense mood was evident along the queue. One gets through the night somehow! Pedestrians were not allowed to cross the Krimskii bridge because of the trucks.

Nov.1 Because of the powerful raids, I haven't written an entry for ten days. Heavy bombs were dropped and directly close to us²⁰⁾, for example at the Military Polyclinic and the Tolstoy Museum²¹⁾. It was (October 29) close

to 10 in the evening. Just as the alarm ended, there was a retreat. I stood on the bed in my room. Suddenly there was a dry hit of horrific strength, and there was a bomb which had fallen in the yard in the small house at the military polyclinic.

There was a strong and continuous raid on the 28–29. At the house of the CC of the party a bomb of tremendous caliber had been dropped, which created enormous destruction. The projectile fell so that the glass from the windows from the Manezh landed and the roof was ruined. Today Natasha was at her office²²⁾, and I helped clean up. The 29th was a day of unease, and there was noise the entire day.

Today is the third day of quiet. I slept in my clothes for two days, and I hope tonight will be peaceful. The horrible weather continues—rain and slush. Today we both got items in the third category on the card. There is no sugar and bread at 400 grams. One must hunt for everything.

Kharkhov has been given away; now Rostov is being heavily attacked. Stalino-Yuzovka is filled with the enemy, which is in some places 60 km from Moscow. In the 10-days' continuation during which I missed an entry, there were also two days of complete quiet—Sunday October 26 and 27.

The market is working. I go there almost every day in order to have sufficient food for the 3–5 days of powerful attacks. At home we have close to a pood of potatoes; three or 4 kilos of carrots, a kilo of beets; as well as onions and cabbage. We try to subsist on these purchases and save the dry goods for the more austere days.

Nov. 4 Oct. 31, Nov. 1, and Nov. 2 were completely peaceful. We undressed for sleep. On the 3rd and 4th slept almost completely dressed, there were three alarms but only a little bombing. In our “hideout,”²³⁾ there was a salon. There is anxiety in the city. Nervous queues. Only a worker and children can get “products” on the card. However, today I received 100 grams of confectionary instead of the 100 grams of sugar. Natasha brought 2 kilos of potatoes and 5 liters of fuel oil. We consider our day very productive. Ate borscht with barley, kasha, and carrots to refuel. (...). Received a letter from Ribinska²⁴⁾, Buya, and Kazani²⁵⁾. Yesterday afternoon, Olga Petrovna found that across from Mansurovskii (alley) they are selling sweets. Shots were heard. I waited and left. Suddenly, an anti-aircraft gun grew stronger, and in Lopukhinskii alley at the home of Tzvetkova I saw people hurrying and then running. I heard the alarm sirens and turned back. It would have been very unpleasant to suddenly become an accidental victim, but I wasn't far from home, and I went to our gate when the siren stopped. There was not a second for lunch. I got

everything ready and left the room by the stairway. Natasha was not home; she was at the university. In the quiet, I boiled what was necessary to hang up (from the air raid), and the meal was ready when N. arrived. It is now 8 in the evening, and all is peaceful.

Nov.8 Waited for the offensive finally from 5–7. But it was peaceful. For the past two nights I did not sleep in my clothes.

The market prices are rising, for milk–7 rubles, potatoes–5 rubles; meat–50 rubles; pork–70 rubles. I am busy with little things, so do not notice how time flies. The tenants are being evicted from Leshino's room. Relocated to a region near the station or the bridge.

Snow fell today and as the day waned, it was very slippery. Lesha and Alia arrived in Tashkent.

Telegram from November 5.

Nov.11 On November 9, the alarm sounded three times; in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening. The gunfire was quite strong, and I did not know where the bombs fell. Generally, the gunfire was less intense than the first time. Take the whole south. Now take Crimea. The freeze has set in. In category III on the card, 4 kilos of potatoes a month per person. Last night was completely peaceful. Slept normally (...). Can't read the newspapers. Powerless, pointless cursing. I am recalling Krylov: Vaska the cat listens and eats. There will be, it seems, in Moscow, as in Leningrad, a starving brother. It is not pleasant to experience hunger again²⁶), nor to die from this second hunger. At the market, 10 eggs cost 30 rubles, sour cream–40 rubles a kilo. The city was quite empty, although there were long queues near the food shops.

Litvinov was appointed ambassador to the USA and Deputy NKIndel.

VI 3 Commissar of Finance USSR – Head Kuibishevskii OBLFO, February 28, 1942.

Copy

Telegram

Moscow 6171 22 23 1918 government Kuibishev

Obl OBLFO Griбанov

Sent work to Moscow of Fomin Gurianov Riabkin Berkovich

Simukov Burov Vasiliev Popov full stop Provide urgent departure

Union Commissar of Finance Zverev

VERNO:

Deputy Chancellor Kuibishevsk

<signature>

February 28, 1942

VI 4 N. Ya Simukova – to the Chief of Vorokutlag²⁷⁾ (for Simukov A. D.), March 13, 1942.

Moscow

to Vorkuta

NK Link USSR

Ticket

Transfer to post

For 75 rubles to

From whom? Simukova

Natalia Yakovlevna

Address: Moscow 34 street

Kropotkin Khrushchevskii

Alley house 3 apartment 1

Delivery point reception
point

Moscow 34 Vorkuta

Fruzenskii. Komi ASSR

13 3 42. 10 4 42

<Upper right corner of Postal item>

Moscow 34 1 6 42

NK Link USSR

Name and address

Company link

No. 1040 No. 73 <crossed out> 39

By tetr. f. 5

By book f. 7a

NOTICE concerning

Transfer by mail

For 75 rubles to

Where: Archangelskaya Oblast, pos Vorkuta

To whom: Director Vorkutlager

For Simukov A. D.

<Postage stamp, same>

<In upper right corner>

Does not appear, (return?) 27/4

<Signature>

FOR THE LETTER

Earnestly request you, Comrade Director, to give this Money (75 rubles) to Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich from His mother Simukova Nat. Yak.

March 13, 1942

It is recommended to pay for delivery of the transfer to the house when it is submitted.

VI 5 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, April 26, 1942.

Moscow

*to Vorkuta*²⁸⁾

No. 246

NK Link USSR

Name and address prep.

Links to place of issue

NOTICE No. 2070

On reception of parcel with declared value of 75 rubles.

Where: Arkhangelskaya Oblast

VORKUTA, Vorkutlag NKVD

To whom: Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich

<Postage stamps>

Moscow 34 Frunzenskii 26 4 42

Vorkuta KOMI ASSR 29 6 42

<the right corner> No. 16/VII-42

<Signature>

For the written message

Dear Andrei,

I am sending you the second time 75 rubles.

1st time – in March.

I kiss you, Mama.

April 26, 1942.

VI 6 OYRZ²⁹⁾ Pechorlag³⁰⁾ – to N. Ya. Simukova. May 18, 1942³¹⁾.

<May 18, 1942>

<July 3, 1942>³²⁾

Abez Komi ASSR

to Moscow

Moscow city, 34 Krapotkina Street, Khrushchevsky lane No. 3 sq. 1.

Simukova Nat. Yakov.

No. 10/2084/11

OYRZ Pechorlag.

<postmark>Abez

<postmark on back> Moscow 34, 3 7 42.

VI 7 N. Ya. Simukova, Fragment of Letters of Application. (Address Is not Ascertained) (Not Earlier than 1944)

<Moscow>

(...) In July 1942 in answer to my searches, the response from Abez³³⁾ from the director of the 1st branch of the 2nd department from May 18, 1942 No. 10/2084/11 that my son, Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, located in their camp at the address p/o Abez Komi ASSR, No. 274/3. I began to send letters and money on receiving this notice which were not sent back, but I did not receive a single letter. I wrote to the Director, asking him to allow my son to write to me, or that he, the Director, give me news about my son, but I did not receive an answer from him. (...).

VI 8 N. Ya. Simukova – to A. D. Simukov, July 4, 1942.

Moscow

<to?>³⁴⁾

July 4, 1942

Hello, my dear Papochka!

How are you? Mama and I are living for a while at Babushka's³⁵⁾.

From the very beginning of the war, we were evacuated together with Mama's N. F. K.³⁶⁾ to Kazan.

I enrolled in a school in Kazan³⁷⁾. Before my birthday, September 1, I knew that a store was giving out gingerbread, and so I ran there to buy some for my birthday. I stood in line for half an hour and got the gingerbread. (...). In the beginning of winter, some from the N. K. F. went to Kubishev (now Samara) (we also), and some stayed in Kazan. In Kubishev, I also enrolled in school, but I liked the teacher in Kazan better than in Kubishev because she was kind, but the other teacher was strict and with the first I always received marks of "excellent" and "good" and never "poor," but with the other teacher I received marks of "fair" and one time "untidy."

It is a bit more difficult to buy groceries here in Kubishev than in Kazan where there was a wonderful cafeteria.

From Kubishchev, the N. K. F. went to Moscow, but they will not let children there, and Mama was barely able to get me allowed (see document 3). (I forgot to mention that in Kubishev we went along the Volga). In Moscow, before we were registered, we lived with Babushka. But yesterday, we registered in Piatnitzkaya

Street³⁸⁾ and will be there soon. I passed the exam for the first class³⁹⁾. Arithmetic (written and oral) was “excellent,” oral Russian was “excellent,” and written Russian was “good.” In the autumn, I will go into the second class.

Mama sends her greetings.

Your Natasha.

VI 9 OYRZ Pechoralag – to OAGS⁴⁰⁾ Komi ASSR, August 12, 1942.

Copy: N. A. Simukova.

NKVD USSR	To OAGS Komi ASSR
Government	town of Siktivkar
Pechorskii	
Railway	Copy: Citizen Simukova
Correctional -Labor Camp	Natalia Yakovlevna
	Moscow, Kropotkin street
Division URZ	Krushchevskii alley, House 3,
August 12, 1942.	Apt. 1.
	Enquiry directed by citizen
No.10/3710/11	Simukova Natalia Yakovlevna
	Concerning information on the
	Central card index. Answer
Pos. Abez	directly.
Komi ASSR	
	POM Director OYRZ
	Pechlag NKVD
	lieutenant government /Akopov/ <signature>
	Inspector OYPZ /Bubnova/ <signature>

VI 10 Post Pechora Post Box No.274 – to N. Ya. Simukova, July 8, 1948.

Komi ASSR.	<i>Where:</i> Moscow 34
p/o Pechora.	Kropotkin street
n/ya No.274.	Khrushchevskii alley, house 3, apt.1
July 8, 1948.	To whom: Simukov
No.30/77.	Natalia Yakovlevna
	Regarding your statement from 12
	February, 1948 we are informing that

concerning your son Simukov
A. D. our No.30/77-S from July 8, 1948
reported in OAGS MVD Leningrad.
Where should be addressed in the future
Nach-k Center Archive
<Signature>/Xomich/

**VI 11 OGAS UMVD LO – to Director OAGS UMVD Moscow,
September 25, 1948.**

Copy: N. Ya. Simukova.

MVD-USSR	TL-2. Vx.155/s.
Government MVD.	
Of Leningrad oblast	Director OAGS UMVD Moscow.
Department of Acts	
Of Citizens	<u>Copy:</u> Citizen Simukova N. Ya.
	Living in Moscow,
September 25, 1948.	Kropotkin street, Khrushchevskii
No.1/10–1429.	Alley, house 3, apt. 1.
Leningrad	Sending the death certificate for
	No. II-B 0044905 for Simukov
1-copy to address	Andrei Dmitrievich, for delivery
2-<<<- business	Citizen Simukova N. Ya., living
	at the above address.
	ATTACHMENT: certificate.
	/Director OAGS UMVD LO
	Lieutenant Colonel <signature> /Ababin/
	Regional Archivist <signature>/Ivanova/

RSFSR

Certificate of Death

II-B No. 044905

Citizen. Simukov
Andrei Dmitrievich

Died. April 15, 1948 one thousand
nine hundred and forty-eight

Age. 40 years

Cause of death heart failure

*What is in the civil register of civil service concerning
the death*

1948, the year august the month 11 the date

Works corresponding to the entry for No. 1382

Place of death: city, settlement (dash)

Region (dash) oblast, krai, republic, (dash)

Place of registration: Leningrad

Kuibishevskii r/b ZAGS

Date given. September 20, 1948.

Head of Civil Registry Office

<signature> /Zarembo/

(*Seal*). Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the
Leningrad Region.

Civil Registry Office Kuibishevskii region, city of
Leningrad.

**VI 12 General Procurator of USSR Comrade Rudenko, R. A.,
December 16, 1954⁴¹⁾.**

From Simukova N. Ya.

Living in Moscow

B. Kisel'nii alley, house 7, apt. 2

Tel. B-8-47-55

I am asking the Procurator of the USSR about the retrial and the posthumous rehabilitation of my son, the Soviet scientist and geographer Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov, who was convicted for 8 years by the state security authority in the months of January-February 1941.

I am inquiring about this because, like them, I continue to firmly believe that my son was not guilty. I was not able to win his acquittal, and I wish to do so now so that his memory is worthy of the respect that he earned from his selfless work for the benefit of our society. I am 80-years-old, and the posthumous restoration of my son's honor is my final concern on my long journey through life. Understand the grief of this mother and hurry to expedite my request, so that these last days of my life I can at least manage to rejoice in the triumph of justice.

I am giving an account of the details.

My son, Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov, was born in 1902 in Leningrad and was one of the active participants on scientific expeditions in Mongolia, organized by the Soviet government in 1923. The leader of the expedition was the renowned Soviet explorer P. K. Kozlov—researcher of Central Asia, a student of Przhevalskii. As is known, the work of this expedition was in the tombs in the ancient city of Khara-Khoto, and our knowledge was enriched from these valuable archeological discoveries.

A. D. Simukov was the leader on the excavation of one of the ancient kurgans at (Noyon-uul) where there was found a whole series of archeological and historical objects and which comprise a special collection that is now preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

After finishing this work on the expeditions, A. D. Simukov worked for the Scientific Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic and in the course of many years of fruitful work there he also led independent scientific expeditions to study the country.

In 1934, A. D. Simukov designed maps of Mongolia, which comprised the first Geographic Atlas of the country to be created. The scientific research of A. D. Simukov in geography, ethnography, and the economy of Mongolia was in the form of reports to the Scientific Committee of the MPR, and several are published in the journals *Mongolia*, *The Economy of Mongolia*, and *Contemporary Mongolia*.

There are 18 references to Simukov's work in the bibliography of the book "Eastern Mongolia" by the academic Obruchev, published in the AN USSR in 1947.

One of my son's major works which, unfortunately, is unfinished, was the dictionary of "geographical terminology" in the Mongolian language.

My son's major and fruitful activities were suddenly ended by the ill will of someone. In August-September (I don't know exactly) while working in Ulaanbaatar (Mongolia) on the Scientific Committee where he headed the

Geography division, my son A. D. Simukov was arrested, taken to Ulan-Ude, where he remained until February, 1941 in solitary confinement and sentenced to 8 years in the camp. He was deprived of the right of correspondence, and in the prolonged confinement in the prison in Ulan-Ude to the concentration camp, I received 2 postcards from him. Then, the connection ended.

As a result of my searches, I managed to establish that my son Simukov A. D. was found in 1942 in the Pechorskii corrective–labor camp, which was managed in the village of Abez Komi ASSR (in a draft) – (“among the prisoners he was registered as a cartographer”). To my request, the camp sent me the following notice: (see document 9).

In 1943, they called me to ZAGS (Bureau of Vital Statistics) Frunzenskii region in Moscow from my then residence and told me about the death of my son in April, 1942 from heart failure. ZAGS refused to give me written confirmation, and not completely trusting this, I tried through MVD USSR to obtain more official information about the fate of my son, but I only obtained information that my statement that was directed to the camp Abez (Pechorlag) was essentially a substantive answer.

In 1948, I received notification from post office (n/ya) 274 (see Document 10) with the indication to turn to OAGS MVD in Leningrad⁴²⁾.

From the Leningrad ZAGS, I received certificate No.044905 from September 20, 1948 (see document 11). However, in this certificate the year of death was shown as 1948, and not 1942, as was reported in the Frunzenskii ZAGC, and at the same time indicated that Simukov had died at the age of 40, which contradicted the year of his death, that is that Simukov was born in 1902⁴³⁾. My latest attempt to establish the truth through the MGB USSR has come to nothing. The oral answer was always this – besides refuting the truth about his death, I received from the Leningrad ZAGS that “we have no information regarding your son and his death.”

Thus, I haven’t even been granted the reception of the true official information about the death of my son.

I beg of you to assist me in finding the truth and reconsidering the case of restoring for me and for society as a whole the honorable name of this Soviet scholar–geographer, my son Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov.

/N. Simukova/.

VI 13 The Main Military Prosecutor of the USSR – N. Ya. Simukova, September 1, 1955.

The Main Military Procurator
Moscow central, Kirov Street, 41.

September 1, 1955. No. 7 shch. -2791–41

Citizen **Simukova N. Ya.**

Address Moscow B. Kisel'nyi alley, house 7 apartment 2

Your complaint from 16.12.1954, *addressing*

General Prosecutor USSR

On the matter of Your son Simukov A. D.

Directed for verification and resolution on the merits

Military Prosecutor Zabaikal military district,

Concerning which we inform you of the result:

Military Prosecutor division of the Principal Military Prosecutor

Lieutenant colonel of justice <signature>

VI 14 N. Ya. Simukova – to Deputy Military Prosecutor of the Transbaikalian Military District, Comrade Obukhov, May 1956⁴⁴⁾.

In answer to your letter from May 1956 No. 1160zh55, I am sending you the following material.

1. Review of the work of A. D. Simukov from those who worked with him S. A. Kondratiev⁴⁵⁾, N. P. Shastin⁴⁶⁾, and E. V. Kozlova⁴⁷⁾ (the widow of the famous explorer P. K. Kozlov) with their addresses. (See document 15).
2. Two lists of the published works of A. D. Simukov. One list is from the book⁴⁸⁾ of the academic Obruchev⁴⁹⁾ in which he refers to the works of A. D. Simukov in the capacity of using his material (annotations of the academic Obruchev, see document 16), second list—the other works of A. D. Simukov, printed in the journal *Contemporary Mongolia* and other publications⁵⁰⁾. (See document 17).
3. Address of the wife of A. D. Simukov—M. A. Simukova: Moscow, Piatnitskaya street, house 22, apartment 8.

(N. Simukova)

VI 15 E. V. Kozlov, S. A. Kondratiev⁵¹⁾, N. P. Shastin – to Deputy Prosecutor Transbaikal Military District, Comrade Obukhov, May, 1956.

To the Military Prosecutor of the Transbaikal Military District
Deputy Prosecutor comrade OBUKHOV

For consideration of finding the petition concerning the rehabilitation of SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrievich case No. 7–2791–4γ

We worked together with A. D. Simukov on the Mongolian expedition of the All-Russian Geographical Society under the leadership of the famous explorer P. K. Kozlov, and at the end on the Scientific Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.

During all of this time, we knew A. D. Simukov as a capable and hardworking researcher, namely in the scientific work on the regional geography and the national economy of the MPR, as well as devoted to Soviet science and the Soviet state.

The rapid rehabilitation of A. D. Simukov, which will unfortunately be posthumous, must restore the honorable name of this Soviet researcher A. D. Simukov. The fact is that the request for the rehabilitation of A. D. Simukov has not up to now been determined, even though many years have passed since the petition was filed. Thus, we ask that the matter is reviewed post-haste.

E. V. KOZLOVA
Senior researcher in Zoology
Institute of the Academy of Sciences
USSR, Leningrad, Smolny Prospect
House 6, apartment 32.

S. A. KONDRATIEV
Member of the Union of Soviet Composers
Moscow. Strastnoi blvd., house 6, Apartment 33.

N. P. Shastin
Senior scientific researcher Institute
Of Oriental Studies Academy of
Sciences USSR Moscow, Chkalova
Street, house 14/16, apartment 166.

VI 16 From the Book of the Academic V. A. Obruchev, May, 1956.

“Eastern Mongolia,” published by AN USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1947, in which he, along with works of other authors, refers to the works of Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov Annotation by the academic V. A. Obruchev.

May, 1956.

Chapter 1. Overview of the literature on the geography and paleontology of Eastern Mongolia.

Page 100 392. Simukov A. D. Essays on the nature and way of life in Khentii, *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928, No.2 (9), 93–103.

Short essay on the orography and hydrography of the mountainous state of Khentii, more details on the flora and fauna. The finding of jasper, iron, gold, and mineral sources are mentioned.

Page 96 374. (about the same) The article is composed of very short essays of Khentii’s relief and quite a detailed description of the flora and fauna with information on the climate and the trades of the people—hunting and the collection of cedar nuts.

Page 100 393. Simukov A. D. Essays of the nature and way of life. The Gobi Altai and the Central Gobi. *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928, No.3 (10), 79–92.

A short essay on the orography-hydroelectricity in the Gobi Altai and Central Gobi, as well as on the flora and fauna. Notes on the soil condition—pebbly, sandy, etc.

Page 101 404. Simukov A. D. “The Khangai expedition of the Scientific Committee of the MPR in 1928.” (Travel impressions). *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929, No.1 (14), 78–96.

Travel notes contain information on the orography—and hydrography. Traces of ancient glaciers, scenery, microrelief, flora and fauna.

Page 102 405. Simukov A. D. Concerning the migrations and the pastures of Mongolia. *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929. No.2 (15), 5–24.

This article presents the common geobotanical characteristics of the river flood lands, the terraces, the rocky hills, and information concerning the quantity of good soil for pastureland and the possibility of agriculture.

406. Simukov A. D. March Route Ulaanbaatar–Ude–Bai-shintu (Gurban-

Saikhan). *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929. No.4 (17), 72–83.

Travel notes on the road from Ulaanbaatar up to the hollows of Bai-shintu at the southern foot of Gurban-Saikhan with short notes about the orography and hydrography, landscape and geology.

407. Simukov A. D. “The role of the USSR in the research of Mongolia.” *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1929, No.5 (18), 43–52.

Essay on the research, completed on the Mongolian scientific expeditions of the USSR, mainly geological and soil related.

Page 108 434. Stulov E. A. and Simukov A. D. “Concerning the question on the districting of the MPR.” *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1930, No.2 (20), 51–75 with 4 maps.

The authors studied the existing districting of the MPR and drew up a new project and gave the brief characteristics of the geographical position, relief, hydrography, climate, and flora and fauna of the region: The East, Khentii, Ulaanbaatar, Orkhon-Selenge, Prikosogol, Khangai, North-west, West, Altai, Middle Gobi, Southern Gobi and the Eastern Gobi. Fruitful digs were mentioned: coal, jasper, gold, magnetic iron ore, nickel, wolfram, and copper.

Page 112 450. Simukov A. D. Cattle production and its links to the geographical landscape of the country. *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1931, No.1 (25), 57–75.

Short description of the physical geography of the khooshoo and aimag of Khan-Khentii-uul, Bogd-khan-uul and Tsetserleg-Mandal presenting the grounds to compute the per cent of the ratio of the species of cattle herds in the khooshoos for 1928.

Page 120 487. Simukov A. D. “The Geographic Position of the MPR.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1933, No.1, 32–36.

The author gave very short orographic-hydrographic climate essays concerning the MPR, which concerned the following districts: the mountainous lands of the Altai, the Khangai and Khentii; the western lake basin; the Mid-Khalkhas elevation; the Eastern Mongolian plain; the Eastern Mongolian depression; the Central depression; the Gobi Altai and Zaaltaiskii Gobi;

The South-eastern hilly-flat Gobi. In each oblast the soil and the growing areas were considered.

Page 124 501. Simukov A. D. Ara-Khangai aimag. *Contemporary Mongolia*, No.2 (5), 82–94.

A short essay on the orography, irrigation, soil, climate, flora and fauna, and the

economic conditions of the Ara-Khangai aimag.

502. Simukov A. D. “Mongolian nomads.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1934, No. 4 (7), 40–46 with 1 map.

In connection with the type of nomad, the author gives some information on the orography and the hydrography and landscape of Mongolia.

Page 127 518. Simukov A. D. “The Southern-Gobi aimag.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1935, No.1 (8), 114–123.

A short geographical-economic essay on the Southern-Gobi aimag of the MPR with information on the relief, irrigation soil, climate, and flora and fauna.

519. Simukov A. D. “The Pastures of the MPR.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1935, No.2 (9), 76–89.

In this essay on the pastures of the MPR, the relief, the soil, and the irrigation of the two basic zones were briefly reviewed: (1) the steppe or Khangai, which was divided into the feather grass, the upland and depleted, the river valley meadow, the forest glades and the forest border alpine belt; (2) the Gobi (or desert) zone with isolated mountain pastures, semi-desert grassy and salty, large shrubs, sand dunes, hilly and settled, dried mud pools, saksaul, shoots of saltwort, feathergrass, and saltmarsh.

520. Simukov A. D. “Material on the nomadic life of the population of the MPR. 1. The nomadic settlement in the Gurban-saikhon region of the Southern-Gobi aimag.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1935, No.6 (13), 89–104.

In this essay, the author gave the general physical-geographical characteristics of the region of Gurban-saikhon with his notes on the landscape, the economic types, according to the assessment of the relief-pastoral types and the economy.

Page 130 536. Simukov A. D. “Totals of the works of the geographical division of the Scientific Research committee of the MPR for 15 years.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1936, No.4 (17)–No.5 (18), 67–86.

From this account of the result of the work, the author made the proposal to divide the territory of the MPR into 10 geographical provinces and gave a concise-short description of the orography, hydrography, landscape, and climate of each of them. He listed the provinces: 1) Altai mountain land, 2) Western lake basin, 3) Khangai mountainous land, 4) Khentii mountainous land, 5) East Mongolian plain, 6) Middle Khalkhas heights, 7) Central hollow, 8) Gobi Altai, 9) Shankhai Upland, 10) Hilly plain of the Eastern Gobi.

Page 133 547. Vorobiev P. I. and Simukov A. D. "Expedition to Tsagaan-Bogd." *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1937, No.4 (23), 85–92 and No.5 (24), 85–94.

Articles concerning the travel impressions with cursory comments on the orography-hydrography, landscape, character of the surface (rocky, sandy etc.) and the vegetation, written by the authors during the expedition from Ulaanbaatar to Tsagaan-Bogd.

Page 135. 561. Simukov A. D. "Travel Notes in the Khangai and the Gobi during the winter of 1937." *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1938, No.2 (27), 69–75.

These are notes about the relief, landscape, oases, springs, salt and the ancient gold pits in the mountain of Altan-uul touching on the upland Khangai and the western half of the MPR; the last author shows 5 deposits of sodium chloride.

562. Simukov A. D. "The Gobi Desert" (geographical essay). *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1938, No. (28), 91–106 with a map.

This essay looks at the relief of the Gobi, the landscape, the soil and briefly the geological structure. The wide diffusion of brown coal, available gold, lead, bituminous schist, gypsum, cooking salt, and traces of copper. The author divides all of the Gobi into the Zungarskii hollow, the Tarim hollow, the Western Gobi, the Alashan Gobi, Ordos, Prialtai Gobi, Eastern Gobi and Tsaidam. The outskirts of the Gobi in the MPR, he breaks up into the western lake basin, the Central plain, the Shankghai upland, the hilly-plain of the Eastern Gobi, and the District of the Gobi Altai.

VI 17 The Works of A. D. Simukov not Included in the Survey of the Literature "Eastern Mongolia" V. A. Obruchev, May, 1956.

Simukov A. D. "Geographical Atlas of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic." Drawn up from New Data from the Researcher of the Scientific Research Committee of the MPR by A. D. Simukov. Publisher Club in the name of Lenin, Ulaanbaatar, 1934. 18 maps and cartograms.

Also: In the Mongolian language.

Simukov A. D. "Essay on the Work of the Gobi Party of the Scientific Committee of the MPR, July-November 1927," *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1928, No. 1 (8), 86–99.

Simukov A. D. "The quantitative relationship of social groups in the settlements and the specific of the settlement herd." *The Economy of Mongolia*, 1931, No. 2

(26), 18–26.

Simukov A. D. “The Mongols’ food and dwellings.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1933, No. 2, 42–49.

Simukov A. D. “The Yurt Encampment.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1933, No. 2, 42–49.

Simukov A. D. “Material about the nomadic life in the population of the MPR. II. The nomads of Ubur-Khangai aimag of the MPR.” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1936, No. 2 (15), 49–56.

Simukov A. D. “The desert of the Western Gobi. (Notes of a Researcher).” *Contemporary Mongolia*, 1937, No. 6 (25), 44–57. 1938, No. 1 (26), 31–43.

VI 18 The Main Military Procurator, July 3, 1956⁵²⁾.

Moscow, 41 Kirov street.

From **Simukova Melania Alekseevna**

Living in Moscow, on Piatnitzkoi street, house 22, apartment 9.

Declaration

My husband, Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, born in 1902, was arrested in August-September 1939 in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolian Peoples’ Republic, where he worked on the Scientific Committee of the MPR, heading the Department of Geography.

For about a year, during which my husband was in prison in the town of Ulan-Ude, he was sentenced in a Special Meeting (of the “troika”) to 8 years by statute No. 58.

Being completely convinced of the absolute innocence of Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov, I ask you to review his case.

For the clarification of his case, it is necessary to inform you of the following:

Andrei Dmitrievich was born in 1902 in Petersburg. His father was born in the village of Sigeevka, Kostiukovicheskii district of the Mogilevskii gubernia into a peasant family and achieved higher education, worked in the Ministry of Finance. Mother—a teacher.

During the Revolution, the family of Andrei Dmitrievich went to their homeland village where the mother taught school. The father died.

In 1921, Andrei Dmitrievich studied in Moscow at the M. V. Lomonosov Mechanical-Electrical Institute, and his address was: Moscow, Tverskaya,

Blagoveshchenskii alley house 1.

In 1923, Andrei Dmitrievich was accepted on the Soviet government-sponsored Mongolian-Tibetan research expedition of the Russian Geographic Society, led by the famous explorer Peter Kuzmich Kozlov.

From 1923–1926, the expedition worked in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic since the explorations in Tibet did not eventuate.

On the conclusion of the expedition, Andrei Dmitrievich was invited by the Government of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic to work on the Scientific Committee, which was organized with the participation and assistance from Soviet scientists.

While managing the Cabinet of Geography, Andrei Dmitrievich continued to study the country on independent expeditions, as well as with major expeditions for the Mongolian Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and covering all regions of the Republic.

During this period of his work, in 1934, he wrote and published in both the Russian and Mongolian languages, the first Geographical Atlas of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, for which my husband received an acknowledgment from Atlas World in Moscow and the Cartographic Trust. The Atlas was approved by the delegates of the Great Mongolian Khural.

Andrei Dmitrievich paved the way with more than 50 works in the fields of physical and economic geography of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. 25 of his articles were published in the journal *The Economy of Mongolia* (Later *Contemporary Mongolia*) for the years 1927–1928.

Many works: accounts of expeditions, travel notes and journals which remain unpublished and went into the fund of manuscripts of the scientific Committee of the MPR.

Besides his scientific activity, my husband also did pedagogical and social work: he prepared a geography curriculum for the course of the Scientific Committee and in the Soviet School, Mongolian language courses for teachers in the schools, he gave continual advice to teachers, and on an assignment for the Soviet Plenary government he verified the Mongolian language circle and its connection to Minskotzem (Ministry of Cattle and Land) and the Government. Andrei Dmitrievich was awarded the Red Star Order of Labor from the Mongolian Peoples' Republic and repeatedly won many awards.

The basic motive behind all of his meetings and conversations with friends and with Mongol and Soviet workers in Mongolia was to enable Andrei Dmitrievich to support the respected authority of his Homeland and build up and strengthen among the Mongolian people their relations with their mighty and benevolent neighbor—the Soviet Union.

I am deeply convinced that after I left the Peoples' Republic of Mongolia

because of our daughter's illness, that Andrei Dmitrievich did not change, and his letters to me confirm this.

His work was always directed at the development and the strengthening of friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic and enabling him to become a valuable contributor to Soviet science. The interruption in his ascent can only be attributed to those criminal elements in the cadres of the Soviet intelligentsia.

I knew Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov from the age of 14 and throughout our life together I have known him only as a conscientious worker, and as an honest man, deeply devoted to his Motherland.

M. Simukova

I do not remember my father because my mother and I left the MPR in 1934 when I was a year old.

However, from frequent conversations with Mother and with friends of Andrei Dmitrievich, who knew him from work, and finally from reading his letters and articles⁵³, I knew father as a man of great intelligence and heart, hard-working and honest, a patriot of his Motherland.

I am firmly convinced of the innocence of Andrei Dmitrievich Simukov and ask you to quickly review his case.

N. A. Simukova.

VI 19 M. A. Simukova – to Assistant Military Prosecutor of the Transbaikal Military District, Major of Justice Comrade Obukhov, July, 1956.

(No. 7–2791–41 concerning the rehabilitation of Simukov A. D.)

From the letter of May 31, 1956 No. 1160-zh-55 you inquired from N. Ya. Simukova (mother of A. D. Simukov) the address of his wife, and also a detailed list of his scientific works and where they are found.

I married A. D. Simukov in 1926 in Moscow, where he was on a mission and was the youngest scientific colleague on the Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov, working in Mongolia from 1923–1926.

At the end of the expedition, my husband was invited by the Mongolian government in conjunction with the Embassy of the USSR in Mongolia to work with the Scientific Committee of the MPR.

In May, 1927, I went to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. Our life was

together, and work began with an expedition to the Gobi, organized by the Scientific Committee of the MPR. Henceforth, all of the life and activity of A. D. Simukov proceeded, before my eyes, and with my participation and, if needed, my assistance (I participated in three expeditions, 1927, 1931, and 1932).

A. D. Simukov devoted a lot of time directly to field work, undertaking multifaceted research in the disciplines of geography, ethnography, and the economy of Mongolia. His successful and productive work was based on a deep knowledge of the language of the country, his sociable and cheerful character, his kindness toward people, and the respect for the culture, lifestyle, and customs of the population.

Materials from A. D. Simukov's expeditions came from almost every region of the Republic, which enabled him to create and publish, in 1934, in both the Russian and Mongolian languages *The Geographical Atlas of the MPR* for which he won admiration from *Atlas World* in Moscow. The Atlas was approved by the delegates to Mongolia's Great Khural. A. D. Simukov was awarded the Order of the Polar Star in connection with his 15 years in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.

A. D. Simukov prepared more than 50 works on the physical and economic geography of the MPR. 25 of his articles were published in the journals, *The Economy of Mongolia* and *Contemporary Mongolia* from 1927–1938; a list of these was sent to you by N. Ya. Simukova (see documents 16, 17). A more detailed enumeration of the works of A. D. Simukov, including those prepared by him for printing, can be found in his letter to me from February 1936 (see chapter 4, document 78):

“I want to return with my completed works in my baggage and not just with portions of them. Now matters are progressing on this front in the following way: I finished looking over and corrected all the journals; completed the selections and am now looking over the shorter works (aside from the journal articles which come to about 25); finished those concerning the forage and the pasture (two new works and revision of an old one); and concluded with the themes about the nomads and their settlements (three works). The works that still must be written include those on the pure geography (Gobi and Khangai) as well as drawing up diagrams for the Economic Atlas.

The work on the forage of the Gobi is essentially finished, only in these days the more I have written, the more there is to write, and the result is an enormous handwritten work of 300 pages (11 printers' sheets). One chapter (“An analysis of the pasture of the Bayan-tikhumskii hollow”) was written based entirely on your material.

Thus, my baggage will include the following:

1. The revised journals 1927 28 29 30 31 32
2. General geography: “Geographical article MPR”
“Short Geography MPR”
“Geographical Atlas MPR”
“Economic Atlas MPR”
3. Specific geography: “The outskirts of the Gobi”
“The Central Khangai”
“The Western Gobi”
4. The Pastures: “The Complex Growth System of the MPR”
(together with Baranov)
“The Gobi pasture”
“The Khangai pasture”
5. Nomads and Settlements: “Nomads and settlements of Ikh-Tamir”
“Nomads and settlements of Gurban Saikhan”
“Nomads of Ubur Khangai”
6. Various works: short notes on all 25, which include
“Map of a monastery”
“Mongolian cartography,” etc.
7. Newspaper articles, around 25, that is about 50 smaller works in total.

I have not emphasized all the work I have not completed. The total number of printers’ sheets—really, around 100 or a little more.

Within, approximately a month, I will, in all likelihood, have completed the reports for the work at Uchkom and the Embassy. I do not want to leave any questions for history—only concrete results.

I must state that I am far from exhausting all the work that I wish to do on the listed works. I will bring some works on geography and economics to the Union.”

The works of A. D. Simukov were without a doubt of great importance for the study of the geography of the MPR and the development of the Republic’s economy and, besides that, they are a valuable contribution to Soviet Science. It is all the more offensive that my husband’s work was interrupted at its very height and that so many of his works still remain unpublished.

VI 20 Deputy Military Prosecutor ZabVO – to M. A. Simukova, November 29, 1956.

STAMP

Procurator USSR	Citizen Simukova Melania Alekseevna
Military Procuror	Moscow, Paitnitskii Street 22,

Zabaikal District
November 29, 1956
No. 1160.55?

apartment 9.

I am reporting that the matter of your husband Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich with the material of the verification has been directed for examination to the military tribunal of the Zabaikal military district, from where you will receive an answer.

Deputy Military Procuror ZabVO
Lieutenant Colonel of Justice
<signature>/Antonov/

VI 21 Reference Concerning the Rehabilitation of A. D. Simukov⁵⁴⁾, December 17, 1956.

STAMP
MILITARY TRIBUNAL
Zabaikal Military

District
December 17, 1956.
No. 434
Chita

Statement

The matter concerning the prosecution of SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrievich has been looked over by the Military Tribunal of the Zabaikal Military District December 14, 1956. The Decision of January 4, 1941 relating to SIMUKOV A.D. is cancelled for lack of evidence of a crime. SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrievich has been fully rehabilitated (trans.-or exonerated.)

(Under stamp)
ZRIO(?)
Stamp of TransZabaikal.
District
Military Tribunal

Chairman of the Military Tribunal
Of the Transbaikal Military District

Lieutenant Colonel of Justice
/Malikhin/ <Signature>

VI 22 M. A. Simukova – to Military Tribunal ZabVO, January 15, 1957.

VRIO Chairman of the Military Tribunal
The Transbaikalian Military District
Lieutenant of Justice
Comrade Malikhin
From Melania Alekseevka Simukova
Living in Moscow, Piatnitskii street, house 22, Apartment 9.

Declaration

As a result of the petition about the revision of the matter concerning my husband, Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, from my reception of the certificate from December 17, 1956 No. 434-t, with your signature, concerning his complete rehabilitation (or exoneration).

However, it is not shown in this document the actual fate of A. D. Simukov. I am asking you to report to me where my husband was found. If he died, I ask you to send to me the certificate indicating the time, the place, and the cause of his death.

VI 23 Military Tribunal ZabVO – to M. A. Simukova, January 22, 1957.

STAMP

Military Tribunal Trans-
Zabaikal Military District.
January 22, 1957.
No. 434.

Citizen Simukova Melania
Alekseevna
Moscow, Piatnitskii street,
House 22, apartment 9.

Your declaration from January 15, 1957
in which you ask for a report concerning the location
of your husband has been directed for examination to the
UKGB in the Chitinskii district, town of Chita.

At the same time, clearly the information about your
husband you receive from the Government KGB of the
Chitinskii district, where, in the future, you should turn.

Deputy Chairman of the Military Tribunal of the
Zabaikal Military District

Lieutenant Colonel of Justice
(Ladik) Signature (handwritten)

VI 24 The Death Certificate of A. D. Simukov. February 28, 1957⁵⁵).

<Almost same as Document VI 11>

VI 25 Moscow, Kuznetskii Bridge 24, End of the 1980s.

(N. A. Simukova remembers)

Marina phones⁵⁶). She was called to Kuznetskii 24, to a KGB meeting, to become acquainted with “the matter” of the mother, Eugenia Aleksandrovna Garkusha⁵⁷). Can I go with her? In my bag, I carry Validol and Valokardin (mild sedatives) and Valerian (an anti-depressant) for her as well as work for myself, and we are to meet at the metro and go and get something to eat.

Marina presents the documents at Kuznetskii where an employee appears and accompanies her to an adjacent room where she is seen for several minutes... Marina Petrovna, herself, has written about all she saw and knew and how things happened. (see Shirshonov M. 2003: 145–156). My story—about the finale of this visit. After a while, Marina came out from the room where they “had become acquainted” with “the matters” and was once again accompanied by a polite employee. (Unfortunately, I didn’t recall his rank, and it was not acceptable to ask his familia, or last name). I turned to the employee for advice: where else should I write for the possibility of seeing my father’s “case.” (I had not yet received an answer to my letter to the Military Procurator of ZabVO and from the KGB Headquarters). The employee looked at both of us with pity and said: “Why are you trying to do this? You will not find the truth in them.” I (with uncertainty) responded: “Well at least the death date...” And here is the answer I heard: “The death dates were skipped over for years, and they were all bunched together.” It is impossible to make this up and impossible to forget.

I thanked this man for this “frank confession.” It made me cease my efforts to learn (from what was possible at my level) the truth from the KGB archival documents⁵⁸) and devote all my efforts and time completely to other archival material. It was necessary to find the unpublished works of my father and to fulfill his wish, that is, to publish them. His life’s work must not disappear without a trace or without his name.

**VI 26 UKGB USSR of the Chitinskii District – A. M. Reshetov⁵⁹⁾,
June 21, 1990⁶⁰⁾.**

Mb-4

YeKZ. No.1

STAMP

Committee

194223 Leningrad

Of Government Safety USSR.

Prospect M. Thorez 33

Government

apartment 196

Of Chitinskii Region

Reshetov A. M.

June 21, 1990

No. 1191/R

Town Chita

Comrade Reshetov A. M.!

We are considering your application, received at the Government KGB USSR for the Chitinskii district, for the request for information concerning the fate of Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, arrested in 1939.

The following has been established regarding the archival.

Simukov Andrei Dmitrievich, born in 1902, native of Petersburg, Russian, non-Party.

In 1923, on the staff of the scientific expedition, led by Kozlov, which went to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, and after the completion of the expedition, he remained to work for the Scientific Committee of the MPR. He lived in Ulaanbaatar.

He was arrested on September 19, 1939 by the Special.

Department of the NKVD army troops in Ulaanbaatar. Unreasonably accused in the statute No.58, p.1 "a" UK RSFSR. He was accused of allegedly being engaged in espionage and in league with foreign governments.

Despite this, Simukov pleaded not guilty to all charges, and no direct evidence of criminal activity was obtained. The matter of Simukov's guilt regarding the charge of espionage and his participation in counterrevolutionary organizations was done and transferred for consideration to the Special Session of the NKVD. April 22, 1940 Simukov was sent by special convoy from Ulaanbaatar to prison in Ulan-Ude.

The special session of the NKVD on January 4, 1941 for Simukov's alleged participation in an anti-Soviet organization following statute No. 58, p. 10, No. 58, p. 2 UK RSFSR (on the charge according to statute No. 58, p. 1 "a" by an exception) and was convicted for 8 years of deprivation of liberty, to imprisonment in a government correctional labor camp.

While serving the sentence in the NKVD Pechorskii camp in Abez village, Komi ASSR, Simukov A. D. died on April 21, 1942. The cause of his death and the place of burial was not available in the archive for a criminal case. Such data could be in the archive of the MVD KOMI ASSR.

By the determination of the ZabVO Military Tribunal for December 14, 1956 the decree of the NKVD USSR of January 4, 1941 regarding Simukov A. D. was cancelled. The case was dismissed due to lack of criminal cause and on the basis of the Order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from August 19, 1955 and statute 418 UPK RSFSR, he was rehabilitated (exonerated).

For possible use, we direct you to the photocopy of the autobiography of Simukov and the list of his scientific work.

Appendix: Photocopy of the autobiography in 9 sheets;

Photocopy of the last works of A. D. Simukov in 6 sheets;

The photography of Simukov.

Deputy Director of UKGB—handwritten signature A. I. Firsov

VI 27 The Archive UID MVD KOMI ASSR—to A. M. Reshetov. August 6, 1990.⁶¹⁾

Entry. No. 821

Head of the department of entography of people
at the Asian Frontier Institute of entography AN
SSSR.

Comrade RESHETOV A. M.

199164 Leningrad, Universitetskaya Nab 3

Archive

August 6, 1990.

14/988

For No. 14110–2115/06456 from July 19, 1990

We inform you, SIMUKOV Andrei Dmitrievich, born 1902, was convicted January 4, 1941 for 8 years' imprisonment. He served a sentence in Pechorlag, KOMI ASSR from May 11, 1941 to April 14, 1942. We have no information concerning the character of the work. April 15, 1942, he was dead from a heart attack. The place of burial and the act of burial are not given.

Deputy of the Archive UID MVD
KOMI ASSR (handwritten and unclear—Gzev?)-
V. P. Bordachev

Notes

1

- 1) On June 22, 1941, Hitler's German army troops invaded within the limits of the USSR and thus began the Great Patriotic War. From July, 1941, a branch of Narkomfin (the Peoples' Commissariat of Finance) in the USSR, where M. A. Simukova worked, moved to Kazan (Zverev 2012).
- 2) Tarnishevskii—family of the deceased Kati Miller (see note 96 in chapter III, note 237 in chapter IV); the husband Vladimir Mikhailovich (employee at Narkomfin) and sons Misha and Borya.
- 3) Brother of A. D. Simukov; see note 11 in chapter I.
- 4) Alia—sister of A. D. Simukov; see note 10 in chapter I.
- 5) Trade Union Committee of Playwrights.
- 6) October 2, 1941 Hitler's Wehrmacht began operation "Typhoon," the goal of which was to capture Moscow. From the west to Moscow, they covered three fronts. The Soviet General Staff and the Staff on the Western front mistakenly assessed the direction of the principal strike and the number of the shock troops of the German military. October 6, the Germans took Bryansk, October 7 surrounded Vyazma. In the overall area, 7 armies fell in the heavy fighting and the Red Army lost close to a million people (and more than 600,000 were taken prisoner) along with a great amount of military technology and armaments. The Western line of defense and the Reserve front were broken through, and a break of 500 km made up a breach to Moscow. October 14, the German troops took Kalinin, October 15 – Borovsk and Vereya, October 18 – Mozhaisk – the last city before Moscow to the west (Samsonov 2012; Kolodnii 2015).

October 8, the GKO followed the secret decree No. 740 concerning the monitoring and the preparation for an outburst of undertakings in Moscow, including the enterprise of the defense industry, some bread factories, meat kombinats, stations, urban transport, bridges, electric stations, the Central telegraph and telephone stations. October 10, explosives were delivered to the factories.

October 11 and 13 the GKO decided on the evacuation of the important factories and mills in Moscow, the Moscow and Ivanovskii districts as well as a number of

theaters in Moscow and other objectives.

October 15, on the directive of the GKO No. 801 “concerning the evacuation of Moscow the capital of the USSR,” the rapid evacuation of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the organs of the Narkomat defense in Kiubishchev, the basic group of the General Staff—in Arzamas. On the same day – the decision GKO No. 805 concerning a leave, if any, and “the monthly salary, the monthly quota of bread and other food stuffs when available” in enterprises in Moscow and the Moscow districts, “where there will be many special events” (legal measures). All of the decrees of the GKO, which were signed by the Chairman, J. Stalin, were strictly secret. It was impossible to implement these “secret measures.” However, until October 17, no one from the leadership of the country and the city gave the Muscovites a clear explanation of the situation. Workers disassembled the equipment in the factories, which was moved further east. There was the evacuation of institutions and the Party organs. In the boilers and in the yards, the documents in the archives were burned, and a dusty smoke drifted over Moscow, and it smelled of burning. There were rumors of Moscow’s surrender. In the factories, there was excitement and spontaneous meetings. On the morning of October 16, a detachment of German motor infantry was met by tanks and destroyed on the Ximkinskii bridge, 15 km from the Kremlin. On the same day, it turned out that the metro closed (and the dismantling of equipment began), as did many bakeries, stores, and apothecaries, and a number of tram routes were cancelled. The spontaneous massive exodus from Moscow began. The trains in the stations were taken by storm. The auto roads to the East were packed with crowds, and cars headed east were seized.

October 17 the Head of Moscow’s Town Committee Sherbakov and the representative of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet Pronin went on the radio to announce the partial renewal of work on the metro and the opening of the bakeries. From October 20 “in the city of Moscow and the regions adjacent to the city, there was a siege situation declared in the GKO decree No. 813. The city defense boundary was created in Moscow; the first belt passed along the district railroad and the second along the garden ring, and the third along the boulevard ring. A separate motorized rifle brigade with a special function occupied a position in the center of the city. Gorky Street was one of the sectors of defense.” “We received a type of rifle—some of us were given Mausers with a wooden holster, which was clearly from a time before the Revolution. Our division consisted basically of the senior students from the Institutes of History, Philosophy, and Literature. Among my comrades were the future poets Semion Gudzenko and Yurii Levitanskii.” (A. E. Sheindlin, cit. for Kolodnii 2015).

- 7) Anatolii Petrovich Kovalev—husband of Alia (see notes 212, 218 in chapter IV).
- 8) N. Ya. Simukova lived together with her sister—O. Ya. Peiker (see note 18 in chapter I).
- 9) See note 13.
- 10) In the evening of October 29, 1941 during the bombardment of Moscow, a high explosive bomb exploded near the Auditorium building of Moscow State University (MSU) (less than a kilometer from the Kremlin). The roof of the MSU library was destroyed, along with the heating system and telephone lines, and the windows and doors were knocked out. Major repairs began in the building; members of the MPVO command and workers were restoring order to the resources and the catalogues. Parts of some sections of the library were scattered to places in the University and remained unharmed.

- 11) In October, 1941 80,000 volumes from the MGU library were moved from the government administration by convoy to the city of Ashkabad, which was led by the library director A. I. Kudriavtzev.
- 12) The air raid in Moscow, the first air raid was July 21, 1941.
- 13) See document VI 2.
- 14) See note 16 in chapter I.
- 15) The children of Katie Miller—Misha and Borya Tarnizhevskii.
- 16) The Ivanovs—parents of V. M. Tarnizhevskii.
- 17) See note 18 in chapter I.

2

A document from the family archive of Simukov was kindly provided by D. A. Simukov. Dmitry A. Simukov (1946–2019)—translator, editor, writer; graduated from the 1st Moscow Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages named after Maurice Thorez (present-day Moscow State Linguistic University); officer of the International Department of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, worked in Czechoslovakia (8 years), France, Australia, other countries (despite the consequences of poliomyelitis, suffered in childhood), spoke five languages, author of many publications in the media and the book (Simukov 2010).

