

The Weight of Respect

Khündlekh Yos – Frames of Reference, Governmental Agendas and Ethical Formations in Modern Mongolia

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von Frau Elisa Myriam Kohl-Garrity

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Gutachter: PD. Dr. Dittmar Schorkowitz

Prof. Dr. Matthias Kaufmann

Prof. Dr. Manduhai Buyandelger

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Dedicated to my teachers, foremost my parents.

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Illustrations

Figure 1 Tsogtbayar, Samandariin. *The Naked King* [original English title. Mongolian Title: *Nütsgen Khaan*]. Cartoon. Ulaanbaatar. Baabar.mn. Last modified April 16, 2012. Accessed November 10, 2014. <http://baabar.mn/article/3983>. Statement: “Look! The Khaan’s feet are bare!” (Khaan here refers to the former president Enkhbayar, who was arrested on claims of corruption. He was carried out of his office without shoes. The comment also likely refers to the tale of *The Emperor’s New Clothes*.)

Figure 2 Juniors greet the Senior of the household on *Tsagaan Sar* – the Soli-Lunar New Year. Photograph by author, January 31st, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Fig. 3 Scene depicted on the socialist-era monument known as *Zaisan* in Ulaanbaatar. Mongolian woman welcoming her USSR brother with a bowl of presumably *airag* [fermented mare’s milk] or milk tee and a blue honorary ritual scarf. These scenes were to connote the friendship and promote an equal standing of both people. Yet, the mural is also a tribute to the (military) achievements of the USSR. Photograph by author, April 12th, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Figure 4 *Sur, sur bas dakhin sur* “Study, study and keep studying” an expression ascribed to Lenin and still hanging in the Educational University of Ulaanbaatar in 2009.

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Figure 15 Station for car repair just outside a tourist camp. Close to Ongiin Khiid. Photograph taken by author August 25th, 2014.

Figure 16 Marco Polo Statue, known as presumable envoy of Khubilai Khaan in Ulaanbaatar’s Public Park surrounded by cartoon characters. Photograph by author, May 11th, 2014.

Figure 17 Advertisement of the Empire epic by S. Erdenebold on Sükhbaatar square. Photograph by author Ulaanbaatar, November 4th, 2013.

Figure 18 Feeding the pigeons at Gandan monastery – an act of compassion. Photograph by author, May 3rd, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Figure 19 “Love yourself month.” Marketing an entangled version of Buddhist compassion, feminist slogans and neo-liberal consumption. Advertisement by the pharmacy Monos. Monos Tuul Emiin San. "Ööriigöö Khairlakh Sar." Advertisement *Medee Medeelel*. Last modified April 15, 2016. Accessed May 05, 2018. <https://emonos.mn/information/news/27/>.

Glossary

Aav	Father
Ach/ači	Son's son/daughter, result, benefit
Achiig khariulna	To repay, to be thankful
Achlal Achlalt said noyon khövgiün	Filial minister prince son
Achlalt	Filial Piety
Achtung	Respect, attention
Agi düü	Prince younger sibling
Agi örshöölt daichin baatar mergen düü	Prince merciful warrior wise younger sibling
Aikh	Fear
Aimag	Province
Aimgiin tuslagch janjin	Deputy of the administrative unit aimag
Airag	Fermented mare's milk
Aj akhuin negdeliin darga	Head of the farm collective
Ajil töröl	Work
Akh Düü	Older Brother, younger sibling
Akh düügiin yos	Custom of senior-junior siblings
Akha/ini	Elder and junior Mongol princes during the Yuan dynasty.
Akhmad khünees aidag	To fear seniors
Akhmad nastan	Senior citizens, elders
Alba	Tribute, service, duty
Aldagdasan	To have lost
Amar yos	Custom of peace/serenity (Greeting on Tsagaan Sar)
Amban	Governor
Amidralig surgana	To teach life
Amuyulan	Ease, peacefulness
Amral	Love
Amur	Peace, serenity
Aniagiin düü	Older sister's younger sibling
Aqa-nar yekes-tegen joquildu-	To be on good terms with, to show deference
Arad	Commoner

Ardchilal	Democracy
Ardchilalin üye	Time/period of democracy
Ataa jötöö	Jealousy
Avralin deed achlalt da khamba lam	Revered high filial da Khamba Lama
Ayataikhan	Amiable
Ayiladqa	To report, to memorialize (honorific)
Ayiladqsan yosu-bar	The custom of reporting (honorific)
Baatar	Warrior, hero
Baga Erjigen/Eljigen Khoshuu	Small erjigen/eljigen banner
Bagsh	Teacher
Begründung	Rationale
Bi khün bish yum uu?	Am I not a person?
Bildung	Education
Bilig	Wisdom, wise sayings
Bitgii tenegdeed bai! Teneg yum yarij baina, unt unt unt!	Don't be foolish! You are saying foolish things, sleep, sleep, sleep!
Biye biyenee	Each other (lit. from body to body)
Biyeiig surgadag bagshiig khündel	Teach your body, respect your teacher
Biye zasaakhaa geree zas, biye zasaad geree zas, geree zasaad töröö zas	After having taken care of your body take care of your home, having taken care of your home, take care of the state
Boyl	Slave
Böö	Commonly known as shaman
Böö mörgöl	Commonly known as shamanism
Burkhan	God
Burkhan bolokh	To pass away/die
Buyani san	Endowment fund, treasury of virtue
Čiyulyan-u daruᠢya	League chief (Classical Mongolian)
Čimayi qaiyiralaju kündüleksen	Loved and respected you (Classical Mongolian)
Chini setgeleesee	From a true/honest mind, honestly, truthfully
Citta	Heart-mind
Dagakh	To follow
Dairaad	To bump into, quarrel, to pass
Dalai lam	Dalai lama (Oceanic Lama)
Dald	Hidden, secret, illegal
Danagar	Energetic, strong
Daruulgatai	With restraint, obedience
Deed zarlig buulgasanig khicheengüilen dagaj	strive to follow the descended high decree
Deel	Mongolian traditional garment
Deer üyed	Old times, literally high time/period
Degüci	To show deference (Classical Mongolian)
Dendüü sul chölöötei bolchikhson	It has become too loosely free
Duugarakh	Loud, noisy
Düügee av!	Take your younger sibling!
Duugüi bai!	Be silent!
Duraaraa	Self-willed
Eejii khüü	Mother's son
Egch	Older Sister
Egchiin düü	Older sister's younger sibling
Ekh orni khishig	Motherland's share

Elberelt	Filial piety
Emčü-irgen	Non-Mongolian subjects during Yuan dynasty
Enerel	Love
Enren gün noyon mini	My compassionate Gün
Erdem	Wisdom
Erelkheg	Braveness
Erfahrung	Experience
Erkhem khairt	Honored loved
Erkhem khündet	Honored respected
Erkhemle-	To esteem, to honor, to prize, to respect
Ezemshikh	To master
Ezen/ejen	Master
Gadayadu mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun	Lifanyuan, Ministry in charge of Inner Asian provinces during the Qing dynasty
Ger	Yurt, round felt tent
Gesetzgebung	Legislation
Goo saikhan	Beauty
Gün	Mongolian title comparable to duke
Gün mergen düü	Title (duke) wise younger sibling
Ideell	Ideational
Ikh	Big
Ikh khöröngö edelj	It commands great assets
Ikhes akhsig	To show deference to seniors
Il	Open
ǰakiǰu iregsen yosu-bar	Through the custom of instruction
Janjin gün örshöolt bagsh tenger mergen akh	warrior, <i>gün</i> , merciful teacher, heaven(ly) wise older brother
ǰarlay	Decree
ǰarlaysan yosu-bar dayayan önggerekülkü	To withstand in accordance with the decree
ǰaruča kümün	Servant
ǰasay	Government, state
Juramtai	With rule, obedient
Jurgan	Front office of border regions
Khaan/Qayan	Mongolian title, honorific, emperor
Khadag	Ritual scarf
Khadam eej	Mother-in-law
Khairlakh	To be loving kind, to grant, to love
Khairlakh khündlekh	Love and respect
Khamgaalakh	To protect
Khariltsaa	Relationship, communication
Khatgalakh	To conserve, to preserve
Khatuu sakhikh	Discipline
Kheetei ni bügdiin ni chimkhen shüü dee	I would pinch every possible part, literally I would pinch every part [it turned into] a pattern.
Khelmegdeliin üye	Era of political repression
Khiimori	Wind horse
Khishig	Share, grace, favour, gift of respect/honor, fortune
Khödlökh	To move

Khödölmör	Labor, work
Khödölmörch	Laborer, worker
Khögsh chütüd darga	Head of the senior citizens
Khoi chi	Hey you
khöögööd	To throw out
Khooson chanar	Empty Quality, emptiness (Buddhism)
Khoshuun	Banner
Khos yos	Dual order, two orders of state and religion
Khovdin khuuvin said	Consulting minister of Khovd
Khovdin manj said jurgan narig	Manchu ministers of Khovd from the front office of border regions
Khoyer yos	Dual order, two orders of religion and state
Khüleej avch chaddagui	Cannot receive
Khümüüjüülekh	To educate
Khün	Person, human
Khünd	Heavy
Kündü kesig	Weighty grace, favor and share
Kündü mör	Strictness, high standing, literally: heavy line
Khündetgekh	To respect
Khündlekh yos/zanshil	Custom of respect
Kundulen han	Enlightened han
Khünii erkh	Human rights
Khüntei bolovsroltei kharitsakh	To treat in a cultivated manner
Khutagt	High reincarnated lama
Khüükhdiin erkh	Children's rights
Khüükhdiig khüchirkhiiliin esreg taivan	The Official Group for Peaceful Demonstration Against Child Abuse
jagsaalin alban yosni grupp	Dry mother, in a way comparable to a godmother
Khuurai eej	Part, share
Khuvi	Personal/partial favor (spiritual), share
Khuvi khishig	To strive
Kiöiyenggüile-köbüd	Servant
Köngül	Mind, heart, thought
Künziin surgaal	Four books, five classics of Confucius
Lagshin	Body, wellbeing, health
Maidari	Buddha Maitreya, a future Buddha of this world
Manaach	Janitor
Manaikhan	Of our [people]
Medel kümün	Subordinate
Medegül-	To let [somebody] know (honorific)
Medegülgsen yosu-bar	The custom of letting [somebody] know (honorific)
Medersen	To feel, to sense
Meeren khemeekh egeliin doord	Your humble inferior called Meeren
Mekhiikh	To bow
Mergen akh	Wise older brother
Minii düü	My younger sibling
Molkhi düü	Ignorant younger sibling
Mördökh	To circumambulate, to follow

Mörgökh	To venerate, to bump
Munkhag düü/akh	Foolish younger sibling/older brother
Muulakh	Denigrate
Muu namaig	My bad self
Nairamdai	Harmony (Classical Mongolian)
Nairamdayu	Harmony (Modern literary Mongolian)
Nayiraldujuyui	Harmony (Preclassical Mongolian)
Ner khünd	To have a good reputation, literally to have a heavy name
Nerelkhüü	Reputation
Nigülesküi	Compassion (Classical Mongolian)
Niigem	Society
Niit	Social
Nökhöd	Friends, Comrades
Nom	Religion, Book
Nom zaakh	To teach religion
Nüdee nee	Open your eyes
Nutag	Homeland
Observantia	Observance, attention, respect, regard, reverence (Latin)
Öchüükhen	Tiny, meager, a bit
Öglige soyurqal	Grace, reward
Ögüülen	Speaking (honorific)
Oilgokh	To understand
Oir dotno	Close, intimate, literally near inside
Olun-a ergügdegsen	Exalted by all
Örgökh	To raise
Öorigöö khairlakh	To love yourself
Ööröö dotroosoo	Internalize
Örshööl	Compassion
Örshöölt itgelt gün akh	merciful/compassionate and loyal gün older brother
Örshöölt (mergen) düü	Merciful (wise) younger sibling
Övdökh	To hurt, to feel pain
Ovog	Gentility, line, last name, at times translated as clan or in modernity last family name
Övög deedes	Ancestors
Oyun ukhaanaar	Through the intellect, mind
Qairala-	To be loving kind, to love, to grant (Preclassical Mongolian)
Qamjilya	Personal serfs of the Mongol lords (Qing dynasty)
Qan	Ruler, who sees himself an equal to other rulers
Qariyatu	subject
Qauli yosu-bar yaryaqu	To yield legally
Qayir	Loving kindness, love
Qayirlaqu see also khairlakh	To render loving kindness, to love, to grant (Classical Mongolian)
Qosiyu see also modern khoshuu	Banner (Classical Mongolian)
Qubi	Part, tribute, percent

Qubi kesig see also modern khuvi khishig	Grace, share (of sacrificial meat), favor (spiritual)
Reverentia	Awe, reverence (Latin)
Said chin achit beil mergen düü	Minister truly virtuous wise prince of third rank
Sain	Good
Sain sanaatai	Good intentions, literally to have good thoughts
Sakhilga	Discipline
Sayiqan sanaya	Good intentions, literally beautiful thoughts (Classical Mongolian)
Setgel/sedkil	Heart, mind, thought
Setgel zürkh	Mind heart
Shabinar	Buddhist clergy and estate
Shavi	Buddhist clergy and estate, disciple
Śilā	Discipline, self-restraint, broadly meaning ethics
Situ	Custom (Old High German)
Sotsialist yos	Socialist custom
Soyoltoi	Cultivated
Stand	Estate, also translated as “class” in Georg Simmels writings and “status” in Max Weber’s writings
Standeslehre	Standard of estate also translated as class standard
Sul chölöötei	Loosely free
Suman albat	Subjects of the state (Qing dynasty)
surgaal	Teaching, instruction
Surgakh	To teach
Takil	Sacrifice, offer
Tataburi	Tribute, service, duty
Taqimtayū	Filial piety
Taqimtajū nom	The Classics of Filial Piety
Tedkü	Help, support, protect
Tegsilekü	Levelling out, making equal
Tsagaan Sar	Soli-Lunar New Year
Tus bolokh/khürgekh	To help
Tsagaan khadag	White ritual scarf
Tögrög	Mongolian currency
Tsöviin tsag	Calamitous times
Tom doktor khün	Big doctor
Tejeekh	To take care, to nurture, feed, to provide
Teneg düü	Foolish sibling
Tengri/tenger	Heaven, God
Tenger mergen akh	Heavenly wise older brother
Ter üyed niigem taivan	In that era society was calm
Tetegül	Help
Titegülgüçī	Guard
Tübsin	Calmness, serenity
Tügel	Distribution of sacrificial meat
Tuilin örshöolt said beis mergen akh	absolute merciful minister imperial prince of

Tuyulči	the fourth rank wise elder brother Office of distributor
Tusiyayal	Command
Tusiyaysan yosu-bar see also Tusiyaqu yosu-bar	Through the custom ordered
Tusiyaqu yosu-bar	Through the custom of ordering (honorific)
Tushaalig khündetgen	Respect the command
Tuslagči	Deputy
Tuslagch gün	Deputy duke (Qing title)
Tsam	Masked dance for spring or New Year's celebration
Tseerlekh yos	Custom of avoidance/abstention
Ukhamsar	Awareness, consciousness
Ulamjlagdakh	Pass on
Ülger-ün sudur	governmental compendium of legal and instructive nature, literally a script of models/examples
Üüregtei	Role
Vajrapāni	Bodhisattva, one of the three protective deities surrounding Buddha
Yadarsan	Poor, literally tired
Yaduural	Poverty
Yalgakh	Differentiate
Yanag	Love
Yasa	Oral Code of law and ordinances issued by Chinggis and kept secret.
Yasandaa shingetel oilgokh	Absorbed in the bone until it has been understood
Yeke жүрган see also gadayadu mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun	Lifanyuan
Yos/ yosu-bar/iyar/yosun	Custom, customary law, tradition/through the custom/ custom (Classical Mongolian)
Yoslokh	To greet, to carry out a ritual
Yos surtakuun	Morality, literally, custom instruction
Yosni dundadig ül olson	Has not found complete consensus
Yostoi, jurantai yavna	You have to go about things with a bit of custom and rule
Yosulal	Ritual
Yosun büs	Lawless, immoral (Classical Mongolian)
Zaakh	To teach
Zaginakh	To scold, reprimand
Zakh zeeliin üyed	Time of the market
Zakhirgaadalt	Totalitarian regime, administration
Zasag khoshuu	Governing banner
Zasag noyon	Governing prince
Zasakh	To improve, to maintain, to repair, to fix
Zolgokh	To do the New year's greeting
Zöölön	Soft, gentle
Zorilgotoi	Purpose
Zoriulakh	To dedicate

Zöv khüleej avakh	To receive correctly, to accept
Zöv oilgokh	To understand correctly
Zöv yum khelj baina shüü	To be speaking the truth, to say something correct, right
Zovokh	To worry, to suffer
Zud	Natural catastrophe based on loss of livestock
Zweckrational	Instrumental (rational)

Acronyms

E.g.	Exempli gratia; for example
Fig.	Figure
HIMAS	History Insitute Mongolian Academy of Sciences
i.e.	Id est, that is
ILO	International Labor Organization
Lit.	Literally
MPRP	Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party
MRUY	Mongolian Revolutionary Union of Youth
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Note on Transcription

In this dissertation I used the Tibetan and Himalayan Library Mongolian-Cyrillic transliteration and oriented my transcription of Classical Mongolian towards the Mostaert-Vladimirtsov transliteration. I have generally rendered archival documents, which I translated myself, in the Mostaert-Vladimirtsov transliteration. For archival documents, which were already published and transliterated into Mongolian Cyrillic by the respective author I used the Tibetan and Himalayan Library Mongolian-Cyrillic transliteration. Moreover, I render the Mongolian transcription to most interlocutors’ quotations in the List of Interlocutors. I anonymized all names except for public persons. The quotations of the year 2007/2008 are not transcribed in the list, as I had been conducting research and recorded conversations with a translator at that time. The recordings are of rather poor quality, hence, I drew on both the translator’s renderings and the recordings, but don’t give the full transcription. I use German as a scientific language and therefore have left the quotations in the original language, but offer a translation in the list of quotations. The glossary also contains German words, for readers not acquainted with the German language.

Introduction

My sense of myself, of the footing I am on with others, is in large part also embodied. The deference I owe you is carried in the distance I stand from you, in the way I fall silent when you start to speak, in the way I hold myself in your presence.

Charles Taylor (1995, 171)

Research in Ulaanbaatar

The publication is based on a year-long ethnographic research in the Ger settlements (Mongolian felt tents) and research carried out at the same time at the Mongolian State Archive and the archive of the History Institute of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences from September 2013 to October 2014. Participant observation was undertaken in schools, a monastery and in families and around 100 interviews were conducted, not all of which were explicitly included in the dissertation. In addition, the dissertation refers back to further research stays in 2007/08 and 2009.

Lost in Translation

When grappling with questions of how to translate *khündlekh yos* “custom of respect” from Mongolian into English I surmise that it has to address what is and is not implied by respect in Mongolian. In what follows I will briefly draw on analogies with other languages and open up some philosophical dealings to show how they may have shaped an understanding of respect in the United States, Germany and France through philosophy. Both verbs, *khündlekh* and *khündetgekh* [the latter is the causative where the subject causes something to happen (un)intentionally], are located in a field denoting roughly to respect, to honor, revere, esteem, venerate admire in English. *Khündlekh* and *khündetgekh* do not differentiate between honor and respect, which will become relevant when we look at Euro-US-American philosophical and sociological discourses. *Khünd* the root of the Mongolian word for respect denotes “heavy” in the sense of weighty, which was not typically or consciously associated with something being difficult or burdening by my interlocutors. An analogy may be drawn to Hebrew in which the root of *kabad* “to honor” כָּבַד also denotes “weighty” or “heavy.”

The Mongolian notion of respect primarily pertains to entities in relation to one another; hence it might concern animated objects, animals as well as persons. It is evident in avoidance of address, in address, in grammar, in diction, in comportment, in mimics to name but a few. The respected “object”/ “subject” is secondary to the relations it engages in which are relations of senior encompassment, master-disciple, filial, superior-inferior or ruler and subject relationships.

Respect in its English and German etymology derives from latin “respicere” to look back or have regard for. However, the conceptual histories vary. Whereas respect in English draws on a Kantian related philosophical discourses, the German term for respect does not. The reason is one of translation: Most references to the philosophical concept of respect date back to Kant, who wrote about *Achtung* (carrying the connotation of attention), which has hitherto been translated as respect. For this reason, I will also explore this term of *Achtung* in as much as it may frame a cultural understanding of respect. However, let me raise some broader definitions of respect and honor to be able to delineate a cultural embeddedness of respect which then opens the way for comparison.

According to Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed., s. v. “respect,” the word itself, has been used in the English language as early as the 14th century with regard to “a relation or reference to a particular thing or situation.” Its first use in the sense of high esteem only dates back to 1560 (2001, 995). Honor, the second component captured by *khündlekh yos* is defined as reputation, recognition, privilege, credit, badge, bow, chastity and purity, integrity, homage, reverence and deference (2001, 556). The third component of respect is *yos* which may presently translate as custom into Mongolian. Hence, it will prove relevant to bear in mind an English definition of custom as well:

a usage or practice common to many or to a particular place or class or habitual with an individual b: long-established practice considered as unwritten law c: repeated practice d:the whole body of usages, practices, or conventions that regulate social life b [...] : the agency, establishment, or procedure for collecting such customs 3 a: business patronage b: usu. Habitual patrons: CUSTOMERS *syn* see HABIT (2001, 285)

The three components of respect, honor and custom can be found in *khiindlekh yos* “custom of respect.” Their definitions may be related to their Mongolian counter-parts, but the semantic fields vary decisively and thereby reveal a difference in understanding. In this work I will take neither an essentialist nor a universalist stance towards language, but would follow John Leavitt who has proposed to view relativity as “potentially prying open enough room for a more adequate account of human unity and diversity.” (Leavitt 2011, 216) He also situated himself more firmly with Boas’ perception of translation as “always possible, but it is never evident; it is possible to translate any referential meaning if one is willing to devote enough words to it.” (Leavitt 2011, 215) Finally, I ask the reader to bear with me when I take on his approach of “ugly” translation in order to make visible original contexts and conceptual relationships:

Free of the constraint that professional translators produce easily digestible texts for the target audience, anthropologists are particularly well placed to carry out translations that take context seriously into account, as well as ethnographies centered on texts. Such “ugly” translations (Ortega y Gasset) can force the reader to work to reorient him- or herself, to cross a boundary into what is potentially another world, initially another language-world (Leavitt 2014, 193).

To think that high-brow cultural philosophical definitions of respect speak for a plurality of understanding is at best naïve. It is equally inaccurate to assume a clear distinction. Both are interwoven often because the elite had a monopoly on the means of producing literature or documentation or at least greater access. The literature then may also have captured strands of discourse which had been popularized, re-formed, twisted and in some way or other contributes to shape our history of thought and understanding. “Understanding is always against a background of what is taken for granted, just relied on.” (Taylor 1995, 167). The ethnographic material will provide insight into a variety of present-day conceptions in the case of Mongolia. The limitation of this work is that it is hard to assess this for the historical material as it is mediated through documents and memory.

This dissertation also introduces conceptual relations within English and German anthropological, philosophical and sociological approaches to render understandable and conscious culturally pertinent approaches towards respect. Hence, while engaging with Mongolian historical conceptual thought and a theoretical exploration of empirical material I will thematize possible existing preconceptions. Morality will pose one main point of inquiry because *yos surtakhuun* (literally: custom and that which is to be taught or studied) refers to

what we call “morality” and by referring to “custom” is semantically related and comprises respect. It is noteworthy that moral discourse in Mongolian literature can be predominately located not only within religious contexts such as Buddhist writings, but most prominently in historiographical and pedagogically intended works. It is also subject of belles lettres and poetry. The genre of historiography contains an educational intention similar to the Western tradition as it was shaped by Cicero “*Historia magistra vitae est.*”¹ History is conceptualized as evincing authority and knowledge with regard to the future and is thereby the most popular locus for moral elaborations at present. This is one reason why this work will draw heavily on historical material and may be situated within historical anthropology.

Short Dimensions of Time and Moral Implications

Reflecting on the subject of this thesis, there is an inherent actual time dimension to this topic of respect apart from its historicity claimed by my interlocutors. I had first visited Mongolia for six months in 2007/08 prior to the exceptional riot surrounding the elections in 2008. At the time, references to *khiindlekh yos* were particularly pressing among the people I worked with, including school-drop outs and persons living in the *ger* districts². However, the discourse was rarely framed politically, but recurred to notions of morality grounded in history and to relational expectations. One exception being my interlocutors’ assertion that it had been utterly disrespectful to have the president Enkhbayar carried out of office without

¹ Thanks goes to Dittmar Schorkowitz for pointing this out.

² Ger is the yurt and the ger districts are surrounding Ulaanbaatar like a belt today. According to Daniela Gurlt, Ulaanbaatar was first established upon enthroning the Bogd Gegen Zanabazar in the first half of the 17th century as a nomadizing monastery, then called Örgöö [also known as Urga]. In the 18th century it showed first signs of sedentarism and its name was changed to Ikh Khüree. It had become an important intersection for trade, and the center for religious and administrative life. After the declaration of independence in 1911 its name was changed into Nislel Khüree. In 1924 it was called Ulaanbaatar (red hero) to mark the importance of socialist prospects. The 1950s saw an hitherto unseen expansion of housing and administrative buildings, however the majority of its 82500 inhabitants were still living in gers. The fast growth of the industry in the beginning of the 1960s and its entailing in-migration of workers from the countryside caused the exhaustion of the infrastructure’s capacity. Still most people were housed in gers. Whereas Ulaanbaatar had 260 000 inhabitants in 1968 it featured 520 500 in 1986. This remained the case until the 1990s and 40% of this population lived in the ger districts. The socialist government had tried to regulate the influx through residence permissions and had intended to eliminate the ger districts, however this was not achieved. By 2005 the number of inhabitants had risen to 900 000 of which 60% were living in the ger districts (Gurlt 2006, 11-13). According to the Statistics Department of Ulaanbaatar (<http://ubstat.mn/StatTable=11>) in 2014 1372000, i.e. 46,82% of the total population lived in Ulaanbaatar at the beginning of the year. In 2013, 59,1% of all households (333379) lived in ger districts i.e. 197094 households (<http://www.ubstat.mn/horoo/detail.aspx?TableID=d4c76b55-c52a-4729-a92c-3cf99ec76e1a&year=2013&view=table>, last visited on March 17th, 2019). In 2017 the majority of Ulaanbaatar residents were ger district dwellers. Hence we can say the majority of Ulaanbaatar residents lives in the Ger district which feature mixed income. This is not to say that people who live downtown always enjoy less precarious living conditions. The *manaach* or *jijur* i.e. the guard or receptionist often lives underneath stairwells in a small room within the apartment areas.

wearing shoes upon his arrest for corruption in 2012. This, in their eyes, had been a breach of custom.



Fig.1 Tsogtbayar, Samandariin. *The Naked King* [original English title. Mongolian title: *Nütsgen Khaan*].Cartoon. Ulaanbaatar. Baabar.mn, last modified April 16, 2012. Last accessed November 10, 2014. <http://baabar.mn/article/3983>. Statement: “Look! The Khaan’s feet are bare!” (Khaan here refers to the former president Enkhbayar, who was arrested on claims of corruption. He was carried out of his office without shoes. The comment also likely refers to the tale of *The Emperor’s New Clothes*.)

When revisiting for one month in 2009 and one year in 2013/2014 for my doctoral research the discourse on respect appeared to have remained outspoken to some degree, but seemed to have more of a potential to become sensitive due to its association with personal relations.

In 2007 and 2008 violence in public appeared to be pervasive, particularly in public transportation and traffic as well as alcohol related incidents. Around New Year a ban on selling alcohol was issued because alcohol had been contaminated and there had been a number of casualties. According to Bulag “15 people were killed and over 125 hospitalized in the nation’s capital, Ulaanbaatar, from drinking vodka containing methanol [...]” (Bulag 2009, 129) The aftermath was commented upon as remarkably calm and many of my interlocutors claimed that before alcohol had been the main agitator. It was not alcohol and violence plain that brought on a shared sense of precarity³. The gradual change in societal values entailed by

³ I use precarious in a sense that describes a general living condition of uncertainty, of living “on the edge.” Workers are often on the verge of losing their basic livelihood due to inflation and also suffer severe financial hardships. These persons do not differentiate themselves from below-poverty by having enjoyed a better education. Many, but not all live with below-poverty-line residents in the ger districts, and some live and work in the city center. The loss of moral projects, the uncertainty in family relations and the abuse of alcohol being tied

the moral, political and economic shift of governing structures and ideology in the late 1980s and early 1990s produced the conception that everything one had learnt and the projects that had been envisioned became obsolete. Interlocutors will almost certainly link the onset of democracy [*ardchilal*] with the appearance of products and the time of the market and credit [*zakh zeeliin üyed*], while describing the 1990s as marked by a severe lack of products, food, and debt. However, the “era of the market” is also associated with a growing gap between the rich and the poor. At the time of my first stay in 2008, the insecurity in jobs, the loss of support and its entailing livelihoods, the rise of costs for daily subsistence goods such as food, the circumstance that education and occupation came to be tied to the relational network one could mobilize all contributed to an atmosphere of tension. Finally, “inflation hit 17% in the first six months of the year [2008]” (Bulag 2009, 132). Juniors’ and seniors’ claims, their frustration, despair and irritation with the emergence of conflicting relations and expectations seemingly bore heavy on people’s minds. A mother of 8 children told me how her children refused to call their maternal uncle *akhaa* “my senior brother” due to his addiction to alcohol and his behaviour, which was not in accordance with expectations held towards such a relationship. Moreover, people often complained that juniors pretended to know more; arguing that their knowledge was more up to date or that juniors no longer respected or knew the customs. However, in the same instance this assertion may nevertheless lead the speaker to proclaim that customs are stronger in the present because they had been forbidden during socialism and are promoted today. I will focus and elaborate on these tensions at a later time. Suffice to show that the social critique uttered is complex, referential and above all, relationally conditioned. It evinces a kind of dialectic tension.⁴

A critique of society and social relations was harshly uttered by the youth of the *ger* districts, who had been born and severely affected by the transformation from the People’s Republic of Mongolia to Mongolia, as it is called since the 1990s. These youths I dealt with in 2007/08, 2009 and during my research period in 2013/14 were either going to local schools in the *ger*

to an uncertain economy point to a myriad of loss. The uncertainty is existential, in which a whim of fate can threaten livelihoods and relationships.

⁴When using the term “dialectic” I do not engage in a Hegelian approach, for this would immediately imply an “absolute” i.e. all-encompassing conclusion. Rather, I would like to take up Roy Wagner’s use of ancient Greek concept of dialectic, without however tying it to his perspective on the dialectical relationship between invention and convention and its entailing concepts of differentiating convention and collectivizing convention with a dialectic vs. linear logic. He describes dialectic as follows: “a tension or dialogue-like alternation between two conceptions or viewpoints that are simultaneously contradictory and supportive of each other.” (Wagner, 1975, 44) Yet, there is another aspect of ancient dialectic which I will not take up: the Socratic approach towards truth which is the motivation for such an approach.

district or were school drop-outs, who worked. Some were in danger of becoming homeless. According to an Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project report called *Understanding Children's Work and Youth Employment Outcomes in Mongolia* from 2009 initiated by the International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank, around 400 children in Mongolia are street children, who resist any institutional help and are permanently separated from their homes (2009, 39). However, the number of temporary street children, or those who live on the streets on and off would increase the number. As the 2003 UNICEF report on *Street and Unsupervised Children of Mongolia* cites other agencies with broader definitions of street children estimated the number nationally between 3700 to 4000 (2003, 8). The estimate for Ulaanbaatar in 2003 was around 250-450 children (2003, 8). The children had escaped or were left by their families, lived underground in the winters and became street children widely present in the city-scape of 2007 and 2008. In accordance with the opinion of my interlocutors, the 2009 UNICEF report "*Understanding Children's Work and Youth Employment Outcomes in Mongolia*" states that the phenomena of street children was unknown prior to the 1990s (2009, 39). Cases of officially registered child and youth labor are estimated at 3400 children/youth for urban areas in 2006 (2009, 86). The children and youth worked for the sustenance of the family's income, but this income was at times re-directed into the quenching of one family member's alcohol addiction. The resulting economic and familial deprivation ended in a perpetuation of these kinds of livelihoods, which I witnessed over a period of 6 years. My youth-interlocutors often mentioned abuse at their work-place. This is also in line with the ILO, UNICEF and World Bank report on children's work and youth employment in Mongolia. "Indeed, the results of the survey data show that almost 30 percent of all working children in the informal sector suffer from physical or psychological abuses at workplace." (2009, 41)

The outbreak of violence prevalent on a daily basis in the city culminated in the 2008 riot shortly after my leaving. Violence was still prevalent in the city-scape of 2013/14 and now as then carries strong connotations of anonymity, but is also often linked to alcohol. For instance, in September 2013 outside of a theater, a group of 20 bystanders spectated when five men came out of a bar opposite the theater kicking a male person who had supposedly initially aggravated them in his drunken state. A waitress then pushed the mob away from him and fought them out of the pub after which she tended to the person on the ground. In 2017 there was a new development in that an NGO called *Lantuun Dokhio* organized demonstrations against sexual violence against children, called *nüdee nee* (open your eyes). According to Mari Valdur, the protest was soon transferred to social media and took the shape

of different groups there such as *Khüükhdiig khüchirkhiilin esreg taivan jagsaalin alban yosni grupp* (The Official Group for Peaceful Demonstration Against Child Abuse). She recounts how another movement called *dakhin tevchickhüii* (no more tolerance) took to the streets in 2018. *Lantuun Dokhio* then organizes an exhibition with victim's clothes in collaboration with Gallery 88 (Valdur, 2018).

The movements seemed to be led by NGOs and persons of a higher social status, but bore little political impact except for the discussion to reinstate the death penalty. They remained temporary and were relegated to a spontaneous indignation. Hence, the movement seems to appear within a neoliberal political framework, which privatizes the claim of human rights, rather than an infrastructure to social change. Interestingly, and in line with my interlocutor's tendencies, the movements did not explicitly refer to human rights.

In contrast to anonymity, which was described by my interlocutors to prevail in the city, relations of respect were emphasized as relational inclusion and the knowing of one's relations, accentuating *Tsagaan Sar* as the exemplary event where this became evident. The perceived absence of relation or the denial of the existence of such relations apart from an abstract notion of the nation (in contrast to a socialist agenda which would have stressed mutual responsibility and communal relations) may be one reason among others which produces a void of relational claims and expectations and hence facilitates not being held accountable for violence and prevents individual intervention.

City life is completely different from rural life. So one family comes and moves to an area and the other neighboring family will not help them, after asking them in detail they will reply we don't do tasks for people we don't know. This has to do with the environment, but this is completely different from respect. This is not respect. Respect would be to have a relation of polite closeness. (Togtokhnasan, 2007)

Disregard seemed to pose a counter-narrative to respect. I have chosen disregard in dialectic relation to characterize the absence of respect through the absence of moral relations. Fassin's juxtaposition of care and disregard in his framework of morality (2012) seems to relate to the references to respect in Mongolia and hence, from that vantage point too, position the narrative of respect firmly within a framework of morality. In the course of this thesis, it will become evident how respect relates to care in Mongolian political agendas of the past and present. Finally, respect and disregard entail inquiries into notion of "conscience" or heart/mind and shape (hegemonic) social relationships. As Barry Lyons has stated in 2005, it

is important to inquire into how hegemonic alliances, divisions are constructed and expressed and to view consciousness as an integral part of material social relationships. He calls for not taking such ties as “given features of the social landscape” but “as expressions of ‘consciousness’ that might themselves contribute to, or result from, any sort of hegemony.” (Lyons 2005, 99)

On this note this study will also look at how respect has been part and parcel of an intentional process of writing history, through which institutionalized and entangled relationships it has been transmitted and how it has been popularized and shaped by political agendas. It will explore the conceptual relations in which respect and disregard are engaged and embedded. It is based on participant observation in local schools, monasteries and family life and around one hundred interviews carried out during that time. Not all have been explicitly mentioned in this thesis. Finally this work critically questions whether “subjectivity” is the right way to conceptualize conscience, morality and “personhood” as it partakes in analytical tools of uniform, apolitical and often misplaced character. It is argued that it cannot grasp other relations to the world. The term subject rather seems relevant for subjects in political contexts. Drawing on James Carrier’s et. Al. *After Crisis* (2016), theorization of subject-formation, agency and diversity are then also contextualized and compared to neoliberal discourse, which focusses on individual preferences, rather than the previous understanding of a “system.”

Composing Respect

The first chapter follows the reference to respect as teaching and the inherent master-disciple relationship, extending to different areas of life in the present and the late 19th and 20th centuries in Mongolia. Respect as instruction is based on its classification as ethics/morality. The chapter depicts different narratives and actors in order to capture a variety of relationships that are involved in teaching or are related to and comment on these master-disciple relationships. The second part takes a comparative look at respect and master-disciple relationships from the perspective of European-US-American philosophy, while the third part of the chapter deals with the “official” political discourses regarding master-disciple relationships. The three components of the chapter are intended to address respect within everyday master-disciple relationships, depict their philosophical developments and reflect on the political discourse that takes up these relationships and intentionally shapes them. Conceptualizations of respect in European-American thought history is then described

complementarily and in juxtaposition to the Mongolian accounts of respect. References to respect as instruction are accompanied by narratives of losing respect, locating the past as moral authority and also representing a critique of capitalism. The master-disciple relationship is a topos, an arena of negotiation, and a foundation for forming collective identities. As master-disciple relationships transport knowledge hierarchically, they also produce inequalities and knowledge is thus embedded in power relationships (Foucault 1978, 94). Master-disciple relationships have been historically transmitted and are as such entangled with thought histories. These relationships reference and are projected onto personal relationships, formal master-disciple relationships, conceptual parent-child relationships, or the more distant ruler-subject relationships.

Order and harmony, care, exchange, the duty of the junior to provide for the family / teacher, the indebtedness to parents for their imparted knowledge and the duty to repay them for this all constitute points of reference within Mongolian master-disciple relationships. Referring to conceptual master-disciple relationships, Mongolian subjects and citizens negotiate(d) gifts as moral care, also in the form of financial support. Thus, this relationship constitutes an interface between state and subject, family and educational institutions. This negotiation already took place in governmental policies of the 19th century and points to the fluidity of the boundary between gifts and taxes.

The next section discusses and questions philosophical and anthropological debates about subject formation, which are inevitably related to recognition-based respect as it evolved within European philosophy. Ultimately, the chapter deals with the intersection between political agenda and subject formation. According to Fassin (2012, 9), “the moral impulse is part of the governing of others, as the ethical formation is crucial to the governing of the self.”

The second chapter first discusses sociological debates relating to honor as Max Weber, Georg Simmel and Pierre Bourdieu theorized it. In contemporary Mongolia, a relational form of honor, fulfilling the inherent demands of a seniority relationship, carries great “weight.” This also points to a historical counterpart in the late Qing period, when status and honor were based on a hierarchical distribution of grace. Honor and seniority relationships intersect with moral and material crises, which mutually constitute each other. Moral and material values stand for a (potential) potency (Munn 1977; Graeber 2001). Neoliberal discourses of “mastery,” “autonomy” and “self-respect” can be empowering for school-drop outs and

people who live in poverty, confronted with a lack of opportunities and threatened by unemployment. However, when commenting on performance, these very discourses can deny people personal and relational value. Narratives that supposedly relate to social problems in the present, such as individualization and the loss of respect and honor - can also refer back to *longue-durée* narratives (see also Humphrey 2002, 72). Thus they exist over a period of time and across governments, while the historical transmission of the narrative and the seniority relationship, which it comments upon, remain concealed. The emphasis on a supposed loss leads to referencing and reinforcing the meaning of respect, honor and inherent seniority relationships.

With regard to respect and its relational and thought historical configurations, I would cautiously maintain that the trajectories of moral conceptions are negotiated by already existing frameworks, which may converge and enter into “new” plural relationships.

The third chapter first compares the thought histories of respect in Europe and the US to the rather early traditions of respect in Mongolian religious, political and historiographical literature. It goes on to address the anthropological juxtaposition of Neo-Aristotelian and Kantian approaches to morality and virtue ethics and critically questions whether communitarian approaches in cultural and social anthropological theory are not also a reaction to universal claims of neoliberalism. To what extent does an attested otherness and incompatibility of ontologies run parallel to the deconstruction of social welfare systems and the focus on individual preferences and individual agency? Next, the chapter explores filial relationships and focuses on ethnographic narratives commenting on filial piety, which in turn primarily discuss the influence of alcoholism. Progressive (progress-related) and reversionary (history-related) narratives pervaded statements about filial piety. Research participants negotiated present and past human rights discourses in a dualist manner, in which the individual and society, law and discipline were juxtaposed. Finally, the chapter works out a cultural and historical category of “weight” as a constituent of respect.

The fourth chapter discusses how respect was institutionalized and thus became a social and cultural practice. The term addresses the *longue-durée* aspect and the role of respect as cultural category. This category is based on social relationships such as the master-disciple, senior-junior and filial relationships. It includes their entanglement in legal, ritual and political policies and procedures as well as the intersection of moral, spiritual and political

rhetoric, exchange, social stratification and status. Moral discourses often consolidate governmental power, yet during the Qing era these were strategically kept as plural as the subjects of the empire. In order to centralize respect, to concentrate its focus on the Qing ruler, respect was not only mandatory, but also enhanced social processes of differentiation, integration within society and the formation of new collective identities.

Already as early as 1630, Manchu rulers consciously forged and subsequently institutionalized a connection between respect and a discourse of care, protection and compassion to describe governing relations. Ranks, titles, income and inheritance rights expressed the value the imperial center bestowed on ruling members of the imperial and internal periphery, i.e. the Mongols. The imperial center also influenced the status and value these personalities enjoyed within Mongolia. Towards the 20th century, the emotionally charged terms described above were no longer used to build political relationships and hierarchies. They were now expanded and appropriated by the Mongolian aristocracy to make claims and express expectations as well as to address shortages and poverty. Loving kindness, a character trait of a bodhisattva, became synonymous with granting goods and providing financial support in times of economic strife and crisis. Finally, from the 1920s onwards, there was a further shift away from a political relationship of filial piety (the ruler as father, who showed mercy to his infantine subjects) to a political seniority relationship with the USSR, which was now considered an older brother.

The fifth chapter begins with an examination of respect for women as a crossing point of different symbols and visual languages. At the same time, a socialist internationalization of values and the role of women took hold. The intersection was deliberately used by the government to achieve citizen's identification with the existing ethical framework and to create an inseparability between the female and the political body. Mongolian literary works introduced the connotations of socialist works in translation, building on already historically established Mongolian semantics. At present, freedom is being negotiated as decay or revival of customs and is subject to a dual narrative that describes freedom as either cultivation or loss of morality and order. In a figurative sense, the city holds the promise of cultivation and (moral) refinement, while at the same being depicted as morally and culturally dilapidated and corrupt. This creates a discursive ambivalence in which internal and external self-cultivation, governing and care are negotiated.

The chapter deals with two other notions related to respect, awareness, a kind of mindfulness that is not only used in reference to community but also to Buddhist mental awareness. The other conception is a temporally undifferentiated understanding of a “high time” *deer üye* in which the socialist narrative of the future as progressive and enlightened is reversed to a perception of the Mongolian socialist governing period as the morally superior past. Political institutionalization does not only take place through governmental agency, but is significantly shaped by recourse to moral values such as “care and protection”, “order” and “freedom” within such relational scripts as filial or senior-junior relationships.

In Mongolia, nostalgia is closely related to state building and nationalism. Mongolian scholars introduced the idea of folk wisdom in the 1950’s in order to save the notion of cultural heritage from being misrepresented as nationalism. However, it was precisely this movement which popularized the claim that history had been suppressed during socialism and needed to be unfettered by post-socialist governments, which included a call for rehabilitating nationalism. Finally, the chapter discusses what makes institutionalization so effective, powerful and enticing and acknowledges identification as a decisive relational strategy.

The sixth chapter focuses on exploring how social organization of historical knowledge is devised in particular settings (Glassberg 1996, 16), as well as how this social knowledge of the past (Gehrke 2001, 286) becomes the foundation for collective identities. This section points to different frames of reference of the “high and deep” past, in order to show a reproductive and creative engagement of the people with these frames of reference in the past and present. This is also the way through which breaks and disruptions surface.

On the one hand, historical knowledge is transferred through relationships and, on the other hand, through recitation. The teacher-student relationship is described by David Ruegg (1991, 442) as a formalized relationship and shows a development in which the two orders of state and religion merge under Qing rule. Simultaneously, this formalized relationship is projected onto and identified with different geographical regions, such as Tibet, China, Mongolia and Russia. Another important relationship is the ruler-subject relationship, which is determined by the will of God / Heaven (Tengri) and subsumed under filial and master-disciple relationships. They are recorded in historiography or created by it. These historical testimonies have a sacred status that conflicts with their teaching function. Mastering, worshipping, writing history and gaining the ability to monitor this process presupposes the

intentional organization and arrangement of history. Other genres, such as didactic literature or governmental guidelines and policies are just as essential for transporting such frames of reference carrying values, maintaining a moral community or collective identity.

The chapter then touches on the thematic complex of *soyurqal* “grace/compassion,” associated with respect and may be found in value configurations conveyed by historiographies, didactic literature and inscriptions. It traces this compound in its Yuan-time use as declaration of loyalty, and its inherent distinction between the heritage of the golden line on the one hand, and the merits of warriors and princes on the other. It outlines the change in rhetoric during the Qing period and shows the reference to this discourse in the present regarding payments made by the government to its citizens. Currently, the reference to a discourse on grace / compassion can be found in popular self-help literature, which is entangled with the idea of self-optimization drawing on a framework of US self-help literature. The cross-disciplinary thematic focus on the worship of history (Atwood, 2010; Allsen 2001; Gehrke, 2001; Humphrey 1992; Berliner and Angé 2015) shows that this phenomenon is of great relevance, despite temporal specificities.

In mid-20th century Mongolia, “custom” becomes socially relevant as ancestral heritage and relates images of past aristocracies with current ideas of economic strength and national pride. The eighth chapter delineates the shift in thematic focus within European / US-American academia away from the studies of elites to the common people. It juxtaposes this to Mongolian efforts in creating a foundation for Mongolian “high culture” by rehabilitating aristocratic history as folk-culture in the second half of the twentieth century. Early onwards, George Duby characterized movements of popularization as reciprocal: while lower social groups adopt practices and models of élites, these in turn also appropriate values of lower social orders. (1968, 5) While current aristocratic popularization can be seen as overt consumption, it holds the promise of social mobility.

However, popularization also offers possibilities for social critique. In what follows, I discuss the role of inflation and devaluation in relation to the institutionalization of values. Social critique decouples narratives. This implies a complexity and shift within the relationship between neoliberal ideology and popularization. While institutionalization during socialism concerned rhetoric and ensured the perpetuation of its discourse, in Mongolia, neoliberal

discourses take on eternal features by conquering ever more distant historical epochs which are to be imitated.

After the 1950s at the latest, Mongolian society started to struggle over who was entitled to interpret history in socialist Mongolia. Mongolian scholars like Tsendiin Damdinsüren were part of a movement that wanted to rehabilitate customs and history by reinterpreting them as popular “folk” wisdom, while the socialist government for its part oversaw the publication of various compendia and socialist historiography. Today the reference to customs also implies the search for an alternative morality. Finally, the chapter juxtaposes the notion of the invention of tradition to the concept of intentional history.

The ninth chapter tries to show a decisive difference between the Qing dynasty and later Mongolian governments in bridging political self-governing and subject-formation. Love was now referred to within the compound of *setgel* “thought, idea, feeling” rather than the prior semantic field of “compassion” and “loving kindness.” This may have possibly emerged from a process of cultural translation.

While wisdom, education and embarking on the way of the Bodhisattva previously held prospects of salvation, it seems as though today the redeeming power of knowledge through progress took its place. The socialist government hardly had to mask the gap between its self-representation as a caring superior and the image of an egalitarian socialist rule by the people. The ideally caring, sublime government had already proven to be a familiar reference point during the Qing period and the brief period of independence. The state was able to pose as representative of its citizens in the interests of care and prospects of becoming an educated and moral society.

Subsequently, fear is discussed as a technique of self-awareness and sense of the lower social orders towards the socially superior, as a medium of empathy, which focuses on relationship and as self-negation assumed by a junior vis-à-vis his/her senior. The chapter explores how actors and institutions rely on the discourse of love with its overlapping narratives of time, salvation and progress. It also delves into the ethnographic elaborations on love.

Advertisements of lifestyle products promise improvement, strength, success, wealth, happiness, health and beauty through indulgence. This discourse then also tends to depoliticize and legitimize social inequalities by making the individual responsible for his or

her own well-being. Although to a certain extent, neoliberal economies pretend they lack interest in morality, narratives on the survival of the fittest and strongest as basis for equality can still be seen as moral narratives intended to consolidate power.

The chapter discusses the various semantic and historical references to the Mongolian word *setgel/setkil*. It cautions against the representation of only one ontology, even within a culture. It questions whether thinking beyond the subject cannot also be done by dealing with local thought histories. Finally, the chapter once more reverts to Mongolian historical documents and suggests a loose association and shift within the hierarchy of love, fear and respect presented in those records.

1. Respect as Inclusion and Differentiation: Master-Disciple Relations

Teaching Respect

Before the 20th century Mongolian philosophical thought and by default its treatment of respect were predominately expounded upon in historiographical works commissioned by royal courts since the 13th centuries, and often also composed or influenced by Buddhist clergy. Also, influential Chinese and Tibetan sources were translated and intently disseminated to the local aristocracy and clergy in accordance with the political agendas held by the respective courts.⁵ Finally, there were reformers like Ishidanjinwanjil (1854-1907), a Buddhist reincarnation and monk as well as son of the Tsakhar Amban Namjildorji or the aristocrat Tögtökhör (1779-1868), also known as To Van⁶, who authored social critiques. As different as these sources may seem they all share a common feature with European philosophical traditions in that they were intended to instruct i.e. they were (moral and political) teachings, a conceptual framework often taken for granted. Yet, these instructions were initially designed for literate elites.

This chapter will look at references of respect as teaching and the inherent master-disciple relation in the present and late 19th to early 20th century. The first part features different voices to try and capture a variety of relationships which are either associated with, involved in or have expertise in matters of (traditional) teachings such as a teacher, Buddhist clergy, practitioners of shamanism, a senior guard, a student, a woman from a rural area. The second part will take a more comparative look at respect and master-disciple relations from the perspective of European philosophy, while the third part presents the more “official” political discourse regarding master-disciple relations.

Interestingly, the teaching relation in the form of a master-disciple relation is one decisive component of a more general relation of respect which also pervades and overlaps with wide-

⁵ David Farquhar describes how the Qing emperor Qiánlóng and his successors presented themselves as “Confucian moralist-monarch” (1978, 5) to their Chinese subjects and that they also tacitly assumed the role of bodhisattva to satisfy the Mongolian expectations of their being the “grand patrons of their religious establishments.” A legacy which they had adopted from Tibet and which underwent many changes until the Qing emperors finally assumed it. This being said, texts were not only disseminated, but their translations were also culturally adapted and worded sensitive moral-political notions differently.

⁶ Van is the transcription of the Mongolian term for the Chinese title wang. I chose to use this form, as he is a famous historical figure also in present Mongolia.

ranging senior-junior relations, in turn cast in terms of “teaching” and “experience.” The master-disciple relation is not only prevalent in Mongolian relations today; it also seems to have a longer historical trajectory in entangled histories.⁷ This more historical trajectory will be subject of the chapter “*Intending History*.” I suggest that the entanglement of histories lies at the core of Mongolian culture and society i.e. in the very personal relationships such as master-disciple and filial relations or the more remote ruler-subject relationship. Since socialist and postsocialist transformations and their union of political and economic ideologies have had a broader global impact in terms of history of thought, diverse implementations and reception we may speak of “entangled” histories here too.

The following reference to respect as teaching is simultaneously one of loss, in that it identifies respect to have disintegrated after socialism.⁸ These narratives not only refer to a “moral authority of the past” (Humphrey, 1992), but also form a critique of capitalism and the way its introduction in Mongolia – though without bloodshed – brought disorder, disease and poverty for many of its citizens particularly in the 1990s. Critique or resistance feeds on nostalgia, an intentional process of “appropriating history.” This is very much akin to what Dittmar Schorkowitz has discussed in reference to “*Ostalgie* – a term paraphrasing a socio-cultural form of resistance that challenges western transition design [...]” (Schorkowitz 2012, 40)

A woman in her early sixties, who worked as a guard at the entrance of a student-dormitory in Ulaanbaatar, emphatically described the relation between respect and education. She considered herself at the “losing end” of this change of political economy. According to her description, she had not possessed the awareness and skills to seize financial opportunities, which had arisen in the course of the transformation. When talking about the state of customs in society, which are synonymous with morality, she emphasized the relation between respect and teaching:⁹

⁷ I borrow this term from Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz (Kollmar-Paulenz 2014b, 123) where she speaks of attempting to “disentangle the ‘mess of encounters,’” citing Peter van der Veer (2001). Moreover, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (Cañizares-Esguerra 2007) has coined the term and follows typological traditions in particular. This is similar to certain literary narratives I follow in the Mongolian realm such as the promotion of harmony or political father-son relations and directly engages with the topic of values. However, Sidney Mintz, (Mintz 1986) first used the concept of histories being “entangled.”

⁸ This is closely related to the topic of “nostalgia” as they have been tackled by Olivia Angé and David Berliner (Angé and Berliner, 2015).

⁹ I take statements relating to oral history as situated primarily in the present and formed by present discourses. For this reason, I turn to primary published sources from different periods of the socialist era in Mongolia to refer to discourses of that time. I am well aware, however, that these do not cover the complexity of discourses in the past as I can trace them in the present or recent past.

They know the custom of respect and greeting very well, now I wish I could make the middle generation understand it. Now it has been lost a bit [...] Some [juniors], who have been sitting in the bus will tell her [the senior] ‘you (honorific) [may] sit’ and offer her the seat. [...] But it depends on the person, now if you yourself don’t know how to respect a person how will you teach your own children? How will you tell your grandchildren, if you won’t know anything and don’t know anything [...]. So every person themselves has to know this life’s principle [*zarchim*], the golden principle. This [respect] is not a law. Every Mongolian has been inculcated [with the custom of respect] and was passed on this teaching by their father and mother. It is heritage. Apart from that, no one will come and teach us this. Because our main role is to pass it on to the coming generations and the one after that to the next, and the next to the next and because we continue to pass it on incessantly this is how it has to be, this is what has to be done and we have to make the young people implement it, right? (Jijur, 2014)

The *jijür* “guard” thematizes respect at present and in comparison to a past society. As we can see from the guard’s account, the notion of seniority and transmission is inherent to teaching. The guard’s preoccupation with the loss of “custom” attests to a form of nostalgia, a long-standing narrative, which can be a powerful tool either as critique to governing powers or as governing tool, which projects unity and harmony on to a past society. While the assertion of heritage summons a sense of inclusion, her contention that the present generation is neglecting this custom evokes a generational differentiation. Interestingly, while she is nostalgic about the capacity of socialism to maintain respect, she is equally of the opinion that it is everyone’s duty to continue its legacy. Her claim that “every person has to know this life’s principle” fits as much into a centrally institutionalized communitarian¹⁰ outlook of habitualizing and embodying virtue as it corresponds with a privatization of virtue in a capitalist market economy.

However, the reference to a model of an excellent master-disciple relation is not limited to the account of an elderly generation. The relation of master and disciple is a topos and arena of negotiation, which reappears in a variety of relations of which examples range from socialist interpretations of Lenin as teacher (referring in turn to the broader Lenin-Cult), to everyday teachers and their students in primary, secondary schools and monasteries. Present-day shamans, have comparable structures to the institution of monasteries. They integrate Buddhist deities, form congregations and entertain master-disciple relations, based on

¹⁰ i.e. socialist – while the imposition of a principle maybe reminiscent of a Kantian legacy, the habitualization and embodiment of virtue is in some ways evocative of a Aristotelian history of thought. However, more importantly Buddhist thought simulateniously stresses these features of “self-transformation” (Keown 2005,25). There are other histories which can equally be drawn upon and which might contribute to explain just how socialist thought was accommodated into already existing frameworks of thought.

remuneration.¹¹ Among the laity the shamans are addressed as “teachers,” an address which can be dated back earlier, if not to the 13th century (Reuven 2004, Clauson 1972, Doerfer 1963).

A “teacher” is a conceptual category which includes a variety of relations, such as those of senior and junior, parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, spiritual “teachers” in relation to the laity and even divinities are conceptualized as teachers. In this chapter, I will follow the narratives and focus on their content, which I assume to provide a frame of reference for respect which is continuously recited. This is not to say that there aren’t any differences in these references such as to whether they refer to a communitarian or an entrepreneurial framework (or both), but I propose that they too refer and communicate with each other on a variety of levels.

Respect was rendered in master-disciple relations, filial piety, towards seniors, political authorities and religion. Relations of respect are ultimately construed as ones of knowledge transmission and its salvific effects. History is either the good guidance for the future or the future is contrastingly characterized as superior to history through progress and development. Yet, both capitalize on the underlying production of “knowledge.” The reverence for history and heritage in general is coupled with a sense of nostalgia for the past. The narratives thematize respect as preconditioning order and harmony and being embedded in relations of care, exchange and provision or indebtedness. The relational aspect of respect includes a strong sense of duty by juniors to help provide for the family. This particularly includes a junior’s obligation to “repay” his/her parents for having enabled them to live by imparting knowledge. Though there are also discourses on “self-respect,” they focus on the individual¹², while in communitarian oriented narrations a person is not respected “in their own right,” but for fulfilling their relation and being a good senior, teacher, parent or junior. This juxtaposition of the individual vs. society is presumably embedded in a wider current political discourse, which addresses the transformation from a socialist government to a neoliberally oriented government and society.

¹¹ However, there has always been syncretism and hence master-disciple relations in what is called *böö mörgöl* in Mongolian, commonly translated as “shamanism.” It is not a novel phenomenon and attempts to “disentangle” are doomed to fail.

¹² Though this is still a Bodhisattva kind of mediated discourse and therefore has a different historical and philosophical point of departure.

Finally, the festivity of Tsagaan Sar, the Mongolian Luni-Solar New Year, is perceived as a festivity of respect because of the obligatory greeting between seniors and juniors, and the occasion of getting to know all family members new and old, which also poses a sense of knowledge.



Fig. 2 Juniors greet the Senior of the household on *Tsagaan Sar* – the Soli-Lunar New Year. Photograph by author, January 31st, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

It is important to bear in mind that the terms of “relation” and “communication” are coterminous in Mongolian. The aforementioned points make up some stages of the current framework in which respect is discussed. To look at the content i.e. the valued references associated with teaching and respect allows us not only to understand the values and relations respect is embedded in as well as what makes them intelligible, but also the conflicts which arise from them.

The relation between teaching and respect was also expressed by a woman in her mid-30s from Töv Aimag, a province right outside of Ulaanbaatar:

[...] Our people [*manaikhan*] respect people greatly. [...] Regarding the good and other [conduct] of children and youth, it is probably also not their fault [referring to the bad conduct]. Because people didn't know how to explain and tell them, this is why they probably don't know. So when they visit people of high age/elders [*akhmad*

nastan], then they don't know what this thing of respect is about, right? We have festivities [literally: festivity rituals – referring to *Tsagaan Sar*]. So our people, the senior and junior relatives [*akh düü khamaatan sadan*] greet each other on the first day of the new month and [...] ask each other [literally bodily: *biye biyenteigee*] how they are [*amar yos* literally the custom of peace/serenity], they introduce each other to unknown people [e.g. distant relatives], [then] there is the custom of *zolgo kh* [offering a New Year's Greeting] (Altansarnai, 2014).

This woman contributes to the discussion over who is to blame for the decrease of respect, identifying either juniors or seniors as cause. Looming in the back, I would suggest, is also the claim that it was really the neoliberal political agenda, which rendered seniors unable to transmit this knowledge due to the economic and social crisis in the 1990s. While responsibility to teach is clearly located with seniors, and hence fault for not knowing customs is located with seniors, there appears to be a more general societal confusion over how seniors may teach respect if they lack authority [through the lack of discipline]. Authority is viewed as the guarantor of respect which the junior accords seniors and seems to have to be taught as well. Yet, juniors would often argue that some seniors discredited themselves through their behavior, often also linked to alcoholism. When communication fails relations are not recognized i.e. not respected, which is inherent in relation/communication being coterminous. By not explicitly blaming anyone, this woman's assessment focuses on the integrative qualities of respect.

The reference to greeting on the Lunar New Year is much cited and links knowledge of origin, but also knowing family members and the inherent communication. It is the same knowledge of origin, which is taken as point for departure in nationalist discourses. They would highlight the custom of respect as essentially Mongolian, which again refers back to a resistance against a socialist agenda. References to “cultural particularity” had threatened the socialist agenda of brotherhood, and Mongolian scholars at that time were involved in carving out and negotiating a notion of “heritage” which would not be labeled “nationalist”. Hence, the proximity of “heritage” and “nationalism” seems to persist until today. Heritage took on a notion of resistance and nationalism underwent a reevaluation with it. It is evident that the discourse of respect becomes a hinge for a variety of perspectives and intersections, which in themselves have entangled thought histories.

Yet another perspective of master-disciple relations links respect to work and industriousness. Zayaa, a woman in her mid-50s, who had moved from the country-side to the city 10 years ago in search of educational and medical facilities for her family, explained how respect was

transmitted and was convinced that it would never cease. She was known for her manual skills and had been educated in housecraft at the National University of Ulaanbaatar. Zayaa was known to be particularly industrious and was the eldest sister of eight children:

Actually, the custom of respect [*khündlekh yos zan zanshil*] starts with raising children. I think it is a cycle from having been a mode of subsistence it became culture and it continued on and comes round when children have grown up and pass on what they learned and got to know from their parents. In this way it doesn't stop and has continued – as I understand it, yes (Zayaa, 2014).

Her reference to “mode of subsistence” at first glance undermines the socialist rejection of environmental determinism, which understood values (and all aspects of society) as arising from the natural environment. What Zayaa refers to by “mode of subsistence” is the combination of “labor” *khödölmör*¹³ and the herder's strong interdependency with their environment, a particular feature of Mongolian rural life. Hence, the reasoning focuses on herders' labor in the natural environment as a source of respect. Labor is essential to care and provide. Zayaa's focus on continuity in this instance participates in a dual narrative of the loss of custom vs. an increase in custom in the post-socialist era due to the lack of censure. At a later point she claimed that the present commodification of the lunar New Year, the festivity of respect, has ultimately taken away the festivity's essence.

The following description by a twenty-year-old male school-drop-out, who received primary education from an informal school, will illustrate the present ideal imagination of a master-disciple relation. The young man had lost his father to homicide. He himself had been victim to a car accident which kept him in poor health throughout much of his childhood and prevented him from attending a regular school. Having to contribute to his family's income he worked at the market pushing carts, carrying and sorting goods. One may describe his situation as being socially marginalized within the urban context. He, too, felt a strong obligation to repay his parents and mother for the knowledge and benefits he had received through their benevolence. His references are reminiscent of *khishig* a “share, grace, favor” granted by seniors and parents. Yet, his emphasis on self-reliance also speaks to neoliberal discourses.¹⁴ In answering the question why some people didn't behave respectfully he countered:

¹³ I would argue that the term *khödölmör* “labor” as it comes from the verb *khödlökh* “to move” also comprises this semantic dimension.

¹⁴ These examples are not exhaustive of the different discourses this young man draws on – the emphasis of cultivation in social space and work can equally speak to a past socialist agenda.

They didn't listen to the instructions of their teachers; neither did they hear much of the instructions of their grandfather or parents. They took to the streets in an uncultivated manner and vulgarly used alcohol and cigarettes; in this way they threw away their trash. [...] After I was taught the first "A" letter and knew it I started in a cultivated manner learning at school with motivation. After studying I worked and was able to sustain my family. Now I have been in contact with my two teachers for ten years. Now that I have grown up I repay [*achiig khariulna*] what I received from my parents, from my mother. [...] I wish for a better life in the future. To reach my goal, I will live a beautiful life with the help of my loyal teachers and my mother's strength. [...]

The instruction by teachers is great; the instruction by mother and father is great. [...] In this way the instruction of teachers is gold. The instruction by the mother is wisdom. [...] The teachers, however, are zealous, they make [lit.: are] history. [...] Thanks to the virtue, wisdom and intelligence of both my teachers, I did not choose the wrong road, I am grateful to both my teachers that they have made me the person I am today. [...] (Sükhbat, 2014)¹⁵

Here, respect is identified as the main factor for integrating into society, yet his account also shows what differentiating effect this kind of education has. Moral behavior is directly associated with education rendered by teachers, but also with a kind of care, which is bound to work i.e. financial claims. Moral behavior through education leads to success in life. The empowerment to provide for a family through education is also a focal point. This includes fulfilling a relationship and its inherent expectations and to retribute one's "teachers" as well as to dedicate one's success to them. Moral respectful behavior in specific is dependent on the ability to satisfy expectations inherent in a relation. One of the requirements for respect is education. Yet, while education leads to cultivation and self-sufficiency, claims by seniors on due "respect" as care arise. The strong interdependence between care and respect translate into a field of negotiation concerning morality and financial considerations. This interrelation is now played out in arguments of neoliberal commodification against communitarian social considerations.

Critical voices by teachers, whom I worked with, often described how children no longer paid their teachers the amount of respect they used to and how parents would easily complain and interfere. They implicitly claimed that the change of the political and economic system and the ensuing change of values from a social oriented perspective to one of privatization and entrepreneurship had changed the recognition their work received. Parents, on the other hand, complained about teachers only with regard to their expecting "gifts," in order to render

¹⁵ Parts of this interview were also used in Kohl-Garrity (2007, 114).

particular attention to those students, who had bestowed them. Hence, the parents criticized the commodification of a value (education), which they saw threatened of turning into a service. However, the juxtaposition of a communitarian value orientation vs. entrepreneurship and privatization is not a clear cut narrative in that certain interlocutors are drawn to either one or the other; rather, people seem to draw on both narratives in different contexts. At the school I worked at the teachers paid close attention to returning the gifts they had received for international women's day in due time to the male students e.g. on men's day. The teachers seemed to share the concern of their student's parents. Parents arrived with great deference and requested the teachers to teach their children the respective subjects as a lesson for life. The fear that commodification will substitute values, the shift of values from a communitarian to an individual focus (a narrative which builds on socialist rhetoric), a loss and deterioration of values and a lack of discipline seem to reflect on and discuss postsocialist transformations.¹⁶

However, negotiations over "gifts" also feature a longer trajectory of negotiations over moral care and financial remuneration and demonstrate the fine line between them. We find similar interdependencies between moral and financial considerations towards the end of the 19th century in social critiques and letters among the aristocracy claiming goods with reference to "care" and "loving kindness/love."

Socialist discourses criticized the clergy, who had exercised a monopoly over education throughout much of the Qing dynasty, for their reception of gifts from their disciples. This rendering of gifts¹⁷ to masters (both physical work as well as material offerings, which were akin to taxes) was an established practice, of which the initiation of the disciple into the relationship with his master made up only a miniature segment.¹⁸ However, there also seems to be historical evidence for the early 20th century that "religious offerings" and "taxation" were weighed up against one another, as the clergy expected "offerings" which were lower

¹⁶ This easily shifts to a discourse on corruption. Gifts intended as sign of respect become compulsive bribes as in hospitals where mothers told me they had to offer a bribe to the nurses and doctors and when they weren't able to they were afraid for their and especially their children's wellbeing. Some guards at the dormitories also expected such gifts – however, these did not have to be strictly monetary as a meal was also readily enjoyed. The discourse of corruption in Mongolia is too big of a topic here to be addressed.

¹⁷ It is somewhat misleading to call them "gifts" for they were services, upon which the economy of the monastery depended and which were obligatory and also exploited. However, they were nevertheless embedded in this ideological framework of master-disciple relationship - duties of the subjects of the *shabi* (lit. disciple) owed to the monastery.

¹⁸ For this kind of gift giving see Ines Stolpe (2008, 83).“

For a description of the physical work and material/financial support, which functioned as "tax" to be borne by the subjects of the *shav* [the monastic estate] see Tsedev (2010).

than the taxation of commoners by the Mongolian aristocratic lords.¹⁹ This became an incentive for commoners to become subjects of the monastic estates, thereby becoming exempt from taxes. Hence, master-disciple relations and their inherent claims for respect through care were sought to avoid higher taxation by the aristocratic superiors, who participated in yet another rhetoric on grace and indebtedness referring to filial piety:

A particularly important development occurred in the second decade of the present century during the emergence of an independent government in Outer Mongolia (1911). A large number of people had escaped taxation by becoming *shabinar* and had come under the jurisdiction of the high lamas. The expenditures and budget of the newly independent state increased, and there was an uneven tax burden upon the common people because the lamas had exempted their own *shabinar*, since they themselves held power in the government. There was great discontent among some lay nobility and others who experienced a growing desire to give up independence for a return to the less-exacting Chinese jurisdiction. To complicate matters, many of the lay nobility were greatly indebted to Chinese and Russian merchants, and these debts were being transferred to the shoulders of the lay people in addition to new taxes required by the newly independent government (Hyer 1979, 292).

Lay people in turn offered gifts to a lama for “reading the book” for a person, for ritual services at funerals or name-giving ceremonies etc. Ritual offerings were incumbent to the economy of the monasteries and the country at large.

The basis of a *jas* [economic organization of monasteries], as a rule, was formed from cattle and other donations made by the congregation. There were also instances when aristocrats and high-ranking lamas, when establishing a new monastery, would set up a *jas* with money collected from their subjects. In some large monasteries, along with the *jas* there was also another financial-economic establishment called a *san* (lit. treasury), the task of which was to look after the private economy of a *khutagt* (high reincarnated lama) (Dashbadrakh and Gerelbadrakh 2010, 789).

The master-disciple relation reached across strata i.e. while the laity might have considered the lower ranks of lamas as their “master,” these in turn had their masters. These gifts signified respect towards the master in exchange for the salvific knowledge he transmitted and the religious services he offered, and as reverence, were also part of sacrificial offerings. Finally, respect is the currency in which one pays for the teaching of salvific knowledge.²⁰ As

¹⁹ It might be helpful to bear in mind that while the Qing government and Mongolian noyod drew on notions of a filial relation and its claims (nevertheless also inhabiting a bodhisatva rhetoric and hence utilizing wisdom and compassion), the monasteries primarily inhabited the master-disciple relation (likewise drawing on wisdom and compassion).

²⁰ Thanks goes to Dittmar Schorkowitz for pointing this out.

Tsedev ([1964] 2010) shows, gifts and an exchange embedded in a master-disciple relation became akin to taxes.

Nowadays monasteries participate in seeking grants from foundations to ensure their existence, which are taxed by the government.²¹ Hence, they have diversified their means of receiving funds and no longer solely rely on the laity for sustenance and accumulation. Yet, according to Saskia Abrahms-Kavunenko (2018, 11) monasteries are criticized for establishing fixed rates for services as opposed to requesting any amount a believer wants to give. We see a continuation of negotiating moral and material value relating to a master-disciple relationship, and the fluidity between donations and remuneration in this realm. Through ideas of care and indebtedness pertaining to the transmission of salvific knowledge, the master-disciple relationship implies and evokes not only value in the moral sense, but also in the material sense.

Today, the teaching of respect within the senior-junior relationship seems to be modeled on the Buddhist terms of *bagsh* “teacher/master” and *shavi* “student/disciple” as it partakes in similar claims to knowledge and its inherent claim to salvation. Indebtedness and recompense are likewise important to respect. Moreover, as knowledge transmission in Mongolia during the Qing dynasty was widely monopolized by the Buddhist monasteries (apart from a handful of schools also catering to a bureaucratic career) a family generally had a few monks in their midst, even as household heads. Therefore, master-disciple, learned-lay relations enjoyed daily proximity. Today, many families still have a member educated by a monastery. Hence, the following excerpt from a conversation I engaged in with a young monk from Ulaanbaatar will shed light on notions of the master-disciple relation within Buddhist institutions. The monk was in his mid-twenties and had just returned from his religious studies in Tibet. He continued his education at the National University while being based at the Gandantegchinlen monastery in Ulaanbaatar.

²¹ The Pethub Khiid e.g. receives funds from the UK registered Non-governmental organization Tibet Foundation and the Hamba Lam was educated through a grant by the Dalai Lam in the 1990s. Moreover, private persons from Mongolia sometimes sponsor renovations of the temple. On one such occasion the Hamba Lam invited this couple for dinner or will invite other people who provide services to the monastery for outings. This shows that he did not rely solely on the logic that the actors of altruistic deeds for a monastery would receive good karma in exchange. The Gandan monastery receives grants for food by the Mongolian Monks Food Fund, which is part of the greater Tibetan Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition). Hence, there is no longer the direct dependence on the services and payments rendered by the lay. However, I have heard negative comments by believers with regard to monks’ possessions such as big fancy cars.

The Buddhist religion in general is [...] if you learn about Buddhism, about how to become a god [Buddha, enlightenment].²² You meditate, read books, perform rituals, initiation, there are many things. A Buddhist uses this in his life to become a god [Buddha]. You internalize [ööröö dotroosoo] and use your intellect [oyun ukhaanaar kheregjüüleed], but the first step is to respect your teacher and to worship him truly [chini setgeleese: from the true mind]. You don't see the bad deeds of your teacher, you see the good deeds [...] it is eternally connected to respect. Then [we] worship our teacher, we worship our friends of wisdom, there are [higher] ranking lamas and the likes, we always recite the books to each other. Accordingly, we respect one another. Because we help each other, study the books and [try to] understand them we are like senior brothers and junior siblings. That is why inside the endowment fund [buyani san, lit. treasury of virtue/wellbeing] we call each other friends of wisdom [...] You can say there is a difference and you can say there is none [between love and fear], right? For example when we think of the good side of our teachers, they have taught us the books, [I owe to them] that I have learned and that I have developed, that I live, [that we] see the whole universe, right? [...] This is why I consider my owing [achtai also used for filiality] my teacher a lot and look at my teacher's wisdom [erdem], he went here and there and has helped [tus bolokh] many people. He has helped [tus khürgeed] his disciples and other people and has helped us develop and spread Buddhist knowledge [nom] and religion. When you think in this way you start respecting the teacher **not in his own right**. On the other hand I also fear him [...] because I can never say stupid things when I am beside him and I can never remain lying around or not listening to him, when he speaks, right? This is continuing not in the teachers own right. On the one hand [custom] we are in awe, but on the other hand I love him because my teacher has taught me [nom zaakh, lit. teach wisdom/the book] so much (Shabi, 2014 emphasis added).

What becomes apparent in this monk's narrative is that teachers are not respected "in their own right," but for the relationship they occupy and the deeds that this fulfilled relationship entails and requires. The teacher is worshipped, honored and feared.²³ An aim, which Buddhism shares with Confucian values is becoming learned and enlightened, a "master," which is preeminent in this monk's description. Inherent in his account is the necessity of a sort of discipline as respect, coterminous with the word initiation [sakhil]. Again, we see the recurring topics of knowledge for which someone is respected, the notion of the teacher having benefitted many people, the indebtedness which results from having been taught and the fear which is accorded and develops into the authority the teacher holds. Knowledge differentiates through producing relational hierarchies and status, contingent on achievement. The reverse is also true that high status leads to access of knowledge.

²² *Burkhan bolokh* is the honorific form of "to die;" however, it also refers to what happens in the process (not only in Buddhist terms). The ultimate goal is to become learned and enlightened that is to become a master, a model, a "god" *burkhan*.

²³ The complementary dichotomy of fear and love within respect will be subject to a section of its own due to it being preeminent throughout the narratives. This dichotomy seems to make up a conceptual basis of respect.

A form of institutionalized master-disciple relations also pertains to formal educational institutions like universities. An instructor at the Academy of Sciences also working at the university related how one of her female students Mendmaa came offering a white scarf (*tsagaan khatag barij baisan*) to her to be initiated as her disciple. While students generally accommodate their instructors at the university, this relation went beyond the formal instructor-student relation. The instructor was to teach her student Mendmaa life (*amidralig surgana*). She was to advise her on her partner choice. The relationship also involved the disciple visiting the instructor's home, making food, preparing for and tending to visitors, cleaning and remaining in the background to serve. She was also her teacher's confidant, familiar with her personal life and experiences. In return she was acquainted with the guests and could draw on an extended network of acquaintances her teacher argued, not to speak of the advice her instructor would render for her personal life choices.

As I have mentioned in the beginning, *böö* or *udgan*(s) (practitioners of what is often called "shamanism") are also addressed as teachers and entertain master-disciple relationships with their lay members and staff. One famous *udgan*, Bayarmaa Osor²⁴, who was running a center called "Center for Shamanism and Eternal Heavenly Sophistication" together with her husband Zorigbaatar Banzan, rendered a more ambiguous account of respect, which she designated as heritage, but denied its derivation from teaching. Her account focused largely on a person and their psychic life or "innate abilities," as opposed to most narratives. Yet, she situated this innate ability within a wider cosmological framework of space and time:

In general, the custom of respect and greeting proliferates from the household to the society until the empire, right? From there it spreads and exists in the world and universe; people get to know each other [from body to body i.e. from human to human: *biye biyenee*] and this is also a form of behavior by which people present [lit. understand] themselves. [...] therefore a person has to be raised by the custom of respecting and greeting; he/she will also respect him/herself. A person is able to respect through their own reason and ability; it comes from themselves, it saves/protects their own life, which they have built up; it is appropriate to raise your children with regard to this form of behavior. *This is not a form of behavior which you will learn by some experience or studying.* This is related to every single person's own development and reflexes, the appropriateness of it changing with a situation of a given time/generation. It is a fact and cultural heritage which comes from the person him/herself. It is the same with regard to relation/communication [...]
Communication/relation culture depends on the person, the time, the environment and

²⁴ For a comprehensive study of this *udgan*, and her husband, who acts as the *böö* "shaman" see (Merli 2004) and (Mátyás 2010).

the situation how a person expresses him/herself and understands/perceives people.²⁵
(Osor, 2014) [emphasis added]

Bayarmaa's narrative is different from most accounts in that she engages in an ambiguous oscillation between heritage and innate abilities or psychic life (this makes sense, if we take into account that Mongolian Shamanism has adopted elements loosely associated with modern postsocialist New Age practices, Buddhism and a Chinggis Khaan cult, among others). She emphasizes the innate abilities to understand [*oilgokh*] and the state of mind [*setgeliin khelber*] i.e. an innate form of learning as opposed to something being taught. Bayarmaa and her husband Zorigbaatar Banzan were frequently invited to foreign countries for their spiritual expertise, which increased their prestige in their home community.²⁶ Though heritage is predominately perceived as teaching as we see from other accounts, Bayarmaa avoids this explanation, nevertheless referencing that narrative through asserting that heritage is individual and that children should be raised to respect. She emphasizes the embodied performance of respect. Apart from her focus on innate abilities, bodily performance, cultural heritage, a person's environment and its influence, she participates in another description of respect. She emphasizes relation, *khariltsaa*, coterminous with "communication" and "understanding" *oilgokh*, which she uses primarily for "self-understanding." Her account focuses on the individual's capacity of respect being dependent on time, space and innate development, which she identifies as differentiating factors.

Perspectives on the master-disciple relation and its association with respect feature a broad range of topics in themselves. These are contextually situated in the postsocialist present and have political implications, feature references from and to the past, are cross-referential, offer many connection points for broader discussions on nationalism and heritage, morality and commodification or evaluate an individual vs. communitarian moral framework, which again is associated with political systems. However, the intersections also bear the potential for conflict as they contradict each other and provide different frameworks for respect. The thought history behind respect or the variety of references can either pose a hub for differentiation or integration.

²⁵ Panpsychic elements underlie *böö mörgöl* and neatly link up with modern Euro-American philosophy, cosmist and new Age notions, this contributes to the eclectic style which practitioners can draw on.

²⁶ A member of the *böö* and *udgan*'s congregation admiringly commented on this foreign experience, which increased the prestige of the *böö* and *udgan* and described their expertise.

Yet, contradictions as they may arise within these broader frameworks as common claims to care and indebtedness are only one side of the same coin. This also holds true for the relation itself. While the master-disciple relation is about including the junior in the relation with the senior and accommodating the junior in the surrounding society through knowledge, authority is also about differentiation. Finally, knowledge, as it underlies master-disciple relations, may produce inequalities and is embedded in relations of power (Foucault 1978, 94) and therefore also poses a means for differentiation, while at the same time knowledge promotes inclusion in being shared by certain collective identities and their inherent discourses.

On a theoretical level, it is also important to recognize that while anthropological inquiries are more prone to look at respect and its continuities over time, stressing the integrating factors and *longue durée*, historical analysis is rather reluctant to such an approach, focusing instead on the particularities and differences of respect of different time periods.

Mutual Recognition, Respect and Rule

Characteristic about Mongolian notions of respect is that they are defined *relationally* through the reference to history and in their emphasis on teaching, thereby forming relations with the past through the present. A future in this sense is envisioned through the emulation of these relations. Respect is about the knowledge of these relations. One idea of a Mongolian “subject”²⁷ is conceptualized as “part” *khuvi*, which is allotted a “share, grace, favor” i.e. *khuvi khishig* [partial favor] and its fate *khuvi zaya* [partial fate]. In this particular framework then, the subject or individual can be discursively accentuated, but it seems persons are constituted from relation to relation i.e. respect is primarily about the formation of a relation, rather than a focus on subject-formation. To complicate matters more, if we were to look at subject formation in Mongolia, we would have to take into account the concept of “self-emptiness” or Mongolian *khooson chanar*, i.e. “that emptiness is a ‘non-affirming negative’ [...] a radical denial of inherent existence [...] a quality falsely attributed to phenomena by ordinary beings. [...] The Gelukpa deny that there is any enduring substance and hold that all phenomena are collections of parts that are constantly changing resulting from the influence of causes and conditions.” (Powers 2010, 580)

²⁷It should be noted the “subject” should be taken with a grain of salt as it is most likely more appropriate to speak of the “subject” in its strict governmental sense. Unlike Aristotelian inspired subject formation theories, Mongolian thought offers different conceptions of relationships to the world.

This is not to deny complexity and the endorsement of subjectivity in Mongolia. In addition and maybe quite unexpectedly, in the quest to arrive at being a Bodhisattva and because of the salvific qualities of knowledge in Buddhism, self-help books, which often focus on the individual psychology and self-improvement have acquired great popularity.

Let me embark on outlining a trajectory of Euro-American subject-formation and its theoretical interrelations to bring out just what assumptions have come to bear on subject-formation in contrast to what I will propose for respect – namely relation-formation.

Mongolian notions of respect stand in contrast to European conceptions where, as Axel Honneth rightly notes:

The normative legitimacy of the social order increasingly depends on whether it does enough to ensure individual self-determination, or at least its basic preconditions. As a result, notions of social justice and considerations on how to ensure that the way society is organized does justice to the interests and needs of its members have become inseparable from the principle of individual autonomy (Honneth 2014, 16).

A negotiation not foreign in the Mongolian context, but negotiated with different premises. One strand of European thought history of respect is constituted by “Kant’s respect/reverence for law,” which does not constitute respect for persons i.e. it is not relational in this sense. Respect towards *all* humans as it is developed in theories on recognition take their origin in the 16th century imago-Dei-Theology of Bartolomé de las Casas. It is this egalitarian notion, which is covered by recognition theories and mainly builds on Hegel’s master-slave narrative. In his *Phenomenology of the Mind*, he focused on the process of how the recognition persons receive is inherently conditioned by an “other.” Hence, according to Habermas, he reaches a relational theory, arrived at through incorporating the aspect of work crucial in a first-instance for the process of subject-formation.

Fichte furthers the reflection of self-reflection, *prior* to its distribution among the spheres, as the foundation of which it is, after all, to serve, father, and encounters the problem of the foundation [*Begründung*] – indeed of the ultimate foundation – of the “I”. In this he pursues the dialectic of the relation between the “I” and the “other” within the subjectivity of self-knowing. Hegel, on the other hand, confines himself to the dialectic of the “I” and the “other” within the framework of the intersubjectivity of spirit, in which the “I” communicates not with itself as its “other,” but instead with another “I” as its “other.” (Habermas 1996, 126)

Only through this process of work Hegel introduces the terms *Bildung* “education, development” [carrying connotations of “becoming”] and *Erfahrung* “experience.”

Habermas goes on to explain that:

Because Hegel conceives self-consciousness in terms of the interactional structure of complementary action, namely, as the result of a struggle for recognition, he sees through the concept of autonomous will that appears to constitute the essential value of Kant's moral philosophy. He realizes that this concept is a peculiar abstraction from the moral relationships of communicating individuals. By *presupposing* autonomy – and that means the will's property of being a law unto itself – in practical philosophy in the same way as he does the unassailable and simple identity of self-consciousness in theoretical philosophy, Kant expels moral action from the very domain of morality itself. Kant assumes the limiting case of a pre-established coordination of the acting subjects (Habermas 1996, 130-131).

Honneth, too criticizes that the ultimately Hobbesian subject in its natural state is only allowed to calculate its interests, rather than being endowed with an interest in cooperating with others (Honneth 2014, 24-26). It is this kind of autonomy, too, which appears to lie beneath many anthropological and philosophical inquiries into (and opposition to) resistance and (social) norm. Finally, theoretical inquiries into such oppositions of “interest” vs. “values” as Thomas Widlok (2012) has developed (in which values are taken as exterior social norms bearing on the subject and interest is the “true” will) are likewise influenced by such considerations of resistance to norms.

Being an idealist, Hegel disregarded the corporeality²⁸ and its associated autonomy later philosophers, who took Hegel as a point of departure, often attempted to redeem²⁹.

Anthropologists who have contributed to the anthropology of morality have at times participated in promoting a Aristotelian against a Kantian moral framework (Widlok 2012, Mahmood 2005 and 2012, Dumont 1979, Bourdieu 2008, Lambek 2012, Faubion 2012, Humphrey 2012 and Laidlaw 2002, Fassin 2012). Some make this opposition in indirect terms by drawing on philosophers identified within these traditions such as Kant vs. Nietzsche and Williams (2002) or Kant vs. Foucault and Alasdair MacIntyre (Mahmood 2005, 2012) and (Kantian – though this is disputable when we read Karsenti 2012) Durkheim against (Aristotelian) Weber as Lambek (2012) seems to argue. In this opposition they juxtapose (legalistic) rule against principle (Das 2012, Widlok 2012), the universal vs. specific (Das

²⁸ “In other words, true ethical life is not unreflective habituation, but instead a rational self-harmony achieved after, and precisely by means of, the inner self-division which is essential to the process of *Bildung*.” (Wood 1998, 310)

²⁹ They did this at times with the intellectual help of phenomenology. I am thinking here of e.g. Judith Butler (1988).