- 18) See note 33.
- 19) Keep in mind N. Ya. Simukova.
- 20) O. Ya. Peiker and N. Ya. Simukova lived in House No. 3 on Khrushchevskii alley (Kropotkin street).
- 21) The L. N. Tolstoi Museum was housed in the country estate at the beginning of the 19th century—Kropotkin street, house 11.
- 22) Keep in mind the library of MSU; see note 13, 35.
- 23) Word came out about the dark corner under the stairs on the second floor where the residents of the house prepared a simple meal on kerosene or a primus during a less intense bombing; it was safer than in the kitchen—there was no window, so it wasn't necessary to be concerned about the blackout. As things became more intense, a more solid bomb shelter was equipped in the basement of the estate, which had been founded in the 19th century on the corner of Kropotkin Street and Khrushchevskii alley, where there was the A. P. Pushkin Museum.
- 24) Alexandra Vitalevna Miller, cousin of A. D. Simukov, was banished from Leningrad as SOYE to Riabinsk.
- 25) See notes 1, 2.
- 26) The first hunger evidently refers to the period 1918–1922; see note 53 in chapter II.

4

- 27) Certain documents pertain to certain publications relating to the search for A. D. Simukov in the GULAG. In the archive of N. Ya. Simukova, there are preserved a dozen requests, statements, petitions and the standard answer: “does not appear,” “left,” “we have no information,” “you should contact,” as well as a great number of transferred remittances (sent in turn from Milia with Natalia Yakovlevna's address), from which Andrei received only one. This avalanche of paper was not the result of an independent or negligent civil servant. The work of the many thousands serving in this repressive system was carefully and completely regulated by the secretive and normative acts of the OGPU-NKVD-MGB-KGB, which took their orders based on the decisions of the

Central Committee-VKP(b)-of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By the order from the NKVD USSR No. 00515 from May 5, 1939 “On the issue of information at the location of those arrested and condemned” ordered by the local organ of the NKVD to deliver to the closest relation the information orally. It is possible, namely, that such “information” gave N. Ya. Simukova the hope of finding her son in the Vorkuta camp. This order recommended “preserving the existing order on the issue of information” of the convicted relative to VMN by the verdict of the VKVS and the troika of the NKVD. It was sanctioned by this order, even at the end of the 20th year, that the family “of the condemned was for 10 years in a remote camp without the right to correspondence” would still only receive one oral report. Since 1945, the oral report was “serving the sentence, condemned to death in the prison.” (GULAG 2000: 134). The order of the issue of the information partially changed in 1955 and in 1963. The order of the KGB No. 33 from March 30, 1989 abolished the majority of the old regulations and gave a chance to those who remained alive in the family of the condemned “and had the right to correspondence in 10 years” to learn (50 years after his arrest) the reason (for the execution) and the date of their relative’s death. Then it became clear that N. P. Gorbunov (see note 53, 113 in chapter III) had not “died in his place of confinement in 1944, as they had answered his wife’s enquiry in that year, but was shot on October 13, 1938. P. V. Vsesviatskii (see note 16 in chapter IV) was shot October 13, 1938 and had not “died of a heart attack July 28, 1944” as was mentioned by an eyewitness of the death, dated October 29, 1956.

5

- 28) Judging from the notes, “does not appear,” “No,” on the transfers to Vorkuta, the information from the NKVD that was received by N. Ya. Simukova, was false. The reason could be that it was a mistake, for example, resulting from the frequent reorganization of the camp, and in November, 1941 the Intinskii camp was marked out as an independent camp from Vorkuta, where about 6,000 prisoners were sent on foot. Deliberate misinformation was disseminated. The last tale is an example sent from Leningrad by A. Ya. Miller-Iordanskoi (cousin of A. D. Simukov). While in Saratov, she sent parcels and remittances to her brother A. V. Miller in Norilsklag and the nephew of V. A. Miller in Vorkuta, and at the post she became acquainted with the wife of the academician N. I. Vavilov (about him, see Shnol 2001: 170–193), who was arrested in 1940, and the food parcels for him were sent to the prison in Leningrad by the order of the NKVD. However, at the time, N. I. Vavilov was in prison in Saratov (and the NKVD could NOT BUT have known about this), where he died from hunger at the beginning of 1943.

6

- 29) OYRZ is the Division for the accounting and distribution of prisoners.
 30) Pechorlag—see Appendix V-3 and V-4 in the original Russian version.
 31) Dated document VI 6.
 32) Dated from the postage stamp.

7

- 33) Keep in mind the notification from the Pechora camp (the envelope – see document VI 6, text notification not preserved.)
 34) 8-years-old Natasha knew that Papa was on a faraway and difficult expedition, so far that a bird could not fly there, and the letters did not arrive. There was great joy from

Babushka's proposal (evidently after receiving notification from Pechorlag to write to Papa.) The publication preserves the original orthography and punctuation. The letter was returned "because of the absence of the addressee" or it was decided not to send it at all.

- 35) Keep in mind N. Ya. Simukova and her sister O. Ya. Peiker lived in one room on the first floor of house 3 in Khrushchevskii alley Moscow, Kropotin Street (today again Prechistenka).
- 36) Keep in mind Narkomfin (the Peoples' Commissariat of Finance USSR).
- 37) Natasha went to school carrying Papa's "Mongolian" briefcase, but she was late for the first lesson, having gotten lost in the unknown city.
- 38) Piatnitskaya Street, house 22, apt. 8(9) Zamoskvoreche, room 13 apt. M on the second-floor wing of the former office of Gosfintroya, exit straight by the wooden staircase, part of the room was partitioned off for the kitchen, the toilet was in the neighboring apartment. But there was running water, and the kitchen was not in the neighbor's apartment. It was a 30 minute-walk to Narkomfin and 15 minutes to Natasha's school. They provided the "bourgeoisness," and then, later, they put together a stove. For firewood, Mama-Milia, with Natasha, cut columns into firewood in the yard. They were hungry. Natasha stood in the line for bread (400 grams—on the employee's card, 400 grams for children up to 12), gathered nettles and goosefoot for shchi (soup) or went to the neighbors and asked politely: "do you have any potato peels you don't need?" Milia earned additional money from taking in laundry and washing floors in the evening and on Sundays. Then she also gave blood for the wounded (the donor was entitled to an additional ration). In one of Natasha's letters to Babushka Fenya, who had been evacuated to Chkalov, she said "Mama gave blood not long ago and after that was on duty at Narkomfin in the attic." (On duty on the roof or the attic to extinguish incendiary bombs during the bombing raids.) Finally, M. A. Simukova was asked to leave the Narkomfin to work in the war plant. She went to the foundry (her shift – 12 hours). She thus received 1 kg of bread a day, which she often exchanged for produce from the market for Natasha. Then she pulled her daughter away from the impending tuberculosis. She worked in the factory for two years, and in October, 1945 she was recalled to Narkomfin. In November, 1945 M. A. Simukova was awarded the medal "for heroic labor during the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945."
- 39) Natasha went to school for only about three months during the evacuation. In Moscow, Natalia Yakovlevna taught her the Russian and German languages. Olga Yakovlevna—arithmetic.

9

- 40) OAGS – division of acts of civil status Order of the NKVD USSR No. 00674 "Concerning the order of registration of death of a prisoner" from June 11, 1939 ordered the director of the prison, lager (camp) and ITK "in each case on the death of the prisoner to immediately send a communication about the death according to the accompanying form to the OAGS, district, territory, republic and to the address of the last place of residence of the deceased before the arrest. (...). In the absence of information concerning the last place of residence of the deceased up to his imprisonment (...) and give the registration of the action concerning the death to ZAGSe, in the territory of the prison, the camp, or the ITK. (...) The notes in the assembly book must not have any links to the notification or helping information about

the place of imprisonment. (...) The letters to the relatives, dealing with the director of the prison, the camp, and ITK, and concerning the communication and observation about the dead prisoners, are finally sent to the organ of the NKVD at the place of the applicant's residence for an oral explanation about the relative's death, by order of the NKVD USSR No. 00515-1939"

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- 41) After the death of Stalin (March 5, 1953), there was a period of hope and change in the USSR. There was a bitter struggle for power among the top echelon. At the same time, "...the post-Stalin leadership of the country feverishly sought a path to exit this impasse, which was apparent in the political mass terror which had begun even under Lenin" (Yakovlev 2000: 5). March 27, 1953 according to the initiative of the Beria administration, nearly 1.2 million were sentenced on criminal charges for up to 5 years, which provoked violent crimes and banditry in the country. In certain "hot spots" (Ulan-Ude) there was massive killing and pogroms which were only stopped with military assistance. "The Berea" amnesty led to explosive protests among those convicted under article 58. From 1953 to 1956 more than 20 insurrections swept through the camps, and they were all brutally suppressed—a great number through air power and artillery. However, in 1955, there was the formal liquidation of the "special system" (in the brutal) camps.

The rehabilitation signaled one of the most important forms of evolution in Soviet society during this period. It proceeded slowly and unevenly, which fully reflected the zigzag of this evolution (see Rehabilitation: as it was 2000). March 31, 1953 – affirmed the resolution concerning the termination order (The Doctors' Plot) and the liberation of those arrested, April 3, 1953 – decision concerning their rehabilitation. However, the rehabilitation of those convicted in "the affair of the Jewish antifascist committee" continued for several years.

June 26, 1953 Beria was arrested (shot according to the official data on December 23, 1953). In September 1953, there was the liquidation of OSO and the other extrajudicial organs ("troika" and others). In April 1954 "the Leningrad affair" was reviewed. In May 1954, the work of the Central Commission on rehabilitation began, with similar commissions set up in other places. December 9, 1954 the project was confirmed by order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet for the complaints and statements of people who had served their sentences, particularly OSO, for consideration by the authorities of the procurator on the orders established by the General Procuror of the USSR. Evidently, the information about this Decree impelled N. Ya. Simukova to turn to R. A. Rudenko. However, the text of the Decree did not include an important detail: at the moment the cases were subject to revision that passed through OSO after June, 1945. Thus, it was possible for only 9 months in September 1955 that there would be received the notice from the Principal Military Procuror to send a complaint concerning the direction of the complaint "for the verification and placement according essentially to the Military Procuror of the Zabaikal military district."

- 42) Evidently, in 1948 the rules were applied, in part, under the direction of the KGB by the SM USSR from August 24, 1955: "The directions of ZAGSam concerning the registration of the death of the condemned are issued by the KGB through the police department. They report surname, name, patronymic, year of birth, and date of death of

the convicted (determined within a ten-year limit from the day of the arrest), the cause of death (roughly) and (the dwelling place of the convicted at the time of his arrest)” (Cit. by GULAG 2000: 164). Similar orders were given not only by the organ of the KGB USSR. In the column, “reason for death” people who had been killed in the gas chambers at Auschwitz were supposed to write “heart attack” or “bodily weakness” (Michel 1993, Cit. by The New York Times, May 15, 2016, A. 22).

- 43) “To go to the procurator and wait there, or to sit at home and wait for months, or a year, when suddenly there arrives a letter with a return address: Post box No....” And still to wait again, wait or don’t wait. No one was told about the fate of those who died from torture in the investigator’s office, in the prison cell, in the prison hospital, in a shelter, or being sent to a distant and difficult stopping point. They all disappear into obscurity so that 20 years hence the unknown have turned into a deceitful piece of paper on which everything—the date, the reason—were all lies. Except for one: death” (Razgon 1994: 78–79).

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- 44) During the half year after filing the first requests for the revision of the matter regarding A. D. Simukov in the country at the beginning of the rehabilitation process, specific and major changes were needed. The results of opening the processes of the 1930s were reviewed relating to the migrants and the repressed people, materials concerning “a military conspiracy” in the Red Army and countless numbers of other “matters.” The most important event of this period was N. S. Khrushchev’s report to the 20th Communist Party Conference in February 1956 and its consequences. Several Party members had been introduced to this remarkable document in closed party meetings. The revised version was submitted by the leader of the friendly Communist party. From this moment of criticism of Stalinism, Stalin’s public crimes were inseparably linked to him. This opened a new stage in the rehabilitation of those sacrificed under the repression. (http://www.e-reading.club/bookreader.php/134499/Reabilitciya_Kak_eto_bylo_1953–1956.pdf, p. 12).

During this time the CC USSR strove not to prevent the criticism of Stalinism from turning into the call for a more democratic society and took cruel measures in that direction not only in the USSR, but in the countries of Eastern Europe. In June 1956, there was an uprising in Poznan, Poland. In the autumn of 1956, there was a strike against the pro-Soviet regime in Hungary, which was cruelly put down by Soviet troops (in operation “Whirlwind” under the leadership of Marshal Zhukov). (Artizov and Sigachev et al. 2003: 7–9).

- 45) See note 83 in chapter III.
 46) See note 267 in chapter IV.
 47) See note 52 in chapter III.
 48) Keep in mind *Obruchev V. A.* The Eastern Mongolian/Geographical and geological account/. M.-L.: Publ. in AN USSR, 1947. This book plays an important role in the life of A. D. Simukov’s family up to 1951 before the entry of N. A. Simukova into the chemistry faculty of MSU. Neither a gold medal, nor a prized place in Moscow’s chemistry Olympiad, nor a year of work with school children, nor a connection to the chair in organic chemistry at MSU, still could not overcome the ban on accepting people with “ambiguities” (or other “defects”) for an inquest: the year of the death of the father is shown—the place and the cause—not. The road to the university did open for

Natasha as the book of V. A. Obruchev presented to the admissions committee on the advice of the chairman N. V. Kostin who is remembered kindly by many of the chemistry faculty at MSU.

- 49) Obruchev Vladimir Afanasevich (1863–1956)—geologist, geographer, paleontologist, writer; conducted research in Siberia, Central and Middle Asia; honored by the Grand Gold Medal of the Russian Geographical Society (1901), the Przhevalskii prize, academician (1929), academic-secretary of the Geographic Society of the USSR (from 1947); Hero of Socialist Labor; order-bearer (in all 5 Orders of Lenin and the Order of the Red Flag of Labor of the MPR), laureate of the two Stalinist prizes.
- 50) The second list of the works of A. D. Simukov (in Russian language), not cited in V. A. Obruchev's book, was compiled by N. A. Simukova from the information in the Lenin Library. In our time it is known, that up until the arrest of A. D. Simukov in 1939, in Ulaanbaatar there had been published: The Geographical Atlas of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic (in both Mongolian and Russian), the Physical and Administrative wall map of the MPR (in both Mongolian and Russian languages), published 25 articles in Russian journals *The Economy of Mongolia* and *Contemporary Mongolia*, 8 known articles by the author in the Mongolian language in the journal "Shin Tol" ("The New Dictionary") and other publications (Konagaya et al. 2008a: 223–235).

15

- 51) The friendship between the Kondratiev and the Shastin families and M. A. Simukova, which had been interrupted during the war, was renewed. In 1946, Natasha Simukova became friendly with them. The sister of A. D. Simukov – A. D. Kovaleva (Alia) lived in the same house as the Kondratievs on Strastnii boulevard in Moscow, and they often saw each other. Sergei Aleksandrovich offered to handle the publication of the documents from "the council of war" at the Kondratievs.

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- 52) At one stage in this period of presenting the documents about the rehabilitation to the principal military Procuror, the personal presence of either the condemned or a close relative of the condemned was demanded.

N. A. Simukova recalls that there was a long line in the yard of the principal military procuror, as it was recorded. One signed up. Clearly this was not just for one day. So as not to be left out, it was necessary to be there from the early morning until the evening. A number was written on your palm, like on the line for bread during the war. Mama worked, so Natasha went there over a two-week period. During the day, she prepared for her exam as a graduate student in the chemistry faculty at Moscow State University, which became possible for her only after the 20th Party Congress (see note 44). While she was in the line, she heard the stories of some of the survivors of the camps.

During the two weeks after the application concerning the rehabilitation, notification from the principal military Procurator concerning the filing of a complaint "regarding the verification and the resolution on the merits of the military Procuror of the Zabaikalskii military district."

- 53) Several articles of A. D. Simukov and the Geographical Atlas of the MPR were sent by him for his mother and wife and were kept in the family. The search for the other published work of the father, by and large in the Government Library in the name Lenin, was begun by N. A. Simukova when she was a high school student. She ordered

photocopies of the first pages of those articles which had been found (there was no more money), and the text was partially rewritten by hand.

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- 54) On the back of the statement: “Citizen Simukova Melania Alekseevna Moscow, Piatnitskii street, apartment 9.” (typewritten).

24

- 55) See the death certificate of A. D. Simukov, received in 1948 by N. Ya. Simukova (document VI 11).

25

- 56) Marina Petrovna Shirshova – daughter of the Polar explorer P. P. Shirshov and the actress E. A. Garkusha-Shirovka: chemist, worked at the Institute of Oceanography in the name of P. P. Shirshov The Russian Academy of Science and at the Moscow Academy of Medicine in the name of I. M. Sechenov, participant in scientific-research ocean voyages, author of the book “The Forgotten Diary of a Polar Biologist” and other publications, compiler and author of the fundamental edition *In-ta Oceanography in the name of P. P. Shirshov*, Russian Academy of Medicine (Shirshova 2005).
- 57) Eugenia Aleksandrovna Garkusha (1915–1948)—actress in the theater and the movies (the film “The Fifth Ocean,” “The Elusive Yan”), wife of P. P. Shirshov (1942–1948), arrested (1946), died in Kolyma. About her, see Shirshova 2003: 142–156; Shirshova 2005: 27–28; 241–260.
- 58) Relatives of the repressed presented “cases” which they wanted to be known, but they were only known to the public several years later. (See for example, Razgon 1994: 88–89; 107–108). In 2000, a collection of documents was published, which reflected the structure and the regulated activity of the repressive system in the USSR and included the issuance to the relatives of information concerning the arrests; see note 42.

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- 59) Reshetov Alexander Mikhailovich (1932–2009)—Asian scholar, ethnographer (China, Mongolia, Siberia), historian of national ethnography, assisted in returning to science the long -expunged names and works of repressed scholars, including A. D. Simukov (see Reshetov 1989: 48–51; 1990: 54–55; 1992: 228–235); for many years a colleague; Maye Ran, head of the division of ethnography of Eastern and South Eastern Asia, author of more than 400 works (http://www.kunstkamera.ru/files/lib/978-5-88431-142-8/978-5-88431-142-8_39.pdf). The contents of the documents IV 26, 27, and 99 first became known from the article of A. M. Reshetov April 29, 1992 in Moscow at a conference devoted to A. D. Simukov’s 90 years, which was conducted by the Academy of Science, the Asiatic Trade Center, and the Cultural Center for Information about Mongolia in Russia (Simukova 1992: 147–149). In May, 1992 copies of the documents indicated were courteously donated by A. M. Reshetov to the Simukov family archive; see note 497 in chapter IV.
- 60) Notes to the text of document VI 26.
- Arrest September 19, 1939—For three days after the cessation of military activities in Khalkhyn Gol.
- Military group (Soviet) troops in the MPR – commanding corps commander G. K. Zhukov, administrator from GUGB NKVD USSR—major GB I. A. Ivanov (see Appendix IV-1 in the original Russian version). Did not plead guilty...prison Ulan-Ude...verdict OSO-see document V 1 and its notes. Pechorskii camp NKVD village

Abez Komi ASSR see Appendix V-3 and V-4; in Abez housed in the Central Administration camp, more than 90,000 of its prisoners (on May 15, 1941) lived and worked in construction colonies and in separate points in the camps (OLP) on hundreds of square km of tundra and forest tundra.

Died April 21 1942—see document VI 11, VI 24.

By the definition of the Military Tribunal ZabVO—The Zaibaiikal Military district formed in 1935, included the territories of Irkutsk and the Chitinskii region, BM ASSR, Yak ASSR and the regions of deployment and combat of the 57th Special Corps (from the summer of 1939—army groups) in MPR.

Rehabilitation—see document V 21.

Photocopy of autobiography—see document IV 99 and notes to it.

Photocopy of the list of works of A. D. Simukov and the photographs, not in the Simukov family archive.

27

61) Notes for the text of document VI 27.

We do not have information concerning the nature of the work—for the character and the conditions of work in Pechorlag see Appendix V-3 and V-4 in the original Russian version.

April 15, 1942 died from a heart failure. Date and cause of death are unreliable; see note 42, 43 and document VI 11, VI 24–26, and Appendix V-4 in the original Russian version.

Neither the place of burial nor the act of burial was given. See Appendix V-4 in the original Russian version.

Appendix 1
Zoological Reports of the Tibetan
Expedition in 1925–1926 Led by P. K.
Kozlov

Zoological Notes from the March Route of the Southern Party of the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of the Main Geophysical Observatory (Leningrad) under the Leadership of P. K. Kozlov, 1925–1926.

The route:

Urga (July 28, 1925) – Daichin-beise – the Khukhu mountains (August 28) – the Noyon-Bogd mountains (stop for October–November) – the lower Etziin-gol (winter stay from December to May inclusive) – a fixed time Bukhan-khub (50 versts from Sogo-nuur, June).

Supervision by A. Simukov

March Route Urga – Daichin-beise

I. Mammals

There was an insignificant number observed wandering on the steppe, along the road, or at a stop, and some had individual characteristics.

Observations:

Wolf (*canis lupus subsp?*) met only once on crossing from Sosin-davaa to the survey mark Jirgalant (August 1). It was a very large individual, which, in the twilight, crossed the road near the caravan.

From the hooved animals, we met the hooved antelopes (*Antilope guttorosa*). At first, they wandered near the well of Erden-Tologoi-khuduk. Then a herd of seven were met to the south at Ugomir-davaa in a wide unpopulated valley. The antelopes clearly lay not far from the road. Frightened, they crossed the road and stopped in the nearest hollow. Hunting them was unsuccessful despite their stopping often. The last pair, which had broken off from the herd, were bedded down and not seen by the hunter. As the sun set on that day (August 4), these pair of antelopes were scared away from their feeding area near the Unekei-davaa pass. Further on, the area was more populated but until Baga-Gadzirin-Chuluu the antelopes did not get caught.

A family of rodents was in plain sight, and most of them were of the Mongolian rodent family called Tarabagan or marmot (*Arctomys sp.*). There were a lot of them

on the road except for two or three passages out of Urga, and there were many of their burrows on the roads along the way. All over much of the steppe were the pillars from these marmot burrows. Evidently, they were feeding all day long and were very noticeable as they went to their burrows in the midst of the day.

At that time of year, the marmots were very fat, but the young had not yet reached their full growth. In the fall, they would be ambushed with flint as they hid in their burrows, and their hides would be taken.

Rabbits (*Lagomys sp.*), which are seldom seen, were spotted.

Different types of mice, all short-tailed field mice, lived in colonies by karagana shrubs.

There were many hamsters (*Cricetus sp.*), seen several times on the steppe, evidently similar to those at Noyon-uul. Once, at twilight, a jerboa wandered across our path in Sosin-davaa –Jirgalant.

Near a stop at Baga-Gadsirin-Choluu saw a young hare (*Lepus tolai*) who didn't run off.

Spermophilus, the ground squirrel, was rarely seen.

II. Birds

The notes on the observation of birds is divided into two parts:

a) birds encountered on the steppe:

The Mongolian Lark (*Melanocoryphora mongolica*), The Skylark (*Alauda sp.?*) (these two species are often the same), The Horned Lark (*Onocoris alpestris*)(a few seldom), The Wheat Eater (*Saxicola isabelline?*).

The most frequent is the Black Kite (*Milvius lineatus*), which prefers to stay nearby the Mongolian nomad, and the eagle, about which it is hard to say what hasn't already been stated. Twice I saw the common kestrel (*F. tinnunculus*).

Besides these, near a well, there were several beautiful cranes (*Anthropoides virgo*) and red ducks (*Casarca rutila*) (turpan).

b) Now, concerning the “avistantsiakh” (perhaps here he is referring to the stations for various birds), which appear in hidden meadows, wells, swamps, and lakes, etc. The following describes each separately:

1. Tolu – notice nothing as we stand at quite a distance from it on the coast. Standing there, one notices a flock of rooks (*Corvus frugilegus*).
2. Turgen Gol (August 29). Along the river in, really, the middle of nowhere, were the waders (*Tringa sp.?*) along with a pair of Eurasian hoopoes (*Upupa epops*), which flew in the evening from the cliffs to a group of gers.
3. The Natural Boundary of Buguk (near the Buguk River). The place--a wide valley. Along an extensive talveg in a wide, wet area fed by a spring surrounded by feathergrass and iris. Noticed the following birds: Forest

snipe (*Gallinago megala*) – a flock of 5–6 in the thick grass getting wet, a wader (No.1 of the collection) with 20–30, waders *Tringa* (4) in the puddles, and grey and yellow wagtail (*Motocilla sp.*).

4. Survey Mark Gansi-khuduk. A spring which flowed weakly and was losing out to the steppe. Noticed waders (*Tringa*) (1 and 4) and forest snipe (*Gallinago megala*) (up to 10). These last, as always, were shaded in the wetness.
5. Survey mark Khairan-burit (to the south of Sosin-davaa). Lake/puddle. Here noticed a pair of turpan, with their young not yet flying.
6. Survey mark Jirgalant. Small spring flowing along the steppe. Noticed a large flock of sparrows (*Passer sp.*) (No. 7, 8) and one example of a wader (*Tringa sp.*) (No. 1).
7. Survey mark Erden-Tologoi-khuduk. With no people but a rich food supply. A well, several puddles, and a puddle/lake, which was dried up during the day. There was a sudden expansive growth of feather grass and brackish areas. Rich bird population. Ever present were grey and yellow wag tails (*Motocilla sp.*) (No. 10, 11), in great quantity; bunting *Emb. Schoeniclus* (No. 12), rarely; one example, of the Eurasian hoopoe-all of these were seen wandering in the growths of feathergrass. Near the water was a pair of plovers (*Charadrius*) (No. 13) and a flock of lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*) in flight, and they did not stop at the survey mark. The sand grouse were the first on the road from Urga. Starting with the buldruk survey mark we met near each reservoir, and each of these flocks were unique examples. Besides this, near the camp there flew a unique example of a forest snipe (*Gallinago megala*), which was the last to be seen on our march route.
8. Survey mark Bayan-barat. Lots of rich water and a row of lakes which were often sandy. Many birds. A few species of the common curlew (*Numenius arquatus*), a gull *Larus sp.*, flocks of ducks intermingled with certain types of small snipe (No. 15, 16–17, 18) and ducks (black head, white chest, wings black with white.) We noticed the arrival of some small ducks and in the feathergrass were yellow breasted buntings (*Emb. Aureola*) and the male bunting *Emb. Schoeniclus* (No. 12) – rarely seen. Besides all these, we saw hoopoes at most of the wells.

March Route to Daichin-beise – Khurkhu Mountains

If the first stage of our trip had been exclusively on the steppe, the second was twice as expansive, had a wilderness character, and went near Khurkhu mountain-wilderness.

The Mammals:

The wolf and the fox, or vixen, were among the beasts of prey, and the wolves were scattered everywhere, although we only saw one along the natural boundary where it seemed to almost kill our restless horse. We had heard complaints on the Mongolian side about the great abundance of wolves in the area of the well at Tzer-khuduk.

Twice I noticed two vixen and both sightings were in the mountains, but I can confidently state that there were no such sightings along the path. I noticed the first on an evening excursion to the environs of a fortified well--a vixen moving slowly along the stony incline of the hill, searching every bush and each stone. The second I saw at midday in a small mountainous area near the marker at Budargan-khuduk and, as she ran away from me, she stopped abruptly and wheezed a hoarse bark.

At each stage from Ulan-khuduk we met either a few or a great number of the tzer (*antelope gutturosa*). They were usually cautious, and as I approached one, I could not hunt it, and let it grow to womanhood. Once, noticing them quite close by, I heard soft sounds of alarm, which were muffled and were neither mewling nor yelping. Such antelopes' lives were simple--partly in the woods, as with all hooved animals. During the day, the antelope lay down, preferring any slope, and they ate from morning until evening when they often lay down as well.

The antelopes changed to their southern mountain Baga-Shankhai. Thus, in the boundaries of our march route, the antelope were defined by the marker Erden-Tologoi-khuduk from the north and Baga-Shankhai to the south, with a break from the boundary marker Tsagaan-nuur up to Ulan-khuduk. The break depended, evidently, on the heavily populated areas near the tamga, or seal, of Daichin-beise.

The Khara-sult (*Antelope subgutturosa*) could be caught, starting in the area of the temple of Barun-zuu, where there were many in the wilderness from the north to the Khurkhu mountain. Their way of life is similar to the antelope and on encountering them one hears, when they are alarmed, their snorting and sniffing.

I must say the following about the rodents. The marmots (*Arctomys sp.*) are characteristic of the northern steppe and disappear around Daichin-beise. The last single example was seen near Ulan-khuduk.

Tushkanchiki or Jerboa (*Dipus sp.*) were seen near Deresu-khuduk at the temple of Avorkh-sum and Tzer-khuduk. Thus, in all likelihood, they were generally encountered at a particular stage.

Near Deresu-khuduk there were evidently, gerbils, but I didn't get any for the collection, so I cannot speak about them. None found later.

A rabbit (*Lepus tolai*) observed once in the mountains south of Deresu-khuduk.

Birds

I will focus, as before, on the birds at the stop and concentrate mainly on the ornithofauna or the birds of the region.

Tzonti-khuduk. August, 13. Noticed the larks, (skylark, the Mongolian lark, and the horned lark) (*Alauda* sp, *Melanocorypha mongolica*, *Otocoris Brandti*), and then the *Saxicola isabellina*, *Upupa epops*, this last, usually, with few examples. On the stage up to the well – *Syrrhaptes paradoxus*, which, however, has been caught, and so I mention little about them.

At the passage to Ulan-khuduk August 14 I noticed at the stop a plover, an example last seen at Bydargan-khuduk (No.24). Near Ulan-khuduk was a lark and a wheat eater (No. 20, 21, 22). I noticed a Mongolian lark (*Melanocorypha mongolica*) on our route, which we didn't catch.

In a hilly area near Deresu-khuduk (August 15) there appeared before us for the first time a large number of bustards (*Otis tarda Dybowskii*) strolling along a stony hill. And, finally, we noticed a crane (*Anthropoides virgo*). We didn't see Turpanov after Daichin-beise. At the well, we noticed a hoopoe.

August 16. There were two parts of the journey from Deresu-khuduk to Budargan khuduk. The first part was hilly and rocky, and we noticed a large number of bustards and eagles (unsuccessful at catching them) At the second, in an empty plain, we noticed a single bustard in a little ditch and a plover (one was dead: No.24) and a single crane.

Mogoite-khuduk. August, 17. On the rocky hills, I noticed a brown shrike (*Lanius cristatus*), a common kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*), a lark, (*Otocoris*) some others, and perhaps the first stone chat (*Saxicola atrogularis*). In the underbrush and the feathergrass near the well were two types of yellow bunting (*Emb. Schoeniclus* and *Emb. sp.* maybe analogous to No.50). Besides that, a crow (*Corvus corax*) flew over the camp and at some distance I saw a single bustard but did not meet any further on.

The next move took us to the rich water natural boundary: *Tugruk*. August 18, 19. Here there were two small lakes, surrounded by a strip of reddish clay and further on, velvety sand, and by a strip of greenery bunched together. Many rushes and much feather grass. There was quite a rich showing of ornithofauna in the sizable number of the common curlew (*numenius aquatus*), a pair of mallard ducks, (*Anas boschas*), a lone seagull, a hard to determine type of plover (*Charadrius sp.*) and a wader (*Tringa*) (No. 1 coll.). In the feathergrass, there were two buntings, analogous to what was mentioned at Mogoite-khuduk, the Eurasian hoopoe (*Upupa epops*), the warbler (*Phylloscopus* – see No.38), and, near the well the wheat eaters (*Sax. isabellina*).

Irtin-tolokhoi-khuduk. August 20. In the stony hills of the *Lanius cristatus*, the cane (see No. 33) and a stone chat (*Saxicola atrogularis*).

After Irtin-tolokhoi we crossed the banks of the Teil, where we noticed a stone chat, a valley *Helidon sp.*, and stopped at the idol of *Avorkh-sum*. August 21.

On this excursion, I first met and affirmed a group of crows (*Podoces sp.*). Noted a stone chat, a brown shrike, and a common kestrel.

August 22. The following day we went to the not very high ridge of Baga-Shankhai where, in the stony hills near the Tsagaan-khada well I met several Eurasian hoopoes, a warbler, *Phyloscopus* and seen in Tugruk, a wheat eater and a yellow pliska.

After Tsagaan-khada I went on to spend the night, for the bearer of the idol, in Barun-tzu, not just for an excursion. On the day after, we arrived at the boundary of Nariin-khuduk. August 24.

There in the midst of the feathergrass there was unexpectedly a night jar (*Capriulgus sp.*) some cane, (No. 33), and a bunting (*Emberiza sp.*) (No. 34), both wheat eaters and stone chats, and a raven. On the steppe, the kite (*Milvus lineatus*) and the vulture split the horse savaged by the wolves.

August 25. The natural boundary was Gum-usu. Along the road, there were many crows and larks in the dry riverbed.

August 26. On the crossing from Gum-usu to Gum-buul, we fired rifles on beasts of prey. Got a saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*), hawk (*Buteo sp.*), and red kite (*Milvius sp.*). Besides these, on the steppe near Gum-usu we chased unsuccessfully a pair of small bustards. (?)

We arrived late in Gum-bul, so I took no excursions.

On the following day, (August 27) we went on the march route of N. M. Przhewalski to the boundary of Tzere-khuduk and spent the night at the southern border at Imigin-bulik. No excursions.

August 28. We arrived in the mountains of Khurkhu and stopped for the longest period at the Khaichin-khuduk well in the center of the mountain.

To complete this observation period of the vertebral fauna at any given stage, it is necessary to say a few words about those creatures that crawl.

The passage from the northern Khalkhass steppe and the semi-wilderness northern belt of the Gobi was straightaway noted for the appearance, close to Ulan-Khudka, of the first lizard from the ordinary Gobi classification of lizards-*Eremias* and *Phrynocephalus*. Also, near Mogoite-khudkhu was seen the first snake (see the collection). One example of this was seen near Imigin-bulag where one can see both types of lizards in almost every stage.

The Stop in the Khurkhu Mountains

We stayed in the Khurkhu Mountains from August 28 to September 8. We had thought about an animal collection, but the conditions were such that it was complicated. The leader of the expedition gave me the task of obtaining the argali (the wild mountain sheep). I was needed at the camp and did not go hunting and went for only two days on birding excursions. See below for the reasons for the hunt of the mountain sheep and goats.

Concerning the mountain mammals and the wilderness environs, I must say the following. The hooved, mountain animals, the mountain sheep and goats, (*Ovis Darvini?* or *Capra sibirica*), and the goitered gazelle were in the wilderness foothills of the mountain. The predatory animals included the wolf and the fox. I saw few, if any, ferrets and stony martens. Of the rodents, I saw the hare (*Lepus tolai?*), and the bat.

There are a few details concerning the mountain sheep and the mountain goat. I learned from questioning the local people that there were no mountain goats in the Khurkhu mountains near our camp because they did not like scaling the high mountains and going into the deep and narrow gorges. One might find such sheep in the mountains to the south of the eastern parts of the Khurkhu, 25 versts from our camp. However, I cannot recall mountain goats on the ridges or in separate groups.

Both these animals are protected, thanks to the stringent restrictions on hunting established by Mongolian hunters. In addition, I was quite well acquainted with the conditions of hunting and the ways of forest animals, but I was less aware of the ways of the hooved animals and the methods used to hunt them. The local hunter served the leadership, and we could not do all that we wished.

Finally, our horses set off from Daichin-beise and on to the Khurkhu, and we dealt with the pasturage for the entire excursion of 25 versts and we even stopped by a group of mountain sheep, and continued “per pedes apostolorum (in the steps of the apostles),” but sometimes rented camels from the local Mongols.

We moved on and saw some mountain sheep and goats, and this rather scanty observation led to the conclusion that the sheep and goats preferred to wander as a herd. Eating from morning until evening, at least at the beginning of autumn, they lay down in the late morning and got up again to eat in the early evening. They had excellent sight and hearing, and they had often preferred the soft shape of the mountain, the foothills, but at this time the goats loved the very wild, steep mountains, with poor growth, and with narrow and deep gorges. I heard the uneasy sounds uttered by the goats. They went along noisily emitting disturbing whistles or chirps, which gave them the grandeur of birds rather than four footed animals.

To that point, some words about the Mongolian name of the black goat (*Capra*

sibirica). Przhewalski, recalling his third trip concerning mountain goats in the Khurkhu mountains, said that the Mongols called them “Ulaan-Yaman,” that is red goat, in opposition to the Kuku-Yaman,, that is the blue goat. I first heard from a Mongol about this goat in the temple at Barun-zuu, and the story started at this point but extended further, and in some places, where only a word about it is heard, everywhere there was the name of “Yangir-Yaman” or simply yangir. Although I heard name “Ulaan-Yaman,” it didn’t fit.

In the future, I will refer to these goats as mountain goats, which is more commonly used today.

Birds

There were nearly 20 birds noted in the Khurkhu mountains.

From the birds of prey are the *Vultur monachus*, or vulture or lammergeier, which kept to the steep summit, the *Falco tinnunculus* or common kestrel, and, near the camp, the *Milvus lineatus*. In the evening, we heard several times the eagle, or horned, owl (*Bubo sp.*).

On the high rocks the alpine chough (*Pyrrhocorax graculus*) spun about, and along the steep incline of the field was a partridge (*Caccabis chukar*). The young still did not reach, at the time of our stay in Khurkhu, their full growth and older feathering.

I noticed the following little birds:

Motacilla sp. (yellow) – On a scrap in the large ravine.

Saxicola sp. (No. 43) – In a stony ravine.

Carpodacus sp. (Rose Finch) (No. 44) –maybe in flight. The collection has a dead example of one killed near an elm tree at the spring.

Emberiza cia Godlewskii (Godlewskii’s bunting) stop along the ravine.

Muscicapa sp (Spotted fly catcher) –maybe in flight. Several examples by the elm.

Phylloscopus (Leaf warbler) (green, No. 38) – often in the bushes by the incline of the ravine. (*Prunus, Caragana, sometimes nitraria scoberi*)

Apus sp. (Swift) a great number flew over the rocks.

Besides these, there was found in a great ravine near the camp *Alauda* and sometimes *Upupa epops*.

Finally, not long before leaving Khurkhu, once while hunting in a section of the SO (Southeast) division, I noticed a buck *Luscinia calliope*, but, in all probability, it was in flight.

In the wilderness, beginning in the foothills, *Podoces sp.* and *Saixicola isabellina*, and with the Mongolian nomads perhaps a *Motilla alba baicalensis*, or wagtail, flew by.

And crawling in these mountains one could notice a small lizard of an unknown type, and a rare *Phrynocephalus* lizard was caught for our collection.

March Route

Khurkhu Mountains – Noyon-Bogd Mountains

Our route, at this stage, lay exclusively in the expansive direction of the Central Gobi.

Mammals

We encountered the immutable goitered gazelle at every stage, but other than that, our caravan did not see another mammal. However, some in the small groups of people, along the route, were aware of wolves and foxes.

The young at our station went on to Olon-khudka in Kharakhoto and saw three wild horses (*Asinus sp.*) by the western survey mark Tziaelim. Besides that, according to a witness of the mounted patrol from a messenger of the Scientific Committee of the Mongolian People in 1924, the wild horses from this station, east to west along the Mongolian-Chinese border, were encountered near the natural boundary, Balbirkha, and it was unanimously affirmed that the Mongol areas fell within the wide wilderness plain between the mountains of Noyon-Bogd and Sivre, but did not fall further to the east into the wilderness valley.

Thus, probably along this wide eastern border, the wild horses spread out along the fixed line of Sivre-Noyon-Bogd and Lake Sogo-nor.

From the rodents, one could notice the hare, at the survey point Bayan-bulag and in the crushed stone wilderness to the west from the last, and to the border marker Tirmis, among the saksaul. In the saksaul woods, at the natural boundary Kholoin-Gashun and in the sandy hills there were a great number of sand gerbils, (*Gerbillus*), examples for our collection which I took from here.

It was highly likely that we would meet a jerboa (*Dipus sp.*) with the three examples distributed like this: one in a waterless place for the night to the west from Bayan-bulag and two near the natural boundary of Kholoin-Gashun.

Birds

Now to the birds.

September 8. The first trip from Khurkhu took us to highly pleasant parts among the barren crushed stone of the wild area, and the correctly named Bayan-bulag, that was the rich spring. The spacious growth of xarmika (*nitraria schoberi*) and deres or feather grass, and mainly, the spring itself, attracted many settlers and flying birds. Unfortunately, the strong wind, almost like a storm, hindered a successful excursion.

Noted are the following sightings: *Anas boschas* (Mallard duck) (flyers), a pair of *Anas sp.* (No.46), up to ten examples of the *Gallinago megala* (snipe) actually in flight, then a *Tringa sp.* (No.1?), some sort of small snipe, most of all, *Motacilla alba baicalensis* and No.49, (wagtail), *Alauda sp.* (No.47) (sky lark), in the xarmik (nitaria schoberi) *Phylloscopus sp.* (warbler) (see Khurkhu mountains) and in the feathergrass *Emberiza sp.* (bunting) and *Upupa epops* (*Eurasian hoopoe*).

Following my excursion was the natural boundary Sulit-khuduk, September 10 where we stopped for a meal. Noticed only a pair of *Podoces* (crow), *Otocoris Brandti* (horned lark), and near the well two or three *Motocilla sp.* (wagtail).

I did take an excursion near the idol at Arshan-khurul because I was busy with the purchase of provisions and gathering information.

At the natural boundary at Tirmis-khuduk September 13, there was abundant saksaul and feathergrass, as well as an ornithological abundance, especially in comparison with the preceding Sairen-khuduk, where the excursion offered no birds. At this boundary marker, we met the first and the last of all paths of a great grey shrike, which resembled the *Lanius excubitor mollis* or Northern shrike, maybe even from this view; tried to get him, but we did not succeed despite all our efforts.

Then we noticed a new wheat eater, a chiff chaff (not green, but analogous to one from Noyon-Ulskii), *Saxicola isabellina*, *Falco tinnunculus*, and a great number of *Emberizia sp.* (Like those in Bayan-bulik).

On the second day of our stay at the natural boundary, before leaving, we had prepared a wheat eater, a chiff chaff, and a strenatka, by putting alcohol down their throats. However, they had spoilt by evening and we were devastated.

At the natural boundary of Kholoin-gashun September 15, despite of the extensive growth of saksaul, the birds seemed fewer in number. Saw *Podoces*, a lone *Motacilla sp.*, a chiff chaff (No.51), and *Milvius sp.* (No.37).

From the following passage, we reached the natural boundary of Shilbisin-gol, (September 16–17), the distance did not meet our expectations, as the water, besides the well, wasn't there. The growth included elms, saksaul, and tamarisk. We took care to come here, and we hoped we would find something interesting but, unfortunately, we were not feeling well and barely had the strength to undertake even a small excursion but did notice a crow, a *Falco Subbuteo* (falcon), and *Passer sp.* (No.53) (sparrow) and *Motacilla sp.*

At the natural boundary Tarabagai-khuduk (September 19) wandering crows, *Emberizia sp.* (certainly analogous No. 50), *Motacilla sp.* and the wheat eaters (*Saxicola isabellina et atrogularis*).

I took no excursions at the following two stops up to the Noyon-Bogd mountains because there was a storm at the natural boundary of Budun-modo, while at the Ubutuk natural boundary, I had to go and speak with the local leader

about the station at Noyon-Bogd.

In relation to the reptiles of the Central Gobi, it was anticipated that we would cover a rich territory on route, and there were two sightings of snakes. A small green snake was caught at Sulit-khudka and Kholoin-Gashun, and a large grey snake was caught near the natural boundary of Serbein-khuduk.

Then, starting from Bayan-bulag, we came across a large *Eremias* sp. (lizard) (see the animal collection) and the usual small *Eremias* and *Phrynocephalus* (toad headed reptile).

Notes on the Autumn Flight of Birds, Seen in the Khurkhu Mountains, on the Route along the Central Gobi and the Noyon-Bogd Mountain.

To characterize the flight in a few words, it can be said that we did not cross the main flight route, and our observations brought to our notice only a small number of flocks of flying birds extending over a span of time. However, we did not observe a massive flight.

There was no big flying station on our route, so large numbers of birds were in the air. There was a small oasis with a spring and a well and, in the mountains, there were birds flying, but no ducks. There were no further aerial signs and few views of small birds, and about these sightings, one must assume without judgment, that for a short time they would stop at a station on their route, where a particular bird could take advantage of a particular place, or a certain time on route.

It was noticeable in the Khurkhu mountains, that there was the possibility that the fly catcher *Muscicapa* sp. (No. 45 in the collection), *Carpodacus* sp. (No. 44 in the collection), *Motacilla alba biacalensis* and *Luscinia calliope* composed an insignificant number of individual birds.

At the natural border of Bayan-bulag: *Anas boschas*, *Anas* sp., (No. 46 in the collection), *Gallinago megala*, *Tringa* sp. and *Motacilla alba baical*.

After Bayan-bulag, we noticed nothing for all the rest of the passage along the Central Gobi up to Noyon-Bogd. There were several individual *Motacilla alba* at different wells, and a large grey shrike by the natural boundary at Tirmis, which raised a question about its sense of flight.

In the Noyon-Bogd mountains, in spite of the long period of our sojourn, there were few birds. On the second and third of October, there were different views of the plover *Motocilla*.

October 8, noted the flight of the pipits or *Anthus* (No. 59 in the collection). Besides that, in these times now and then noted separate examples of fly catcher *Phoenicurus* sp., (fly catcher) and separate examples of the thrush *Turdus ruficollis*

and *Turdus sp.*.

As for the flight birds, the *Saxicola isabellina*, *Milvus lineatus*, and the wall creeper *Tichodroma mururia* must be noted.

Concerning the flight of the large birds, observing them as they flew higher in the air, it was necessary to note the following below.

In the Khurkhu mountains, during the first ten- day period in September, I noticed several flocks of cranes and geese, flying with some deviation to the east, in the direction of the Yellow River.

A flock of geese left on the farthest route, flying at night over our bivouac in the wilderness to W from Bayan-bulag.

In the mountains of Noyon-Bogd, I noticed a flock of geese in a line, flying over the eastern part of these mountains in the course of the last week of September and all of October. The especially strong flight of the geese was noted in late October. In astonishment, the direction of their flight was determined by the compass point SOS (south-south-east), which at that time, was by the lower reaches of Etziin-gol, and subsequently, to the watery plains, Lake Sogo-nor and Gashun-nor and further to the Yellow River.

Besides what is stated above, it is necessary to recall about the flight of pallas' sand grouse, the buldrukov (*Syrrhaptes paradoxus*).

As was shown in the zoological notes concerning the route along the North and Central Gobi, the sand grouse, present in a small area along the Khurkhu, was completely absent on the Khurkhu-Noyon-Bogd march route. And yet, with the approach of autumn and the November cold, during all of October, there was their strong flight over our station and near it in the SO (southeast) direction, that is toward northern Alashan and further to the Ordos. The special force of the flight reached its greatest numbers in October, and when over our heads came the whistling of thousands of these Gobi birds. Then the flight of these buldrukov, or pallas' sand grouse, became weaker and took on a disorderly character--that is, part of the flock flew straight O (east), even NO (northeast), and then in mid-November sometimes came back together again as one flock.

The Noyon-Bogd Mountains

Observation of animal life in the Noyon-Bogd mountains led to some interruptions/breaks in the course of two months in autumn (September 23 – November 23). The principal task was to observe the large mammals, which were scanty in in the Khurkhu mountains and almost absent in the Khalkhass steppe and the Gobi. Owing to the relative abundance of material, dealing with the mammals at this station, I have changed the order in this essay several times to discuss the birds in the beginning of these notes. Concerning the reptiles, which don't

completely fit here, as in the mountains, they were not seen in abundance because it was the end of the summer season.

Birds

There were 25 sightings of birds in the Noyon-Bogd mountains, including those stopping here on a short flight.

Near the high crest and the steep summit were, not just once, the vulture (*Vultur monachus*) and the lammergeier *Hypaëtus barbatus* soaring in the air.

The *Milvus lineatus* often whirled by our camp.

Of the small birds of prey that were rarely seen, I did see several examples of *Falco tinnunculus* and *Falco Subbuteo*. One day I noticed the moment of their hunt for small birds. The birds of prey usually availed themselves of these last, which were flying to watering places like the narrow Mongolian wells, and I watched them at the opening of the well.

In the evening with approaching darkness, we heard several times from faraway the horned or eagle owl (*Bubo sp.*) Crows rarely flew near the camp, but near a rock over a rocky gorge, while the alpine chough (*Pyrrhocorax graculus*) often circled around. There was an insignificant number of mixed jackdaws (No. 61 in the collection).

In the foothills and the wide valley within the mountain one could often hear the chirping of the saksaul jay (*Podoces sp.*). Usually here were many partridges, occupying a narrow stony gorge. They assembled in flocks of 5 to 30. The young were quite like their elders in their feathering and grandeur. Here the partridges were not pursued by people. and so were trusting and curious. We arrived to see them at some sarzhen of distance. On noticing a man who wasn't moving, the partridges stretched their necks and came nearer to study the strange creature. Frightened and to protect themselves, they started to flee up the mountain, flew to the opposite slope, and then ran again to the top. They flew badly. During the day, they often could be found in dry riverbeds, where they readily bathed in the sand. To eat, they usually went below near a riverbed.

Twice, I noticed an eastern rock dove (*Columba rupestris*) on a cliff.

I noticed the following small birds:

Buntings – *Emberiza cia* Godlewski and *Emberiza cioides* and usually plovers.

Finch – *Erythropsiza mongolica* (No. 57, 58).

Several rarer buntings.

Redpolls – *Acanthis sp.* (No. 60) plovers

Accentor fulvescens (No. 56) – great part from the flock, as well single isolated examples.

Otocoris Brandti – plovers. Frequently started in November.

Concerning the rest of the views of the small feathered birds, see notes on flight.

Mammals

The Noyon-Bogd mountains offered a wealth not only in the number of sightings, but in the possibility of seeing an especially large group of mammals.

The enumeration of those found was the following:

Sheep – *Ovis sp.*

Siberian ibex – *Capra sibirica*?

Goitered gazelle – *Antelope subgutturosa* (found from the wilderness to the wide valleys between the mountains.)

Snow leopard – *Felis irbis*

Fox – *Vulpes sp.*

European hare – *Lepus sp.*

Rabbit – *Lagomys sp.*

Besides these, it seemed from questioning that there also may have been some sort of small beasts of prey, like the polecat, and some sort of stone marten. In all likelihood, still present nearby were different mice and jerboa, which unfortunately could not be caught or observed.

The argali in these mountains were ordinary, but of course, we did not meet them often. Most of them were in the outlying areas of the hills and mountains, which were lower and with gentle outlines. In the eastern area of the Noyon-Bogd mountains, their favored abodes served to isolate this Khorimtzuk group, while it also especially emphasized its fitness for the habitation of the argali, where the yanger, or mountain goat, was completely absent. Thus, it would probably only be possible to meet the argali in the wildest, steepest massif on the main axis of the mountain ridge where their manner of life was quite simple and not unlike that of most other wild hooved animals. One lone pair and a small herd, with up to about 10–12 in the herd, argali wandered along a rocky hill and the sandy, dry riverbeds to the mountain spring, nibbling on the scanty growth of the short grass, or the small bushes. Appearing at daybreak for food, they ate, at least in autumn, for quite a long time, and then lay down having had enough by the time the sun rose. The argali sought out the northern slope of a hill to rest, and when possible, it was shaded by a high precipice. Later in the autumn, when the days had become cold, they lay in the blazing sun. Before the evening, around five in the afternoon, they soon got up and went to eat until it grew dark. At night, in all likelihood, they lay down. However, before lying down, the argali stood for a long time without moving, listening, and looking around, and then raked the surface of the ground of broken up stones, made a small hollow, and lay down gingerly. Besides this, its coloring was so merged with the surrounding stones and fields that noticing an argali that was lying down, even when comparatively close, was difficult. Evidently, the argali did not make a sound.

Generally, a mountain ram followed its animal intelligence and its prudence. Exclusion in the sense of caution, and, perhaps living in unpopulated areas where there were few hunters, enabled the argali to avoid being chased. At feeding time, the mountain ram usually moved slowly and almost noiselessly. Crossing the hill or the crest, they went in single file, especially those going first and last, stood for a long time without moving on the crest, rarely turning their head from side to side, as they looked and listened for danger. They had the excellent ability to watch and listen. If the argali were frightened, they jumped straight up, or if found on a slope, they almost always jumped ten or so sarzhen, stopping only to check out the details of the danger. If a mountain ram, especially a male, was less frightened by the noise, he would often jump up the cliff or climb to the top of a hill not showing anything, only carefully thrusting out his head, trying to examine everything around him. If the argali came across a flight path in a wide valley or even in a small bit of wilderness, they weren't confused by this and just set off at a gallop for the safety of a far mountain. Frightening to me was the seven-year old argali crossing a part of the wilderness near the wide 4th verst, pushed ahead, all the time, by a large bobcat.

The coloring of the wool of the argali living in the Noyon-Bogd mountains was interesting, and the following are characteristics concerning it in all the various neighboring mountain ridges of the Gobi Altai, independent of the sex and size, and effects of other circumstances. The coloring of young and middle-aged individuals varied from a reddish-brown to a reddish-grey color, but especially interesting was the sharp change of color on the largest, oldest buck, as the overall brown color darkened. There also appeared strong grey streaks which grew stronger on the muzzle, neck, and often on the back and onto the saddle area. In addition, the wool on the neck had grown long and had formed a sort of mane. Several long waves of it flowed onto the saddle, where some parts of the grey hair remained white. Against a dark brown background was the clear white spot of the saddle. The buck, had not yet reached its full coloring, as described by N. M. Przhewalski on his 3-m expedition, under the name of the Gobi Argali or *Ovis Darvini*.

Several times I met up with a large (10–12) flock of argali of both sexes and different ages, but I had been accustomed to establishing a rather monotonous model for the other large mammals, and so was startled by the varied coloring of the argali, seeing the brown and the grey buck and doe together, and the magnificent old fellow with the splendid grey mane and the white saddle.

Between the Mongols and me, there were three grown argali males, each distinguished one from another by their color. We were guided in these examples, by Przhewalskii who furnished the descriptions, and he also brought with him the hide and skull of an old buck from the environs of Kobdo, which he had presented

to the expedition. It also showed the grey mane and the white saddle, so maybe it can be said, that these changes in color applied to all, or almost all, of the Mongolian mountain bucks, at least from Kobo to Khurkhu.

The does with changing colors, according to the word of a Mongolian hunter, were met less frequently than the bucks, and their color changes were less clear. From 80, which I saw while hunting and travelling, not one of the does had a white spot, and the old buck had 7. One of my coworkers who had seen an old doe arrived. By the way, the Mongols called the old buck "the coal man," while all the others remained "argali."

Chasing the argali, if I am not mistaken, occurred in October, and the small ones appeared in March and April. At least, on the very first days of May, I saw in the mountains of Artsa-Bogd a herd of does with their little ones (two) that would wondrously grow into a herd.

During the chase after the bucks, there would, in all likelihood, be a scuffle. Once, I hunted a pair of old white-backed bucks. In going after them, I frightened a herd of young bucks, which in my eyes, joined together in flight with the bucks. This occurred in the evening, and the following morning when we met up again, there were fewer bucks than in the previous evening, and just one was eating. Evidently, the largest buck chased away his rivals and took over the herd. Later, this large buck was killed by a Mongol, and the expedition had shared in the hunt.

With the exception of the time of the hunt, and maybe even during that time, the presence in the herd of only elder bucks was by no means obligatory. I met herds, without an elder buck, three quarters of the time. The herd, especially the large ones, were not clearly united and often broke up, with no evident reason, into smaller groups.

A successful hunt for the mountain ram demanded a great effort and all the expertise of good hunters, that is, endurance walking in the mountains, extreme caution, great patience, good eyesight, and a steady hand. Moving in the area where there was a possibility of argali, the hunter had to cross the valleys and the crests, climb to a given point and for hours watch out for the animals, by carefully sticking out his head from behind a rock. In watching the feeding herd, if our movements cannot be concealed in some roundabout way, then hunters must wait and can move only while the beasts are not hidden by the opposite crest. Thus, one must scurry across the valley to where the argali are hiding and cautiously climb the crest while carefully looking about. There is often a lone buck in the small ruins and valleys, standing watch on the neighboring crest. By the second time round, one must observe with care, although in a favorable place, so one can approach the herd on the crest for a true shot.

On my arrival, I searched one and half versts for the four mountain goats that were feeding, and as a result, I overtook them in a small hollow, where there was

also the possibility of getting near to watching the buck from eighty steps. However, at the time, I stayed at three which was safe for me, as they were all on the hillock at fifty steps.

The argali have endurance, if wounded. The old buck was struck in the heart by a flint bullet, which rushed by from three hundred paces and only then knocked him down. These wounds almost always pass.

The local Mongolian hunters, thanks to a lot of practice, successfully hunt the argali with flint bullets, killing them best from no further than two hundred paces. They normally shoot from one hundred steps. They don't go further, preferring to go no farther than two hundred paces, and they usually shoot from one hundred paces. They seldom go beyond two hundred paces, preferring to wait rather than frighten them and expend a charge for nothing. The bullets are cruel for the argali, and their powder often makes them a supplier of sulphur and salt peter for the Chinese.

The meat of the argali goes for food and the skin with wool, or naked, can be used in manufacturing. As can be seen in the yurts, the wool is also used in bedding, sometimes for clothing, sewing bags, and saddle bags for the soum. There was no set market, things were sold to the Chinese, or to those prosperous Mongols who did not hunt. Generally, a slaughtered argali cost five Mexican dollars. The horns were usually thrown out.

Besides humans, the argali were pursued, really, by wolves and the snow leopard, although the latter preferred the mountain goat and even roamed independently from place to place, in one or another rocky group. However, they were in pursuit of the young bucks.

In conclusion, it was fitting to remember that enormous pleasure was experienced in those minutes when among the silent, God-forsaken, grey-green mountains one could see nearby the beautiful old argali, with his magnificent mane, so well-proportioned, and its utterly mighty, proud, unceasingly noble head with its enormous and glorious horns. The buck was especially beautiful when not sensing the hunter, when he went peacefully on his leisurely, elegant walk, or stood unmoving on the summit, keenly attentive to the mountain quiet.

More often the argali in the depths of the mountain could meet a yanger (*Capra sibirica?*). If I saw nearly 80 argali in two months, I saw between 200 and 250 goats. In contrast to the argali, the goats chose the wildest places with poor growth and resplendent cliffs, on the least accessible mountains. They felt wonderful amid the sharp rock, the many sarzhen of the precipice, and the narrow corridors of the ravine. This was their kingdom.

Their coloring, a dark greyish-red, approached the color of the cliff under the idolized and familiar Gobi sun, and where the sharp-eyed Mongolian hunter at once discovered their presence and sometimes even a large herd of yanger on, so it

seemed, the lifeless cliff. The goats spent their lives on these cliffs and wandered often into narrower regions than the argali, and only persistent pursuit by the snow leopard, other creatures, or man himself led them into unknown areas where they had been forced to undertake, more or less, a migration.

These yanger ate the scant growth on the cliffs and on the steep stony slopes. They let themselves down to the bottom of a ravine and valley, going from one massif to the next. They rarely drank water and located themselves in narrow, dark, cracks in the rock where the flow from the waterfall during the occasional shower beat down on the stone into a significant millennial depression, which served as a cistern.

In these cracks all was dark, cool, and quiet. On a rare soft spot on the ground, there were many traces of a water trough for the goats, and still several bones, skulls, and enormous, often half rotted, large horns from an untimely killing by the talons of the snow leopard or the bullets of a hunter.

I did not know about the watering place for the argali. The Mongols said that the argali drank from these watering holes, but, first, they always kept far away from such a place, and second, they did not stop at such rocks, and third, I had never met at all the watering places I know about, traces of dung from the argali. Thus, this question concerning the biology of the argali in the Noyon-Bogd mountains was still open.

The way of life of the yanger was reminiscent of that of the argali. They lay down during the night, arose at dawn, and ate until late in the morning. For much of the day they stood motionless in the shade of the rocks and then came out to eat again.

During the peaceful eating times, the yanger, especially the old animals, similar to the slower argali, liked to stand motionless even more than the argali, but they were seldom seen alone and more often one could see a herd of from 3–4 to 20 or even 25. One had to notice that in the course of October or November, the old bucks often wandered separately from the rest, that is the does and their young. I don't know how they formed into groups at other times of the year. The herd, especially large ones, often divided for no apparent reason, and once one did so right in front of me where I stood unnoticed.

The agility of the yanger in climbing the ledges of an enormous precipice, and their jumps from stone to stone, were astounding, even more so than the intricate actions of the Billy goat, especially the older ones, and the comparison was not even proportional. The compact, rather heavy trunk of their bodies and their short muscular, light feet were made for precise jumping on the rocky cliffs.

The cautious yanger was similar to the argali. Skirting the rocks, each individual in a herd stopped without fail and comically leant its head to one side, looking around the corner. On crossing to the crest, the approach was the same.

Noticing danger, the goats, both the male and female, gave off a sharp whistle, or even sooner, a chirp, and then swiftly set off with the steep rocky slope crashing under their feet. They looked for the danger, ran a little, and then stopped to listen. They moved swiftly, went far, and could not always be easily located. They were always vigilant and keen.

The old yanger buck, which the Mongols called “ukhun,” like the argali, changed their color as they grew. As the animal became older, his blackened snout, the strip on his spine, his feet, and his shoulder blade became more intensely colored. Thus, the old goat gave the impression, especially from the front, of being almost all black. The coloring on the very oldest animals, and therefore the rarest examples of this coloring, went from a dense black, while the remaining greyish red wool became very grey. Finally, the yellow tint disappeared, leaving a light grey, and from a distance the colors seemed almost white and black. Such examples of grey are seldom encountered, and the horns reach enormous measurements. I have seen such old animals 2 or 3 times, which is 1% of all of those goats that I have seen. Unfortunately, I was not able to get such an example, which was a serious gap in the not very large number of the grey yanger found in the Noyon-Bogd mountains.

The hunt for the yanger demanded the same qualities from the hunter necessary in hunting the argali. The yanger was encountered considerably more often, and there was danger in balancing the difficulty of the pacing on the steep slopes with the climb up those slopes themselves. Quite frequently, a foot or a hand would break off a flying stone from under the climber, forcing him or her to compulsively grab onto the sharp edge of the cliff, all of which could be hopeless.

The system for hunting the yanger was like that for the argali. The hunter had to select an isolated massif to consider for hunting the beast, and then he, that is the hunter, had to take into account the wind and the sun, (but because he had to stand from morning to evening below the sky, perhaps with the sun in his eyes, which could hinder his exact sight, he might make an unfortunate choice of direction) skirting the massif, and intersecting roughly mid mountain from gorge to gorge. This was a continually steep climb along stones, up a sharp incline and a deposit field, which was utterly exhausting. Before each crest, one had to catch one's breath, and then thrust one's head out and carefully search the bare ravine.

With great caution and favorable conditions, it was possible to come as close to the yanger as forty to fifty steps, although the usual distance is one hundred to a hundred and fifty steps. The yanger, even when wounded, was very strong.

The local Mongolian hunters hunted the yanger, with as much zeal as the argali. More often, they killed the first. The yanger is the usual catch. The meat was eaten, and the excellent hide was used. The meat of the yanger was worse than the meat of the argali, and if one had a weak stomach, it could cause horrible

constipation. So, the Mongols rightly considered that it was harmful for the elderly and the sick. In autumn, the old bucks were very greasy.

The yangger's fur was excellent: soft, thick, and durable, very unlike the fur of the argali, which was brittle, thick hair, similar to the hair of the roe deer, Siberian roe deer, and the Siberian musk deer. After separating the wool from the skin, the hunters sold it to the Mongols and to the Chinese in the north, to the main axis of the Altai, and to the Russians, who used it to sew outer garments and fur trousers. The naked skin was used for sheepskin bags and saddle bags. The meat was usually given to the hunters' families who wanted it. The choicest autumn yangger hide sold for one to two Mexican dollars. The horns were usually thrown out.

Besides humans, the yangger was zealously pursued by the snow leopard and probably a small kid goat was dragged, on occasion, by a bearded lammergeier.

The *xara-sult* also called the goitered gazelle or *antelope subguttarosa* did not, of course, appear as a constant inhabitant of the mountains and sometimes could be found in the foothills or in the wide, rich vegetation sharply jutting out to the axis of the Noyon-Bogd mountains, which led to the wilderness. The Mongols hunted this much favored meat here. Really, out of all Gobi large scale game meat, the Mongolian goitered gazelle was the most tender and the tastiest, especially in the autumn, when the antelopes were sufficiently fat.

Having finished discussing the goitered gazelle, from the hooved animals, I turn to the beasts of prey, from which, without a doubt, the first place went to the snow leopard (*Felis irbis*), the great cat, which, in Mongolia, was peculiar to the Gobi and the Mongolian Altai. The argali, the yangger, and the snow leopard made up the trio of mammals that most characterize the Gobi Altai.

Unfortunately, I was unable to say much about the snow leopard. Its presence in the environs of our mountain bivouac consisted only of tracks, all of which were often clear and fresh, and dung; I didn't see him myself and what I learned about him came, by and large, from a local Mongolian hunter. What I learned is below.

It was rare to encounter a snow leopard, so the hunter in this region had to wander far and wide. His main food came from the yangger, and he had his favorite places for hunting it, and most of the areas he hunted in were in almost inaccessible parts of the mountain. In the eastern part of Noyon-Bogd, in all likelihood, he could find in all the wildest gorges on the southern slope the highest massif on this part of the mountain, the highest of which was considered sacred, with a large oboo. The snow leopard bypassed the yangger, but had not abdicated to the argali, though it rarely attacked the cattle of the nomads in Mongolian mountains, and left alone the ram, goat, foal, and even the horse. Nor did it attack people even when seriously wounded, and it always tried to run off. So, the local Mongols were completely at peace sending children of 7–15 years of age to graze rams and goats, without any weapons, as much as 2–3 versts from the yurts.

The snow leopard did not shrink, in all likelihood, from partridges, rabbits, and other small animals. It wandered at night and spent the day in the wild and high parts of the cliff, where it lay down, preferring small caves, on the rocky precipices. It travelled at night from massif to massif and often went along a dry riverbed and it was here that I met in the sand and the gravel, clear prints of his wide paws. The one I measured was 13 cm long, 11 cm wide, and 37 cm in circumference. It always tried to avoid people and strove to go unnoticed, and because of its excellent sense organs it rarely fell to the hunters' bullets. The wolf traps set up by the local Mongols were designed for the weaker snow leopards, but they always extricated themselves. The young were examples of this.

The one I saw was a beautiful smokey grey, with a black ring of fur which was valued at 20–25 lan, which equaled 35 rubles in our currency. Many Mongols ate the meat and praised it.

Next of the large beasts of prey was the wolf, which we met in the Noyon-Bogd mountains only comparatively rarely. I hadn't seen one in two months of hunting. The wolves did not reach the steep parts of the mountain, and stayed, by and large, on the edges of the hills and in the wide valleys.

Quite often, the wolf would encounter a female fox or vixen and several times my friends saw one while travelling. I, however, with all my special wandering in the mountains, never, not even once, met one.

The fox went to wilder gorges than the larger and heavier wolf, and sought out the caragana bushes and the almonds (*Prunus sp.*) as well as a hare, a partridge, a small bird, and in the valley-small rodents, mice etc. In the late autumn, he loved to sleep in the blazing sun.

As for the wolf, he confronted an assiduous pursuit by the local Mongolian hunters. The traps were made, by and large, from iron or steel, evidently of Russian design. Even the word for the Mongolian trap, "khapkhan," was borrowed from the modern Russian. The price of the skin during the winter of 1925–1926 was 10 lan for the wolf and 6–7 lan for the fox.

Finally, I moved on and learned that in the Noyon-Bogd mountains one could come upon the view of a lifeless marten or a polecat, which was customary for such a large beast. Meeting up with this beast was rare, and he was seldom seen. He would sometimes fall into a trap, and then his skins would be sold to the Chinese for 2 lan a piece. This animal lived among the stones where he made his burrow. I was not able to give a more detailed description of this animal because our translator had left, and I did not have a sufficient stock of words.

Among the rodents, the most common of all was the hare, which lived in the valley.

Less noticed were the smaller rodents, which were usually quite hidden. There were little tracks of the martens on the stones, but I did not find another example.

Finally, along a wide valley, jerboa and mice were visible but no others were seen.

Summary of the Winter and Spring Observations in the Zoological Journal of the Southern Party in Its Winter Camp near Lake Sogo-nor.

It must be noticed, above all, that during the winter and spring flight until May 14 our group was absent a specialist in zoological collections, and so it was quite apparent that this journal would suffer from observations that were not clear and complete, by and large, and not one of the winter workers on this expedition was an expert or specialist in ornithology. Although N. Przhewalskii and his coworkers had tried to establish a collection, they were novices and were unable to record the details of the flights of the water birds.

The party arrived at the lower Etziin-gol at the beginning of December. It stayed, with the exception of a few days in the beginning, in one place the whole time, 5 versts to the east of the station of Torgoit-beili and the idol and to the south of the lake. An observation point was set up by the lake, 10–15 versts from the closest winter place.

The goitered gazelles, usually in herds of 3–10 animals, were the most frequently encountered of the mammals. There were many near the lake and were encountered, in the flat salt marshes with the tamarind bushes, and among the tamarind hills.

The gazelles' manner of life was such that they roamed great distances and lay down very little during the day. At the end of April, the number of gazelles in the area of our excursion, that is from the lake and 10 versts to the south, had decreased and by the middle of May very few remained. The explanation could be that during the summer, the antelopes left not only the abundant food but also the insects which bit them in Etziin-gol and the surrounding wilderness. In autumn, when there was scant growth and the wilderness was almost completely burned, they returned to the delta to spend the winter. It must be noted that the doe was much smaller than the buck. During the winter, the local Mongolian-Torguts killed gazelles by generally using a trap. They then ate the meat and used the skins for domestic needs.

The wolf was the largest of the beasts of prey and was encountered in sufficient numbers in the delta. The cattle of the Torguts often fell prey to it. It is a curious fact that here there was interbreeding between the wolves and stray dogs. This cross breed grew large, was strong and bold, with large dark areas on its dark colored wool, and quite elongated withers. A worker in N. Przhewalskii's southern party twice noticed a similar hybrid, and a Mongolian hunter accompanying our

party from Noyon-Bogd to Etziin-gol saw (when the animal was in heat) a stray dog in the company of a wolf and a hybrid.

The hybrids were trapped and their skins, which were on a par with the wolves' hides, were sold. Proof of strength of one such "black wolf" was that he dragged the heavy trap about 30 versts. Falling into the trap near the natural boundary at Tortso, there were tracks found particularly near the natural boundary at Balbirkha. Thus, the great abundance of foxes, and they lived everywhere, hunting for pheasants, hares, partridges, etc.

Along with the beasts of prey, wolves and foxes were met in the wilderness, along with the wild cat. On the assurance of a local hunter, most asserted that there were two sorts of cats: those of grey or yellow colored fur. We saw an example of a grey cat.

All these beasts of prey, with, perhaps, the exception of the wolf, led a hidden sort of life, mainly hunting at night, with their presence ascertained from their tracks often found in sandy areas.

Above all, the Mongols told me repeatedly that one could also meet, if only rarely, the lynx and the snow leopard (in Mongolian, the Tsokhor) which they know well. Unfortunately, I must again say that without a translator (Aliusheev came to the Noyon-Bogd mountains as the translator to the leader of the expedition, but with the arrival of winter he became ill and had to leave) I was presented with an obstacle in the collection of detailed information. My rather limited knowledge of the Mongolian language was not sufficient, and I only could recognize this or that fact rather than gain an overview.

The local hunters caught a great quantity of wolves, foxes, and wild cats in traps. It was well known that our neighbor, the Torgut, had 50 traps (at this time a trap cost 15–18 rubles) which during the winter caught 15 wolves, nearly 50 foxes, and a fair number of cats.

The traps on the path were without bait. Sometimes, they blocked off a large space. The price of the skins was higher here than among the southern Khalkh, which was explained, really, by the comparative proximity of the great trading center of China.

The most prevalent of the rodents was the hare, by and large, which settled in the underbrush of the delta, free from human pursuit. It was somewhat timid, but, in peaceful situations, it could be seen quite often and groups of 3–5 hares had also been encountered. Quite a few hares could be seen, when the poplars were in bloom, picking up the fallen catkins.

Finally, during the winter there was the possibility of studying the smaller rodents in detail.

The large gerbils, similar to those found at the natural boundary Kholoin-Gashun, were encountered quite often, in separate colonies. They inhabited the

sandy areas with saksaul and the clay areas with nightshade (*lycium*) and reeds. They went to their shallow burrows (not more than 60–70 cm) under a thin layer of dirt, and although they were not very long, they made up an intricate network of passages and tunnels. Each burrow had several exits. The ground was pitted everywhere from their colonies.

The gerbils led an open sort of life, spending a good part of the day on the ground surface where they collected grass and different bits of growth. When danger threatened, they hid in their burrows, until after the shots, when it was safe to emerge. Coming out, they would perch at the opening of the burrow by the column and cry out, sometimes raising slightly on their hind paws, and strongly swish their tails on the ground.

These gerbils did not like the bait in the traps (rice, meat, or dried greens), and did not eat any of this. It was interesting to note that after 2–3 days of shooting at them, there were few results, because the entire colony of gerbils had moved to a new site.

The other species of gerbils, though smaller in size, were larger in numbers. Their burrows, including their winter quarters, were everywhere. Most of them were observed along the southern sandy shore of the lake and the mouth of the Dund-gol river. These gerbils swarmed to their burrows on the hillocks amid the roots of the tamarisk, in the sandy areas with *Lycium*, the sulkhir sands, among the small cane, etc. The floors of these burrows were underground, no deeper than 50 cm. Less tangled than the burrows of the larger gerbils, they had 1–2 exits. These gerbils, like large ones, led an open life, but were different in that they ate everything, settled near people, and inflicted great harm by eating and spoiling produce. Thus, there was the possibility of trapping them.

Sensing danger, the rodent, concealed in a burrow, began to snore, and was answered by his neighbor who also was snoring. In the attempt to get an example of this gerbil by digging into the burrow, it so happened that this little creature ran to a blind exit, jumped through the opening to the outside, and ran off.

Besides the gerbil, there were two forms of mice, and the smaller was the domestic mouse. The larger grey mice were still more numerous than the small gerbils, and they lived almost exclusively in puffy, crumbly mounds of sand under the roots of the reeds. A reedy area was necessary for a colony of these mice. They had a secretive type of life and spent a great deal of time in their burrows, which not only maintained their existence but also protected them from danger, and gave them a food source because the mice gnawed the underground roots of the reeds, which made up most of their food. As soon as one piece of the reed's root was gnawed, the mouse threw it out of his burrow and went on to another reed and dug out a new one. It was possible, now and then, to see them run from burrow to burrow and sometimes to several. If a baited trap was set for these mice, they

would not eat the bait, so one had to use a noose.

This rodent was very cautious. Realizing the danger and hiding in his burrow, he can emit a weak sound like a grunt which could be heard 4–5 steps away.

Finally, the small mice, actually they were usually domestic, were very often encountered in a yurt and were very harmful to people, because they ate or ruined a lot. They dug their burrows under the felt for not more than half an arshin (28 inches). At the end of the burrow, a wide room had been made and was covered by a scrap of felt. The mice settled in pairs. Aside from the yurt, they sometimes settled under the tamarind bushes.

The wild cat, the fox, the common kestrel, owl, etc. were the enemies of the mice, and they were responsible for the destruction of a truly enormous number of them. However, the abundance of vegetation for food led to their quick restoration.

As to the appearance of the insects in the yurt, there were shrews and, on the 20th of April, there was a flying mouse, or bat.

I divided the birds I observed into three groups: (a) hibernating, (b) a large group of flying water birds and (c) migratory birds. I repeat once again, especially pertaining to water birds, there are serious gaps in making a list of these sightings.

The winter party observed a monk-vulture, in the area of Etziin-gol, during the second half of February. And, then, this bird, according to a plausibly certain Mongol, flew to the mountains to nest. The raven, always solitary, was constantly in different places.

The black crow was often seen at the time of stopping in Khurliin-khuduk, near the headquarters of Torgot-beili, and for some time in the winter area, before it vanished somewhere. However, considerably later, namely in mid-June, a black crow was observed once at the natural boundary at Bukhan-khub. Generally, about forty, during the winter, were near a dwelling. In the spring, they moved to a grove to nest.

The crow (*Podoces*) sometimes could be found at the edge of the wilderness. And, a nearby place to spend the winter was by the Obon-gol river where a pheasant was seen, and two winter examples were obtained for the collection. Their winter habits were the following: on cold days, they would go out after the sun rise and eat almost the entire day. One would often meet a small flock of 3–4. In the middle of the day, they would not lie in a bush, but in the open area among the reeds. During the time of the flowering of the poplars, the pheasants readily went, like the hares, after the catkins that were falling off the trees, and that was only at this time that they could have been observed in the woods, as they nibbled the catkins right off the branch.

The buldruk or ibis, (buldruk in Kirghiz, Sadscha in Russian) was observed in the region continually, but in insignificant numbers. In the months of January and February, a small flock was observed in an insignificant flight, by the northern

compass point (N, NE, NW), low over the land.

Finally, among the small winter birds there was the skylark (*Alauda sp.*).

The spring flight of the water birds began in the second half of March and reached at a maximum of 25–30 in March and 1–5 in April. And then there was a decrease.

The following birds were noted:

The first swan was noticed on March 20. At the time a small number flew over the lake. Every day we noticed 20–30. Many swans stayed to nest and on the lake (notes in the journal of the party from May 17), and near the natural boundary Mankhin (my observations of 27 for the month.)

Geese were first noticed on March 21. They flew very little. Few massive flights were observed. Now and then, and by and large at the end of March, a flock of 100–200 was observed. In short, it was clear that the great flight path did not lie across Lake Sogo-nor. However, it was necessary to wait, since in the previous autumn I had already noticed that the direction of all of the flock of geese, which flew across our stopping area, to the south of the Noyon-Bogd mountains, was not by the lake but was toward Goitso. In all likelihood, they returned by this route.

The first number of April geese at Sogo-nor was noticeably small. Some remained to nest.

In contrast to the geese, the wild duck (including here all those seen flying across Sogo-nor, as well as the teal) flew a great deal. They, and a bit later, the cormorants, composed the basic group of flying water birds. They had arrived early. The first flock was noticed on March 4. On March 10 at the river near the lake, 1,500 individuals stayed there for two weeks. There were few teal among them in the beginning, and most of the ducks flew in late March. Their number had greatly diminished by the beginning of April, and the teal had diminished by half. Subsequently, it was clear that the teal had prevailed. By the end of April, all had quieted down, and only nest building remained.

Besides the teal, as was mentioned above, there was the cormorant, which appeared somewhat later, namely on March 25, and most of its flights continued through the first ten day period of April. At that time, there were many water birds on the lake. Everyday one could count not less than 1,000. Then, they flew off and their numbers decreased, and finally they went off in pairs to nest.

The Turpan, or white winged scooter, flew a bit, but there was no noticeable large flock. On March 30, the number had decreased somewhat, but the nesting pairs stayed on a bit later.

The Lisukh, or kestrel, was first noted on March 23. It flew little and only on March 28 was the flock of 200 noted.

The large long-legged birds flew in formation as a group of spoonbills. They

were first noticed on March 27. The peak of the flight took place on the first of April, and henceforth it was daily that they numbered several hundred. They remained to nest.

Then, starting with March 23, there was continually noted a small number of grey herons (20–50 daily) which also remained to nest.

There were three sightings of the small seagull and the Caspian tern, or *Sterna Caspica*, with the latter seen in smaller numbers. First noticed on March 17. From March 25, the number increased greatly, and there were 1,000 examples noticed daily. However, already in the first days of April, the numbers decreased, and there were very few small seagulls.

The lapwing appeared on March 28 and in small numbers remained until April 7. None observed later.

The curlew was noted in small numbers on April 4. It remained to nest.

The wader, as usual, flew later.

Finally, on March 28, the first few examples of the *Ciconia Nigra*, or black stork, stayed to nest in a grove of poplars.

It seems that the arrival and the flight of the small birds were recorded in the Party's zoological diary and followed with brief recordings.

The first black kite was noted on March 23.

March 29, there was a small number of jackdaws noted but not observed later. They had, in all likelihood, flown off earlier.

On April 16, the crested lark flew in and stayed to build its nest.

The *Motacilla alba*, or white wagtail, was first noticed on April 10 and for the last time on April 26. It probably did not stay.

The *Motocilla sp.* (with the yellow head), or the yellow wagtail, flew on April 8, and during that time a small number of examples were seen.

The *Saxicola astrogularis*, the stone chat, was noted April 1. It nested in the edges of the wilderness.

The *Saxicola pleschanka*, or the pied wheat eater, flew on March 23. After April 15, it was not noticed. In all likelihood, it did not stay.

April 13 first noticed the hoopoo, which was often caught later.

The martlet was noted on May 5. It remained, and a few examples were seen.

May 10, first notice of a night jar or goat sucker, a very usual bird here.

The general impression about the flights over lake Sogo-nor was this: the flights were poor for such a large station, and there were only a few sightings of large numbers of birds. Most of the flights were small, and many birds remained to build their nests.

A. D. Simukov “Zoological Notes”

Archive from the Museum apartment of P. K. Kozlov, St. Petersburg with the materials from the participants of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition (1923–1926) preserved in the small notebook of A. D. Simukov. On its front fly-leaf-the headline, written in black ink in the author’s hand: “The Zoological notes of the march route of the southern party of the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition G. G. O.¹⁾ under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov. 1925–1926.” Below is shown the march route of the party: “Urga (June 28 1925) – Daichin-beise-Khurkhu mountains (August 28) – Noyon-Bogd (the October-November station) – the lower Etziin-gol (wintering there from December through May) – the natural boundary Bukhan-kub (50 versts above Sogo-nor, June.)” At the bottom of the page was written, “Observations led by A. Simukov.” The booklet has a grey oilcloth binding, and it measures 10.8 by 17.3 cm., and it is not paginated. It is written in black and violet ink on both sides of the sheets and altogether there are 37 sheets.

Such is the origin of these notes. During the summer of 1925, the excavations at the Noyonnulinskii kurgan were finished. The question about the visit to Tibet had to finally be decided since Moscow had not agreed to the expedition²⁾ and instead, P. K. Kozlov received permission to begin working in either region of the MPR, in the central Gobi and beyond. As a result, the expeditionary group divided into two parties. One of them, under the leadership S. A. Glagolev, went south in the direction of the Gobi Altai where it would work in the Noyon-Bogd mountains during October and November 1925, and move during the winter to the lower Etziin-gol near Lake Sogo-nor to engage in the excavations at Khara-Khoto and work on the zoological collections. The second group, under the leadership of P. K. Kozlov, went west to the Khangai. (In the official account and in P. K. Kozlov’s journal, these parties were called the Eastern and Western).

The staff of the Glagolev party included A. D. Simukov (further- A. D.), N. Przhewalskii, and three coworkers. A. D. went with this group until the end of the autumn 1925, when he went to Urga (Ulaan Baatar). From there, in January 1926, Simukov was the leader as well as in charge of the zoological collections, while Kozlov was in Moscow.

A. D. wished to be in Etziin-gol at the beginning of the spring bird flights and then he returned to Urga in March 1926 (together with the Muscovite K. K. Danilenko, who had returned from a short visit to relatives) although circumstances of a different sort kept A. D. in Urga. At the end of April, he was in P. K. Kozlov’s camp in Kholte, from where, at the beginning of May, he left by camel for the Etziin-gol region, which he reached in 10 days.

A. D. Simukov’s “Zoological Notes” are composed of seven, not long, but detailed essays concerning his observations of the fauna. They were composed at

separate stages of “the Southern Party’s” march route:

- 1) Urga–Daichin-beise;
- 2) March route Daichin-beise–Khurkhu mountains;
- 3) Station at Khurkhu mountains;
- 4) March route Khurkhu mountains–Noyon-Bogd mountains;
- 5) Notes on the autumn flights of birds, observed in the Khurkhu mountains on the path along the Central Gobi and the Noyon-Bogd mountains;
- 6) The Noyon-Bogd mountains;
- 7) Summary of the winter and spring observations of the Southern party in its winter quarters near Lake Sogo-nor (according to the Party’s Zoological journal.)

“The Notes” evidently were a summary of the account of A. D. Simukov concerning the work of the staff of the Southern party, and the leader of the expedition as well as showing his personal archive. All that was written was accurate, with almost no corrections; it is possible that they were copied by the author in a little notebook, and the original may not have been preserved.

From these “Notes” we are apprised of a curious detail – that P. K. Kozlov entrusted Simukov with obtaining the argali (*Ovis sp.*, *Ovis argali*), a variety of mountain ram, widely dispersed in the mountains of the desert ridge. It was well known to Simukov that N. M. Przhewalskii, on his first and third Central Asian expeditions, (in 1870–1873 and 1879–1880), noticed this animal many times in the Tibetan uplands and described it in great detail.³⁾ The Mongolian argali were much less studied.

For one and a half years, 1924–1925, he worked in the mountainous taiga of Khentii (on the archeological excavations at the Noyonuulinskii kurgan and the execution of independent tasks of geographical research in various regions.) A. D. acquired experience observing the animals during his long march on foot (about 600 versts a month) and became an inveterate hunter. This way of life enabled him to study how the argali lived and to gather specimens for the collection.

The 3rd and 6th set of notes provided a detailed description of the Gobi argali--from their outward appearances, habits, dwelling areas, and the unique features of hunting them. Besides the argali, A. D. provided descriptions and other observations on the hooved animals and the beasts of prey. Simukov’s ornithological observations were of great interest (in the 5th and the 7th essays), and supplemented the information of E. V. Kozlova, the principal ornithologist of the expedition.^a

a Kozlova (Puskareva) Elizaveta Vladimirovna (1892–1975) – ornithologist, participant in the Mongolian-Tibetan expedition, 1923–1926, of the Mongolian commission 1929 and 1931, co-worker in Zoological Institute AN USSR, Russian Academy of Sciences. Second

Notes of the original Russian version

- 1) the Governmental Russian Geographic Society
- 2) See Andreev, A. I. and Yusupova T. I., History of a Rather Unusual Expedition: The Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of P. K. Kozlov (1923–1926), *Questions on the History of Natural History and Technology*, 2001, No.2, pp.51–74.
- 3) See N. M. Przhevalski, *Mongolia and the Country of the Tanguts*. 1946. pp. 111–113, 262–263; *From Zaisan across Hami to Tibet and the Upper Reaches of the Yellow River*. 1948. p. 236. The Mongolian argali that Przhevalski noted were in the Suma-Khad mountains on the south-eastern edge of the Mongolian plateau during his first trip (1870–1873). He encountered the white breasted sheep (*Ovis polii*), which was distinct from the Mongolian because of the shape of its horns and its white chest.

wife of P. K. Kozlov.

^b Andreev Alexander Ivanovich – historian, doctor of historical science, director of the Memorial Museum-apartment of P. K. Kozlov, coworker St. Petersburg Filial Institute of Natural History and Technology, which was named after S. I. Vavilov.

Appendix 2
Diary of the Khangai Expedition in
1928

(AIGM No.105, typewritten)^a

1928

A. Simukov

Diary of the Khangai Expedition in 1928

July 14

We had gone, a while ago, to Tsetserleg— the starting point of my journey. From Ulaan Baatar we touched down around midday on June 30th. I had already been on this road four times—twice I had galloped this way to the postal station, both times in winter, and once, in the autumn by car, but only now did I picture the route clearly. In the heat and stuffy air, our car, puffed and panted across the ravine of Shara-khub, and coasted lightly along the wide ravine to the Tuul. We spent the night on the banks of the Tuul near a bridge. On the following day, we had lunch in Kharukh and in the darkness went to the Orkhon near the ferry. In the morning of July 2, we busily prepared to cross the Orkhon but remained in the mud and did not get to Tzain, staying in the dusk in a thicket by Urdu-Tamir. A good choice of a place. This thicket was reminiscent of a park with ancient poplars on the clear green lawn. By 3 a.m. we moved without difficulty to Tamir and soon onto Tzain. They knew that our stop in Tamir below Tzain was in the thicket. Riding back 9 versts, we put up our tent. All went well. However, at the Argal postal-station there was a heavy rain during the night which wrought havoc on my large saddle bag containing my soft-leather soled shoes. Besides that, syphilis was detected on (...) so I had to send him back but could not find a replacement in Tzain from where we set off with the caravan of S. A., by car to Erdene-Zuu, making several small excursions to the environs of Tzain. In the evening around 10 we left Tzain crossing a small pass from the town to wash, returning to (...) and climbed up to Khaltzan-davaa. The ascent was tolerable and not very long. I knew this hill without drainage (Ubur-khaltzangiin-davaa) from an earlier excursion and went in an almost straight direction. The right side was a bit wooded with small, often young, trees. Larch, birch and willow. The left side was steep and exposed. Along

a Archive of the Institute of Geography and Permafrost Knowledge of the Academy of Sciences of Mongolia—from 1994, The Institute of Geography of The Academy of Science Mongolia.

the talveg, half sunk at the summit, grew willows which were thick in places. The talveg was step-like and at the top there was beautiful grass. There were many plants still in full bloom. Living near the pass were several old wild boars. This same Khaltsan pass—a flat saddle. The neighboring peaks near the pass were not far and the road across Khaltsan was little travelled. There was a telegraph line. From the saddle there opened a wide vista. To the south – the valley of the Urdu Tamir with its rare overgrown belt of poplars. Behind it, a thickly wooded mountain arose to the north of the magistral of the bare topped Suburga-khairkhan. The magistral of the Khangai was hardly visible. To the north the completely straight field went into the valley of Khoitu-Tamir where one could see a strip of wooded undergrowth. In the mountains, rising to the north from the last river, one noticed that there were woods everywhere.

The slope from the Khaltsan was steep and rocky. One had to climb carefully because a cart had turned over. Obstruction from rocks and washed away areas of the road made for zigzagging along the wonderful leafy woods. The underbrush was birch and willow. When we came down, we went immediately from the woods to the wide (1 km) valley of the Ara-Kaltsangiin-ama, leading to Khoitu-Tamir. There were no people at the peak of the valley, but we saw one-two winter billets characterized by horseshoe shaped stone walls to protect from the wind the small cattle when they lay down. Evidently, in winter, they moved down from Khoitu-Tamir. In places the grass was good, especially under the trees, and was suitable for mowing. Roughly in the middle between Khaltsan and Khoitu-Tamir, the Khangai-ama falls to the right and to the left of a large slope without drainage. Left – the Shibirte turned from the Gurban pass and went to the right to Artsatin-ama and on to Tsagaan pass. The latter at the summit made way for two sources (apart from the base) which went from the beginning of the Tzainskii slope. The lower was more important than the upper one. Both slopes were steep and from the dense north. The left valley was wooded and, by and large, from the west to the Khaltzan belt the woods quickly widened, at the watershed on both spines of the Tamir. In the right valley, a little higher, was the confluence with the main, which made a small arc.

Near the confluence were scattered many (8 families) yurts. From above we noticed only 2. Here, the grass was good, despite its distance from the woods. It was true that almost nothing was scythed. At a verst from the pass, we went to the Khoitu-Tamir valley and turned westward, high along the course, keeping to the right by the side of the valley. There was undergrowth along the river at Urdu-Tamir. The mountains to the south from the steep valley were approached more easily from the valley than from the north. The last slope facing south was eroded and almost woodless. From the left, it was shaded by small northern foliage on the approach to the twist and the steepness of the slope. The steppe was poorer than in

the southern valleys. Many (...). But, by and large, rather bad. At all times we saw yurts. Sometimes at least there was the postal station at Tsani khoshoo. The valley was swampy. The road was poor for several versts (the valley narrowed to 1 km) and then opened onto the wide gorge of the Ulentui River, the right branch of the Khoitu-Tamir. The high Tamir was winding, so the road leading to Sechen-van went high along the Ulentui so we turned. The swamp went to the outlet of this river along the valley to the Tamir and we went along the left edge of the hill, gradually turning from that same river. 6–7 versts to the south could be seen a high and thickly forested mountain chain—the basic watershed of both Tamirs. One or two naked summits arose by the taiga. A narrow, short field was visible. Ulentui began in these mountains. On the left shore opposite the mouth of the Ulentui, along a precipice the Khoitu-Tamir entered to the left of the channel's expanse and covered at its widest most of the space of the present hill and river. There were many channels further up the river. Coming to the gently sloping pass between Ulentui and the wide ravine of Bakhan-bulag, we saw two lakes: Dood-nuur and Arshant. The first lay about one half a kilometer on the south road near the Ulentui and the second on the same road in Bakhan-bulag. Going down the pass a little, we were very interested in the close and thick taiga and the naked peak along the highest tree-line. We decided to spend the night under the trees and headed back there. Several degrees to the south, we stopped our panting horses. In Bakhan-bulag there were two groups of yurts. Opposite them were 5–6 families in Tamir. The growth was poor: the steppe (zerophytin) and the grass were damaged by the herds. At the last southern slope, we saw the leafy forest along the left river bank at the source of the Ulentui-Sumete River (?). Stood in the thicket of the fast, stony little river. I immediately went off hunting. I went on the forest strip along the river bank, going into the river several times. I soon saw a goat but did not shoot. I also saw old traces of a roebuck. Further on I saw a roe deer/antelope which was felled by one bullet. I remember this old one and how it howled. Since it was already dark, I turned back to the camp.

July 19

Decided to spend the night to get to know the character of the taiga. At dawn, Chukhlomin went after the wild animals while I was engaged with the minor pursuits of photography. Around noon he returned to tell me that he had seen fresh traces of a herd of roebuck, a nucleus of about 7, and from it two bull oxen, but no other beasts. After lunch, we both left. I went along the crest for 5 versts. On the road, killed a young antelope and thought it might be a musk deer. Saw the dung of a musk deer and many old boars in a cluster and a pair of female grouse. Took photos and turned toward home through the very dense north and veered a bit to the west by a small hill. Chukhlomin said not to move when seeing a wild

animal so as not to stir up the wind blowing on the beast. We were not successful in getting his horn this time.

These two-three excursions were a clear enough representation of the character of the local taiga. Unique to Khentii is the narrow-wooded belt or strip that is neither vertically or horizontally large between the zerophitin steppe running from the Tamir promontory and the bare peak. The continuous presence of cedars was noteworthy (although not new to me). The vast number of cedars was a separate example of the craggy north. The same bare top evidently also led to the increase in the number of larches which appeared as the main massive species of trees in this khangai taiga. Chukhlomin noticed still another distinction—the presence of “the fat crest” characteristic of Khentii—that is the narrow crest dividing the steep sided valley.

There were no coniferous trees besides the larch and cedar and, besides the larch, I noted birch, willow and aspen. There was no sign of the active hand of man in these woods. The taiga was completely untrampled and the quality of the woods was very good: the trees were tall. Much young growth. The windfall from these woods was often in the shape of thick bowls. Anyone seeing the parts of these southern unwooded mountain slopes saw how very steep they were. On the highest areas there were only scatterings, but on the better slopes there was abundant grass and many red bilberries usually only found in the shady north. The large forest inhabitants have already been enumerated. From any high point this range represented a sufficiently solid afforested mountain chain. To the east toward the Tzain, the forest belt quickly narrowed and there was no better visibility from the enormous bare top which was constantly enveloped in clouds and very often in rain.

On the 19th, quite late, we moved further on from our pleasant quarters. We went on a little-known road through the outskirts of the forest. Came to a lovely place. A small ravine. Sparse growth of trees in which clear pinkish spots stood out from the continuous green rose bay willow herb and the splendid grass on the straight slope—all of which wanted to be inhaled. There was no one there. All were in Tamir. Closer to Sechen-van. There were those who broke the law of the forest and stole wood, but this was not too significant. Went to the small spring of Shara-bulun. Reaching a small pass, saw Sechen-van khüree. The caravan, which had stopped, now went straight along the road near the ancient monument. I continued at a gallop. I was acquainted with the manager of the first division of the MNTzk (The Mongolian Peoples' Central Cooperative), Andr(ei) Vas(iliev) Khmilev, and asked about a few things.

We discussed haying and he persuaded me that it was not possible to relocate. All the Tamir Mongols moved in the winter towards the woods and few had learned how to mow. In Ulente the situation concerning haying was taken up in the

Veto Affairs Office and The Mongolian Peoples' Central Cooperative.

Concerning agriculture: there was progress in growing barley and potatoes although sometimes these froze.

There were few hunters in the area despite the abundance of roe bucks and little trade. The reason – the absence of good guns and the comparative well-being of the population and thus there was little impulse to hunt. The people did gather up 8 thousand marmots. He urged us, further along the route to look at the summit of Khoitu-Tamir. He spoke about the gold near the Postal station Zuun-Mod (the Kurimin river). He told us there were many wild sheep and goats at the Tamir summit. Not far from the hut on the Bayan-Zurkhe river there was a hedgehog and a fair number of snakes in the neighborhood. Several years ago, at the fortress of Gurban-davaa the roots of a tooth of a mammoth were found along with the fangs. At the Sechen-van's ancient stone monument there were more than 2,000 lamas.

Very interesting that the local inhabitants called the flat, naked peak “tag^b” (...). The cirque or in the language of Khentii, “the arc^c,” was called simply “bitu.” The expression for a major mountain chain was “cube.” This last, by the way, needs to be checked.

While I was at the monument, the caravan, continued to proceed along the right edge of the hill and crossed the Khaltir and the Angarkhai rivers, then passed a village and stopped at ten versts higher than the last and higher on the hill of Sumete. Having finished the questions, I quickly found answers for theirs. Went past the monument. Not many temples and those that existed were in a mixed Tibetan/Chinese style. They had built a new large stupa. This is all I can say about this monastery from just a cursory look. The monastery had been situated in a very good place. It sat on the left terraced shore. Behind it was an amphitheater open to the stone mountain. In front of it was the wide (up to 2 km) valley of the Khoitu Tamir with its rich green overgrowth along the same river (poplars and willows). In the meadow many families were established. Everywhere things were lively. On one side of the hill arose a strong wood-banked incline which became divided by both Tamirs. One had a good view of both khoshoos from the top of the bank of the crested Mt. Khan-Undur. At the peak there was an area part of which was long and deep (Khaltir, Angarkhai) and part was gently sloping and short. To the west near the curve of The Tamir, one can see the mighty spur of the main spine with great fields and two cirques. The mountains, to the west, gradually became lower and smaller.

At this time of day, I was coordinating the survey and then went on to the steep

b “Tag” means, in Mongolian, the flat roof of a mountain peak.

c A cirque is a geological term, meaning a semi-circular crescent shaped basin with steep sides and a gradually sloping floor.

mountain of Kharkhan arising between the areas of Uliastai and Khujirt.

I saw the stones on the mountain slope (...). From the summit, a wide view opened onto the nearby surroundings. Everything, except the high mountain range, was green. A branch of the Tamir wound along a wide ravine often opening onto abundant undergrowth.

The distant white spot was the monastery of Sechen-van. It was in the east. To the south were the leafy woods of the hill. Toward the southwest, from Khan-Undur we saw the mighty Sumete-Ikh.

At the foot of the Khairkhan along the swampy meadow was the not so large Khujirt, flowing from the beginning of the aforementioned high and mighty spur of the river. There were many families settled by the ravine along with wandering herds of cattle and horses. One couldn't see far into the distance from above the Tamir. 12 versts from our station was located the confluence of two streams of the river, the Khoitu Tamir-Khoitu river and the Urdu-river. It was evident that the ravine had become narrower and the slope had become steeper. In the distance was the main line of the river. On the way back, I went to the yurt and asked about the names of the local places.

July 20

In the morning, somewhat later, I went again to the khüree. On the road my attention turned to a rather large sepulchral field. The graves were of two types: kerekurs^d – rounded embankments ending in a square) and slab-like burials often with perpendicular folds. Some of these last mounds seem to have tails-long lines of stones. I photographed the clearest of them. All these graves were scattered on a wide terrace leading down to the river.