2012, Faubion 2012) or an ethics of obedience against or together with an ethics of good consequences and ethics of virtue (Faubion 2012). There is also an interesting affinity between embodiment theory (Butler 1993, Mahmood 2005 and 2012, Taylor 1995, Bourdieu 2008, Throop 2012, Werbner 2005 and Foucault 1988 and 1990), which occasionally draws on Hume and the anthropology of morality. While recognition philosophers and anthropologists such as Butler (1993), Taylor (1995), Honneth (2014), Galeotti (1993), Jones (2006), Emcke (2000), Werbner (2005) and Mahmood (2005; 2012) often share the thematization of embodiment, they rarely participate in such an opposition or evaluation of Kantian ethics (an exception are Mahmood 2005, 2012 and to some degree Honneth 2014). Some moral anthropologists (and philosophers) particularly explored the concept of rule (Karsenti 2012, Bourdieu 2008, Das 2012, Widlok 2012 and Butler 1993, though she focusses more on “norm”) in the context of how “practice,” “performance” and an opposition of externally imposed rules vs. internalization and embodiment of norms come into being. Except for the more structural approaches we see a tendency to focus on the subject, which is at times sharply distinguished from a notion of an individual (which in turn is characterized as primary to relations). Interestingly, most approaches (of which Butler 1993 is an exception as is Foucault in his 1971 debate with Noam Chomsky) seem to follow what Martha Nussbaum has ascribed to ancient philosophers:

Theories give overall explanations, showing the point and purpose of a prescription, whereas rules are frequently obtuse. Most of the ancient thinkers about virtue have serious reservations about rules, therefore, as exhaustive guides to practice: they think that once you see the point and purpose of a prescription you will also be able to see that it sometimes is not quite the right thing (1999, 178).

Whereas Kant had been preoccupied with universal norm and law from a moral point of view, the question of “rule” has subsequently brought together a variety of inquiries dependent on their theoretical orientation. They seem to be preoccupied with the role of rule in determining the social, the shared and the interaction. According to Habermas, Durkheim developed the basis of a sociological theory of action on the grounds of viewing a process of individuation as socialization, which in turn is only conceivable as individuation (1996, 128).

However, the conundrum related to the source of sense or “structuring principal” (which brings about regularities mistaken as “rule” (Bourdieu 2008, 29) of moral acts seems to prevail. When dealing with terms of morality in anthropology it becomes inevitable to explicate these terms of “structuring principle” of which the latest seems to be that of agency.

Conceptually linked to a notion of foundation Bourdieu has critically assessed them as: “[...] ‘culture’, ‘structures’, or ‘modes of production’, as realities endowed with a social efficacy, capable of acting as agents responsible for historical actions or as a power capable of constraining practices; [...]” (Bourdieu 2008, 27).

Building his insights on Saussure and having had a history of tackling Heideggerian thought he exposes the interrelations and presuppositions regarding rule and accounts for practice:”

The only way to escape the crudest naivities of the legalism which sees practices as the product of obedience to the rules is to play on the polysemous nature of the word *rule*: most often used in the sense of a social *norm* expressly stated and explicitly recognized, like moral or juridical law, sometimes in the sense of a *theoretical model*, a construct devised by science in order to account for practices, the word is also, more rarely, used in the sense of a *scheme* (or principle) immanent in practice, which should be called implicit rather than unconscious, simply to indicate that it exists in a practical state in agents’ practice and not in their consciousness, or rather, their discourse (Bourdieu 2008, 27).

Apart from his association with a Marxian notion of *practice*, which developed from an idealist notion of activity, and his intention to overcome the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism, his notion of practice and his theory of habitus are reminiscent of the non-conscious but learned neo-Aristotelian framework so popular among present scholars. It becomes evident that these structuring principles (in which practice also aligned itself and agency followed) are themselves embedded in political projects as Graeber (2010) and Carrier (2016) have hinted for agency and neoliberalism.

Scholars, who are guided by a more Neo-Aristotelian framework, often have an agenda of overcoming a body-mind division at heart of their inquiry. The topic of rule in relation to practice had been likewise taken up earlier by Ludwig Wittgenstein and later by Charles Taylor as well as in a different mode by Judith Butler. While Wittgenstein and Taylor overtly deconstruct notions of “rule” as not being based on “reason,” they develop conceptions of “practice” or “performance” akin to “rule,” which other scholars view as “obtuse,” precisely because it evades reason. In the case of Butler “norm” is affirmatively employed akin to learned and embodied knowledge, which has become so suffusing and no longer requires reflection. Note that she speaks of “the subject” and “grammar” and hence takes recourse to linguistics. Norm in her account has been established in a historical sense in that while it exists prior to the “I” it has to be “reiterated” and reconstructed. She also refers to “norm” as “law,” which calls and thereby constructs the “I,” who “interpellates” and may “resist,” if it is

“hailed in injurious terms” through an “interpellation by which one is already occupied to direct the possibilities of resignification against the aims of violation [...]” (1993, 123).

“Performativity is thus not a singular “act,” for it is always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms, and to the extent that it acquires an act-like status in the present, it conceals or dissimulates the conventions of which it is a repetition. Moreover, this act is not primarily theatrical; indeed, its apparent theatricality is produced to the extent that its historicity remains dissimulated (and, conversely, its theatricality gains § certain inevitability.” (Butler 1993, 12-13)

That reflection is not at work here is also hinted at in her use of “slippage” (1993, 122). Scholars like Butler, Taylor and Wittgenstein have made up a body of reference within postmodern theory with regard to the topic of rule. Whereas Bourdieu focuses on what he calls habitus, the practice, Charles Taylor, drawing on Wittgenstein, looks at rule as an embodiment and practice. Judith Butler in her work uses the term “performance” but draws a more indeterminate picture of the norm which can be questioned and has to be re-enacted momentarily to sustain its (corporeal) continuity. Scholars of “embodied rule”³⁰ seem to share a theoretical agenda regarding the body-mind division with Anti-Kantian and Neo-Aristotelian scholars (an incorporation process of knowledge which naturalizes moral teachings) as well as recognition politics and philosophy i.e. recognition of the other within a plural society or a plurality of goods - be it cultural plurality, gender or other. Equality respect has become intricately linked to the assertion of cultural difference and a plurality of moralities heralded in the theorization of recognition (Galeotti 1993, Jones 2006, Emcke 2000, Werbner 2005, Schmetkamp 2012). In this latter case the focus on plurality seems to have ignited an inquiry into what it takes to follow or understand rules in practice. On a second level, plurality begs the question of how rules become embodied or how they could become shared practice. Yet, as I have shown, there are reservations against “rule” mainly by scholars, who follow Wittgenstein and take a Neo-Aristotelian approach. As Martha Nussbaum has thematized these reservations also have a longer philosophical history. The reservations are based on “reason” not being accountable for following a rule (Wittgenstein and Taylor), or put differently rules not being accountable for practice (Bourdieu), therefore rule being obtuse. This particular vantage point seems to point to another inquiry, namely to what degree reason and consciousness are at the heart of practice and - if we push this a bit further and take a moral impulse into consideration - what role they play for morality.

³⁰ I am here referring to such terms like practice and performance.

Recognition as it was theorized by Hegel and developed in subsequent recognition-theories is a process marked by struggle i.e. a process of negotiation. This becomes a recurring element and seems by now inherent in approaches to morality and respect.³¹

Hierarchy and struggle pose a core of Hegel's tackling of recognition, not so dissimilar to a Hobbesian "natural state."³² What evolves, however, is a relation which appears to be the foundation of a later, rather egalitarian agenda in that its subjects are accorded equal worth and empowerment through conscious subjectivity:

192. In this recognition the unessential consciousness is for the lord the object, which constitutes the *truth* of his certainty of himself. But it is clear that this object does not correspond to its Notion, but rather that the object in which the lord has achieved his lordship has in reality turned out to be something quite different from an independent consciousness. What now really confronts him is not an independent consciousness, but a dependent one. He is, therefore, not certain of *being-for-self* as the truth of himself. On the contrary, his truth is in reality the unessential consciousness and its unessential action.

193. The *truth* of the independent consciousness is accordingly the servile consciousness of the bondsman. This, it is true, appears at first *outside* of itself and not as the truth of self-consciousness. But just as lordship showed that its essential nature is the reverse of what it wants to be, so too servitude in its consummation will really turn into the opposite of what it immediately is; as a consciousness forced back into itself, it will withdraw into itself and be transformed into a truly independent consciousness (Hegel 2004, 116-117).

Hegel here describes the relational status prior to the "an und für sich" or the synthetic version of consciousness, which is taken as the reaching of subjectivity in theories on recognition. While the slave is subservient to the master, he is in fact the one whose consciousness is independent and the master is in fact the one who is dependent on the slave. It remains to point out that the master-slave narrative allows for indicating affinities with the master-disciple relation, despite all differences.³³ Just as the slave submits to the master, but is the "truly" independent consciousness, so submission also seems to be the prerequisite condition

³¹ Consider e.g. Barry Lyons (2005) or the dissertation submitted by Bum-Ochir Dulam in 2006 on respect among the deed Mongols called "Respect and power without resistance: investigations of interpersonal relations among the Deed Mongols."

³² Though contrary to Hegel, there is a sense of legalism through the contract in the Hobbesian natural state, which if it is abided by as a rule constitutes relations between the individuals who entered into it. Hegel's account of subject-formation and what could be associated as rule would be located rather in what Bourdieu called "practice" which is implicit (Bourdieu 2008, 27).

³³ I should mention that what I have in mind is a master-disciple relation as it is lived in Mongolia, where the disciple serves the master. A difference to the master-slave narrative is that the master is able to independently do the acts and labor he asks of the disciple.

of a master-disciple relationship, albeit voluntary. The development of the relation takes a similar trajectory: “the crucial role of *Bildung* in achieving freedom as the actualization of spirit and absolute end of reason.” (Wood 1998, 311).³⁴ To put it crudely independence through teaching and acquisition of virtue may only occur after submission. However, independence may not be the necessary consequence. To take a leap in time – in Foucauldian terms the subject vanishes in discourse and knowledge turns into grids, but first things first.

The question of whether subjectivity or relation (society, culture or any other secondary structuring principle) is prior to the person, I would argue, is a conundrum of topological sorting³⁵, which continues to occupy inquiries. Topological sorting has evolved into a kind of dualism, which I implied when discussing arguments against Kant. It is important to keep European thought history in mind when inquiring into respect in Mongolia, for it shapes the questions we ask of respect in Mongolia. Whereas individualism has received both critical attention (Mauss 1990 [1950], Dumont 1986, Bourdieu 2008 [1977], Foucault 1988, Strathern 1990) and relativizing attention³⁶ (Macfarlane 1993, Robbins 2015, Lienhardt 1985, Leach 1977, Appadurai 1986)³⁷ the formation-process of the subject is heralded and ascribed political agency almost unanimously. It is no novelty to propose that complimenting one view to the detriment of the other can’t suffice as theoretical aim. Even more so, overcoming dualism holds the political danger of totalitarianism.³⁸ Each theoretical aspect has political implications. The Hegelian agenda of overcoming dualism³⁹ i.e. explaining subjective unity vis a vis an “other” continued to be popular even in Existentialism represented by Jean Paul Sartre. Recognition theorists, and proponents of Anti-Kantian or Neo-Aristotelian thought in addition to a wide range of anthropologists among them Claude Levi-Strauss (1966), Marilyn Strathern (1990), Saba Mahmoud (2005), Didier Fassin (2014) and Thomas Widlok (2012) have all tended and reacted to questions of a dualist nature. I propose that Neo-Aristotelians

³⁴ Though the quest for freedom through knowledge is not really present in Mongolian discourse.

³⁵ By “topological sorting” I refer to the question which came first – the egg or the hen, the subject or the relation.

³⁶ By relativizing I simply mean that it is not seen as a recently developed social ill, which is grounded in “the West” or is perceived as historically novel phenomenon, but points to different historical developments of the individual.

³⁷ For a discussion of this opposition see Barnard Alan and Jonathan Spencer (2005). Important is also the claim by Cohen (1989) that such a dichotomy denies the “personal complexity” to studied cultures, which the anthropologist would accord their own culture.

³⁸ I am thankful to Chris Hann, who pointed this out at a lecture given by Martin Holbraad “Cosmogony and Second Nature in State-Socialist Revolutions” at the Max-Planck-Institute for Social Anthropology in November 2017.

³⁹ The terminology of thesis, antithesis, synthesis was not actually coined by Hegel.

are also prone to aim at overcoming dualism in their elaboration on “incorporation,” in which reason/teaching subdues the body/passions and embodies the teaching.

What remains shared by most theorists of recognition politics⁴⁰ and embodiment is that though they try to recruit the body and the other, they focus on collective identities as *identities with boundaries* since this is how identities come to be viewed in a gendered diaspora. Yet, these boundaries only appear *in relation(s)*. Subject-formation often assumes the formation against the other i.e. through differentiation, and is equally defined through that, which it includes. In this way, subject formation partakes in an oscillation between inclusion and differentiation. When the so called diasporic “other” is conceptualized more often than not it is theorized through the perspective of subject-formation and the subject as differentiation. The focus is less on the relations, and relation is rarely conceptualized with respect to the thought histories involved. Though the subjects are established in the described manner time and again, the process i.e. its mechanisms itself (subject-formation) are supposedly timeless. The universality of the claim, which is criticized in Kant’s work, is taken for granted in Hegel. Theorists like Butler, who draw heavily on Hegel are concerned with the question of *integrity*, i.e. *boundary*.

But certain forms of disavowal do reappear as externalized figures of abjection who receive the repudiation of the subject time and again. It is this repeated repudiation by which the subject installs its boundary and constructs the claim to its “integrity” that concerns us here. This is not a buried identification that is left behind in a forgotten past, but an identification that must be leveled and buried again and again, the compulsive repudiation by which the subject incessantly sustains his/her boundary (1993, 76).

Not only that which is virtuous needs to be incorporated time and again, but also that which is not needs to be repudiated time and again. Similar ideas of “struggle” in subject-formation might be the reason why much of the Anthropology of moralities seems to find itself implicitly tracing why persons behave morally if it is against their inclinations to do so.⁴¹ This inquiry is also a philosophical one. According to Habermas, Hegel in his portrayal of the struggle for recognition, exemplified his idea of a moral relation through recurring to the concept of love “as the result of a movement, as the reconciliation of a preceding conflict.” (1996, 128) Yet, he locates this struggle predominately in the interaction, which seems to

⁴⁰See e.g. Anna Elisabetta Galeotti (1993), Peter Jones (2006) and Carolin Emcke (2000). Emcke tacitly recognizes collective identities being ascribed certain properties, yet, she focuses on the aspect of coercion, rather than relation.

⁴¹ See e.g. Saba Mahmood (2005), James Laidlaw (2002) among others.

have the tendency to turn into a struggle pertaining to the interior in psycho-analytic and body-focussed approaches.

Saba Mahmoud (2005), Michel Foucault (1990) and Judith Butler (1993) have theorized the struggle of subject-formation in a way which Slavoj Žižek ascribed to Hegel and Lacan: “What Hegel already hints at, and Lacan elaborates, is how this renunciation of bodily pleasures, produces a pleasure of its own – which is precisely what Lacan calls surplus-enjoyment.” (Žižek 2000, 106) The labor the subject undertakes on him- or herself to become and be a certain (virtuous) person has to be repeated time and again. In as far as it concerns a kind of restriction one imposes on oneself, pain, a kind of asceticism or suffering (often also religiously motivated, but not exclusively), the strife and endurance and achievement that is involved produce a kind of pleasure of their own.

The presupposition runs (or so much of psychoanalysis at least seems to imply) that the subject has to choose between that, which makes it happy and that which is its duty (a form of commitment, but may actually run counter to what is perceived as making one happy, reminiscent of Kierkegaard's *Either/Or* (2004 [1843]), in which he opposes an aesthetic to an ethical way of life). In the case of “duty” the subject may also derive “pleasure” from abstinence and suffering. The presupposition of struggle, rules, boundaries and pleasure incessantly bring us back to a preoccupation with whether morality inherently entails conflict, inner negotiation and transcendence or reconciliation of inner resistance. It will prove important because negotiations of respect in Mongolia apparently do not question the value of senior respect per se, but seem to consider how respect is enacted adequately and what it comprises. This status of respect cannot be characterized as a retreat to a Durkheimian notion of the social as moral i.e. “good” described by Laidlaw as: “This vision of human life, which simply lacks ethical complexity, dilemma, reasoning, decision, and doubt [...] It is not just that this kind of sociology is a charter for authoritarian corporatism, though that is also true.” (2002, 315)

For respect in Mongolia does entail dilemmas and conflicts through the historically and politically institutionalized claims and expectations it evinces. It is nevertheless not plainly resisted and is indispensably linked to a variety of aesthetic considerations, which have been shaped by political agendas. These dilemmas are not related to internal struggles of “duty and

ethics” against “happiness and aesthetics,” rather, I suggest, what may be conflicting are different political agendas.

I will try to consider the historical specificity of different elements, which may make up a variety of moral reasoning in Mongolia. Hence, I see a plurality of moral “paths” available to fulfill different relations. This proposition comes less from a Neo-Aristotelian endorsement of plurality of local traditions, but rather from the issues raised by historical approaches. The aim of this thesis is to follow the motivations and the projects connected to respect, for this will enable us to take into account historical dimensions crucial to understand forms of respect. Hence, the motivations connected to historically specific conceptual frameworks change over time and don’t presume general laws from the outset. In this sense too, rather than presupposing subjects, individuals, and relations when dealing with respect, I will aim to look at how they are conceptualized, negotiated and evaluated in the present. Even a diametric opposition of individual and communitarian values discloses that neither “Kantian duty,” “Aristotelian ethics of virtue” nor a Hegelian subject-recognition can be located with one or the other poles of dualism since ideas of duty extend to an abstract idea of the community, concepts of virtue are essentially also exercises on the self, and hence also individually pertinent and the focus on recognition has the potential to shift between the subject and the relation. What accompanies Mongolian conceptualizations of respect is how political ideologies shaped ethical considerations of subjects/citizens and how likewise these have been appropriated and recast.

Entangled Histories: Referencing Master-Disciple Relationships

What we need to bear in mind in Mongolia is that the interrelation between respect and the past produces different levels of history, which overlap. The entanglement of histories seems not only to play out in different thought traditions, but also with regard to relationships which invoke the past in the present and future. Local or national historical figures might be perceived as historical in as far as they shaped Mongolian history, but may be simultaneously regarded as “ancestors” and hence turn into “family” relations.⁴² Conversely, elders of a family may also be viewed as representing “history” by virtue of their age and transmission of knowledge which they received from their deceased elders. Governing powers have drawn upon these relations by e.g. stylizing the emperor as father or as teacher or by drawing on the

⁴² Though one may argue that this is particularly so with evolving nationalist agendas, it is also true that historical figures have been venerated as ancestors prior to the 20th century.

authority of local historical figures. A heightened degree of relation i.e. a historical figure claimed as ancestor or a personally related senior, who represents “history” may claim more respect and veneration than either would do without their “dual” status. While historical figures become incorporated into the personal realm of people by establishing a personalized link of heritage (ancestors of the country, the homeland *nutag*, etc.), it is the personal relations (calling them ancestors *övög deedes* or portraying past rulers, most famously Chinggis Khaan, as fathers and ancestors), which governing powers have summoned. Apart from this rather political significance of relations, different categories of personal relations such as father and teacher also overlap. We might call them entangled relationships and their proximity to “governing” others is obvious. I argue that these overlaps underline the authority, which one relation might hold, but they also interfere with one another in that different claims and expectations might exist.

To return once more to values and questions of dualism this study does not aim to “unmask the hidden structures of power, dominance, and exploitation that lay below even the most mundane and ordinary aspects of daily life” as Graeber has called it, for he rightly argues that “there is no area of human life, anywhere, where one cannot find self-interested calculation (Graeber 2001, 29, 30). Yet, we also need to be careful not to presuppose this interest at the heart of a Hobbesian struggle as ontology as it seems to be the case with subject-formation. For neither is there any area in which there are no intentions of “moral good” and “good intent,” rather they are often well intertwined with interest and calculation: the point is why one, and not the other, is posed as ‘objective’ reality, as Graeber states (2001, 29), again resulting in a kind of dualism. While structuralists like Claude Lévi-Strauss were often criticized as having extracted idealist categories and values out of their concrete contexts, the 60’s and 70’s, as Graeber has noted (Graeber 2001, 30), also made power, violence and domination the backbone of all social reality through Marxist and semiotic theoretical approaches. Hence, it seems more productive to view values and adherence to them as one side of a coin, in which domination and power can make up the other side without the often subsequent fatalist associations. As Foucault points out, any analysis, which restricts itself to the ubiquity of power, is useless. Instead he suggests to look at how it is localized, exercised, secured and transmitted (Foucault 1981, 244).

Finally, values seem to derive some of their force by referring to an (not exclusively) Aristotelian notion of the “good life,” a reference point, which can be re-defined or referred to

by governing powers to subordinate their subjects by promising a sense of “order” or “harmony.” Yet, values also raise the question of form and content, sincerity and etiquette, a creative, productive space, which allows for interpreting intentions and contains the potential for dissent and accord.

Hence, when Mongolian nobles address their encompassing territorial governor as “merciful/compassionate older brother” or “merciful/compassionate teacher wise brother” to “grant them the loving kindness/love” of “money,” (Tümenjargal 2010a, 23) essential Mahayana virtues of wisdom and compassion⁴³ become reflected in political agendas. The impact of the requests derives from the reference to the notions of “compassion/loving kindness” and the relational address. Another such confluence of value and dominance concerns knowledge production by different strata of the society. Value and morality appear to have been considerably defined by a historically “reversionist” perspective, and the “re-citation” of historical works constitutes knowledge, which in turn forms, but also references master-disciple relations. Mongolian notions of respect bring with them their own conundrums, one of them being the question of reversion or progress with regard to master-disciple relations. Precursors not excluded, the question of reversion and progress became particularly pressing at the beginning of the 20th century, when a socialist agenda was introduced. It shapes the discourse on respect until today. The notions of progress and reversion set the stage for an arena of negotiating relations of respect with their contents of care and indebtedness, exchange and commodification, of authority and failure, value and interest and the type of knowledge to be transmitted within this relation. This only points once more to the proximity of governing rule and morality, mentioned before.

⁴³ Compassion in a Buddhist framework translates into *nigülesküi* in Classical Mongolian. However, György Kara has also identified *soyurqal* as Buddhist and Manichaen Uyghur term for compassion (2008, 73). *Qayir* in a Buddhist framework is translated as “loving kindness.” These are specific features of a bodhisattva. Thanks goes to Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz in pointing this out to me. I have generally translated *örshööl* as mercy in the line of Heuschert-Laage (2014, 6), although Atwood (2000, 105) translates it as compassion. Finally, I have rendered *enren* as compassion.



Fig. 3 Scene depicted on the socialist-era monument known as *Zaisan* in Ulaanbaatar. Mongolian woman welcoming her USSR brother with a bowl of presumably *airag* [fermented mare's milk] or milk tee and a blue honorary ritual scarf. These scenes were to connote the friendship and promote an equal standing of both people. Yet, the mural is also a tribute to the (military) achievements of the USSR. Photograph by author, April 12th, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

The value attached to the transmission of knowledge through a reversionist technique can be considered more historically integrated. In this way, the question of transmission is also linked to that of social strata and we must ask ourselves if the nobility and clergy, who commissioned, authored and inhabited educational works and institutions thereby also determined value configurations, whether they entertained separate configurations or whether there might have been an interdependency between their status and their capacity to determine value configurations. I would concur with Christopher Atwood citing Stanley Tambiah⁴⁴ that the two-tier model, that of the “literate Great Tradition and the peasant Little Tradition,” is highly restrictive in the results it yields, for the former itself is subject to change, heterogeneous and admixed. More importantly, this so called “Peasant Little Tradition” has incorporated the “Literate Great tradition,” referring to it and legitimizing itself through its reference (Atwood 1996, 118, 119). To cast it in the terms of David Glassberg (1996, 13) “vernacular memories and official histories” seemingly refer to each other to the degree, in

⁴⁴ In Atwood (1996).

which they have become inseparable. George Duby also looks at similar processes when he considers how “cultural patterns of the upper classes in society tend to become popularized to spread and to move down step by step, to the most deprived social groups.”(1968, 3) While it seems certain that historiographic works have played a significant role in describing the constituents of respect and popularizing them, little may be said about why certain features became popular. However, by following interlocutors’ descriptions and turning to literature and archival material for references, this chapter tries to demonstrate the agendas present speakers act out in their accounts, which posit a crossing point between past and present. Literature, however, reveals an agenda of the past if albeit differently constructed. The wide reception and popularity of scholarly works and historiographies and the veneration of scholars by the Mongolian public seems to suggest its being cast as part of a master-disciple relation.

Present narratives revolve around the socialist agenda having prohibited the reverence for aristocratic ancestors. The popularity of historiographic works at large makes it all the more interesting why the linguist scholar Jagvaral chose to cite the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* as well works by the the prince reformer *Batochirin*, also commonly known as To Van, in his 1976 published work *Mongol Khelnii Khündetgeliin üg* “Words of Respect in Mongolian Language.” Jagvaral too draws on notions of “the deep past” (Humphrey, 1992) to highlight the special role Mongolian respect plays. Arguably after the Khrushchev thaw, the heritage movement was in full sway and there was leeway in citing works associated with the aristocracy, but To Van also satisfied the narrative of “progress” and hence seems to have inhabited a kind of middle-ground between the concepts of reverence for history and the socialist agenda of “progress” in his *Aj Törökhiin surgaal* “Teaching on how to make a living.” Jagvaral first cites the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* and then immediately hinges To Van’s teaching to it followed by his own interpretation:

Drawing on the *Oyun Tülkhüür*:... If you strive for knowledge your honorable name will be honored everywhere,...” [...] ‘Many citizens all *strive* to respect the custom of being elder brothers and junior siblings to be thrifty, to strive and fight to become a good citizens, *leave* all bad teachings *behind*!’ In these teachings you will find people who are valued and respected, harmonious, who are having a polite and beautiful relation with each other, in the taught teachings you have qualitative respectful words, which you can see from the above examples (Jagvaral 1976, 14 original emphasis).

We see a close connection between knowledge, the name and respect. What is noteworthy here is that Jagvaral sees respect as a “teaching” which promotes “harmony” and a “beautiful

and polite relationship” (1976, 20). The linking of “tradition” to “development” in the next statement is a common emphasis during socialism. In line with this notion of “progress,” respect was not cast in terms of “custom,” as it frequently appears today:

In our socialist society we use many words of respect for people who are in a respectful and polite relation. An important part of developing the language is to improve it by studying Mongolian words of respect and using them properly. The development of the language means the society’s general development and is related to the social development of a certain time as well as inextricably related to the use of scientific technology and the people’s economy. For this reason, within written and oral communication the necessity of modern language development serves expressing oneself in a polite and beautiful manner (Jagvaral 1976, 20).

“Tradition” and “development” were engaged in a complex relation from the very outset of the Mongolian People’s Republic government’s socialist agenda. The lack of reference to “custom” also “denaturalizes” the reference to respect as custom today. The present claim that socialism featured “more” custom is brought forth in narratives of loss, in which seniors acknowledge their responsibility to teach respect, but seem at loss on how to do this since they feel they lack the authority by which juniors would accept their advice. This latter position then points to recent history. The value of teaching and learning, had been primarily tied to Buddhist education and rhetoric during the Qing dynasty (Hyer 1979, Stolpe 2008) and stylistic devices were adopted by Socialist normative rhetoric.

The Qing period surely didn’t feature a uniform pattern of education. Officials had been among the only group who consumed literature in form of novels or translations from Chinese literature. Schools as institutions had been established rather late and there was occasional home-schooling for the elites and their servants. Monasteries dominated education, hence, the mnemonic devices and literature extensively drew on a Buddhist value canon. The Mongolian historian A. Ochir calls to mind that the primary mnemonic device instituted in education rendered by monasteries was learning texts by heart, particularly with regard to Tibetan scripts. According to him (2003, 278)⁴⁵, government officials and administrators planned to establish schools across Mongolia, some of which taught writing, Manchu script and a few

⁴⁵ Interestingly, this volume of Mongolian history was officially supported by the then president N. Bagabandi and was published by the Department of History of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. In the foreword of 1999 within the said volume, he refers to history’s importance for the younger generation. An official endorsement by a president lends the publication a kind of authority, which has an effect on its ability to sell. Educational institutions today are dependent on “the market.” While during the socialist governments the Mongolian Academy of Science was the leading research institution also politically close to the government, a power struggle has evolved between the National University and the Academy of Science over governmental financial support. The National University, however, also receives funds from taking on outsourced research projects e.g. ethnography and analysis projects from international donor organizations like the World Bank.

also focused on Manchu law. The first record concerns the school in Uliastai from 1767, which taught 20 children Manchu and Mongolian writing. Despite education reaching more stratified levels of society through incorporating children into the clergy and including children of servants in home-schooling, the transmission of knowledge occurred top-down as the master-disciple relationship was also already hierarchical. This was to change with the new political system and became an ideological element of the new agenda. Yet, the socialist agenda required a fine balancing between the narrative of (r)evolutionary progress and reversive historical legitimacy. What remained was the salvific quality of knowledge.

The following section will feature short excerpts of such fine-grated literature, which were and still are part of the school curricula and continue to be read outside of this framework as well. They continue to speak to people's notions of heritage and progress as well as reflect the depiction of the Qing dynasty to this day.

Gombin Ser-Od wrote during the time of the Stalinist purges in the 1930s, a time in which the clergy, members of the aristocracy and dissenters were persecuted and killed. He had been educated in literature and was familiar with the Mongolian historiography and epics as well as Russian and English literature. Due to his parent's early death, however, he had long led a life in poverty watching over the animals of the Dari-Ekh Lama's monastery, as educational opportunities were introduced into the country side belatedly (Zaya 2012). In his poetic memoir "Original mind" (*Ekhiin Setgel*), Ser-Od questions the legitimacy of teaching in Buddhist institutions due to their abuse of children:

When dawn came, Gelong Dandan [s]aid [sic]: 'Get up, my boy, make the fire and boil the tea,' and everything was horrible. How happy was my little heart to make a fire in the ger and to cook for this man? Trying to help me out, he enrolled me as a student to Sodov's. Three days after I had arrived in the monastery, Sandav gave Sodov my teacher a beating, and Sodov started to slap Gelong Sandan. Sandan was drinking and, although he broke his arm, he didn't learn his lesson and time after time he got drunk, he chased after me for food and beat me severely.' (Wickham-Smith 2012, 147)

G. Ser-Od continues the story by taking the main character to another monastery of the Dar Ekh Lama and commenting on the bad character and wealth of this lama's wife. He concludes the story:

It was fascinating for me to engage in writing, but having for many years learnt Tibetan writing without showing much success, I shlowly [sic] became adept at the study of Mongol script. Our teacher was kind and good and, because he did his very

best to teach us, we loved him dearly, and the majority of us soon became skilled in our classes, in math and Mongol script, we read voraciously and with great interest. [...] But this school, the people's school, was one of the results of the influence exercised upon education by the people's government, and as the number of schools increased, so knowledge increased accordingly. [...] In my heart, I tell my friends, I think that this was the path which I chose to follow, the only path that would bring me joy (Wickham-Smith 2012, 150).

In accordance with socialist ideology, the hegemonic relations involved in teaching are reflected upon with regard to the old regimes, but are disguised with regard to the new “teaching.” The previous model of teaching is discarded and substituted by that of secular education. While the main figure of authority, the teacher remains, the previous teachers are portrayed as morally corrupt, wealthy and cruel. Whereas the depiction of the monastic teaching references the aspect of “work” a junior has to perform for their “teacher” and the fear he is subjected to, the later account stresses the benevolence and love in the relationship. Benevolence and love are core values of a master-disciple relation and are repeatedly brought up in letters among and between Qing nobles and lamas. That is to say that the value remained within the new political agenda. Moreover, it continues the teaching narrative by emphasizing the progress and dissemination this “new” progressive knowledge may achieve. Finally, the objective of education is identified as “joy” another value, which we find frequently in a more Buddhist and historiographical canon of literature. The modern project of socialism was hence introduced in terms of education, yet, it was also dependent on maintaining respect for seniors. The negotiation and redefinition, which education and respect have undergone in these literary works and the circumstance that these stories were widely read shows the intersection of the moral and political which Fassin has pointed out about hegemonic relations: “one has to admit that the moral impulse is part of the governing of others, as the ethical formation is crucial to the governing of the self, therefore calling attention to the political.” (Fassin 2012, 9)

Fassin's insight draws on Foucault, who viewed this relation critically (Fassin 2014, 433). Despite the ruptures between monastic and secular teaching in how knowledge was best to be transmitted, and what knowledge consisted of, this continuous, yet, newly connoted value of teaching had the potential to become the juncture between governing and the moral formation of relations. “Teaching” remained inherently bound to a senior-junior relation of respect and thereby to the moral formation of political subjects. Subject formation, recognition and respect in a European tradition are primarily arrived at through the identificatory conscious processes triggered by work, struggle and a hierarchical (authoritative) relation. Mongolian

notions of respect and recognition are embedded in the formation of relations (master-disciple, junior-senior) and recur more to knowledge in a predominantly reversionist perspective.



Fig. 4 *Sur, sur bas dakhin sur* “Study, study and keep studying” an expression ascribed to Lenin and still hanging in the Educational University of Ulaanbaatar in 2009.

Though the monastic tradition of education was rigorously eradicated in the 1930s, with only one representative institution remaining,⁴⁶ it is unlikely that the new agenda of education was appropriated without any accommodation and translation of values pertaining to monastic teachings.⁴⁷ The idea of “enlightenment” itself had strong monastic connotations (Stolpe 2008, 67). The language remained one reminiscent of religious reverence even if it was firmly placed within socialist rhetoric. Moreover, the following example will not only demonstrate the interrelation between secular and monastic education, but will also provide an example of how the portrayal of Lenin as revered teacher constitutes a translational process⁴⁸ of the Lenin Cult into Mongolian culture. Consider the following excerpt from the *Present Mongolian*

⁴⁶ This was the Gandantegchinlen monastery in Ulaanbaatar, which had been reopened in 1944.

⁴⁷ See Ines Stolpe’s “Die Mongolisierung des Sowjetsterns: Ein Beispiel für die Rolle des Zufalls beim Transfer von Symbolen.” *Comparativ: Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsordnung: Locating Transfer* 3 (2006a).

⁴⁸ I draw on the term “translation” as it is used by Matthias Kaufmann and Richard Rottenburg in their article “Translation and Cultural Identity,” *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* XII (2013): 329-347.

History of Literature (1989) and the discussion of “the teacher” Lenin, which starts out with what Ts. Damdinsuren, a Mongolian literary scholar, felt when visiting the Lenin museum:

...There was even more in this museum
...If you compare all this greatness with Lenin
The amount of water in the great ocean abroad
Is shown by only one drop
All the world’s mountains
Are displayed by only one stone.

And his comparison sounds like the admiring symbolism of his thoughts. Therefore, Lenin is undoubtedly called teaching and speaking more spacious than the universe and higher than the peak of blue heaven, a person whose thoughts are as extensive as space [...]. Our writers treat our great teacher Iliich with such *inner love and respect* and spread his views of action and teaching throughout the world, that he has become the spearhead of warriors and struggles. This shows the inextricable relation to today’s history. How can we not say he is an outstanding great person *and love [him] due to his teachings*,⁴⁹ because teachings and love radiate like the sun, he is loved, having become eternal friends with the Russian heroic people, because he gave and we commonly established happiness, this is why he is loved (Tsend 1989, 53 emphasis added).

Lenin is portrayed as the master or teacher, who is praised for the worldwide influence of his teaching – a sort of reverence and distance. Still, we find the relation with him to be described as one which is handled intimately, lovingly and respectfully and his views and concerns have gone down in history. Hierarchical distance and emotional proximity go hand in hand. The reverence for the master was then religiously inscribed twice – once through orthodox ritual and relic, which was then translated and fused with Mongolian notions of religious reverence such as “great ocean”⁵⁰ also reminiscent of the *Dalai lam* the “Ocean Lama” and the blue heaven and the rhetoric of “love and respect.”

Teaching is mainly conceptualized as a relationship of senior and junior, master-disciple, father and son relations, but each of these relationships incorporates different at times overlapping claims and expectations, which point to the specificity of these relations’ “value-

⁴⁹ Whereas during the Qing dynasty *qayir* referred to the emperor’s loving kindness in the Buddhist sense, we see a reciprocity with regard to Lenin. His love still radiates in combination with his teachings (which may refer to a kind of compassion), but it is no longer the unilateral hierarchic love that the emperor emanated here. It is, however, still salvific in the sense that it establishes happiness and hence partakes in a conceptual governing tradition. We see a minute shift in emphasis and hierarchy. I will comment on “love” more extensively in the last chapter.

⁵⁰ The association between *dalai* “ocean” and political power or a ruler is already attested in *The Secret History* (Krader 1955, 31).

configurations.”⁵¹ In the case of the master-disciple relation some of these values are benevolence and love, salvific knowledge, respect, awe and fear, indebtedness and joy. What constitutes these relationships then becomes the intersection between governmental value agendas and their subjects, whose relationships they shape.

The politics of teaching did not only exist in the past, for respect and teaching are also intertwined in present political rhetoric, however in contrasting ways. Teaching itself has developed into a strong narrative. Besides referring to informal education by elders, “*surgaal*” also designates normative institutionalized doctrines i.e. political ideologies such as “socialism” or “democracy.” As senior-junior relations of respect are conceptualized as relations of teaching simultaneously, respect has become embedded in different political agendas over time. Knowledge was also resorted to within the agenda of the 2012 Mongolian government. Nuances shifted and the discourse on heritage became the medium to express progress, or rather, heritage is fully embraced as value and the former president Elbegdorj draws on the legitimacy of the past to summon a (national) collective identity:

Listening to his mother, roaming in the steppe packing his ger, and feeding and raising his younger siblings. [...] Mother Uelun once appraised Chinggis Khaan as “a learned Temuujin.” This Queen highly esteemed the power of mind, the wisdom. Chinggis Khaan valued knowledge, skills, harmony, the good and the beautiful. Acceptive of right, attentive to other’s words, he was equally lenient to both a praise and a reproach. Temuujin, sharp as the edge of his sword, would briskly grasp even the smallest gist glittering in the words of a captive slave (“*Mongol Ulsin ErönkhiiLögch Tsakhiagiin ELBEGDORJ-iin Chinggis Khaani meldelsenii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg,*” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>).

In this example we find the prominent mother Uelun, who had shown her sons the meaning of united strength through breaking arrows. However, more importantly, Chinggis is portrayed as spiritual teacher, senior brother and father of the nation, who embodies custom, i.e. moral authority, and is depicted as particularly intelligent, just, caring and providing for his family.

⁵² However, whereas historiographical accounts try to integrate Chinggis Khaan into the

⁵¹I draw on Dumont’s approach of analysis: “So, to go back to our own problem: in a given text, or in such-and-such an author, there are ideas linked by relations, and without these relations the ideas will not exist. In every case the relations form a configuration, and these configurations vary from text to text, from author to author, from one milieu to another, but they do not vary as chalk does from cheese, and we can try to see what they have in common at each level of generalization” (Dumont 1986, 11).

⁵²In a way he is depicted in contrast to past and present concerns regarding corruption in Mongolia. “Justice” is the common denominator here and is also recurred to when the president speaks of corruption and bureaucracy. However, he also seems to cast corruption as already defeated and takes existing criticism as a sign for it. For a

history of e.g. Buddhism, the above political speech explicitly divests itself of this relation and portrays Chinggis Khaan as “sacred” with reference to the “Eternal Blue Sky.” This move may bring him closer to the people while at the same time conserving reverence and his “sacred” status. It may also correspond with the Mongolian notion of “sacred” as something, which contributes to the continuation of the life world (as ancestor and teacher), establishing habituation through teaching, thereby constituting “customs,” which in turn are coterminous with morality. Moreover, the following speech by the former president Elbegdorj also reveals what Katherine Verdery (1999, 104) has called “nationalism as a kind of ancestor worship:”

The Great Lord Chinggis Khaan is the supreme sanctity for the Mongolian nation to dwell in.

Chinggis Khaan was not a reincarnation.

Chinggis Khaan was a Mongolian, born with [sic] flesh and bones.

What makes us to glorify [sic] Chinggis Khaan as the pride of our nation! [...] May my Tengri-blessed Mongolian people dwell eternally. May our Heavenly Father – the Great Lord Chinggis Khaan dwell eternally.” (*Mongol Ulsin Erönkhilögch Tsakhiagiin ELBEGDORJ-iin Chinggis Khaani meldelsenii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg,*” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>.)

More importantly, this link to the “Eternal Blue Sky” conjures a kind of strength and fortune often linked to a Mongolian rhetoric of entrepreneurship. While it is this kind of heritage, which the 2012 government embraces as its “lesson,” the political rhetoric of entrepreneurship framed in terms of “mastering one’s fate” has received great attention and seems to substitute the previously prominent *khödölmör* “labor” (the linguistic root-meaning of it is “to move”). In his exclamation on the topic of Democracy at a 2014 public lecture in Hungary Elbegdorj pronounced: “Having found freedom [independence] our people became the masters of their own destinies.” (*Mongolian Transition to Democracy and Lessons.*” president.mn, last modified October 19, 2014, accessed February 15, 2016 <http://www.president.mn/eng/newsCenter/viewNews.php?newsId=1333>.)

The lesson this agenda teaches is one which capitalizes on the reference to the authority of Chinggis Khaan. Freedom is linked to a sense of “mastering” life on one’s own and becoming an entrepreneur of some sorts. This has also sparked critique calling into question whether everything needed to be “appropriated” individually and what this “loose freedom” [*sul chölöötei*] would do to the younger generation who would become “self-willed.” (*duraaraa*)

detailed address against corruption see Elbegdorj’s speech from 03.03.2011: <http://www.president.mn/eng/newsCenter/viewNews.php?newsId=492>

The master-disciple depictions in the present and more recent past of two different political frameworks [socialist communitarian and neoliberal individual] have shown the entanglement of different levels of historical memory, relations, political agenda, reversion and progress as well as religion.

Both Michel Foucault (1981) and David Graeber (2012) have argued, that knowledge may become a structure for inequality. But to rephrase Foucault just as power is not schematic – neither is respect – and its differentiating and including qualities. If we take the master-disciple relation as an example, each human occupies these relations on both ends. The proximity of ethical formation and political governing lies at the entanglement of the frameworks of senior-junior, superior-inferior, master-disciple and filial piety relationships and their inherent claims and expectations including care and indebtedness, exchange and commodification or communication and relational knowledge. Reversion is not only the technique of transmission of knowledge, but is respect for history itself, and thereby establishes the relation with the past as a frame of reference for the future. Respect in a Mongolian context is about a hierarchical relation, similar to Hegel's initial process of recognition, which evolved through a hierarchical inter-subjectivity, however different its premises and components.

2. Humans Have Elder Brothers as *Deels* Have Collars: Senior-Junior Relations

Khün akhtai

Deel zakhtai (Mongolian Proverb)

Honor and Social Order

Honor is often defined as a heightened sense of respect, yet in Mongolian *khündlekh* means both honor and respect. In anthropological literature honor is frequently dealt with as gendered honor or prestige honor, which is why I have chosen a small selection of important contributions, which have formed the basis of much analysis, though both are from a sociological angle. Needless to say that none of my choices suggest that the field of inquiry is exhausted. Senior-Junior respect likely forms the broadest sense of respect or honor i.e. it can be extended to or projected on most relationships and interactions. The sociological angle of the works I will cite here allows me to explore a range of what honor may include, how it may be accrued, how honor in Mongolia might be different and how the moral and material value may coincide. This latter question is particularly important for the moral and material value of respect in modern Mongolia. As different governments and their agendas have shaped the terms of respect, economies reflected the way respect was paid and honor was due in both a moral and material sense.

Weber's use of social honor entailing a claim to universality is one often (not always) synonymously used as "prestige" in his work *Economy and Society* (1978, 926, 950, 1009 etc.). Simmel's notion of honor focuses on the proximity between the individual and social interest (1898, 681). Pierre Bourdieu (2008, 11-15) on the other hand looks at dignity and arrives at equality respect or honor; he points out gender-differentiated honor (2008, 48) and the connotation of challenge (2008, 12). Their approaches shall be the topic of this section as they stand for a broader and reiterated citing. Honor as it is embedded in Mongolian relations of seniority touches on different aspects of these analyses, but also diverges from them significantly. The chapter will look at honor particularly under the circumstances of social inequality i.e. at the relationship between a moral and material crisis. To do this, I will start

out with how honor has been theoretically conceptualized, discuss its character as ideational and material value and end with some thoughts on morality.

Whereas the focus with Kant and Hegelian traditions lies on the morality of the subject or subject-formation, Weber focuses more on the question of social hierarchies and power i.e. hierarchy respect from the perspective of meaningful actions of individuals. Weber in his “methodological individualism” (Schumpeter 1908) departs from the intentionality of an individual actor to arrive at explanations of the social (Udehn 2002, 33). Yet, this is not to be mistaken with the value of individualism, nor was he “advocating that the social is only the sum of individual actions.” (Keyes 2002, 238) In his section “The Three Types of Legitimate Domination” in *Economy and Society* (1978) Weber traces the different authorities of tradition, charisma and legality. Honor tied to social strata particularly resurfaces in his work *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1997) as well as the posthumously published *Economy and Society* (1978). The governing aspect, the impact on social structure and the relation between the ideational and material aspects (both in the sense of economic, but also as action/practice) of honor seem to occupy Weber significantly.⁵³ He bases social prestige on the following conditions:

The term of ‘social status’ will be applied to a typically effective claim to positive or negative privilege with respect to social prestige so far as it rests on one or more of the following bases: (a) mode of living, (b) a formal process of education which may consist in empirical or rational training and the acquisition of the corresponding modes of life, or (c) on the prestige of birth, or of an occupation (Weber 1997 [1964], 428)

He claims it to be a purely ideational⁵⁴ i.e. an ideal good (1978, 333) that can serve as the basis of power, also economic power, but not vice versa and that “The way in which social honor is distributed in a community between typical groups participating in this distribution we call the “status order.”⁵⁵ (Weber 1978, 927) Moreover, honor is value-rational (1978, 25). Weber discredits action motivated by tradition or affect with regard to instrumentality.

Value-rational action may thus have various different relations to the instrumentally rational action. From the latter point of view, however, value-rationality is always irrational. Indeed, the more the value to which action is oriented is elevated to the status of an absolute value, the more “irrational” in this sense the corresponding action

⁵³ In fact, the inquiry into the governing aspect and its impact on society are issues later scholars like Michel Foucault or Didier Fassin take up again. They seem to follow a much older legacy of Aristotele who saw ethics as the basis of a state, which secures happiness.

⁵⁴ Another note on translation: what Weber calls *ideell* i.e. linked to the mind as its main connotation, is translated here as ideal, which adds the component of “model.” (1922, 383)

⁵⁵ Interestingly, the German original of 1922, speaks of literally “social order.” (Weber 1922, 631).

is. For, the more unconditionally the actor devotes himself to this value for its own sake, to pure sentiment or beauty, to absolute goodness or devotion to duty, the less is he influenced by considerations of the consequences of his action (1978, 26).

Weber posits an opposition of the rational and the sensory, and renders the latter less comprehensible unless it is subjectively felt. In this he follows a positivist stance:

Depending upon the circumstances of the particular case we must be content either with a purely intellectual understanding of such values or when even that fails, sometimes we must simply accept them as given data. Then we can try to understand the action motivated by them on the basis of whatever opportunities for approximate emotional and intellectual interpretation seem to be available at different points in its course (Weber 1978, 6).

He seems to suggest that full understanding consists of intellectual and emotional understanding. Weber opposes value-rationality to instrumental rationality for pure analytical purposes and argues that in action they cannot be discerned (1978, 26). Despite his initial assurance that honor is divested from “purely economic acquisition” (1978, 936), he nevertheless establishes that “property as such is not always recognized as a status qualification, but in the long run it is, and with extraordinary regularity.” (1978, 932) Furthermore he argues value-rationality i.e. honor in our case, can involve instrumentally rational action as it is based on choice and conflicting ends and results, but action will only be instrumentally rational with respect to the choice of means (1978, 26). In contrast economic considerations are characterized as instrumentally-rational (though not every instrumental action is economic (1978, 339). Honor may also include an instrumental (*zweckrationale*) dimension. Moreover, he continually stresses status-honor as a “style of life,” in contexts where he could have equally spoken of a “code of ethics and/or aesthetics.” His description, however, entails an economic aspect of consumption associated with what he calls “style of life.” At the same time he adheres to what Kant described for respect, namely that it has an ideational and a sensory dimension. His emphasis on consumption as defining feature of status groups stands in contrast to the Qing emperor and the Mongolian aristocracy towards the end of the Qing dynasty, whose status rested on the ability of distribution (the bestowal of “shares”) rather than the consumption of e.g. goods through tribute.

Weber calls both the patriarchal as well as the rule of dignitaries to be resting on traditional authority. It exists where social honor i.e. prestige within a certain circle of people becomes the basis of an authoritative dominion. According to him, the specific authority of the dignitaries (particularly those who have been distinguished on behalf of their wealth,

educational qualification or “style of life”) rests on honor (Weber 1922, 681). Weber’s description of status is primarily with reference to economy and differentiates between classes and status groups:

With some over-simplification, one might thus say that classes are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their *consumption* of goods as represented by special styles of life (Weber 1978, 937).

While stating that no clear delineation is possible between rationality (instrumental and value oriented), affectual and traditional orientations, Weber links intentionality to rationality and economic action to instrumental rationality. In as far as he places status groups in the “realm of consumption” he ascribes economic relevance to them.

When Weber portrays honor as value-rational, he implies an interest which is at stake for the individual much like honor belongs to a concept of “capital” for Bourdieu. Yet devotion, which he classified as affectual, may also be conceptually linked to honor; Weber takes the actors to bestow legitimacy on the social order through tradition, affectual faith, value-rational faith and positive enactment believed to be legal (1978, 36). We can therefore derive the crucial role that honor plays in the social order for Weber.

To explain status Weber appears to discuss the interconnectivity of ideational and material conditions. He distinguishes between them, but also emphasizes their relation. Charles Keyes has pointedly noted about Weber: “Rationalization occurs with reference to the material conditions (what he called ‘interest situations’) that humans confront. Weber was not interested in ideas per se but in ideas that become practically realized” (Keyes 2002, 235).

Weber seems to touch upon what David Graeber (2001) and Nancy Munn (1977, 1983, 1986) developed later – of value materializing in action. The Senior-Junior relation in Mongolia draws much on “potency” – respect is embedded in the senior’s potency to teach the junior, in provision and care. However, equality respect (dignity) is also dependent on consumption in Mongolia, i.e. the energy and ultimately fortune/favor a person’s outer appearance reflects. It is not divested from senior respect, but mediated by it.

The sociologist Georg Simmel, Weber’s contemporary, on the other hand identifies honor as a “class standard (*Standeslehre*); i.e. an appropriate life-form of smaller circles contained within

a larger whole” (Simmel 1898, 681), while differentiating it from “human” or “individual” honor which he calls an “abstract idea made possible by effacing the boundaries of the class (*Stand*).”⁵⁶ (Simmel 1898, 681) Furthermore, he views honor as the manifestation of custom, which in turn he defines as “custom of estate or class.” (Simmel 1950, 101) For Simmel custom lies between what he calls “the largest group” governed by law and individuality, which is subject to morality. Hence, he sees honor as an intersection between the individual and its social circle, while recognizing honor also as differentiating factor between different groups. He identifies honor as encapsulated within morality and intermediary between morality and criminal law, while simultaneously being indicative of the later. Like Weber, Simmel draws on the language of “value” to characterize honor, stating “when the social group intrusts to each of its elements its total honor *pro rata*, it confides to the individual at the same time a good of extraordinary value,⁵⁷ something that the individuals are, as a rule, not in a position to gain for themselves, something that they have simply to keep from losing” (Simmel 1898, 682). He goes on to define honor as “possession of the individual” claiming that “it demonstrates a unique and extremely close coalescence of individual and social interest” (ibid.) and connects it to the “self-maintenance of the group.” We see an implicit association between material and ideational value in both Max Weber’s and Georg Simmel’s treatment of honor, which draws on economic notions as consumption and possession. Finally, Simmel, too, tries to situate honor within a holistic framework and argues: “From such recourse of social self-preservation to individual persons, to a material substance, to an ideal conception, we pass now to the cases in which social persistence takes advantage of an organ composed of a number of persons” (ibid., 685). From which point on he discusses the reciprocity within a group, which is held together by idea or power – in turn classified as structure – “consolidate[ing] the group coherence so that it passes from a mere functional to a substantial character.” Weber’s and Simmel’s elaborations both touch on the question of the distinction between worth and value or material and moral conditions, which is crucial to contextualize honor and respect in Mongolia. Once more the distinction appears to be part of a wider theoretical concern of dualism or the agenda to overcome it, which gained particular foothold also in Mongolia with the introduction of a socialist agenda. Senior-junior respect

⁵⁶ In contrast Weber differentiates class as that which is concerned with production and status groups as concerned with consumption (Roth 1978, LXXXVII). We also witness incongruency in translation. Whereas *Stand* is translated as status in Weber, in Simmel *Stand* is translated as “class” despite his different use of *Stand* and *Klasse*. Simmel, too speaks of honor as connected to *Stand* (1898, 681). Estate as translation of *Stand* might be more to the point.

⁵⁷ *Gut* is translated as “value.” Here, however, it carries the connotation of a “possession,” i.e. “goods.” In Simmel’s *The Philosophy of Money*, on which Graeber (2001) and Appadurai (1986) drew for their theories on value – the corresponding term is *Wert*.

can be claimed by seniors as possession, but this view is generally contested by juniors pointing to honor as prerogative dependent on potency. While class and estate structure the integration of society, they are also differentiating factors. Class and estate mediate honor and respect within senior-junior relations or put differently class and estate can lead to a sense of seniority through potency.

The vanishing objectivism/subjectivism gap, which tends to become more and more rescinding in later theorizers, seems already foreshadowed in Weber and Simmel. Bourdieu makes the elimination of the distinction his goal and creates a smooth explanatory process of causality between the dualism of the individual and society. Moreover, he takes up the interplay of “value” as both moral and economic.

The complex relationship of honor’s ideational limitation and material investment (into education or “style of life” i.e. consumption) – as honor may contribute to accumulate material wealth, though economic power doesn’t necessarily lead to honor – guides his idea of honor’s function. For Weber, the valuation involved in honor is one primarily of investment or “prestige of birth,” but he also describes it as customary (1978, 387). Honor becomes a prospect or a function for social order i.e. *internal differentiation*. Understanding and explaining honor serves to predict social action.

Weber’s concept of prestige seems to resonate with what Bourdieu has identified as “social capital,” rather than his concept of “honor.” For Bourdieu honor constitutes a “sense,” what he calls a “disposition” and implies “the practical mastery of the symbolism of social interaction.” (2008, 10-15) He reminds us not to confuse regularity with rule and links honor to the notion of challenge. Bourdieu tends to depict honor as challenge, which he in turn characterizes as an exchange-relation which calls for “riposte” (2008, 11). Bourdieu though acknowledging a sense of hierarchy through the (gift) exchange of challenges, nevertheless, integrates the notion of equality by basing it on equal dignity which precedes challenge:

From the principle of mutual recognition of equality in honor there follows a first corollary: the challenge confers honour.” [...] A second corollary is this: he who challenges a man incapable of taking up the challenge, that is, incapable of pursuing the exchange, dishonours himself. [...] The third corollary is that only a challenge (or offence) coming from an equal in honour deserves to be taken up; in other words, for there to be a challenge, the man who receives it must consider the man who makes it worthy of making it. [...] Likewise, dishonor would fall on the man who dirtied his hands in an unworthy revenge (hence, in certain cases, recourse to the hired killer,

amekri). It is therefore the nature of the riposte which makes the challenge a challenge, as opposed to mere aggression (2008, 11).

As we will come to see, in Mongolia challenge does not feature prominently in notions of honor towards seniors, while it is present in the strife for honor between equals e.g. stories of warriors and heroes.

In contrast to Weber, Bourdieu in his aim to avoid a dualist objectivism/subjectivism chasm constitutes “disposition” as the interface between the social and the subject or body. He thereby approximates the social with the individual, in the attempt to draw a more “realistic” picture of his subject of inquiry. Weber departs from the individual due to its meaning ascribing capacities because for him, according to Udehn (2002, 485), there is no “collective personality.” Bourdieu endorses a more subjective, bodily notion of honor, akin to what he has identified in tradition or custom:

This is sufficient to remind us that the point of honour is a permanent disposition, embedded in the agents’ very bodies in the form of mental dispositions, schemes of perception and thought, extremely general in their application, such as those which divide up the world in accordance with the oppositions between the male and the female, east and west, future and past, top and bottom, right and left, etc., and also, at a deeper level, in the form of bodily postures and stances, ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking, or walking. What is called the *sense of honour* is nothing other than the cultivated disposition, inscribed in the body schema and in the schemes of thought, which enables each agent to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenge and riposte, and only such practices, by means of countless inventions, which the stereotyped unfolding of a ritual would in no way demand (2008, 15).

Bourdieu grounds honor in the body as a sense and (learned) disposition through reason. In Martha Nussbaum’s words, this (neo-) Aristotelian tradition of encompassing the subject within the social is a rather systematizing and “overall organization” i.e. totalitarian:

[...] The goal is clear: the thorough ordering of the passions through the critical work of reason.

The Aristotelian view, so understood, gives reason an extremely ambitious role – far more ambitious, in some salient respects, than its role in Kant’s philosophy. For reason not only sets ultimate ends and determines practical choices, it also is responsible for forming the motivational and passionate character. If we do the right thing with reluctance, or perform our duty with little sympathy, Kant will not think the less of us, so long as we were using every means in our power to do the right. For Kant thinks that some things just can’t be helped, and he is inclined to be merciful to the deficiencies of the passionate personality. Aristotle, however, is less tolerant: he asks us to bring every motive, every wish, every passion into line with reason’s

commitments to ends. [...] Aristotle's theory is more attractive than some others, but it too makes a misguided demand for system and overall organization (1999, 187 and 191).

The theoretical aim to overcome a kind of dualism in neo-Aristotelianism, and Bourdieu is part of this tradition, stands in tentative opposition to social theory and analysis which dissects its subject matter to arrive at an analysis. This ambitious role, which reason is accorded by neo-Aristotelian approaches, is characterized not only as philosophical "other" to more Kantian ideas of norm as external factor (and Weberian mode of analysis), but becomes a method of anthropological and sociological analysis, which is mirrored in the anthropological critique on Kant by the anthropologist Thomas Widlok (2012), Saba Mahmoud (2005, 25-27) or the earlier critique by Louis Dumont (1979, 814), which I will address in the next chapter.

Weber's intention is surely no less holistic and systematizing, but it rather dissects and describes, and nevertheless emphasizes that in "reality" his established categories are inseparable and co-existing. Weber concentrates on social structure in the way honor and social estates are connected. Function as it has been focused on by Weber has equally been criticized by the social sciences due to its methodologically reductionist quality – a claim equally bound to the question of a totalitarian quality. Ludgera Vogt's work on honor and her comparison of Weber and Simmel also shows that it is the functional aspects of honor which are highlighted in Weber's work: "Während Weber die Ehre als konstitutiven Faktor ständischer Lagen beschreibt und somit auf die *differenzierenden Funktionen* in Verbindung mit sozialen *Machtkonstellationen* eingeht, steht bei Simmel die *integrative und kohäsionsstiftende Funktion* der Ehre im Mittelpunkt" (Vogt 1997, 12-13 original emphasis) Vogt also claims that „Wenn über Ehre stabile Anerkennungsverhältnisse in einer Gesellschaft etabliert werden können, [...], dann stellt Ehre einen sozialen *Ordnungsfaktor ersten Grades* dar.“ (Vogt 1997, 23 emphasis added)

The difficulty with either Weber or Simmel's ascription of function is that claims and expectations to honor might bring upon disruption and disagreement and thereby counter integrative-features that honor might be ascribed to possess. This is one insight we will be able to see from the conversations with my interlocutors. With some limitations (e.g. honor in relation to wealth or institutional authority), when considering the aspect of differentiation, the perspective depends on the time laps one considers within a given society. Whereas elders in Mongolia receive more respect/honor for the social relations they fulfill, this position is

inherently equal since all persons qua their relations as humans have the potential to enter into these relations in the course of their lives.

It is important to bear in mind these four contributions of differentiation, integration, possession, challenge, dignity, disposition, value and order, which have become commonly associated with honor. What Simmel and Weber both share is their underlying notion of order, which needs to be maintained and a function or rule by which this order is achieved. While Weber devotes his attention to action, Bourdieu writes about practice, both of which determine their view on honor. Whereas honor is prestige for Weber based on education, birth/profession and modes of living linked to consumption, honor becomes a challenge, exchange and its expression a disposition for Bourdieu.

Yet, though Bourdieu can certainly be characterized Neo-Aristotelian, neither Simmel nor Weber can be characterized in this way. Rather than focusing on the union of ideational and material aspects of morality – or rather the embodiment, they presuppose its existence to some degree and dissect it for analytical purposes. We could also say, it simply is not “their” problem. Kant made mind/reason the basis of self-determination and responsibility i.e. a sense of freedom and in this differentiated himself from the notion of virtue often considered (Neo)Aristotelian. The latter perspective considered repetition, teaching and unconscious embodiment as important on the path to fulfilling virtue. The analysis of a process of embodiment became the preoccupation of theoretical strands, which followed a more Aristotelian preoccupation in this respect e.g. Michel Foucault or Judith Butler.

However, both Weber’s and Bourdieu’s works demonstrate the interrelation between material worth and ideational value in different ways. It is this latter correlation of worth and value⁵⁸, which seems to play a significant role when we look at senior-junior relations in Mongolia,

⁵⁸ However, David Graeber has delivered a compelling critique of this correlation in his chapter “Three Ways of Talking about Value” (2001, 12) in which he maps out the different projects of formalists (who look at desires, but cannot answer why some things are maximized while others aren’t) and substantivists (who look at society as a whole, but struggle with the people’s motivation to reproduce society). According to Graeber, while money can exactly determine how much more something is worth, i.e. contains a moment of evaluation (2001, 15), linguistic approaches to value can map out how things are divided and categorized, i.e. different, but not why they are preferable (evaluated) and thereby we find ourselves once more in a dichotomy between “understanding people’s passive contemplation of the world [...], to their active participation in it.” (2001, 16) Thanks goes to Dittmar Schorkowitz for pointing out that market prices are fictional in that they relate to what the market establishes, rather than a notion of “worth.” It seems that Graeber does not fully recognize the theoretical attempts to overcome these dualist approaches as e.g. Bourdieu has tried. In fact, it was also Louis Dumont’s (1986) very preference for holism, which was motivated by this idea of overcoming the dualism between individual and society and his theoretical approach of “encompassment.”

which encompass claims and expectations to provision, care and indebtedness. In this context it is also important to look at notions of order and morality (often semantically related to ritual and education in Mongolia *yos surtakhuun*) when looking at senior-junior relations. The next section will look at present examples of how senior-junior relations of respect are about junior's providing for seniors, junior's indebtedness to seniors due to knowledge transmission and the care they provided. It also addresses how poverty can leverage senior-junior hierarchies, while nevertheless not questioning their general moral validity. A look at material from the late Qing dynasty will underscore this connection of material worth and ideational value, which translates into a correlation of a moral and material crisis by revealing the more historical aspect of the junior-senior exchange relation i.e. how (conceptual) juniors extracted goods from (conceptual) seniors with reference to ritual and moral obligations called "shares, grace, favor" *khishig* and compassion *örshööl*. Tellingly, while tribute could be referred to as *alba* "service" it was also referred to as *khuvi* "share." The following section will hence give space equally to the discourse on restrictions associated with relations and practices of respect while considering entangled histories of thought in Mongolia, which have shaped relations of respect conceptually. Discourses on restrictions or dissent refer to the very values they describe as lacking, just as the material crisis during the Qing dynasty also presented a moral crisis, being cast in relational terms involving claims and expectations of support and provision.

When Older Brothers Become Junior Siblings

The terms *akh-düü* not only describe relations between elder brothers and younger siblings, they also designate senior-junior relations at large. Apart from daily interactions in the present, this relation has also played a major political role both, in the present and past, to either strengthen or undermine hierarchical relations.⁵⁹ In this regard, seniority during the Qing dynasty also referred to those noble lineages, which could claim aristocratic descent and who were then referred to as seniors, though they might have been juniors by age.⁶⁰ Socialist Russia utilized this relation of age twofold: it presented itself as the senior brother to promote a notion of "equality" while at the same time, submitting Mongolian seniors in age and status to their agenda, who thereby legitimized it. To look at respect from the vantage point of

⁵⁹ For further senior-junior dimensions in time, space and politics with regard to the Kalmyks in the 17th to 19th century such as *ikh* and *baga* or *ziiiin gar* and *baruun gar* see Schorkowitz (1992, 265).

⁶⁰ Thanks goes to Ganbaatarin Odbayar for making me aware of this dimension of age.

agency, resistance and self-determination would again presume a correlation of self-determination and notions of justice as Honneth has identified them (2014).

At present, to address someone respectfully is to address them with the relation they occupy in relation to oneself⁶¹ e.g. *aniagiin düü* [elder sister's younger sibling], or *eejiin khüü* [mother's son]. Relational terms are doubled as the elder sister's (familiar form) and the younger sibling or mother and son. This practice describes a close relation, which is at the same time hierarchical. Correspondingly, hierarchy here implies proximity, for the junior is encompassed by the relation to his senior. Encompassment into a relation is considered particularly respectful. A young university student, who studied social work described the role of the senior vis a vis the junior in a prescriptive manner and hence, stressed senior authority:

When you say the 'older brother' [...] he is the one, who leads and guides the junior sibling and raises them just like his parents raised him. [...] Because he is the oldest in his family, self-evidently [the older brother] has to [is with the custom to] teach. He will also be responsible for the household [of his future family]. [...] He is the person who has to speak rightly and who has to be most just. [...] When we talk about junior siblings, they have to truly embody well what their older brother has taught them. They have to treat their older brother in a friendly manner and do the things which he entrusted them to do. The junior sibling has to become aware of their role and responsibility the most. They will ask their older brother some things and if he says no, then the junior is not allowed to do this, according to his role and responsibility. Those things which he has to do he has to learn immediately (Micheel, 2013).

Another 19-year-old girl used a similar narrative style:

He [the older brother] has to practice his exemplary role very well; if he himself makes mistakes and then tells his junior 'you have to do this in this and that way' this will be no longer of any meaning. Right? [...] The junior himself has to listen and understand the words spoken by the elder; he has to follow his words, but this strict observance has stopped. If a senior speaks a word it is just ignored and then they say 'oh really?' This didn't happen in the past [...]. When an elder e.g. an older sister told us something we responded 'yes.' (Oyunaa, 2013).

In both present narratives there is a clear hierarchical sequence of relations and features in the form of expected work and duties required to fulfill this relation. These elements of knowledge, care and provision among others were what constituted the relationship and formed the backdrop against which more critical voices argue and the grounds on which deficient relations are characterized.

⁶¹ For an in-depth study of strategies of avoidance in relation to persons' names and the naming of persons as well as kin relations in Kalmykia see Schorkowitz (2008).

Narantsetseg, whom I have quoted in chapter one, a school drop-out from Ulaanbaatar suffering from rickets commented on her dilemma of having to care for her father while being prevented from fulfilling her relational duties:

Yes, I think those words [relational address] express respect and if there is a person, who is older than me I usually try to call that person [*khiin*] *egchee* [older sister] and I call those who are younger than me *minii diiii* [my younger sibling]. I think that is a way of respecting and understanding each other. But there are also people who call me *khoi chi* [hey you]! And that's not a very cultivated [*soyoltoi*] way of calling each other. Some people tell me, *minii diiii*, come on and help me. [...] When I go there and help them they say: 'oh you're too short and you can't do that, we don't need your help.' [...] I also try my best to respect and help others. When kids are doing something and I go to them and help them they say: 'oh you can't do that, we don't need your help, just leave it and go away. Even in the bus, when I pay money, the conductor asked me how old I was and I say: 'I'm sixteen and they say: 'Oh you should pay two hundred [*Tögrög*, Mongolian currency].' [...] I used to sell television programs in the market, but when I go to rich people and try to sell them they tell me: 'oh sorry we don't want to buy from you we have subscribed to it.' [...] When I try to help them, they just don't want to receive my help. It's very hard in Mongolia, if you are short, if you have a disease or any other problems, they just don't let us do anything because of our problems. When I try to get a job and go there they just don't receive me [*khiilee avch chaddaggiüi*] and say: 'oh you are not tall enough for this job, but instead, I think I can do anything and I must [literally: with custom] do anything to take care of my dad and of my family.(Narantsetseg, 2008)⁶²

This narrative of a child-laborer in Ulaanbaatar involves many different layers and demonstrates, that the importance of respect itself is not questioned, while the failure to respect might be acknowledged and even critically assessed. Narantsetseg particularly criticizes seniors' behavior towards her. Though Humphrey's observation that morality associated with exemplars "sustain[s] 'ways of life'" (Humphrey 1997, 39) seems to be true, her opposition of morality of exemplars vs. that of codes should be taken with some caution, for Narantsetseg's narrative shows that there are claims for exemplars "to be coherent with regard to society in general" (Humphrey 1997, 38) and that elders are expected to embody certain codes in their daily relations.

Her account also demonstrates how respect is intricately linked to recognition. Her physical disability is identified as the main reason for differential treatment and misrecognition. There are a few indicators as to why disabilities may lead to misrecognition, one of which is the

⁶² For other, similar sections of this interview, yet discussed in different thematic contexts see: Kohl-Garrity (2017, 115). Kohl-Garrity (2015, 58).

argument that the ‘misfortune’ has been incurred by a sinful previous life according to a Buddhist-inspired perspective. This again conflicts with other Buddhist strands of philosophical argumentation and ethical precepts. Hedwig Waters (2016, 4) explains how reputation (which she calls *nerelkhüü*, but which is also frequently referred to as *ner khiind*—having a heavy name and thereby lexically linked to respect) and fortune are intertwined. In drawing on Empson (2011) she displays how “the ability to attract wealth is intertwined with the proper management of relationships. “ (2016, 4) How one is referred to by others then becomes crucial. Waters argues:

Beauty aesthetics is consequently one indicator of social status and fortune (Empson 2011, 96 – 101). Although the material expressions of beauty have historically changed (Stolpe 2012, 387) and were variable, the Mongolian term for beauty, *goo saikhan*, shares the same root as the term for good, *sain* (Kaplonski 2008, 335). Consequently, the pursuit, maintenance, and material expression of beauty can be interpreted as both morally and culturally correct (Fox 2013). In return for upholding the cosmological order, the individual enjoys societal and economic fortune (Waters 2016, 4).

The junior's relation to his senior is shaped by a sense of indebtedness, which the junior has incurred through the favor he has received from the senior and within his educative relation towards the junior. Yet, what features prominently in Narantsetseg's account is also the neoliberal stress on self-reliance and resourceful mastery of one's own life. The way her disability is received, then, disables her from fulfilling her relational part towards her seniors (her father) through taking on work and responsibility. The fulfillment of a relation through work towards one's senior may be perceived as a human characteristic, which is sought by all persons qua their status as juniors. Neither is she recognized as senior by the children she helps. Finally, she is denied her junior status in the bus by having to pay the full price, revealing the inconsistency of this ascription, as she is often treated as junior due to her disability in other realms. The rhetoric she picks up of “mastering” and “self-sustaining” herself seems to claim a sense of empowerment on the one hand, while at the same time it reveals her being denied personal and relational worth.

Hence, she also seems to respond to and counter the misrecognition by claiming equality respect tied to dignity. Though empowering at first glance, equality respect is itself currently embedded and tied into a neoliberal and postmodern discourse of the value diverse subjects may assert, which parallel the economic calculation and predictability of individual preferences i.e. profitability and achievement as David Graeber (2001) and James Carrier

(2016) have indicated in their works. The anthropologist Manduhai Buyandelger phrased it best when she asserted

Some scholars who concentrate on power pay less attention to resistance, worried that if they mention resistance then the forces of oppression, of the uneven dynamics of power, and of exploitation will be diminished or dissipated. And resistance does not necessarily imply empowerment on the side of the oppressed (Buyandelgeriin 2013, 166).



Fig. 5 Coca-Cola advertisement at an intersection in Ulaanbaatar for the Soli-Lunar New Year *Tsagaan Sar*, a festivity and exchange, which honors seniors, bestowing gifts on them while juniors receive a “share” in the form of sweets and gifts. It features the traditional New Year’s greeting, in which the experience flows downward to the junior, while the junior elevates the senior. The advertisement is highly loaded with symbols including the horse, which is not per se a part of the festivity, but which is nevertheless highly revered. Photograph by author January 29th, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Finally, Narantsetseg addresses wealth. Her comments point towards the injustice and the lack of compassion, which she experiences when wealthy potential customers don't buy a leaflet from her, though she is so clearly depending on it. She continues later that the daughter of a wealthy potential customer discouraged her mother from buying a program from her, claiming that she had probably stolen it. She thereby accused Narantsetseg with having had bad intentions and dishonored her.

When we returned to discuss respect in relations a year later together with her friend Khongorzul both of them argued that wealthy people, who were *duraaraa* just did what they wanted without considering their environment, other people's opinions, rights and freedoms. They argued that people could do whatever they wanted with others living in poverty, they didn't need to respect them. The daughter of a woman, who employed cleaning personnel, could treat that personnel the way she wanted even if they were her seniors since her mother employed them. Both of them spoke from their personal experience in cleaning homes of wealthier Ulaanbaatar residents.

What becomes evident is a sense of “negative or excessive freedom” linked to a discourse on neoliberal, capitalist economy. What might be implicit in Narantsetseg’s mentioning wealth together with the misrecognition of her as both senior and junior is that wealth reverses or levers out hierarchical relations and this also has a gender-dimension regarding women working in the service-sectors. What is thematized more markedly, however, is a certain impotence to render respect by fulfilling the claims and expectations inherent in the relation one is encompassed by, despite the intention and willingness to do so. This may happen through unemployment, disability, addiction, health problems etc. Moreover, it is a sense of recognition which is at stake in fulfilling relations, and a place in the hierarchy which does not contextually shift, but is located at the bottom line, through the incapacity to fulfill expectations. Finally, the reversal of hierarchy through financial power relations poses another predicament. The possibility to be recognized on a basic human level as senior/junior is at jeopardy. However, senior-junior relations define all human relations and thereby people in Mongolia. This is also exhibited by the often reiterated expression *bi khün bish yum üü?* “Am I not a human?” in these contexts of disregard. Respect is conditional on living up to certain values and entailing claims, which relations call for. This thesis will thematize not living up to these claims as disregard, a dialectical opposition to respect. The claims are tied to the economy as they also refer to consume and lifestyle, the rendering of services and the distribution of resources a person has acquired through labor whether in the realm of production or services. The claims also involve an exchange relation, which Narantsetseg is not allowed to participate in by being characterized as “unfit,” taking any potency from her. Relation becomes an existential matter.

One might be prone to refer to the interrelation of poverty and relational conflicts in the light of neoliberal policies. However, it is also the case that families experienced covert hardships

and poverty during the Mongolians People Republic, not to mention the Qing dynasty.

Though these eras cannot be compared, the interrelation itself is not novel.

More and more ordinary people see arcane forces intervening in the production of value, diverting its flow toward a new elect: those masters of the market who comprehend and control the production of wealth under contemporary conditions. They also attribute to these arcane forces their feelings of erasure and loss: and erasure in many places of community and family, exacerbated by the destabilization of labor [...]; a loss of human integrity, experienced in the spreading commodification of persons, bodies, cultures, and histories, in the substitution of quantity for quality, abstraction for substance. None of these perceptions is new, as we have said. Balzac (1965: 418, 117) described them for France in the 1840s, as did Conrad (1957) for prerevolutionary Russia; Gluckman (1959), moreover, spoke of the ‘magic of despair’ that arose in similarly dislocated colonial situations in Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, 216).⁶³

The friend of Narantsetseg, Khongorzul, whom I first met and lived with in 2007/08, when she was 16 years old and then again when she was 22 years and mother of a toddler in 2013/14, repeatedly brought up the issue that elders claimed the younger generation had less knowledge of customs. Jean and John Comaroff also claimed “that sense of physical, social and moral crisis congeals, perhaps more than anywhere else, in the contemporary predicament of youth [...] (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, 306). Khongorzul criticized their logic. If followed through, in their critique on juniors, seniors would have to acknowledge their own shortcomings in teaching their juniors.⁶⁴ In 2009 she raised the problem of relational reversal:

Of course it is good to keep respecting elders, respecting the teacher; but sometimes, like for example nowadays many grandparents always say ‘listen to the words of your elders, get up early’ it is so tiring. [...] In reality our elder people are even worse sometimes than the younger people. [...] Why do you think that some younger siblings become older brothers? We cannot say that everything turned bad, of course there are some very good older brothers and sisters for their younger siblings, sometimes there are also younger siblings who are more intelligent. It has changed because of knowledge [*ukhaandag*] and understanding, but my younger sibling thinks she knows so much, and she talks too much (Khongorzul, 2009).

Though subverting the logic of a senior-junior relation, this narrative reinscribes it by couching the junior in terms of the senior. Moreover, it is in itself ambiguous, for Khongorzul denounces in the first instance that seniors don’t necessarily embody their relation and do not

⁶³ Balzac, Honoré de. *Poor Relations: Cousin Bette Part One*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965. Conrad, Joseph. *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957. Gluckman, Max. “The Magic of Despair.” *The Listener* (1959): 724. [Republished in *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa*. London: Cohen and West, 1963.]

⁶⁴ For a more detailed account of the responsibility to teach customs see also Kohl-Garrity (2017, 125).

or are unable to transmit their knowledge to juniors. In the second instance, she criticizes juniors who claim authority for themselves and do not listen to their “seniors.” At the heart of her claim lies the notion that respect cannot be rendered unconditionally, but that it is rendered for a teaching relation, in which the senior transmits his knowledge and experience to his junior. This notion, in turn, is particularly difficult in poverty-ridden contexts, in which alcohol often influences accountabilities and responsibilities. Though self-evident, it seems important to note that respect and its inherent claims are preeminent in conflictual relations because of their overall association with a moral order. Khongorzul’s narrative also brings to light how the notions of “progressive or professional” knowledge and knowledge from “experience” continue to rival each other. The question over whether knowledge is constituted by the present through “invention” – i.e. “progress” - or by experiences through the past, what we might call “reversive” in Christopher Atwood’s words (2010, 95) - is one which has not only shaped senior-junior relations in the present, but also in the more recent past, as I have indicated before. It plays a role in challenging socio-economic contexts such as poverty and alcohol abuse in families, leading to a negotiation of hierarchies in senior-junior relations by questioning the precedence of types of knowledge.

Following the argument that the interrelationship of poverty and relational conflicts are hardly attributable to neoliberalism alone, it seems significant to look at historical dimensions and thought history. Respect for knowledge and senior-junior relations has been an intersection for moral and political conceptions. However, Widlok rightly states that the changes taking place in moral concepts “overlap with changes in social and economic organization, to which they are dynamically related.” (Widlok 2012, 192) It is then important not to separate ethics from interests or to see them as normatively opposed. “There is no reason to believe that the relation (or the proportion) of intrinsic vis-à-vis external goods is fixed across time and space. Rather, we would expect a comparative perspective always to include both and to look at their changing articulation.” (Widlok 2012, 191)

While master-disciple relationships and filial relationships seem to have characterized hierarchical relations, the elder brother-junior sibling or senior-junior relationship – while encompassing the former relations – nevertheless offered a space for a hierarchical relation of a lesser degree i.e. these relations were often cast as “equal.” Socialist narratives drew on their own conception of exploitative Qing dynasty relationships, which they framed in morally opposing terms to their own agenda of “teaching” and brotherhood. Yet, the concept of

brotherhood was not all that equal,⁶⁵ for Russia was portrayed as the elder brother, while Mongolia took the position of the junior. The notions of knowledge transmission, care and provision have made up a crucial component of senior-junior relations – and hence the reflection of economic or material crises in moral relations is not a particular post-socialist phenomenon. While it was widely acknowledged during the end of the Qing dynasty that the aristocracy and the clergy were the cause for uprisings and social unrest, they had not lost their entire legitimacy. Walter Heissig describes the situation thus:

Auch im Khalkhagebiet hatten chinesische Händler an wirtschaftlichem Einfluß gewonnen. Die auch hier auftretende Unzufriedenheit von Adel und Volk richtete sich gemeinsam gegen die Oberherrschaft der Mandju. [...] Die Empörung war besonders gegen die chinesischen Kaufleute groß. Allein in den Jahren 1884-1885 hatten diese allein in den beiden Aimakhs des Tüsiyetü Khan und Sečen Khan der Khalkha Waren im Werte von 975327 Unzen Silber verkauft und Fürsten und Klöster waren ihnen dementsprechend verschuldet. [...] Im Sečen Khan-Aimakh wiederum kam es im Banner des Beyse Sansaraidorji zu Unruhen, als der Fürst die Steuerschraube anzog, um Verpflichtungen von ungefähr 20000 Unzen Silber chinesischen Kaufleuten gegenüber einhalten zu können (Heissig 1972, 580).

While correspondences between the aristocracy and clergy were highly formalized, particularly towards the end of the Qing dynasty, (Heuschert-Laage 2011) they nevertheless give an idea of how the Mongolian aristocracy expressed claims and expectations. One substantial example for claims and expectations brought up in aristocratic correspondences is that of the *Ikh* and *Baga Erjigen khoshuun* [banners] in the Khalkhin Zasagt Khan Aimag. Though it was the respective rulers, who held a senior-junior relationship, markers of age in address were markedly less used than in other correspondences. In any case, their correspondence reveals that their junior sibling - senior brother relationship is not reduced to that of their personal relationship, but extends to their position and it seems also to their respective subjects. A letter from the *Baga Erjigen* ruler B. Rinchinpil (1827-1878), who voices dissent and makes claims to the *Ikh Erjigen* ruler, Ts. Sedbazar (1812- 1876)⁶⁶ shows how references to seniority and respect were considered meticulously:

Ded Da Khevei gүн merciful prince, I *respectfully report* and raise [i.e. wish] to you a thousand harmonies.

⁶⁵ See also Marsh (2002, 123) and Sneath (2003, 39).

⁶⁶ Tümenjargal mistakenly writes L. Sedbazar in his IV series of the 2010 publications, whereas he correctly designates him as Ts. Sedbazar in his I series and describes the sequence of the rulers of as Mifamdorj (1756-1781), Tseveendash (1781-1834), Sedbazar (1834-1875), Luvsandondov (1876-1908) and Gonchigdamba (1909-1923) etc. (2010c, 7).

... [I] have *veneratingly received* [from a superior] the merciful prince's letter. Though the lesser Rinchinpil is of firm health, if [I] consider *the conflict between my siblings* [elder brother junior sibling] I cannot sit resting. Despite my old age, [fading] strength and my faculties of knowledge being dull, [my] prince has surely included all in his *compassion and love/loving kindness*.

Although we are only one *khoshuun* [banner], we are few, impoverished and barely getting by and the officials are not extracting any goods from our population. Only due to the strength and support of the Shanzov lama we can live. [...] Yet, the lama among us has turned away again with bitter and witless thoughts and is thinking of dispatching a letter to change the *khoshuun*. If we part from this lama we don't have any means to educate. I wish that a merciful decree will be issued from the reverend prince's place prohibiting our Shanzov [to leave]; all of my lesser older brothers and juniors will be given *harmony [consent] and remain calm*. *From very early on until now is it not true, that despite having two khoshuun with [different] names, we were originally one branch, and have departed from one family? Now has come the time to help, support [as family] and watch after your inferiors*.

[...] Now do you not in the least think through your reverend princely virtue about the *khoshuun* and thereby of the children and people? The lesser Rinchinpil is beseeching you very much without restraint according to the custom of seniors and juniors on behalf of the misery in our poor *khoshuun*. I have raised to the merciful princely enlightened a few words and crooked letters and have combined them below, apart from wishing and venerating your merciful love/loving kindness and share/favor [*kesig*]; despite the *gavj* [rank of a lama] Nagamidig having been informally placed in the Choir [philosophical school] we await to receive how it will be granted. Having taught our few monks the books, he has been a very beneficial person. [...] (Year of 1867-1873) (Tümenjargal 2010a, 17-18) [emphasis added]

Rinchinpil underlines the interrelationship between senior-junior relations, the authority of decrees and harmony. Poverty is depicted as a threat to this harmony. Seniority was also referred to as aristocratic “branches” of one “family” as Rinchinpil calls it i.e. kinship.

Conceiving the threat of renouncing the senior-junior relationship through the lack of support enshrined by the kin relation, Rinchinpil uses a mixture of pleading, but also admonishment of this relationship. He claims that they had sprung from “one family” (Tümenjargal 2010b, 17), which in turn implies that they can be considered “junior” and “senior” not only in address – as *akh* “senior brother” and *düü* “junior sibling,” but also with regard to their respective territories which are called *Ikh Erjigen* (“big *erjigen*,” the ruler of which is addressed as *akh*) and *Baga Erjigen* (“small *erjigen*,” the ruler of which is addressed *düü*). This relation strengthened the claims that the small *Erjigen* could advance towards the big *Erjigen*. Finally he refers to the *akh düügiin yos*, which evokes the notion that this “ritual” or “custom” had been institutionalized during the Qing dynasty.⁶⁷ Discipline is in turn conjured by Rinchinpil's reference that he didn't restrain himself. At first, respectful terms such as *ögüülen* for “speaking” imply a respectful correspondence, however, this exchange stands in

⁶⁷ For further elaboration on the standardized adding of *yos* see Kohl-Garrity (2017).

marked contrast to what follows and stresses dissent by using rhetorical questions, appealing to established relations and higher authority on moral grounds. The letter exemplifies the references to the framework of respect in a time of poverty and need. The impact and moral claim on the correspondent seem to be established by including such concepts as compassion, love/loving kindness, harmony, authority of decrees, kinship relation, senior-junior relation and education. These claims are also made in previous letters, which don't express frustration:

[...] *Gün* [title comparable to European count/duke] prince mine render us a share/favor [*kesig*] of 20 riding horses from your herds until the summer of next year, if you are really not able, please grant [be loving kind, love] us around ten horses. *Gün* prince mine this would be of such great use, how do you compassionately have compassion for my bad self – apart from helping and loving kindness[i.e. granting], [I] want to notify you of not having riding horses. If you render me a share/favor and love [provision], I beseech you and bow to you to love [grant] us [a horse] from your own herd and the love of [give us] a letter and respectfully report bearing a pure white ritual shawl [...].(Tümenjargal 2010a, 15)

The term “love” is employed in the sense of “compassion,” “loving kindness” and “to give.” *Kesig* “favor, share, fortune”, too, has a more spiritual dimension to it in referring to the grace of ancestors (Atwood, 2000). Klaus Sagaster (1976) has identified it as a court ritual of the early Mongol times. This historical significance points to a certain institutionalization of *kesig* or “share.” However, as apparent also in Christopher Atwood's description of *kesig* (2000), the discourse of “grace,” which was originally reserved by the emperor as paternal figure, came to be transferred to superiors conceptualized as seniors in general. Such language most likely was not taken literal any longer. I will delve into this topic at a later point; suffice to indicate the intricate connection between ritual, custom and morality, which share the context of habit, a sense of rule and structure besides their lexical common component of *yos*.⁶⁸ Ritual as it is institutionalized becomes a political means to govern subjects with moral impact and evoke their ethical formation.

While material needs are couched in terms of a moral language, interestingly too, written exchange visualizes all rituals such as raising a white ritual scarf, bowing or conducting a ritual (*mördökh* – “circumambulating a stone cairn or following”, *mörgökh* “to venerate, to bump”, *örgökh* “to raise”, *mekhiikh* “to bow”) and give us a rather precise idea of what

⁶⁸ With regard to respect we find variations of it being described as *khündlekh yos* in the present, while To Van e.g. refers to it as *yosulal* – ritual.

embodied forms of respect looked like, namely referring primarily to latitudes and linking it to hierarchy.