Returning to the monument, I chatted with Khmilev and decided the following: we would try to go as high as possible above the Khoitu river. Spent the day there. We went hunting, and took what we had hunted, the yak, and went along the main line to Egin-davaa. Chukhlomin returned with the telegrams and went back across the Udaltzai and the Zuun-Mod to Galut where we joined up. In this way we reached the largest and widest part of the main line. Keeping that in mind, I got a paper at the tamagan^e from a clerk in the Bayan-Mandaliin soum. Besides that, I hired yet another man, Dugarchjhap, 52-years-old, who Khmilev had recommended. Now things would be easier. Having asked a young hunter, I knew something was strange and thus needed verification. He assured me that near the source of the Tamir (I didn't ask about more remote places) there were two species

^d stone grave monuments

^e administrative office

of the mountain goat-the ibex and the roebuck which are distinguishable by their horns, (the last female deer had barely any horns) and even by their color. Was there a distinction by age? This was possible. There were no black-mane, or wolves, in this region.

I took photographs of a scene of the reception of the wool. After midday, the clouds moved, a storm came up, and there was heavy rain, thick and fast. The rain came with no breaks and continued all evening and I returned soaked. Didn't take a communal photo in the khüree, as I had planned.

The local administration presented a fine impression. Paper was given to me immediately, and my tasks were executed well. It was the party. Khmilev had a high opinion of the local public life.

It rained throughout the evening and the night.

July 21

The rain continued in the morning. The barometer fell. Sharply. I went up a bit to clarify the location of the local administration. Several versts higher and there appeared a leafy thicket. The side of the gorge, which was sufficiently wide, was steep. There were many stones.

Returned in the rain which poured down continually with little interruption. Decided not to go out but our old man went as if it were nothing.

And it was awful. Day after day was lost—everything was wet and drenched. I was afraid for our films. The Tamir was swollen. Neither snapshots nor collections. Really, all I could do was to write in my diary. From the morning, really, the barometer remained on the rise. Such a wonderful place became so useless in all this rain.

Trip to Erdene-Zuu

I made the trip together with the Kondratievs. We left on the 6th¹⁾ after noon. Crossed the Tamir above Tsetserleg. The last hill sloped downwards and was wide and very marshy and there was no forest strip along the river bank. On several of the high hills there were woods and there was a small hill near the falls of the river in Urdu-Tamir with an oboo called Altan-oboo. Here, there was a splendid strip of woods along the banks of the Tamir and I took a pair of photos. From the Altan-oboo we went along our old road and slid down the hill to Ara-Nuur. The road went to the left and up the hill. At the bottom was a marshy hill, and many (...), and at the top was dry. Below, the lower road, there were two lakes. The top one was not large. We noticed a pair of swans on it. Soon, after a small pass, we came to an enormous stone monument and came down to a not very big basin with a spring where we spent the night. The first woods were 4 versts south of us. The

food on the road was poor.

At 7 o'clock in the morning we moved on further. Passed the survey mark of Shara-bulag and reached the not so high watershed of the Tamir-Orkhon. We saw a view of the river Khusiin to the right. The road went along the side of the southern woodless mountain, slope and dry ravine. Below was muddy. The road continued along the steppe, although for 10 km to the south of our border there were fewer woods. From the high crest of the woodless mountain one could see the majestic mountains of the Khangai and the thick forest of the mountains between it and us. The Khusiin went not far south from our road. We could see the place with the falls from the river at Tsagaan-sum mountain, the left tributary of the Orkhon. Gradually approaching the last area of Ulaan Khudjhir and went to the monastery of Beisin-khur, located on the left slope of the ravine of the Tsagaan-sumein. The monastery of Tsagaan-sum was to the south of us. From the mountain we could not see it. Stopped near the monastery for an hour (S. A. and M. I. Kondratieva looked at it), and we went on further to a small river from the Tsagaan-sumein as we kept to the right edge of the ravine. The mouth was intersected by valleys without drainage. I only remember the name of one—the Teme-khutszu. All the areas were forested on top. The wide Orkhon valley spread out in front. The mirage loomed in the valley of the Khara-balgasun. Leaving this ravine, we turned right and went back along the Orkhon. Erdene-Zuu was not far. The car rolled onto the terrace. Below, on the willow strip along the river, the Orkhon was noisy. The monastery arose above some rugged ravines. Finally, we reached the monastery. It is called the New Erdene-Zuu or Tzugin-soum located high on the terrace on the left bank of the Orkhon river, almost on the river. The gate faced east surrounded by short mountains. We noticed bushes and small leafy groves. Across the Orkhon from the monastery a small bridge had been built. Much of the Chinese-like construction remained. Not so long ago there had been a flood. After this the bridge was built, it proved not very strong, but was still used. The old monastery lay, by and large, 3.5 km to the east of the new one on the steppe. 3–4 versts above the new monastery the Orkhon descended from the mountain. Further on were woods- (...) ending at the Khangai forest massif. There were remains of an old irrigation construction, a large dam, at the new monastery. There were former fragments of threshing machine shafts and millstones at both monasteries. Undoubtedly, there had been major construction here. In our time there remained the irrigation ditch for water from the old monastery. The concern about these ditches had taken us to Erdene-Zuu. We took our things in a cart to the ditch at the old monastery where we were staying and spent the evening and morning of the following day (the 8th) there. Then we looked around the old monastery and spent the night in a new place, and on the 9th went to our camp near the Tamir. The purpose of the trip was to examine the local character of this particular area of the

Tamir-Orkhon and (...) the forest planting. Besides that, we wished to see the lower part of the wide bridgehead on the gorge in the middle of the Orkhon (at Ugei Lake) as well as looking at its highest point. This research could be the basis of the development of agriculture on the Orkhon plain and the relief of the place of exit from the river off the mountain allowed for the construction of a power dam. The forage near the monastery was poor.

July 22

We left in the morning not too early. The weather was tolerable. About a half a verst from the camp we turned to the Mukhur field. There was little there so we turned to the right and to the saddle between the Mukhur and the exit area of the field of the Khutugin-ama in the gorge of the Khoitu-Tamir. We focused our attention on the abundance of destruction in the forest. Maybe the caterpillars could be blamed for the bark. The grass was fair. Many on (...). Several gravestones. One of these stones—with “kuiu” in the middle. Khutugin-ama was a on very narrow and steep sided valley and began from the river Sumete-Ikh. In the opinion of Chukhlomin (here) it must be gold. The Mongols said that before digging for gold here, some Russians had erected something, but nothing was there. It had been partly mixed up with the ground water. From the Khutugin-ama gorge, the Tamir had widened. On the left bank was a wide terrace and the slope descended steeply and then was cut off by the river valley. Didn't the remains of the river end in a moraine? Higher up it was quite clear that there were no remains. The forage was poor. There were two families below at the river which, as before, was framed by a dense strip. By the way, don't forget that after the long (more than twenty-four hours) rain, the water in the brook near where we stayed had risen 80–100 cm. Almost opposite the Khutugin-ama on the Tamir, to the left side, the river Shiberte fell, starting from below the river at the Shibertein-tag. The forest was less overgrown and almost like the north. By and large, the left side of the Tamir at this place, was higher and there were few woods. On the right side by the terrace, it was also rather bad. From the terrace we left for the river junction of the two sources of the Tamir: the Khoitu and the Urdu-gol. As we left, we knew that raising the Khoitu river as I had wished from the beginning was impossible or almost impossible. We went in a little cart along the Urdu-gol and passed a water fall, in not less than twenty-four hours. At that moment the water was flowing under the saddle of the middle horse. I decided to go along Urdu-gol. Drank some tea, harnessed up and moved on. Very fast past the Bayan-mandal oboo, originally a sharp mound which had been expanded into an oboo, and near the peak was a layer of firm rock with sheer sides. Volcanic or not? The color was not dark. Across from the oboo we went to the Urdu-gol river and along the strip of woods. I went to the soum but no one was there. Then, catching up to the caravan, I sent

my documents with Dugarchjhap and worked out the instructions for the cart. The caravan continued further. They went to the left (following the current) on the river side. A verst from the ford, were a spit and a terrace between Urdu-gol and Shiberte which created a new arc. The reincarnation of the high lama lived there as he went from Purbu-gun across the Tzain.

The place selected was lovely, like Shiberte—beautiful river, although short. Further on, higher and higher, were seen elements of a high mountain landscape: emaciated evergreen trees (all were larches) and moss seemingly poured over large rocks in the brook. On the right side – a treeless mountain slope which was like an alpine zone. This went on into the evening. The riverside moraine seemed destroyed (if it was only that.) Saw a roebuck crossing the road in front of us and going to feed. Passing along the promontory we went to the wide side of the moraine and settled ourselves in at an angle of the winding Urdu-gol. The place was quite typical of the “moraine” landscape. The irregular hills studded with rounded stones and the poplars on the strip along the river disappeared in the mist. The overgrown bushes remained. From the right side (with the current)-there were steep mounds. We spent the night at the Tzamt river, a kilometer above the confluence of it and the Uliatuya. The lower confluence took the name of the Urdu river. The gorge of the Uliatuya was at the confluence of the enormous piled up mound of the moraine across from which the little river dug out its exit path. This moraine included an enormous amount of ice from the Tzamt. Near the confluence of the river, the mounds on the right shore made a flat little river. There were lower mounds on the left side of the moraine. The same gorge was swampy. The strip along the river was full of bushes. The caravan stopped and we, with Chukhlomin ran out to hunt in different areas. I took the wooded area of Tzamt-Uliatui. The woods (full of larches) were wild with many, many mossy stones. They were not overgrown or very tall and were full of black, hairy and not very big caterpillars. On each tree there were hundreds and they fell in abundance into the waterless ravine. In the woods, there were old tracks of roebucks. Enough lifelessness. When it began to get dark, I scared off a big goat at the edge of the forest. Taking it for a roebuck, I shot it. Divided it up and took it home. Chukhlomin saw a pair of wild cats. In the evening lots of jolly talk and we sat up until 12. The road was excellent on this day although near the promontory it turned bad. The Tzamt-a big river. The river on the north slope was really flowing southward.

July 23

Got up late in the morning. Took several photographs. Vaska killed some sort of wheat eater – a bird with poor molting. Around midday, we went for help to the “tsangin” [Tran. the lowest level of the soum government]. Collected a group of

local inhabitants and there was quite an uproar, but all turned out alright. The carts were assigned. Excellent guides. I went to the spine of the mountains to the north and stopped at a rivulet on top. There was no thought of moving so I decided to spend the night in the old place. Worked out a plan. The guide arrived with “rakusha.^f” I learned about a whole line of designations for the mountain chain and fields. From the peak of the Uliatuya road (wheeled) across the Khamar ridge to the arch at the peak of the Urdu-Tamir. The road for wheeled vehicles to the Tzamt turned at Ara-Ukhuk (the Utain-gol system). The last highest settlement was 2–2.5 km above us. We talked about the lives of the local people. The earlier inhabitants at the source of the Khoitu-Tamir had been belligerent. There had been thievery. Now things were quieter. Thievery was well known in the Tzain area.

There were few mountain sheep and goats at the source of the Tzamt. There had been more in the past. A few snowcocks below the summit. A roebuck often comes during the summer to this river and then goes off to the distant wood.

In the morning Chukhlomin went off hunting and only found a wild steppe cat. We then sorted out what was necessary. Zangin told us that not far away the falls of the Uliatuya were crystalline, white and smoke-colored. Besides this, some Buriats had been digging up some colored stones, as they were known, but it isn't clear what they were. During the day it rained.

July 24

In the morning, we collected ourselves a bit. Before leaving, I went to the place where the springs or rivers join at several intersections. Took off to the moraine landscape. Then the caravan took off. Went 8 versts up along the Tzamt and somewhat higher above the survey mark of Khalzan. Beside our stop, to the left along the shore of the Tzamt was found an excellent example of a “sheep's forehead”—of glacial origin. The Tzamt glacier was apparently solid-up to one hundred meters in all cases. Above this “forehead” was a smooth ice wall, which was less clearly exposed. Soon the cart came—2 men and 5 horses. Prepared the horses. I went with Chukhlomin. Vaska stayed in the camp with Dugarchjhap. Went to the river on the right side of the gorge among the trees. An osier bed was a bit higher along the river among the pebbles and weeds.

3–4 versts and the hill turned to the south. A wide view opened-up from a corner of the moraine almost to the upper reaches. The picture was quite unique. At the summit, lay the hill with a wide bottom and rounded walls created in the ice age which almost touched the vertically high, almost bare cliffs. The summits were very flat. The lower ravine spread out up to 0.5 km or even more. Woods appeared along the flange from the left side which shaded a narrow hillside. The

^f the assumed diminutive of airag

woods looked higher at the mouth of the narrow gorge. The flat incline of the gorges was near the bend on the way down. The mountains on both sides of the river were completely flat. A diagram shows the hill as it cut into the flat mountain. At the bottom of the hill and along its edge the moraine sediment could be seen. We turned and continued to move along the left side of the ravine (the road went to the right) along the mossy and hilly moraine. Passing the ravine with the Angarkhai river, which flowed from the naked flat mountains, we stopped at the roaring river Mukhur-Khushte, the crest of which went through a narrow crevice between the high summits. At the top were a few cedars but almost no other types of trees. The undersized leaves created a narrow belt. Beautiful grass. A bit higher up from the camp, the river, in a narrow crevice, led to a small but beautiful waterfall. The height of the falls was about 4 m. I went a short distance along the ridge dividing the lower part of the crevice of the Mukhur-Khushte from a Tzamt hill. I saw the tracks of a wild boar in a small wood (there was "scat" where it had lain down). There was a small lake on the same ridge and I saw a goat. It began to rain so I returned to my tent. Chukhlomin went hunting high above the river. I returned late so I saw nothing. In the evening it poured rain. Pelkhuu, an aged hunter, told me that around the wooded slope below the turn into the ravine (where we had seen ridges and a large field) were many musk deer. The local hunters killed them in the snow. A very original way to hunt. Two hunters came. In hoping to take a musk deer that was lying down, one of them chased it by its tracks, and the other sat somewhere not far away. The musk deer that was being chased made a small circle and soon returned to its former place where she was shot. So here were the local Mongols with a meal of musk deer. The entire summit of the Tzamt was completely devoid of people. During the winter the nomads from the settlements went up to Khotzogor-khairkhan—several versts above the Mukhur-Khushte.

In the words of Pelkhuu, there were separate parts of the watershed of the Urdu and the Khoitu-Tamir which are called by the following names: Ulentein-ono (the highest Ulentei), Sumetein-nuur (here it exits the Khalta bump(?) and Khan-Undur), Khara-nuur, Chjhirke-nuur, Chjharantai, Khama-dabanni-nuur, Tsaitangiin-nuur, Khamar-davaa—at the source of the Uliatuya.

I am writing out here the names of the lateral hills (without drainage) and the sources of the Urdu-Tamir and the Tuin river. My survey in 1926 suffered from the absence of names. The higher arch on the left side in the Urdu-Tamir falls to the following fields (considering the lower and the higher): Khorimtsuk, Chandamani, Dood-bulag, Dunduu-bulag, Deed-bulag, Khirkepo, Aiakhte, Dood Khushte, Dunduu Khushte, Deed Khushte and Ubur-Emel. From the right side (a somewhat lower arch) Sogote, Khoshikhten, (a large tributary), Nariin, Mukhur, Khukhu davaa, Ara Mukhur, Dood ara khushte, Khulusai davaa, Khulchotiin-davaa, Gurbun

davaa and Ubur Khairkhan davaa.

Along the Tuin river (considering its source in the Nam valley without drainage). On the right side: Nam, Khukhu-davaa, Khumosai, Ukhukh, Deed-, Dunduu- and Dood-Jargalant, Obonii ama, Bayan-moto, Uldzeituu, Agoite (opposite the Buddhist monastery of Dayanchin), Urdu-Nariin, Khurum (opposite the Tugengoskoe khüree), Bukhte, Yaman-ussu, Adun-chuluu, Urgan Khara-ussu, Sharagol chjhut.

The survey mark of the Khara Cholute and the Mukhur shore were located on (...) slope of the mountain range by the Dalangiin lake.

As for the animals, (the small ones) I remember all the many, many gophers and a smaller number of marmots.

July 25

It was barely light when we all (Pelkhuu, Chukhlomin and I) went hunting in the ravine of the Ubur-Khushte. Going up along the Tzamt, we passed the edge of a hill by the Khotzogor-Khairkhan. The lower part of the mountain was barely wooded. We left for Ubur-Khushte at the bottom of the ravine on the right side of the river. It was cold after the rain the night before. On our left, was a narrow, flat, mossy strip with a few trees. To the right, it was very steep in places and we had to look out for wild animals. There could be roebuck (more about this below) and goats (capra). But in the dark, we didn't see any, only stones and scattered rubble. It became brighter and brighter and finally the sun came out. We went higher and higher-finally up to the edge of the woods. Here the greenery changed and there were many dwarfed, uneven cedars. Warming ourselves over a fire, we decided to look for the river by the treeless summit which went on for a few versts and there I saw by the side of the ravine 4 ibex eating. With Chukhlomin we tried to approach them, but we came too late and they had gone. Then, I started to climb the considerable height after them. It was difficult to breathe at this height and my heart beat wildly. We had to go slowly as the incline went immediately from flat to steep and I was sure that those goats had climbed further up to places they recognized at those great heights. Heard a snowcock. Chukhlomin stopped and then we went on to the crest of the flat peak which I easily reached. Instead of raining, it must have snowed the night before as there was snow. A wide view opened on all sides. I saw the Sumete-ikh massif to the northeast and the flat top of Temen Chuluun peak. On the side of the Uliatuya, we saw the narrow flat top of Khochjheul peak. I stopped for quite a while on the top. There was a little bit of the same sort of growth and I gathered some of it. There were boulders down below. That presented some danger. Chukhlomin told me that he thought such an ascent was a bad one because of the shortness of breath, whirling in the head, and vomiting. Even though it was considered the best way to continue, we were out of

breath and went home. On the trip back, I had the possibility to see the canyon again with these basic features: narrow steepness, depth, abundant water (and for the length of 4–5 versts a large and noisy river), not much of a cliff, an abundance of boulders, a narrow belt of low growing woods and an excellent growth of grass at the bottom of the canyon. The sun came out over the meadow of flowers and happily played on the stones of the river. A very pleasant picture was presented by the small forest and green slope. We left this canyon for the wide ravine of the Tzamt and ran home quickly along the Mukhir-Khushte. At almost the same moment, three hunters from Urdu Tamir arrived. The oldest, who was still young, was armed with a Berdan rifle. They came by the Uliatuya and went to the wooded edge of Khochjheul peak. No roebuck. He was a good shot who was well known in the area. Took everything and went to the top. They went to the Ara Khushte and we went higher to the mouth of the river Ubur-Khushte. Sitting near the fire, Pelkhuu saw through his binoculars a pair of mountain goats on the side quite high up. I went after them but could not get closer than 400 steps, scared away the herd of 12, and failed to make a hit. The Khorog—the canyon, one very like another, differed only in the details. Khorog and Ubur-Khushte on one side, Ara-Khushte, Dabate-Khushte and Mukhir Khushte on the other. The rain did not forget us; again, a downpour. The night was very cold—just a bit above zero.

July 26

I simply could not get up at dawn this morning. I sent Chukhlomin and Yondon ahead, so they could inspect the Khasakhte canyon and go on to Khorog. I planned to join them later at the end of the canyon and we could go together to the Tzamt pass. The road into the pass on the left went to the Khasakhte gorge, which was quite large. One of its peaks rested on the kar [Tran. a bowl-shaped depression of an ice slope] and the other was located on a circular rise in the pass. The slanted road was difficult and stony with boulders and bare spots. There were rocks along both sides and a saddle between two adjacent passes near the top. This same road then went on to the vast bare top of the field for many square versts. The road then turned to the south and cut through an area not far from the end of the plateau with the source of the Shara-Tsokhen river which continued along the bare field and emptied into the Ara Ukhukh (system-Uti, source Dashidogunskoi river.) The Shara-Tsokhen river belongs to the Uti system. Measuring the pass, I started to climb the neighboring hill. A wide view opened from the top. More about that below. Collected a few plants. Interesting finds from this view. (...), from the upper belt of the Ikh-Bogd. Collected two leaves. Took some more and returned below. I noticed that the ascent was at the highest point of the mountain. Went to the source of the Shara-Tsokhen which clattered down from the peak. Then, I left for home with my companions to bring the horses to the top of the Tzamt (the

straight path in the canyon that was called Ubur Tzamt) where it was believed to go down. I then stayed at the top for a while and went to the edge of the steep, icy slope. The barometer was at 501. A wild picture! Several boulders, sheer precipices, complete quiet. A bearded vulture flew by. What could he find in this bleak place? Other than that, there flew by a wheat eater with its motley crest and a grey headed mountain finch of the type (...).

There was a variety of vegetation. At the top, a full view opened to the Khangai magistral. To the west was an enormous, bare, almost flat field, along a wooded border. The path of the watershed emerged, by and large, from the glacial precipice in the deep gorge of the northern slope. It distributed the flow in the western direction of the Shara-Tsokhen river and was one of those that made up from the Tsagaan-Turuta. Leaving behind Burin-khan mountain, it turned to the south and disappeared from view in the wild fields of the sizable massifs which have no common name. Opposite the peak of the Tzamt, a much wider and gentler canyon than the last one led to the beginning of the river Ara-Ukhukh, going 15–20 versts lower than its source in Lake Khorimitu-nuur. Near the lake was a river that went along a road leading across the pass of the Tzamt. Thus, the Ara-Ukhukh could be the southern border of the upland plateau. In the gap between the mountain heaped up in the area at the source of the Ara-Jargalant (1926) and the massif near Burin-Khana there could be seen the mountain ridge of Dalangiin Lake (Khara-Cholute, Mukhuur-yerik, Suchjhi) and the hollow of Ologoya was along with the steep ridge on the left bank of Utain-gol and Mt. Bayan Khongor. In the west, part of the bare field was torn off at the source of the Tsagaan-Turuta and near the watershed it crossed at a high grade, evidently, at the highest part of the Khangai. There was enough force at the river's magistral to intersect the mighty bank between the Cholute and the Khoitu Tamir on one side and the Tsagaan-Turuta and the Baidarag on the other. At the center of this peak, the ridge was covered with spots of snow which, according to the Mongols, did not melt. The northern tip of this ridge—the source of the Khujirt, was near Ulaltsaya. Further to the north the watershed was reduced. In the south the flat ridge opened a bit to the north of the wide Dashidogun. In the east and the southeast an intricate labyrinth of high mountains could be seen with the gorge of Urdu-Tamir among them. One saw the Suburga-Khairkhan. The source of the Urdu-Tamir (Khumosai, Khulchotin and Khairkhan dabani) came near to the sources of the Tzamt. In the north, we saw the flat glade on the mountain top (between the Uliatuyia and the Tzamt) and the watershed of the Tzamt-Khoitu river. The “glade” here refers to the wide plateau on the top of the mountain peaks which is marshy and covered in good grass. I note here that the term “bulu” refers to the rounded parts of the bare peaks. In the distance were Mt. Bayan-Zurkhe and the massif Sumete-Ikh which could hardly be seen among the neighboring mountains. I spent a lot of time at the

top and started to come down along the crest of a narrow ruin where there was a lot of water. A brook ran out of each little puddle. There were boulders everywhere and a lovely alpine meadow. Water, water everywhere. As I left the ruin, I saw on the opposite slope of the Tzamt our dear Pelkhuu with a pair of horses sitting grandly in Chukhlomin's raincoat looking through the binoculars at the neighboring slope.

Barely breathing, I went to the upper part of the pass to Yemelin-davaa and on to the source of the Urdu-Tamir. Hunters came across the pass and easily approached the howling yak on the short and steep climb. As a matter of fact, this simple hollow on the steep side of the canyon of the Tzamt, all of 1.5 km from the last source, led to a short gorge on the edge of the western source of the Urdu-Tamir, near to Khairkhan mountain. Marking its height and the height of the talveg near it, I went home quickly with Pelkhuu and went to sleep early.

In the winter, Tzamt-davaa was covered with abundant snow at the top and in its bare field. The long road along the field continued for 15–20 versts and was very bad—stony and marshy. Near the pass Chukhlomin and I saw a flock of white partridges (...). I noticed a willow, a birch and many junipers among the spreading bushes.

July 27

In the morning, we decided to go back. Chukhlomin went hunting and saw a roebuck. I wandered on a bit and saw a white hare. A good rain. Because of that I got out late. Sitting in my tent, I asked Pelkhuu about all sorts of things. He talked about the local roebucks that move around in this area all year long. They howl and come down to this wooded area during the month of September. After this, they howl and most of them go to their sources for the fall and winter. They exist on the steep slopes of the southern woodless mountain slope by the upper little river (beside the Ubur-Khushte) where they lose their spring horns. They then go down from the woods to a thicket until the beginning of the summer heat when the myriad insects chase them to a higher strip. At that time, they go to the watershed and are far from the woods as they wander in the middle of a glade with the mountain goats. When it rains or is too cool, the roebuck leave the woods for the small copses near the borders of the woods. Then comes the summer. They leave the woods with a roar. Hunting here begins on the 8th of the first month of summer and finishes on the first of August. The hunters usually go in pairs or with groups of three and up to 7–8 people for the “pantovka^g.” The bad hunters or those without a gun often served in opportune places as beaters. The kill was equally

^g The “pantovka” refers to experienced hunters who kill the deer, roebuck etc. for their horns which are then sold for medicines.

divided. If they shot on the edge of a steep slope, there was an effort to have the horns fall to a place where they would not be lost. There was little saltmarsh in the area. They did not stop there and were on the look-out. They lie down at the top of the highest glade. The weapons-made from flint. Berdan rifles are rare. In the summer, the roebuck moved fast but they were not crowded together on the high ridge. The latest issue at this time was that the horns were sold based on the number of their branches. There were traces of this by the spring when the fallen horns were found on the slope. This was part of the race for the roebuck in the spring. The search for the horns began, by and large, on the 20th of the last month of spring and continued until the end of the first year. The young antelope appeared at the beginning of June. The females often hid in the thickets. The bulls, in summer, often went in a group of 2–3, and up to 6. Each hunter recalled with pleasure his past trips on such a hunt.

The roebuck (here the female is called “uzur”) roamed a bit less. They went to the top, however, to escape the bugs and then went far into the woods up to the highest border to escape being caught. The chase occurred in the first month of autumn. In summer, the goats did not go down to the river, but ate most of the time in the open valley. Much of the osier bed was saved from the insects. Goats were rarely killed in Mongolia and roebucks were preferred. The skin from their necks was made into good straps.

About the squirrel. There were so many of them in autumn that the Mongols said they fell from the sky. In fact, it is hard to explain the appearance of such a large number in the small, separate groves of, for example, Khorog, Ubur, and Ara-Khushte. We diligently hunted them without a dog and since it was a good year, we collected 15 of them in a day. The source of the Ulentui was especially fruitful in finding squirrels.

The midday rain was short, and we rode back at an easy trot. I noticed that the osier bed by the river had begun to change. Referring to geology, it must be said that the upper reaches are entirely quartzite. By the Mukhur-Khushte, quartzite looks like granite. This quartzite is partially covered by a thin layer. The granite continued almost up to the idol. At the camp everything was in order. There was not much work to do so I went on to the family encampment. Called on Iondon and then Pelkhuu. I talked to the latter about nomadism. There were 11 (families) in this place. Pelkhuu himself moved about from Bayan Mandal oboo almost up to the peak Khotzogor Khaikhhan. Above-in winter. Nomads found fodder at the peak, but the cattle could not go up the slopes. The grass in the lower alpine meadow was not very tasty so they did not feed there either. Thus, mowing the grass and its flowers started here and there. There was little mowing down below. At that time, it had rained only once and the hay for the cattle was filthy from the many mice and it was also turning rotten. If the mowing took place too late, the grass lost its

flavor. In a word, hay harvesting was not a successful venture. Thus, the several moves a year in a confined area.

By comparison, the supply of trade goods was alright. The public traveled little. Flour and millet could be gotten in Selenge. Salt from the Dashidogunskii region. The closest authorities, the soum officials and party representatives, were quite far away. Much talk about the party. Chatted with Pelkhuu, drank and parted as friends later in the evening. What a good fellow.

July 28

In the morning, I packed up and wrote letters. Around mealtime I went with Vaska on our trip to the source of the Khoitu river. Chukhlomin sent us on a circular route to the postal station at Tsun-mod with a stop in Sechen-van.

At this time, two loaded yaks arrived. I made several stops in the family settlement and then we started climbing straight up the mountain which was almost entirely granite. The path followed the edge of a small ravine of the Tzamt. Alongside was a strip of woods and nearby was a swamp. The summit rested on a granite base covered by some sort of quartzite. We climbed in the rain to the top where we saw, in the near distance, the high field of the Shiberte. The Urdu river arched nearby. To the right, of the Shiberte a flat spit of land arose on the Temenchulunci-summit, where several stones had been thrown which gave it its name. We then began to climb down along a narrow field at the mouth of the Arubulchjhon. On the left, were bushy woods where larches had grown. There was a beautiful field which was steep, tortuous, and rocky. At the top of the Temencholunci flat summit was a high treeless slope. We stopped at the osier bed by the gorge of the Khoitu river on the way to the wider part where there was a change in the inhabitants and the livestock. Above the Khoitu river there was a lovely view. On the right shore—a wooded incline opened onto a small field near the treeless part of the mountain and leading up to the peak along the river's steep grade. At the top, one could see 10–12 versts to the fork of the river. Rain again in the evening. Not one day without rain. In the evening I went to the source of the Khoitu river with the guide, a tall, very solid and orderly hunter, with whom I discussed different things.

Near where we stopped on the left side of the ravine was a pungent, mossy rock called Tzurkhe-khairkhan.

July 29

Rain in the morning. Got out at noon. Loaded the two khainag.^h Not far from the station the foliage, in the wooded strip of the forest, was falling. The road went

^h a cross between a yak and a cow

along a ravine. Saw a white-tailed bald eagle. There was a beautiful forest on the right side of the hill. Musk deer. Left the area of Shara-bulag (on the left side)—short and wide. Almost without woods. Passed, a bit higher, the little river of Ulan-bulu as it fell into the Khoitu river on the left side of the large drainage field of the Nuuriin-ama. This little river carried a lot of water, more than the principal one. About the upper reaches below. Here was an enormous moraine at the estuary of this field, moonlike in form, which almost bordered the main hill. A large and rolling moraine was seen. Opposite the right side, the Nuuriin-ama fell into the Angarkhai field, which was quite wide at the top. Abundant forestation. From the top, it went to the Khotsogor khairan [Tran. a taboo name] or the Tzamt. Moved higher (to the woods along the same side of the river) and passed on the left side the Khapchik field which was narrow with few woods. The southern slope was very steep, and the summit was very high and bare. There was a brook on the swampy ravine by the Khoito river with good grass (lower down the grass was trampled). We passed the last family group near the mouth of the Angarkhai-ama. We went to a sizable area by the Khapchik where the sources of the Khoitu river joined. The two major branches: Burgute (eastern) and Nariin-Tsokh (western). The Burgute from two of the peaks, joined at this area. The Nariin-Tsokh had to dodge the Ikh-Tsokh. There were a few woods in each area beside the western branch of the Burgute by the moraine terrace. We stopped near a winter station (with a wall to protect the cattle) at the mouth of the Burgute, by the moraine terrace. In the evening, I went with Balchjhinem to the eastern branch of the Burgute. Not far from the camp on the river's southern slope, we saw a large roebuck. I did not stop or shoot because I thought it would be more interesting to meet it further on. Went to the right to the southern slope watching carefully the narrow belt on the opposite side where some of the rocks had collapsed near us. Never mind. Went higher up to the rubble which led to the top of the Ubur-Khushte river. Turned a bit and saw a place to stop tomorrow. Roused a snipe in one of the many marshes. Balchjhinem said that in the summer the snipe often fell into the high river marshes. There also were many wild goats called "tekhe" —the name of the male mountain goat in the Turkic language of the Tian-shan. Along with the word, "tag" [Tran. the roof or flat top of a mountain], it is a remainder from long ago. On the road, Balchjhinem showed the place where he had hunted in the past and saw or killed a roebuck in this southern area or on the bare summit. Returned home to the tent while it was still light. Vasya climbed the cliff. Nothing was killed except what was needed for a bit of food. I literally saw chipmunks in three trees. In Mongolian it is called the Siberian chipmunk. If we were not in that tent, the wolf could approach. In the evening we conversed, and it was explained that in some of the last several years there were no (...) fur animals in the woods, nor (...). Certainly, the last. They did not know about earlier years. Now there were more.

Locally, ermine-weasel, marten, polecat-rotten smell. The fact of the population of a new species in these woods was of great interest. Concerning other large animals, one could say that here there were roebuck and the musk deer found somewhere generally in the lower areas, and sometimes the wild boar, always the goat, some wild sheep, mountain goats, wolves, and the panther. Balchjhinem often saw it from 400 steps and it seemed to the hunter that the panther was reddish-(yellowish?). There were a great number of ungulate beasts in the past, but as of 1922 they have decreased in number. The roebuck and mountain sheep are now quite rare due to the long drought. Many of the wild animals have moved on. The mountain sheep have gone to the west and south west and the roebuck has moved to an unknown area. Besides this, when the Chinese soldiers and the Baron appeared, the local population rapid-fired at the wealthy who were the worst hunters. This shooting of cannonades in the surrounding hills also led to the dispersal of animals. Recently, the animal population has begun to increase. Prohibiting rapid fire during a drought does not seem to be happening. And, recently, a roebuck was taken at the forest border and this year no animals with antlers were killed at Khoitu-gol.

Wintered for food at more than two protected stations near our camp. Very cold and snowy. Moved a bit higher than at Tzamt. There really were not many comfortable areas. The wooded border here was closer to the watershed than to Tzamt. The calculation of the height was based on the relationship between the watershed and the border of the woods and both rivers. Stayed in bed late. I noticed that at this height sleep was very heavy and strong-not refreshing. I slept more.

July 30

Got up this morning after sunrise. Collected a few things. Went off on an excursion with Vasya. Gathered a few plants. Vasya shot a pair of birds. After arranging the camp, I continued to collect plants. Gathered 25 leaves. Many flowers. Around evening, went off with Vasya on an excursion. By the top of the Ubur-Khushte, I saw 6 mountain sheep and a white partridge which was locally called akhun. Almost no details. Before sunset, set off on another excursion to the watershed between both branches of the Bugute, then to the main watershed and on to a higher branch of the Bugute before returning to my tent. At the top, it was curious that the western branch of the Bugute watershed offered a view of a narrow crest rising high over the bare top of the field near the Shara-Tsokh river. By the way, this field had several names which I shall now mention. Part of the field close to the crossing of the Tzamt was called the Shara-khamar. The part of the southern Shara-Tsokh river—Otoin-Shara-Nuur; near the source of the Bugute—Asakhte-Khamar; between the last and the Shara-Khamar lay the ravine

with a branch of the Kharaskhan which fell into the Shara-Tsokhen river (?). The crest reached to the Asakte-khamar as it flowed steeply off into the western branch of the Bugute. This crest was located between the intersection of the Tzamt and the source of the eastern branch of the Bugute, reaching almost as high as the peak of the Ubur-Khushte. At the top of the eastern branch of the Bugute the crest turned as if at a gate where the Asakhte spur, which was completely flat, rounded a steep karⁱ which had broken off at the source of the river. A curious picture. As you see, you could slip here on some ice. I left the river after sunset along an enormous steep deposit of large sharp stones. The moon was out and shone on this wild scene which I enjoyed. I sat midst the stones, the bare field opposite me with its peak outlined. The slope went down to the little river on the edge of the rounded incline. Above the flat and evenly shaped plateau of the Asakhte-khamar, hung the pale lantern of a moon where the wild old glacier cut into the river. Grey stones surrounded me and presented a very primitive image. The birds chirped intermittently and there was the doleful song of the grey alpine finch. Below my eyes, the river followed a part of the hill and the water babbled under the scattered stones. I had no work to do so returned to my tent.

We didn't kill anything on my evening hunt with Balchjhinem and Vasya. There was not too much rain during the day. And again, the night was very cold. Near our stations, the Bugute was not obstructed by a moraine. It was difficult to determine if this moraine was the last phase of the receding ice age or if the lateral side of the moraine obstructed the foundation of the ravine.

July 31

We returned early in the morning. Balchjhinem and I went ahead to the pass of the Nariin-Tsokh. We passed the Burug oboo and went on to the field (without drainage) at the pass. While at Burug, a traveler showed me a cuckoo shot by a rifle (the day before) with strange coloring. We noticed she had caught small birds. The top of Mt. Burug was covered by scraps from a layer of volcanic tufa. The oboo was revered as the beginning of the Khoitu-Tamir river. The right side of the Nariin-Tsokh had been afforested and we went to inspect the trees. Although we were not too high up and the climb was not too steep, the path was very narrow. We noticed a small oboo on a little noticed pass and went on to a small hillock of granite rocks. Here I set our base point with its wide, open view. Balchjhinem helped me analyze the field without drainage and the upper southern slope of the main line in this area which included the source of the Tsagaan-Turuta. Weathered granite rocks were scattered here and there on the naked, woodless incline near the pass of the Nariin-Tsokh. There was also an extraordinarily steep slope to the

i a former glacier

ravine of the Ulaan-cholu which went further along the river. In (...), in the third of the versts between two not large summits, one can see the pass of Ikh-Tsokh leading to the short but deep disintegration of the hill without drainage of the Nariin-Tsokh which I forgot to mention earlier. From the pass at Ikh-Tsokh, the road goes along a wood-bordered mountain field (by the continuation of the Shara-Khamar) to the Nariin-Tsokh river. Both these passes were accessible to Mongolian carts and unlike the Tzamt, were active during the winter. Further along (...), could be seen a familiar picture of the main line of the sources of the Bugute, the Ubur-Khushte, the Khorog and further up to the source of the Tzamt. In (...), the gently sloping descent of the magistral was not far away as it drew near to the bend of the mighty mountain. There was a good view of the southern half of this bend. Nearest was the flat summit of the Tsun-Anagiin-nuur which arose with patches of snow which almost never melted. A spur from the short massif of Anagiin-nuur diverged to the south from this summit. The basic mountain ridge turned to the south west here and separated longitudinally touching the ravine of the Ultszitu river (in the Tsagaan-Turuta system). In respect to the beginning of the southern slope of the Anaga (as it is abbreviated from the afore mentioned summit), the river bent around the Anaga lake to the west and then swung to the south. From the eastern slope by the Anaga lake, three short rivers emerge –the Tsun, the Dundu and the Baruun-Anag which flowed into Ulaan-cholu which, in turn, flowed into the Ultseit river. To the west and near the Anaga lake, the flat black summit with patches of snow could be seen. The Iolin-ekhiin lake or the Senchjhit-ekhiin lake, by the river, extended to the north and the south. It was assumed, by and large, that the mountains had the more descriptive names demonstrating their position in relation to the rivers or hills. One mountain peak or ridge could have two or more names depending on its vantage point or by what name the guide knows it. The name given to a mountain or hill was often, for some reason, meaningless in relation to its height, maybe because it was named in honor of the local inhabitants. So, from now on, I will call the peak from which the source of the Senchjhig river descends, simply Mt. Senchjhig. This mountain deserved, without a doubt, some attention considering its height in the area. To its south was the Uta-Baidarag watershed and a distant view of the flat and high range.

I must now talk especially about the sources of the Utaingol. Its basic source was the Tsagaan-Turuta which was made up from the Ultseitu-gol, beginning to the left of the Ulaan-cholu (with three Anagas) and the Nariin Tsokhen-gol, and it passed below the small and revered Mt. Burin-Khan, to the Ultseitu-gol which flowed together with the Ikh-Tsokh river (also known as the Shara-Tsokh gol), and it began under the peak of the Tzamt. From here, the river took the name of Tsagaan-Turuta. The lower part went to the right as a major tributary of the Donoi along with the Iola and along further, the lesser Girtiin-Bulag. On the left side, the

lower Ikh-Tsokh, the Tsagaan-Turuta took on the Delgeriin gol and then the Narante and the Teil. There were no large tributaries lower down. Further, flowing from the peak of the Tzamt and the Ara-Okhuk, the not very large lake, Khorimtu-nuur, was formed which flowed lower together (evidently) with the river Ara-Jargalant (1926), then proceeded down to the right of the Urgoti river (Khongoriin-gol? 1926, Dashidogunskaya river) and flowed into the Tsagaan-Turuta, namely to the lower Utain-gol. I observed all of this except the left source of the Uta was not very clear to me, especially near the top. Also unknown to me, was the beginning of the Uta. I could say a few things about the lower Dashidoguna, which was parallel to the Tsagaan oboo higher up. The watershed at the source of the Tsagaan-Turuta was not very high and had a gentle shape. The watershed of the Shara-Tsokh-Ara-Ukhuk did not start off high (Otoin-shara-nuur, is a continuation of the Shara-Khamar), but it rose quickly and was formed at the corner of Shara-Tsokh-Tsagaan-Turuta near the imposing massif, mentioned earlier. Mt. Bayan Khongor appeared, evidently, at the southern spur of this massif. The common name of this spur did not sound alien to me. From this point I made two photo montages. I underlined, as written earlier, the network of sources of the Tsagaan-Turuta and measured its height and when I finished this work, I went down. In the evening, I stumbled upon the tracks of a very large herd of mountain sheep (several, a herd of ten) going evidently, to the highway on the southern slope. The beasts went toward Khukhu-nuur, near where we set up our camp. Going back along the road, the granite magistral near Burug (on the left bank of the Nariin-Tsokh) changed to quartzite(?) and was covered at the Burug by the remains of a lava stream. Turning below to Khoitu mountain, we went quickly up to the source of the Nuuriin-ama in the mountain valley without drainage. Balchjhinem showed me gooseberries growing in the rocks along the road. Climbed up to the end of the moraine of Nuuriin-ama and then on to the last top. The piled-up moraine was near this colossal river. We went to the group of families along the road. I was curious to see how close to the yurts the yaks wandered as I watched from my sweating horse. Explained the shortage of gudjhir [Tran. mineral salts from salt marsh or other vegetation] in this area of the encampment. Things here were in good order so we put up our tent among huge stones on the left slope of the ravine. I later went for a walk to lake Khukhu-nuur 2 ½ versts away. The valley of the Nuuriin-ama was quite wide here (up to 0.5 km) and very uncomfortable to walk on as the ground was swampy and stony. The river was imposing. Near it, was a swampy and deep lake with salt permeated shores. Further on, many leafy trees grew that were not very high. The ascent led from Nuuriin-ama to a wide and flat saddle-part of the main line which ended between the high mountainous top of the Khapchika and the lower spur on the right edge of the Nuuriin-ama and the peak of the Anaga. In the depth of the hollow was this saddle and Lake Khukhu-nuur which

was at least 6–7 km in circumference. From Nuuriin-ama, the talveg was significantly lower than the lake which was divided by a narrow and flat isthmus, whose surface resulted from the moraine. The lake had a drainage channel in Nuuriin-ama, but the flow was barely noticeable. The water in the drainage channel was not even visible as it flowed under the stones of the river. The shore of the lake was, for the most part, a border of flat white sand or gravel, although it became marshy further out in the water. There were not many birds on the lake and I only saw a few (...) in the water in the distance, such as a loon or a duck. Around evening, I went back to the woods and up to a flat isthmus of land where the lake rose above its wooded border.

On the way back, I missed a roebuck. Vasya killed several birds.

The family group which we visited today had moved within the area of Nuuriin-ama and didn't go above our station, that is, within an 8 verst area. The fodder, along the southern mountain slope facing south, had clearly been trodden on by the cattle.

The wooded border was 2 versts above us. We drank some rakusha with some of the family group and were jolly. Balchjhinem and I sang our favorite song of the Bayankhongor khooshoo-everyone's great favorite. The melody was quite unusual and reminiscent of the great Buriats. He sang to me "The Fresh, Beautiful Khangai." It was clear that he knew many stories as well and he told them often without accompaniment. Unfortunately, I completely forgot to write down the names or titles.

August 1

I went with Balchjhinem quite early in the morning to look for wild mountain sheep. A flock of willow ptarmigan arose at Nuuriin-ama. Went up the river and crossed a narrow, flat wood on the lake's terrace. Passed a large oboo which honored the lake, and then climbed the promontory at the river. We rested half way up the climb and I took several photos. From here, the entire eastern edge of the lake and the promontory were distinctly seen. At the latter were 4–5 small, independent lakes. Then, continued to climb and finally reached the flat top of an isolated lake which was a bit different. Adjoining the lake which is often called Khukhu-nuur-Urdu-obogor, toward the river Ulaan-gol (on the right side)-Ulaan-Cholunei-obogor, etc. The top of this plain was not very stony with a few marshes and rich grass. The word "glade" best describes it. Looking at the deep crevice which held the source of the Khapchika, all of us at the top climbed to the edge of the western peak by the river, across which was seen the line of the watershed on the magistral. There was a good view of the Ulaan-cholu and the Anag. Yes, and the other side was wide open to the horizon and served as a base point of the system.

Lake Khukhu-nuur had a view that stretched from the west to the east in a triangle, with the peak in the eastern corner, turned toward the line of the watershed on the magistral which was barely noticeable. Out from Ulaan-cholu lake was a separate wide and low saddle without a noticeable crest. Therefore, it must have been considered that Khukhu-nuur lay in the main line. Nourishing the lake, aside from its subterranean waters, was the small little Mukhur-Anag river, which was protected from the beginning by the southern slope in a small circle of the Anag on the day that I saw the lake. So, the watershed line of the magistral, went between the lake and Ulaan-cholu, and reached the peak of the Anag along the crest between the Tsun and the Mukhar Anag rivers. From the heights, the waters of the Khukhu-nuur were intensely blue and emerald in places which demonstrated the real depth of the lake. This quiet blue lake, high but contained within strict limits, simple in form, created a very strong impression. They assured me that even in the middle of winter, the river did not freeze. The entire picture was one of peace and eternity.

I made a notch from where I was at the Subarga-khairkhan and at the Sumute-Ikh, and at the focal point at the top of the Tzamt. I recorded the heights.

Then we went along the Ulaan-cholu where excellent grass grew along the steep ravine on the slope to the river. Climbing again on the mountain, we almost turned onto the old path to the oboo which then went on to the Nuuriin-ama, but the rain was so strong that we went right back to our tent. Although we did see fresh traces, no wild sheep were found. I heard a snowcock on the little mountain and saw several white partridges. There was a dry salt-lake at the bottom of the ravine at the Ulaan-cholu. In winter, there were many female foxes or vixen. The wild sheep, in the daytime, took advantage of this salt bottom. In the past, animals went down to the lake at the southern spur, and to the area around the source of the Mukhur-Anag. Constantly met up with the wild sheep, almost exclusively the old males. Why did they all gather there? Balchjhinem told me that in the middle month of winter on the top of the mountain towards (...) from Nuuriin-ama, to the triangle of the Nuur-amiin-tsun-sala, Kharlik—barun-sala and the source of the Nariin, it happened that while hunting there, the hunters noticed an unusual number of tracks of the snow leopard or the panther which were very rare here. At other times of year in this area, snow leopards or panthers seldom wandered but remained nearby. They were not attracted by abundant food so almost nothing kept them here in winter. It must be assumed that because of the lack of grass, especially in winter, the peak was selected as a place to meet during rutting season. This was the central point where the snow leopards or panthers gathered from all over the mountain range. Such a group helped the males find the females more easily considering how rare these beasts were inside this huge hunting area. It goes without saying that this phenomenon deserved attention.

Returning on the path to the salt-lake, we noticed traces of the female and male roebucks which had arrived the previous night. The night before, Balchjhinem had told me that the source of the Khoitu-Tamir was not the warm springs, many of which he listed, and that were the source of the Uta. These sources (all of which were sulfurous) were in almost every river. Up to this time, I had only heard about the Ara-Ukhuk. It was near to the mouth of the Nuuriin-ama, on the left side of a not large hill which was covered with lava like Burutu. On the Khoitu mountain there was an unknown little spring on the left, below Shara-bulaga, which was cold and smelled of sulfur. Evidently, there was a line of hot springs like Khujhirt (Akhoi-beice), Yaitszenvan (2), Lamen-gegen (1) all found along the southern slope of the Khangai and which ended at Uliastai. I forgot where and who confirmed the barely noticeable underground tremor on July 20 when I was at the office in this khoshoo. I saw nothing when I went on an excursion in the rain. Toward evening, it cleared a bit.

August 2

Later in the morning I set off on foot on an excursion to the Anag peak. Vasya came with me for the first half of the way. Went up opposite our camp to the lake terrace and then we turned to the right, and gradually, by degrees, started to climb on the southeastern spur up the Anag. Continuous granite. We saw nothing living on the spur. We went to the flat peak in the eastern field which is the source of the Mukhur-Anag. I sent Vasya home and began to climb by myself to the peak along a large granite deposit. Small spots of snow were visible at the top, some packed in deep crevices between enormous pieces of granite on the same field. I saw a snowcock on the road and finally reached the top of the peak. Not a scrap of soil. The entire field was covered with colossal sharp-ribbed pieces of granite. Noted with a mark the aneroid which showed 439. Then I went to the edge and took two or three pictures. I left the peak to the north and found myself in a very interesting place which was divided by narrow crests on a peak with three different river systems. In the southwest, straight to the hill of Uldzeit, which was deeply cut between the dark ridges of Anag-nuur and the magistral. This was the permanent basin of the hollow of the lake. In the east, several icy cliffs arose by the river Nuuriin-ama, which belonged to the system of the Khoitu-Tamir-Orkhon. The river Atzak-Shivet, the source of the Cholute, that is the Selenge, flowed in the north by a beautiful hill. The mighty magistral of the mountain chain went from the blackening summit of the Senchjhit, by the Uldzeitu river. Where the Atzak-Shivete fell, one could see the flat, narrow terrace of the Galute-tag. The mountain arose from there, surrounded by the Yegin Pass which led to the Galute ravine, visible from here (?). In (...), was the source of the Nuuriin-ama with the previously mentioned spur-the watershed of the Cholute-Khoitu-Tamir, which I

subsequently called by the name of its largest hill without drainage at the Kharmikskim mountain ridge. As I remember, the source of the Nuuriin-ama was generated from a series of early glacial areas on the high mountain and frozen crests which were completely inaccessible. These ravines were, by and large, stepped in form, and almost each step held a tiny lake. At the high altitude they appeared emerald-green, were set in the frames of the wildly chiseled cliff and were very beautiful. The crests, dividing the Uldzeitu, the Atzak Shivete, and the Nuuriin-ama reached, in places, 20-50 m wide. I used up a dozen films here even in the bad weather. It was cloudy and there was intermittent rain or granular flakes of snow. The picture in this inclement weather showed an enormous, almost black mountain chain covered in overhanging clouds with just a gap through which appeared the evening sky. Descending, I went down to the Nuuriin-ama and stood in the sunset taking the last two photographs there. The deep solitude was deafening in this secluded corner of the cliff by the small emerald lake. Scraps of green on the cliff, a swamp, and here and there the trace of a single mountain sheep or goat, a flock of mountain finches and a pair of wheat eaters—all of nature was right here. I began to walk quickly along the marsh and the rocky moraine nearby. Passed the high wall of the Anaga and walked for 4 versts to the confluence of the principal branches of the Nuuriin-ama. It began to get dark there. Until the moon rose, I picked my way along the field and the swamp, jumping in the darkness—from stone to stone, stumbling and falling into the swamp. I was exhausted and slowed down as I came closer and closer to the camp. Two versts from my tent and near the end; 20 minutes later I sat down to marmot meat. At home, Vasya had shot a she-wolf—didn't see any interesting birds. On the road at night I saw a white partridge once again.