Furthermore, archival documents from the late Qing dynasty reveal that the junior correspondents of aristocratic descent lines often referred to their seniors as “wise” and themselves as “stupid” or “foolish;” this is reminiscent of the ascriptions of wisdom provided by the values elaborated within the *khoyer yos* “the two orders of religion and state” framework and constitutes a terminological subjection with regard to knowledge.

The “ritual/custom of senior-junior siblings” *akh düügiin yos* as it is literally termed, draws attention to the interrelation and sometimes equivalence between ritual, morality and politics. This “senior-junior” relation couched in elder brother-junior sibling terms reveals the links by which we can understand the personal reasons, values and legitimacy by which individual actors were motivated and the structural relations by which they were ruled and organized. The relation exemplifies how a material crisis as it is evident in the two historical excerpts rendered above was inextricably also tied rhetorically to a moral crisis through the claims and expectations embedded in the relationship.

The second half of the 19th century in Mongolia, according to the historian Michael Weiers (2004, 220), was characterized as a time of general misery and poverty of the population. Every third male was given to the Buddhist monastery, extracting considerable labor force and burdening the population. The Mongolian population was widely impoverished through tax levy in silver rather than livestock (Nordby 1988, 130). Buddhist monks, who nevertheless did not live in celibacy, made up a considerable percentage. They were exempt from taxes to Beijing and received offerings. Respect relations and the references to the aristocracy might have been more ambivalent. Dashbadrakh and Gerelbadrakh (2010, 790) relate how monasteries likewise changed to an increase of profit by turning what was a relation of mutual benefit – the herding of cattle by subjects – to exploitation in demanding corresponding livestock products from the herders as well. Moreover, Beijing was repressing uprisings, drafted troops and collected goods as well as livestock. According to the Michael Weiers (2004, 220), consequently, people resisted the draft and gathered in gangs.

To Van (1797-1887), a prince and social reformer who authored *surgaal* – “teachings” on a variety of topics on life and economy was perceived with suspicion (and met with resistance)

in his own times. Ironically, he is now heralded as social reformer and revered as wise figure, not least supported by his historical authority in accordance with honoring seniority and ancestors. According to Renate Bauwe (1985) the characteristic of literature in the 18th and 19th centuries is the formulation of critique of social circumstances, which called for a moral improvement of the ruling class. That the end of the Qing dynasty amounted to a moral crisis due to the exploitation of commoners⁶⁹ by the Mongolian clergy, Mongolian and Manchu aristocracy as well as Chinese merchants is not only exemplified by different rebellions, but also by such contemporary authors and reformers of that time as Isidangjınwangjıl (1854-1907), To Van (1797-1887) or “crazy” Shagdar (1869-1930). These conditions were ideologically exploited ex post facto by the socialist government. Yet, the examples also show that this crisis had arrived and affected nearly all strata of the society at the time. The moral and material crisis mutually constituted one another.

Finally, from a comparative view it needs to be stressed that it is hardly novel that Mongolian rulers engaged in relations of seniority couched in terms of “brothers” during the Qing dynasty. European monarchs as early as the second half of the fourth century likewise drew on the language of brotherhood, yet, they thereby likened “friendship” to “family relations,” a framework absent from the Mongolian 17th century reference to “brotherly” relations. Moreover, in the European framework “seniority” itself was not at stake, though the “granting and requesting favors” and conferring “acceptance and recognition” (Salzman 2004, 54) through reference to being “brothers” may be comparable.

Though Salzman’s description accentuates the aspect of “interest” and the framing of a collective identity of “a Christian aristocracy,” inquiries into the significance of the relation of “brothers” in a Mongolian context, seem to support the view that this relation is so significant because seniority confers authority and appeals to a collective identity. Moreover, the relation as “brothers” i.e. senior-juniors entangles the realms of kinship, politics, law among others i.e.

⁶⁹ We generally have to differentiate between *shavi* subjects of monasteries, who had to render services to the monasteries and *albatu*, subjects of banner regents and therefore subject to render tax services to the Qing emperor via the banner regent. The *suman albat* were subjects of the state, though they belonged to the territory of the rulers of a *khoshuun* and had to render their services and tribute to the Manchu emperor. The *qamjilya* were the personal serfs of the Mongol lords and had to render their services (*alba*) to the Mongol rulers (Natsagdorj 2010 [1967], 700). Despite the Mongol lords not being allowed to collect tribute from the *suman albat* other than for administrative purposes for the Manchus, since they saw themselves as the ultimate landowners, they perpetually breached the Manchu regulations (Ibid.). Dorothea Heuschert-Laage gives an idea of the different terms and classifications (2009, 187). The subjects of Mongolian aristocrats with the title *taiji* were referred to as *qamjilya*. Finally, though decreasing dramatically in number by the 18th century, there were subjects of non-aristocrats called *köbiüd* (servant), *boylul* (slave), *qariyatu* (subject), *medel kümün* (subordinate) or *jaruča kümün* (servant).

it has an overarching relevance. Yet, the reference to the valued relation of “brothers,” which always implied seniority was only one among many other significant relationships of respect, and hence only one aspect of how personal motivation and morality coincided with political subject formation and governing.

Moral and Material Value as Angle of Refraction

It seems as though David Graeber is quite right when he notes that the joining of economic and anthropological analysis will lead to

map[ping] out a series of ‘values’ of something like the traditional sociological sense – power, prestige, moral purity, etc., – and to define them as being on some level fundamentally similar to economic ones. [...] When one says that a person is choosing between having more money, more possessions, or more prestige, what one is really doing is taking an abstraction (“prestige”) and reifying it, treating it as an object not fundamentally different in kind from jars of spaghetti sauce or ingots of pig iron (Graeber 2001, 8-9).

He, too, questions the underlying assumptions of the economic “self-interested activity” as template for understanding action and value, where Honneth establishes this in his philosophical argument about the underlying notions of freedom as individual autonomy vs. social justice.⁷⁰ There is a more cross- and also interdisciplinary question at heart, which once again brings me back to an oscillating pendulum between theoretical efforts to overcome a dualism of various kinds and the warning of a totalizing approach.⁷¹ In fact, the post-structuralist project was united by this concern of defying any totality. However, as David Graeber notes (2001, 27) what is a bit deceptive about this poststructuralist project is that the shattering of individuals and society into fragments, nevertheless, led to their theoretical appearance in these fragments as players, who struggled over power – which brings us back to Honneth’s opposition. I would argue along his lines that “power” in post-structuralist projects, is mostly associated with “individual autonomy” extending into a notion of “social justice.”

⁷⁰ This is the assumption that the individual will calculate to do as little as possible to gain as much as possible and its intrinsic element of the assumption that self-interested action is rational. On this point see also James Laidlaw’s critique of Webb Keane (2016), 456- 457. As mentioned previously, Honneth criticizes the Hobbesian subject in its natural state which is only allowed to calculate its interests (Honneth 2014, 24-26).

⁷¹ In theorizing respect as situated within the moral realm we are easily prone to focus on individual autonomy or social justice, on respect as codes vs. embodiment, on respect as located within virtue ethics or comparing it to Kantian *Achtung*. The projects behind these theoretical endeavors imply an either dualist or totalitarian nature. The implications of these theoretical endeavors also reveal political projects. The value of respect is mediated by political projects.

The theoretical arguments implicit in much of this theory refer to underlying moral dilemmas and dilemmas of representation. They often also analyze resistance to norms.

In the Mongolian context, the discourse on the absence of respect across time evokes its very presence and a sense of order which is associated with respect, but it is not detachable from the respective governing agendas. Though challenge and achievement as discussed by Pierre Bourdieu may certainly be an aspect of male honor in particular with regard to warriors, it is not the overall conception of senior-junior honor. Dignity might be more to the point as someone with a “heavy name” is usually a person, who has served as an exemplar by fulfilling his relations within the framework of care, knowledge and provision. Weber’s notion of prestige in honor and its association with consumption may be inferred when we look at the tribute or offerings and services, which had to be paid in the late Qing dynasty. In the present it is also reflected in the critique that was voiced by my interlocutors with regard to domestic services. Prestige attained through consumption compromises otherwise existing hierarchies. The primarily female consumption of beauty and health products constitutes another such field in as far as they elevate a person’s prestige by simulating an immaculate outer appearance (and implying an increased level of “energy” that person disposes of). Moreover, in Mongolia of the present, this prestigious consumption also involves intangible and tangible goods marketed as “history,” such as food, clothes, real estate, books, etc. Often, advertisement capitalizes on history. It in turn refers to a homogenous collective identity and a glorious past in turn portrayed in terms of consumption (luxury).

This brings us back to the question of value as Graeber has discussed it and the conundrum of what the relation is between honor and material wealth when they seem to have mutual impact on one another. It is Nancy Munn’s work, which Graeber singles out and which suggests the most coherent answer also for the Mongolian case.⁷²

Value emerges in action; it is the process by which a person’s invisible ‘potency’ – their capacity to act – is transformed into concrete, perceptible forms. [...] The highest level of control over space and time is concretized simply as ‘fame,’ that is, the fact that others, even others one has never met, consider one’s name important, one’s actions significant.” [...] Certainly it breaks the gift/commodity dichotomy wide open. Rather than having to choose between the desirability of objects and the importance of human relations, one can now see both as refractions of the same thing (Graeber 2001, 45).

⁷² One might be tempted to see action as part of the post-structuralist project outlined by David Graeber; he traces Munn’s theory on action back to Marx.

This is true for let us say prestigious consumption of e.g. history in Mongolia and the entailing recognition and honor. As “desirability for objects” and the “importance of human relations” they pose “refractions of the same thing.” At the same time, we have seen in Narantsetseg’s and Khongorzul’s descriptions that material worth can topple hierarchical relations and bring about a more general sense of a moral crisis. These instances are embedded within a larger societal negotiation of a socialist value agenda and a more neoliberal value agenda. The way economic inequality translates into a change of social relationships and hierarchies shows that when the desirability of objects and the importance of human relations are refractions of the same thing a moral crisis may coincide with an economic crisis. However, even when we look at senior-junior relations as they are ideally portrayed, there is potential for conflict. When Rebecca Empson (2011) speaks of *khishig* as fortune (what I have described as “share,” and what Christopher Atwood has termed “grace” for the Qing dynasty) being “contained,” I see a wider resemblance with senior-junior relations in general, which I have described as “encompassing.” The senior encompasses the junior in his/her relation and thereby creates a protective and loving proximity in which he/she transfers knowledge to the junior. Nevertheless, the respect a junior has towards his/her senior likewise creates a distance (awe), which includes a sense of discipline and even fear. The junior, moreover, may love the senior for the care, transmission of knowledge and protection, etc. This seems to be understood as the inherent order of senior-junior relations taken together with the claims and expectations embedded within it.

Additionally, while the knowledge to be transmitted has the potential to enable and create proximity, it also contains a momentum of inequality or contestation through different historical strands of thought. This is played out in the juxtaposition of “junior” progress, the valuation of professional expertise and training against “senior” reversion i.e. experience and accumulative knowledge. The meaning of both evolves through their mutual reference. Yet, it is not quite that simple. For Caroline Humphrey argues that in the 1980s her respondents portrayed modern city life as having brought about “a decline in filial respect and the emergence of individualist attitudes.” (2002, 73) This is an argument often running alongside the negotiation of knowledge. Caroline Humphrey interprets this as reference to the “calamitous time” *tsöviin tsag*, which in turn points to the emergence of the Buddha Maitreya, a reference to a salvific future. Negotiations of seemingly “new” political agendas may themselves be part of a longer trajectory of, in this case, Buddhist thought history.

It is fair to say that this discourse on knowledge was politically institutionalized as the Mongolian Revolutionary Union of Youth (MRUY) was set alongside the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Robert Rupen describes the relation thus: The Revsomols [MRUY, Mongolian: *Khuvisgalt zaluuchuudiin evlel*] were more radical, more rural, more "Communist," more pro-Russian, more progressive, better educated, and often better organized than the Party. Russians in Mongolia, plus the Russian-influenced army and the secret police, added effective power to the Revsomols and tilted MPR politics leftward, with the trend culminating in the Seventh Party Congress in 1928." (Rupen 1979, 42)⁷³ The *raison d'être* when arguing for "progress," is that the past did not deliver the guiding orientation for the present, i.e. that the seniors identified as the past, which reaches into the present, didn't fulfill their relational requirements of transmitting the proper knowledge, development or education. At a second glance it also purports the notion that "newly" acquired knowledge may be superior to "experience," but this again is rather contested. At least today, it is not the past's general ability to provide a guideline, which is being questioned, but rather particular social relations. The resistance towards unconditional respect for seniors then is not solely linked to individual autonomy as Honneth's critique of the juxtaposition of freedom as individual autonomy and social justice would imply, but is still embedded in a sense of order and continuity as well as the specificity of action. Against this background senior-junior relations constitute the common framework of moral relations, as Khongorzul's assertion implies that junior siblings become older brothers.

Ethics or Morality?

Even if we are cautious not to reintroduce a specific and historically contextualized notion of "individual autonomy as social justice" as identified by Axel Honneth and also touched upon by David Graeber, we may still assume that respect has the capacity to perpetuate hegemonic relations through recourse to moral claims. Respect/honor *khündlekh yos* is classified as "custom" in the present and as "law" or "ritual" during the Qing dynasty and thereby prone to include the perpetuation of hegemonic relations (but not exclusively as e.g. the Qing institutionalization of respect or the emphasis of equality respect have also been vectors of

⁷³ A paper discussed by Orhon Myadar at the Conference *Forms of Continental Colonialism: The 'Other' Colonialism* at the Max-Planck-Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (Saale), July 2016 pointed out this relation. It was published as "In the Soviet Shadow Soviet Colonial Politics in Mongolia" *Inner Asia* no. 19 (2017): 5-28. However, the description of the relation between the Mongolian Revolutionary Union of Youth and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was omitted in the published version.

change). The present Mongolian term for morality/ethics is *yos surtakhuun*, which literally denotes “moral doctrine”⁷⁴ and may semantically support the notion of historical perpetuation. It might be perceived akin to what is called “Sittenlehre” in German. It purports the term respect into the moral/ethical realm while marking it as “teaching.” As mentioned, the sociologist Georg Simmel, likewise perceived honor as containing morality – while in turn he viewed criminal law to contain honor and morality. We established the intersection between moral value and material value as the “potency” of human actions drawing on Graeber (2001). Honor as it was portrayed by my interlocutors and viewed in the archival material may be understood as related to morality and material provisions. Hence, now we are also compelled to take a closer look at how we understand morality, altruism usually being understood as lying at its core.

As Graeber points out (2001, 8) altruism or social value have often been interpreted in terms of maximization and hence social capital (such as honor and prestige) was converted into resemblance of economic value. This is particularly important, where predicting individual behavior has been assessed as main feature of economics in contrast to anthropology being viewed as understanding collective differences (Graeber 2001, 8). The point is misleading, for the social sciences, of which anthropology is a part, can be credited with having at least been interested in predictability as a form of positivism also beyond postmodern theory. The question arises to what degree explaining and understanding an actor’s agency is not already an interest in predictability and touches on deeper questions of “knowing.” This bears on questions of respect when we speak of honor as prestige, which may create a potency to either act (where action would otherwise be absent) or acquire goods. It also involves the motivation to obtain respect and prestige as a matter of rational choice to increase potency. This presumably economic feature would stand in contrast to seeing respect as culturally different in relation to other culturally particular notions of respect. However, anthropology as a discipline has not only been interested in the latter, but has and will still look at how respect works, which entails questions of predictability. Looking at respect from a historical vantage point involves similar critical considerations with regard to teleology.

In this vein William H. Sewell Jr. has likewise cautioned for historical approaches:

⁷⁴ *Yos* literally denotes “custom” while *surtakhuun* derives from the root *sur-* “learn.”

To construct historical arguments on an analogy with astronomy results in teleology in which some crucial past events are misconstrued as a pure origin that contains the entire future of the social system *in potentia* and in which the partially contingent events that occur subsequently are robbed of their efficacy and reduced to the status of markers on the road to the inevitable future (Sewell Jr. 2005, 88).

In looking at the “value” or “potency,” which respect includes, both moral value and material value need to be historically contextualized, which is why I follow an approach of looking at a “reference system” of respect. Senior-junior relationships are a crucial angle from which to view “value” and its ensuing context. As Barry Lyons has stated, discussing Scott (1985, 1990) and Gramsci (1971), it is important to inquire into how hegemonic alliances, divisions are constructed and expressed rather than divorcing consciousness from material social relationships and taking such ties as “given features of the social landscape and not as expressions of ‘consciousness’ that might themselves contribute to, or result from, any sort of hegemony” (Lyons 2005, 99). What this means according to Lyons is that hegemony is understood as “consent in the realm of ideas and consciousness” which is then “glossed as a matter of an elite’s moral and ethical leadership.” (Lyons 2005, 99) In contrast to this Lyons emphasizes that “alliances and cleavages complicate the opposition between dominant and subordinate classes” including kinship, ethnicity, religion etc. (2005, 99). These are then not associated with “consciousness,” but marked as “social landscape” and hence disassociate “consciousness from material social relationships.” As “social landscape” a blind eye is turned to their construction and practice. Lyons proposes to view hegemony as “practices and relationships that are at once material, social, and cultural and that establish or maintain domination on a broader basis than simple coercion, although not precluding coercion.” (Lyons 2005, 99)

It seems that parallel to a differentiation between moral and material value (which in turn partially translates into the opposition of consciousness vs. material social relationships) we find a reflection of this issue in the analytical separation of morality and ethics. Recent scholarly works have made a point in bifurcating morality from ethics (Foucault 1990, Zigon 2007, Humphrey 2012), arguing for the separation along the lines of “practices, techniques or discourses/norms, values and injunctions,” and “reflective ethics/unreflective morality.” Humphrey, who draws on Bernard Williams’ “broad ethical considerations/ morality as closed subsystems”⁷⁵ also introduces a bifurcation. These classifications all seem to share a

⁷⁵ This latter view draws on Bernard Williams’ (1993) definitions, which are not quite as clear-cut and more precisely juxtapose the broad and the specific, rather than action and thought. Nevertheless, Williams speaks of

sense of juxtaposing abstraction and concreteness or to some degree action and thought, implying that the one might be closer related to action/thought or somehow better deliberated. Laidlaw also recognizes this as the scholar's pursuit with regard to Webb Keane: "In what Keane, borrowing from Bernard Williams, calls 'morality systems,' we find conscious attempts to subject ethical life to systematic rationalization, in the pursuit of fidelity to explicit general principles (Laidlaw 2016, 457).

It is necessary to delve into the implications of these theoretical approaches, to show how a historical approach can complement our study of morality and/or ethics. Zigon will prove a good starting point as both Webb Keane and James Laidlaw have commented on his influential theoretical approach. The bifurcation of the realm of ethics and morality in English is based on a difference in origin. Just as latin *Mos* singular of *Mores*, from which "morality" has derived, refers to the notion of "custom," so does ethics which is derived from Greek, signify "custom, habit." However, they have accrued different connotations and theoretical implications. With the following quote I want to connect to Zigon's differentiation between morality and ethics and simultaneously point out a discursive intersection of the personal and the political with regard to care and disregard and their interrelation with respect. This seems important in acknowledging that as Fassin has noted (2012, 9) morality and governing others are intricately related. In raising this intersection I will argue for the inseparability of ethics and morality, not so much for the sake of a Neo-Aristotelian approach, but rather to explore *khündlekh yos* "the custom of respect" in its own political and moral contexts and to mark the awareness that researchers themselves are to some extent involved in moral projects.

The 16-year old girl, whom I called Narantsetseg commented upon the influence of alcohol on family (senior-junior) relations and the question of accountability:

Well, if somebody treats someone badly that person can have anything, but if he treats him well then he can have more. If someone is treating me well, then I can treat [him/her] well too. There were many people who used to fight me and beat me and force me to do things. There was my neighbour in Nairamdal, they had many kids and I used to babysit their kids. I think that if someone forces somebody else to do something then it's very bad and they are also causing themselves problems. Those who force people to do things are people who don't have anything or who don't care

"moral deliberation" and "obligation" as related to "action" (1993, 175). He contrasts broad ethical thought with a specific tradition, which he calls "morality system." He refers to Christianity in particular, which he criticizes for its connecting of morality with obligations. In this he resembles Louis Dumont in rejecting "individualism" as a Western thought tradition. Laidlaw has argued for Williams and Nietzsche that "both thought that this inheritance was crucial to understanding modernity as it developed in Europe." (Laidlaw 2016, 459)

about anything. My neighbour *egch*'s [older sister's] family is very poor and her older brother drinks a lot. She tried her best not to make her brother drink and every day she did her best and cleaned their house and did all the house work, but in response her brother treated her so badly and just beat her. I just couldn't understand what the problem was. He had such a wonderful sister who took care of him and did the house work every day. She was three years older than me and she used to call me *minii diüü* [my younger sibling] and "please help me to do this." I felt so sorry for her. I just couldn't understand her brother. He drinks a lot and just beat his sister. Once when he came back home his dinner was cold and he was so angry and just threw away his dinner. I think that even if your mom is dead you should be very strong and you should not drink alcohol. Instead you should take care of your family. I just don't understand those who drink and become alcoholics. One day he beat his sister, I said: "oh you should not do that, you shouldn't drink," but he said "that's none of your business and who are you to tell me this kind of thing?" I think if he talked about his problem to someone or just shared his problems then he would feel much better. Maybe in the end he would stop drinking. I also think that if there are two friends and one of them drinks then the other friend would become an alcoholic too because of his friend. I don't think we were born to become alcoholics. I think that those who live in the streets are living like that because of their parents. I think it's their parent's fault. They should have been smarter and they should have taken more care of their kids and if somebody had tried to help me or support me that would have made me feel better and I would have been more optimistic. But instead many people just don't respect each other and decrease the meaning of respect. I think someone's life depends a lot on his or her friend. If one friend has a job, then the other one will also think and try to find a job. In Mongolia many people just don't understand the meaning of respect (Narantsetseg, 2007).

Clearly Narantsetseg's account comments on neoliberal ideas of "efficacy, efficiency, self-enhancement, equality respect" as well as it draws on ideals of filial piety, Buddhist notions of salvific knowledge, love, provision and care. Although Zigon in his distinction between ethics and morality would have characterized the above circumstances as part of a "moral breakdown," I don't think the differentiation between morals and ethics as "morality as the unreflective mode of being-in-the-world and ethics as a tactic performed in the moment of the breakdown of the ethical dilemma" (2007, 137) to be a particularly effective analytical tool. Like much of philosophical approaches to subject-formation it centers on "consciousness." Rather than an opposition of two moral traditions culminating in a moral crisis, i.e. a breaking point, I would argue for an entanglement of a variety of thought histories in any culture, which bear the potential for conflict, coagulate or run parallel to one another.

Despite Zigon's thematization of "virtue ethics," he seems to disregard the learning process involved in morality and promoted by Neo-Aristotelian approaches as local specificity. These learning processes call for deliberate reflection at specific stages and posit the incorporation i.e. the formation of habitus, an embodiment of values as their final goal. Teaching and

learning is a dominant theme with regard to respect. The Mongolian saying of *yasandaa shingetel oilgokh* means to have “absorbed into the bone until it has been understood” or *biyeiig surgadag, bagshiig khiündel* “teach your body, respect your teacher” appear to illustrate a similar notion of incorporation. Yet, it need not necessarily share the same assumptions as Neo-Aristotelian approaches.⁷⁶ Zigon criticizes the habitus’ implication of local specificity with regard to ethics, and opines that it cannot account for “always [being] open to the world and [is] never statically and permanently encapsulated, as one reading of Bourdieu’s notion of habitus suggests” (Bourdieu 2008, 136). Yet, a Heideggerian “being-in-the world” would nevertheless be determined also by pre-existing conceptual histories and shape the perspective towards new questions. Finally, there seems no necessary correlation between local specificity excluding openness to the world, as the entanglement of histories evinces.

It seems to be the aspect of tradition and totalizing guidance as Martha Nussbaum had described (1999, 187 - 191) i.e. its implications of forgoing change and deliberation which lead Zigon to direct his focus to differentiating between a conscious “ethics” and an “unconscious” morality. For Zigon, and Joel Robbins 2004 for that matter, the moral breakdown, which exemplifies this split, comes through the confluence of two different moral traditions. Zigon makes an effort to reconcile and take into account the lack of “change” often (not to say traditionally) perceived by the discipline of anthropology. The differentiation between morality and ethics then comes to represent an “unconscious” standing for an opaque traditional and a “conscious” which springs out of a demand to reconcile two seemingly conflicting conceptual histories (in that case “traditional” Urapmin of Papua New Guinea with Christianity). Zigon in another example draws on communism vs. Christian orthodox conceptual history, but does not at all show the historically evolved forms, interrelations between the two, discourses and the intersections they allow for. He stops short at asking whether moral acts belong to one or the other conceptual history. The “moral breakdown” suggests that moral tensions are caused by the collision of singular and somehow original and secondary conceptual histories. To exaggerate, that these moral tensions or the oppositions brings about a conscious being is equally problematic.

⁷⁶ Damien Keown e.g. cites Buddhist rules and precepts, which approach the status of moral absolutes or the Buddhist alignment of right acts and good consequences (karma), which Buddhism teaches and which resembles utilitarian philosophy more closely. Moreover, according to Keown, there are no treatises on ethics. The closest term to “ethics” would be *śīla*, which approximates the meaning of discipline and self-restraint (Keown 2005, 26-27).

I would rather take as theoretical vantage point including a plurality of conceptual histories offering a variety of moral trajectories and orientation. Novelty often implicit in “change” and a case-to-case study of how it evolves might evince that it arises through ever new formations of relations between different value configurations⁷⁷. Hence, I would preliminarily propose that moral trajectories are negotiated in terms of pre-existing frameworks, which can merge and form “new” and plural relations. It remains to find cues in some instances on how this might have been the case regarding Turkic, Buddhist, Confucian, socialist, neoliberal etc. thought traditions. This is rather in line with the plurality suggested by Neo-Aristotelians, yet my intention is to keep inquiries oriented and open towards global and local thought schools of the specific time frames and their interrelations.

The other primary theorizer of morality vs. ethics was Michel Foucault. His differentiation between ethics and morality has been best summed up by Saba Mahmood in her work on *Politics and Piety*. According to her, Foucault distinguishes:

ethical practices from „morals,“ reserving the latter to refer to sets of norms, rules, values and injunctions. “Ethics,” on the other hand, refers to those practices, techniques, and discourses through which a subject transforms herself in order to achieve a particular state of being, happiness, or truth (2005, 28).

Foucault’s theoretical differentiation of the terms highlights a division between consciousness and practice and thereby seemingly subverts an Aristotelian virtue ethics in which consciousness is a crucial means to incorporate and embody certain values. The emphasis in Neo-Aristotelian thought is on the aim of the values to become unconscious, “naturalized” and engrained in the body and to thereby overcome a body and mind division. Embedded in Foucault’s division between ethics and morality is also the project of focusing on the self as subject-formation. Foucault claims that studies of a history of morality must necessarily include “[...] a history of the way in which individuals are urged to constitute themselves as subjects of moral conduct” and that this “would be concerned with the models proposed for setting up and developing relationships with the self, for self-reflection, self-knowledge, self-examination, for the decipherment of the self by oneself, for the transformations that one seeks to accomplish with oneself as object.” (Foucault 1990, 29) Foucault allows for “different ways of forming a relationship with a moral code, each of which establishes a

⁷⁷ I here draw on Louis Dumont’s use of the term (1986).

particular relationship between capacities of the self (will, reason, desire, action, and so on) and a particular norm” (Mahmood 2005, 28).⁷⁸

Nevertheless, I criticize that this constitutes a psychological and universalized notion of a “self” establishing a relation with the norm or an establishment of this self through the norm, which does not allow for a more detailed and historical picture of the teleology by which persons may understand their constitution through relations (as in recognition) or other thought histories (such as Buddhism, etc). It cannot account for what often lies at the heart of moral traditions, namely, the negation of the self, asceticism (rather than aesthetics) and altruism (rather than the self). Many moral traditions view the self as conflictual. Moral theory then needs to be able to accommodate e.g. Mongolian Buddhist notions of emptiness *khooson chanar*, where space is denied to the self as well as its partially rivalling strand within the same tradition of constant strife for self-improvement in attaining wisdom and thereby salvation. The idea of self-improvement on the way to bodhisattvahood paired with neoliberal ideas of privatization and individual success can turn into a close focus on the self. This in a way parallels the search for material and spiritual salvation sought through shamanism, which as the anthropologist Manduhai Buyandelger noted, “does not succeed for most people but yields more history instead” (Buyandelgeriyn 2007, 143). The spiritual quest increases anxieties as people identify their economic situation with their fault in suppressing their history (and mistreating their spirits in the past), consulting more shamans and leading to a proliferation of this practice. In a way this ascription of “individual responsibility” parallels the neoliberal “privatization of problems.” The cosmogony then orients itself towards the present political agenda.

The Buddhist and Confucian complement of heart-mind (Mongolian *setgel*), intellectual and emotional reason, calls into question the opposition of reason and feeling, and hence what Nussbaum has called the Aristotelian “ordering of the passion through the critical work of reason” (1999, 187).

Rather than norm as a kind of imperative we might view certain relations at the heart of this norm establishing these imperatives. This is still different from viewing the conscious self and the individual as arising through social interaction as Habermas suggests, for this would still posit individuality as premise. It would make more sense, to leave this outset open to the

⁷⁸This was also my conclusion in an unpublished Magister thesis of 2010.

negotiation of thought traditions as well. The focus on the self in the division of morality/ethics seems to entail a divestment of practice from consciousness, which reinscribes a division between external and internal spaces of the subject, despite Foucault's depiction of the interplay of structure and agency.

Fassin's notion that "moral anthropology" seems doomed through the reference to a Kantian "paternity" is a conclusion deducted partially from an only seeming difference in discipline and standard between anthropology and philosophy. He suggests Kant's "project of 'applied moral philosophy' i.e. opposing a *Metaphysik der Sitten* to a *moralische Anthropologie* also juxtaposes a descriptive and a normative approach (2012, 1). Fassin rightly acknowledges that this legacy has also played a vital role within anthropology." However, in a way the association of normativity with a presumed Kantian paternity is an evaluation which suggests that a mere description is possible. In fact description is often a claim, which only renders normativity covert. No doubt Kant's measure was universal and is opposed to a more "localized" approach of traditions in anthropology; it is then universality and an "applied moral philosophy" as such, which are perceived as paternal rather than Kant's specific philosophy.

As Fassin points out, even when anthropologists don't engage in "moralizing projects" they often follow a moral agenda themselves whether consciously or unconsciously. A moral agenda is presumably inevitable to some degree because dealing with persons does not allow for "detachment" (2012, 3-5). I will disregard analytical distinctions proposed by the differentiation between morality and ethics such as "unreflective-deliberate" or "formation of subject vs. prescription," but rather perceive them inseparable. By this I suggest not to disregard their separate existence, but accentuate their relation and mutual conditioning. For this purpose, I propose an interchangeable use of morality and ethics. By definition both morality and ethics capture the notion of history and embodied or incorporated as well as consciously or unconsciously learned norm. Similar to Fassin, however, I will use "morality" predominately to emphasize the inevitable attachment and subjectivity of the researcher which puts him or her on par with the research environment and interlocutors. With regard to *khündlekh yos*, I would like to formulate morality as an inquiry into the context of respect, whether this concerns relation formation, self-negation or stylization. I would like to look at schools of thought in which Mongolian respect might be embedded.

Senior-Junior Relations Reconsidered

We have come a long way from speaking about respect/honor within senior-junior relations and its interface between material and moral crises. We analyzed that the common denominator for both moral and material value is a kind of potency – and it is this potency which also holds the cue for hegemonic relations. In this they have not only been utilized by governing powers to mold subjects, but their historically and culturally specific content set the configuration for what a senior-junior relation is seen to consist of. Senior junior relations are moral relations on the basis of exemplars as Humphrey has described them (1997). Yet they also follow scriptural references, and in fact the recourse to ancient literature per sé as historicity seems to be viewed as “senior knowledge.” It is not so much the senior-junior relationship itself, but much more the knowledge transmission and this tradition, which is so prominent in this relationship. The question is then not only how individuals can be ethical, but also how this relationship can be ethical in cohering with a continuous tradition. As we have seen in the ethnographic elaboration, it is a ground open to negotiation. If it is not perceived as in accordance with *yos* “custom,” (Latin *mos* or High German *situ*) i.e. ethical, the relation may be rearranged according to the source of learning. This then also holds the potential to endorse progressive knowledge against regressive knowledge and tensions may arise. However, it doesn’t question the honor for seniors in principle. Moreover, though respect may be claimed as absent in certain senior-junior relations, these references highlight the presence of respect and this form of relation through the perceived absence.⁷⁹ The historical data from the end of the 19th century, which is drawn upon, underlines that such senior-junior relations’ configurations as harmony, discipline, care and provision among others evince a broader historical appearance, which I will touch upon in the following chapters. Finally, we need to be aware of dualist theoretical approaches as they appear in the separation of moral and material, morality and ethics. They easily bear the hazard of eclipsing one side of a phenomenon to the detriment of the other or of giving the impression that phenomena are analytically separated when they are inseparable in practice.

⁷⁹ If respect were completely absent, it would not even be conscious as absence, i.e. it would not be topic of discussion at all.

3. Filial Respect – “The Father is the Khaan of all, the Older Brother is the Khaan of his Younger Sibling” (*Mongolian Proverb*)

Translating Kant – Constructing the Father of Respect

Kant as a figure of enlightenment philosophy has also been heralded in English-language philosophy as the key theorizer of respect. His normative claim has been labeled “Kantian paternity” (Fassin 2012, 77). More importantly, he is known as having developed his logical arguments with less dependence on divinity and can be thereby seen as precursor to secular ethics. In this he has contributed to the reorientation of moral discourse from religious reference to reason and has hence become crucial for understanding respect in a more secular discourse of the present. Since the Bible seems to portray respect predominately hierarchically – one of the few exceptions being Petrus 3, 7 concerning respect between men and women, Kant’s focus on dignity i.e. egalitarian respect seems noteworthy.

Consequently, I will discuss some of his key conceptions regarding respect, for they are likely to have shaped the discourse of respect among readers of the English language and are hence crucial to understand differences in Mongolian conceptions of respect. The selection of Kant’s elaboration on respect results from following Anglo-/European references in literature and discourse of the present and tracing these. It may also be noted that some of the references to dignity respect date back to the 16th century imago-Dei-discourse advanced by Bartolomé de las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria.⁸⁰ This would likely include Kant’s more secular approach and Hegel’s recognition theory in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Mongolian thought history of respect possibly goes back as early as the second half of the 13th century. It is difficult to pinpoint exact dates of emergence and the later texts are all that is left to date, as texts were recopied and modified well into the 17th century, as was the case with *The White History* among others. Inscriptions and texts of political and religious content also show a nuanced understanding of respect in reference to the emperor (through loyalty, the emperor’s grace was in turn “heavy”), law, sacrifice, the name, Buddhist religion⁸¹ and

⁸⁰ Thanks goes to Stamatios Gerogiorgakis for suggesting this to me in personal communication (April, 2015). The idea of the dignity of man based on the notion of imago-dei goes back to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Bubner and Otto 1984).

⁸¹ Francis Woodman Cleaves here compares the expression to a Mongolian Translation of the Hsiao Ching. While the Inscription refers to Ögedei Qan’s and Möngke Qan’s honor for Buddhism, the Hsiao Ching used the terminology with reference to ancestors and respectful thoughts (Cleaves 1952, 31-32 and 107).

wisdom and date e.g. to 1453, 1312, 1335 and 1362.⁸² Overall, the reference of respect and weight with regard to the emperor, the grace he grants and the loyalty one owes to him seem overarching.⁸³ The term *ejen* translates as lord or master – which designates a person or spirit who leads something – hence it may refer to the emperor as lord, in the case of a household – the head of a household or with reference to locations it may be a designation for spirits. Finally, the legends of Alexander the Great were found in Mongolian among the Turfan finds and dated back to 1312. Within the same booklet of the legends of Alexander the Great Poppe translated a 14th century most likely Buddhist-didactic poem, which also features a concatenation of being truthful to one’s lord, evincing a similar quality with respect to one’s parents (which is unknown due to the damage of the text) and living in harmony with one’s [wise?] elder brothers and junior siblings in order to attain happiness (Poppe 1960, 265).⁸⁴

Mongolia was located at the crossroads of different cultural influences and hence, next to Buddhist didactic literature and Turkic imperial ideology or an aspect of it (Tengrism), the Classics of Filial Piety, which may be dated back to the 14th century, also have to be considered with regard to respect in Mongolia. However, I would argue a more prominent reproduction and recitation of these Confucian works was reserved for the 18th and 19th centuries, when the Qing government endorsed traditional Chinese literature. This was also the time when *The Great Learning*, a popularly cited work today,⁸⁵ was first translated into Mongolian.

⁸² Cleaves, Francis (1950b); (1954); (1950a) and (1949).

⁸³ I am careful to identify an anachronistic reading of the lord as father even though as the scholar Sanping Chen calls it a nearly “universal patriarchal origin of kingship.” (2002, 306) Tengri, heaven was identified as father, the Qan was ruling by his will.

⁸⁴ This text evinces a striking similarity in content and form to the *Oyun Tülkiğür*.

⁸⁵ The verb *zasakh* literally goes more in the direction of improvement and maintenance. For our purposes I will translate it as “care,” as there seems no direct correspondence. Ironically e.g. the saying *biye zasakhaar geree zas, biye zasaad geree zas, geree zasaad töröö zas* [After having taken care of your body take care of your home, having taken care of your home, take care of the state] to be found in *The Great Learning* is often referred to as a *bilig* “wise sayings” by Chinggis. Hence, reference systems are often overridden with present political agendas, in this case nation-building processes. For this reason, I do not only follow literal references, but look at the wider context, in which the references are embedded. Compare to *The Great Learning*: “In ancient times, those who wished to make bright virtue brilliant in the world first ordered their states; those who wished to order their states first aligned their households; those who wished to align their households first refined their persons; those who wished to refine their persons first balanced their minds; those who wished to balance their minds first perfected the genuineness of their intentions; those who wished to perfect the genuineness of their intentions first extended their understanding; extending one’s understanding lies in aligning affairs.” (Eno 2016, 12)

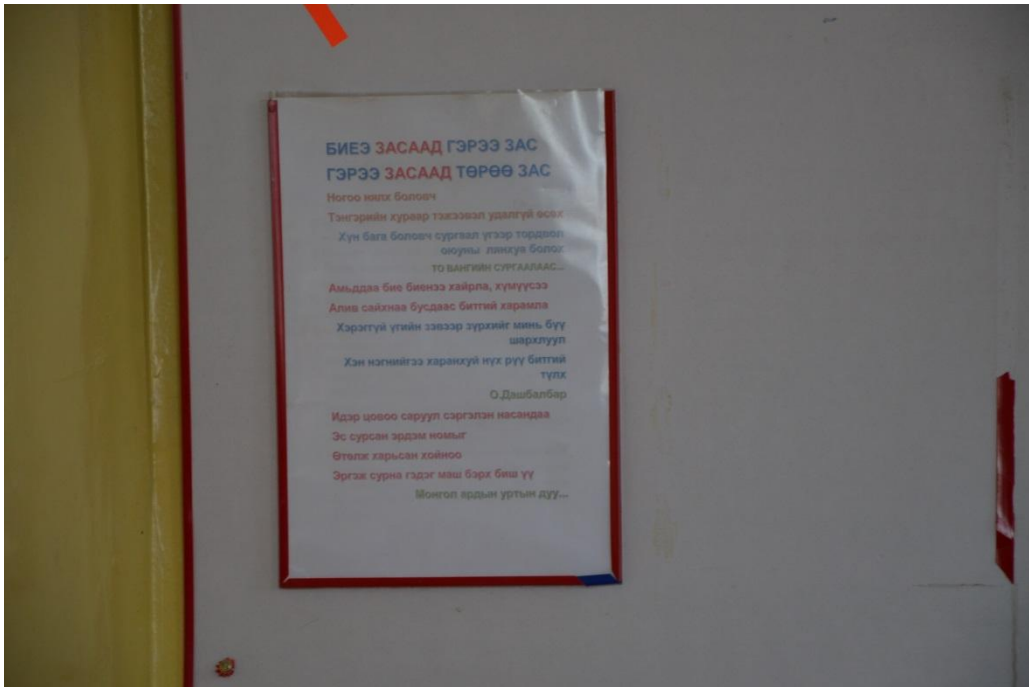


Fig. 6 The popular Confucian wisdom, partially found in *The Great Learning*, displayed in a classroom together with other Mongolian proverbs: “First govern your body, then govern your home and then govern the state.” Photograph by author, May 5th, 2014.

Though printing was an early possessed technique in Mongolia, according to Johan Elverskog (2016), its significance with regard to spreading popular knowledge is to be disregarded. It could not substitute calligraphy, was expensive, Tibetan and Chinese were more prominent educational languages and texts were objects of religious worship, which did not always transport content, but were used as vehicles of merit production, monuments of state power or aesthetics (calligraphy) (Elverskog 2016, 31-33). These functions were better served by manuscripts than block print. Textual elaborations on respect were first restricted to a limited, most likely, educated elite and in the case of Mongolia, religious literate audience,⁸⁶ as they monopolized education. As in the case of *The White History* e.g. it was both a monument of state power and incorporated Buddhist doctrine. In Europe, the focus on respect by Kant was connected to the introduction of secular reasoning. Kant primarily advanced the notion of respect for law. Even the Imago-Dei and recognition-based discourses of respect may be considered more remote to strict religious stances.

⁸⁶ This is not to say that there was no respect or history thereof among the commoners, but there are little references, except for the epics – a genre of its own, and very malleable historically and contextually. It is to be assumed that commoners also had more than one (oral) genre at their disposal, which transported didactic notions of respect. Moreover, the epics seem to have been a medium through which master-disciple, senior-junior and filial respect was practiced and trained, rather than the mere dimension of the epic’s content, which didactically communicated notions of respect. The epics generally thematize the honor warriors acquire. The earliest transcriptions date to the 19th century.

Respect in the Mongolian and European traditions appear to have different foci in their objects. As I have cited above, Mongolian literature and inscriptions thematize respect towards senior relations, the king, religion, the law and superiors while early European sources tend to cite respect as the recognition and dignity of all people (in the face of dealing with the “other” through colonialism)⁸⁷ and respect for law, based on the individual (Kant). The focus on dignity does not necessarily presume hierarchical equality. In this vein, understanding the colonized (-to-be) as an image of God, rendered them missionizable, but not enslavable.⁸⁸ They were nevertheless colonized. After the shift from a filial relationship between the Qing emperor and his subjects or the Bogd Khaan and his subjects, socialist brotherhood still differentiated between senior (Russian-Soviet) and junior (Mongolian) brother in Mongolia. It is dignity-respect (with its covert colonial history) which is cited in contexts of diaspora, minorities, migration and gender. Mongolian and European thought histories of respect also differ in their historical social orientation of worship and secularism. While some aspects as respect for law or their universal claims also share commonalities. Though they are not incommensurable, they evince different historical developments. Finally, as to their socio-historic background, the Mongolian sources were embedded in struggles over imperial agendas (*The Secret History of the Mongols*),⁸⁹ empire-building (*The White History*) or social upheaval (which often went hand in hand with building the empire) as the Qing (To Van and the later revolutionaries) examples and instances from the onset of the Qing dynasty (a letter by the Sečen Qaγan to the Tüsiyetü Qaγan) (Di Cosmo and Bao 2003, 59) show. Both Mongolian and European approaches towards respect are concerned with order.

The European socio-historic background of e.g. Kant’s and Hegel’s elaborations, are situated in the dawn of the enlightenment (divesting itself from the afterlife as moral refuge with emphasis on individuality as responsibility), while their roots go back to the earlier colonial based treatments of recognition in the Imago-Dei discussion of the 16th century by Bartolomé de las Casas.⁹⁰ Whereas the sources of Mongolian literature I treat are often works composed

⁸⁷ One strand of the imago-dei discussion was advanced by Bartolomé de las Casas, a colonist, who advocated for the rights of the indigenous people of the Americas through taking recourse to the imago-dei concept. Man as the image of God had been seen as the foundation of human rights since the renaissance, particularly developed by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) (Otto and Bubner 1984, 37 and 344), who was not a colonist. This model of respect seems to be historically distinct from (and in fact diametrically opposed to) authority respect and prestige. It is not alien to respect in Mongolian, but is likely to have been introduced either during the later period of the Qing dynasty through translated works or more forcefully during socialism in the 20th century.

⁸⁸ Thanks go to Dittmar Schorkowitz, for pointing this out.

⁸⁹ See Atwood (2010).

⁹⁰ We see a slow development of respect being paid to divinity, then to the divine creation and finally detaching it from the divine and locating it in the individual as mental and sensory process.

by scholars commissioned by the royal⁹¹ court or involve literature by social reformers⁹², European elaborations on respect, which I touch upon have sprung from Colonial encounters within the religious realm, or were developed in academia. The latter were, however, no less set within their respective political contexts of the French revolution, decline of empire, empire building, Protestantism and war and were dependent on censure and freedom of speech.⁹³

While Immanuel Kant did not work upon commission, his ideas were nevertheless staged in the range of freedom Frederick the Great allowed. The latter identified as enlightened absolutist. Moreover, as Reidar Malik (2014) has shown, Kant was very much involved in political debates on the French Revolution in his contemporary public sphere (i.e. after he had penned his Critiques, on which this work draws primarily). He proposed republicanism without direct democracy, i.e. he believed in the necessity of a monarch. Kant was also the subject of his time in that the notion of “plain living” and “high thinking,” were primarily advanced in Prussia and through protestantism (Wenley 2002, 9) – and ideas such as duty and order have a particular Pietist character. Surely, his work cannot be reduced to this background. It is of course is not to underestimate the novelty of his philosophy and the controversy it sparked.

Hegel was also an admirer of the French Revolution and witnessed Napoleon’s troops occupy Jena. The Holy Roman Empire had come to an end and a brief period of reform under French power (1806-1814) was followed by immediate restrictions set in place by the Prussian King Frederick William III, whose provisional states were primarily ruled by landowners (Singer 2001, 2). Censure was imposed. Nevertheless, Hegel was exposed to a lively public sphere, in which philosophers and the literati alike (such as Schelling and Hölderlin) discussed contemporary arts, politics and philosophy. He also witnessed the onset of industrial capitalism.

⁹¹ Hence, the authors were not disclosed, though in some cases – as in the case of *The White History* the royal commissioner is indicated. Social reformers already assumed the role of individual authorship.

⁹² These are usually of a more practical rather than abstract nature. The 18th/19th century reformer To Van e.g. focused on household economy of sedentary and nomadic households.

⁹³ One might compare the late 18th and early 19th century context in Germany with that in Mongolia and recognize a similar, sometimes careful, criticism of the ruling elite. Finally, colonial interests (overseas, internal and continental) were lurking in the background in both Europe and Mongolia and have influenced thought history (For this see also Schorkowitz, Dittmar. “Dealing with Nationalities in Eurasia. How Russian and Chinese Agencies Managed Ethnic Diversity in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.” Max Planck-Institution for Social Anthropology. *Current Project*. <https://www.eth.mpg.de/3526235/project?page=3>, 2019).

The contrast between the European seminal literature, in which we may find different developments of respect and Mongolian thought history at large is not only its political implications, but also its religious contextualization and the structuring of different relations and functions within and between the empire and religion. Though respect and recognition advanced in German philosophy were particularly influential on a global scale (of which colonial influence is not to be denied), it was also framed by the reference to the individuals, who had advanced the theory, an aspect less pronounced in the Mongolian context. However, the time laps might account for this to some degree, as social reformers of the Qing dynasty in Mongolia did make a name for themselves with regard to their thinking.

An underlying claim in Kant and Hegel, which frames their discussion of respect and recognition is “struggle” – as Peter Singer noted with regard to Kant: “to act morally is thus always a struggle.” (2001, 6) In his master-slave narrative Hegel also portrays the attainment of recognition – a form of consciousness – as struggle. This notion seems to often lurk behind dignity respect, but is not particularly developed in notions of respect regarding Mongolian Buddhist master-disciple relations, filial piety and seniority.

Kant, did not actually use the term *Respekt* in German – he used *Achtung*, which has essentially shaped the German-language philosophical debate. Though he might not be the “founding father” of this discourse per se, he did contribute to the rise of it in the English and German language, which eventually started determining the semantic fields in which respect engages until today. Let me offer an important excerpt from Kant’s interrelated definition of *Gesetz* and *Achtung*, one which can be found in his *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*:

[...] here, as in all other cases, there still remains a law, namely to advance one's happiness, not from inclination, but from duty; and it is not until then that his conduct has its actual moral worth. [...]The second proposition is: an action from duty has its moral worth *not in the purpose* that is to be attained by it, but in the maxim according to which it is resolved upon, and thus it does not depend on the actuality of the object of the action, but merely on the *principle of willing* according to which - regardless of any object of the desiderative faculty- the action is done. [...]The third proposition, as the conclusion from both previous ones, I would express as follows: *duty is the necessity of an action from respect for the law* (Kant 2011, 27-29).

Kant establishes three laws, one to promote one’s *felicity* not by inclination, but by duty. His second principle, which will become crucial in contrast to Mongolian conceptual theory, is that an action out of duty does not contain its moral worth in the intention of what is to be

achieved, but in its maxim, that is the rule, by which it (the action) has been decided. It also does not depend on the reality of an action's object, but only on the principle of volition, according to which the action, regardless of all objects of appetitive faculties (the capabilities of desire), has taken place. He goes on to say that he thereby concludes his third principle from the first two that “*duty is the necessity of an action from respect for the law*” (Guyer 1998, xxv Kant 2011, 16)⁹⁴ which has been commonly translated as “*Duty is the necessity to act out of reverence for the law*” (Sullivan 1989, 203; Paton 1948, 63).

Whereas *Achtung* is often translated as respect, one aspect of Kant's differentiation of *Achtung*, namely *reverentia* is translated as “reverence.” (Sullivan 1989, 133) Translations always open up creative spaces, which evolve from the grids of meanings characteristic of the two terms to be translated – in this case *Achtung* and respect. There are three pillars in the line of Kant's reasoning: that felicity is to be achieved by duty and that moral worth of an action is to be achieved by the maxim, not by intention. The final focus is on the respect for law which defines duty. In order to understand which kind of subject his conceptualization presupposes and the understanding of respect this promotes, let me juxtapose some discussions on Kant.

The final point of respect for law produces a possible notion of respect as abstract, for it is a maxim i.e. principle on which to act which is primarily directed at the particularity of the person one is dealing with. Habermas explains:

The moral laws are abstractly universal in the sense that, as they are valid as universal for me, eo ipso they must also be considered as valid for all rational beings. Therefore, under such laws interaction is dissolved into the actions of solitary and self-sufficient subjects, each of which must act as though it were the sole existing consciousness; at the same time, each subject can still have the certainty that all its actions under moral laws will necessarily and from the outset be in harmony with the moral action of all possible other subjects.

The intersubjectivity of the recognition of moral laws accounted for a priori by practical reason permits the reduction of moral action to the monologic domain. The positive relation of the will to the will of others is withdrawn from possible communication, and a transcendently necessary correspondence of isolated goal-directed activities under abstract universal laws is substituted. To this extent moral action in Kant's sense is presented, mutatis mutandis, as a special case of what we today call strategic action (Habermas 1974, 150-151).

⁹⁴ For a similar translation see also Allison (2011).

Charles Taylor (1995, 169) has argued in the same direction calling Kant's subject a "monological consciousness." This is not to suggest that "respect of persons depends on and is derivative from reverence for the law" (Bagnoli 2003, 488), for the subject is the one which holds the potential to formulate the maxims. Bagnoli elaborates that:

Rational beings conceive themselves as capable of autonomy, that is, self-legislation, self-mastery and self-determination, and act upon this conception. Because of this self-representation, rational beings take an interest in acting on the categorical imperative rather than on the basis of mere impulses (which provide only hypothetical imperatives). The conception of ourselves and of others as capable of self-legislation is thus necessary to explain the authority of morality over beings who have empirical interests. It is because we unconditionally value the capacity for self-legislation that we value ourselves and any other beings capable of self-legislation. Thus, the value of legislating explains why we are to value persons as ends in themselves. Persons qualify as the proper object of respect insofar as they are capable of legislation (Gesetzgebung) (Bagnoli, 2003, 488).

Nevertheless, one might argue that to respect someone on the grounds that the person is capable of legislating himself is reminiscent of a colonial claim,⁹⁵ which has dispossessed "colonial subjects" from such qualities, and justified governing territories on these grounds.

A postmodern approach will claim that legislations are also culturally conditioned and the question arises of who has the sovereignty over what counts as reasonable and rational i.e. rationality is culturally conditioned. In fact, legislation has become integrated in economic processes in which legal scholars sell their expertise to governmental agencies, copy and customize legislation and lobbyists draft laws in their interests (Boulanger 2015). The imago-dei discourse on recognition I have previously mentioned, was born out of a colonial encounter and demands respect also for "the colonized other," claiming an uneasy space between recognition on the grounds of religion for non-believers. The two crucial European orientations of respect – respect for law and recognition respect for a conceptual "other" are related.

Likewise important for my discussion is the circumstance that Kant in his *Metaphysik der Sitten* designated *Achtung* partially as "feeling" i.e. he differentiated *Achtung* once more into two different types one of which he calls *reverentia* and designates as feeling and the other which he calls *observantia*. This is a very common dichotomy perceived in respect as "true" respect or respect out of "duty" or due to mere authority i.e. fear.

⁹⁵ Kant himself was rather ambiguous on the topic – while colonialism in his earlier works was tolerated, his later works staunchly rejected it.

Respect (*reverentia*) is, again, something merely subjective, a feeling of a special kind, not a judgment about an object that it would be a duty to bring about or promote. [...] it must rather be said that the law within him unavoidably forces from him *respect* for his own being, and this feeling (which is of a special kind) is the basis of certain duties, that is, of certain actions that are consistent with his duty to himself. It cannot be said that he *has* a duty of respect toward himself, for he must have respect for the law within himself in order even to think of any duty whatsoever (Kant 2011, 162).

Observantia, the “practical respect” (Darwall 2013, 251) on the other hand is related more to “recognition” as used in the Hegelian tradition, and includes what I would call “equality or dignity respect.”

The respect that I have for others or that another can require from me (*observantia aliis praestanda*), is therefore recognition of a dignity (*dignitas*) in other human beings, that is, of a worth that has no price, no equivalent for which the object evaluated (*aestimii*) could be exchanged. – Judging something to be worthless is contempt (Kant 2013, 201),

According to Darwall (2013), *reverentia* refers to the person as part of the “phenomenal world” hence is a feeling whereas *observantia* is the intentional vantage point from which to decide about the moral act. Important in this discussion is the division of body and mind mirrored in the separation of conscience and feeling which determines the terms of inquiry and has been taken up and sought to overcome by philosophers who tried to bring the “body” back in. Let me engage in viewing Kant through his critics.

Equality respect based on recognition seems to be found primarily in discourses on “multi-culturalism” i.e. social pluralism and its incipient conflicts or their forerunners of colonial encounter. The notion of hierarchical respect, however, is more dominantly found in achievement-oriented contexts and is often ascribed a certain degree of conservatism. Notions of respect seem to carry on senses of *observantia* i.e. respect acted out due to a maxim, but not out of feeling. Respect acted out of feeling is commonly identified as more honest or truthful.⁹⁶ Hence, *observantia* often signifies a relation to a superior which is distant, often associated with not being “honest.” When *reverentia* and *observantia* do not coincide, feeling is not in accordance with the maxim and the act is undertaken solely motivated by reason, which introduces this kind of schism. From this arises the dichotomy between preference and legalistic rule – where respect in its hierarchical orientation seemingly correlates with the rule.

⁹⁶ For an opposing philosophical discourse see e.g. Phaedo in Kaplan, Justin, ed. *Dialogues of Plato*. New York: Pocket Books, 2001, 99.

This internal differentiation between *reverentia* and *observantia* leads to a dualism taken even beyond its Kantian realm, and reflected in the way respect has been conceptualized and theorized.

In projects which have the promotion of an understanding of pluralism at heart (most notably also often Kant's staunch critics of a Neo-Aristotelian stance), Kant is often of less theoretical importance than philosophers, who are more commonly designated as promoting communitarian ethics. These include the scholarly forefathers like the ancient Aristotle or the modern Hegel, and later scholars like Pierre Bourdieu, Alasdair MacIntyre or Charles Taylor.

Jarrett Zigon, who comments on the "autonomous moral subject" (2007, 138), Saba Mahmood and Charles Taylor who argue that Kant puts reason over habituated virtue all claim that for Kant an act was only moral insofar as it was in accordance with a universally valid maxim. This maxim took as its reference point the good for an I which could be extended to a good for everyone (Mahmood 2005, 26; Taylor 1985, 323). This argument against Kant, in which equality respect is implicit, promotes an understanding of a plurality of moralities. The promotion of plurality is at heart of much theory itself and is pitted against a notion associated with hierarchy-respect, namely approaches designated "orientalist" which take the "I" as superior. Individualism, negatively connoted in quite a few theoretical stances by anthropologists and philosophers and loosely associated with orientalist approaches is pitted against a more communitarian value orientation (see e.g. Dumont 1986, 173). Furthermore, Dumont writes about Kant:

From a comparative point of view, modern thought is exceptional in that, starting from Kant, it separates 'is' and 'ought to be', fact and value. The fact has two consequences: on the one hand, this specific feature requires to be respected in its domain, and one cannot without serious consequences presume to transcend it within modern culture; on the other hand, there is no need to impose this complication or distinction on cultures which do not recognise it: in the comparative study one will be considering value-ideas (Dumont 1979, 814).

Finally, these projects chime in with projecting Kant's duty ethics against Aristotelian virtue ethics, where Kant is identified with legalism whereas Aristotelian virtue ethics⁹⁷ illustrate the

⁹⁷I draw heavily on Martha Nussbaum's analysis of virtue ethics as a misleading category. However, contrary to her claim, I use "virtue ethics" to describe a tendency or classification, which may be found in her analysis, but which she argues should be secondary to the analysis of „the substantive views of each thinker about virtue, reason, desire and emotion“ (1999, 201) She calls for finding out what we want to say. My argument here is only

embodiment and practice of ethics. This distinction again mimics the phenomenal Kantian distinction against a concept of *observantia* as offered here by Widlok:

As Gertrude Anscombe (1958) argued, the major strands in moral theory, namely utilitarianism, Kantian deontological ethics, and social contract ethics have come to use terms such as “ought” and “right and wrong” in a secular legalistic framework at the cost of any substantial content in ethics. Within modern moral philosophy the work of Anscombe and MacIntyre and others has continued to fuel an alternative account to which anthropology can relate well because the ethnography of ethics is not limited to systems of legalistic rules but rather presents bodies of knowledge about substantial issues involving moral implications of particular actions (Widlok, 2012, 192).

Widlok goes on and distinguishes “intrinsic” vs. “extrinsic” goods amounting to the difference between “virtue” on the side of morality vs. “interest.” This again enforces a kind of dualism.⁹⁸ In my view this dualism does not reflect an ideal morality. Rather, morality should be allowed to combine extrinsic and intrinsic goods, if they do not interfere with the moral act. In drawing on Martha Nussbaum, this narrative is situated firmly in a stereotype of “virtue ethics,” which I would argue has also been embraced by anthropologists due to the affinity between virtue and social role as well as function:

We are turning from an ethics based on Enlightenment ideals of universality to an ethics based on tradition and particularity; from an ethics based on principle to an ethics based on tradition and particularity; from an ethics dedicated to the elaboration of systematic theories to an ethics suspicious of theory and respectful of the wisdom embodied in local practices; from an ethics based on the individual to an ethics based on affiliation and care; from an ahistorical detached ethics to an ethics rooted in the particularity of historical communities (1999, 164).

The stance Widlok follows, which portrays Kant as legalistic and proposes so called virtue ethics, seems to be particularly endorsed by anthropologists for its affinities with previous anthropological theories oriented towards a more communitarian approach. What looms large is that the “role” or “function” with supportive “bodies of knowledge” lurking behind supposedly provide a teleology which has been lost in secular frameworks. In Nussbaum’s words “thus virtuous action is a matter of authority and tradition: one has to be assigned a role, and one has to have internalized that role so well that one simply does it without reflecting.” (1999, 196) This does away with the disturbing question of reflection on how to fulfill one’s moral relation because it is extant in the concept of “role.” There is hence an inherent relation

to become aware of presuppositions when dealing with respect. The analysis of respect in Mongolia calls for an engagement with sometimes different and sometimes affine philosophical traditions.

⁹⁸ I thank Stamatios Gerogiorgakis, who pointed out that for Kant morality is a question of interest which finds its counterpart in “needs.” In both “virtue vs. interest” and “morality” vs. “needs” a dualism remains.

between virtue, role and function in much anthropological theory which takes out a level of complexity that I would like to bring to awareness. It remains to be questioned whether morality always brings about conflict, and how efforts are made to seek harmony between extrinsic and intrinsic goods. Not every moment will be one of interference and choice in practice and rather the “good” might be described in terms of a confluence of the two. Moreover, we need to consider the relation between theory and political economy. To what degree is a more communitarian approach a reaction to the universalism of neoliberal policies and may be identified with an increased claim to national communities. In how far does a proposed difference and possible incompatibility in ontologies as advanced in the ontological turn in Anthropology run parallel to a deconstruction of social systems and a focus on individual preferences and individual agency? (Graeber 2001 and Carrier 2016)

We find in a Kantian view both egalitarian and hierarchy respect equally valued. This valuation of hierarchy respect fades in contemporary works which follow an Anti-Kantian approach. Nussbaum explains:

Existing social ideas about the good form defective passions and judgments; we should criticize these deficiencies, and this rational critique can be expected to inform the passions themselves. This idea, as I have said, was a central motif in Aristotle, and even more central in the thought of Epicureans and Stoics. Their ideas, in turn, heavily influenced such modern thinkers about the passions as Smith and Rousseau, who tirelessly attacked the deformation of compassion by social hierarchy, the social formation of greed and envy, the inappropriate exaltation of honor and rank and fortune (1999, 199).

I propose, it is this approach which has attacked hierarchy-respect and made it thoroughly unpopular, while at the same time, re-introducing and vindicating it at the level of what Nussbaum has called another element or conviction of the common ground of Neo-Aristotelians and Anti-Kantians: “The goods that human beings pursue are plural and qualitatively heterogeneous; it is a distortion to represent them as simply different quantities of the same thing.” (1999, 180) This is to say that despite plurality hierarchy-respect may be established and marked by different people through different (moral) goods. A cultivation of a certain value can demarcate social status. Kant’s articulation of respect or reverence for law and his differentiation between feeling *reverentia* and a more intentional i.e. conscious approach of *observantia* through which an act is deemed moral seems to have smoothed the way for inquiries into negotiations of rule and conscience in contemporary theory. While they appear to connote a swinging back of the pendulum to neo-Aristotelian and Anti-Kantian

approaches, both inquiries (Kantian and neo-Aristotelian) share a deep concern with the subject. Moreover, historically this divide disguises the fact that Kant is still firmly situated in Aristotelian tradition.

Achlal “Filial Piety” and the Great Learning

This next section will move away from a philosophically inspired discussion of conceptual frameworks. The first part of this section will introduce narratives on filial piety, which complement a senior-junior, master-disciple respect-relationship triangle, also with regard to their political and moral-aesthetic⁹⁹ significance. In dealing with the present, I will once again focus on critical accounts to see how respect is referenced and will use the prism of present relations, which comment on the socialist past to arrive at implications for the past and present. Moreover, the section tries to draw from different contexts of filial piety within a rural-urban discursive division and tries to show different relational perspectives on filial piety within a family. This allows for a more complex and contested picture of filial piety, which discloses the many different intersections of narratives on progress and reversion, past and present human rights, individual and community or rights and discipline. The second part of this section will take a closer look at filial piety in literary works, which have posed a source for reference and authority today. Their dissemination and significance for reverence of history – what we might term “re-spect”, the “repeated” look at history – may be seen as a form of collective memory.

⁹⁹I use aesthetic in the sense of a dual notion of beauty and morality. This resonates neatly with the Mongolian term *saikhan* which is employed aesthetically, but also morally. The term also highlights the possibility of different moral traditions present within a given society.



Fig. 7 Festivity honoring the Mongolian Queens in Khentii Aimag, which turned into a celebration of honoring mothers. Photograph by author, Bayan-Adarga sum, July 6th, 2014.

The influence of alcohol on filial relations of respect was a salient feature, not only in literature, but also conversations and will hence resurface in different accounts on filial piety. Alcohol usually figures in descriptions of clerically dominated and corrupted life in literature of the early socialist period to discredit the Qing rule in Mongolia and to mark the onset of a politically and morally superior socialist rule. However, present narratives and assessments of relationships often evolve around the topic of alcohol as well. This was particularly so when talking about family relations. Due to their intimacy, parent-child relationships were particularly marred by the effects of alcohol on family relations, while at the same time being conceptualized as relationships, in which alcohol had no place apart from ritual usage.¹⁰⁰ Excessive alcohol consumption tended to challenge a number of values associated with a parent-child relationship. Ulaanbaatar's residents located the excessive usage of alcohol as having taken place in the 1990s, and said it had diminished in recent times (since 2009), while they argued that it was an urban phenomenon. This perception most likely comes from an urban-rural divide promoted by much post 1950 socialist literature, in which the countryside was characterized as the seat of traditions i.e. folk wisdom.¹⁰¹ A visit to the countryside showed that alcohol there too was an issue which challenged hierarchies. In this one case the challenges seemed to align with these same hierarchies, as they were solved in correspondence with the hierarchy of seniority.

¹⁰⁰ For a comprehensive study of conceptualizations of alcohol in anthropology see Dietler (2006). For a holistic approach to alcoholism in Mongolia see Haas (2014).

¹⁰¹ On this point see also Kohl-Garrity (2017, 120).

On a trip to the countryside having brought the usual gift of vodka to our host, he became intoxicated. This was due to the fact that his daughter, who had likewise arrived from the capital, had adhered to the same standard gift for men. Our host emphasized over and over that he was only a simple man from the country side, who knew his animals in and out, but that he wanted to show my colleague, a PhD student from the Mongolian Academy of Sciences,¹⁰² some drawings (presumably from the stone age). He clearly revered his presumed knowledge, which he associated with the student's coming from the city. After incessantly demanding more shots of liquor and continuing to speak, the man's wife scolded him "don't be brainless, you are saying something stupid, sleep, sleep, sleep!" [*Bitgii tenegdeed bai! Teneg yum yarj baina, unt, unt, unt!*] (When he became unruly, she would silently, yet forcefully,¹⁰³ make him lie down. When things were not manageable for her, his eldest son got involved, telling him "be silent!" [*duugii bai!*] His father protested, asking his son how it could be that he knew more than his father and was telling him what to do. The son i.e. senior brother motioned his father to stop drinking and silently, but forcefully made him sleep off his intoxication. The junior brothers kept out of the conflict. Filial respect relies and of course involves respect for seniority.

In contrast to the rural areas, the capital was much more associated with alcoholism. A 16 year-old former child-laborer in 2008, Narantsetseg was catching up on her education in 2007. She related the struggles she encountered with regard to expectations required to render seniors' respect. She had dropped out of school at a young age in order to help her father cover the living expenses, but continued her informal education in 2004 and was 16 years old in 2008. After completing high school she dropped out of school again. She had been born in the early 1990s, in which food availability was scarce and only allotted through rations on food cards. Poverty had been wide spread after Mongolia was forced to dismantle its social infrastructure by international donors such as the World Bank in order to obtain credits. Narantsetseg had suffered from malnutrition and developed rickets accompanied by severe health issues, also sustained by a hit-and-run car accident.

[...] I want to take care of my family because my father is sick now and he can't work [he had injured his hand and was working as a coal miner] so I should take care of him, but people just don't receive me as a worker.

¹⁰² Whom he called *tom doktor khiin* "the big doctor" in admiration, but later became disappointed with the circumstance that he wasn't familiar with archaeological finds.

¹⁰³By forcefully I mean that she covered his head with a pillow, punched his arm and twisted his ear, but all in a very calm manner and low voice.

[...] When I'm older I'm sure that I'll become taller and I'll have jobs and a very good life, but I'm not very sure how people will treat me when I become forty or fifty. But no matter how old I am, I want people to tell me the right word and treat me in a good way and I can treat them well and respect them at my best. I think the best way is to think very well about the words you use and then pronounce them to others. If you are well educated then you can reach anything and you can lead a better life. I think that children should understand their parents even if they [parents] drink or if they are alcoholics. They should understand the problem or the reason for making them [the parents] like that. I think most Mongolians try to find the worst point of each other and call each other by derogatory names and just use the worst words to address each other. My dad also does that, for example when I am cleaning my house, when I leave something or do something in a wrong way then he calls me: 'Oh you didn't clean your house *novshoo* [rag-tag]!' I think I'm cleaning my house for myself so I just try to ignore those words and work the best I can and I try not to take those words close to heart. My dad actually, he likes drinking and when I tell my dad not to drink, he says 'yes I won't drink,' but still he drinks and drinks. I think that's because he doesn't think, doesn't think what's good or bad for him that's why he drinks and sometimes he even beats me and he can't communicate to people in a good way, but he's a very hardworking person [...], when his co-workers didn't finish something he tried his best and he used to finish their work for them (Narantsetseg, 2008).

When the filial relationship deviates from expectations and loose precepts associated with it, Narantsetseg justifies her fulfillment of respect by reverting to a sense of virtue grounded in herself. This sense of virtue of course is pinned down in various religious and thought traditions as self-cultivation, but it is also resorted to by neoliberal governments and economies. An example hereof may be found in the popularity of self-help literature and its political endorsement.¹⁰⁴ Narantsetseg criticized the lack of respect and emphasized the power of words and the amount of deliberation one should invest in them, the necessity of education, intention to understand and maybe even the discipline of work as self-refinement. Moreover, she attributes her father's drinking to a lack of awareness [*ukhamsar*] and depicts her father's character as hard-working and well-intended, which outweighs his fits. The concepts of *sanaa* (intention), *oilgokh* (to understand), her attempts to "balance her mind," by not letting her father's anger get to her lest she might not fulfill her relation, the importance of tidying her home and associating that with something she does for herself – maybe even a sense of self-refinement – seem to be reminiscent of values elaborated within the Great Learning (Eno, 2010). Narantsetseg seems to be framing the unsettling experiences of misrecognition and abuse through the influence of alcohol in terms of a moral approach. According to it, these acts are obviously incongruent, but it guides her own behavior. The notion of awareness also

¹⁰⁴ In 2001 the former president Bagabandi wrote a preface to Samuel Smile's *Self-Help*, an endorsement generally reserved for historical or other wise culturally important publications.

reappears in different conversations as it plays a major role in Buddhist philosophy and is related to intention and understanding.

Filial piety also posed an intersection for reflecting on the trajectory of one's own life, while also debating different moral agendas, which were again linked to the political transformations. Consider the second elaboration on respect rendered by a mother of six in her fifties, whom I will call "mother-in-law" *khadam eej*, and who was unemployed, but engaged in many voluntary municipal positions; alcohol had left its mark on her life too:

If I had had father and mother, things would have been completely different, no doubt! Maybe I would have had a better life if I had been closer to my mother. I was raised far away from her [...] because I was born prematurely she thought I would die and she just discarded me and left. Then my grandparents took and raised me. This is why I'm a person who feels a bit dejected. This only appeared to me after I passed the age of 45 [...] oh well, it was surely a mistake she made due to her young age. I have to overcome this. [...] Because I have experienced poverty [literally tiredness/exhaustion] in my own life, I was able to understand [her] afterwards, if I had never been poor and experienced this, I wouldn't have known. I would have thought 'what a stupid [woman]. [...] If I had been a bit closer to her I would have respected her more. [...] Other than that, I don't have anything to regret, I am spending a happy and vigorous time together with my children. I am with them as if we were the same age. Only with Tsaganaa [Khongorzul's nickname] I can't joke because I am afraid she will start to cry. If you direct strong and harsh words at her she cries right away. I was her mother's friend. I was friends with Amraa, we both [she motioned and snapped at her throat, which stands for drinking together], sometimes. When she was here we were friends and because we knew each other [Khongorzul's] older brother is my dry son¹⁰⁵ [son of Amraa]. [...] Often I complain that he doesn't do this and that. He might be complaining about me. Then he comes to have his mind mended [i.e. to have me calm him down]

[If we forget our heritage (and values)] we will most likely have war. We will never [customarily] forget our heritage, these children also won't forget because the custom to respect your parents has permeated into their blood, having permeated like this [...] (Khadam Eej, 2014).

We see a reasoning of why respect was not accorded, an emphasis on care, which was owed and on "understanding" to apologize for the influence poverty and alcohol had on respect. Her being left with her grandparents, however, is not necessarily a sign of neglect, for many grandparents raise the first-born children of their eldest children. During our conversation, Khadam eej's daughter-in-law sat next to her, head facing down and rarely speaking, being pronouncedly calm and silent, while her son was running around and playing. When I asked

¹⁰⁵ *Khuurai Eej* is the term for something of an intimate adoptive relation while the child is living with its biological mother.

her, she responded that she was showing her mother-in-law respect. Her mother-in-law reflected on her own relation with her mother ambiguously as distant and unfulfilled, but yet understandable in the light of poverty. In a similar vein, Khongorzul perceived her relation with her mother-in-law as hierarchical and “distant,” mainly due to the mother-in-law’s claims to financial support. However, resources were scarce for her son’s and Khongorzul’s family as well. Khongorzul’s relation with her own mother wasn’t any less ambiguous, as she had been addicted to alcohol and had soon left her daughter with her grandmother, who was also addicted to alcohol. She was later placed in an orphanage, and finally moved in with her father. Khongorzul had taken care of her younger half-sister, who had been living with her mother, had become a victim of sexual assault and who later grew up in an orphanage, after the mother had passed away.

Khongorzul’s sister-in-law, the eldest daughter of Khamdam Eej, Erdenechimeg, offered a counter-narrative to the often reiterated notion that family relations experienced particular hardships only after the 1990’s. She complained about her mother’s way of raising her nine children in the late 1970s, early 1980s, leaving them all on their own or disciplining them violently. Erdenechimeg described how her mother was addicted to alcohol and beat them until their noses bled. Her mother would wake her eldest daughter up in the early morning and say “*düügee av!*” “Take your younger sibling!” She explained how she had started watching her younger siblings at the age of three. When she grew older she tried understanding why she was beaten – once for not cleaning her home, once for not washing the dishes. Her mother gave birth to 6 children after her and left them with her in the early morning for work. One of her siblings died in infancy when her mother wasn’t at home. Erdenechimeg criticized her mother for having her last child in her forties, relating a sense of embarrassment as she thought to herself “can you not grow old normally?” She recounted how she felt much compassion for her stepfather, who was hard working, driving public transportation to feed the children. They went hungry many times and only had some thin soup with a sheep’s head. Erdenechimeg described herself as having become *emzeg*, “vulnerable” due to her experiences in childhood. She concluded that in spite of the childhood they had had, her brothers had still become good persons. Similarly, she was weary and scolded them on different occasions for the petty crimes they were involved in, while at the same time demanding respect, even if this meant endorsing violence against their wives, when she felt they had disregarded her. i.e. not fulfilled her claims to be respected.

In contrast, her mother spoke of this time (the late 70s and early 80s) as having been „different“ and that violence was no longer socially acceptable in parenting today. Consider the elaboration by Erdenchimeg’s mother, whom I had called Khadam Eej in the foregoing discussion. She commented on respect with regard to how she had raised her children and the responsibility children have vis à vis their parents:

[...] I would say that my children grew up with much restraint [*daruulgatai*]. Restraint, I mean during the period of the totalitarian regime [*zakhirgaadald*], I really [beat] [slams her fists together] my children very well [...]. When Olonmönkh caused troubles I’d beat him, that time he was the youngest, I would pinch every possible part of his body [*kheetei ni bügdiiin deesh ni chimkhen shüü dee*]. I wonder today, whether this is why he treats his mother and people like this [she makes a barking, blowing noise to indicate anger], is this why he relates to others like this? [...] My Zörig and Bayarmaa they are amiable [*ayataikhan*], they treat others beautifully, those two, I don’t know, they are loud [*duugarakh*], [...]. The children have the responsibility [*üüregtei*] to take care of us [*tejeekh*] when we get old. I dedicated [*zoriulchikhlaa/give*] everything to my children. My children watch over me [take care of me, she means they give her money]. Some can take care of me and some can’t or don’t want to. I don’t get offended [easily] in these regards, since I receive a state pension, that’s why I don’t unreasonably say “my child, this child of mine is not watching over me, and that child is not watching over me in those respects,” [...] If my feelings [literally: mind] are let down a bit, I will really be disgruntled [...]. Now, in today’s times you don’t have the right to beat, now the children’s rights have evolved, in their era it’s the kids [...]. Nothing got worse because I beat them. Nothing got better either; the bad side is that they grew up without morality. My two little ones they respect people, but for example her husband [Khongorzul’s husband, who is her son] he’s like “I will take it,” he’s really like “khaa!”[angry], why didn’t you do this, maybe he doesn’t know [her daughter-in-law objects: he’s alright!], this person, now really being alongside his wife, he doesn’t know how to respect [her], I really think he lacks [respect] a bit. [...] Money, they have become interested in money. [...] Now during the time of the market, that’s when I gave birth to them, their [this generation’s] heads are completely different, their heads, that’s how it is! (Khadam Eej, 2014).

Her daughter-in-law Khongorzul on the other hand complained that the mother-in-law demanded money from her children, when they were struggling to earn enough money for their own families. An exchange relationship between parents and children seems to lie at the heart of their description of respect in which parents “love” and “care” *khairlakh* for their children, while they offer recompense *ach*, respect *khündlekh* and fear *aikh*.

Physical discipline and violence as well as the responsibility of children towards their parents are crucial points of reference, which the mother-in-law struggles to contextualize in different economic and political agendas of the past and present period. Her children and daughter-in-

law, however, seem to refer to current universalist human rights values, which are being discussed in Ulaanbaatar in terms of *khün chanar* “quality of a person” and *khüükhdiin erk* “children’s rights” and *khüinii erk* “human rights.” These narratives by the mother-in-law, Khongorzul and Erdenechimeg are special and more intimate in that they explicate another dimension, namely questioning the existing narrative that the past was morally superior. In this sense, progressive and reversive narratives seem to run parallel. Some people have argued for and highlighted the greater “freedom” in the present, simultaneously holding the perspective of a morally superior undifferentiated past in general. Others portrayed freedom negatively and bemoaned a lack of discipline and order in the present, which they associated more with the socialist past. In both cases, however, the core of the discourse consisted of claims about freedom or rights [*erk*] and discipline [*sakhilga*]. Few people asserted that alcoholism and poverty had existed in socialist Mongolia. It seems that alternative narratives to the socialist regime as morally superior period cannot be found in singular narratives. As I have attempted in this instance, they may be pieced together through a variety of narratives within close relationships and concern highly sensitive topics. Though particularly blue-collar working women in their 50’s and 60’s opposed a “loose freedom” [*sul chülüütei*] to a “communal sense of purpose and order” [*ajil töröl, zorilgotoi and/or juramtai*], it is, conversely, not only the elderly, who emphasize the moral superiority of the socialist government. Filial piety, too, was cast in this framework of negotiating a dualism of individual and society,¹⁰⁶ which involved the claim that the present time fostered indulgence towards children.

A thirty-year-old woman and mother of two boys related:

When we were not yet born – in the 60’s and 70’s, right? In the 40’s and 50’s, [during the time] of people [who are now] of truly high age, respect was beautiful back then. There was still an extraordinary amount of custom and politeness [cultivated relations]. Despite there being many children, they were very well raised. They feared their parents e.g. children never entered and nibbled on meat when parents had cooked and set it on the table. The parents portioned and distributed it and if they hadn’t, no one would eat of it. [...] Our children today e.g. our son eats the meat before we even eat of it after the meat has been cooked and set [on the table]. He asks neither one of us – this is why the customs of the past are no longer – today’s generation is a bit spoiled/self-willed [in the sense of undisciplined, enjoying too many rights] (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013).

¹⁰⁶ It seems people were referring to a sense of closeness and taking responsibility for others as might be the case within a “community.”

What is noteworthy is that the mother bemoans the behavior of her six-year-old son, which she views from a generational perspective, rather than her own educative force. Freedom in this instance is understood in the sense of being self-willed and not following teachings. The question of order and discipline resurfaces particularly with regard to notions of “respect” and is opposed to a negative notion of rights and freedom. In the accounts and conversations filial piety poses an arena which was intersected by progressive and reversionary narratives. A dualist discourse in which individual and society, rights and discipline were juxtaposed was shaped by present and past human rights discourses. Finally, the value of filial piety, like respect at large, seems to be particularly narrated with reference to disregard in the context of poverty and social ills. Thereby, the value of respect was reintroduced, reinforced and realized through narration.



Fig. 8 Supermarket “Grey-Haired Mother” one of the corner stores in the ger-districts of Ulaanbaatar. Filial piety can also be drawn upon to market food. Photograph by author, January 1st, 2014.

The next section will deal with a more conceptual and historical level of respect and filial piety in order to contextualize and localize conceptual aspects of respect, while still taking the vantage point of “entanglement.” Values are not only part and parcels of certain structures, but are equally at the heart of disconcertment.

Respect in the Classics of Filial Piety, the White History and the Secret History of the Mongols

As references to filial piety were so vocal in the previous section, it appears necessary to focus more in-depth on filial piety as it has been laid down in historical literary works. Though these have proven to constitute a main source for reference and authority in discourse today, with some exceptions, they were not linked to Chinese thought history. However, it will become clear in passing that filial piety is only one connotation of respect, when we inquire into the term *kündü*, which it consists of and which also carries a political legacy, not only in Mongolia.

Conceptual history in Mongolia has long traditions and intersections along the Silk Road. It has grown from Tibetan, Indian and Chinese Philosophy such as Buddhism, Confucian thought (granting the constructed character of Confucius through the Jesuits) and incorporates Taoist and even Turkic thought. These thought histories have been part and parcel of political ideologies as well. *Kündü* itself seems to have a long if intransparent legacy.

What seems interesting at this point is that the word *kündü*, an integral part of *khündetgekh yos* signified a certain category of “weightiness.” Yet, it has been rarely translated or conceived of as a category of culturally specific meaning, habitus or historical trajectory. Neither Klaus Sagaster and Elisabetta Chiodo in the study of the Precious Chronicle (*Erdeniyin Tobči: A Manuscript from Kentei Ayimag*), Klaus Sagaster in the White History (*Čayan teüke*) nor Igor de Rachewiltz in the Secret History of the Mongols treat it in this manner and in fact give it a range of connotations e.g. *kündü mör* “strictness” and “high standing.” They do, however, acknowledge the term’s meaningfulness by listing it in the index. Evelyn Rawski translated the Manchu term *kundulen han* as ‘Enlightened han,’ the Manchu term derives from the Mongolian *kündülen khan* a title equivalent and used in Mongolia as well. Marian Lewicki has been one of the few scholars who listed the terms *kündü*, *kündüläkči*, *kündülän* in his work on the *Houa-yi yi-yu of 1389* in which he provides letters, imperial edicts, orders, appointments and complaints. Though the lexical meanings, according to Lewicki’s work, remain the same as in the 21st century Mongolia, when contextualized within the texts of the imperial edicts, orders and appointments they seem to stand in different semantic fields. The lack of recognizing respect as a culturally specific category may go hand in hand with the rather late philosophical reflection it received in German and US-philosophy. A short note on the difference of Qan and Qayan might be appropriate here. According to

Lawrence Krader in his analysis of *The Secret History of the Mongols* (13th century), Qan was the title of a ruler, who saw himself an equal among other rulers, who could “bear an honorific *qayan*, or *qayan* may function as both title and honorific” (1955, 20). A Qayan was also the title “emperor”, a singular ruler, who ruled over a vast territory and referred e.g. to the Chinese emperor. In this case the emperor also referred to himself as Qayan and used the third person (ibid.). The title of Qayan was also awarded posthumously after a ruling line had been established as we see in the case of Chinggis Qan and his ancestors. While the subjects addressed the Qan as honorific Qayan, they used the third person. The Qan himself referred to himself as Qan and was titled Qan during the enthronement and was addressed in second person (Krader 1955, 19). Implicit in these dimensions of title, address and honorific is respect/honor.

The first politically significant appearance of *kündü* seems to be recorded as a title within the relation of a sacral kingship among the Khazar. Peter Golden identified the term *kende/künda/kündü* cautiously as of Khazar origin (2007, 187). This was elaborated by him as he drew on 10th century sources reflecting on the Khazars in the 9th century:

As concerns the king of the Khazars, his name is *Xâqân*. He does not appear (in public) except for one time every four months for a promenade (*muta nazzahan*) [apart from the masses]. He is called the Great *Xâqân* and his deputy (*xalîfatuhu*) is called the *Xâqân Bah* [Bäh]. He is the one who commands the armies and governs. [...] He has a deputy who is called **Kündü Xâqân* [text كندر خاقان recte: كندو خاقان]. This man also has a deputy, a man called *jâwšîgr* [جاوشیغر] (Golden 2007, 167)

While there appear to be no similar political offices within the Mongol empire or thereafter, there seem some ritualistic aspects which suggest an affinity.

Presiding over this was an elaborate dual *qayanate*. The senior *qayan* was a sacral king, a symbol of the *qut* (“heavenly good fortune”) of the dynasty, who played no active role in the administration of the state. In the event of misfortune, he could be killed in an effort to regain heavenly favour (al-Mas‘udî, *Murūj*, I, pp. 214-215). The “real king”, called *qayan-bäg*, *šad* or *yilig* was in charge of the daily functions of government. Beneath him, according to Ibn Faḍlān (preserved in Yāqūt. *Mu‘jam*, II, p. 438) were the *k. nd. r* (perhaps *kündü*. cf. *Hung, kende*) and *Jāwšîyr* (*čavuš*??). The investiture of the Qayan, replete with shamanic ceremonies and ritual strangulation of the Qayan (al- Iṣṭaxrī, p. 224) exactly mirrored that of the A-shih-na -ruled Türks (Liu, I. p. 8) [...]

The fall of the Khazar Empire marked the end of statehood, and the Türk traditions associated with it, for the nomads of Western Eurasia until the coming of the Činggisids (Golden 2011, 154, 157).¹⁰⁷

The killing of an aristocratic member without shedding their blood by “strangulation” – i.e. an honorable death seems rather familiar to the Mongolian avoidance of spilling blood. Peter Golden identifies a Chinggisid legacy with Turkic traditions. He also links the Turkic etymology of *kündü* to the Mongolian/Manchu or the contested Altaic legacy. In any case the meaning of “respect” and “weight” is attested for this particular time period and cultural context of the 9th century and is primarily associated with the Khan i.e. ruler – a feature that it shares with later Mongolian political ideology during the Qing dynasty. It was *tengri*, who was associated with “father.” According to Atwood (2000, 92) the emperor-minister relationship’s correspondence to the parent-child relationship and the discourse of grace this involved only started playing a bigger role politically and domestically from the 18th century on.