Thus, I became well acquainted with these interesting, neighboring lakes of Khukhu-nuur and system three in the watershed-bundle/node.

August 3

Turned back in the morning. Went fast up to the mouth of the Nuuriin-ama and turned close along the Khoitu-gol. In the high hollow at the last moraine of Nuuriin-ama I took a sample of salty white sediment.^j Passed Shara-bulag, Arbuldjhon-ama and Tzurkh-khairkhan, passed the Nariin hill and stopped a little higher by the enormous last moraine of the Kharliikiin-ama, at the family of our guide, the nice Shamai. His yurt stood exactly opposite the peak of Temen-choluntag, which led to the steep and dense north. The road, new to us today, went from Tzurkh khairkhan to the stopping place/station and went on for 5–6 versts.

^j See the photo in the original Russian version (Konagaya et al. 2008b: 264), a mineral salt formed at the source of or in a salt marsh.

The lower Tzurkh-khairkhan mountains on the left bank were set back a bit from the river and formed a gently sloping hill with steppe planting. Somewhat lower, the ravine narrowed a bit. The Nariin emerged from a narrow mountain crevice. There was an undergrowth of larch trees along the river which crossed the watery alley by the gorge of the Khoitu river. Thick northern larches could be seen high along the Nariin. This was a strong river which didn't clearly expose the moraine formation. From Shamai's family settlement up to the confluence of the Khoitu and the Urdu-gol was a little less than 5-6 versts. The Imtei river descended from the left side of the expansive Khoitu-gol.

We arranged ourselves in Shamai's quite spacious yurt. Vasya ran to the river with his rifle. Although he returned with nothing, he had seen a female roebuck grazing on the border of the forest. I bought some mutton here and, in the evening, with friendly companions we ate the mutton entrails and drank rakusha.

In talking, we considered how many home owners lived near the source of the Khoitu-Tamir, above the Mukhur field. It appeared to be not less than 70. Tzamt-11, all in one place. Lower down the Urdu-gol-began at 3, then near the Mandal-obao 6-7 families. A small arc. At the pasture, 2, lower down near 7-8 in 3 areas. At Nuuriin-ama 4, at its mouth 3, lower 1, then again 3-4, Shara-bulag 5-6 families, at the mouth of the Arbuldjhon-ama-6, at Balchjhinem 4, Shamai-4-5, and below it more than 10 families. They all migrate within an extraordinarily narrow area. The pastures are used and are favorable. The glades, the steep slopes by the rivers, and even a swampy top of the river all remain. However, these areas are not easily put to good use. The families with the smallest number of cattle move not more than 4 times a year. They spend the winter in one place. The wealthier move in the winter depending on the fodder, and not less than twice in three months over the summer. Consequently, the stalls accumulate too much manure and filth. Their position in the winter is often on a moraine which presents a small pitfall. Some (Balchjhinem) winter at the same river where the willows grow. Some spend the winter in the high hills (at the mouth of the Bugute, Nuuriin-ama), where there is an abundance of stuff. The cattle-yaks, khainik, cows, horses and rams. Few goats. They live together. I was interested in the breed of these horses. The stallion was selected from the strongest bodied horses, with a thick tail and mane without regard to its size. Another simple fact: the stallion and the herd of horses do not run from strangers.

They hunted based on tickets and their pay reflected their situation. This year only one with horns was killed-by Chjamtsaran, a good hunter. The number of products was not particularly remarkable.

Last time the Chinese readily bought the steppe mushrooms growing on the

rocky slopes. They were paid 1–2 tugriks for a jin.^k The local Mongols pick them seriously. And Balchjhinem and Shama-party members

August 4

In the morning, I took pictures of the cattle and the inhabitants of the family settlement. I started out late and was directed to go high along the Kharlikiin-ama. The hill was cheery. The moraine filled up the bottom while on the right shore was a thick, dense wooded north slope. Along the river was the thick undergrowth-willow and larch. We went on a while and then stopped in a wide and lovely area where the two last branches came together. The Kharlikiin-ama had several high points which were deeply cut into the Kharlikskii mountain ridge...at almost every branch of the large, former glacier. During the day I gathered plants. Towards evening I went with Shama and we started to climb to the top of one of the neighboring rivers to hunt. Saw nothing but a snowcock. Vasya, however, went on somewhat further from the camp and reached the border of the woods where he saw a large bull roebuck. Balchjhinem, however, didn't see anything.

We reached the river which opened onto a wide view of the side of the Tzain. It was good to see the Sumete-Ikh and the Subarga-khairkhan. This last view was truly spectacular. Its peak had a really pointed dome-like shape and it stood alone rising above the sea of mountains. It was endlessly admired and those nearby climbed its heights. I saw the sunset while hunting.

I was near an area bordering the woods which was not very different from the others except for maybe the abundance of standing hunks of granite and the unusual views of the flat summit.

We remained there until darkness when we left on horseback and descended, navigating the rubble deposits with some difficulty. Again and again, I marveled at the ability of the Mongolian horses to trudge downhill at a jog-trot in the complete darkness along the steepest slopes as they selected a path through the rubble fields. Break a neck here-a trifling matter- and almost always, things managed to be fine. On my way to the tent, I ran across the large bottom of a salt-lake but did not see anything. When I looked at it during the day with Balchjhinem, however, I saw many traces of that old buck Vasya had seen. But the hunting was not very good. Vasya did not hit either the white partridge or the snowcock which I had seen although he did see some large wild fowl. I didn't see any nearby. On our daily excursion, Vasya saw several wood grouse. Several hens here... the snowcock, the hen, white and grey partridges. Evidently no hazel grouse or black grouse. It seemed that the Mongols also don't know. The large birds of prey include the white-tailed bald eagle. The lammergeyer or bearded vulture was rare and the

k a Chinese measure

griffon or European vulture I saw only once at Ubur-Khushte.

Lots of mice and gophers everywhere.

August 5

In the morning I collected plants. Vasya went hunting. We got together around noon to examine the edge of the western branch of the Kharmikiin-ama, and the earlier glaciers adjacent to the glaciers of the Nuuriin-ama and the Khangaliin river (the Cholute system). Started at the right side (with the current) where there was a good thick mountainous top which faced north. The undergrowth was composed of a large and dense osier bed. We went for a while along the left, marshy side. Above the junction with the middle branch, the western ravine grew narrow and we climbed to the first (lower) terrace.

Cedars grew on the border of the woods and along the field. Besides this, without going up to the border, I saw a thicket of fine, tall aspens on the southern woodless mountain slope. We went further along a typical trough of a ravine which had a marshy bottom. Its source was close to enormous rocks and we finally approached it. We split up after climbing to the last terrace. I was busy with photos and plants. Vasya climbed up to shoot mountain finches among the high stones. However, he was unlucky. Almost falling backwards, he unleashed an enormous stone which broke off from the peak and hit him on the foot. The stone struck him up to his shin, and could have broken it, which might have been the end of him. The poor fellow could barely move and so with great effort he slid along the field to a place where he could get to a horse. What an unpleasant situation! The strangely frozen thin crest and the summit seemed literally held together by a word of honor. It began to thunder—the rocks flew about. Shooting-also. Things were often flying about for no reason. The vertical slopes and the rocky fields were, by and large, inaccessible. Then we were met by a cold rain and a thunder storm. I took Vasya and settled him at home. Then I trudged with a fowling piece to the bare top along the wooded border, thinking I could find a snow cock on the slope. It was difficult going along the field and I went slowly up the slope to the top and after two shots I met up with Balchjhinem with a horse. I did not see a snow cock but saw a few fowl. On the road to the camp Balchjhinem told me that the small river Khangal contained gold, most of it in a shallow area. This was a big secret, but it was assumed it was important to me. Arrived at the camp and decided that on the following day we would cross the Bumbot river where we would wait for Chukhlomin. This trip to the top of the Khoitu-Tamir was exhausting for me. There was the almost constant effort of such activity at a high altitude, often on foot up the huge, rocky summit fields where each step demanded resilience or elasticity, sure-footedness, and constant vigilance. I needed a rest after all this activity. In the evening Vasya had a temperature, and his foot was swollen. He could not continue.

The Mongols remembered 2–3 such instances with the local inhabitants.

Stopped at Kharlikiin-ama primarily on the nomadic border. They migrated here not only in winter but also in summer. This year, however, their settlement was at Khoitu-gol.

August 6

We went around noon. Began to climb along the eastern branch of the Kharlikiin-ama. The ravine was wide, the shore of the river was overgrown with bushes, on the right side was wooded, and the bottom of the river was very swampy. Climbed quite well to the top. We had turned to the left and had begun to climb a narrow path on the steep promontory. Later, this path led up a steep hillside where we saw a badger's burrow. There were several of these animals around here and along our climb above the wooded border where they dug holes for themselves in the summit meadows. The locals called the area "bare or scanty grass" or "mangis" — wild onion. These badgers were not killed very often and did not do much harm. Below on the peak a flock of snowcocks ran away quickly. Then we went on to the bare topped field, completely flat, of the crest of the Kharlik mountain range. The vertical slope of the glacier (kar) fell along one side of the range by the middle branch of the Kharlik and on the other the bare, steep field drained into the source of little river Bumbot. We left the path with the yak and turned to the side with Balchjhinem, looked down into the gorge in the area, and I climbed to a peak nearby and took photographs. The little river Bumbot spread out before my eyes. It went to the left along a thick wooded belt. On the right, on the southern woodless side, were many leafy groves. In the distance was the Subarga-Khairkhan and in the west was the enormous Kharlik mountain ridge. I forgot to remind myself that from the summit this branch, which we climbed on, was the pass to the little river Zuun-Mod (the Khanuya system). Between the Bumbot and the Zuun-Mod was the Mukhur field also attributed to the Khanuya.

Like the watershed of the Bumbot-The Mukhur is now in the Cholute-Khanuy watershed. If Mukhur is considered the source of the Khanuya, the Khanuya-Tamir watershed is to the lower right and will be found in the following hills (without drainage): Zuun-Mod, Baga-Angarkhai, Ikh-Angarkhai (at the summit of the Khujirin-davaa), Ara-Ulatszai, Ara-Khukhu-davaa (to (...)) from Bayan-Dzurkhe, opposite the monastery of Sechen-van). At the top from around the area of Mt. Senchjhit the small rivers Senchit and Dabate (at the last intersection in the Uldzeitu river, the Tsagaan-Turuta system). The main consideration is that the Senchit is the left tributary. Further on the Dabate takes in on the right the small river Artzateh and then the small river Artzak-Shibet. After this the Dabate is called the Khurimiin River and flows for some time in the (...) direction parallel to the Kharlik mountain ridge where it takes on the little river Khangal and the lesser

spring of the Khushotein river and the small river Bumbot. After this, the Khurimiin river turns to (...) and flows somewhat further with the Galute, where it is called the Cholute(?). We descended the imposing steepness carefully from the top and reached the source of the Bumbot where we were lucky to kill a vulture lurking in its nest atop a not very high broken branch. I had come down from a steep slope and shot about fifty steps above the nest. The vulture appeared to be molting and its new feathers didn't completely cover it. The grade was very steep but short. May it be true that, at best, there will be no rain at the top and at worst, no rain mixed with granular snow. As we went up, we saw traces of a yak which had safely left "the pass" as well as recent traces of a herd of roebuck. Having gone three versts, we saw our tent amidst the woods on a clear hillock. It was quite late (19 hours), I immediately went on the hunt. Moved on a bit. Saw a goat and two large young antelopes. The goat kept trying to move further away from me. I did not stop to shoot it even though she stood all of 30 steps away. Saw nothing else. The forest belt was not wide but swampy and dense with bushes. Every spring was covered with this undergrowth of bushes. Went home late.

August 7

Balchjhinem and I went hunting at sunrise. We cut across the forest belt to the marshy top along the wooded border of the ravine rising from the gently sloping saddle between the Bumbot and the Khangal. Began to survey the Khangal coming down from the wooded borders of the peak at the start of its drain. Sat a long while and saw nothing living. The Khangal was less afforested than the Bumbot. More detail about that later. On the path back to our camp, Balchjhinem noticed a mother doe with her young deer in the woods moving as fast as lightning and we took aim from our horses. I also moved very fast and wounded the mother. Balchjhinem shot her again but she got away. This sweep lasted until noon, but we didn't find them. Soon, we went to the Khangal along a steep field, clearing the tracks. The sun was already low when I decided to shorten this sally and move on further. We went fast, chasing a yak at a light jog-trot. I went ahead with Balchjhinem on a path that went to the right-the south, woodless side—which was quite swampy. There were large growths of bushes and, in places on the southern woodless slope, an overgrown, wooded area. The field was a rich, swampy forest, like a lovely painting. We quickly moved forward and in 2 hours went almost up to the lower area of the woods where we noticed our large tent and cart on the left shore.

The Khoitu-Tamir travels were completed. Chukhlomin was seriously concerned about us and that we leave on the day of the 11th. The horses appeared to be in excellent condition. On the road from Tzamt he had gone to Tsetsen-van where local craftsman had repaired a burst tire and he stayed there and then easily

reached the Bumbot. The Uliastai pass appeared not difficult, just steep. The Khanui-Cholute watershed was almost unnoticed and the last insignificant one in this place. At the Bumbot he went on a hunt twice. Near our station last night, saw a herd of roebuck and fired at them with no luck. A rifle hit well to the side. Saw a wild boar which is not unusual around here. Lots of them here. Searched together for two days. Near the station he tried to scrub for gold but found nothing. Dugarchjhap had thought about further guides. In the evening we chatted over cutlets and noodle soup. On the next day, I decided to go with Chukhlomin to Khangal. Our guides had to return. I did not want to leave Balchjhinem and he was also sad to leave us. In ten days, he had to get ready to go to Urdu-Terkhi marmot hunting.

August 8

In the morning there was a meeting and an accounting with the guides. Chukhlomin and I only got out on the road around noon and we took one pack horse with our supplies. I sent Vasya ahead with the guides to search for the female since I wished to get her hide for the collection. Somehow, 1 ½ versts below our stopping point, the little river Bumbot went from its gorge to the ravine of the Khurmiin-gol. At the mouth of this ravine, a large moraine to the right unwound in a half moon shape. Inside its concavity, was a wide, swampy, flat square which certainly, at some time in the past, had been a lake and is now small. Crossing the moraine, we turned west and went to edge of the woods where there was a splendid view. Went back to the spring at the Khushhotein-gol which was 5–6 versts long. The peak was wide with a gentle slope. We began to climb higher and higher along a relatively very high side of the Khurmiin-gol side of the moraine with its billow-like form. Its high slope, turning toward the river, was afforested and the area, it goes without saying, was wonderfully pleasant. Many young animals—a favorite place for goats and roebuck. Climbing higher and higher, we almost reached the border of the forest and we could see the high promontory from the ravine to Khurmiin-gol over the Khangal. Came down between large, granite boulders to the river, stopped on the path, and then climbed high along ravine. The slope on the right was littered with rocks and on the left the area was steep with stones scattered about. Consequently, the forest was poor—even worse than at Bumbot. The bottom of the ravine was flat and marshy. Facing south along the slope of the mountain were traces of a nomadic winter camp in a 4 verst field at the summit. Some of these high fields were partitioned by a low promontory from the left shore where the gorge widened. The woods almost disappeared. The saddle could be seen to the east, leading from Bumbot. The road was terrible-swampy and full of stones. We saw a white partridge. Stopped for a short while for a cup of tea and, for the first time, searched for gold. We washed

two trays from the river. Concentrate and one/two bits of dust. This did mean that there was some gold. Decided to collect some, despite the late hour at the summit. Climbed higher and higher to the lake where we put aside the horses and climbed on further. Washed the tray in the spring on the side. Nothing. Since it was already nearly dark, we couldn't climb to the next terrace, so we left the tray and the shovel. The square rose almost to the vertical crest where the boulders, like grotesque roebucks, dotted the open foothill. This was the watershed of the Kharliik where there were the pointed teeth which the Mongols called "Baliin-Tsokhe"^l for its resemblance to Chukhlomin referred to this place as "no time without scandal," and we smoked 2–3 ganza.^m Three times stones flew from high up despite the complete silence. We returned to the horses in the semi-darkness and considered spending the night in the first of the villages. In complete darkness we made our way along the swamp and field and finally reached the first grove from the top. It was quite dark on the other shore of the river and it seemed senseless to move on with the horses, so we left them with our baggage and began to make our way jumping from stone to stone, across the river. It became swampy at the little river before a large field. The stony shaded areas by the woods were hard to reach. All of this took place in the dark. Even though we had some difficulty finding a small flat area midst the boulders, we did arrange ourselves for the night. I brought some water up from below and carrying a full bowl from the field was sort of a miracle. A little fire crackled and we dined in comfort on sugar and tea. Talked for a long time about various things and went to sleep at midnight.

August 9

Chukhlomin went out hunting early in the morning but saw nothing. From the nearby cliff there were the modulations of the mountains. Somewhat later we soon returned to the summit. The horses still stayed above the first lake. We washed a few trays in the little river after we climbed to the terrace. Again, concentrate and dust. Then we climbed up to two of the last terraces where there was dust that we had missed and then we went up to the wall of the base of the former glacier. Then, we rested, turned back, and went to the horses and before we continued, we drank some water, ate some sugar, and then crossed the ravine to the Bumbot.

Several words about the glacial peak of the little river. The form was typical. The usual form at the summit was a half circular former glacier with very oblique wings which encircle and almost close around the square at its bottom which is generally flat, not too large, swampy, with shoots of sedge and other river-swamp

^l Lama's Forehead

^m Mongolian smoking pipes

grasses. There even may have been a small emerald-green lake. The lake could, in fact, have been considered a usual phenomenon. The small landing below led to a steep part of the field from which there was noise from the breaking of the little river's barrier. A steep but short climb up ended in a new area with several large measurements including a lake. Often this type of area would open onto one or two sides of a glacier which was suspended over the whole base. The way down was steep and led to three squares or to the rectilinear (drawing) image of a trough-like ravine with a cross-cut profile (like a relief carved from the ancient ice) with a concave bottom and steep, flat slopes. The ravine was usually rectilinear without much sinking. Thus, there was a short section with a large drop leading out again to the ravine or because of erosion, to a rich, irregular moraine conglomeration.

A side of a little ravine was often suspended and repeated the main structure in miniature. The highest point on the marshy areas was always cold and quiet. Few birds; 3–4 seen (the usual mountain finch and wheat eater, invariably, except in winter, but still the inhabitants had a chance to see the two. I didn't count a chough). The rodents, the marmot and the gopher, didn't go to the swamp for food, but this was a food paradise for the many ermine/stoat that we often saw. No mice seen and, anyway, they make up a rather insignificant number. The hooved animals here, the roebuck and the wild sheep, love to go around and then rest. I found traces of them on almost every peak. Hunters say that they come here very often to kill the roebuck. When one finds a roebuck by a lake or in some small area, one feels the isolation from the world and the complete silence is somewhat oppressive. Every now and then, only on a very steep kar or former glacier, stones which have been loosened or weakened by wind and water, break away from the top and wildly hit the cliff and then roll along the field. Then there is quiet again. Standing still, lifeless, dead, one hears the weak and despondent chirping of a mountain finch.

At the Kharlikiin-ama, when the stone had hit Vasya's leg, I had returned to the camp and heard an avalanche on the path which lasted for several minutes.

Now about the gold. It is in khangal without a doubt. And, really, in quite a sufficient quantity. We took some sand straight from the riverbed to the surface and found gold dust in it. There were veins of quartz in a mass of granite and quartz pebbles in the riverbed which are not a rarity. Quartz suspiciously is sometimes almost blue, sometimes rust-colored, and often is disintegrating. In addition, there were pieces of granite which had metamorphosed and another type (?). Could the gold depend on touch? Without a doubt, gold can be found in a serious search.

From our work at the source of the khangal we were able to ascertain the height. A shortness of wind did not leave us for a minute, even on the downward slope. We spoke slowly in weak voices and sat down often. Our heads felt heavy

and we experienced a sort of deafness. Still, we remained healthy.

From the Khangal gorge we risked the ascent and went to the base of the peak along a wooded border, where, we made our way between the rocky fields and the swamps and then we continued to descend to the Bumbot. At the crest, we missed one female mountain sheep which had, it seems, lain down and quickly hidden herself on the crest. We knew the slope to the Bumbot and there was nothing new. It was not early. Washed here and pulled a few trays from the river bed (here and there were traces of gold) and then we went home quickly. At sunset, the wooded Bumbot seemed extraordinarily beautiful. Attentive to traces at the forest border, we moved quickly along the path and were home before nightfall and the complete darkness. Vasya returned with the hunters who had found the female. I decided, after thinking it over, to stay for two days (at the camp), and not continue chasing my tail. I planned to rest and send Dugarchjhap to Tzokto-Khairkhan-soum to inquire about new guides for the source of the Cholut.

August 10

In the morning, I was occupied designing a plan. Got a full and detailed picture of the source of the Khoitu-Tamir, with visits only to Khujirt and Uliatui. Also, succeeded in a plan of the system of part of the Tsagaan-Turuta river. Across the Tzain, I had linked the Subarga-Khairkhan and parts of the Yemelin-davaa to its own system back in 1926, when I photographed the Urdu-Tamir. Outlined the sources of the Khanuia. The magistral in this region was clarified. Then I had the real possibility of drawing up a map of the forest and a map of the earlier ice cover as well as the plan of the contemporary nomads and the upper border. The khoshoo extends from Tzain along the watershed of the two Tamirs, the highest part (the high arc) of the Urdu-Tamir goes off to the Khan-Unduru. Then it flows along the magistral and reaches the source of the Khoitu-Tamir and the Cholute and then turns to the watershed of the Terkhiin-gol-Cholute.

The soum borders are like this. The border of the first on our path to the soum (...) borders the next, Khan-Undir soum which is opposite the mouth of the Ulentuia. This little river was by the Khan-Undurtzsev nomadic camp. The highest border—the field of the Sumet (the high temple) and Ulaltzai. I was told that there were quite a few empty yurts in this soum. Bayan-Mandal was the next soum and I knew its borders better than the others. Then, to the next soum (Tzokto-khairkhan) which bordered the Kharliik mountain ridge. The source of the Khanuia-Bayan-Khairkhan soum. In Bayan-Mandal and Tzokto-Khairkhan there was a full number of yurts.

In the evening I made a list of all the birds and was busy testing two ordinary films. The apparatus was working well but I mistakenly used too much light filter in the wind so many of the photographs were a bit fuzzy and out of focus. Even

with experience, the usual problems occur.

Returned early from the soum and Dugarchjhaph said that people would come the day after tomorrow. I decided to go on alone as it was faster. People went off to Urdu-Terkhi. I worked on my negatives until 3 in the morning.

August 11

Abominable weather in the morning. I was occupied with my diary. Vasya went hunting, Frolich slept and Dugarchjhaph went on to the family settlement.

There was considerable rain and blowing along the bare-topped peak which tore apart the high cross-beam of our tent. A hasty start for all those going on the hunt. Vasya found excellent raspberries in the woods. The berries here seem good. In the evening we all rested and talked around the fire in the big tent. Took several strolls in this weather. Went with our Mongols to advise on how to drive by cart on the steep path across the pasture of the Cholute-Terkhi, because I wished to go across the field of the Uldzeitu. From the top, this last of the two passes led straight to Urdu-Terkhi. One of these had full access for a cart. I had heard earlier that the other was not accessible by cart. My march route on this journey was as follows: the source of the Khurimiin-gol, the river Senchjhith, Yegin-davaa (on its side with the drop to the magistral) and along the Galut up to the Uldzeit. And, we will see from there. I believe there will be one pack load.

Vasya, amazingly, caught an excellent grayling, having noticed such a fish at the mouth of the Nariin-ama.

It must be remarked on that when we stopped for the 20th or the 21st. I asked, repeatedly, about “the black mane” (wolf) and the jackal. I was told that there were none here, but maybe in the Gobi, although most people were indefinite. Once “a black mane” was pointed out in Purbu-guna khoshoo (the region of the Shara-usu.) We were offered an account of the jackal which was found in the southwest Gobi and once showed up on the border of the tribe, Tzakhachinⁿ but it was a wolverine, that is a red wolf (...). I asked repeatedly about the structure of the tribe but all the old Khalkh families had forgotten. The word “fight or struggle” really referred to a drunken brawl which here was associated with a flask, sewn from dry skin with no design. The “khukhur” was simply a bag for airag.

About the gold once again. In the opinion of our Chukhlomin, the deposit was probably of recent origin. Maybe even from the formative period. The major traces were in the newest deposits at the very summit. We also noted that there was intensive destruction of the basic rock.

ⁿ the Chahars

August 12

The morning sun was quite faint so that I could print a large part of the negatives that needed to be developed. The only major short-coming was the misuse of the colored film and the consequential long exposure in the wind. If only for the correct information. Somewhat later, a driver arrived with a pack horse. It didn't rain yet again. Packed up and set off. Went to the Bumbot ravine and passed the moraine where we went down a bit lower. Then went with Chuklomin straight to the Khurimiin-gol above the confluence of the Khutotiin-gol. The scene was quite engaging. Between the Kharlik mountain ridge and the watershed of the Cholute (rather the Galute)-and the Urdu-Terkhi lay a large drop atop of which was found the Yegin-davaa. This drop divided the longitudinal elevation descending to the Senchjhit. On one side of this was the Khurimiin-gol and on the other was the Galute. The drop blocked the lower mountain Uldzeitu-ubur (?) and a very narrow saddle with the spurs of the Kharlik between Bumbot and Mukhur in such a way that occurs often in the watershed of the Cholute, Khanui. From the saddle there was a good view of Mt. Bayan-Tzurkh and, turning, of the Khanui slope of the Kharlik up to Ara-Ulaltsai. In the place of the confluence of the Khurimiin-gol-Bumbot large hollow, to (...) from its separate mountain (not large) Tzokto-Khairkhan. (...) the slope was completely obstructed by the deposits in the moraine. It still is not clear to me where this accumulation comes from. There is a smallish arc on the eastern slope at a soum. In the afore mentioned hollow there were quite a few people. And I counted 20–23 yurts. We went further up on the left side near to the Khurimiin-gol. Everywhere there were moraine deposits. Went to the settlement of the carter who owned the horse-transport but he did not appear, hadn't gotten his instructions, and had gone off marmot hunting for several days. There were 3–4 yurts here so went on further. There was an eagle owl in the rocks along the road. At the mouth of the Khangal in the Khuremiin-gol people roamed around the Galute postal office. There were 2 yurts nearby and so we hoped to find someone but there was no one there. A bit further along Khurimiin-gol, we turned by a mountain and stopped overnight in a settlement of 2 yurts where we put up our tent by the river. A peaceful scene! The gleaming river flowed quietly by a high bank and the surrounding meadow was enclosed by mountains. From behind a small wood was a little river. Near the settlement was a herd of horses and a herd of yaks. In the evening songs rang out along with the voices of shouting children. The sunset sky was clear. The air was fresh. I sat with Seren for a long time at the entrance to the tent, each of us quietly thinking our own thoughts. I worked a bit in the evening and wrote in my diary.

All these yurts were for the nomads in the winter on the wooded field (The Bumbot, Khangal, Dabate, in the first not so high of our camps–swampy). The

growth along the moraine today, zerophytin, was mostly wormwood. Came across a small swamp with sedge.

August 13

All of us left the settlement late. Thought about making some arrangements with the man. Then things did not go so well with the pack load and, in a word, all of this took a lot of time. The mouth of the Atzak Shibete was not far from the settlement and seemed shorter than the Khangal. We passed a small wood and the mouth of the afore mentioned little river and then walked further along the Dabate. (As I had remembered, the Kharmin-gol was thought to be at the confluence of the Dabate and the Atzak Shibete). Almost no woods. On the left side were many traces of the winter stations with their stone walls to protect the small animals from the wind as they lay down. Climbing higher and higher along the magistral, we finally saw patches of snow on the square area of the Senchjhit. Passed a small wooded field of the Arzate as well as the disintegrating Modon-Suduk and we stopped opposite the border of the woods by the stream and shrubs. The Arzate and the Modon-Suduk to the right. To the left where the Dabate fell there were cracks and some disintegration. While having a rest and some tea, the clouds thickened at the top but there was neither rain nor snow—although everything looked bleached. We did not have to hurry. I decided not to go anywhere and occupied myself with my diary which had been somewhat neglected. In the evening, I also talked with Seren and elicited from him what I have already written about. He told me that they call the aspen “toorai^o.” Closer to the truth! He also told me that for the past 6 years there have been almost no wild animals. Earlier, walking in the area there would have been some animals. In the hollow at the confluence of the Galute-Khurimiin gol there would have been an antelope but now all have disappeared in this place.

August 14

After rising in the morning, I began to gather things for the excursion to the source of the Senchjhit. One of the horses remained behind alone with the tent. The valley was like ten others. Swampy at the bottom, and a steep slope to the deposit field. 2 versts higher than the camp was the confluence of the short Dabate (all of two versts to the top) and the Senchjhit which is the real major source of the Khurimiin-gol. We climbed slowly and gradually reached the source of the Senchjhit which was terraced like most of the other similar sources. The place was very interesting. The same source—a large kar, or former glacier, was cut out from an enormous thickness of horizontal layers of volcanic strata. The contact of the

^o Toorai means one kind of poplars in Mongolian.

granite and these rocks was a direct result of their proximity to the kar. A little lower on the kar, the high rocks on the right side of the valley had been ground smooth by the ice. This sheer side was turned toward the valley. The view was quite unique. At the peak of the kar were perpetual patches of snow. The crest was completely flat. With the possibility of climbing even higher, we went up to the edge of the overhang in the little valley of the Khara-Khunke and then climbed onto a barrier. Suddenly Seren threw himself back and whispered to me that there were wild sheep ahead. So, we jumped down from our horses and I crept ahead between the rocks. Indeed, on the opposite side of the swampy little bed by the steep pasture near the open deposit field on the high side of the valley, lay three male mountain sheep, all facing in different directions. They lay there peacefully so I had the chance to observe them and select the very largest. It was about 400 steps to that little corner. The scene was typical and very interesting. I was relaxed when I took aim and pulled. Nothing happened and all three of them got up and began to climb the deposit field. I followed at 600 steps and fired with 4 bullets again. One of them separated from the others, one left and one stayed and then these two managed to carefully leap up the steep field. I could see through the binoculars that I had wounded one of the argali which soon lay down, jerked several times and then was quiet. I photographed him, then skinned and divided him up. I had some difficulty tying the head, the hide, and part of the meat (the remainder was hidden) so I sent Seren to the camp with both horses and I stayed to climb to the top of the kar. The way up was not very difficult, and I climbed quickly. Along the road, I saw a flock of snowcocks and wished that I could shoot backwards. Went along the sharp volcanic deposit field and along the chiseled crest and finally reached the summit. It seemed, of course, completely flat and, not unusual, was covered with bits of rock, pebbles and gravel. This was a large area and one could see amazingly far.

On the side of Tsagaan-Turuta were short bare-topped spurs and between them flowed several small rivers. The Dabate (Ubur) and Nariin, very short, flowed into the Uldzeitu river. Further on, out from under the quite high black summit the little Iola flowed. All these hills without drainage were minutely outlined. As I went further, my eyes were on parts of the magistral. The Anag was clearly seen and I sensed the hollow of the Khukhu-nuur. Further to the south Bayan-Khongor was clearly seen as a smallish hill in the long swell of Dalangiin lake. Above it the azure sky of the bluish summit of Ikh-Bogd. Under part of this pure, colored sky on this side (and the almost always cloudy Khangai) one could sense the warm, dry expanse of the Gobi. How everything was stretched out there! I rejoiced at Ikh-Bogd as if it were family. There was a larger southern than northern expanse. Saw the Suburga-khairkhan. You could see quite far to the west and northwest. On this side of the area was a high mountain-the magistral and its largest spur-

expansive and important. This side went up, if not to the magistral, to an area close by. Further in the west was a spur with large patches of snow. I looked in vain for Otkhan-Tengri on this side of the summit, hoping to see it here but I could not find it. Evidently, it had to be seen from another place, like the quite wide area of the Senchjhit. I also saw the Otkhan-Tengri with the top knot or cap of the flat summit of the Sumberu-khairkhan. To the north-chaos of a mountain. Nearby the wide valley of the Cholute with the river hidden from view. It was not far to the side of the Yegin-davaa which came out of the Senchjhit. There was a considerable drop from the magistral as it gently emptied into the Bogot river. To reach the top, took quite a while and the cold wind went right through me. So, considering the aneroid, and again gazing at Ikh-Bogd in the distance, I doubled back to the kar and the source of the Dabate. Walked easily on the pebbles and the small deposits and then went further along the bare-topped peak near the wooded border of the swampy meadow. I went to the edge where the volcanic rock had changed into granite. A terrible vertical slope, slippery with ice. There were many types of quartz on the contact line. After this, I went to the slope of the Dabate. The name is deceptive. One can only pass by it at the top and then usually on horseback along a known and steep path generally by the deposit field. I hurriedly left along the Dabate and returned to the camp. Seren, thankfully, had brought the skins and meat there.

Somewhat to the east of the Dabate, one could see an island of volcanic rock where I was hit by pieces of quartzite. Marmots—almost to the top. In the south, this volcanic rock goes at least to the top of the Iola. When I arrived at the tent, I found a marmot hunter there who went hunting with a dog and without a gun. We ate the argali meat. So, this year I tried brisket of argali. Because of the nocturnal frost the plants on the summit had, in the last few days, taken on an autumnal coloring. All yellowish, curled up, and dry. How early autumn comes to these Khangai heights.

It must be noticed, that the information about the source of the Donoi and neighboring rivers is contradictory and confusing and perhaps mistaken.

It has been said to me that the source of the Uta is found in the western Tsagaan-Turuta that flows from the Baidarskii watershed. The Nomin-Khan-Khüree is found at Tsagaan-Turuta.

August 15

Mid-August and I am still at the magistral. The main task at the magistral is to take a cursory look or survey. In the morning I worked on the hide and Seren cleaned the skull. All of this took a lot of time. Started to pack up very late, and on top of everything else, our mare did not want to carry a heavy and tremendous pack-load and since we were not going to hunt soon, we loaded up by evening.

Everything got put right and we went only up to the settlement where we spent the night. The volcanic stratum covered the granite on the left side of the valley which stretched up to the outlet of the Khurumin-gol from the mountain. The promontory on the right shore opposite the settlement they had set up. Nothing new noticed along the route. Part of the evening was spent in the tent and part in the yurts. One fellow knew Dordjhi-geshun slightly. He had been my last guide in the southwest Gobi. Very few people in Mongolia!

The weather has been splendid lately with these common characteristics: morning clear and cold. Around 12 appeared separate breaks (...), then plumes (...), and then all of this condensed so by the evening of every day one could sense rain. Later during the night, it was clear and freezing. Sideways, but invariably over the magistral, there was a lot of rain. Over the Gobi, there was always a clear sky.

Marmot hunting continued. The antlers, perhaps, are already finished. All in all, autumn has a healthy smell. Because of time, I arrived at the magistral at the Yegin only to look it over in passing. I was very late. S. A. has managed which was interesting. However, he had many people with him. I was completely alone. It was often quite hard to get to places and certainly a bit more difficult than last year. Bad for the collections. For the botanical, I had all of 70 leaves.

August 16

It took a long time to collect ourselves in the morning and we left late. Both of us. From the settlement, we climbed on the narrow flat mountain top—the Galute-Khrumiin-gol watershed. Its surface—the usual bare peak along a wooded border with an abundant sedge meadow with smallish areas on the deposit field. Boulders of volcanic rock were intermixed with granite. The surface, evidently, held traces of glacial activity. Thus, the summit surface had gradually been lowered in relation to the height of the Tzokto-Khairkhan. How much glacial material had crept or fallen from the last mountains or from the moraine? From the summit, we went down to the valley of the Galute to the flat trough which cut into the summit as it continued along the other side of the valley. The upper reaches of the Galute—three small rivers (Galutein-Gurban-Yekhin) remained to the left not far from us. They all protected the mountain top which was adorned with a top like hat on the flat summit on the spur of the Senchjhit (Sumberu-Khairkhan). This mountain, now honored by the soum, was formed by the volcanic rock of the Senchjhit. Some woods at the summit. In general, the ravine of the Galute presented quite a cheerless view. The link between the Galute and the Botogon remained close to the right of us. Going up to the next height, it was completely in character that the first flat mountain summit I climbed was a small hill. In this area, opposite a high red rock, was the branch of the rivers Bugute and Bogot-Iola. It was good to see

the slanting position of the Yegin. On leaving, we intersected the Bugute and wended our way toward a place not far along a settlement on the Botogon. We were stopped on the road by a traveler who had driven from the Selenge to Bayan-Khongor khan for a yurt and to stock up on salt and sheep. We rested at the settlement, left our pack load and went on to the Yegin-davaa which was about 10 versts away. From the settlement, we went straight up to the flat summit where the Bugute and Botogon divided. We went a few versts along it and then descended to a high area which was the upper part of the Botogon and which led to a region of the Yegin's slope. The top of the Botogon was composed of three rivers (Gurban Angarkhai). The highest of these coursed from an angle of the magistral and was located further to the south west Senchjhit from the angle which began at the Ubur Iola river. Thus, the break in the magistral was not at the Senchjhit as I had thought earlier, but at the Iolin-Yekhin-nuur. The lower Angarkhai began under the Senchjhit and was bordered by it. Part of the Senchjhir-Iola was covered by a stratum of volcanic rock. In the middle of the Angarkhai there could be clearly seen a horizontal border of granite, and at the top of the Angarkhai there was a rather good former glacier or kar. Lower down the mountain was a plateau and we left for the Yegin summit which was divided from the Bugute by an inconspicuous isthmus. The Bugute, itself, cut deeply into the summit but crossing here was difficult because of the water from the Bogoton (its real beginning was thought to be at the beginning of the high Angarkhai), so we came down the gently sloping hillside to a large oboo at the Yegin which was set up on the flat saddle of the pass. The local inhabitants considered the Yegin-davaa the center of the Khangai and revered it. Those close by did not call it "Yegin," but spoke of it as "Khangain-davaa." I photographed the oboo. From the pass especially, there were several side exits that opened onto a wide view. In the distance to the southwest was the wide ravine of the Baidaraga as it went south. The beginning of the Baidaraga was not far to the southwest from the Yegin. From the Baidaraga, the semi-desert character of the mountains was visible and behind it the barely visible mountains found, evidently behind Tzakom. Nearby, to the left of the valley, the sources of the Baidaraga were outlined: Khaptagai, Khara-Khurum (out from the Iola river), Teil and Nogon-dund. However, it was difficult to investigate this seriously. At (...) Mt. Bayan-Zurkhe was seen. To the southwest from the pass there was a gentle slope. The area on this side was completely different with no magistral from the bare summit. Gently sloping mountains coming down from the rock summit to what felt like a ravine. There was evident glacial activity stretching, not too far, in this direction.

My Seren prayed for a long time at the oboo and left a lock of horsehair. We sat there for quite a while. I checked the aneroid twice which registered barely a km below the Senchjhit! The pass was almost covered with gophers and marmots.

Talked with the settlers returning to Ulaan-cholu and then got ready to return. Went for an hour on the fast road back to the settlement. The confluence of the Bogoton-Iola remained at (...) from us. The gently sloping wheel road at the pass went along the Bogoton. It lacked stones so one could have crossed it in a car. The surface of the summit on the return route was nothing unusual although, here and there, were many volcanic boulders. At Yegin-granite. Interesting—if there had been a volcano here, where was the mass of lava thrown? Returned by sunset. In the evening, I was occupied with my diary. There were few surrounding woods here, just an occasional grove. In sum, this area was woodless.

We spent the night at the settlement with its 7–8 yurts which were more than the 5 in July. Bugate and Galute had no people. The summit of Bugute was made up of two fields without drainage—The Upper ama and the Lower ama.

There were 8 fields without drainage at Khurun-Yegin. Part of the magistral from Yegin was called Tzelik. There were wolves here and right in front of us, at the settlement, wolves had cut the throat of a sheep.

Everywhere people greeted and welcomed us.

August 17

In the morning I took excellent pictures of the views from the settlement of Sumberu-Khairkhan. We somewhat collected ourselves below. I took a sample from the Ulaan-Khada. There were other sorts of rocks like quartzite. There was a rock grave stone in the foothills. Evidently here, as in Khentii (S. A.) the boundary of the present population almost fell within the boundary of these ancient graves. We went further on to the flat, once fiery bottom of the Cholute ravine which had, on the left, a steep slope and on the right the less steep and smooth slope of the Galutein summit. By the way, the matter of the rivers is the following: The Botogo falls into the Iola, which preserves its name up to the confluence with the Bugute—that is until the Ulaan-Khada. Further below is the Cholute and the break-up of the Salkhite on the left. A small wood and two yurts. Here and there on the road grave stones. It was amazing that there were almost no glacial traces. No hints on the moraine side. Still lower to the left, we approached two fused fields without drainage—the upper, the short Nariin and the lower, larger-Tsagaan-sar. I had seen this last one from the source of the Atszak-Shibete. Large forests. The bottom of the Tsagaan-sar was flat and wide at the mouth. Poor growth. 2 yurts in view. The top of this field without drainage came from under the peak of the river Uldzeitu. Several versts lower in the valley was an unexpected partitioned solid moraine which was exactly at the confluence of the Galute. The moraine stood below the valley landscape. From this side, the drop of the Cholute met the moraine pile-up as far as the Tzokto-Khairkhan. I could not understand what was going on here. Was it possible that all the Galutein summit was occupied by an

enormous glacier? In that case, the Galutein valley (minus the sides of the moraine), the Bugute, and the lower Iola, must have burst out from the water later. If there had been such a glacier, then it must have crept down in two tongues: by the actual Khurumin gol and the Cholute, attacking the moraine rampart on the lower part of the Galutein summit. The moraine material—almost all granite, with a touch of volcanic tufa. The Galutein settlement was lower. 6–7 yurts. The side of the valley remained narrow. Still below to the left was the small field without drainage of the Tsokhete. 7–8 yurts near its mouth. Opposite the fall of the Galute and to the left was the somewhat smallish field without drainage of the Marate (the small wood). Passing the Tsokhete, we finally came to the mouth of the Uldzeitu-gol. The Khurum fell into the Cholute still lower down. The arm of the little mountain Teg^p (a perfect Gobi name!). About 10 yurts at the mouth of the Uldzeitu which, evidently, was 20 versts below the Cholute. All eyes rested on the high, flat Mt. Ukha-Cholute in the distance, part of the watershed of the Cholute-Khanui. The monastery of Shiretu-gegen was on its west side. In Seren's words, this monastery was much smaller than Sechen-van. Below Uldzeitu on the left side of the Cholute, were the following drainage fields: tri (three) Jargalant and Zuun-Mod. There would not have been any fields lower down. Seren named two survey marks-Ulaan-Tologui and Khura-Khada. Behind them was the little Teil, whose source was close to the source of the little river Zuun-Mod, at the mouth of the lower Khara-Khada and the lower Shiretu-gegen. Seren called my attention to a not very large, waterless field without drainage called Chjhaphchlik.(?) Toromte spring. The Khuramiin-gol near the exit from a wide valley was the Cholute which continued to flow along by itself below the Chjhaphchlik.

At the mouth of the Uldzeitu, we went to the darga's^q settlement. Since he was not there, we moved on and then met him along the road where we discussed the changes. We continued for two versts to spend the night. The darga left in the evening having sent an administrative official to take his place. There were two yurts below where we stayed. The valley was wide here. However, from acquaintances more details about Uldzeitu-gol tomorrow. They have heard about us—all is loaded. Don't know, for sure.

August 18

Had a good sleep and got up in the morning and started to climb the crest between Uldzeitu ama and Tsokhete. When I reached there, I sat a long time on the granite summit and the view opened up onto all of the Kharliskii mountain range and part

p Teg in Mongolian means zero.

q A darga was a party or government official.

of the magistral up to and including the Senchit. I remember everything about it in fresh detail. The greatest rise was near the Senchit although I didn't see what the future covering near the spur (Sumberu khairkhan) might be. I looked only to the southeastern part of the kar, or former glacier. Three ravines were from Sumberu khairkhan and the source of the Galute, and all were clearly seen. To the east of the Senchit (actually the north east), the magistral began along the Kharlik mountain ridge and the edge of a bare peak which lay on the north east field without drainage of the Tsun-mod. All of this was a flat line. Besides the Senchit, there was a small rise at the angle of the Anaga. The view of this entire line and the bare peak was very imposing. The deep valley of the river was divided by a wide, flat and mighty bare peak with a series of spurs. In certain places, the angle of the Kharlikte-Khangal-Nuuriin-ama had a sharp edge and I saw what I knew to be the slashed crest. This sequence of views was remembered as the source of the Galute, the source of the Khurumiin-gol, that is the Atzak Shibete, besides the same summit, as well as part of the Dabate and all of the Artsate. It was good to see the curve of the Khurumiin-gol on going out from the mountain. Nearby the separate and massive spur was the wide curved arc of the Khangal. I only remember its peak. Still closer, the Bumbot flowed at the fork of the promontory by the hollow of the Khushote gol. One could see the kar from the summit where I was climbing. Further on, the Bumbot at the spur of the wide summit, was located near a large field of the Zuun-Mod. It seems that the Mukhur was simply the tributary on the left side of the summit. The Zuun-Mod was the last large field without drainage of the Kharlik mountain ridge. The large afforested descent led to the saddle of Khujirin pass. The following fields were small or insignificant: Ugomir, and Baga-, Ikh-Angarkhai. At the Khujirin-davaa I did not see a high mountain separate from Ulaitsaya. Further on, the crest of the water shed covered the close-by mountain of Uldzeitu-ubur. The drop of the Khujirin-davaa could be seen lying further by the Khan-Undur and Sumete-Ikh. However, there was some doubt about this. The plan shows this. From the spur of Bumbot Zuun-Mod was hardly seen. The gently sloping watershed of the Yalatein-durulchin led to the fairly high mountain of Uldzeitu-ubur, which strictly began the actual watershed of the Khanui-Cholute. This last represented quite a high and wide mountain chain, without a flat summit, with the ravines and fields more or less divided into crests which were affected by aridity. Quite far below, were the few low curves of the Cholute. In the high, flat mountain chain, the Ukha-cholute, was isolated. (This name has forty forms.) Almost visible below was the confluence of the Khurumiin-gol and the Cholute and spread before our eyes, was the little mountain Tzokto-khairkhan, which led to the lower tongue by the Galutein flat summit. No woods could be seen at the Khanui-Cholute watershed. Everywhere was flat. Most of the woods were along the mouth of the Zuun-Mod, The Bumbot, and The Khangal.

The Uldzeitu and the Tsokhet were well forested (on the northern side). At the side of this great area, was the imposing half circle of the summit with one large saddle in the middle. The Uldzeitu valley was seen from several versts until it narrowed. Below this, it was wide and flat up to the mouth. The Ubur was unwooded and there was a large rock by its exit. A thicket of bushes was located along the river where it narrowed and pressed against the left shore. The right crest of the Uldzeitu was composed of granite and eroded rock and its rich forests were obstructed by falling debris. The field of the Tsokhete was very long and the lower Uldzeitu was a series of fields and few woods were seen. There was a line of trees on the crest.

On this side, I only saw the chaos on the sharp crest. It was not possible to separate the Cholute and the Terkhi as seen below because they merged. The horizon was surrounded by high mountains with two peaks on which I had already cut my marks.

I left the woods on my way back. Their quality had been poor-with short and thin trees and a fair number of boulders above them. Grass mounds below and a lot of illegal foresting. I frightened a large goat and saw a rutting (male) camel. Many tracks but hard to tell whose they were. It was somewhat warmer here than along the river and the autumnal color of the coming fall was not noticeable. Back on the path I took a sample of the granite then back to the camp where there were no changes. At the mouth of the Khurumin-gol 12 yurts, and one by the bed of the Galutein-summit.

At the Tsagaan-Turuta, Atsa and the Donaya summit, one each. The darkness raised a question about Burin khan. It confused me regarding my sketch. Did the Shara-Tsokh and Ikh-Tsokh flow along both sides of the Burin khan or along one side?

I asked Seren details about the nomads in his soum. The border of his soum was defined. From one side of the Kharlik mountain ridge and the other from the magistral, behind the crest of Dundu-Tsun Jargalant, the Uldzeitu mountain slope to the south and almost as far along as the Yalate-dorulchjhi (the small remaining area) on the west of Zuun-Mod-Bumbot. Zuun-Mod is regarded as Bayan-Khairkhan-soum.

There were fully 150 yurts in the Tzokto-khairkahn soum. The area was large but quite miserable and was mainly occupied by the swampy continuation of the river ridge from its top. In addition, many places were occupied by two postal stations, (the Galute completely and the main part of the Zuun-Mod postal station.) The pastures for the postal stations were determined in this way: the Galute occupied the area by the Bugute river, the mouth of the Iola, the Galute, and the Khurumiin exclusively. The area of the Zuun-Mod postal station began at both Khushote gol (or even a little bit further) and went along the Khurumu, embraced

the mouth of the Bumbot, Yalatein-Dorulchjh and then went to the border of the Bayan-Khairkhan soum. Thus, the nomadic inhabitants of Tzokto Khairkhan were not left with much area. Each yurt had not moved far — ten versts from the border and close to the administrative leader. The annual number of nomads differed depending on the host and the quantity of the cattle. Some liked to partially migrate while others preferred to remain in one place. The greater number of settlers moved in the spring in search of new green pasture for their cattle. They used the slopes facing south and the bottom of the valleys but not the swampy summits. Evidently, according to Seren, these places provided the old grass that was edible.

This seemed to confirm that the grass in the flat, swampy areas and the swampy summit was not so pleasing to the animals and was not good for fattening them up. It seemed that this was the basic food source that was derived from the dry slope and almost dry river valley. Its meager contents were mostly wormwood. In fact, the inhabitants of this rich, juicy multifarious grassy area took their cattle, by and large, to the desert where, it must be remembered, the grasses were very good. Research on the food and its relation to the zerophytin wormwood of the steppe could help solve this mystery of why the desert cattle grew fat on such scanty vegetation. The thick river grass of the summit was used only partly in the winter. The lower part of the Galutein-tag remained a less used area of Tzokto-khairkhan because of the lack of water. The nomads seized only the area near the river and in winter and spring some migrated along it and enjoyed the snow. However, not much snow fell — 3–4 fingers worth, a quarter. By and large, (I was talking about the open, low areas), and this happened only after a blizzard or snowstorm.

The soum border was not strictly observed and families along the border of the neighboring soum migrated on both sides of it. In case of a serious drought in one soum and conditions were better in the nearby soum, by agreement of the darga, people could cross-migrate to the other soum. Such movement became frequent and improper migration in the areas of settlement was allowed only during a drought. It also happened that cross-migration occurred from a neighboring khoshoo, for example, from Bayan-Khongor, but this was a right only for the cross-border settlers. Nomadic distribution was the topic but it didn't happen in soum meetings. The people instead, tried to limit the authority of the darga in his responsibilities toward each person. Seren considered it almost impossible to locate this soum with its 2 present postal stations and 20–30 yurts. In spite of the low nutrient value, it seemed that mowing in the high woods and swampy grasses (as all the others had done) would have been a great help in winter and early spring when the cattle, especially the rams, died. A push was necessary here, at least in Seren's opinion. Haying was hard enough here, and the more auspicious thoughts focused on the rain. However, taking out the hay would have been very difficult

because of the rock deposits and the swamp. Above all, careful study of all these conditions was needed to see if there could be a break or change from the older way of doing things.

The attempts at agriculture here had not been very productive. The soums located near the Cholute and the Khaniu were in better condition in the sense that they did not have postal stations which diminished the available pasture land. Although there were the same number of yurts in their common area all in all there were relatively fewer.

So, I considered undertaking a detailed investigation using the two soums, Bayan-Mandal and Tzokto-Khairkhan as the standard followed by more than half of Khan-Undur. Poor only regarding botany and soil. These last were not of interest in this area of absolute height. I did not go down below 1,500 m, except in the environs of Sechen-van. One could mark on a map the formations of the forests, the nomads and the number of yurts.

The amount of trade for the population was quite good. The insufficiency of something depended on the interruption of goods from the center-Ulaanbaatar. There was no difficulty in the market for raw materials. If the quality of the cattle declined, it was due to the loss of animals. The number of veterinarians needed to be increased to reach sufficiency. Considering how essential the cattle are, they sell for very little. Taxes are paid on the sale of wool and other products, by and large. Besides that, the darga-tax collector carefully watched the number of cattle and tried to see that there was no loss except from serious causes. In some instances when the large number of livestock was diminished, there were endless questions about the causes.

There were many fewer squirrels in this soum than in Bayan-Mandal. On a good day, a hunter killed 3–4. Only 2 pairs of antlers in this season were killed—very few. The price of 10–12 of the best quality antlers reached 200 tugriks at the highest. I asked Seren about chess. It was played here by western rules: the queen went by the European. I also asked about folktales and was told very few and those that are good are told without accompaniment.

About the social situation. Owing to the proximity to the center, instruction is carried out in the right way. Year by year, life has become better as the government's tone has become more cultivated. There are few good memories of the old ways; for Seren—none at all. In short, things have gone well for him. The lamas were attached to the monasteries. Obligatory requisition has not been inflicted but there was voluntary collection. Chjhiasa asked to help here and in the other soum. Got the work group together and everyone did what they were able to do. The religious authority managed the matter of faith and the 7 gabchzh [Tran. the first academic degree after finishing the faculty of philosophy] in the Buddhist church and they were on the same level as the khoshoo institutions. The geloni

(the third monastic degree in Buddhism) and the gabchzh were almost all elderly and demanded respect. The monastery cattle were herded in the settlement.

The Chinese traders declined in their trade. In Seren's opinion they could hardly make ends meet and he portrayed them as second-hand dealers or peddlers. They only monopolized peddling (and a few were beaten) and mushrooms (...). 4 youths were killed peddling this year in Bayan-Khairkhan. Even though peddlers came less often to Sechen-van there were 10 youths killed (Bayan-Mandal-1, Tzokto-khairkhan- 2, Bayan-Khairkhan-3 – 4 and it is unknown about Khan-Undur) .

There were no known singers in the soum. The oldest songs were in decline-the young sang new ones.

My cart did not show up, but the day held no embarrassment thanks to the questions.

August 19

Damn it! It is the evening of the second day and nothing has changed. Waited all day twiddling my thumbs. A day means a lot. I wanted to see again if the rams and goats were herded in separate pastures. They were gathered from many separate families into one flock and any family that grazed its animals in this way received some wool from the grazing rams and an equivalent amount of wool from the goats.

In the middle month of the autumn, they were let out from the flock. They were weaned from the first month of summer. The sires were chosen from the large and strong animals. The best examples were selected from the large horned cattle-good examples-from the yaks with the best wool. They were not interested in racehorses and chose, as sires those with manes and strong bodies.

Yesterday, I forgot to write about the time of the freezing and thawing of the little rivers. The rivers freeze at the end of the autumn and thaw in the last months of spring.

Went hunting in the evening. Saw nothing but everything was alright. Further on, I saw a large part of the forest which confirmed the first observation that the trees were poor—thin and short. Many signs of exploitation. Saw a white rabbit. (...).

Seren's son, by the way, studied in Leningrad and now apparently serves in the Okhrana in Uliasutae.

Evidently, the Uldzeitu valley with its tributaries was densely settled. In the last two days people have been going back and forth near us. At the mouth of the Uldzeitu stood a large khashaa with several Chinese type structures. This was the "castle" of the Prince Barun-gun. Now little existed except the temple-hall with its on-duty watchman. It rained a bit the day before yesterday and dripped a bit yesterday. Today it is cloudy but nice.

Tried to summarize the geological material. Tzamte-at the top quartzite, below some granite. Quartzite covering here and there. Granite stretched far below embracing the Urdu-gol. At the upper reaches, the Khoitu-gol on the Bugute, were quartzite and the lower part was granite. The left side-quartzite; two insignificant stands of tufa. The Nuuriin-ama and the Khukhu-nuur -completely granite. Kharlik-also. Senchjhig and Iola-tufa. Tufa also covered the left shore of the Dabate up to the right promontory. There was some contact with quartzite in places (?). Granite alternated with tufa on the highest part of the Galutein flat mountain summit and the environs of the Yegin. Yegin-granite. Ulaan-Khada and the far left shore of Cholut-quartzite. The lower Uldzeitu-the same granite. Granite, evidently, and almost all of the watershed of both Tamirs. Lava remained along the Khoitu-Tamir.

The cart did not turn upon the 20th. I went to the soum to hurry it along and I was lucky that the darga of the soum, Dolgorchjhap, had returned from the aimag. He was obviously a smart and efficient man. He appeared to be a delegate and was away at the Great Khural. The next day two young boys were assigned. The rest of the day I enjoyed a pleasant time at the settlement with Niambuu who was the darga's secretary. The soum was situated at the Khurumiin-gol, between Ulseitu-ubur and Tzokto-khairkhan. 5-6 settlements. The lower arm of the Cholote-Khurumiin-gol-the lava flow. On the slope of the Tzokto-khairkhan-a small grove. Here all new that was noticeable. On the 21st I took off at midday. Took my final farewell of Seren. The pack load was on two horses. A bit above us the Uldzeitu received a large source from the Khomon-ger, the right side of which was abundantly wooded. The level of the river was quite high. The Uldzeitu narrowed in the high Khomon-gera valley and there appeared to be abundant undergrowth.

On the left side near the river there was a granite cliff and further to the right there was the Angir-bulag spring. Above it on the left a high granite spit was cut into the valley. One approached on the left the not very large field of Ulaan-cholu. This—the border of granite and quartz, moved further along the left bank of a high cliff. A little bit higher up the Uldzeitu, on the right, were the waters of the Bugute tributary. Almost opposite the Bugute to the left, was the approach to a not large ravine of the Nariin-Ulaan-cholu and the Dood-bulag ravine. Here the valley of Uldzeitu perceptibly widened and the undergrowth disappeared while material from the moraine was seen. One approached the Deed-bulag spring somewhat higher and to the left. Almost next to it, was the field of Ukhan-marta and beside it-the Nariin. Passing the Nariin, we stopped a bit above it, almost at the large valley. On either side were high steep bare summits. South of these but higher, the river flowed for 700 m. Now for several details about Uldzeitu. As is seen from this short list of sources, the large one is on the right, and the Nariin and the Ukhan-

marta originated by the magistral.

Following the Yegin, the Tsagaan-sar flowed from the magistral and followed the Iola. The Bugute and Khomon-ger began from a short, but high river mountain ridge—the watershed of the Cholute-Uldzeitu, moving away from the magistral between Ukhan-marta and Tsagaan-sar. There were three watershed systems: Nariin-Ukhan-marta, Ukhan-marta-Bugute, Bugute-Khomon-ger, all of them were quite high with the look of a bare topped peak along a wooded border. All of these rivers were on the right side and were tolerably afforested, except perhaps the Nariin which had few branches on the top. The major part of the bottom of the ravine (how much could be judged from afar) was a swampy and tussock filled meadow. The southern facing slope was woodless, steep and a bit broken up. On the left side, the Uldzeitu did not receive a large tributary. The springs, only on the upper parts of the valley, were small and insignificant. The bare topped peak from this side began somewhat lower by the Dood-bulaga. This side of the Uldzeitu was completely without woods. The formation of the zerophytin slope meant that the plants had adapted to dry conditions. This same valley of the rivers had, for the most part, been created from heated ground and grass which had been trampled down in most areas and so, for the most part, was regarded as a dry formation. Many settlements. All along the Uldzeitu and its sources were up to 50 nomadic yurts, spread out in the following manner: near our three day stop—there were the already mentioned 2 yurts. At the mouth of the Khoman-ger-8, higher up this field-7, opposite the mouth-8. Further along the Ulaan-cholu-3, on the Bugute-4-5, on the Deed-bulag-12, at the mouth on the Nariin-5. The grass was trampled down during the summer along the Uldzeitu because people migrated to their nomadic camp there immediately when autumn came. During the winter there was some sort of minor disintegration at the tributary of the same river. Niambuu, for example, spent the winter on the slope almost opposite our “long time” station. A number of hunters were now out marmot hunting—some in Tsagaan-sar and Iola and others in Chichigin and Urdu-Tepxi.

By the way, Seren erroneously described to me the left hillside of the Cholute, below the Uldzeitu. Its beginning came from the Gurban-Jargalant and the Zuun-Mod. Two systems came spontaneously from the water shed-Terkhu and Cholute and the third system approached the lower watershed. The Khan-Khade on the left side of the Cholute flowed from the source of the Khaluun-usu, with its sulfurous springs with their not very high temperatures—about body temperature. Several baths were built here. From this side of the lower Khaluun-usu flowed the Teil. One had to consider its proximity near the Uldzeitu and to the middle postal station (30 versts). They say it is almost as much as from the Uldzeitu to the Yegin. The lower reaches of the Uldzeitu-ubur were part of the watershed named Tabun-Tsokh (?). Khalun-usu—a larger field.

In the evening at the campsite at the station, I climbed for more than 1 ½ hours to the high flat top south-west of the camp. Unfortunately, first, it was already quite late when I reached the peak at 7 o'clock; second, the weather turned nasty. It was cloudy at times, the wind was strong and there was cold, lashing rain. Since the visibility was poor, I could barely see the distant Kharlik mountain ridge and could only partially analyze the details of the structure of the source of the Uldzeitu on the right. Evidently, the source of this river was to the side and below the bare quartzite peak as was the slope of the bare summit, except for a not very large area with some grass. I returned in half an hour, running all the way. There was a difference in the reading of the aneroid which showed almost 660 m from the summit to the camp. Thus, I came down at 22 m a minute. The real summit remained a bit further, while our camp was raised above the bed of the river, almost 700 m. While our dinner was cooking, the wind strengthened, the rain beat down with all its might, and the night was pitch dark. The magistral, after all, wanted to intimidate me. But we were comfortable and cozy with our delicious meat and rakusha.

August 22

Moved further in the morning. Near our station, one could cross the moraine to the narrow gateway between the high and steep summits. There was granite there and along the moraine. Almost in the same passage on the left side of the Uldzeitu, the narrow and steep ravine of the Angarkhai descended with its beginning hugging the high and very steep black quartzite of the bare summit. The farthest path had the original name of "Khugaichin-tsam" ["The Thieves' Road" —the editor's note] and it followed along the river by the swamp and the boulders, while in the river, helter-skelter, were granite mounds. Went 8–9 versts and stopped near the source of the Uldzeitu on the border of some woods. After eating, I went with Idamchjhap and on our horses we climbed to the top of the granite hill described earlier. Took a long time to climb up going by the field and swamp. Saw nothing living except a white partridge.

Saw a remarkable but not very wide mound. We were at a strange place on the magistral. In the center of this mighty mountain (on which there were many spurs). In their midst, there was the irregular form of a hollow with rather low granite hills or mounds. These hills had clear traces of ground up glacier and in places the typical "ram's forehead."

Among the hills and these deposits was a gentle valley and a hollow which was swampy and often filled with boulders, by a lake. The river Uldzeitu began here, somewhat divided by the saddles along with the Baidarag, and the Budun-Gichigin, and further on, from the boundary of the hollow, the Urdu Terkhi and the Tzak.

Terkhi and Tzak. This hollow was surrounded by an ordinary very high

quartzite bare top summit. Had the hunch that in the center there was an enormous bare topped bundle or knot. From this hollow the Baidarag, Uldzeitu and Gichigin went into the deep and narrow passage between the bare summits already mentioned. I looked at this picture from a cliff high above the granite hill. The details of the surroundings included: to the south, a narrow saddle-rampart adjoining the high and long bare summit, on (...) the wing which I climbed yesterday. Part of this high, bare summit (called Nariin), its west wing, and what was referred to as the saddle composed part of the magistral. On a riding saddle with a light pack, crossed the Duru-Khanginakhin from the Uldzeitu to Baidarag. Further, the magistral went (...) from the cliff, and was less visible on the southern facing slope which was separated from the proper summit of the Uldzeitu and from the main source of the Baidarag, which flowed parallel to the magistral and proceeded on to the bottom of my cliff. The southern facing woodless slope was 6 versts set in the foothills to the north of the spur on the high woodless summit. *Here the line of the watershed turns to the west.* (See further). Between this spur and such, to the west was a narrow passage. At the entrance one sensed the bend of the Baidarag-Budun-gichigin.

The proper source of the Baidarag was a bit to the west and skirted around the magistral and turned to the south west with a not too large spur to the south, dividing the three sources of the Baidarag. Subsequently went to a not big saddle between the western edge of the source of the Baidarag and the source of the Urdu-Terkhi, where the magistral settled along the high bare summit for 12–15 km to the west from the cliff. I saw no further. So here was the largest drop in the magistral—the part between the Gichigin at (...) the wing of the Nariin river. What I remembered as the high bare summit, (I named it Terkhi,) along the right shore of the western source of the Baidarag, went to the mighty ridge, formed with (...) the wing of the Nariin, and the passage of the Baidarag and accompanied this last further on. Near it, one could sense the deep valley and could see another ridge as if they were, as mentioned, parallel, to the mouth of the Terkhi. Was this valley the source of the Terkhi? Idamchjhab asserted even more so as if the Baidarag at its peak and up to the Tzak did not receive a large tributary on the right.

The confluence of the three of the Baidarag here was almost evident from the slope. The high bare summit from the source of the Gichigin to the west presented a wide arc to (...). It adjoined the passage of the Uldzeitu. Everything was very steep. In one place saw a solid former glacier with springs flowing on the left side of the Uldzeitu-Dood-bulag and Gelgar.

While we were on the slope, the clouds dissipated. At times, the black summit seemed to have closed its big snow curtains. We were pretty well beaten in this region. The view was of this gloomy, severe, and wild place. Harsh mountains, yellowish tussocks of grass, and the grey rubble field—almost a complete absence

of life. And in the silence, under the black clouds, the river arose in the whistling wind which indicated such a different lot. The quick, merry Baidarik cheerfully flowed out across the dry slope of the grey-green mountains of the southern slope of the Khangai, against the desert and with little strength, spilled into the lake where it encountered the invincible, dry and warm walls of the Gobi Altai. There was a drop on the road, which fell a verst further, and everything was completely different. The many waters of the river made the noises of the northern Khangai, and every now and then, joined with the great waters of the Selenge where they met the Khövsgöl waters by the border of the Uriyangkhai along with the waters of Khentii and the Buriat taiga. After emerging from the bottomless depths of Baikal, all of this water finally reached the great Yenesei and slowly and smoothly it flowed and then spilled into The Great North Sea.

As its first explorer, I had studied to my heart's content and had completed all the necessary work about the source of the Baidarik, so in the biting rain, I quickly returned with Idamchjhap to the camp. Near our station was an abundance of a strange plant, "Caragana-Jubata" which I first saw in Dabate. This plant was only seen in the alpine zone, near a wooded border, and the best examples were along the rubble field. I collected many examples. Further on, near our camp, were several winter stations with stone walls set up to protect the small animals from the wind and also, strictly speaking, to compress the animal droppings. There were spring and winter migrations. On the granite southern face of the mountain there was suitable growth for the cattle. This place was called Ochirga. [Tran. The Mongolian word for thunderbolt]. There were sufficient bushes, mainly willows, along the river. Black wood sorrel which is called khada in Mongolian, gooseberries or barberries, honeysuckle, buck thorn. Unclear if there were any black currants.

Several barely visible paths diverged from Ochirga. One of these led across Dura-Khanginakhin along the western source of the Baidarik to the source of the of the Urdu-Terkhi. From there, the path branched down along the Baidarik to the Sechen-van khüree where there was a large postal station. The khüree was 20 (?) versts above the mouth of the Nogon-khunde. Thus, from Ochirga the path went to Budun-Gichigin, but the hunters picked the mountain ridge to the source of the Shara-I Khara-usu. Its' name was "Khulagaichi-tsam," or "The Robbers' dance" — ostensibly, but even the less difficult paths were a strain. I decided to go down along the Budun-Gichigin.

August 23

Loaded up in the morning and went up along the stony ridge of the pass of Uldzeitu-Baidarik (magistral). From there the gently sloping plain led to the promontory on the bare, black summit, approaching the magistral from the north. I

went on the road past a single granite hill rising above the same Baidarik and enjoying the sun just peeping out, I took several photographs. I went up to the flat-topped promontory and saw no slope to the Gichigin as I had thought yesterday, but, instead, quite a wide and swampy valley which was the real source of the Baidarik and which skirted around the source of the Uldzeitu and began with (...) the slope of the high summit, with (...) the slope from which the Geigar flowed, (...) and the source of the upper Uldzeitu. Thus, the magistral played a strange trick here. The bare tops were high and surrounded by this lofty and silent valley. Beyond the bare top promontory, we finally went to the pass at the Gichigin, but we had to finish near the Baidarik. The valley was almost straight at the path from the high bare top, that is. The lower intersection was wide and sloped gently. There was no rubble field and no granite on the way out, only our knoll to visit which opened onto a hilltop with no swamp but abundant grass, and the hill tops on the right shore did not rise above it. All of this area seemed especially predestined as the habitat for the argali, or wild mountain sheep, but we did not encounter one.

It was an inspiration beside the Gichigin. The Baidarik's flat saddle dropped steeply into a narrow slit and somewhat further the Khapchik (the righthand source of the Budin-Gichigin), flowed into the gap between the almost sheer, high bare summits and a cascading cliff, before falling to the bottom of the gorge. In the depths below, one could see the river and the woods. I quickly went down but the path was not very steep or of great depth, so we found ourselves in a very pleasant place reminiscent of the ravine of the Tzamt. The bottom of this ravine-a rich, dense alpine meadow. The steep slope on this autumn day was brightly colored and the low bushes were in the transition from clear-green and brown-violet to clear yellow-red. It was extremely beautiful here with this colorful cover. All of this was framed by the sharp-edged slope which rose to a giddy height.

The forest-larches. Continuing on our descent, we soon came to the exit of this colossal gap and on the left slope, a few cedars appeared. A short turn and we found ourselves in the high Budun-Gichigin valley. There soon appeared on the side the granite ridge and moraine deposit. To the left, on the moraine, grew a dense wood of larches. Going on a bit further, we stopped after about a verst near the river and the first settlement in Dalai-vanovskii khoshoo. The pass was called Khapchikiin-davaa. I went to a not very large knoll on the moraine by the left side of the river and marked a dot on my plan. I was still able to ask the names of places at the settlement where I was stared at by the eyes certainly of the Olets (Kalmyk Mongols) type of Torgut with long tassels. Vividly remembered Etzin-gol which already showed western influence. Returned late, having decided to climb early in the morning tomorrow, the left side of the Khapchik and for the last time gaze on the magistral. By the way, we envisioned the rocky valley at the western

source of the Baidarik, which was not a part of the Dsak as we had formerly thought, but the Mandal, the right tributary of the high Baidarik which joined it a bit below the Sechen-van khüree. I must say that, generally, the Uldzeitu exceeded the limits of my guide. Pretty bad. He also did not know the name of the summit. Nevertheless, I wrote down the names of the magistral between the Yegin-davaa and the source of the Baidarik. This started with the Tsekhelik at the source of the Iola-Khukhu-davaa-nuur. The upper pass by the Khukhu-davaa on the rubble field fell down to the Baidarik above the Van-khüree. Further on one came to the Tsagaan-sairan-nuur and the Bugutein-nuur. The last high pass of the river was the Muren (Bugutein-davaa)-Baidarik. From Ukhan-marta (the lake also had that name), then there was the pass at Ara-Bugute.

The bare peak I climbed to the stopping point of the Uldzeitu was called Salkhir-nuur and its continuation, Khurun-tobogor. The pass from Baidarik by Urdu-Terkhi was called the Khukhu-davaa. The mountains on the left side of the Uldzeitu had the following names: (from bottom to top): Tsalu (opposite my long stopping point) Kharangiin-nuur (opposite Khomon-ger) then Salkhite-nuur, Khurun-tobogor and Buligiin-davaa.

August 24

It was barely light when Idamchjhap and I saddled up the horses and we went to the top of the granite promontory as I had planned the day before on the summit. I went close to the border of the woods and then started to go up to the steep promontory. The very top portion of the path was a narrow and steep rocky crest with steep deposit fields on both sides. While I was climbing, the sun came up. A wild and beautiful sunrise in the mountains! The rose-colored summit brightened to white from the hoar frosted valley. Snowflakes off the lake created a fog. From the rubble field there were tints across the whistling mountains. Higher up, there was a biting chill, and quiet and freshness on this clear autumn morning. Finally, after several risky paths, I reached the top where I looked around a little and then struggled to find cover from the wind. I stood looking at what was opening before me in the valley of the right source of the Gichigin to the peak from which fell steep boulders and rocks from the kar.

Soon I noticed some goats far below me lying on a hillock. There were five of them and one was very old with unusual horns. I was curious and looked through my binoculars at them lying peacefully sometimes glancing from side to side. One arose, drew himself up, scratched his ear with his back leg and soon lay down again and stretched. At certain times, they stood up a little in the cold and when they wanted to eat. I watched them for a long time and it was a great pleasure to observe these quiet animals. I watched the high rising sun from the top and it was a healthy cold—all of + 2.5. The vast horizon opened up, while in the north it

closed in on the long and gently sloping spine of Tarbagat. One of the valleys without drainage was open to the south and the wide Dalai-vana khüree (Tariat) was visible. Some of the details follow about this Tarbagat and I had a few words about its character. From there and from the Tsun-ganga (the name of my summit) was often pictured as a long and flat mountain range with a gentle southern slope which was divided into wide fields (without drainage). There were no visible woods but, undoubtedly, there were some on the southern slope if not in great number. These separate summits rose slightly over the mountain. Almost all of these sloped gently which was not characteristic of the flat topped, flat stepped construction. None of these were glacial or exhibited the steepness which was so evident on the magistral of the Khangai. The junction where the Tarbagat joined the magistral was not clear nor was its height notable.

Now about the magistral. It was important to look at the source of the Baidarik which has already been described. From the Tsun-ganga to the barrier of the Uldzeitu it went to the high and narrow crest with a triad of high peaks, while lower down but not below Tsun-ganga. The watershed of the Gichigin-Uldzeitu approached a line of mighty spurs, divided by deep fields and on the right the tributary of the Gichigin. The high spurs blocked the view from that side and the flat top could only be seen at the horizon. In all likelihood, the Ukha-Cholute river touched the watershed of the Gichigin-Urdu and further on the Terkhi, so there was a view of the high, flat-topped spur with a short field by the left tributary of the Gichigin. At the leading part of it there arose several high peaks with kars. The three the sources of the Baidarik, Gichigin, and Urdu-Terkhi were in the area between the peaks where they occupied a not very high but continuously stepped bare-topped massif. Far to the west the snowy Otkhan-tengri could be seen. By the way, "the snowy mountain ridge" that I saw from the Senchjhit-was, almost without a doubt, part of it. At the southern horizon, the ridge was locked into the bare top across which burst the Baidarik. Further on, one could see the button, or hat, of the Sumberu-khairkhan, the Senchzhit, the Iola and the promontory of the southern (Baidarik) spur of the magistral in the area of Nogon-khunde. To the west and northwest, it protruded from around a bend, its full height not visible. On that side, the magistral was mighty and alone by this high mass of bare mountain top. I believed that I knew its character, even if not in great detail.

I admired its vistas for a long time. Took a montage (what goes into my montages!). Having grown fond in (...) of those five, I left not along the old road, but further to the left along a steep and narrow area of disintegration. There were some bushes similar to those at (...), but unfortunately without flowers.

The horses were brought to me and I reached the well-built camp. Arrived around noon. I didn't go immediately by the Gichigin river and turned my attention to the vault (a quadrant which was horizontal to the edge of the raised

slab) with a stone baba, flat and quite crudely made. A photograph. Went to the confluence of the Gichigin and the Khapchik and stood on the left slope of the valley which confirmed the past position that there had been habitation on the border in the same place that there was habitation now. We crossed the granite promontory and then went down to a wide field with a sizable lake, maybe of glacial origin. Crossed the wide swampy bottom of the field and began to climb along the narrow gorge of the Bobirga.

Now, about the source of the Budun-Gichigin. I did not see the very top which was located not far from the peak of the Urdu-Terkhi below, that is at (...) from the last. From (...) by the short mountain ridge of the Khapchik-Barun-ganga valley of the Gichigin which went almost in a straight direction (...) 46. Studied my wide area (up to 3 km) which was filled with traces of glacial activity. Between two mighty quartzite watershed ridges, there appeared to be some granite, although there were stretches of quartzite in much of the region. On both sides of the valley, there had been serious denudation among the rubble from the glacier, a low flange, and the ridge or promontory, which was partly covered by moraine deposits, served as a forward barrier on the watershed ridge. In the same valley and not far below the Khapchik was a whole galaxy of small lakes originating from the moraine. Each of these lakes, taken separately, were near the high point of the Gichigin with their sources on the left of the fields. The last of the series. Easy access to the crossing was primarily at one point. Below, the Khapchik, Budun-Gichigin went to the right at the Tsagaan-sar river and one branch began under the Tsun-ganga and another under the knot on the top of the Baidarik-Gelgar (Uldzeitu).

The wooded Budun-Gichigin was quite pleasing, although I cannot say how the woods managed to exist there. There were many people in the local population. There were 30 yurts from the top to the mouth of the Tsagaan-sar. Little far migration with winters spent on the sides of the gorge. Excellent fodder, especially, as always, on the south-facing granite mountain slope.

The Area of the Gichigin Soum

The trees here were not very high, but the woods were very thick and more so than near the Uldzeitu. We went up to the wooded border by the gorge of the Bobirga with cedar trees exclusively. The general character of the gorge was nothing unusual: swampy alpine meadow, a swamp, a rubble field and a bare top. No pass appeared so we climbed straight up to the top, not too high, but on a very steep and meadow-like rampart. Thus, it fell especially to the horses but also to us to go up little by little and we did not descend on horseback. On the way up, we saw the bare-topped summit and a wide view to the north opened from it. There

also unfolded before me the Tarbagatai and the looming speck of the Tariat. Under foot was the narrow field as we approached the source of the Khukhu-davaa-ama which joined with the sweeping valley of the Urdu-Terkhi. We went on along the steep wooded promontory and spent the night by a branch of the Artsate-Khukhu-davaa. The little Artsate valley was typical: a trough like swampy bottom, a bare peak, and a steep side to the north. A few cedars at the top. The field of the Khukhu-davaa (the East Artsate) was broad. The southern woodless mountain slope side was bare and there were few woods to the north. The first settlement was a verst below us. This day tired me out and I was exhausted from climbing the two bare peaks on foot. However, in return I did get many impressions which sufficed me. From the last bare peak, I could still see part of the Terkhiin-Tsagaan lake and to the north west I could see the snowy mountain ridge-and I had completely discounted that it was Otkhan. Clearly, there had to be a complete revision. The watershed of the Terkhi was both wide and high. The place of the confluence was almost visible. The general character of the Tarbagataya was seen in great detail and seemed to present itself with the Tsun-ganga.

They had not heard of Chukhlomin at the settlement, but to make up for that, they had heard about the S. A. and his mode of transportation.

August 25

Descended. Passed a short and wooded little field of the Khushte (on the left) and went along a pleasant larch wood and then we turned west and passed a narrow saddle and went down by a wide ruin at the mouth of the large field of the Arshante. The left part consisted of the remains of a round bare peak. The top of the Arshante was high and very steep with the rocky remains of a former glacier and a black mountain ridge (quartzite?), inserted between the peaks of the Gichigin and the Urdu-Terkhi. The last skirted it from the west. Between this mountain ridge and the Urdu-Terkhi, the western Arshante moved to the wide and not very high spur of the Noyon-Khangai and this remarkable whole line was separate from the protruding cliff and was sharply divided on its flat, rounded surface. This spur got its name, really, thanks to the cliff but we heard nothing about it here. The northern slopes which were not very large were on the right side. On the left-stony and dry. Dry places were cut into the field. We saw that the upper valley was still several versts away. Further on it skirted the Noyon-Khangai and hid from view. At its bend to the left was the large drop of the Khujirt (?). On its right slope we saw a narrow belt of woods. Convinced that Chukhlomin had not passed by here, we turned back and stopped at the promontory by the mouth of the Khukhu-davaanai-ama. The Terkhi made a wide arc here. Places in the valley were swampy, full of tussocks, and flat areas with soil from a spring. We moved on in a storm with a fair amount of rain. I went into the rich yurt of the soum leader (taij or official).

Nothing was known there. The soum was called Bayan-Tzurkh. Higher up along the Terkhi-Noyon-Khangai. By this time Idamchjhap had learned in passing that Chukhlomin had gone along the Nariin-Gichigin and had made his way to Tariat. In the evening, we decided to move there. Loaded up and went at a trot along an excellent road to the north, near Urdu-Terkhi. The sun was just about to set. To the left, we climbed to the high watershed of the Urdu and the Khoitu-Terkhi. The top was bare. From it, a river went down to a short field and a few wooded areas. On the right, below Khukhu-davaanai-ama, I noted two: followed one which was long to the Urdu-Terkhi and went down to the Uliastai road, passing the Tariat. More about that below. At the entrance to a not too big field was a small monastery with the permanent establishment of the lamas-the Tsogiin-dugun. The field was named Tsog. It was highly likely that the earlier field had the same name. We crossed the valley of the Urdu-Terkhi rather obliquely and went to the high and bare summit of the flat mountain Baiskhalan, which was raised up on a narrow spur and which accompanied on the right the very lowest part of the course of the Urdu-Terkhi. Skirting this mountain, to the south, we went up to a not very large pass across the spur and spent the night at some ruins which were edged with a small wood. There were two tents of marmot hunters in the area. We saw an imperial eagle and left. In the ruin, saw horses and heard gun fire.

August 26

We went with the sun directly to the pass along which was an excellent road and we trotted straight to the Tariat. The road went to the eastern foothills of the mountain Baiskhalan. The area was wide and spacious. On the right, it opened up onto a wide, flat valley and in the east, which we could not see, was the beginning of the large Terkhiin-Tsagaan-nuur. Closer to it, on the south side of the Terkhi River were the two smallish lakes of Not-nuur. To the west of these and approaching the south, was the field that was not too large of the Notain-ama. All of this was quite far (12 versts) but one could see the Tariat khüree. Near the Terkhi River, was the water cleaning or draining apparatus of the MNTzK (The Mongolian Peoples' Cooperative) and the Stormong. I jumped ahead and saw our tent standing not far from the sinkhole.

My audience exhibited a healthy exhaustion. They had climbed along the Uldsietu up to Deed-bulag. The source turned out to be short. From it, the l pass to Dood-bulika enveloped the curved Deed-bulag from the west. Across the most difficult pass from there to the wide, bare-topped ridge-the watershed of the Uldzeitu-Zuun-Mod. Rocky and swampy. There were great difficulties to overcome on these several versts. The Zuun-Mod which began below a high cone-the eastern extremity of the high bare-topped crest was drawn toward the Tsun-ganga intersecting the summit of the Zuun-Mod slantwise. Chukhlomin came the length

(up to 10 km) of the slope with very steep sides and a ravine where it was essential to be careful at the central peak and at what had been mentioned about the crest (Tsagaan-sar-ekhiin-nuur). Below, it led to the beginning of the Baidarik, Tsagaan-sar and Gelgor. By the side of the ravine and next to the flat little slit of a pass by the Urtonte River, was the right branch of the Budun-Gichigin which flowed for the entire 30–35 versts. Along the road, the river was mixed with two or three fields (on the left), the first of which was called The Teil. I was not told how this river at the confluence of the Budun-Gichigin got its name. Intersecting the valley of the Budun-Gichigin they proceeded with great effort to the bare topped pass and then down the right source of the Nariin-Gichigin which went about 10 km straight to the north. They stopped to climb along the left source of the Nariin-Gichigin and below the confluence they saw a sizable lake (up to 7 versts). They went up (here along the Gichigin having already mentioned the Uliastai road) 15 versts and climbed to the gently sloping and flat meadow of the pass. The Uliastai road went by the long field and out by the Urdu-Terkhi above the Tsogiin-dugun which I remembered. Swinging to the right (they skirted around the flat half bare top), Chukhlomin found himself on the top of the Tzog field, and then went across a small pass to the field of Gatain-ama, which went down to Lake Not and further to the sinkhole. It goes without saying that the path was very difficult for them and also very interesting. About the areas between Budun-Gichigin and Urdu-Terkhi, see below.

Around evening, some people from a Russian colony arrived. At sunset I went with the vetfeldscher (veterinarian's assistant) Bulikin to the upper reaches of the Tariat about 8–9 km. After fifteen days away, it was very pleasant to rest on a clean bed (I stayed the night at Bulikin's). I asked him about several things. The khoshoo was very well-off. In his opinion, the official quantity of the cattle was understated. The marmots throughout the Tariat approached 150 thousand and 50–60,000 squirrels were collected. The greater part of the cattle consisted of yaks and khainags and there were still camels. The grass had been almost completely ruined because the cattle were permitted to graze on it—the khoshoo was thickly populated. They tried often to mow some areas from the methods designed by the Russians. Besides veterinary matters, Bulikin was also something of a medical man and had quite a practice among the local population which he treated, for the most part, with confidence. There were few Russians at Tariat: 6 families, 5–6 single men.

August 27

Spent the whole day in Tariat, resting and making inquiries. I. I. Pesterev, (Stormong), was the local old timer and Mongolist who confirmed the information about the fodder and we talked about the road to Durekchivan. I did not get any

unusual information. He advised me to go and see Sumeri-gol, the lava flow, and the dam at Tekhiin-Tsagaan-nuur.

I went to the administrative printing office where I was treated well. I demanded 5 horses for the next day and two guides for the two to three-day excursion along the Tarbagatai. Didn't peep into the monastery since I didn't have my camera. Called on all the Russian families who lived rather narrow and dull lives. There was a postal station in Tariat. At sunset, I returned home. Then, together with Chukhlomin, went to the Stormong sinkhole and to a certain Riabenk, from the former peoples' army of the Mongolian army, serving even before Sükhbator. The man was very interesting, and we discovered that we had common memories about people we knew in both places. He had worked for the sheepskin export company, Daichinvan, in Khukhu-khoto, across Leg and the northern Gurban-Saikhan. He had seen a lot and recounted things honestly. Only one thing was strange: in the Gobi near Khotin Sudl (toward (...) from Baga-Bogd) he and his friends at twilight and at dawn saw a pair of animals that looked like they were one humped wild camels. The Mongols spoke about this with him. It was necessary to verify this with Tz. G. Badmadjhapov. Then he spoke about gold. Evidently, at the Delger-Khangai khoshoo the local people exploited it rapaciously. He recalled the military era of Sukhbator, the journeys to the postal stations, meeting with the bandits on the eastern border and so forth. We chatted almost until dawn.

Along the Terkhi, there were geese (the eastern bean and the Indian), cormorants, plovers, swans, and all sorts of snipe. Not many fish.

The climate here was quite severe, as everyone pointed out.

August 28

Worked at home in the morning. Stayed in the hut all day and answered letters while all sorts of people visited. The guides arrived but I decided to leave the next day. There was strong hail and then freezing rain almost all day. The neighboring peak was powdered with snow.

August 29

It was quite late when we started on our new departure, following close to the Terkhi. Passed the rocky endpoint on the left of the Tariat field promontory and went into the wide valley to the lower reaches of all three of the Nariin. The eastern part of this valley was called the Olumte. Pushing on to the east, we went along the place of the junction of this valley with the valley of the Terkhi almost to the western end of the Terkhin-Tsagaan-nuur. From a not very big mountain, I took photographs of this beautiful blue lake. Then we turned straight north along the flat steppes and walked to the mouth of the Dund-Nariin. Along the road I saw

many interesting graves with stone statues. I remember Bulikin talking to me about them. On the completely flat steppe, stood two large statues several meters apart from each other, which were very carefully made out of grey granite. These figures were rooted to the ground on a square granite rectangular slab of 2–3 meters. (the same burial place?). All of this was surrounded by an unobtrusive circular ring-shaped rampart about 30 m in diameter. Intersecting the rampart, from the rectangle on the slope were two parallel lines of stones. (...). The details on these amazing stones were well preserved. (See the photo). However, in case the photos did not come out, I tried to describe them. On its head was a pointed hood with the edge at the front which was reminiscent of the Buddhist cowl or hood. The semi-circular coiffure was a bit behind the cowl but did not hang over it. There were earrings in the ears. The gown had a high collar (like a lama) which was closed from right to left. Narrow sleeves. The left hand hung lengthwise on the body, the right hand was bent at the elbow, and a semi-circular cup was held against the chest. The statue on the right was missing a head and I could not find the remains. There was a clearly visible belt, narrow and flat, which hung from the right side and encircled the form. Moreover, they were weighted at one or two of the ends. The left hand was not there but the statue must have held a short staff. It can be assumed that this was the burial place of a husband and wife. It can be surmised from the broken head that, in all likelihood, the man had been a prince. There was a similar but poorer type of burial at the mouth of the Dund-Nariin. Both statues lacked heads and did not have such complete bodies. There was no visible pedestal, and generally less of a structure.

There was a rather nice lake, about 5 km around, in the middle of a large field at the mouth of the Dund-Nariin, called Khodo-nuur. The drainage channel was hardly noticeable at Urdu-Terkhi. Having photographed this last burial site, I went on to the not very big field of the Dund-Nariin. Having gone two versts, we turned to the west, climbed a bit up the steep ravine, and stopped at the edge of the forest. After tea, I went hunting at the top of the Dund-Nariin. Let me speak a bit about the character of the woods. The narrow band of leaf-bearing trees was to the north (the southern facing mountain slope and the peak here were without woods). The trees in the woods were not high-its border (...)—but also not thin. Quite normal. Saw no living thing. Tracks of a goat and the cry of a white partridge. Returned to camp.

A little bit about the previous camp. Crossing from the Gichigin to the Urdu-Terkhi I found myself in the Bayan-Tzurkh-soum. The high Arshante-Noyon-Khangai-soum. Near Tzag-did not know. Or Baiskhalan or Tariat. From Khukhudavaa up to the mountain Baiskhalan—80 yurts and more near Tzog. In the Arshante region near the mouth and along Urdu-Terkhi—about 20 yurts. Higher along the Arshante there were still visible settlements. Flew along the Terkhi. Good

fodder and the side fields were protected for the winter. At the last peak, however, the fodder was unsuitable and there was some sort of swamp formation beside the south woodless spur. Many cattle, and I often came across wealthy yurts.

I reached the region along the Urdu-Terkhi opposite the Tariat and did not stay there. I noticed that there were many settlements between the Baiskhalan and the Terkhi-Tsagaan-nuur. The fodder was nasty. The Tariat field was well populated. In the Olumte region—two of the upper Nariin (I didn't see in detail what was lower down), there were 12–15 settlements. Generally poor fodder. No spring rains, and no summer grass had come up. As a result, the crop depended on what came up in the spring.

The little trading town was called Tariat and was, by the way, Iren-Modo.

My Dugarchjhap told me that Urdu-Tamir was the high Tzain and was considered connected to the Khan-Unduru. The soum was located at the Barun-Bayan-Tzurk and the Tsun-Bayan-Tzurk. The first was the highest in the Teil area. This last was somehow connected to the Ulentei-ono and almost all of the Ulentei and the Artzatain-ama. Near the mouth of the Ulentei and further below along the Khoitu-Tamir was Chimit soum. The upper half of the Ulaltzaya-Bayan-khairkhan. In Khan-Undur soum there were about 120–130 yurts.

August 30

In the morning, made my way with one guide to the top of the peak of Khutuk-uul from the bare top of the peak of Tarbagatai, which lay along the top of the Deed-Nariin. The weather was splendid. It was an easy climb along the flat slope to the bare top and the fields on the sloping summit where we saw two large oboos with a pole and a whole heap of little stones. The wide view was limited by the height of the bare top and its position in the center of this comparatively low mountain. The magnificent view to the south took in the ridge of the Sumbiin-Shombon (the top of the Zuun-Mod) – Gelgar (Tsagaan-Sairen yekhin-nuur) – the Tsun and Barun cliff with the Khapchik gap. The watershed of the Cholute-Gichigin and further to (...) from Sumbin-Shombon continued to remain sufficiently high and flat with several insignificant passes. Nearer, there stretched before me a high, very flat, continuous bare-topped ridge which was the watershed of the Budun-Gichigin-Terkhi. It was at an angle from the Urdu-Terkhi and the Terkhi-gol, to (...) from Khukhu-davaa, and was packed against the flat top of the quite flat, well-forested mountains. The crest and the peak looked bare and often reached up high to the border of the woods. This was the “third sequence or order” of a bare top which followed my gradation plan, that was without a rubble field and always with a meadow. Here were the fields of the Nariin-Gichigin, Tzog, Notain-ama. Further to the west at the horizon line and near the Barun-ganga could be seen the high circular ridge of the Arshante-in-nuur. Noyon-Khangai was clearly visible.

Going further to the west, the mountain had not been investigated very much and the guides and I only knew about those that lay close by. I noticed only that part of the magistral from the source of the Urdu-Terkhi up to the Khoitu-Terkhi and especially not to the protruding ridge and the summit. There was actually no summit similar to the Senchjhit or the Anaga. Nothing separated all of the two or three summits. One of them had the name of Ulaan-khairkhan. At the source of the Khoitu-Terkhi, the magistral was not very high and had a flat crest which was not shielded from the east by a large spur. From the insignificant drop, it was clear and easy to see the white snowy top of the Otkhan-Tengri. This white dot on the horizon absorbed our attention for quite a while. It was so magnificent that it had to be the Otkhan close-by. It seemed that the watershed of both the Terkhii, then, was represented by the wide and bare-topped but not very high spur from which was divided several of the flat summits. The eastern of these was called Ganu-moto and (...).

Now about the Tarbagatai. The name of the local inhabitants was, evidently, not known. From where it came, god knows. A large part of this big mountain ridge was seen from the Khutuk-uul. The ridge was quite wide and flat and with a large number of insignificant rises at the top. It rose quite a bit to the west and the southern slope was flat and short with a large and quite wide field. There was poor forestation. The north was long and descended deeply to the Yeder valley. A magnificent and thickly wooded ravine and field was divided by sharp, steep ridges and its structure was not complicated. The almost straight line of its watershed was only broken on the edge of its eastern portion, where, looking from the not very high Khutuk-uul, it was difficult to estimate its height from the spur. My guides knew nothing about the northern slope of the Tarbagatai. To the east from Khutuk-uul the top of Shenatein-nuur was clearly seen above the first. From the watershed the area of the peak descended to the Tzerkhi-Tsagaan-nuur and the much-celebrated river Shenat, which was well forested (on the southern facing slope). The Shenatein-nuur blocked the eastern horizon. To the north it seemed short, but there was a high bare-topped spur. To the west from Khutuk-uul you could clearly see the pass from the Tariat north to the (Orokh-davaa). Further on, climbed from the wide glades to a crest above the Solongotai-nuur. From it there appeared the Tzagastai-nuur. Both of them were lightly sprinkled with snow (at Khutuk-uul there was no trace). From Tzagastai-nuur the abundant snowfall on the high summit was visible. Evidently, I had made a mark on the Tsun-ganga and the Gichigiin mountain ridge. I didn't know if there was constant snow on the summit and I would have been curious to find out. The survey showed where it was. To the north, was the field of the Tain-ama with the road from Orokh-davaa. In several versts, I could see the not very large monastery of the Arain-khüree. The pointy and thickly forested crest of the north slope of the Tarbagatai, as I have said,

descended to the deep pass of the Yeder ravine which was clearly defined. It was curious to see the great difference in the height between the wide steppe lake on the plateau of the Terkhi-gol and the deep Yeder valley. Behind the Yeder was the very different Bolnai. With its completely flat crest without a summit, at the plateau's edge it looked like the essence of this crest. On the southern slope below it, the crest was broken up and denuded down to the Yeder. It was difficult to determine the beginning of the Selenge midst all these high and intricately tangled mountains. The blocks or paving stones on the crest of the Tarbagatai in the area of the Khutuk-uul were very comfortable for travelling. The meadow was flat with few deposit fields and swamps. All of the grass had turned yellow. There were reddish-brown spots on the saddle with the dwarf birch trees which were very abundant here. The summit of the Khutuk-uul—a rubble field. Crystalline rocks. I enjoyed our time on the Otkhan and we quickly and easily descended. Saw a white partridge. Rested a bit at the camp and then I went to the woods which were thick but without high leaves. There was no underbrush. Then we packed up and went down to the Dund-Nariin and the path to the pass. The summit of the Dund-Nariin was beside a wide, flat, marshy ravine and a steep spring with undergrowth below the spring Ara-Shenat on the eastern summit of Toin-ama. By the side was a splendid, thick, and leafy forest with very fine examples of cedars. A good place for the wild animals! The promontory was to our left and there was a smell of some underbrush burning which was intended for a roebuck. A short descent led us to the Ara-Shenat along which we galloped down. The right side—a south facing woodless mountain slope with small leafy groves. The left led to Khutuk-uul and a magnificent thick wood with many cedars instead of the trees with leaves. Then we went down along the same river with its thick and bushy willows. The wooded slope opened out onto a small spring which jutted out to the grey bare top. There were still more cedars on the peak. A real taiga like spring. There were animals here undoubtedly, but I waited at some of the lower areas with disappointment. We did come across the settlement with a cattle pass in the woods. Still in the settlement, we continued on to the confluence of the Orokh and the Shenat. Too bad that the people seem to have forgotten the peak. Continued along the black, southern and woodless slope. Completely worn out. At the mouth of the Orokh we knew that Chukhlomin was near us and we continued along the Toin-ama at our former pace. The sun had already set. Passed the Arain-khüree and continued for an hour, already in complete darkness, about 25 versts from Tariat. We had wished to stay over there but the absence of food forced us to come down for the sake of our health. The settlement was full. Daban, in the words of Chukhlomin, seemed not rocky and quite comfortable. We moved on and easily spent the night by the exit from our stop at the southern slope of the pass. Vasya saw a grey roebuck. Our night did not pass without adventure: I took a tumble on my horse with my

rifle and all my equipment. Everything turned out alright.

August 31

Rain in the morning and throughout the day. Delayed our proposed trip along the woods of the Tarbagatai until tomorrow. Let off the guide and all day I was occupied with various matters. Drew up the survey. Rested a bit.

September 1

Pretty bad weather but at least not the terrific rain we had yesterday. Around 10 went to the top of the field with Chukhlomin to see the area where I was during the night. A couple of versts to the high station in the narrow valley of the river and then went right toward the steep promontory of the Toin-tologoi. We went up a bit to the Arain-khüree. Went to two settlements and up to a little field on the left side of the crest. We began to climb at the southern woodless slope and then went to the woods along a path which continued up. Hurrah for these woods! Frightened a wood grouse and ate mountain cranberries or bilberries. Opposite the crest was a woodless slope. The sun shone through a clear space in the clouds and we admired the shaggy, circular green knolls and crests which were touched with autumn gold. Took a photo but, unfortunately, I had forgotten my color filter at the camp. We left the crest and went to the north of the lovely field of the Nariin which ran into the Toin-tologoi. There were the tracks of a goat on the road but not much else. At the southern woodless slope, no sign of a herd of wild boars.