The Khazar title reported by Ibn Faḍlān as just below that of the Qağan Beg in the Khazar tetrarchy is *Kündü Qağan* ([kndw] كندو, [...]) The etymology of *kündü* is problematic in Turkic where it is found only as a Mongol loanword in Siberian Turkic (Radloff II/2: 1444-5) denoting ‘die Ehrfurcht, Höflichkeit, Ehrfurchtbezeugung, das Gastmahl’, and ‘das zweite wichtigste Amt nach dem Jaisang’. Ligeti (1986: 49) noted Sino-Korean *kuntai* ‘minister of war’, but this seems unlikely. The root may be (Starostin et al. 2003 I: 820): Altaic **kʷjune* ‘heavy load’: Tung. **(x)ünī-*, Mong. **kündü*, PTung. **(x)üni-* ‘to carry on the back’ PMong *kundu*, *kunule* ‘to respect’ W. Mong. *kündü* etc. > Manchu *kundu* ‘respect, honor’ (see also Cincius 1975 I: 432 *kundulê-* ‘ugoščat’ etc. Manchu *kundu* ‘čest’, *dostoinstvo*, *počët*, *uvaženie*, etc.). Mongolic appears to be the source of this word in both Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic. Since we have no indications that Khazar was Mongolic, one can only presume that Khazar *kündü* is either an ancient loanword in Khazar (or its ancestor tongue) from Mongolic (perhaps from the ancestor tongue of Khazar to Mongolic?) or part of a much debated Altaic legacy (now under assault again, see Beckwith 2004: 184-194; Vovin 2005: 71-132). [...]) (Golden 2011, 234)

Conceptualizations of “weight” then seemed to have played a crucial ideological role as the Manchu title for the emperor *kündü Qayan* had a remote precursor which also found its expression in the Khazar sacral kingship. Golden follows Róna-Tas (1996, 127 and 1999, 148) in stating that “sacral kingship is ‘typical’ of ‘Tengrism.’[...] In Khazaria the Tengri religion (Tengri = supreme celestial deity in the Altaic world [...]), with its emphasis on the *qut*

¹⁰⁷ We see that there might be a difference in the title *qayan* among the Khazars of the 9th century in as far as the title was not a singular ruler to that of the *qayan* among the 13th century Mongols, where the Chinese emperor only held this title as ruler over a vast territory. However, it is not entirely clear as Golden drawing on Ibn Faḍlān writes “called” or “his name is” (2007, 167), which may also refer to a term of address or honorific rather than a title.

(heavenly good fortune) of the ruler, was a tradition that had evolved over time and by the 10th century had attained a particularly ‘advanced’ status (2007, 186). However, Golden is also careful to emphasize that this sacral kingship had no counterparts in Central Asia to that of Khazaria. Hence, the trajectory of the term and its 13th century literary appearance such as of a *kündü Qayan* “weighty Qayan” in *The White History*, and its re-occurrence during the Qing dynasty remain indistinct. According to Nicola Di Cosmo “a group of Mongol aristocrats recognized Nurhaci’s ascent to power in 1606 by offering him the title of “Honored Ruler” (*Kündülen Khan*)” (Di Cosmo 2006, 3). Suffice to point out for our purposes that the political aspect of respect or weightiness is not entirely unrelated to notions of filial piety in the Qing dynasty as we will come to see.

Honor or respect might be looked at from the vantage point of politeness, but the ideological embeddedness of this concept in history, indicates that it is has been part of greater religio-political configuration. Let me now turn to additional literary historical religio-political and moral frameworks, in which filial respect has played a role.

Despite casual references towards the spread of thought commonly associated with works ascribed to Confucius by Christopher Atwood (2000), Heissig (1972, 582), Sechen Jagchid and Paul Hyer (Hyer 1979) and more elaborate analyses by De Rachewiltz most notably (2006a, 1993, 1982) and Laura Hess (1993) little mention is made to the spread of Confucian values, particularly filial piety, in Mongolian societies at different stages of time. To look at comparable meanings of *kündüle*- “respect” I will compare its usage in the preclassical Hsiao-Ching, the White History and the Secret History and point towards its embeddedness in notions of senior-junior exchange of care. The print and subsequent dissemination of these works is estimated at the second half of the 13th century for some parts of the White History, and the Hsiao Ching as between the 13th and 14th century with regard to its publishing date (the rulers had been acquainted with this work earlier), while its language points to the 13th century (Rachewiltz 1982, 17-19). The Secret History’s date has been estimated differently according to De Rachewiltz (2006a) and Atwood (2007) at 1240 by P. Pelliot (1940-41), E. Haenisch ([1941] 1948), S.A. Kozin (1941) and A. Mostaert (1953), while Igor De Rachewiltz (2006), Francis W. Cleaves (Atwood, 2007), Gerhard Doerfer (1963) and Paul Ratchnevsky have dated it at 1228. While there have been alternating suggestions for 1264 and 1324, which are not perceived credible by the authors, Atwood himself situates the completion of the Secret History of the Mongol’s writing in 1252 and hence holds this

position together with Louis Ligeti (1962) and R. Grousset (1941). While the Secret History includes a variety of Turkic elements, the White History has strong Buddhist markers and contains the ideology of the two orders, which is yet different from the vantage point of *The Classics of Filial Piety*. What unites these works, however, is the intention to be “instructive” works. Hence, Christopher Atwood quotes Igor De Rachewiltz on the Secret History of the Mongols in saying: “Yet he is also certainly correct to emphasize that the work ‘was meant to serve as a guide and instruction, not just as a plain record or for entertainment. Even in the most poetic passages ... there is an undeniable consciousness of history’” (Atwood 2007, 3).

In a similar vein, Klaus Sagaster writes about the White History: “*Dennoch ist die Weiße Geschichte ein ‚Nomo-Kanon‘: ‘Sie ist ein Leitfaden (kanon, śāstra sūtra, teūke) für die ‚Norm‘, das ‚Gesetz‘ (nómos, dharma, nom) des rechten Verhaltens*” (Sagaster 1976, 176).

Despite all salient differences, *The Classics of Filial Piety*, too, share this emphasis on learning, knowledge contained in ancestors and an outlook on how to achieve harmony. De Rachewiltz translates from the Classics of Filial Piety between the 13th and 14th centuries:

[Kungvusi (K’ung-fu-tzu) said, ‘Do you] know that because [the sage rulers of old] suitably governed the world with [perfect virtue] and propriety, the people by their (i.e. the sage rulers’) [example] lived in harmony with one another and there was no animosity [from (those who were) above] to those who were below? [...]¹⁰⁸
(Rachewiltz 1982, 41)

We find here a similar emphasis on harmony [*nayiraldjuγui*]¹⁰⁹ as in the dual order, however it carries the connotation of “agreement” rather than ease/peacefulness (*amur, amuγulan*) as in the White History. The passages from the Classics of Filial Piety following shortly after also capitalize on the interrelationship of respect for parents, virtue and education and the safeguarding of the name i.e. reputation which is seen as an act of filial piety:

Filial piety [is indeed,] the very source of virtue, and education grows out of it. [...] If, by taking care and cherishing it, we do not cause to ruin it, (this) is the very first act of filiality. If, by establishing our (virtuous) conduct and, acting according to propriety, having made (our) good name [aldarsiyuluyad] famous in later generations, we (thereby) spread the excellence of (=glorify) (our) parents, (this) is the final act of filiality (de Rachewiltz 1982, 41).

¹⁰⁸For a comprehensive study of how “Confucianism” was constructed by Jesuit monks see Jensen (1997).

¹⁰⁹The word for harmony here varies from *The White History*. According to de Rachewiltz (2006a, 63) the Classics of Filial Piety features preclassical Mongolian *nayirayul-* and Classical Mongolian *nairamdal* and modern literary Mongolian *nayiramdayu*.

Moreover, to paraphrase Igor De Rachewiltz and Laura Hess' discussion (1993) of the translation of the Hsiao-Ching (De Rachewiltz, 2006a, 60-61) and the Lúnyǔ (Hess, 1993; De Rachewiltz 2006b, 62) into Mongolian and Manchurian and their identification of key ethical terms, fraternal junior respect is also a key notion within a Confucian tradition of the Analects and *The Classics of Filial Piety*.

Ti “fraternal, submissive as a younger brother, obedient as a young man; duty of a younger brother; as befits a junior; fraternal deference; to behave well towards elder brothers, to show respect to (or to respect) one’s elders” (de Rachewiltz 2006b, 61), which was rendered into preclassical *aqa-nar yekes-tegen joquildu*- “to be on good terms with (or to show deference to) one’s elder brothers and seniors;” (2006b, 61) in classical and modern Mongolian this turned into *degüci* whereas it is rendered *ikhes akhsig [akhas ikhsiig, busdig] khündlekh* in the 2005 translation of *The Analects* by the Mongolian scholar M. Chimedtseyee (de Rachewiltz 2006b, 64).

While reference to *The Secret History of the Mongols* has become part and parcel of a nation-building process in Mongolia, it seems as though rhetorically *The White History* is more proximate to people’s present references to respect as due within all three relations: the master-disciple, parent-child and ruler-subject relations. This is striking because *The White History* as a literary work is not “referred” to explicitly. According to the historian and scholar of religion Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz¹¹⁰, *The White History* has been dated back to the 70’s of the 13th century by Klaus Sagaster, while Sh. Bira specifies this and dates the first part of the “World History” of the three Buddhist Empires India, Tibet and Mongolia back to the 13th century. Vanchikova (2001, 7-9) concludes that rather than following those scholars, who date *The White History* back to the spread of Buddhism and the justification for a reunion of the Mongol tribes under one Qayan in the second half of the 16th century, the early dating of the White History is more plausible. However, while not contesting the dating of some parts of *The White History* back to the 13th century, Kollmar-Paulenz cautions against determining this as the first part. She argues that the conception of history regarding the three Buddhist Empires was first dated back to the 14th century by Dieter Schuh (1977), and neither do the precepts of the Chinggis-Qayan-Cult correspond to the office of the Yuan-administration, nor can the Yon mchod-relation (donor and officiant-preceptor relation) be

¹¹⁰ Personal communication April and June 2016. See also (Kollmar-Paulenz 2001, 130-133).

dated back unambiguously to the 13th century. It only appeared occasionally in religious contexts, which referred to the Tibetan-Mongolian relation as in the *Hu lan deb ther* of 1346 (2001, 131-133). Hence, present references to the kinds of respect found in the White History, in particular master-disciple relations, cannot be dated unambiguously. Present references to *The Classics of Filial Piety*, however, are more or less mute in part likely due to the hostile sentiments that many Mongolians seem to entertain since the 1960s.¹¹¹

Among scholars filial piety is often associated with the “Classics of Filial Piety” *Hsiao Ching* or the Four Books and Five Classics associated with Confucius (Mongolian: *Künziin surgaal*). Though, the Mongolian ruling elite must have come into contact with these “teachings,” particularly the “Classics of Filial Piety” as early as 1229 (Rachewiltz 1982, 18) and *The Analects* in 1251 (Rachewiltz 2006a, 57), it seems to have been just yet another value configuration¹¹² of interrelated, yet, at the same time, contextually distinct conceptions of respect. The currently often-cited *Great Learning* was only translated in 1892. Regarding the *Analects* in comparison with the *Classics of Filial Piety*, according to Igor De Rachewiltz (2006a, 60) and Laura Hess (1993, 404), “filial piety” per se was translated as *taqimtayū*. This also appears in *The Secret History of the Mongols* with regard to the mother of Tayang Qan calling out to sacrifice (*takil-*, which De Rachewiltz lists *tayi-*) to the severed head of Ong Qan. *The Secret History of the Mongols* does not share the same framework of filiality as *The Classics of Filial Piety* evince.¹¹³ With regard to the early version of *The Classics of Filial Piety* de Rachewiltz argues that the translators were not exact in their translations from Chinese into Mongolian. “As a result, the Mongolian version is often a paraphrase or interpretation of the original. Furthermore, the same Chinese expression or phrase is not rendered always in the same manner into Mongolian.” (1982, 22) *The Classics of Filial Piety* feature *kündüle-*, but only as translation of *Ching* “reverence” in the early preclassical Mongolian version and as *Kung* in the *Analects* published in the 1892 version of Galdan as well as the modern version of the *Analects* (Rachewiltz 2006a, 60). Nevertheless, when comparing the use of *kündüle-* within the early 13th/14th century *The Classics of Filial Piety*, I found that it appears in contextual proximity with filial respect in the text and is extensively used, more than in any works written approximately during the time of its translation.

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive study of this topic see Billé (2015).

¹¹² I loosely draw on Louis Dumont’s use of the term (1986), without, however, engaging in his opposition of “individualist-egalitarian” vs. “hierarchical-relational” standing for a broader juxtaposition of “West” and “East.”

¹¹³ On this point see also Atwood (2010, 111-114).

Hess attests Manchu borrowings from Mongolian (rather than the Chinese rendering) and the translation of *The Analects* into Manchurian as late as 1644. She notes, in contrast to the Manchu, Mongolians rarely “borrowed” from Chinese and instead sought for comparative terms. Hence, the Mongolian words used to denote “respect” in the Analects *Lúnyǔ* as well as the Classics of Filial Piety *Hsiao-Ching* led to a Mongolian tradition due to their semantic connotations:

The existence of a significant corpus of words borrowed from Mongolian, combined with evidence from Jurchen suggest that there may have been some kind of northern border tradition of *Lúnyǔ* interpretation that began with the reign of the Khitans and lasted for almost a millennium, in contradistinction to the established Chinese tradition (Hess 1993, 402).

De Rachewiltz (2006a) follows her interpretation; his study contends that:

The difference in the terminology [including the terms for respect] employed in the Preclassical and Classical versions is quite substantial, but *none of the terms in either version is a borrowing from Chinese*. [...] The same general conclusion obtains for the contemporary Mongol language version. [...] This may give us a rough idea of the gap in the “conceptual” vocabulary of the two stages of the language (Rachewiltz 2006a, 64) [Italics in original].

While *kündüle-* is frequently used in *The Classics of Filial Piety*, the term *ači*¹¹⁴ is only used twice (Rachewiltz 1982, 34 and 35), once to describe the “benefit” i.e. result of the father’s care and once to describe “meritless filiality,” here referring to the classification of filialty as meritless if one adheres to one precept, but hasn’t acted in accordance with other precepts e.g. through showing pride (deRachewiltz 1982, 35, 47). In his 1961 transliteration and subsequent analyzation of *The Classics of Filial Piety*, Khaltarin Luvsanbaldan used the preclassical Mongolian version of *The Hsiao-Ching* as his basis of analysis, i.e. it is the same text as that treated by Igor De Rachewiltz. While the latter contended that the title must have been a phonetic transcription of the Chinese (1982, 19), (2004, 53), Luvsanbaldan assumed the first missing page to have carried the title *taqimtaǰu nom*. He must have oriented his conclusion towards the term used for filial piety throughout the preclassical Mongolian version. Filial piety in accordance with the original is *takhimdaqu*. However, Luvsanbaldan’s book itself i.e. the transliteration of the original *The Classics of Filial Piety* and his analysis are rendered *Achlalt nomin tukhai* (About the book of Filial Piety, literally “benevolence/care”). This points to the circumstance that filial piety in Mongolia by that time

¹¹⁴ On the concept of *ačnar* (father’s male or father’s brother’s male descendants) see Schorkowitz (2008).

was colloquially known and referred to by a more Buddhist rendering of filial piety, namely *achlal*. To this day, filial piety seems to be commonly referred to as *achlal*. The term *ači-* also appears in *The Secret History of the Mongols* to describe the care for a mother (§ 75), or the “burden” which the descendent of the Qan inherits from his father when taking the throne (§281) (de Rachewiltz 2006b, 1033). Moreover, the term *ači-* appears in *The White History* in connection with “caring for one’s respected parents” as well as signifying “grandchildren” and “descendants.” *Ači-* signifies “result” and may be either positive or negative. De Rachewiltz argues:

Now (*h*)*ači* is a true Mongolian word which the early translators and commentators of Buddhist texts used to render skr. *Phala* (=tib. *'bras bu*) ‘fruition, result(s) (of act[s])’; skr. *kr̥ta* (=tib. *Lan, drin*) ‘deed or service done, benefit’; [...] Thus, although originally a neutral word, through Buddhist usage *ači* acquired in time the positive connotations that we find associated with it in literary Mongolian and the modern dialects (Rachewiltz 2006b, 542).

The compound of grace so prominently found in Qing-time literature of strife and guilt borne by the inferior and grace, *kesig* (modern: *khishig*) rendered by the superior as Christopher Atwood rightly notes, is simply absent from *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Atwood notes for the combination of *kičiyekü* (modern: *khicheekh* “to strive”)¹¹⁵ and *kesig* when comparing the use of this set in Mongolian sources to that found in *The Classics of Filial Piety*: “Striving for the family is seen more as an immutable order, and not a repayment of kindness of grace”¹¹⁶ (Atwood 2000, 115).

I suggest, however, that though he is right to highlight the uniqueness of the topic of grace, guilt and striving (Atwood 2000, 92, 101), which are not part of *The Classics of Filial Piety*, and hence not promoted by them, “grace” *kesig* and “repayment” are founded on other, existing value configurations prior to the Qing Dynasty, although the configuration in the Qing Dynasty is new. I will return to this point later. Suffice to say that the Yuan dynasty had an elaborate discourse on grace in terms of *soyurqal* and *kesig* was the inheritance of the golden line of the Chinggisid rulers. *The White History*, of Buddhist value configuration lists

¹¹⁵De Rachewiltz analysed *kičiyekü* (modern: *khicheekh*) as preclassical *Kung* and *Ching* and *Chin* in the modern Galzan version (2006a, 60-62)

¹¹⁶Though grace *kesig* itself does not feature largely, *The White History* contains the notion of “repaying” *ači-yi ačila* (149) and (thereby by default indebtedness) and “to strive” *kičiyen*. While in *The White History* *ačila* pertains to a general benefactor such as a teacher, the Buddha, religion, a lama or parents and therefore is not restricted to filial piety, it can also denote filial piety as in the translation of *The Classics of Filial Piety* from 1961. It seems likely that the notion of “repayment” and indebtedness is a more Buddhist stance.

ačilaqu (modern: *achilakh*) as “repaying” parents their “benevolence” (Sagaster 1976, 98 and 149).

What is noteworthy today is that there seems to be a description of the requirements for a relation of respect. This relation involves an exchange – embodied by *kesig* “grace/share” and *kündüle*- “respect,” *ačilaqu* “repayment” and *kičiyekü* “striving.” Yet, configurations involving “respect” *kündüle* evolve from different value traditions, i.e. there is no singular configuration for forms of respect. While the term *kündüle*- itself is used extensively in *The Classics of Filial Piety* to describe respect and reverence as *Ching*, it is absent in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (except for the related term *kündü mör* – weighty path or standing) and appears in *The White History* in connection with the Chinggis Qayan-Cult, i.e. ritual, with regard to three Buddhist valuables and the parents, but less frequently than in *The Classics of Filial Piety*. However, the Mongolian Tanjur version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Cleaves 1954; de Rachewiltz 1996) features an elaborate discourse on respect in the terms of *kündüle*- as respect/honor for wisdom and religion , but not in terms of filial piety.

Confluence and Negotiation of Filial Piety with Seniority Respect

A 1988 published book called *Ceremonies of Children and Youth* (Davaadorj 1988) reveals another thought historical element with filial dimensions – the emphasis on *buural aav* or *buural övgön aav* – known more commonly in English as Father Frost. He was reintroduced during socialism and mapped upon preexisting images of *buural aav* joining Russian traditions of celebrating Christmas with a Mongolian New Year’s celebration. The more commonly celebrated lunar New Year *Tsagaan Sar* was restricted to the countryside as a herder’s holiday during socialism. The figure *buural aav* had traditionally played his role during a *Tsam dance* in the season of the New Year’s celebration (the *Tsam* dance was discontinued during socialism). Christmas came to be celebrated as New Year with *buural aav* in both the city and countryside. Entanglements of Father Frost were discussed in detail by the German anthropologist Thomas Hauschild (2012) and go well back to Daoist practices in 8th to 5th centuries B.C.E., though the figure has been traded back and forth along the Silk Roads over the centuries. However, the term *buural aav* can also be used to refer to people of old age in general to whom special respect is due. Here senior-junior relations and filiality seem to merge to some extent.

Finally, it seems important to come back to the interrelation between dignity respect and filial piety, which my interlocutors have associated time and again in the forgoing section of this chapter. The present political agenda, in which socialist discourses on the reallocation of capital were supplanted by new agendas such as the focus on children's and human rights and cultural self-determination, ultimately relocate the demand to social change as the responsibility of the individual (Odysseos 2010, 753). The focus on dignity respect and its Kantian and Hegelian legacy were surely introduced more significantly to Mongolia via Marxist theory during socialism. The late prominent politician S. Zorig, who had been a leading figure in the bloodless 1990 revolution had been educated as a philosopher in Moscow. Recognition respect was certainly also inspired by more global neoliberal processes and movements of empowerment (by minorities), which were cited during the resistance movement against the socialist government or promoted by political policies of foreign non-governmental institutions. However, dignity respect and filial respect already seemed to have entered into an arena of negotiation which also involved political agendas in the 1980s as Caroline Humphrey's findings seem to indicate (2002, 73).

4. Qing Institutionalization of Respect: Crafting Rule and Order in Times of Unrest

Directing Loyalty through the Rhetoric of “Affect”

The previous chapter tried to describe the entanglement of different thought schools and their interrelation with personal relations which are also political. I finally concluded that these thought schools and values provided a certain “order,” by being invoked in narratives on disregard and social ills. In this chapter I would like to focus on how respect has been institutionalized as a social and cultural practice. Whereas the term “standardization” has been used in studies on the Qing dynasty (Heuschert-Laage 2011), my use of “institutionalizing respect” addresses the *longue durée* aspect and evolvement of respect as a cultural category. This category is based on different social relations such as master-disciple, senior-junior, filial-child relations and the entanglement of legal and political policies, their respect and disregard, political rhetoric, social relations and exchange, status and social stratification and most importantly spiritual and moral value conceptions. Though “respect” is a value shared among much of Central Asia and even beyond – each region will feature its specific history and social configuration. To show the institutionalization¹¹⁷ as it took place in Mongolia, I will draw on selected vignettes, though their explanatory power is not exclusive.

I have so far addressed different valued relations which seem to have been more or less institutionalized in particular periods of Mongolian history. The language of respect also took on particular expressions to transmit the substance of relations of respect, to make claims and fulfill expectations. The following examples will show how respect was institutionalized and created a framework of values, while at the same time discussing times of social unrest and how respect was referenced therein. Moral discourse consolidated governing power. Already in the 1630s “care” was implemented to describe governing relations (Heuschert-Laage 2014, 6). While Dorothea Heuschert-Laage prefers the term “patronage” to describe the “status and support” (2014, 5), Di Cosmo writes:

In the correspondence with Mongol chiefs the Mongol term *ömüglekü*, “to protect,” occurs frequently in contexts of the Mongols requesting protection or the Manchus offering it. A terminology that refers to caring, protecting, nurturing and cherishing is

¹¹⁷ This section draws on institutional theory only loosely and rejects its implications and inherent negotiations over either imitation or rational choice, rule, stability, and social structure as underlying and somehow detached rationales. I use it in the limited sense of *longue durée* processes of a cultural category.

in my view not unrelated to the notion of “tutelage” as a principle that formalizes the establishment of political authority over a given constituency. Such a rhetoric went beyond the mere (and somewhat crude) political promotion of military victories as being ‘ordained by Heaven,’ and therefore as a means of legitimate rulership. On the institutional and political level, the notion of a ‘nurturing’ khan opened a space for a type of authority aimed to transform the political order within a given society through the supervision, guidance, and control of a separate and obviously more powerful entity (Di Cosmo 2012, 191).

I would argue that this language participates in references towards filial, master-disciple and senior-junior relations. As I have briefly discussed above, Christopher Atwood also addressed filial relations mapped on to the emperor-minister relations of the Mongolian aristocracy from the 18th century Qing dynasty onwards (2000, 92). This is further substantiated first by David Farquhar’s claim that the Manchu emperors stylized their relations in accordance with their subjects’ valued cultural notions (1978). Harold Tanner describes this circumstance when he writes:

Qing emperors presented different faces to different subject peoples. To the Mongols and Tibetans, Qing emperors were successors of the Mongol khans, and they were also Cakravartin kings and patrons of Tibetan Buddhism. To the Manchu, the Qing emperor was the personification and preserver of Manchu ethnic identity. To the vast majority of his subjects, the Chinese, a Qing emperor presented himself as the holder of the Mandate of Heaven and patron and practitioner of the civilized arts of painting, prose, and poetry. These different faces of the emperors were expressed in court art. Yongzheng was painted in various guises expressing Manchu and Chinese roles. The Qianlong emperor was portrayed as a warrior in ceremonial armor, as a hunter facing down deer and tiger, as a bodhisattva in a Tibetan mandala, as a filial son revering his mother, and as a Confucian scholar. [...] The many different imperial images were accompanied by different techniques of administration (Tanner 2010, 45-46).

As I have tried to indicate, many of these values, such as filiality were also shared and entangled, and they “seeped through” to different strata of societies as Christopher Atwood has shown by the example of filial piety so popular in Chinese novels. The language of filial piety was then also adopted by the Mongolian aristocracy, modifying it slightly to fit the degrees of hierarchy between officials and aristocrats (Atwood 2000, 124). While the emperor molded his relation to his Mongolian subjects in the terms of filial piety and bodhisattva, so did relations of respect become more and more standardized through the Manchu reign and affected even relations among the Mongolian aristocracy (Heuschert-Laage 2011). It seems evident that different, yet deliberate stylizations of rule and references to values may entail an attempt to institutionalize and in turn specify and consolidate relations through respect.

Dorothea Heuschert-Laage argued:

It must have been Hong Taiji's goal to add his full authority to the orders he was communicating to his Mongolian addressees. Only if his commands were inspiring respect he could be sure that his followers would obey his will. For this reason he insisted on people using words of respect when making reference to letters of the Qayan. The rules for the formal welcome reception served the purpose of making clear the distribution of political power within the Daicing *ulus*. Just like the codewords the symbolic actions were outward signs indicating who belonged where in the order of precedence. This policy had far-reaching implications. It was not only that Hong Taiji demanded that his delegates should be received in the Mongolian lands with due respect. By giving precise instructions for the welcome reception he intervened in Mongolian diplomatic conventions. [...] This system with grades of authority and status not only positioned the Mongolian noblemen in their relationship with the Qayan; at the same time it affected the interaction among various Mongolian communities which were likewise fit in a system of domination and submission (Heuschert-Laage 2011, 56).

Respect, was then not only compulsory, but also accentuated "difference and integration" within the society. It contributed to the stratification of Mongol society, built on existing networks (i.e. marriage alliances) while at the same time integrating a part of the remaining Mongolian nobility, thereby promoting a new or rather extended collective identity.

At the same time, participating in the welcome reception or corresponding with the Manchu Qayan in compliance with the formal requirements became a political statement that would reinforce shared values and help to create a network among members of the Daicing ruling elite. [...] In this sense the new codes of conduct can be understood as means to distinguish loyal Mongolian nobles from both commoners and rival leaders. As a result, receiving delegations ceremonially and using a special terminology may have worked towards forming a common identity of being part of the elite of the evolving Manchu state (Heuschert-Laage 2011, 57).

The Manchus had initially established their legitimate rule through marriage alliances¹¹⁸ with the Northern Mongolian aristocracy and the Manchu rulers (Veit 1990, 18), which supported the shift in rule. Hence, it is to be assumed that kin relations and notions of respect tied to these cannot be separated from demands and claims which might have been framed in these relations. Institutionalizing respect and therefore ideologically directing the relation of Mongolian aristocrats towards the emperor in a specific way was also intricately linked to the building of a collective identity or moral community.

¹¹⁸ This seems to have been a strategy with a longer tradition, as it was practiced by the Chinese emperor with regard to the Xiognu (Jagchid 1977, 190).

Accompanied by this institutionalization is not only the employment of affectionate rhetoric¹¹⁹, ideals of harmony and order as well as the written description of ritual bodily comportment, but also, the additional demarcation of these institutionalized forms of respect by attributing *yosu-bar* - “according to ritual, law or habit” to their written expression, particularly toward the end of the Qing dynasty (Kohl-Garrity 2017, 108). Dorothea Heuschert-Laage (2011, 50) has argued that Hong Taiji institutionalized forms of respect in May 1636 through the terms “*medegül-* (to let know), *ayiladqa-* (to report, to memorialize) and *jarlay* [sic] (decree), determining the correspondence also between the Mongolian aristocracy, and in fact all, who held recognized authority by the emperor. Whereas these standardizations were frequently used after 1636, their coupling with *yosu-bar/iyar* can be gradually discerned in the 19th century and seems to have been frequently used particularly at the beginning of the 20th century. This coupling with *yos* seems to have enforced the notion of rule, longstanding practice and authority. Examples from the State Archives in Mongolia from the 19th and 20th century are: *medegülgsen yosu-bar* (“decided as has been requested,” literally: through the custom of informing), *ayiladqsan yosu-bar* (in accordance with what has been instructed, literally: through the custom of having spoken respectfully) and *jarlaysan yosu-bar dayan önggerekülkü* (to withstand in accordance with the decree: lit. having withstood through the decreed custom). *Tusiyaqu yosu-bar* (through the custom of ordering), *jakiju iregsen yosu-bar* (through the custom of instruction) etc. seem to be further instances of institutionalization (Tümenjargal 2010b, 131; Möngejiruyal, 15; Kohl-Garrity, 2017). In coining this “institutionalization” I follow Heuschert-Laage’s use of the term “standardize”, which implies that certain rhetorics (maybe even narratives), practices and channels of mediation were intentionally institutionalized and became commonly used, rather than a structural functionalist approach, which identifies an institution as “an element of a social system.” (Barnard and Spencer 2005, 610).

The rhetoric of affection, which both Heuschert-Laage (2011, 2014) and Di Cosmo (2012, 2003) have thematized is intricately embedded in and continuously refers to senior-junior relations and their respective duties.¹²⁰ These duties include gift-exchange as Heuschert-Laage (2014) has cited Doerfer: “The return presents given by the Manchu side, however were

¹¹⁹ What Dorothea Heuschert-Laage refers to as language of patronage (2014, 6), Di Cosmo refers to as “tutelage” (2012, 191).

¹²⁰ When I refer to “affective relationships” or “affect,” I use it to describe the written expression of emotion, a particular complex used by the Mongolians and Manchus during the Qing dynasty as it has been described also by Heuschert-Laage (2014) and di Cosmo (2003). I do not draw on “affect theory,” a neuroscientific approach, which has also received attention in social anthropology.

called *öglige*, ‘donations, alms’, which denotes a present for [sic] a superior to an inferior” (Doerfer 1963a, 140).

At this point, I deem it necessary to distinguish the dimensions that respect took and can take, which are in practice undifferentiated: the dimension of institutional standardization of terms may also concern the dimension of relational encompassment (between seniors and juniors) and address. Reference to the value-complex of filial piety, particularly concerning the notion of *kesig* in the Qing dynasty also includes the dimension of gift-exchange. As gifts were recorded and required as tribute, we may argue they were institutionalized as well. Finally, the literal mention of respect is often a reference to its disregard. A “re-presentation” through the emphasis of its absence. *Kündü* as in weighty or important applied to imperial favor as it was related to the emperor and also reserved to describe imperial gifts or decrees. The expression of *kündü kesig* also designated those gifts rendered by the Bogd Qayan, but subsided formally after the end of his rule.

It is important to take a look at the broader evaluative integration within the Qing empire. According to Chia Ning “It is also clear that the dynastic centre, at least until the end of Qianlong’s reign, relied on the tribute system as an ‘organized device’ based on a superiority-to-inferiority ideology and an internally-to-externally structured dichotomy to maintain relationships of various kinds” (2017, 172). Mongols were subject to the Lifanyuan (as opposed to the Libu, which managed only external zones from 1638) and regarded as ‘internal type’ of tribute relationship (ibid. 170) receiving or running “the risk of losing ranks, titles, salaries, status of family members, and inheritable rights.” (ibid., 157-158). This obviously also influenced their status and honor within Mongolia. They were included in “both rituals, the offering of the tribute (*Chaogong*) and the pilgrimage to the emperor (*Chaojin*) (ibid., 159). Chia Ning also emphasizes the “[...] highly moral significance and etiquette to tribute arrangements [...]” (ibid., 154) of the early Libu during the Ming-Qing transition, which had also managed affairs with later “internally” classified zones. It is fair to say that the criteria by which the Mongol tributaries “were categorized and received by the Qing court invested them with different grades of courtesy and assigned them a particular rank in a hierarchic system.” This was not only relevant with regard to the dynastic center, but also became part and parcel of the value that was accorded to these Mongol envoys within their home country. The valuation the dignitaries received by the center also became subject to negotiation of the way

these persona were integrated in the hierarchic system of their home country, the dynastic internal periphery.

Legally Standardizing Address and Comportment

In the following section, I will provide examples of ritual, institutionalized address from correspondences of aristocrats involved in revolutionary acts or the negotiation thereof as Tümenjargal has compiled them (Tümenjargal 2010a; 2010b). These engage in a reference framework of “knowledge as salvation,” which is part and parcel of the path of a bodhisattva. The address features self-diminishment through claiming inanity, elevating and honoring the addressee by referring to their wisdom. We may discern a ritualized diminishment in self-address of a *teneg düü*¹²¹ “simple minded, foolish” younger sibling and *muu namaig* “bad me,” who addresses his senior as *enren gün noyon mini* “compassionate gün (title: duke) Prince mine” or *munkhag düü* “foolish younger sibling,” *bolkhi düü* “clumsy younger sibling” or *molkhi düü* “ignorant younger sibling,” *öchüükhen salaa shavi* “a meager disciple,” addressing his *mergen akh* “wise older brother,” *tenger mergen akh* “heaven(ly) wise older brother” or *örshöolt itgelt gün akh* “merciful/compassionate and loyal gün older brother.” These addresses are sometimes combined with *baatar* “warrior/hero” or the disciple might address his master as *janjin gün örshöolt bagsh tenger mergen akh* “warrior, gün, merciful teacher, heaven(ly) wise older brother,” or *avralin deed achlalt da khamba lam* “revered high filial da Khamba Lama (abott),” *bogd avralt bagsh noyon tanaa* “holy revered teacher prince [honorific],” while a junior refers to his senior as *Tuulin örshöolt said beis mergen akh*, “absolute merciful minister beis (imperial prince of the fourth rank) wise elder brother.” Of course these addresses are particular in that they mirror the position the senior or master held and not all are exchangeable, since they refer to certain offices. In a similar vein a senior addressing a junior (who might still hold the higher position) may speak of himself as *teneg khögshin akh* “foolish elder brother” *meeren khemeekh egeliin doord* “your humble inferior (lit: lower) called Meeren”, *munkhag akh* “foolish elder brother” addressing his junior as: *Gün mergen düü* “Gün (title) wise younger sibling”, *agi düü* “prince younger sibling”, *örshöolt düü* “merciful younger sibling”, *örshöolt mergen düü* “merciful wise younger sibling”, *agi örshöolt daichin baatar mergen düü* “prince merciful warrior wise younger sibling”, *örshöolt gün mergen düü* “merciful gün (title) wise younger sibling,” *itgelt mergen düü* “loyal wise

¹²¹ As the source here is a transcription of Qing letters into modern Mongolian I will here render the original terms in modern Mongolian.

younger sibling,” *said chin achit beil mergen düü* “Minister truly virtuous wise prince of the third rank,” to name but a few. Though relations are not doubled as the modern address *egchiin düü* “older sister’s younger sibling” would, they are nevertheless encompassing in that the addresser refers to the relation as senior or junior in addition to the positions the addressee holds. Lastly, filial piety, in form of the terms *achlalt* or *elberelt* was also widely used between parents and children to address one another mutually, as in “*achlalt said noyon khövgüün*,” “*achlalt eej*” or “*tuilin elberelt khövgüün said Chin Achit Beil*.” Markedly, they do not contain self-diminishment.

The correspondences between the aristocrats reveal that while hierarchies certainly existed between these different office holders, etiquette and respect demanded that they downplay their own person by rendering themselves unknowledgable, while elevating the other, whether senior or junior as wise. Heightened respect was attested also in naming a multiplicity of inhabited offices and relations. This brings us to the legal aspect of institutionalization¹²². The Mongolian law of the Kangxi era, which has also been studied by the scholar (then) Dorothea Heuschert (1998) and was transcribed into Modern Mongolian and studied by B.

Bayarsaikhan (2004) explicitly lists that someone, who does not call the complete titles of an official will be punished by giving animals to this official: “[...] If one does not call out the whole awarded title/rank of a banner’s or non-ruling banner’s *Wang, Beil, Beis* or *Gün*, the person who has not called [the title] will be fined one ninth of his animals¹²³ and this penalty will be given to the Wangs and leaders.” (Bayarsaikhan 2004, 40)

With regard to the expression of respect, the laws included strict seating rules according to the occasion, emphasized that officials and their children be “differentiated,” listed the government’s symbols and accessories associated with their status, which they were allowed to bear. It stipulated how many times one needed to prostrate oneself in front of specific officials when receiving an imperial decree and how many times they were to bow. It also showed the particular care and ritual attention which a decree received, which seems to be intricately linked to the use of *khündlekh* in reference to decrees:¹²⁴

¹²² I would differentiate decrees from laws, as their efficacy was quite different as will be discussed.

¹²³ Bayarsaikhan’s transcriptions are not clear here. The classical Mongolian transliteration he offers reads: *nigen yisü-ber* i.e. one ninth; this is also what the classical Mongolian copy of the text reads. His Cyrillic transliteration reads *yosöör* [sic] seemingly implying *yosoor* “according to custom,” which is false.

¹²⁴ The sections in Heuschert’s work do not correspond entirely to Bayarsaikhan’s work in Mongolian, though there are numerous verbatim correspondences. Though Heuschert’s translations are selective, even their order and joining sentences differ. She informs the reader that she only had a xerocopy at her disposal, while Bayarsaikhan depicts the originals next to his transcriptions. However, while Heuschert doubts the publishing of

Going first, entering and receiving, bidding farewell. One article. If the outer Mongol Wangs, Noyods, Taijs all sacrifice around the Mandal temple all line up and stand in their wing [mil.] in front of the outer gate. Going in first [i.e. according to order] and having entered they shall receive on their knees and bid farewell [on their knees]. Receiving an imperial decree (Bayarsaikhan 2004, 40).¹²⁵

Article one. If the outer reigning Wang and Noyan of the Mongols hold an imperial assembly and a high dignitary is sent, who delivers verdicts, he is sent by impressing a seal on an imperial decree. If [the dignitary] arrives to the border of a people, the border people shall inquire about his name, title and business of the arriving dignitary to rush ahead and inform their own Wang and Noyan. After the Wang and Noyod of this people have approached him up to a distance of five *ber-e*¹²⁶ and after they have lined up in a row to the right¹²⁷, having all dismounted their horses, in forwarding the imperial decree and after having all mounted the horses and gotten on their way again, the imperial decree shall be sent ahead, whereby the dignitary, who was sent by an imperial decree shall line up on the left side while the receiving Wang and Noyan line up on the right side! After having arrived at one's own *ger*, one shall turn [oneself] from the left side to the right by having lit incense and the arrived dignitary having placed the imperial decree on the table. After the said Wangs and Noyod having fallen on their knees once and bowed three times, they remain kneeling. In taking the imperial decree from the table, may the dignitary hand it to the reading scribe. After the reading scribe has read it loudly while standing the dignitary will take the imperial decree and place it on the table. The Wang and Noyans will once more fall on their knees and bow three times. While the dignitary takes up the imperial decree from the table the wangs and noyans will fall on their knees once and bow three times after having received it on their knees and with both hands during the handover to the Wangs and Noyans and having given it to one of their inferiors. After having bowed, having given the imperial decree to someone for retention and the Wang and Noyans and the dignitary having fallen on their knees twice in front of each other and having bowed twice to each other, they will take a pause, the dignitary sitting on the left side and the Wangs and Noyans on the right side (Bayarsaikhan 2004, 40-42; Heuschert 1998, 185-86).

Finally, the law also contained, who could inherit the title. The continuous emphasis of “differentiation” (*yalgakh*) constitutes an effort to hierarchize, order and control authority. The correspondences between the aristocracy disclose that the term respect itself was used particularly with regard to decrees and religious laws. Heuschert-Laage also describes how laws did not have an impact on reaching a verdict, but rather marked the accordance between

the law at the reported date of 1693, due to the last added articles which bears the date 1694, Bayarsaikhan argues that the copy which the State library holds dates back to 1667. This stands in contrast to Heuschert's findings. The copy which Bayarsaikhan used is held by the National Central Archives in Mongolia, which he argues was published in 1795.

¹²⁵ I have based my translations on that of Heuschert while simultaneously translating the original text of Bayarsaikhan. Since the first section of “article one” is not available in Heuschert, this translation is entirely my own.

¹²⁶ Heuschert estimates it to be about 10 km (1998, 187). Bayarsaikhan's version reads “*tabun yajar-un üjügür-e uytuyad*” instead of Heuschert's “*ber-e*.”

¹²⁷ In Mongolian right corresponds to west and left to east.

the rulers, as laws were established in meetings between rulers. A verdict was more likely reached by the decision-making processes of the parties in conflict. *“Bewältigungsmittel des Rechtsstreits war nicht der interpretierbare Text eines Geltung beanspruchenden Schriftrechts, der Ausgang des Konfliktes wurde vielmehr durch die Willensbildung der streitenden Parteien bestimmt“* (Heuschert-Laage 2004, 148). The purpose of this agreement was most likely a sense of harmony, as it is continuously referred to in the correspondences between the aristocracy, who ritually refer to *“amgalang.”* What had an impact on the verdict were compurgators. The word of the senior, neighbors and officials on behalf of the junior was of such weight, that it signified the truth.

Als Eideshelfer fungierten stets Mitglieder der Rechtsgemeinschaft des Beklagten, z.B. ältere Verwandte väterlicherseits, Nachbarn oder Amtsträger. Ihnen wurde die Möglichkeit gegeben, die Aussage des Beklagten eidlich zu bekräftigen und so seine Entlastung zu bewirken. Durch die mit dem Eid verbundenen symbolischen Handlungen, denen magische Wirkung zugeschrieben wurde, bedeutete der Eid aber eine Selbstverfluchung des Eidleistenden für den Fall, dass der Beklagte doch nicht unschuldig war (Ibid., 147).

Hence, it can be argued that respect corresponded with the relations, which were referred to in legal matters, rather than the authority of the text itself. In fact, according to Heuschert-Laage laws were often kept secret and barred from wider distribution until the beginning of the 20th century.

The role of compurgators and their authority through seniority in legal matters points to the logic of affectual terms in establishing governing relations. However, towards the 20th century terms of affect like “protection/care,” “loving kindness” or “love” were no longer implemented to forge new political relations and establish a hierarchy, as Heuschert-Laage (2014) and Di Cosmo (2012) have described them. Instead, the references to affect seem to have been used more pronouncedly in the correspondences between the aristocracy to make claims and demands, while addressing shortages and the omnipresent poverty. This shift of affectual terms to establish governing relations and their later recurrent use in correspondences between the aristocracy to describe their relational obligations indicates an institutionalized discourse.

“Compassion/loving kindness” became a synonym for granting goods or financial support in a dire economic situation. As the difference in ranks apart from kinship relations were cast in

senior relations, these posed possibilities for “extraction” based on “relational scripts” which were partially even embedded legally.

Directing Loyalty through Tribute and Gifts

A further effort to consolidate control and respect paid to the Qing administration has been reported again by Heuschert-Laage and Natsagdorj (2010). Heuschert-Laage writes:

Bei der Beurteilung der Eingaben ist zu berücksichtigen, dass die Qing-Regierung im 18. Jh. Ein Interesse daran hatte, die Anzahl der Personen, die Gemeinen qaraču kümün, angehörten, zu verringern. Diese Leute sollten in die Gruppe der albatu, der qamjilya oder der Šabi aufgehen, d.h. entweder zu Untertanen der Bannerherren oder zu persönlichen Abhängigen eines Adligen (Taiji) bzw. eines Geistlichen werden (Heuschert-Laage 2009, 196).