The Toin-ama—a narrow field, consisted of the two springs (Orokh and Ara-Shenat). Between them were the peaks of the bare-topped Khutuk-uul. The left side of the field sharply to the north, was cut into large and smaller fields. The Nariin and the Baitsa were actually the largest and their entrances almost met. The side of the slope had no woods and was rocky and rolled down to a stepped terrace. A large field 3–4. Along the same river there were places with small, leafy groves and an undergrowth of purple-rose willows. The fodder was clean. I counted 70 in the settlement which extended for 17 versts. The people who lived there were poor, distrustful, and answered questions with difficulty. They migrated all summer along this narrow valley so that in the autumn the cattle could be found perched in the woods on the highest southern slope. They were protected during the winter by the large side of the field where everyone seemed to have forgotten them. It was only the goats who associated with people and the other animals. The roebuck and the wild boars stayed close to the summit on the thickly wooded massif. The source of the hay was mowed in the spring at the Nariin. These people migrated to the southern slope of the ravine for their winter quarters where they found sufficient food. They trampled down the river valley and the sparse growth at the woods' edge. What remained untouched was on the bare topped northern peak. The overall

impression was sad. This beautiful place was packed with poor, dirty, and somber people who knew nothing about the extent of their rivers and about migration. Their food seemed to come from the winter fields. This place was Erdene-soum and the Dalai-vanovskii khoshoo. The cattle included horses, rams, and yaks. The monastery of the Arain-khüree was not large and had a few lamaist buildings which were beautifully arranged and very tasteful. The rain prevented me from taking a photograph. The monastery was built on the southern slope of the promontory at the entrance to the Mandar. A temple stood on a mound below a large oboo. There was a regular flight of stairs leading from the temple to the railed in square of the kitchen garden. 6 grave pyramids stood symmetrically in a row and below them was a Buddhist stupa. The main temple was below them and still lower down were two-three streets of the lamas' khashaas. There was a splendid view from the monastery of the summit of Toin-ama and on to the Khutuk-uul. All was green woods with steep, northern slopes, the top edged with a border of cedars, and the bare peak turning grey. The architecture of the temple at the Arain-khüree was in the northern Mongolian-Chinese style. Only one temple (the school?) was built in the Tibetan style.

It must be stated that much appeared to be woods which were quite expansive. The northern crest was very reminiscent of the border woods in Khentii. Even so, these woods were quite small but thick. There were several logs which explained why grass grew on the slopes and in the shady areas, and there was a thick layer of moss and bilberries. Many berries everywhere and almost no underbrush nor birches. Already the edges of the leaves were beginning to turn yellow and there were many cedars on the crest especially along the spine. However, there was not much life in these woods. The forest had not been exploited and there was almost no illegal cutting or burning. Only a little bit by the Ara-Shenat. On the side of the field was the rich undergrowth of willow bushes. Relatively little hunting here and no one seemed to know about it. There was not enough time here and a distrustful public—no one even came by our tent.

September 2

We got moving early in the morning with the intention of going to the pass up to Dureckchi-vana. Time was passing so we hurried along the same Toin-ama. Several versts remained of its previous character but both slopes were more and more rocky and bare. There were no more woods. Below, the valley widened considerably and took on a steppe-like character. The mountains gradually became lower before, on the right, the Yeder opened on to the field of the Khunchjhiliin-ama which fell into the Toin. A considerable little river surrounded a large wooded "island" which was, in fact, a splendid thicket—tall, straight, and dense. There were still several versts to go before the wide Yeder valley. Reaching west (...),

this valley began at the mouth of the Khunchjhiliin-ama, turned to (...) and then was covered by the steep, rocky promontory which narrowed there. We turned to the west and rolled along on a proper road on the side of the valley. The Khapchik and the Khoorai were on this side as we passed the field. I saw a settlement on the road to the right. In fact, there were only women, but one was very garrulous and talked to me about the many names for the sides of the field and also complained about the poor fodder. This last—really not so important. The road from the settlement had deteriorated—stones, tussocks and a field of iris. We moved slowly and met a Mongol who advised us to go along the left side of the river and showed us the ford. The river itself: wide (30–40 m), fast and deep—the water reached as high as the hub.

On the other side it was easier. No swamp or tussocks and the ground was sandy. The Mongol we had met advised me against going across the Shumultai as I had planned earlier but, instead, to turn at the field of the Khuyekhtein-ama, across the pass where the Sepsul went toward Lake Sangin-dalai and then went down along the Tesu. I decided to do just that. We stopped on the shore of the Yeder, 5 versts below the mouth of the Khuyekhtein-ama, by the high larches.

We passed the wide part of the Yeder valley: 2–4 km. The mountains surrounding it were heavily eroded and the right and left sides were clearly distinguishable. Grassy woods covered the floor of the valley. We came across a green expanse with tussocks and some feathergrass, but mostly irises. The left side was clearly reminiscent of the semi-desert. The fields were eroded and wide with dry entrances, the mountains were stony and bare and the grounds—sand and gravel. There was an abundance of caragana and wormwood grew along the sand and (...). The fodder was better on this side. Almost no people were seen at this wintering place. The fields on the right side: Khunchjhil, Khapchik, Khoori, Gurban-Tzetsukh, Dolon-Mukhur, Yeliste, Tzarta, Khochjhul, Guntszan, Tekshi. We stood opposite Dolon-Mukhar. The left side: Toson, Khongor, Khuikhte, Khujirt, Kharaganat. This was up to the Shumult. On the right, it seemed to me, almost all woods, especially the great Dood- and Deed-Tzelukh which went to the axes of the Tarbagatai where there was a large wood. Dolon-Mukhur a series of not large dry and steep areas of ruination. Many people lived there, and they hastened along the river and went, towards winter, either to the field or to the right side, to the woods, or to the sunny southward facing mountain slope on the left side. The large area in this same valley was not good for pasturing because of the extensive growth of irises. I counted up to 100 settlements from Khunchjhil up to Khuikhtein-ama. From our station on the Toin to the Yeder almost all of them were at the wide entrance to the field of the Deed-Tzetsukh. By contrast, the summit of the Toin, with settlements near Khunchjhil and by the Yeder gave the impression of wealth. There were large and clean yurts. We saw camels

somewhere along the very advantageous area of the Yeder and at the mouth of the Khunchjhil. I had hoped to find a good place for agriculture in the low Yeder valley but-no, poor hummus, too much light sand and chiazospermum- a plant that grows in the sand, marshy tussocks, and rocky edged areas. In a word, not at all suitable.

There was no undergrowth along the Yeder. In places there was a strip of bushes, and sometimes a group of larches. Evidently, there were a lot of fish. The riverbed was sandy and full of chiazospermum.

September 3

Slowly dragged along in the sand this morning until we reached the entrance of Khuikhtein-ama. The field, narrow at the entrance, quickly widened. From the mountain on the left side of the river a slope descended to a flat stepped terrace. Woods to the north. The right side was stonier and bare while willows and larches grew on several high spots along the river. More and more woods appeared higher up the mountain where the north took up a large field. Finally, before us we could see the not very large valley expansion and the divided river where, on a spit of land, stood the small monastery of Khuikhtein-dugun and then the main field turned to the left. I climbed a bit further and noticed that on one side of a small field stood, it seemed, the main crest of the Bolnai-bare-topped and very flat. Letting the horses rest, we went on our way to the side and began to climb to the Sepsul-davaa. The ascent up to the pass went to a short and wide ravine. We climbed without difficulty. The Bolnai crest hardly reached the border of the woods. It was wide and flat and covered with grass on the border of the woods. The rubble field was barely visible. The protruding peak was not near but could be seen from Khutuk-uul. On the right and the left was a flat, meadowlike crest. The slope by the side of the Sangin Dalai was small. Coming down from the pass, we spent the night at the source of the Sepsul river amid the alpine landscape. The valley sloped gently and was not deep and marshy. There were parts of the deposit field along the river and dwarf birches. On the slopes, the woods were weighed down with leaves. White partridges. Just as the camp was set up, it poured with rain and became very cold.

The food in all of the Khuikhtein-ama was of little importance. The people lived decently. I counted about 40 family settlements. The Khuikhtein soum khoshoo was Shachjhin-Batu, which was formerly Berva-gun.

At this place, the southern Bolnai slope offered a clear break with the wide fields which made things more comfortable since we travelled everywhere with a load. The highest half had good, forested planting up to the promontory of the Yeder which was dry and stony. The woods were exclusively leaf-bearing.

September 4

I went to the pass again in the morning. A narrow and small cloud stirred a little to enable the verification of the mark or notch on the crest of the Tarbagatai. Limited to two photo shots and to reading the aneroid report. From the north, there was a better view of the wooded northern slope of the Tarbagatai and the higher parts of the southern Bolnai slope. The crest, in the north, was not large on the horizon. Sangin-Dalai was not visible. Relatively not tall mountains and the valley was wide and flat. Only Sangin-Dalai stood among the higher mountains. This was the watershed from the Delger-Muren. The general appearance of the Bolnai crest was clearly remembered as the lower part of the Tarbagatai crest.

Going down several versts along the Sepsul, we came out at an area with three springs (coming down from the east). The view from the middle of the peak-a flat, bare top and a narrow crest, swampy, flat valley, with pieces of wood. At ours and at the middle spring were a pair of family settlements which did not seem to be built for the winter. Below the area of the springs, from 8–10 versts the Sepsul fell to (...) the end of the lake of Sangin-Dalai seen on our route. After this we stopped to cross the crest, which stretched from the Bolnai between the source of the Tes and the Sangin-Dalai in the direction of the last. We went almost parallel to the lake. From this crest, we crossed two and skirted three. The first two were forested. Skirting the third, we went to the wide, steppe valley running to the Sangin-Dalai. Turned to the west along it, and then to the top. There appeared to be water and about 20 yurts higher up the valley. The place was called Angirte. Having inquired about the road, we continued to climb along the marshy valley. To the left, was the low slope of the Bolnai appearing in a thick wood. Further along, the road crossed the river and went up to a narrow little crest on what appeared to be a large (10–12 km around) beautiful lake, the Gandan-nuur. Coming down, we skirted it from the north and kept to our former western direction, crossed 2–3 not very large promontories, and came down to what lay along the base of the Bolnai from its sheer height to the wide and swampy valley similar to that below. We went about ten versts from the Gandan without any water or firewood and then we stopped at a small spring with a little wooded area. The grass was very dry. It rained in the evening. The day had been very autumnal with a strong wind that blew from the west.

September 5

Waited until the morning for the rain to stop and then moved on further just to the northern edge of the wide valley, several versts below where we had seen the settlements. We approached the river on the left. I had been shown by people at the settlement how to find the source of the Tes, which was marked by a large oboe.

The lower valley grew wider and we soon approached a promontory from where we saw the Tes turn northward. Crossing it, we went still a few versts further up to the edge of the valley and then we turned onto a not very high pass which went down to a wide valley left of the source of the Tes. Moving northwest all the time, we came upon a small river, then went a few versts along the wide steppe, spending the night near the spring by two not large or clearly defined lakes with many water birds (...) including a white winged scoter, a teal, a heron (...) and others.

September 6

After the spring, we soon lost the road and went along by guesswork across the wide, flat strait strongly reminiscent of the desert with its small wormwoods and small specimen of ephedra. Then crossed a little river-spring and went to the sloping, small field up to the pass. Saw several bustards. From the pass, the upper reaches of a small, dry valley with a few leafy wooded areas opened up in (...), to the Tes. We crossed this valley, went up to a new pass, and down to the next field which was well forested at the top. There was a large road on the left. At the next pass, I saw the open and wide Tes valley with the large khüree of Durekchi-van, located on the shore of the river. I was there in 20 minutes.

Now several details about the source of the Tes. The mountain ridge of the Bolnai from the north offered a view of the not very high, flat, and long mountain ridge, which extended widely. The northern slope was broken up by large and small amounts of decay and springs. Very well wooded up to the foothills. Evidently, only or almost only leafbearing trees. The crest was flat and the peak which would have protruded, was not noticeable. The bare-top zone was only seen in the trench of the large spring. It climbed toward the woods, as in the Sepsul area, but was not too important. In fact, before looking at the Bolnai from the north, there was a possible supposition that it represented its own elevated edge of the plateau which descended from the Yeder. Along the foothills, we saw part of the Bolnai stretching to a wide and flat valley, where the Tes began. The widest part of the valley and also its sharpest drop were found primarily in the middle. By and large, the width here reached 15 versts and the line of a river flowed with the Bolnai and after the junction was made up of the Tes river. This last river broke through the not very high, northern barrier of the valley, went directly north, and then swung to (...). At the narrow (3 km) and relatively high eastern end was a large valley and the Gandan-nuur. The continuation of the valley served Angirte coming already down to the Sangin-Dalai. But, at the foothills of the Bolnai the watershed of the Sangin-Dalai-Tes was unclear. The western and gradually narrowed part of the valley of the source of the Tes remained uninspected. Evidently, the side of the Bolnai had widened and grown higher, with a clear shift

to the north. From there it (...), to the Tes there was a gently sloping line which had started with long and then shorter and higher spurs separating the source of the Tes from the left valley. We crossed these spurs and valleys on the last part of our route to Durekchi-van. The northern wall of the source of the Tes to the east was broken and relatively not high, gently sloping, a mountainous place, sparingly wooded along (...) slope. Such was the overall orography of the relief of the source of the Tes. The name of the various rivers was the following: to the east from the Gandan-nuur to the Sangin-Dalai flowed the river Yeleitein-gol (?) (below Angirte). To the west, both sources of the Tes and up to the gap in it fell the following springs: Dashta, Khaltszan, Sogote, and Asakhte. The wall of the Dorolchjhi-khunde (the name of the valley of the source of the Tes) in the place of our crossing was called the Tsagaan-sharo. Further on, it went to the left source of the Tes-Chjhirimtai. The peak in this area was regarded only as the important boundary of the wooded area rising over the Bolnai. The little lake where we spent the night was called Tsagaan-nuur. The river, flowing through the wide channel, was called the Mogoi. We crossed the next spur and, it seemed, the pass of Batagarain durolchjhi. The furthest pass Khara-Cholu. Went to the left along the field of the Baitzin-ama and the road went down from the Shutiin-davaa intersection, the last before the Durelchin-van small crossing at the Nam-daba.

Higher up, the eastern edge of Durolchjhi-khunde half swampy, full of tussocks, with shoots of swamp grass all over...shoots (...). A high place open to winds from the west and, therefore, cold. The grass was very dry. In general, this place was dismal. Nothing alive. Evidently, the Mongols did not migrate here. The soil -large gravel. Traces of a nomadic camp and settlement were seen below with a few above the Tes oboo, that is, by the barriers on the south facing slope of the mountain where some plants grew that did not need moisture. Below, in the area of the gap, there was part of the half bare-topped formation which changed along the valley to the ordinary poor steppe with a green expanse of tussocks by the river. The Chjhirimtai valley – a wormwood grass steppe. More (...). Such a steppe continued up to Durekchi-van. I saw the dense population only on the lower Chjhirimtai. There was excellent fodder in many areas that had no water which, in all likelihood, was used in winter. However, overall, I have to say that there was no density of population. In the woods (...) on the slope of the Bolnai I heard repeatedly, by the way, story after story about the goats and roebuck. It was strange that in this region there were so very few marmots. At Durekchi-van we stopped in the area of the Mongoltransport. On our arrival I received a note from S. A. Kondratiev with the news that his party would arrive no later than the 10th.

September 7

Went to the chancellery and drew up a plan which included staying there through the 9th to meet the Kondratiev group at Khudjhirtein-daba, and, further at the beautiful lake Irinchin-Djhugnai which lay in the wooded mountain area above the Tes valley. The lake was large, 12–15 km around.

September 10 arrived and so, finally, did our Uliastai party. Following the plan which had been decided on, we would leave for Sin-taiga in the Uliastai territory with my detachment and then go on to Khan-khukhai.

I knew at the chancellery that Sin-taiga was in the Uliastai area which made access to this mountain group difficult.

The 11th and 12th would be given up to preparations. The 13th all of us would go without luggage on the furthest route along the Tes. Every detail described on our route and in the area of Durekchi-van, I reserved until my return from the west and at this time I only presented the chronology. We would spend the night of the 13th at the entrance of the Shabar field where we had seen a shady grove of thick fir trees along the river. The 14th, went to the entrance of Tsetserleg, reaching up to the bend of the Tes, on the 15th went to the beginning of the straight road along the dry steppe valley and then turned straight to the Tes, where we spent the night. Saw a white gazelle (there were many.)

On the 16th, we went down along the Tes and stopped 6 versts above the Gandan-khüree on an island with spruce. On the 17th, I went with the M. I. K.^r to the khüree where I took photos. Besides this, became acquainted with two Russians in the liquidating division of the Gostorg to ask them about things. Toward evening, sent for Lubsan from the camp and went with him to the local border customs office in order to get information about the border. It seemed obvious that no one knew anything there. I felt that there were no obstacles in crossing the border but, on the other hand, they said that the road was closed. The precise border had not been established. There was not much robbery and little constant thievery. We returned after sunset. In the evening Lubsan performed for a long while, with songs and tales about our journey.

On the 18th, both of our parties dispersed. S. A. went further down along the Tes, intending to visit the Khan-khüree, and I sent Chukhlomin to a slightly higher station at the entrance of the Bugusin-ama and went with Lubsan high up along the Tes to the road to Budjhir-ulain soum. Went quite far, not less than 25 versts. The darga showed me what was going on and soon fixed for me a guide with whom Lubsan and I could go and spend the night. All evening Lubsan told stories which

^r M. I. K. referring to The Literary Committee, the precursor to the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

were heard with great interest. One of the young lamas seemed almost an acquaintance—in 1926 he was passing through Uliastai and was at Etziin-gol when we were working there. I knew the legends of Khara-khoto and many places along Etziin-gol as well as some Torgut acquaintances. It was very pleasant to talk about Etziin-gol sitting in a yurt on the banks of the Tes.

On the morning of the 19th, we were quite late along with our guide Gendun meeting Chukhlomin. Around 12, we arrived and went across the Tes, turning to the north toward Uriyangkhai. We climbed to the field of the Bugusugiin-ama. The riverbed was dry, and the wide and sandy bottom of the valley had shoots of large and distinct caragana bushes among which almost everything else was feathergrass. To our left, was the rocky group Tsun-Berkhe and to the right-Usu-Ulaan. The mountains were very rocky and almost bare. Very reminiscent of the desert. However, larch trees clung wherever possible and created a northern breeze. Climbing a few versts along Bugusgiin-ama, we turned to the right (by the current) and the tributary Jargalant-gol which was also dry. The spit with its high red cliff was between two fields and was called Belchir-Ulaan. Higher up along the Bugusgiin-ama was the last cut off of Bayan-khairkhan which could be seen with a leaf-bearing wood on the top. The nature of Jargalant was that the caragana had almost disappeared. Above Zun-Berkh, the mountain on the right side was lower. Passed a small puff of sand and several barely firm sandhills. Coming up alongside Bayan-khairkhan, we saw on the left side of the field the north facing wooded mountain slope; the valley had narrowed and the caragana had disappeared. A bit higher, we passed the combined riverbed, channel, and spring and stopped at the well opposite a small temple which had belonged to the early watchtower of the Bayan-bulag. Gendun collected three or four workers who each clearly knew the area along the principal mountain ridge of the Tannu-uul but not one of them knew the Uriyangkhai language. The messenger stayed here. The border went on for 15–20 versts further to the north. Therefore, it was necessary to guard on horseback. The workers were our watchmen. Curiously, we met up with a young boy who, not long ago, had finished the middle school in Urga and worked at the chancellery. He was now on leave to go to his very remote home.

September 20

In the morning of the 20th, we distributed things for the pack loads. Three light packs. Brought the horse. They all fixed the packs except Gendun and just the young “fellow serving tea,” Davu-Dorchjh. While assembling and chatting, I took three photos—one of the temple (Mogoi-khüree). The old lama, the teacher of all those in the area, presented me with a khadag, complaining about the border difficulties. Before leaving, I presented him with a reciprocal khadag and a small gift for the temple. In response, he ordered the guide through a Uriyangkhai, who

was his disciple, to accompany me to Sain-taiga. I didn't know about our departure, but we did leave about 11 and left any superfluous things with the messenger at the khüree. Then, from the khüree, we crossed the small and low pass Nomte and the steep slope descended to the wide valley Bayan-bulagin-khunde.

It intersected at the beginning of the small ravine Nariin-ukha, and crossed the promontory of Khadjhutein-daba, crossed the the Mukhur-Mogoi field to the confluence of the Bayan-bulagiin-khunde and began to rise at the end. The common direction was to (...). Leaving Bayan-bulag, we went to the not very big pass Khengrekte-dorulchji, where I went, at first, along the path to the Uriyangkhai settlement.

Now for a few of the details about Bayan-bulagiin-khunde. The enormous field was almost completely dry and disintegrated (beside Mukhur-Mogo and Nariin Ukha) under what extended to (...) in the direction of the low white (limestone?) mountain ridge which appeared really to be the large spur of Tannu-uul, which was set against the Tes below the Gandan. Woods were visible along the small collapsed south facing mountain slope of the mountain ridge and along the crest. On both sides of the Bayan-bulaga were a few woods but none lower down. In the Tes valley, this fell below the Ikh-Berkh group. In the mountains on the right side the peak of Batu-soer (?) had a divided, rocky summit. The gently sloping concave bottom of Bayan-bulaga was covered with excellent grass, mainly feathergrass. No people. The winter station was visible. Those who wintered here were from around Mogoi-khüree. The Uriyangkhai border approached the pastures of the white south facing mountain slope of the formerly described mountain ridge. On the Ara-Bulag field (one of the peaks of the Bayan) we saw one Uriyangkhai settlement at the very top. The disintegration of the south facing slope of the white mountain ridge was called Arshante. There was a cave there which was, evidently, quite deep. The local people were afraid to go there. Hardly protruding over the mountain ridge of the steep slope was the white peak of the western Arshante which was called Nurmuk.

I saw nothing unusual in the settlement. The general tenor of life was almost indistinguishable from the Mongolian. Even between themselves people spoke Mongolian. One insignificant difference was in the facial type, the clothing (women wore belts) and the headdresses (which were completely un-Mongolian). They greeted us, in Mongolian, with tea and after talking with them, I went with Gendun to catch up to the caravan.

From the little pass, a new and wider pass opened up to the wide and dry steppe valley (Balbarkhai-khunde), which clearly showed signs of disintegration at the top. Its right side-reminiscent of the high white mountain ridge- descended steeply to a place with a sparingly wooded promontory. The horizon extended spaciouly

to the west. It was good to see how clearly the Khan-khukhei mountain range stood out. Very far to the west were mountains, evidently lying in (...) from Ulancoma. To the (...) from Khan-khukhei a flat mountain ridge could be seen which, in all likelihood, was the junction of the Khanga and the Khan-khukhei. That part of the Tes valley that was visible was marked by a large accumulation of sand. From it, the Balbarkhai-khunde descended to the Tes valley above it. Near its mouth, was a steep cluster on the right side called Butu-tsagaan. The edges of the promontory in this cluster included a small knoll called Akhanak. Stayed to the left of the field of Tzulín-khunde (one of the sources of the Balbarkhaia) and then we stopped to cross the previously mentioned promontory of the white mountain ridge and then went along the narrow steppe area in decay up to the Dundu-Kharagan pass, with access to the upper reaches but only with a light pack. From the pass it was easy to see the details of the texture on the right side of the Tes valley. Between Bayan-bulag and Balbarkhai was wedged still another short and wide field of Artsain-khunde. The promontory between it and Bayan-bulag was called Khalban-Uyia. We saw a short slope midst a beautiful, leafy wood at the Dundu-Kharagan spring where we stopped for the night. Later a Uriyangkhai visited us and stayed for the night. He reported that there were no wild boars on the southern slope of the Tannu-uul and that the wild northern deer seldom appeared on the mountain ridge. Here it is "Tza" (in the east "Sa"). No snow leopards at all. A group of mountain sheep were found at Butu-tsagaan but in a very unknown quantity. The deer (todzhinski) of the Uriyangkhai sometimes moved to the side of the mountain ridge. At Yersin-gol the Uriyangkhai were occupied with agriculture and were somewhat involved in mowing. I saw them using a long and straight handled scythe for the low grass. And the fodder looked excellent. Things remained quiet in regard to thievery.

I forgot to say that at the top of Tzulín-khunde I saw the old border- along the steppe -made from a line of sticks. Original.

They said that the roebuck roared with all their might and mane, the cranes flew, and the larch trees turned golden. What better time for travelling! No need to hurry-even a little time to waste.

With us at night, the Uriyangkhai knew well the Sin-taiga (Akh-khorum) and Sangilen. We trusted them as we all went along. From that time on, I moved by guesswork, only surmising that Sin-taiga had to be at the peak of Yersin-gol. My sojourn with the Uriyangkhai did not call up any misunderstandings and everything was quiet and peaceful. Only Frolich began to worry knowing that Sin-taiga was 80–90 versts away.

September 21

In the morning, I came down to the pass with some people and then moved down along the Khargan. Descended 10 versts. The lowest part of the field was very narrow, and on the right the steep southern facing mountain slope was split by a small ravine and an area of rubble. Foliage everywhere. This sort of area has already been described—limestone with crystalline strata. To the left, there was dense northern foliage by the steep bank going down to the river. Purple rose willows and dwarf birches grew along the river bed. Some Uriyangkhai settlements were heard and seen by the entrance to the valley. Part of the Nariin valley was also visible and from it arose the high, steep, and white, mountain ridge full of fir trees. Going along the road to the settlement, we continued on to the Nariin—the most beautiful of rivers! The left shore—wide, thick northern larches, the right shore—a white, steep and narrow forested rubble field. Along the bottom, thick firs and a leafy tinge of poplars. Thinking a bit and afraid that the Sin-taiga was still faraway, I decided to go up along the Nariin and then easily go on to Sin-taiga. Having decided, I ordered the pack to turn up along the river. At this moment, I enjoyed complete pleasure. Somewhat higher, we went to the southern woodless mountain slope on the side of the valley. A huge river. At the pass, I saw the surrounding area for the first time. Further on, I went along the pastured terrace which was quite high, and below the thick taiga and fir grove. Went with Gendun on ahead to the settlement where the host was an old hunter. He told the following when asked: in this area of Sin-taiga there was no particularly notable summit. Adjham-khorum had slight ridges and no zone of bare peaks. In general, even the name Sin-taiga was little known (properly Son-taiga) which created confusion for everyone. Evidently, an insignificant part of the magistral which lay completely on the lateral spur.

From all my meetings with the Mongolian Uriyangkhai, the highest peak in all of the Tuvinskii mountain range was considered to have been Mt. Ulain-khan which lay by the summit of Tzai-gol. All the time, it was covered with patches of snow. Already from its foothills, almost all of Tannu-uul was represented as a more or less flat mountain ridge. It was said that in the past the Ulain-khan had another name (something like “taiga”). Not so long ago, there was a certain Mander-van from the Chinese government who was on a journey and was struck by the view and cajoled the inhabitants (a whole group of guards here and at Bulan-Bulag) to honor it. I then decided not to go to Sin-taiga and was busy with a lesser known bend at the upper reaches of the Nariin. Had a conversation with a certain Galsan, a former administrative official, and a low, as it were, party member. He arrived and set in motion all of the diplomatic measures for us who did not have the documents to take on our trip to the Uriyangkhai. In the end, all went well. So

Gendun and I went off to catch up to the caravan. Along the road, I couldn't admire enough the view of the Nariin and, in addition, the weather was excellent. The merry river with its clear, blue, mountain water wound itself around the impassable fir undergrowth. To the left, (following the current), the pure gold of the dense north, among the snug northern rubble fields and hills where each fir tree seemed to have been painted dark green. To the right, the white peaks in the blue sky stuck out from the sheer, chalky, frozen slope with its golden larches and the dark needled fir trees. The wall of the white cliff was broken in places by narrow and leafy fields. Along its side, was a welcome meadowed terrace with several settlements. Passing the especially high and steep Ugomir, we soon went to the river by a narrow path along an impassable fir tree thicket and then continued further on the left side. Soon this fir grove divided and went along the thick undergrowth of purple/rose willow with separate islands of fir. We went to a large area of the terrace with a rare leafy growth and excellent grass. I wanted to go up to the settlement along the Nariin but our host, who was a good hunter, enticed us with a pleasant evening. I stopped near the woods where the caravan had stopped earlier and went hunting with Chukhlomin. As it was late, we didn't go far, and I saw nothing. Chukhlomin failed to hit a goat. The lower field to the north had a very rich and thick undergrowth. At the bottom and along the side field was a mass of dwarf birches. The steep, woodless, and southern facing slope was not large, but the mountains were relatively high.

Later, already in complete darkness, a young lama-monk arrived from the upper settlement. He had returned from the field of the Yersin-gol with a load of barley and decided to spend the night with us. We started to converse, and he told me that he had studied the Book of Tantric Studies and so, properly speaking, he was a follower of the red hat sect. Earlier he had gone on foot to the Gumbum, a monastery in eastern Tibet, to receive enlightenment. He had gone across the Kobuk-sair, Chuchen, and Khalsh. We talked a little with him about the essence of the Djud, a book of Tantric studies. He told me that his father was old Pelchjhe, a shaman. Thus, in one family I saw the ancient "black faith" and representations of the most secret aspects of Buddhism. Besides that, he told me that at the upper reaches of the Nariin sometimes there were wild reindeer and goats. Still, before dark, it became freezing. As we lay down (all of us near the fire), it began to rain. I did not pay attention and fell asleep. I awoke in the middle of the night and saw that the rain had turned into an abundance of snowflakes. My fur coat was drenched, and puddles had formed on my bedding. There were leaks from all sides surrounding me. All the remaining public except for the lama who was covered by my rain coat, had gone from the tent. It made no sense to go and lie on my wet bed, so I touched up the fire a bit and with a piece of linen, covered my wet fur coat and squatted in the rain until morning. The dawn was strange! Along the

valley were curly wisps of fog, opening onto areas where fresh snowed bestrewed the mountains. Torn white clouds clung to the peaks. Everything was a lack-luster white except for the wet, black forms of the trees. This was the first serious snow on our trip and the first warning of the approaching winter. So, I stayed until the morning and in solitude smoked a wet pipe of tobacco.

September 22

We went on with our new acquaintance to his settlement which was 3 versts up mountains which were even higher. The cliffs appeared on the left side and in the promontory along the side of the mountain valley. The roebuck kingdom had begun. The road (actually a path) soon veered off to the wooded border on the right. Along the bottom there once had been an island of fir trees and purple/rose willows. The settlement, with a large yurt and a skin covered tent, was in a meadow on the right edge of the wood. The elder Pelchjhe stopped me, after I met him again on the road and he advised me to continue up (1 verst) a little higher. Another hunter arrived who was a husky lad with an enviable bare chest. He wore a fur coat over his naked body. Our only topic of conversation was the roebuck and, evidently, there were many of them here. It had been decided just today, by popular demand, to make an enclosure or pen. Went to the station area where I saw that Chukhlomin had managed to find a warm camp. He stopped at a small pit, midst a lovely grove of well-shaped firs, alongside the noisy river and not too far away from the rising cliffs. The camp opened up at 10 sajhen (70 feet) onto the area where the horses grazed. In the glade, the hunters were shown this enclosure while the arrangements for the preparation of dinner proceeded. Originally, there were several wild scenes: they went up close and the old man Pelchjhe talked with the strong lad and a quite young (18-years-old) very handsome and neat lad who was Pelchjhe's son-in-law and the host at the tent. Long flints hung down their backs and there were big knives thrust into their belts along with wooden tubes for beckoning the roebuck. Even 6 to 7-years-olds old carried such knives and lads of 8–9 were given bows to shoot the arctic hare during the winter. The Russians paid twenty-five kopecks a piece for them. There were different sorts of tubes or pipes for imitating the roebuck and all of them were assembled from two hollowed out halves. Generally, the tubes draw air in and there were even such tubes for those "without teeth" as Pelchjhe explained while he blew into one. Finally, such a tube could also be used for luring birds. It took great mastery to attract the roebuck using this tube. After eating, I trotted out, voice in my chest, and tried out a number of them. Chukhlomin and Pelchjhe had taken another road. Then we climbed along the Nariin and turned a bit on the side of the southern wooded slope of the small valley of the Tsagaan-gol, which gently sloped and then rose up to the mountain ridge. We stopped at the northern most peak of the steep southern slope

and, in the distance, we heard cries from the pens which were not far away. There were no wild beasts, however a hare scurried about. Vaska thought he saw a roebuck. It obviously had broken through the line. None came down. We decided to go on foot with Chukhlomin to the neighboring southern woodless slope where the view opened up expansively. From there we went home. In the northeast we saw the first flat, bare summit and part of the stream of the Nariin. In the east, there was a shaggy, wooded crest. Crossing Tsagaan-gol, I climbed north to a steep southern woodless sloping promontory which descended to the Nariin and passed around it to the mouth of the Tsagaan-gol. The proper place to hunt on the southern slope! The steep little crest was part of a narrow and steep line of rubble. Unfortunately, I saw nothing, nor did I hear any roars from the roebuck. I met Chukhlomin going down along the path and he had seen the very light tracks of a small roebuck herd but had found none. It was already completely dark when we approached our tent, so we arranged to go hunting the next morning. We were somewhat to the north and the recent snow had not melted but the weather was excellent. I was contented with the company and Pelchjhe assured me that there were very few thieves and wolves nearby.

September 23

We assembled quite late in the morning for the hunt. I had hoped for a short excursion to the crest of the southern wooded slope which descended to the Nariin opposite our station and the mountain valley of the Iren-Modu (flowing along the side). This mountain valley was quite wide, and the bottom was filled with dwarf birch trees. The southern woodless slope was very high and steep, and the crest was mostly covered with limestone cliffs. Going on a bit further, I saw that the sun was already high in the sky, so I turned to the north at the Nariin with a dense growth of small, emaciated trees.

There were large and mossy pillows on the lower level, a fair number of bilberries, and dense fir woods. The heated-up roebuck could be found along the crest but there were no goat tracks although we did occasionally find the dung of a musk deer. I noticed, among the birds, a hazel grouse and a wood grouse which were characteristic of the northern taiga even without the cedars. Dense and unpolluted.

After returning to the camp, I was sent to the elder Pelchjhe's settlement where his son advised me that the elder was preparing for a temple dance. At midday we had different sorts of questions and conversations. I brought a khadag. By the way, I was treated to reindeer meat because several days earlier, two hunters had crossed the Tannu-nur at its Nariin source and, having seen the tracks of 10 head of wild reindeer, they had followed them, and killed one. The meat was good and similar to roebuck meat. So, in two seasons, I had tasted the meat of two rare and

different mammals: the wild camel and the wild northern reindeer. While we were talking, we did not notice how dark it had grown as the elder Pelchjhe began preparing for the dance with a great tambourine covered in bear skin which had been dried and then warmed over the fire. The children dragged along a small larch tree and on its boughs were tied 9 white strips of material. Then the small tree was set up across the door of the yurt 15 steps down from the last. Then the clothes of the shaman were set out, consisting of a hat with an eagle-owl feather on the top, a leather jacket with many different colored pendants of skin and other materials hanging to the floor, and soft skin moccasins with designs. The front part of his rounded hat was painted white with a face in a black background and a black fringe protruded out from the front and covered his face. A row of iron pendants hung down his back and jingled with every movement. An oval spoon with a handle was used on the drum which had been carved out of cedar wood and covered with a reindeer skin with its hair preserved. There was a simple carved ornament on its inner side which was designed to represent heaven with a human mouth.

Pelchjhe dressed slowly and did not hurry. He tried out the tambourine, set fire to the junipers (which were abundant along the Tannu) and began his (shamanic) smoking, his foot encircled by the sun. He finally turned his face to what was hanging on the wall and in the shamanic tradition, sang an invocation while tapping lightly on his tambourine. Then the tempo quickened as he struck his tambourine more often with faster and increasingly more frequent movements. One could hear a snort as Pelchjhe fell into a trance. Then, he stopped singing, his eyes closed and his beats on the tambourine became more resonant and rhythmical. Then, they grew with menacing force and strangely agitating calls as the tempo became faster. Pelchjhe was illuminated in the red reflection from the hearth and he spun around in the furious dance of a priest from the ancient "black faith." From time to time, the long fringe of his clothes moved in a perfect, shimmering circle. The sharp, rhythmic sound of the tambourine, accompanied by the iron pendants, filled the space and this mighty torrent poured out onto us and then died away. Pelchjhe bent toward his tambourine and seemed to listen to it intensely. Then a quiet laugh was heard, and then a whistle and a loud snort and the dance began. He sang for a while, quite fast, and was breathless. The tone of the tambourine resounded in the yurt. Outside, it flickered in the thick, wooded night while the dark, shaggy crests of the taiga kept watch over the quiet pointed white cliffs. The pipes for the roebuck, the spirit of this mountain herd, sounded everywhere on the hill in the golden rapture of this crystalline autumn.

The dance continued for a long time. It is hard to imagine how a man in normal condition, much less at an extreme age (Pelchjhe was fifty), could undertake such a whirlwind of movement.

During the second half of the dance, Pelchjhe unexpectedly leapt over the hearth and jumped out onto the street, where he continued the dance beneath the open sky while continuously burning the juniper with its sweet smoke. The sacrificial burning of the tree took place nearby. Then, Pelchjhe returned to the yurt and the time for prophecy arrived. Singing and twitching, he threw us, by turns, his beater which he had hidden in his clothes before returning both of his hands and exclaiming “torog!” (rebirth or life). Singing or chanting in rhyming verses quite indistinctly, he foretold all, beginning with a small, sleeping child. Unfortunately, I could not understand his speech very well even if there had been more ordinary circumstances because what he said then strongly differed from the central Khalkh speech that I was accustomed to hearing. Thus, I was really up a blind alley and had to rely on the explanations of the host.

He prophesied what would occur on the next day’s hunt stating that a goat and a roebuck would be caught but only if one of us purified ourselves. After this augury, he continued his dance. Finally, the tempo stopped as his hat fell and his clothes began to gradually slip down. His wife had prepared a fur coat. The final moment, when his clothes fell to the floor, Pelchjhe ousted everyone and seized by a convulsion, grabbed onto the central pole of the yurt. Then, he threw on his fur coat and forced himself, with all his might, to settle down. When he was writhing during a second spasm, he gradually removed his shoes and relaxed into himself, rubbed his feet, and started to pant. He drank a cup of tea with pleasure and took a draw on his pipe. It had been impossible to smoke during the dance which had continued for not less than three hours. I sat quietly for a while and then returned to the camp.

Here I offer the bit of the knowledge of shamanism which I have learned.

Pelchjhe was a shaman of the 9th generation. He had been a shaman for more than 10 years, but as he aged, the intensity of his dance was reduced. Alcohol was imbibed before the dance which led to more exciting action. The norm for Pelchjhe was one dance a month, but once a year, a third of the number from the first month completed the “great dance” which was distinguished by its extraordinary strength and duration. Those close to Pelchjhe believed that the elder, at the time of his greatest ecstasy, “had flown away” and the sound of the tambourine gradually stopped. After a lapse of sometime, it began again and Pelchjhe reappeared in the yurt. After a shaman died, his body, with all its shamanic property, was transported through a fortune teller somewhere near a rock cliff or mountain. The new shaman who emerged from his family had to fill all of these attributes again. He received his directions from another shaman who had been in the dance at one time.

Pelchjhe seldom served as a doctor and preferred to yield such activity to the lama he very much respected. He had many spiritual ancestors—several dozen

who had been made anew a novice shaman. A “toli” (bronze mirror) was connected to two of the ancestral groups. On inspection, it seems that the bronze “toli” discovered in the archeological finds, was identical with those we have in the museum. Certain ancestral groups were associated with the design of the “boa or python.” This aforementioned “toli” was the sole example of the cult which remained in the family. The successor to Pelchjhe had already been selected. He was one of his young sons who had shown, in the words of his father, that he was able to perform the dance. However, he could only begin to do the dance after the death of his forerunner. It happened that after the death of a shaman, that two or three followers were immediately revealed. They then had to prove their ability to carry on the spirit of the ancestors to the others.

September 24

Early in the morning, Chukhlomin and I decided to hunt from different sides and I soon lay in the woodless mountain slope of the Iren-modo. Going almost to the top of the hill, I encountered nothing living. Judging by the timbre, I could only hear the distant roars of a bull roebuck but there were tracks of a number of them. In the open meadow of the saddle, there were fresh indentations from the hooves of an excited roebuck. At the very end of the hill I saw several goats going from the southern woodless slope to the north. Killed one but it was very uncomfortable to carry it home. The first part of the journey ran along a typical taiga, windfallen wood with “everlasting moss,” a swampy spring, and other delights of the taiga. Yes, the southern slope of the Tannu-uul was characterized at this place by the leafy taiga which I had not seen in other places. The term “woods” was not appropriate here. In spite of my weariness, I enjoyed the combination of the tracery of the black woods against the clear blue sky.

Chukhlomin returned furious. A two-year old bull calf had leapt near him, stopping all of 90 steps away but his cartridge had misfired, so no kill. The shaman, however, had foretold this loss.

I gave him additional work. Pelchjhe had agreed to accompany me to the top of the Nariin along a small part of the magistral at Tannu-uul and the peak of the Khachik. I dispatched the old guide and Vasya and a pair of our horses. He had had to go to the Mogo-khüree on foot and was sent off to Durekchi-van to alert S. A. that I was overdue for my first date. At the mountain ridge we were three: me, Chukhlomin, and Pelchjhe. The performance would begin on the next day. Toward evening, I went again out to Pelchjhe and took photos of him in several poses in his full shaman’s costume. I also photographed his son as a gelon (the third monastic degree) in his full dress of a djud (student of Tantrism in the Yellow Hat sect). Evidently, he also followed the red hat sect. When Pelchjhe arrived, I took pictures of him in the street and then in front of the doors of the yurts where some

juniper had been burnt. As I was taking these photographs, the host offered a libation to the spirit of the ancestors. To take away the various attributes from the yurt was not customary. Other than these photos, I took a general picture of Pelchjhe's settlement. At the camp, we selected the necessary items for our journey and gave Vasya a lot of warning and advice. The next day, the son of Pelchjhe had to go for purchases in Krasnii (which the people called simply Khomin-belchir) and even further. He went to collect things with the pack horses. Pelchjhe had rams, goats, horned cattle and 5 horses. No yaks had yet appeared in Bayan-bulag and along the Nariin. Neither did I see them near the Tes and the lower Shabar.

September 25

In the morning, I sent the guide and Vasya off and went to Pelchjhe in the settlement where I came upon a large public prayer service attended by prosperous families giving an offering to the Buddha. A lama came from the Nariin-khüree for this special occasion and he conducted the service together with the gelon. Everything went on for a long time and was very solemn. We only left in the evening. Not without regrets, Chukhlomin and I then left our comfortable and warm camp which had been set up among the fir trees. We had two very light packs and Pelchjhe had given us a pack horse. An indistinct path led high up along the Nariin, beginning on the right side of the valley and then going left. We forced our way through the thick undergrowth of the osier bed and went across a gap which was obstructed by logs. The road was not an easy one and there was the usual character of the valley. Along the river there was an extensive growth of *chiazospermum*. For all 8 versts, we headed into the sunset and stopped at the arm of the Orokhtak Mountain valley (the left side). On the road we crossed the Dood-i-Deed-khara-usu (the left side) and the Tsagaan-gol (the right side). The shore opposite our station, was almost a vertical cliff (all the same limestone) with a fine, pronounced fold. My photo, if it came out, would serve well in a textbook of physical geography. The highest part of the Nariin turned to (...) at our station.

During the night on the cliff on the other shore, several eagle owls cried out.

Our horses were not frightened since there was little chance of a wolf in the area. The use of strychnine was permitted. In the evening, the weather began to cloud over, promising snow. We did not stay long and went off hunting. Nevertheless, I managed to ask questions about that person. See below the summary of my questions related to zoology.

September 26

At dawn, Chukhlomin and I went hunting in a different area that Pelchjhe had told us about. We went to the flat arm on the left side of the Orokhtaka which was especially well known for its roebuck. There and in the dense north on a crest with

grassy patches, not on a large southern woodless slope, was a sparse growth of trees, cliffs, and a saddle-like meadow and a gap in the undergrowth where it was comfortable to let out a roar. Slowly examining all of this, I went up the mountain ridge and saw the watershed of the Nariin and the peak of the Bugusugiin-ama. The peak of the Orokhtaka was off to the right from the tributary of the Khachik river. The same crest of the ridge seemed flat with dwarf birches and green grass. Some snow had fallen and since the 21st, quite a sizable amount. This morning it was grey and sometimes snow-flakes flew about.

From the height of the peak of Bugusugiin-ama, went down to the flat and short southern woodless slope to the north. The bottom, by the spring, was flat and marshy. Nobody in sight. In an open area on the crest, I saw, to the north, a herd of nanny goats and the fresh tracks, only of those going north, of a mother elk and her young. By the way, the last term was used. I then returned to the camp by the river. The southern woodless slope here was very high and bare, with a riverbed thick with undergrowth and dwarf birches. The peak of the Orotakha was flat and the crossing to the Khachik was comfortable especially with only one pack. Returned with Chukhlomin who said nothing about not seeing a roebuck. According to Pelchjhe, the wild animal had been frightened one or two days earlier by the hunters from Ara-bulaga.

The weather cleared, and we went up further along the Nariin. We got some hay for a kopeck near the place where we had spent the night. Pelchjhe handled the provisions. He did not winter here so the hay had been transported by pack from below. There were traces of a summer nomadic settlement along the Orokhtoka. Further along, the road became more difficult as there was undergrowth which led down to chiazospermum. Passed the hill without drainage to the Nariin on the left which went by another field on the left (Iollak) and then we went along for some distance in continuous chaizospermum which filled the narrow bottom of the valley. Lower down and parallel to the left edge, stretched the high and steep spur (the watershed of the Nariin-Iollak) which then descended sharply into the chiazospermum along the rocky edge of the Nariin. The woods on this spur were a mixture (larch, cedar, fir) reminiscent of the real taiga. At the camp we stayed opposite this spur by the entrance to the valley of the Dood-khukhu-oimok (the right side). We passed the valley of the Dood-khukhu-oimok and the Bulagte below. We started to gather for the hunt toward evening and, at this time, on our side of the valley a roebuck roared. I turned in that direction while Chukhlomin climbed to the high spur opposite the camp. It was approaching sunset, so I did not go any further, but I saw nothing. My roebuck roared again on the opposite side of the field and continued to roar often and strenuously. Returning somewhat later, Chukhlomin reported that he pursued the roaring roebuck but could not take him as we moved toward the quite dense north. The night was clear and full of stars.

We sat for a long time near the fire, listening to how two roebuck called to one another, and to me and Chukhlomin. They both went to the edge of the promontory by the river and roared about half a verst or less away from us. Hearing this ringing roar was a great delight. At an interval between the roars, Pelchjhe told us about the area. A summary of the zoological information received from him is below.

Elk were generally not found on the southern slope of the Tannu-uul, but came across some of them wandering. Some found to the north quite far to (...) from the mountain ridge. Pelchjhe, for example, while looking for squirrels, did see some. However, it was true that elk seldom approached the southern slope of the mountain ridge. It was too dry-no marshes or swamps.

Roebuck were widely spread out all over the area and there were many of them. The region on the southern slope of the Tannu-uul, where I was visiting, was also suitable for reindeer. Rugged terrain, abundant cliffs, suitable steep and high southern woodless mountain slopes, a large mass of thick woods, a comparatively small population, proximity to a cool, bare-topped peak zone and a great deal of salty mud—all of these created the best conditions for them. Really, nowhere else in Mongolia have I met such a number of roebuck tracks which seemed to be everywhere. The quantity of roebuck in a given region vacillated annually depending on extermination, rain etc. The elder hunters spoke about a mass of roebuck migrating to the south to Bolnai and the Khangai. The evidence could be found when, by chance, during the southern drought, the quantity of roebuck in a given region increased proportionately all at once or very fast. On the other hand, if there was sufficient rain and good food in the Khangai, the roebuck in the Nariin area and its environs remained quite a bit less. In a “good” year, in every smallish lateral field during the roaring season, one could hear 3–5 roaring bulls. Absolutely, a respectable number reminiscent of olden times. The roebuck here were not very timid. They howled without constraint, enjoyed the salty mud, even in very uncomfortable places like along the road. In all aspects of their behavior, they were indistinguishable from their Khentii brothers.

During the warmer times of the summer when there was an abundance of insects, the roebuck willingly moved to the wide, bare-topped mountain zone of the Tannu-uul magistral.

Wild Northern Deer have been encountered in a small number on certain mighty bare-topped mountain ridges on the northern spur of the Tannu-uul. On the magistral, it often appeared in the area of the source of the Yersin-gol, from where it seldom moved east to the bare top of the Ingenek (the source of the Nariin.) It did not move further east. Pelchjhe never saw a reindeer. In his words this beast never came down to the woods. All the time it stayed in the “barren-taiga” that is the bare-topped peak zone. It was very mobile and also very wary. When it was

frightened it ran faraway.

Wild Boar Almost no wild boar in this area. They are, although seldom, found on the northern slope of the Tannu-uul.

Goats few. I have hunted in several places for goats and only have seen 2 not very large droves of goats. There were fewer of their tracks than roebuck tracks. An interesting anomaly! It was explained by the fact that extraordinarily deep snow fell here three years ago which led to the death of the goats as did a massive migration of the strongest animals. In that year, the inhabitants of the steppe valley near the Tes were struck by the appearance of a large and solid herd of goats (up to 100 head), moving along the completely open country to the south. Many of the weakened goats were annihilated by wolves and hunters. Reaching up to part of the Tes because (on the ice it seemed that there was no snow), they could not manage to reach the other shore and thus wandered along the steppe. Many goats had been well kept on the outskirts of a wooded island where there were many still today. There was some doubt that the goats would, in the near future, settle in a suitable part of this region.

Musk Deer Very few in this area. I rarely came across a footprint or some dung. They stay, generally, in the wild north.

Mountain sheep As I recalled, I saw them only in a group at Butu-tsagaan, but none were taken. The number of mountain rams in that area was known to have decreased and they became sparse.

Mountain Goat In the past, they were plentiful on the peak of the Nariin, the Jartis and the Yersin and where the Nariin descended to Pelchjhe's settlement which was quite low. They clung along the cliff of the right slope of the valley, not confused by the woods close by. They were often the prey for local hunters.

Then there was an epidemic which horribly ravaged the wild goat herd so one seldom met any in the wildest gorges and on the slope of the magistral. The source of the Nariin was such a place—the gorge of the Khapchil.

The most predatory animal to meet in this region was the bear who was unevenly dispersed. Generally, there were only a few. There were a meaningful number of bears only in Jartis, near the mouth of the river at Yersin. It was hard to say why there was a gathering here. The majority of the hunters considered meeting up with a bear as dangerous and so had fled the region. This seemed a correct appraisal because everyone was armed with flint locks. This rapid-firing weapon had been used earlier in the region but had been confiscated by the government. The bears preferred to lie down in smallish caves, crevices or even rocks so there were few dens in the area. Attacks on cattle were rare. The hunters avoided killing the bears and even the possible profit did not outweigh the danger. In the olden times, when the hunting implements were imperfect, sometimes the bear was given the nickname of “khairkhan” or “sacred” —a title still used.

Regarding the word, “khairkhan,” the shaman’s tambourine was covered with bearskin which could lead one to assume that in very ancient times there was some sort of a bear cult involving this most mighty beast of prey in the taiga. The bear was only afraid of the local hunters. Pelchjhe told a story about a fearless hunter who, having seen three bears all at once, was so frightened for the first time in his life, that he decided he did not have the moral right to hunt and sold his gun. Dispirited by all of this, he soon died.

According to Pelchjhe, one or two bears had wandered at times near the Nariin along the watershed of the crest of the mountain ridge of the Nariin-Bayan-Bulag-Bugusug but I saw no traces of them. The bears here kept to the quiet of the backwoods.

Wolf In this region the wolf was comparatively rare which could be explained by the following reasons: the abundance of hunters, the possibility of using strychnine, and finally the exodus to the south for some unknown region. Most of the wolves were near the Tesinski steppe and the fir grove along the Kharulskii valley and mountain. Pelchjhe gave us an image of the wolf in the Uriyangkhai as a strong domestic enemy- both as an outsider and as a robber. However, after strong repressive measures, it was curtailed. Nevertheless, a merciless war began against the wolves and there was a specific prize offered for getting a set number of hides (apparently 50).

Snow leopard/panther None in this region.

Red Wolf Evidently, they had not reached here. Pelchjhe confirmed for me that in the west (Khobdo) the word was “Tzubur-chono” (jackal) known namely as (...).

Lynx Usually not many here.

Wolverine rare.

Fox Usually always in the big woods, rarer in the semi-steppe areas.

A minor thing that had to be noticed was the absence of sable although there was ermine, Siberian weasel and stoat. More than enough squirrels. Many white hares which the youngsters eagerly hunted. By the way, the squirrels here were reddish, western and acted like those in Khentii.

There were black squirrels by the western border, evidently far from somewhere near Khövsgöl if that far.

Besides all of this information, Pelchjhe often talked about his hunting practices and with some pathos, about his successes, and failures. Curiously, in spite of his many years of hunting experience in which he had been busy since his youth, he reflected intensely on picturesque tales in which I heard the onomatopoeia and saw his sharp gestures and his fiery old eyes.

September 27

We got up when it was still completely dark just as the dawn was breaking on the mountains. I was on the right and Chukhlomin on the left bank of the valley. I came out on the very high and narrow crest and what misfortune greeted me! Yesterday's roebuck, judging from the distant roar, had gone to the water shed of the Nariin-Yersin. I chased a flock of black grouse on my crest thus ascertaining if this area could produce marketable birds. There was the wood grouse, black grouse, hazel grouse and all of those inhabiting the bare-top including the white partridge.

I had gradually moved forward by the late morning and had reached the watershed of the Nariin-Yersin. A wide view opened on all sides. The character of the watershed is a flat, bare top meadow, very little arising over the border and abundant growth from the thick verdure of the dwarf birches. It could be said that one could certainly climb further to the peak of the Nariin wooded border and above certain areas of the watershed, but the conditions on the bare top which was open to all the climatic vicissitudes, did not lead to the growth of trees. By this side the watershed opened onto a gentle slope with verdant woods, while to the left was the source of the Jartas and the left tributary of Yersin-gol.

Lower along the Nariin, it was golden and bushy like the forest.

The view along the magistral toward the source of the Nariin was somewhat severe. The peak of the Ingenek arose from the same source but not very high and with the characteristic "two stories" form of the bare top peak which rested on its oblong foundation and arose into a separate, flat, rounded hat. The rounded Ingenek braided itself into a knot on the flat bare topped mountain ridge. To the east of this mountain range emerged two high, steep peaks which were abundantly covered with snow. One could see a whole line of such peaks in the distance to the west from Ingenek to the top of Yersin.

The top of the magistral was almost covered in snow and the lowest secondary spur was partially covered.

It was astounding to see all of this going along the very crest of the bare-topped peaks on the smooth pack road which went along the crest to the magistral. On returning, Pelchjhe asked me what was this bold and unusual construction of a road which began with two branches—to the Nariin and to the Yersin, and which then went along the crest of the watershed of the rivers up to the magistral where a less noticed pass descended to the left source of the Balik river, and the Yenesei (Khua-Kem) system. Cattle were driven along it as well as horses with packs etc.

After a detailed study of the area, I went back up to the narrow, lovely little field which descended to the Nariin barely above the Dood-khukhu-oimok. The hunt with Chukhlomin was not successful, although he did see his roebuck which

he chased for a long time, but it eluded him at the top of the gorge of the Iollak.

In the evening, I asked Pelchjhe about the aforementioned road and we decided to pair off once again. Chukhlomin, with our packs, would have to manage the Iollak and the flat bare-topped pass which descended to one of the right sources of the Khachig river. At the top, I determined with Pelchjhe that it had to be one of the right sources of the Nariin and that we had to get out at the “bare-topped” road which went along to the peak of the Balik and then somehow moved to the Khachig where we would meet Chukhlomin. The journey would take 2–3 days.

September 28

We loaded up quite early in the morning, departed, and immediately moved to a different side: I with Pelchjhe higher up, and Chukhlomin below along the Nariin. We took only what was most necessary.

Moving up along the chiazospermun of the Nariin, we soon came to the place of the actual source of the water of the Nariin. In the not large expansion of the valley were a whole series of sources (9, by count) which strictly formed the Nariin River. The sources in the riverbed above this were dry. Still not reaching the source, Pelchjhe showed me a weak, sulfurous, cold (but not frozen) spring which was zealously visited by roebuck. There were placed around it a series of covers for night hunting. Nearby was the hunting camp: by tradition, three rocks had been blackened and formed a “mandala” using juniper ash. A lot of incense arose from the “hosts” places during the busiest hunting seasons! There was little protection near the salty bottom of the dried-up lake. Evidently, it was not needed.

Then we turned left onto a large, flat rubble area on the right side along which it was easy to climb to the crest of the Yersin watershed along the bare-topped road. There were solitary cedars here mixed in amongst the larches. Here the character of the watershed was completely like that at the source of the Dood-khukhu-oimok. Then we moved further along the road. After several versts on this zig-zagging road, we came to a smallish peak which opened up onto a wide view on all sides. The mountain ridge of Khan-khukhei could be seen further on the horizon in all its true form with a peak in the center and two wings descending along the sloping side. In the center was abundant snow at that time. On (...) the slope opposite the main peak one could see a large kar. The eastern wing of the Khan-khukhei, which was without a high saddle, lay further toward the eastern mountains (really (...) the spur of the Bolnaia). The western Khan-khukhei was still barely visible in this huge mountainous mass. Away from this mountain and probably not far up to the Ubsa-nuur (...) the slope of the Tannu sank gradually and naturally from the magistral to the Tes valley without a sudden rise or gap. The Nariin was seen descending up to the Orotokha. The watershed by the gently sloping sources of the Jartas deepened in the valley and on the right side there

appeared the immutable region of white lime cliffs. The higher top of the magistral at the peak of the Yersin was clearly visible from there. There was also a good view of the top of the Ulain-khan situated quite far to the east from the Ingenek.

Continuing to move along the bare topped road, we passed, on the right, a whole row of springs of the Nariin and on the left of the Jartas.

Not far from the Ingenek watershed we turned toward (...), and skirted a small pond of the Khapchil River, really the source of the Nariin. There was no arboreal vegetation by the Khapchil and we went down by the river's bare, flat plane which the river had cut into a deep canyon. Along the steep cliff of this canyon there were sometimes separate examples (...). The peak of the Khapchil inclined toward the magistral by a gently sloping ravine. The slanting saddle joined this source with the source of the left branch of the Balik River treating it now as the Yenisei system. There was a small lake at the marshy saddle. By and large, this main watershed was not out of the ordinary. The road went to the side from the saddle, and across the gentle slope of the woodless mountain one noticed a small oboo at the pass from one system to another. We stopped to read the aneroid and then descended to the gently sloping little valley of the Balik where separate larch bushes and the lime cliffs could be seen. There appeared to be water in the dry chiazospermum riverbeds. We stopped for the night in a small grove of depressed looking larch trees and did not wait up for tea but lay down on the bare top of the left slope of the valley entertaining the faint hope of a possibility of the miracle of somehow meeting a reindeer.

A difficult climb took me to the vast bare topped glade with a way out of the lime cliffs with their white boulders. Besides a small number of thin bits of grass, this large area was filled with curly, bluish Icelandic moss which explained the appearance, here although rare, of the northern reindeer. However, I saw nothing except for several white partridges and their tracks on the bare-topped road. As it was already completely dark, I returned to our rather austere bivouac. There was only a little fire (firewood was far away), the saddle sweat cloth was our bedding, the saddle our pillow, and we had goat skin to eat and tea to drink. There was a real frost at night.

We continued to search for a place to bivouac. Pelchjhe laughed at me. He went to the river and began to attentively search the water in one of the pools. On questioning him a bit about what he was doing, he naively answered that "they say there are fish here." (There were no fish in the Tes basin.)

The next day I wanted to try my chances at hunting.

From the bare top, I saw quite far to the east the steep cliffs of the crest- (...) and the spur of the magistral.

September 29

I alone, at dawn, climbed from the left side of the rubble area of the Balik and again to the bare-topped field. I noticed along the road one characteristic feature of the botanical landscape. A more protected and narrow ravine opened up onto the undergrowth of dwarf birches mixed in with the grass “*cortaderia jubata*.” The picture was quite unique because the jubata was reminiscent of some sort of cactus and not of a subpolar plant. I climbed to the magistral of the Tannu-uul along a gently sloping woodless incline and chose as my observation point separate high limestone remains where I took two photographs and studied the aneroid. I carefully looked through the binoculars, near and far, but saw nothing living. No reindeer.

This view from my cliff opened up wide. In the west, the north and the east, I saw the mighty bare-topped range. Only on (...) and (...), that is on the sides of the Nariin and the Jartas did the mountains become lower. To the west on the horizon, was a whole line of high and very steep cliffs up which arose considerably over both levels of the bare-topped slopes 15 versts from me. Closer by I noticed the gently sloping source of the river basin of the Yenisei in the deep gorge between the bare tops. At (...) one literally did not see the end of the peak. On the far horizon, a bare-topped group could be seen, but the Balik was almost invisible as one passed by. Everything was enclosed by the gently sloping ridges on the top. The Ingenek and the drop of the magistral where I stood were clearly seen. To the east, the magistral was partially visible but was cut off by the peak of the Ulain-Khan. The side of the mountain was very steep and from it one could clearly see the pointed crest descending to the north. All of these high peaks were covered with abundant snow and patches of snow lay on many of the lower slopes. All in all, the picture was very austere including white stone cliffs and the very poor vegetation. The only sign of life I saw was, again, the white partridge. I returned to the bivouac around noon, quite tired, but I still decided to go on a bit further.

For around an hour we went to the pasture with the two principal sources of the Balik, below which the river turned into a narrow and deep gorge with steep sides while lower down an actual wooded island could be seen.

From the pasture, we climbed to the right source of the Balik with its significant quantity of water. The road became worse—a large swamp and a rubble area—and the landscape grew gloomy. The little valley surrounded a bare top full of overgrown green shoots from the violet-black dwarf birches set against the greenish-blue Icelandic moss. However, the coloring was unremarkable. Moving higher and higher, we randomly turned by the right tributary in the canyon. The trouble was that Pelchjhe had only been here once several years ago and had

forgotten that, in fact, such a gorge had to be climbed up to the pass that descended to the Khachik. The path to the narrow and steep sided gorge had disappeared and the road was horrible for riders. All swamps and stones.

Note

- 1) Keep in mind July 6, 1928.

Appendix 3
Notes on the Khangai Expedition in
1928

Journal of the Economy of Mongolia, 1929, No.1(14), p. 78–96

A. D. Simukov

The Khangai Expedition of the Scientific Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic in 1928 (Travel Impression)

The undertaking of The Scientific Committee of the MNR for systematic research in the territory of Mongolia during the past year of 1928.

After going over the collected material, the subject of research chosen was the wide mountainous region in Central Mongolia which, in the geographical literature, carried the name of "The Khangai." In the narrowest sense, the name has been adapted to the mighty mountainous ridge stretching from east-south-east and west-north-west almost from Uitzen-van to Chjhibkhulant (Uliastai) and further north up to the Khan-khukhei mountain ridge. This mountain ridge appeared at the watershed of the basin of the Northern Arctic ocean and at the interior water basin without drainage in Mongolia. The northern slope from it led to the beginning of the Orkhon River and both Tamirs and the two sources of the Selenge: the Cholute and the Yeder with their many second-degree tributaries. In the south, the Khangai slope led to the beginning of the river which finished at the lakes without drainage in the northern Gobi: Ongiin-gol, Tatzin-gol, Tuin-gol. Baidarag with its tributaries, Shara-usu, Buyantu, and Bogdoin-gol-the three sources of the Tzabkhan River.

The mountainous country lying to the north of the principal watershed, was located in part of the Tsetserleg-Mandal aimag which, comparatively, could be considered one of the richest pastures for cattle, and the most populous area of Mongolia. Nevertheless, a study of the available literature clarified all of the great gaps in the research and presented the true facts about this region.

In compliance with the omissions, there were plans concerning the common features of the march routes for both parties which delineated the Khangai expedition. The march route was part of the established research program and besides a number of geographical questions there were also issues of practical import which were enumerated below.

The expedition worked 4 ½ months (July-November) with, in short, the following results: The research mainly from a geographical point of view included:

(1) the principal mountain ridge of the Khangai at the source of the rivers Khoitu-Tamir, Chulute, Gichigin, Urdu-Tamir, Baidarag, Khara-usu and Bogoun-gol; (2) the continuation of this mountain ridge to the north from the mountain Chjhibkholant and its link with the system of the mountain of Bolnai and Khan-khukhei; (3) part of the Tarbagatai mountain ridge; (4) the important part of the Bolnai mountain system and the source of the River Tes; (5) part of the Tannu-uul mountain ridge; (6) the area along the march route Durekchivan – Muren-khur – Khadkhal – Van-khüree – Ulaanbaatar.

The production of a survey of this region, which embraced 30,000 km, included a detailed geographical description and was illustrated with photographs, the collection of which reached 900. It determined the height of nearly 400 points which characterized the relief of the area. It also amassed a not large geological, botanical (alpine flora), and zoological collection. It included a description of the historical landmarks or monuments, research on the diffusion of the trade in wild animals, the assemblage of an approximate map of the trees, a survey of the nomads in some regions, the investigation of several monasteries from, by and large, an architectural view point, the collection of economic information, and special research in ethnography. Besides all of this, it included research on and instruction for the regional meteorological stations.

This large amount of material has not yet been processed because I did not draw up all the scientific data and was not present for all the work of each expedition. My task, which I emphasize, was to give a graphic description of the nature of where we went on our visit as well as describing distinct episodes of the expedition. These were the impressions of a tourist, not a researcher.

For a number of reasons, the Khangai expedition was formed in mid-June and was sent from Ulaanbaatar in a joint caravan of both parties.

The party leaders, S. A. Kondratiev and myself, went by automobile on June 30th. Our route began from Tsetserleg (Tzain-shabi), where we awaited our caravan.

Our party divided: S. A. Kondratiev went straight on the road to Chjhibkholant, and I crossed from Tsetserleg to the Khoitu-Tamir valley, to engage in research on the central part of the Khangai magistral when it was already the second half of July.

I became acquainted, incidentally, with the woods of the mountain ridge which separated both Tamirs and I collected interesting information about the region of the Sechen-van monastery and then I began to move on to the source of the Khoitu-Tamir.

The fortress of the Sechen-van-khüree (otherwise Sait-van) was very picturesque. The sizable river (Khoitu-Tamir) coiled along the bottom of a wide valley, framed in an almost continual line by the poplar growth along the river.

From the mighty wooded mountain ridge, the watershed of both Tamirs was dispatched toward the river valley's abundant afforested slope and a little valley spring. Above us rose several bare tops (bare peaks reaching to the higher border of the woods). Along one of them (Khan-undur-uul) was what the so-called administrative and territorial unit, the khoshun. The woods here were almost exclusively larch, which composed a high belt and were in a very insignificant quantity and were intermingled with cedars; no pine trees at all. The wild animals here included quite a few roebuck, musk deer, and goats. The common character of these woods-typical of the leaf bearing taiga.

Moving higher up, we went to the place of the confluence of two basic sources of the Khoitu-Tamir: the rivers Khoitu-gol and Urdu-gol. We were the eye witnesses of how terrifying this mountain river could be after a big rain. This rain, had continued for twenty-four hours and as a result the water in the Khoitu-Tamir had risen an entire meter during the night. Even the very smallest ford was rather dangerous, as the turbid, moving, and swelling river ran rapidly along its course.

Passed the confluence of both of these rivers, and we then stopped at the source of the Urdu-gol. Already for several versts the view of the valley had changed: the steppe had disappeared, the woods went down to the very bottom of the narrowing valley, and finally, there appeared a glacial deposit in the form of an indistinct moraine. During the earlier time of the Ice Age, an enormous quantity of stones had been swept along here up to the distant source of the Urdu-gol. In addition, the Khangai magistral must have reached this considerably high region. All of this could be justified: the frontal moraine, primarily, was 35 km above the Sechen-van. Proceeded (and not without some labor) in a cart until verst 5 when we decided to stop and go for a short while without our luggage to the upper areas. The furthest place had no people, the last family lived upwards of the river from us.

The place by the valley of the Tzamt River was very pleasant (the high part of the river was called Urdu-gol). The utter height of the place provided a summer coolness and there was an abundance of flowers in the grass. Then turned to the northern slope of the valley which opened onto quite thick and leafy woods framed by not very high mountains.

Having executed several excursions in the area, I prepared to depart and hired two guides from the local soum with packhorses (hiring in this manner insured excellent guides). From the three hired workers for our party, I took only one and the others remained in the camp. Thus, on a very clear day at the end of July, our little group moved on its way.

Traces of glaciers could be seen on the sides of the valley called "the ram's forehead," and the rocks were smooth as if encrusted with ice. There was clear evidence that the glacier had worked its way down this valley. I was interested in the small rivers with very steep drops which ran away from the very high sloping

sides of the valley, sometimes creating beautiful cascades. The valley of the Tzamt seemed to be torn from the plateau which reached the high border of the woods where above the alpine growth was a swamp and a lot of rubble. During the warm period of the year one met mountain goats (they constantly inhabited the high woodless mountain belt) which had been exiled from the woods by the insects, along with the roebuck and even the goats and boars.

We set up our tent on the rough shore of the rolling river Mukhur-khugite, the source of the Tzamt, not far from a beautiful waterfall.

On the following day, we went off to hunt when it began to be light in the east. We went up to one side of the ravine of the Tzamt, and it was very cold-barely above zero (The temperature affected the significant fluctuation in the absolute height).

Our hunting consisted of going in single file along the shore of the noisy river where we saw on the opposite cliff, a very rocky and high, steep slope where we had to go into the purported feeding area of the wild animals of the ravine. Along the lower area on our side of the ravine stretched a thin, mossy strip of a curved and narrow leafy wood. However, we saw that on the grey cliff there was nothing living.

In 2 ½ km the small wood ended but bent and dwarf cedars grew on its edge and lower down there was evidence of ample afforestation.

We warmed ourselves hastily at the fading fire and waited for the sunrise when we decided to look at the woodless top of the gorge. As in the past, our horses tumbled amid the outpouring of the clear and prominent colors of the luscious green alpine meadow beside the noisy river. In places, the grass reached up to our knees.

On one side of the rubble field we noticed a small herd of mountain goats (goat-roebuck), but it was already late; the goats went off to the feeding area on the cool summit. We followed for a while as they adroitly made their way along the rubble area.

I climbed up further to become both more oriented and acquainted with the peak. The slope was extraordinarily steep and in places I had to ascend on all fours. This steepness-one of the characteristic features of this high belt of the Khangai mountains-together with the considerable (near 2,500 m and higher) absolute height strongly impeded the climbing there.

The top was more or less flat and solid with a not large rubble area. Between the stones were small bits of soil, there was dwarfish growth, and the wind had raised up the dust. The difference in 2–3 m as well as the difficult conditions of existence created at the top, for example, an alpine poppy with ten times less growth than those at the bottom of the ravine. These puny growths were, in addition, sprinkled with snow which had changed from yesterday's rain at this

height (all on July, 20).

I made it along the unstable little rubble field of the slope and had to creep underneath all this stuff for several tens of square meters. We returned to the camp and then, on the same day, traversed about ten versts higher up along the Tzamt.

I deliberately included the details of the excursion in this description: our visit was very typical for this region of the Khangai mountains and presented a good example. The characteristic feature of such a ravine-its great height and the steep sides which were a bit jagged; the magnificent pasture was moist and in places swampy, while at the bottom and top the growth was poor. In addition, consideration must be made for the height, as well as a not wide strip of heavy, depressed trees and always the rough river. There was also the constant accompaniment of the noise of the water as it approached these large boulders in this quiet summer ravine. The water was always cold and of excellent quality.

All the large mammals, the roebuck, the mountain sheep, the mountain goats, and the woodland goats fed in one area. Sometimes a wild boar appeared. However, both the last two animals were only there by the small spring in the woods. In short, they gravitated to the steppe growth at this time while the mountain sheep and the goats preferred the rubble top. One roebuck decided to wander about ten versts from the nearest wood. Because of this, the northern hunt was of special interest. Generally speaking, however, there were few wild animals. The beasts of prey including the panther, or snow leopard, were very rare and professional hunters had seen it only once or twice in their lives. The bear, as with all the other taiga dwellers, (elk, sable, wolverine) were nowhere in the Khangai.

Proceeding on our excursion, we reached, in ten versts, the crest of the Khangai magistral. Thus, the long, icy Tzamt (from the crest to the frontal moraine) would be completed, by and large, in 37 km. At the crest I climbed a wheeled road (nasty even for the local carts) to the Tzamt pass which led to Khoitu-Tamir in the Dashidogun region. In winter this was closed because of the snow drifts. I was not satisfied by the view from the environs of the pass, so I climbed to the highest point I could find near the top. My efforts in ascending were rewarded since the peak was the highest in the region and the horizon opened up extensively. There was a striking difference between the northern and southern slopes of the magistral. It was steep to the north, with places almost, but not completely, sheer, with slopes in a deep canyon like abyss, and peaks which quite frequently presented themselves as a kar or cirque. To the South, there were more gently sloping inclines and valleys with gradual drops. The road to Dashidogun was unnoticeable from the south and very noticeable from the northern pass which was approached along an enormous plateau, the surface of which was equal to roughly 300 square km. typical of the river landscape, that is-full of rubble, swamps, and meager alpine growth. The plateau was cut into by a small number of river valleys

from the river basin of the source of the Uta river and of the left tributary of the Baidariga. This was a cold and dismal high alpine desert. Mountain sheep wandered along it from time to time, there were many herds of white partridges, and, in the summer, roebuck wandered about. But south from this plateau, toward some low mountains, the steppe was barely visible below Dashidogun, where, on looking further, the mountains had a semi-desert character. The woods on the southern slope of the Khangai appeared only where there were negligible springs.

To the east from this peak there arose a sea of high mountains among which was the notable, beautiful really high cone of the bare-topped Subarga-khairkhan which lay to the north from the source of the Orkhon and was easily seen from the neighborhood of the Tsetserleg elevation.

The western horizon was locked in by the high mountain bend of the magistral on the top of which could be seen eternal patches of snow. I also noticed this on my following trip.

Having made the wearisome trip back to the Tzamt valley, I then returned to the camp and met the horses which had been sent to me.

With new guides, we left by cart along the steep path to the valley of the Cholute River to continue straight to the other source of the Khoitu-Tamir, the Khoitu-gol. This source was of primary importance. Visiting anew two places on the magistral, I went high up along the very steep tributary of the Khoitu-gol, the Nuuriin-ama River. This seemed one of the most interesting parts of the Khangai magistral.

This large, typical glacial valley had at its mouth a real semi-circular frontal moraine with sides that, on occasion, reached enormous sizes. The watershed line of the magistral approached not far from and almost parallel to the valley of the Nuuriin-ama. On the main crest there was a wide (up to 8 km) and completely flat saddle. From the south east and the north west, a high bare top descended from an enormous step. In the north east, a steep, but short slope which appeared like a flat step, led to the Nuuriin-ama valley, and in the southwest a gentle incline led to one of the sources of the Uta-gol. Most curious of all was that in the middle of the saddle, that was in fact on the same crest of the Khangai mountain ridge, there lay a quite large (up to 8 km in circumference) and evidently very deep lake which the Mongols called Khukhu-nuur [in Mongolian, the dark blue lake—the editor]. The name fully affirmed the beautiful dark, greenish-blue color of its cold water. It lay high on the wooded border and contained several distinct tints. The lake was like an enormous sapphire placed in this beautiful setting. The local population honored Khukhu-nuur with prayers and provided daily for its large oboe on the eastern shore. A small river and underground water from the neighboring mountain fed the lake, while the surplus water flowed to the Nuuriin-ama river.

These last sources were no less interesting. Found near us was a mountainous

bend where the base of Khangai mountain ridge threw off an important watershed below the river basins of the Orkhon and the Selenge, that is, in a certain place between the sources of the Khoitu-Tamir (the left tributary of the Orkhon) and the Cholute (one of the three sources of the Selenge). The main part of this watershed extended 35 km which represented its enormous, wide (over 20 km), flat and high swell, and it was cut into some places by the deep and narrow river valley. This entire valley had a glacial character and there was a clearly defined glacial cirque at its top. Certain rivers, belonging to two of the different previously stated basins, almost met at the summit. They divided the narrow, jagged source of the ice crest which seemed sometimes like a painting of this high and gloomy place.

Of great significance in the aforementioned bend in this high region was that there were patches of perpetual snow which were not large. Excursions on foot to this peak, about 8 km from our camp, took the whole 12 hours. While climbing and descending, we were continually in the midst of rubble and at the bottom there was always a swamp. The very flat peak represented a continuous rubble area with its enormous stones piled up in complete disorder. However, the view from there rewarded us for all of our labor: at our feet was a throng of mountains; in a deep abyss a river arose before one's eyes like a silver snake slithering off in all directions; in the dark, hollow nook between the coils like a dragon's spine, the frozen crests glimmered like the green eyes of the mysterious monster of the miniature lake. Finally, as a rule, each had a glacial cirque at the bottom.

Proceeding on into this smallish region, I crossed the aforesaid blighted area which was part of the watershed of the Orkhon-Selenge. With a pack, it was extremely difficult to climb as it descended to the area of the source of the Cholute where we met our caravan.

Sent the caravan straight to the Tariat with only one guide and I was dispatched to inspect the source of the Cholute.

The highest peak in the central Khangai, reaching a height of no less than 3,600 m above sea level (the exact height in numbers, as determined by this expedition, had still not been worked out) was found at the mountain ridge of the magistral. Its peak did not have, however strange, a specific name. It was composed of volcanic rock which was, in general, widely found in the Khangai. A relief study showed that in the period of the distant past until the ice age that there had been great volcanic eruptive activity and an enormous amount of lava had been thrown out on the summit. From there, I saw at least 300 km to the south, the crest of the mountain ridge of Ikh-Bogd (The Gobi Altai: for details see my article about the Gobi Expedition of 1927, *The Mongolian Economy*, 1928, No. 1).

10 versts to the west from this summit was found Yegin-daba, one of the most important passes across the Khangai mountain ridge. Across from this led to the post service highway from Ulaanbaatar to Chjhibkholant. The approach to this was

flat but stony and one crossed at the height of about 2,500 m. If some small repairs could have been done here, I dare say we would have gone by automobile. The local population honored this pass and considered it the center of the Khangai crest. An oboo was located on its highest spot.

After the excursion to Yegin-daba, I changed guides and began to climb to the Uldzeit River, the largest left tributary at the summit of the Cholute. At the top, this river almost met up with the Baidarag River at the summit. The area around these sources (and nearby could be found the source of the rivers Urdu-Terkhi and Budun-Gichigin which related to the Cholute system) was distinctive. The upper layer of this enormous mass of ice from the ice age had the upper layer erased and removed from this area of the principal mountain ridge. It made, as it were, a hollow which surrounded like a ring the high bare-topped peak, and which amid the narrow, grinding ice of the granite hill, led to the source or beginning of the Baidarag and Uldzeit rivers. This place was high, remote and gloomy, with no people, no wild animals, and only a rare mountain sheep wandered by. There was often snowfall in the second half of August.

Turned north and came down the very steep slope from the source of the Baidarag in the deep gorge of the Khapchik and came out from there in the Budun-Gichigin River valley. Went up on the high bare peak of the Tsun-ganga and looked from it to yet another part of the main Khangai mountain ridge and then I put an end to this last venture. As a result of this stage of work, common characteristics were clarified as were the details of the relief of the Khangai magistral between the Urdu-Tamir and the Urdu-Terkhi, that was primarily in approximately 150 km of the 6,500 square km area that this survey covered.

From the Budun-Gichigin valley, I went without a pass straight across the bare top and the valley of the Urdu-Terkhi River and then on to the automobile road Tsetserleg-Tariat-Chjhibkholant. Coming down, reached the Tariat where I was met by the caravan after my 15-day journey. Answered questions on the information, brought order to the materials, and then we moved on further.

A short trip to the Khutug-uul River in the Tariat area, which I knew because of its spur like that of the great Khangai in the divided valley of the Terkhi and Yeder Rivers (one of three sources of the Selenge to the west) which had the name Tarbagatai. This spur extended up along the border of the wood and in the west near the magistral and had large patches of perpetual snow on its summit. This part of the Tarbagatai was little known until now. Besides this, the view from Khutug-uul of the snowy summit of Otkhan-tengri, which looked like a sugar loaf and was the highest mountain in all of the Khangai, was not less than 200 km away.

After the trip to Khutug-uul, we went down to the Yeder River and the wooded field of the Toin-ama. The northern slope of the Tarbagatai was wooded, and in places thickly populated. The woods were composed exclusively of larches and one

type of cedars. The animals included the boar, roebuck, goat, and the usual squirrels. The Yeder valley lay significantly below the Terkhi River valley with its cheerless landscape. The mountains along the side of the valley were bare; the ground stony, then sandy, and then swampy with scanty growth which included irises and karagana. The eye focused only on the beautiful, deep Yeder River with its abundant fish and in the distance, the wooded northern slope of the Tarbagatai.

Climbing several of the ten versts up along the Yeder, we turned again to the north to one of the valleys, descended to the Yeder River from the north, and then went down to the area of Bolnai mountain, extending in a wide direction between the top of the Tes and lake Sangin-Dalai from one side and the Yeder valley from the other. The long ascent along the Khuyekhtein-ama led us to the gently sloping pass of the Sepsul-daba which led to the basin of the Sangin-dalai Lake. In this region, the Bolnai mountain ridge was merely negligible in the climb to the wooded border and its crest was flat. The southern slope was long and broken by valleys which ran to the Yeder. The source of the Tes was the flat mountain with the northern part cut a little short. There were larches trees on both slopes although they were thicker on the north and grew in a continuous strip. Went for 10 km from the large lake of Sangin-dalai (up to 40 km long), then we turned west along the Bolnai and passed the beautiful lake of Gandan-nuur (about 15 km in circumference) and went wide and high up over sea level to a marshy valley in which the Tes River began. Notwithstanding it being the beginning of September, at this high elevation there was frost at night and the grass was all yellow and dry.

Moved further to the north west where we crossed the line of the Bolnai spurs and prepared to leave to the north of the Tes River, going to the Dureckchi-van khüree to meet both parties of our expedition. All of us rested a bit here and I put in order the materials from the earlier parts of the trip.

S. A. Kondratiev's party arrived on September 10. Their march route had common features including: the caravan went on the road from Tsetserleg to Chjhibkholant and to the Khangai magistral and the southern valley of the Terkhiin-gol. This was the plan of F. F. Bolshakov. S. A. Kondratiev went by automobile on a parallel route—the valley of the Terkhiin-gol—and crossed the main Khangai mountain ridge which lay by the high border of the Tel-daban woods, and then went to the top of the Tzak River, and from there by automobile highway to the Chjhibkholant. From Chjhibkholant, S. A. Kondratiev undertook an excursion to the region of the Otkhan-tengri mountain, the highest peak in the Khangai, which reached up to 70 km to east-north-east of Chjhibkholant.

The height of Otkhan-tengri, as well as the distribution of snow on its lower border, was not known up to this time. Among the Mongols there were rumors that it was not possible to climb. In fact, the climb up did seem difficult because of the steepness and the rubble fields. The last climb was taken in a full coat of snow.

The very top was covered, almost with a hat, by an enormous 30 m drift of eternal snow. To move along this snow to its edge required great caution. Only two of the five excursions reached the top—those of S. A. Kondratiev and F. F. Bolshakov from the topography party. Having taken indispensable measurements, photographs, and readings, they returned to the camp only at dawn. All of the excursions to the Otkhan then set up as the closest to the camp continued for 23 hours (out of which only 4 were clear rests from the cold as they were without warm clothing and a fire at this great height). The height of the Otkhan was approximately 4,100 m (the exact calculations have still not been made.) The expedition discovered significant traces of ancient ice throughout the Otkhan-tengri region.

After this excursion, the party went from Chjhibkholant to the north and west, intersecting the upper reaches of the Yeder River along the Khangai magistral, and turned north-north-west of the Bolnai mountain ridge. Largely unexpected, it seemed that this comparatively high region had, in the past, been influenced by a desert regime, traces of which were very well preserved: in places our group found sand dunes or sand hills. Besides that, the regional plant growth was similar to that of the desert. So, as a result of all of our work, the map of this area underwent major changes.

Following discussions of the furthest march route, we decided to go down along the Tes 130 versts and then to separate. S. A. Kondratiev planned to go to the lesser known mountain ridge of the Khan-Khukhei (to the south from the Tes valley), and I wanted to see the lesser known eastern part of the Tannu-uul mountain ridge where the source of the Yenesei could be found.

The large joint caravan left from Dureckchivan on September 13. It went in two troikas, or three horses abreast, with two young lads in the rear (part of the baggage we left behind).

At the 25th verst below Dureckchivan there was an undergrowth of fir by the river. Fall had arrived- clear and quiet. The blue river was quite different hidden by a dark green wall of fir trees. The steppe had turned yellow in the pale autumn feather grass. Here and there the leaves in the woods burned pure gold.

We did not need a tent when we stopped; everywhere was a comfortable field among the slender firs, so we started an enormous bonfire and ate and smoked our evening pipe beside it. We then slept heavily under the clear, frosty, autumn sky.

On the second day of the trip, we saw, to the north, the high, naked mountain ridge of the Tannu-uul dusted by the autumn snow. At the same time, the Tes disappeared in the wide wooded valley. The mountains were naked and steep. In the wide, dry, steppe valley -in Mongolian a khunde- from the south to the Tes wandered a great herd of young deer. Few wells and few inhabitants were here and as a result, excellent, untrampled feather grass grew on this steppe. The local population used these pastures after a snowfall.

On the fourth day on the road we stopped at the beautiful birch woods by the Tes, 5 versts from the Gandan monastery. Looked at the monastery the next day and collected information about the road further along, and on the 18th we separated: S. A. Kondratiev went with his party further down along the Tes, and I went back a little and turned directly to the north to the Tannu-uul.

On the first day we went up along the dry, wide valley of the Bugusugiin-ama. The wheel of our cart dragged heavily along the sand which was overgrown occasionally with thin feathergrass and karagana. On both sides arose steep, rocky, frozen mountains which were strongly reminiscent of the Gobi. Hidden by the dark crannies, the small crannies of leafy woods seemed dissonant while the rounded peak, overgrown by a thick, leafy wood could be seen ahead.

We stopped near the small monastery of the Bayan-bulagiin-khüree, built near the sentry point of Bayan-bulag. The Uriyangkhai border extended, somehow, 20 versts northward. There were many good, leafy woods in the area of the khüree. Further to the north, on the southern slope of the Tannu-uul the real taiga began. Because of the closeness of the border, the local darga had our side guarded by horses: there were sometimes here Uriyangkhai-soiot robbers. We left the cart and some baggage at the Bayan-bulagiin khüree and moved along further by pack animals.

We crossed the Uriyangkhai border on the first day and our route went to the north-west along two wide and dry steppe valleys where we gradually pursued a wide approach toward the white lime spur of the Tannu-uul. Moreover, on the same day, we crossed the very steep and quite high pass of the Dundu-khargan where we spent the night on its wooded northern slope. This same pass opened onto a wide view to the south-west. The views encompassed the dry valley of the Tes with its sandy areas and its divided steep crest. Far in the distance was seen the long silhouette of the Khan-khukhei with, at this time, its amply snow-covered peak.

We left, in the morning, by the narrow field of the Dund-khargan about 10 km and went to the extraordinarily picturesque valley of the Nariin River, the actual source of the Tes. We stopped along it to climb to the main mountain ridge of the Tannu-uul. The abundant blue water of the river wended its way through the thick growth of high dark-green fir trees and other bushes, making these places impassable. Rounded slopes descended on the river's left side which were entirely covered in thick, golden, autumn leafy woods speckled with evergreens. These slopes were cut in places by beautiful, leafy fields. On the right side, began a not very wide steppe terrace with sharp prongs and crests amid white lime rocks which rose to the sky. There were fir trees everywhere and many slopes opened onto larch woods. One did not often see the Uriyangkhai yurts. We went up 15 versts along the Nariin and stopped at a meadow with very old and leafy trees. In the

evening we froze. And then, a young lama approached us in the dark and stayed for the night. He said that high above us was the area's only yurt which belonged to his father, a shaman and hunter, who certainly would not refuse to show us around. This lama had gone with the pasha to Yersin-gol, the neighboring river to the Nariin, and carried a pack of barley. Apparently, it was true that the Uriyangkhai occupied some area on the southern slope of the Tannu-uul, and in a small way, were agriculturalists. That night we had the first real snow (September 21) and in the morning we were completely surrounded by a winter landscape.

Going on, I came to the yurt of the shaman Pelchjhe and became acquainted with him. We pitched our tents not far from his nomadic encampment. The quarters were good and were in the frequently high firs, two steps from the river and the meadow, where our horses grazed. On that day, jointly with the Uriyangkhai, we built an enclosure for roebuck which was never completed. We remained there for four days.

I became acquainted with the character of the neighboring taiga on a short hunting expedition. I visited Pelchjhe's yurt often and was interested in the half-cattle raising, half-hunting life of these strong, local Mongolian Uriyangkhai. There were few lamas here. With one exception, all the men here were hunters. Children, 4–5 years old, already had their own small knives in wooden scabbards, and the young boys of 8 used children's bows to shoot rabbits and squirrels which they sold to the Russians for 25 kopeks a piece. Thus, these young children knew that they were already helping their fathers. Adults disappeared into the taiga for days.

The wild animals for trade included many roebuck, some goats, a few musk deer, and very rarely a boar. A bear did rove along with lynx, wolves, and foxes. The smaller animals included squirrels and Siberian weasels. There were really a lot of roebuck. We were located in a place where there was the so-called "roar," when the bulls chased the females and ran around absolutely everywhere. I rarely saw an area during our excursion without the tracks of an older roebuck.

On one of the evenings, I was invited to Pelchjhe's family to see his (shamanic dance) and for a long talk, until dark, about hunting (a usual local theme). The old shaman began to prepare. A large tambourine made out of dried bearskin warmed by the hearth. Then the ritual clothing was brought out and Pelchjhe began to dress- on his head he wore a round hat with an eagle-owl feather on its crown and with the drawing of a human face on the front; then he arrayed himself in a deer skin jacket with a fringe of ribbon which was fastened from behind with the long side along the floor; a wristlet; and on his feet he wore soft deerskin shoes and similar stockings. When everything was ready, he got up and turned his face (which expressed the shamanic spirit) toward the "ongon" which presented the image of the Buddha suspended along both sides of the icon case. His wife began to send out smoke from his sweet smoking juniper and he wrapped the sensor

around his leg. After Pelchjhe's song, he called up the spirits while, from time to time, beating the tambourine. Little by little, the tempo of the song and the beats grew faster, and the blows stronger. It was clear that Pelchjhe was falling into a trance. His eyes were tightly closed, his body twitched convulsively, his singing changed, and he was suddenly wrapped up in a wild dance under the deafening din of the tambourine. His movements were quick, and the long fringes of his clothing formed, from time to time, a continuous glimmering circle. Sometimes he slowed down the tempo of his dance and then began to sing hurriedly, almost choking. The tambourine flew to the roof of the yurt and the whole scene was picturesque. From the outside quiet, came the noises of the autumn taiga, the splashing river, and the clear shine of the midnight stars. Two roebuck roared somewhere near a small mound. Otherwise, all was quiet and still. However, in this lone yurt, illuminated by the rough reddish color of the hearth, the old hunter Pelchjhe twisted in his frenzied dance as a priest of the ancient "black faith," twisting, as if wishing at that moment of ecstatic tension, to break loose from the earth's cover and its light bit of dust, together with the smoke of the hearth, and take wing over the sleeping taiga in the limpid, frozen night. After the strong surge for those spectators carried away in this frenzy, the tempo of the tambourine slowed down to a rest. Pelchjhe, mournfully singing, listened to his tambourine which he barely struck. Then, again was heard a snort and a whistle and the dancing began again. At one of these moments, the shaman, in one leap, shot across all of the yurt and the hearth toward the door and continued his séance outside under the open heavens. He soon returned to the yurt. He then predicted a bit about the hunt in front of the horses. Finally, he dropped his hat and threw off his clothes. At that moment he jumped as if from a strange spasm, bent over, and leaned on the pole of the roof of the yurt. His wife and eldest son tore him off of there and throwing his fur coat around him, forced him to sit down. Slowly, he rubbed his face vigorously and took a deep breath. Then, Pelchjhe went toward them and greedily swallowed a cup of tea and inhaled his pipe. The shamanic dance had gone on for not less than 3 hours. Even for a youth, the strain of whirling for several hours would usually be impossible. And Pelchjhe was fifty.

The abilities of the shaman were transferred to the next generation. Pelchjhe, for example, was a shaman of the ninth generation. To prepare the tenth: the elder indicated one of his young sons would be his true follower.

This shaman's customary norm for the shamanic ceremony was once a month. On the following day, I took photos of Pelchjhe in his full shamanic attire.

I decided to go further into the deep taiga so there were three of us: one of the workers and as a sort of guide-Pelchjhe. I sent back the former guide.

On September 25, we went up by the Nariin where the narrow hunting path wound along the steep cornice over the river, intermingled with the bushes, and

then disappeared among the pebbles of the riverbed. Came across an area with grey, scorched, wind-fallen wood, across which we stepped carefully on horses accustomed to the taiga. A pack horse, for example, went freely, without a bridle. The first day we went all of eight versts.

We moved further along after the morning's hunt. From higher up, one could see already the snowy, bare-topped peak of the main watershed.

We did not pitch our tents and spent the night next to the fire. On the following night, we heard, from all of a half a verst away, the howl of two roebuck calling to each other. This clear sound, like that of metal pipes, and the inspirational passion from these simple beasts harmonized wondrously with the sparkling stars in the barely frosted, glassy autumn night. The roebuck called across the river opposite us and were seen on the high wooded promontory. Roundabout, under the low moon, they touselled, or rough-housed, covered by the hills and crests of the taiga. The horses which were grazing nearby, snorted wildly, the rough fire was dying out, but the bonfire still snatched from the darkness the severe bronzed features of the old hunter, and the lusterless glimmer of his rifle thrown across the saddle.

We parted again at this place: the worker with both pack horses had to move on to the secondary, bare-topped watershed which went down to the neighboring area to the east of the Khachik River, and with Pelchjhe, we strapped on the saddle what was most necessary and went on to the main watershed.

Almost from this stop, we went to the secondary crest along which ran a high path joining the southern slope of the Tannu-uul with the source of the Yenesei. There was snow here everywhere. The crystal-clear mountain air on the top opened our eyes to the distant blue. The snowy lines of the watershed on the bare top of the Tannu-uul were clearly drawn, and then, to the southwest, we arrived at a golden sea of leaves while on the horizon was seen the fresh snow, white on the mountain ridge of the Khan-khukhei. These mountains were found near the circular valley of Ubsa-nuur, a distance of 250 versts from us. We went on 10 versts and approached a not too high pass from which began rivers in the high Yenesei system. We were surrounded by the rough, bare top of the peak, already almost completely covered with snow. We stopped near the first small wood on the north slope. In the morning I went on an excursion and soon came to the magistral. In front of me spread a wide stone-topped field with a few shoots of blue Icelandic moss (reindeer moss) and some other small tundra grasses. The wild, northern deer seldom wandered in this place and never, according to the hunters, left this cheerless like tundra, of "the white mountain" (this flat crest of the mountain ridge with moss and tundra grass in the Sayanakh, its character remembered as, partially, a present part of the Tannu-uul). On exactly the fifth day of my trip to the Nariin along these bare topped peaks, hunters had killed one northern reindeer from a herd of 10. In some places there could be found mountain goats very close to the

Gobi. Long ago, there had been many of these goats but then there appeared to have been an epidemic and most of them died.

I remained on the top for quite a long time, carefully studying the surrounding area. In the north, toward the Khua-khem river, there was a continuous sea of bare mountain tops. Generally, everything in this area which rose not very high above sea level (close to 2,000–2,500 m) had a severe look.

After this excursion, Pelchjhe and we, delved into the labyrinth of this harsh ravine, with the intention of crossing again to the southern slope of the Tannu-uul toward the Khachik river. However, the old man had only been in this place once 20 years ago and had lost his way, so we spent the night by the steep and swampy rubble field, climbed the main hazardous spine, and then made a dangerous descent to where we spent the night in the first wood. We oriented ourselves in the morning and crossed yet another bare-topped peak and after hunting a while, turned back. Near the border, I bid my farewell to Pelchjhe and soon went along the familiar road up to the Dureckchi-van.

S. A. Kondratiev's work party clarified the character of the locale between the Tes River and the spine of the Bolnai and the Khan-Khukhei. The general character of this last mountain ridge was described and confirmed in the stories about its good forests, especially about all its cedars, which I had not seen since being at the Tannu-uul. In addition, there was a recently plotted measurement on a map of a series of lakes.

We began our joint return from Dureckchi-van. It was already the second half of October and so without going off on an excursion, we went to the east as fast as we could. In a few days, our caravan reached the Muren-khüree. Along our route was the especially beautiful, narrow Delger-muren river valley with its large, high steep walls. There was wide and rich undergrowth along the river and by the woods on the steep hills of the right shore. From the Muren-khüree, our remaining caravan, we with S. A. Kondratiev, went by luck in an automobile to the settlement of Khadkhal located on the southern shore of Lake Khövsgöl. Along the road we worked out a plan and in Khadkhal a revision of the meteorological station.

This trip added yet another clear page to what had been seen on our expedition. We were utterly charmed by Khövsgöl and the boat. The clear blue waves (I had never seen such intensely blue colored water) quietly splashed the sandy spit and the shore. Golden woods surrounded the lake and a naked peak protruded from them. The northern end of the lake, which remained 140 km from Khadkhal, was visible only as an apparition arising from the blue waves as a silvery, jagged silhouette of the eternally snow covered Munkhu-sardig, the peak of the Sayansk mountain ridge. The pale autumn sky crowned the picture. Insufficient time prevented us from going along Khövsgöl to the steamer, but I took a series of

photographs of this beautiful Mongolian lake. This same Khadkhal, once a trading point, had gradually died. Freight now went more towards Ulaanbaatar and Altanbulag. The Tunkinskii tract was less lively.

On our return to Muren-khüree, we moved further, toward the Selenge which was a three-day journey. The river's shore was mountainous so that going along it in a cart was almost impossible. Then the road went from the river by a wide little valley on the left (north) shore of the Selenge.

Once again, we saw a new leafy wood by the third crossing, and a birch grove which was rare in the west. We had only seen birches on the expedition to the Tes and, even then, in no great number. Going again by the Selenge, we landed in the agricultural region. Almost all of the river valley was ploughed, and there were yurts, people, and stacks of wheat, movement, noise and haze everywhere. Barley, wheat, and millet were sown, and the agriculture was almost exclusively Mongolian. We soon reached the ferry which carried even cars across the Selenge.

After this passage, we went along for several versts by the tilled land in the Selenge valley, then turned to the south at the intersection of the watershed of the Orkhon-Selenge with the intention of going on to the Van-khüree. We climbed along Altat hill without drainage where the landscape was very interesting. A mighty lava flow had, in the past, covered this ancient valley up to the certain height of the leveling place. Above it, protruded the highest half of the crest, the peak and the promontory. After this, the endless work of the water had eroded a massive lava canyon along which the river now ran. This northern slope of the watershed was well wooded with cedars on the top. The animals included many goats, a roebuck, and a wild boar. We hunted here, for the last time, before returning to Ulaanbaatar. Along the river, were many black grouse, clearly distinguishable by their corpulent black silhouettes among the spiderwebs of the thin, already leafless, branches of the birch trees. They were completely unfamiliar with our firing of shots and so we had game birds to eat every day. The advancing winter dispatched its warning to us in these woods: on the night of October 27, it was a freezing -29 °C.

Moving through the woods with the good fodder, it was nice to see such well-equipped winter areas with their comparatively large supply of hay.

Went on the gently, sloping lower pass to the Orkhon and to the steppe. A rather small wood remained by a large knoll. We arrived at the Van-khüree late in the evening. We rested, inquired about the road which went on further, and having seen the monastery, we continued on. Because there was a complete absence of food in the region, we could not go on the usual straight road to Ulaanbaatar so we chose the northern route. We went down by the Orkhon for 100 extra versts, passing across by a good ford (there was already sludge) and went east. The first frost had come to the Orkhon at -35 °C. The wide steppe was along the river. Went

beyond it for 100 versts and then we saw, finally, a pine wooded mountain surrounding the sources of the Borotai and Burgultai rivers. Soon we arrived at the Altan-Bulagskii tract (near Narastu-daba) and then on November 12 reached Ulaanbaatar.

The expedition was concluded.

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令和4年3月9日発行

国立民族学博物館調査報告 154

編 著 Morris Rossabi
Yuki Konagaya

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印 刷 株式会社 遊文舎
〒532-0012 大阪市淀川区木川東4-17-31
TEL. 06(6304)9325(代表)