This consolidation however, evolved particularly when commoners requested their subjects to become subjects of the banner ruler or dependents of an aristocrat, lest they be claimed as property by their descendants and inheritors. In these cases lords seemed to have entertained affective relationships with their servants. As those belonging to commoners had at times¹²⁸ been bought, their relation to their masters rendered them subjects. Heuschert-Laage lists the terms for their description as “*köbüd (Diener), boyul (Sklave), qariyatu (Untertan), medel kümün (Untergebener) or ĵaruča kümün (Diener) [...].*” (2009, 187) These terms imply that there were a variety of classifications for the subjects of commoners. Through their ambiguous relation to their masters as “goods” and “caretakers” their status shifted to becoming tribute-paying subjects to e.g. the banner regents i.e. Qing government. This way too, the Qing emperors attempted to centralize control over persons, though this did not minimize struggles over authority and loyalty.

The institutionalization of respect also concerned tributary relations. The “goods” and “financial support” rendered by the Qing emperor or Mongolian aristocracy were part and parcel of the complex of *kesig* “grace,” and therefore, masked in terms of relational exchange within e.g. a filial relation. Archival documents from the late Qing dynasty show that this term was also widely used among the Mongolian aristocracy and officials to extract goods from one another according to their respective hierarchies (Tümenjargal 2010a, 2010b).

¹²⁸ The term used was *ači-tusaban kürgejü*, which can be translated as “useful,” but includes notions of “benefit.” The examples did not exclusively involve “bought” persons. Heuschert-Laage also cites examples where the sons of servants or their sons-in-law were adopted.

Moreover, *kesig* played a wider ritual role, as an archival document called *Tengri-yin takiqu yosulal-un tuqai qomory-a du mordoqu tusiyal ba küriyen dü sayugsan amban ab* “Order concerning riding in a hunt with regard to the sacrifice-of-heaven-ritual and the Amban of Khüree’s hunt” from 1800, stored at the History Institute at the Mongolian Academy of Science (HIMAS) reveals. *Kesig* here refers to the “share,” which is ritually requested from heaven (Box1, Folder 288). A complaint about the undue extraction of tribute from different parties also claimed that a Taiji, i.e. a minor Mongolian nobleman was to “love and protect” *qayirlan qamayalaqu* (HIMAS, Box1, Folder 288) i.e. mourned the absence thereof. Reference to tribute being paid to the Mongolian aristocracy and Manchu banner regents often reflected more legalist notions as a document from 1876 reveals. It mentions the term *qauli yosu-bar yaryaqu* “to yield legally.” Tribute was often also framed in terms of “part” *qubi, alba or tataburi* “tribute, service, duty” and “gift” *öglige* to the Qing emperor or “offerings” *takil* to the clergy (Tümenjargal 2010a, 2010b). Most often though documents¹²⁹ reveal that subjects gave a detailed account of goods, which were given, without resorting to an ideological political value dimension. This is in line with Ning’s findings (1993, 80) that already during the early Qing period the rulers emphasized the symbolic quality over the economic. She cites Marshall Sahlins and Marcel Mauss in foregrounding gifts as promotion of peace, social contract and the gift exchange as spiritual bonds. Moreover, she attests to the different motivations of tribute between the dynastic rulers and the Inner Asians themselves citing Fairbank and Têng. While the dynastic rulers were more interested in the moral value of tribute [as a tool of governance], the latter were more geared towards the material value (ibid.). This seems to hold true also for the late Qing dynasty and consolidates the moral value of tribute as governing technique. *Alba* as “service,” too, seems to signify that the subordinate serves, while the superior confers grace/share – not unlike the larger framework of master-disciple or senior-junior relations.

Heuschert-Laage goes on to explain that the emphasis of the emperor shifted from what was received to what was given, furthermore confirming the “acknowledgement of Qing superiority and acceptance of a new hierarchical order” (2014, 10). Paralleling this is the increase of demands and claims among the Mongolian aristocracy, the rivalling claims by the Qing government and the Mongolian aristocracy to tributary services by their subjects and the widespread poverty towards the end of the Qing dynasty (Natsagdorj 2010, 700). The use of “mercy” and “loving kindness” transformed from being implemented by the Qing to build

¹²⁹ For published documents see Veronika Veit and Š. Rasidondug. *Petitions of Grievances Submitted by the People*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.

new relationships and subordinate Mongolians in the beginning of the 18th century, to being adopted by the Mongols in the late 19th early 20th century to extract, demand and claim goods and services from one another, while being embedded in the relational scripts of senior-junior relationships.

Explicit “Respect” in Times of Unrest

Literal mention of respect within the correspondences of the aristocracy is displayed less explicitly than ritualized and standardized (embodied and enunciated) forms of respect. The expression of notions of respect seems not only to have been linked to the observance of decrees, but importantly, also to the failure of observance. An accusatory letter was sent out by the Hong Taiji to the Tüsiyetü Qayan Oba, leader of the Qorčın at the beginning of the 17th century, when the Qing Empire was just to be formed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Dalizhabu Bao write about the circumstances:

The circumstances [...] were triggered by the failed participation of the Qorčın chief in a planned expedition against the Čaqar that was to take place on 13 October 1628. Hong Taiji presents his accusation by putting together a ‘case history’ that shows how Oba has repeatedly slighted, insulted, or deceived his Manchu allies (2003, 55).

This implies that respect itself was embedded in relations of exchange, which if responded to negatively, would amount to negative responses and possibly even warfare. The Hong Taiji goes on to reproach:

When you came wishing to meet [us] after the Čaqar had retreated, we cherished you, gave you our own offspring [as a wife], *honored you without limits*, and before sending you back we gave you pearls, gold, sable furs, lynx furs, silk, armor, helmet, five thousand ounces of silver, and all kinds of utensils. But how would you call the cattle you gave us? When you heard that my father the Qayan, *who loved you*, was reborn as a Buddha [i.e., he passed away], why is it that neither you in person nor your children and ministers came? (Ibid., 56)

The tone of the correspondence is utterly disrespectful, particularly, also because Hong Taiji addresses the Qorčın leader as what was comparable to the English “thou” i.e. informally. Di Cosmo and Bao translated *yosun ügei kündülejü tana* as “honored without limits,” this Mongolian term for without limits, refers more to a sense of “custom” or “law” that is a sense of “out of the ordinary.” Moreover, the original does not contain “my father,” this is translated from context. Similarly, only the “loving kindness” of the Qayan is translated, however, the

original contains a pair-word of *čimayi qaiyiralaju kündülegsen*, translating literally as “loved and respected you.” Hence, as respect describes the observance of a decree, it also describes the love and respect by a parent. The correspondence obviously lists the failings to fulfill the relationship the Qorčin leader inhabited toward the Hong Taiji and his family. Affectual rhetoric was not only used in the creation of a new political order of patronage, but was also the rationale to protest its intermittent failures as this example shows.

To protest and criticize was to tread a fine line also towards the end of the Qing dynasty, yet, “respect,” was vocal here too. The previously cited, Togtokhtür (To) Van was rather a reformer than a critic of the aristocracy and the ruler of the Setsen Khan Aimag. Kheshigbat was a lower official and poet of the Qing dynasty.¹³⁰ Both used the term *kündülekü* in their purposes to address the existing inequalities and deficiencies of their society and respective local communities. It was Kheshigbat who criticized the ruling elite

While still the way of honoring humble slaves is great
How shameful that the great ones’ nursing care is small.
While still the Monarch’s grace is flowing out,
How shameful that they strive always to exploit (Sayinjirgal and Šaraldai 1984, 29
quoted in and translated by Atwood 2000, 103).

To Van’s efforts and impositions backfired and his subjects filed petitions against him and revolted. In his book on household economics he admonishes “You should respect your parents, your elder brothers, elder sisters and elder sisters-in law, for if you don’t follow this rule, who will take care of you?” (Togtokhtör 1990, 3).

Both Kheshigbat and To Van refer to the notion of “care” in exchange for “respect.” Kheshigbat thereby picks up the common idea of a “nourishing” Qayan and criticizes him in his own terms, while To Van intended his instructions with regard to governing his subjects.

According to the 17th century Qing law for the Mongolian territories, offending a Wang, Noyon, Taij, Güng or other dignitaries, even if the offenses were considered true, was punishable, resulting in paying with considerable live stock (Heuschert 1998, 200). This also applied to rebellion, even if it was condoned by a Wang, he would then lose a number of households, while all other perpetrators lost livestock. This exemplifies what risk Mongolian members of the aristocracy bore, when by the time of 1911 a secret meeting of Mongolian

¹³⁰ Other critics include Injinash, Danzanravjaa, Guliransa, Sandag, R. Chishigbat, Gelegbalsan, Dugarsüren etc. Some authors remained anonymous. For further references see Bauwe (1985) and Mend-Ooyo (2006).

noblemen headed by the Bogd Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu had convened and discussed the secession from the Qing government (Bawden 1970, 7). Hence, Qing authority was doubted and both decrees and laws, as that of the 17th century, were no longer unanimously recognized.

Correspondences between aristocratic members in the late 19th and early 20th century, suggest that they understood respect as observance of decree, and in this sense as duty or loyalty. The pledge to adhere to decrees was not necessarily a sign of political stability or even observance – it could also equally be read as sign of conflicting loyalties and social unrest. The following situation shall contextualize the example about to be rendered.

The Manchu amban Yün residing in Uliastai and being angered at the compliance of the Manchu general Güi to give up all authority over Uliastai to the Mongols attacked Güi. Due to his lack of military power Yün was then driven out of the region and the Chin Achit Wang Gonchigdamba, who will feature large in the next vignette “assumed duty, took over all matters in the area, relieved the old amban, general and officials and sent them back to their own aimaks and banners” (Bawden 1970, 15-16).

The minister and imperial prince of the third rank Gonchigdamba¹³¹, regent and head of the banner of the Eljigen Ikh Khoshuu, vice minister of the ministry of justice, minister to decide criminal cases of Uliastai-Khovd, chief of the soldiers of the western frontier, member of the Grand State Khural, who also worked alongside the vice ministers of the foreign crimes ministry wrote to the ministers of the western frontier (Tümenjargal 2010b, 2).¹³² Among them was Khatanbaatar (a title awarded to him by the Bogd Qayan) Magsarjav, a famous warrior, who fought together with Manlai Damdinsüren, another renown warrior within the independence movement from the Qing dynasty besides the Ja Lam and the Jalkhanz Khutagt, also known as Damdinbazar. Gonchigdamba was among the most influential figures, who supported the movement of independence and the secession from the Manchu empire. Later around the first World War, he worked on a treaty to submit to China, this time going against

¹³¹ See also Veit and Rasidondug (1975, 187): “Head of a banner; they are arranged in the following hereditary ranks: Wang, Beile, Beise, Gung, according to merits. - Originally, the Jāsays in Khalkha were the descendants of Cinggis Qayan through Geresenje, a nephew in the sixteenth generation; but in Ch’ing-times, the number of banners in Khalkha was increased, and with it the number of Jāsays.”

The post of Jāsay was hereditary, and in most cases the oldest son succeeded. If he proved unsuitable, then a younger brother or the son of a close relative would succeed. The formal approval by the Emperor was necessary. The Jāsays were entitled to demand taxes and personal services from the imperial subjects, the domestic servants (qamjily-a) and Sabi; for instance: taxes on produce, herding the nobles' horses, milking the mares, making felt, breaking horses, collecting dung and firewood, attending on journeys etc.”

¹³² This long list of titles indicates the address in the correspondences as it was legally prescribed.

the Bogd Qayan due to political disorder in Mongolia (Bawden 1970, 24). He dispatched the following letter in 1912, shortly after Mongolia reached autonomy.

Trusted, respectable warriors, I beseech through [your] judgement you will receive harmony:

I Gonchigdamba follow and respect the high decree, I truly bowingly worship to serve, to lead me and the soldiers you have assigned me. I will select the important and good ones. My trusted all, the feet of my body are hurting and I have fallen ill gravely [*khünd*], I have [been] treated a bit, in general I don't know when they [feet] recover, but they have further worsened (Tümenjargal 2010b, 47).

Gonchigdamba is requesting leave from the military campaign, but is very careful to pledge his allegiance, lest it be misunderstood. In this context, paying respect to the high decree to pledge allegiance is aiming at maintaining a good relationship and withdrawing from duty.

In another letter, Gonchigdamba writes in the relation as disciple to Damdinbazar, another famous leader in the independence movement, the clerical master who had been appointed to the western division by the joint advising and deciding ministers (Tümenjargal 2010b, 185) in 1912, from which this correspondence dates:

Honourable, saving, enlightened teacher, I elevate harmony to you [meaning: I greet you]. [...] I have just received [from superior] the letter you have granted me and rejoice veneratingly. Apart from that your students have followed your command [*tushaalig khündetgen* i.e. have respected your command] and have come to the place of Uliastai on the new fifth of the second month. The office having closed, I send you high teachers of abundant salvific mercy all the health (Ibid., 79).

This introduction to the correspondence features a variety of different layers of respect, particularly because it is addressed to a religious authority. That he uses the terms invoking *kesig* “share/grace” such as *shagnakh* which means to “grant/award/reward” and *kürtekü* as “to receive from a superior” thereby rendering the letter itself *kesig*, can also be interpreted as an expression of institutionalized respect. Again, the notion of discipline, obeisance and service is embedded in this notion of respect. The teacher is said to bestow grace and possess salvific mercy. The correspondence draws on affect and emphasizes hierarchical difference.

During the same period, he continues dispatching letters to Sodnomjamtsoi, the Qinwang of the Dörvöd, informing him of establishing the state of the Bogd, which many Mongols were loyal to, that he became minister and was returning to his homeland. He requested his *aimag khoshuu* “banner” to submit. If he were to meet with him (Gonchigdamba) they were to meet

close to Dejeelengiin Khüree (a monastery) and that he was to send an answer (Ibid., 101).

Once more, Gonchigdamba professes his adherence to a decree, yet this time “respect” is used to describe the adherence and following of religion; Mongolia had become a theocracy. In this sense, too, following religion became tied to following a ruler’s decree.

I, Gonchigdamba, because of the issue of Khovd and Uliastai just left Niislel Khüree [present Ulaanbaatar], went along the way healthily and arrived in my home province [*nutag*] to follow the high decree [*deed zarlīg buulgasanīg khicheengüilen dagaj* i.e. literally strive to follow the descended high decree] which was issued. After this I will be going to Uliastai and leave early before the morning sun:

Merciful Qinwang prince older brother, allow me to respectfully/honorfully join and follow Buddhism [the yellow religion] and in addition, it would be truly appropriate to visit Khüree and to strive and speed for the ceremonial message and celebration. Otherwise you may delay in time in the end it [the ceremony] will not happen. Please consider this deeply. If you visit, quickly think about it and have an official document issued in advance, have it come here especially fast together with the letter and I will issue a written reason and will immediately report it respectfully, also you shall use a relay horse to send it (Tümenjargal 2010b, 101).

In his response to Gonchigdamba, Chin Van Sodnomjamtsol picks up his rhetoric and writes reproachfully, but keeps with the addressing etiquette, which I will omit here. Respect is mentioned with regard to the lack of observing religious law:

Qinwang Sodnomjamtsol exceedingly wise minister Beis [prince of the fourth rank] apart from reporting you of my return in good health, which you virtuously wished me, I beseech you to briefly specify and inform me of further strengthening commands [measures]:

The entire Khalkh, from the Wangs and Güngs assembly where they convened in Khüree, remain right, having become an independent state the teacher Bogd Javsandamba’s holiness was raised to Qan, because the religion and state have been established as pair [theocracy]; yet through the clear ruling the citizens of Khovd and Dörvöd, the real vice chief of the league, deputy general of both branches, the Qan, wang, güng of the banners do not let Buddhism spread; they are disrespecting and dishonoring the religious law [i.e. not following] and the remaining Manchu ministers of Khovd from the front office of border regions [*Khovdin manj said jurgan narig*¹³³] have not been expelled and cleaned out and have not freed the Mongols from their sorrow and misery. Even if everything has become silent, the gathering has never

¹³³ The original here merely refers to *jurgan* – which Veit and Rasidondug simply translate as “ministry,” noting that the Lifanyuan was called *Yeke jurgan* (1975, 38). Michael Weiers says the Mongolian designation for the Lifanyuan was *yamun* “ministry” (2016, 81). According to Weiers the succeeding Lifanbu was called Tanggin in Manchurian and Tangkim in Mongolian by 1906 (ibid.). As the Khovd border regions in the west had been under direct Manchu control it seems probable, that what is meant here is in fact ministers of the Lifanbu in this outpost.

found a complete consensus [*yosni dundadig iil olson* lit. the average of custom couldn't be found] they don't come to an agreement and the likes. Our true league chief of the Zuungars [left wing/lit. hand] of Dörvöd Dalai Qan, the vice commander Jun Van [imperial prince of the second rank (Veit and Rasidondug 1975, 185)], the Baruungar [right wing/lit. hand] true league chief Qingwang [imperial prince of the first rank (Ibid.)] are honorfully beseeching you to instantly and urgently deliver each of us an official and confidential document from your place of the Uliastai minister Beis; distinctive exceedingly wise Minister Beis please clarify the related and recommended issues to the Uliastai consul regarding the ridding and clearing of Khovd and how our consulting minister of Khovd [*Khovdin khuuviin said*] can expel the remaining ministers of the front office for border regions [*jurgan*] and Manchus. Please loving kindly award us an intimate letter after a day and night and if not, we beseech you to advance [as in inform] us of other existing doubts (Tümenjargal 2010b, 105).

The general setting is one of social unrest and struggle over political power. Once more, it is in this context of contestation that respect has to be explicated. Despite the state seemingly consolidating itself with the declared autonomy and the Bogd Qayan as ruler, in fact the letter clearly transmits the sense of insecurity and the need for authoritative decisions at the time.

While the Bogd Qayan was now perceived to award *kündü kesig*, the reign period was called “Exalted by All” (*Olun-a Ergügdegsen*), a reference to the *White History*'s mention of the first ruler i.e. the two orders of religion and state.¹³⁴ In fact, in the beginning of the covenant in 1911:

It was agreed that in all matters and principles of state the old laws and regulations of the Manchu Dynasty should for the time being be followed as before. A special decree of grace was promulgated, and commissions, authority, ranks, titles and salaries were bestowed on all civil and military dignitaries, holders of rank, nobles, lamas and officials, and pensions on the old [...] (Bawden 1970, 9-10).

However, this “Contemporary Mongolian Account of the Period of Autonomy” (Bawden 1970) addresses the evolving disorder and corruption towards the year 1914 and relates that critique was yet once made impossible:

If ever the ministers of the various ministries or the governors and officials of the aimaks and banners put in a petition, laid a complaint at law, not only was their [sic] disregarded, but their appointments and ranks were cancelled and they were disgraced and punished, so that the way for future criticism was completely cut off and blocked, and though the laymen who were ministers and noble officials had the name and dignity of high appointments and ranks, they were in fact supernumerary, with no authority whatsoever, while for the most part, intent on insuring and securing their

¹³⁴On this point see also Ines Stolpe (2013) and Klaus Sagaster (1976).

various posts and ranks they began to flatter and toady to the high lamas with court appointments. Then the ordinary common people realized what was happening and began to utter criticism of it (Bawden 1970, 23).

The account, recorded in 1970 unsurprisingly features the narratives of socialist thought, of which the focus on the commoners may be an indicator, apart from its enthusiastic ending, exalting socialism. However, what is important is that status, ranks, authority and loyalty were constantly at stake, and with them, the rendering of respect.

Common Poverty and Respect

Inequality, too, is an indicator of how social relations of respect were practiced in the past and today, for it also reveals something about relations and status. It is predominately those, who are respected, who possess a voice to express their views. Even respect for age is subject to influence from respect for rank i.e. an aristocratic junior is still hierarchically superior to a senior official etc. There are nevertheless numerous critical testimonies from the past, the most illuminating of which might be those which address poverty. Partially, poverty is an integral part of institutionalizing respect because the persons it concerns have received the lesser share of recognition within the social stratification. However, particularly the mid 19th century Qing-dynasty ruled Mongolia also saw an increase in poverty among the Mongolian aristocracy.

Though archival material grants limited insights into views held by commoners, correspondences between important aristocratic and political persons show how political relations were embedded in senior relations not only by virtue of kinship, but also seemed to have had explanatory means in terms of political order and actions. These rather tenuous arrangements again seem to have provided a configuration of values to which different strata of society subscribed to or where coerced to subscribe. We know of works such as *“Petitions of Grievances Submitted by the People”* (Veit and Rasidondug, 1975), which features complaints against taxation, unrightful extraction from or confiscation of resources, unrightful changing of social ranks among numerous other injustices. Yet, these were mediated by scribes, who knew the prescribed etiquette of address. According to Natsagdorj the commoners struggled against the Qing imposed relay-stations, the up-holding of which required high financial extraction. They also opposed the Mongolian princes’ opinion of pastureland being the princes’ private property and instead deemed it common ground. The

princes did not observe Manchu imposed restrictions and “considered themselves to be the lords and masters in full of the territories of their *khoshun*, and dealt with them as they saw fit.” (Natsagdorj 2010, 700). Struggles over resources, interest and authority ensued, which in turn were related to wealth and status.

While offending the nobility and dignitaries was punishable, even if they were considered true, lawsuits and complaints were in compliance with the existing legal frameworks. According to Veit and Rasidondug (1975, 1) “this evidence came into the hands of the resistance in Outer Mongolia.” Inequalities finally also spurred political change, though the government of the Bogd became charged with similar techniques as we have seen. Within this framework respect seemed to have been a double-edged sword. On the one hand it was connected to love and relations figured in terms of kinship and seniority, on the other hand, however, it was linked to notions of status and social stratification and reproduced these through this rhetoric of affection. As the “Contemporary Mongolian Account of the Period of Autonomy” (Bawden 1970) related the new autonomous government reinforced the tenuous existing social stratification and repressive modes regarding opposition, leading once more to unrest and instability. Finally, the widespread poverty and the exploitation by the highly indebted Mongolian aristocracy during the Qing dynasty served as a narrative which justified the expropriation of the aristocracy within the socialist agenda. It is this narrative of exploitation during the Qing dynasty which perpetuates to this date.

Evidently, a recurrent topic making up numerous holdings in archival material is the topic of poverty. Unsurprisingly too, it is predominately tied to tributary duties (rather than e.g. natural disasters, which also occurred). A document as early as 1650, obtained from the Archives of the Academy of Sciences’ History Institute (HIMAS), reflects the oppression of Mongolians living in poverty by the officials:

In this governing banner [*zasag khoshuu*] of the Mongolian banner people there are three appositions the herders, the prince, Tabunang [son in law of the emperor] and the enslaved subjects.¹³⁵ Regarding this Kharchin banner, the tabungan’s share (percentage) is too big. In this *khoshuun* the said division [*el alba*] does not cooperate. It does not in the least take on the responsibility of the home country and banner city. It only commands great assets [*ikh khöröngö edelj*], behaves with cruel arrogance, and exceedingly oppresses numbers of poor Mongolians. Regarding the princes [*taiji*], e.g.

¹³⁵ It seems that the enslaved do not count.

despite the Khorchin banner not fulfilling its official duties, they must pursue their official duties like the herders [commoners].

[In the seventh year of the harmonious Qing dynasty the subjects of many khoshuu (administrative unit) and 15 males were granted land of the width of one land and the length of 20 and were allowed to make a living of farming and herding in ordinary times] (Granting of Land, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 7).

In comparison with other reports this example is an exception due to its lack of ritual phrases referring to commonly held values. What seems striking in most accounts of poverty is a standardized rhetoric professing harmony and agreement, which is in obvert discordance with the social circumstances the letters describe. Yet in this document, poverty of a financial and material nature was predominately objected to in terms of abuse of power i.e. social stratification and relational terms. Documents issued by Mongolian aristocrats on the other hand often bemoaned theft. Yet, the overall idea of what should bring about the desired social circumstances seemed strikingly uniform – namely the values reiterated such as harmony, peace and salvific loving kindness.

A letter reporting poverty as its main topic was also sent in 1876, but it lacks more elaborate affectionate rhetoric as was common in the correspondences between the aristocracy during the late 19th, early 20th century. It takes place in the context of the negotiation over uniting the four aimags.¹³⁶ The lack of affectionate rhetoric may be due to it being addressed to the Uliastai general's counsel ministers [the highest military office of Khalkha held by the Manchu (Veit and Rasidondug 1975, 190)], and it also beseeches the Khüree minister (civil governors). It is a negotiation from 1876 over punishment and duties. *Tegsilekü* "leveling out, or making something equal" is at stake here. The negotiation concerned the share of respective liabilities and the imposition of punishments, the ultimate goal between the officials was to come to an agreement.

Letter to the Uliastai general and council ministers. Dispatched to the concerned league chief Mipamsambuu of Zasagt Qan Aimag [1864-1887]. The reason for dispatching [this document] is the document received from the league chiefs and deputy generals¹³⁷ of the Sain Noyon Khaan Aimag and the military regiment's Mongolian office; the measure commanded just in last year Winter's examination by the Khüree's ministry was that our Sain Noyon Khaan Aimag was impoverished and the cows and sheep that were legally due were not given in aid. Now the Beis

¹³⁶ Thanks go to my colleagues at the Institute of History at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences for pointing this out to me.

¹³⁷ "deputy" *tuslagči* "deputy of the *Ĵasaγ* responsible for the banner-seal" (Veit and Rasidondug 1975, 190).

Chadarjal's banner is still informing us that he has no means to support his impoverished subjects. Additionally, we beseech you ministers of Khüree to command an examination of the subjects and animals held and all the reasons for the extraordinarily impoverishment of the banner of Güng Avirmed. Moreover, the subjects have informed each of you the Uliastai general, the council ministers. We were not able to find the means to pass a just sentence due to our one especially impoverished aimag not being able at any time to justly render the ever omitted additional post station service between the relay stations and [it] continuously deceives and greatly disrupts [it]. Due to this poverty of the four aimags [we] have not yet assigned punishments and due to the households [along] the relay station roads waiting for the just assignment of the military service they have truly strongly impoverished and their means have been weakened.

We inform you, the general council's ministers that in addition to the instructions sent by the Ministry for the government of Outer Mongolia [*gadaγadu mongγol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-ača* (Lifanyuan)] we have informed all of you of the assignment on how to balance the measure of the military service to be rendered by the households of the many roads and to balance and collectively distribute the continuous additional 200 household services of the four aimags, immediately and mercifully adjudicate the assigned adjudication, render the impoverished Mongolians their share and we jointly beseech you, the league chief, to pass the reprimanding judgment on those who cannot justly continue [rendering] the household service. Moreover, we have each and equally informed the ministers of Khüree and the Ministry for the government of Outer Mongolia (Document Reporting Poverty, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 294).¹³⁸

The document singles out the problem of not having received the legally due [lit. customary] tribute - cows and sheep and that the commoners (*qariyatu, qosiyu, arad*)¹³⁹ were now poor and had no means to sustain themselves. It later speaks of fines, which the *chiγulyan-u daruγa*'s (league chiefs) had decided on levying on commoners unable to pay and theft which had occurred in the Sain Noyon Qan Aimag. The territories were organized into *qosiyun* and the Mongolian noblemen were in charge of these. Mongolian aristocrats were also affected by poverty (often being indebted to Chinese merchants), therefore often exploiting their subjects. It was the commoner's *qariyatu* which took the brunt of poverty in this document, though the reasons for the poverty remain unspecified. The leveling (*tegsilekü*) was restricted to the tribute (*alba*) and a solution would enable receiving further levies; it is probable that this was the rationale besides an interest in the population's wellbeing. The document focuses on the negotiation process of arriving at a decision and agreement. The decision-making

¹³⁸ *Yadaγuraqsan iletgen bičigsen bičig 1876 (Khömrög 1, D1, KHN 294)*. I have split long sentences within the document to enhance its readability.

¹³⁹ According to Natsagdorj (2010, 700) they were subject to the Mongolian princes, but had to levy tax to the emperor unlike the *khamjilya*, the subjects who served their masters the Mongolian princes.

process, over what is “weighty and light,” a common phrase to connote the deliberation over importance and triviality, was finally to be decided by the central general’s office in Uliastai, the highest military authority. Despite the struggle over authority, commands (*tusiyayal*) were crucial for decisions and they were top-down.

Harmony seems to have been an overarching topic, which was integrated even in more formal correspondences, particularly in negotiations it was conceptually tied to hierarchy and stratification.

Before we order according to the decreed custom [*tusiyaysan yosu-bar*] that the four Chuulgan aimags [administrative divisions] need to unite and to prepare tribute justly, to agree [literally to beautifully unite your thoughts: *saiqan sanaya niyileljen*] and consult and decide and in this way inform the Uliastai general [...](Document Reporting Poverty, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 294)

More intimate exchanges between (more or less distantly) related members of the aristocracy featured elaborate greetings, personal and relationally encompassing address. Consider for example the following address:

A letter series dated 1834-49, correspondence between the aristocrats Rinchinpil and Sedbazar, involved in the independence movement, features the following standard greeting:

Merciful gün prince I respectfully transmit to you a thousand harmonies and raise the material pure/divine white ritual shawl [*khadag*]. Having established the merciful gün’s treasured wellbeing/body, are you all [referring to family] completely at ease? Here my body continues to be well (Tümenjargal 2010a, 15).

Though particular forms of respect were standardized, as Heuschert-Laage has shown, some, more personal correspondences between members of the aristocracy featured a heightened sense of respect, because they emphasized the relation between the parties and their respective responsibilities and negotiated rank and seniority.

Poverty was mainly brought about by debt and tributary duties. Poverty was not solely related to the deprivation of status and thereby respect, but the last resort by commoners were legal cases, which were again mediated. This was unlike the aristocracy, who could try to pass on the debt to their subjects. As the archival material of the correspondences between the

aristocrats shows, they were also able to negotiate and request financial and material support from one another. Partially, low status and a decreased possibility to mobilize resources coincided. Mongolian-Qing relations involved a high degree of stratification. Relations of patronage/tutelage not only included the Qing emperor and the Mongolian aristocracy, but also the Qing emperor and the Mongolian commoners mediated by the Mongolian aristocracy or the Mongolian aristocracy and their direct subjects, the *qamjilya*. This category excludes the clergy and their estate, the *shabi*, as well as servants and slaves. Hence, while the commoner's voice was mediated, servants and slaves were muted. Resorting to agreement and harmony in the correspondences seems to refer to and negotiate a sense of order, which was processual. The institutionalization of respect had been intended to direct loyalty and control to the Qing government. Yet, at the same time it was appropriated by the Mongolian aristocracy (such as the affectual rhetoric and the tributary extraction), possibly leading to the derangement of the loyalty the Qing government had sought.

Finally, the political relation of filial piety (the emperor as father to his subjects, who bestowed grace) shifted to that of political seniority from the 1920s onward, designating the Soviet Union as elder brother from now on. Yet, seniority relations, including superior-inferior relations being cast as such, had been well established prior, were a principal part of political and personal relations and influenced the perception and definition of hierarchy also during the Qing dynasty.

The institutionalization of respect had been brought on way through using a unique rhetoric of senior and filial care and protection, wisdom, love and salvatory compassion, which was exchanged or bestowed and received by serving juniors, who respected, showed loyalty and adhered to decrees. At first this rhetoric was used by the Qing dynasty to patronize the Mongols, yet towards the end of the Qing dynasty Mongolian noblemen were using the same rhetoric to extract support from one another and to negotiate loyalties. Regarding the legal institutionalization of respect in the 17th and 18th centuries it was presumably not laws that played the overarching role in verdicts, but local seniors. This consolidates the notion that respect was paid to seniors and it signified the adherence to their authority. Another form, in which respect was institutionalized was gift exchange – it paralleled the development of affectual rhetoric. While taxes were paid – they received less ideological attention (though no less important and mandatory) than the gifts which were bestowed by the emperor. Heuschert-Laage described how the emphasis shifted from recording received goods to recording goods

awarded to the Mongolian nobility (2014, 10). Again, the Mongolian nobility took on this notion and beseeched their Mongolian aristocratic superiors to bestow goods onto them (i.e. to extract).

The recounted vignettes seem to suggest that the literal mention of respect was reserved for social unrest. It had to be explicated when status, authority and loyalty were at stake. It generally appears as adherence to a decree. Accounts of poverty within this time of social unrest testify to the relation between the institutionalization of respect, which entailed social stratification, and in turn jeopardized the loyalty towards the Qing government. The appropriation or possibly prolongation of these institutionalizing methods by the Mongolian aristocracy may have also lead to the derangement of the loyalty the Qing government had sought to establish through institutionalizing respect.

5. Late Socialist Institutionalization in Re(tro)spect: Discipline, Respect and the Question of Negative Freedom

Drawing on Established Thought and Shifting Conceptions

While senior respect was perpetuated and even more emphasized in political relations in socialist times, filial piety, by no means remained unpolitical, but included another dimension, which was brought to the fore, namely respect for women as mothers. This was not a novel concept, for women had played a prominent role throughout Mongolian political history (see also Atwood 2010, 112). Though of course the way gender and morality were fused and how this specific narrative sought to create a new venue to extend into the moral lives of its subjects and their relations may have been unprecedented.¹⁴⁰ Arguably, all ideological aspects of governments try to integrate the political within the daily personal lives of their subjects to some degree. On another note it is no novelty that socialist governments institutionalized their rhetoric and agenda, Mongolia as a satellite state notwithstanding. As the discussions of my interlocutors will show, they were highly conscious of repercussions through dissent, simultaneously often viewed as guarantee for order. What is more, the frequent purging of Mongolian politicians¹⁴¹ in the early socialist state contributed to this view. Alexei Yurchak described the techniques of this hegemony thus:

A complex system of institutional and power relations made possible the ubiquitous replication of ritualized acts and utterances of authoritative discourse. [...] The common perception that authoritative discourse was simply unavoidable and unchangeable further shaped the reproduction of ritualized forms of this discourse. This perception was predicated on the particular conditions of production and circulation of authoritative discourse, with the state having hegemonic power to impose a widely circulating representation of reality formulated in that discourse, thus guaranteeing that any alternative representation or counter-representation would not

¹⁴⁰ It might be comparable to the Qing narrative of the filial emperor.

¹⁴¹ General Secretary of the MPRP Dashiin Damba (1954-1958), leader of the MPRP Banzarjaviin Basanjav (1936-1940), the leader of the MPRP Khasochiriin Luvsandorj (1934-1936), Secretary of the MPRP Dorjjavyn Luvsansharav (1932-1937), prime minister and president Peljidiin Genden (purged in 1936) or the twice prime minister and leading figure of the MPRP Anandyn Amar (purged in 1941) to name but a few. Late socialist repression included Daramyn Tumur-Ochir a member of the Politburo, who had been responsible for organizing the 800th anniversary of Chinggis Khaan's birth, artists and scholars such as the poet Ryenchenii Choinom, who was jailed in the 1970s. Bawden's archival materials (uncatalogued at the time of April to June 2018) at the Ancient India and Iran Trust also speak of a "Rinchen affair" – in which Byambin Rinchen lost his post and had to publicly announce his misconduct in a newspaper article. The famous scholar Tsendiin Damdinsüren had also been targeted in 1938 and was reprimanded for misconduct frequently throughout his career. See also (Barkmann 1993, 1043; Sandag and Kendall 1999; Kaplonski 2002; Kaplonski 2014)

acquire the same widely circulating status as a shared “public” discourse (Yurchak 2006, 36-37).

It was this aim for subjects to internalize political values and to dissolve a differentiation between community and society or more accurately to dissolve stratification,¹⁴² which was pursued overtly and characterized the socialist agenda in Mongolia as well. Dissolving the differentiation took on a moral explanatory mode of its own and laid the foundation for a notion of “negative freedom” in the post-socialist era i.e. the notion that the absence of external control causes everyone to be free to do what they want, which brings about immoral behavior rather than common wellbeing. Consider e.g. Tsedenbal¹⁴³, the prime minister of the Mongolian People’s Republic’s description of the five-year plan in 1961:

We have found the people’s initiative [semantically linked to thought and conscience] and banner-slogan of ‘learning, living and working according to the socialist custom’ [semantically also implying the moral aspect] has clearly manifested itself. [...] The party’s institutions have to awaken the workers’ productive activity and direct [them] to successfully realize [semantically tied to the body as in ‘embody’] the people’s economic plan (Tsedenbal 1967, 81-82)

This is reminiscent of how the philosopher Philip Kain characterized Marx’s broader understanding of morality: “Marx is clearly arguing that a community is the only sort of society that can realize the human essence; it is the only moral society. To realize fully the human essence, social interaction must be consciously understood and purposively directed” (Kain 1986, 295).

The integration of political values into personal lives also has more general implications. Delaney pointed out with regard to the establishment of the Turkish Republic under Mustafa Kemal that “fixing the boundaries of the motherland was equivalent [...] to restoring the integrity or virtue of the motherland (1995, 186). The direct identification between motherland *ekh oron* and mother, or state and birth *tör* (Pop, 2010) is also strong with regard

¹⁴² This differentiation works for the English-speaking context and was part of a translational process at the time. It is actually not quite the same in a Mongolian context. *Niigem* (Society) and *niit* (social) became paramount in Socialist rhetoric and imply this sense of mutual social responsibility, but was not opposed to *tosgon* “community,” which refers to a locality i.e. a village. This is a question of local social stratification. Maybe it would be more accurate to speak of a shift from a sense of stratification during the Qing (i.e. belonging to different estates) to a rhetoric of unity i.e. society. This is not to say that no social stratification existed during socialism.

¹⁴³ I chose to cite Y. Tsedenbal more extensively rather than e.g. Batmönkh due to him holding the longest time of political offices within the Mongolian People’s Republic. From 1940 to 1984 he served as Prime Minister (1952-1974) and General Secretary (1940-1954 and 1958-1984).

to Mongolia and can be easily appealed to politically on a moral basis. “Delaney’s argument alerts us to the significance of the crossover between imageries of religion, kinship, gender, and nationality in making certain [gendered] differences appear natural [...]” (Carsten 2004, 156) Respect for women as mothers, achieved this crossover of imageries and at the same time facilitated the internalization of these values. We could also once more speak of “entanglement.” Perhaps, the more “entangled” and less “differentiated” these images emerge, the more “natural” they appear. The crossover was not an antithesis to promoting women’s rights in socialist Mongolia, but was utilized by the government to politically appeal to subject’s moral identification. We find a pairing of the concepts of women and mothers as/ or bearing heroes to summon a notion of strength, which was then imaginatively extended to the whole country. The value women received transcended the domestic domain without excluding it (Pine 2004, 103). The speech by the then Prime Minister Yumjagiin Tsedenbal in 1964 states:

Our row of leading women grows with every year and among them are born the Mongolian People’s Republic’s laboring heroes and they will bravely, labor fervently, and these builders of socialism are the leading example of consciously embodying this honorable/respectful role.” (Tsedenbal 1967, 353)

While women are clearly associated with “birthing socialism” – a political system¹⁴⁴ – they also seem to have received masculine-associated attributes such as braveness which contains the notion of man in the semantics of its root- *erelkheg*. Again, what is underlined is the sense of embodiment, of inseparability between the body and a body politic, which was not nationally defined, but could however take on this contested notion¹⁴⁵.

Another important point in achieving the crossover of previous and present political ideology was the co-opting of elites, epitomized in the union of Tsedenbal and his wife Anastasia Tsedenbala Filatova (Myadar unpublished manuscript, 16). Inter-marriage between ruling elites had also been a Qing strategy, as I have previously mentioned. Tsedenbal continues describing women’s role and the expectations towards them in detail:

Therefore it is important for our children upon having worked and studied, to become highly conscious of their role in society and the responsibility [and take it on] enthusiastically and zealously/to be just, modest, to organize, to be disciplined, friendly/sociable and to respect the collective and the seniors; every person is demanded to constantly develop their motherland and the proletarian international

¹⁴⁴ Rather than “birthing a nation” (Kanaaneh 2002; Forman Cody 2005).

¹⁴⁵ I am here referring to the ongoing negotiation of how much “nationalist sentiment” was allowed and which according to Radchenko (2006, 97) was curtailed in December 1964 until the late 1980s, but seemed to have been a latently simmering topic throughout.

high principles through the people's peaceful and harmonious view; the party, the people, the collective organizations, collective parents, citizens are all summoned . [...] To work according to the socialist custom, to study, to live we have to take an example in the harmonious respected senior sisters, younger siblings, the heroic women of the Soviet Union and other senior junior socialist countries to study tirelessly – let's appeal to our country's laborious women on behalf of the Central Committee of the MPRP (Ibid., 358-59).

Some topics like salvific knowledge and harmony remain. What is more, the filial relation to mothers became a collective one through the crossover of spheres and the making of community. In both instances, respect is tied to a social role or relation – while respect for seniority is resumed and obtains new political significance – respect for the collective is a new social institution worthy of the legitimacy respect can confer.



Fig. 9 Date unknown, after 1952. March at the Sühbaatar square upholding Lenin and Sühbaatar. The banner seems to read *Akhmadin damjlalaar* “transferred by the seniors.” Socialist Mongolian Parade. Digital Image. Mongolin Tüükh Gerel Zuragt, accessed November 25th, 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/mongoliintuuh/photos/>.

At the same time, the newly established “egalitarian” relation to its older brother could be politically classified as one of patronage, but as it was assigned a relation of brotherly seniority, the term “tutelage” might seem more appropriate. In contrast to the present, in which politicians often mobilize the reference to the “great ancestors” fusing filial and senior ideas to legitimate their agenda, filial references during the later socialist era seem nearly absent. Tutelage however, seemed to have played a considerate role in domestic and foreign relations. The Mongolian Prime Minister Tsendenbal was criticized for drawing on or benefiting from the personality cult of Choibalsan (Radchenko 2006, 96). What was less contested was the reference to the “teacher Lenin” – another tutelary relation. Officially,

leaders too, were included in egalitarian address with hierarchical nuances. A popular address in political speeches was *nökhöd öö* “comrade” substituted by *erkhem/erkhem khairt/khairt* “honored/ honored and loved/ loved” or also *erkhem khiündet* “honorfully respected”, to designate “weightier” addressees. Hence, address forms highlighted less the position and multiplicity of relations as was the case during the Qing dynasty, but attempted to unify address. The economic and political situation in Mongolia in the year of 1964 was difficult. The country experienced a great loss in livestock caused by *zud*, a natural disaster resulting in loss of animals. It faced increasingly bad relations with China, resulting in the withdrawal of essential Chinese labor force (Ibid., 98-99) and an attempted purge and wider dissent against the governing style of Tsedenbal. He was accused of “drinking, debauchery and a thirst for money” by the conspirator Tsogt-Ochiryn Lookhuuz in 1964 and faced other accusations as well (Ibid., 110). Hence, the authority of the prime minister and MPRP leader Tsedenbal was, at least to some degree, contested morally in the 1960s, while establishing socialist morality within society remained an ongoing project.

As Tsedenbal’s political reference to “senior-junior” relations could draw on established notions, so too the rhetoric of “labor,” “discipline,” “organization,” “heroes,” “peace” and the terms “harmony,” “collective,” “custom” as well as the appeals to “study,” “the responsibilities of being role models” etc. were loaded twofold. They carried the connotations of translations of socialist works and contained the notions which were historically established in Mongolia until that point. In this account, Tsedenbal gives primary attention to the role of women, i.e. the roles or relations they are required to fulfill in society (as e.g. mothers), the type of character they ought to possess (enthusiastically, zealously, just, modest, disciplined, sociable and respectful towards seniority, peaceful and harmonious) and the path they ought to embark upon studying, working, developing and thereby liberating themselves.

The term *baatar* “hero, warrior” mostly associated with Mongolian warriors during the Mongol empire, was also implemented to describe the socialist sense of heroism, a term, which conveyed bravery not only on the military field, but also in the social arena, on an everyday-life basis. The rhetoric implied that everyone was a hero and fought for a certain society in everyday life.¹⁴⁶ Aristocratic hierarchy transformed into the hierarchy of seniority and development. Rather than owing respect to a filial emperor, it was now those socialist countries which were classified as more developed which received senior respect, while the

¹⁴⁶ Which is in fact not so far off from the notion of “mastering,” “possessing” and “acquiring” like Chinggis Khaan today, i.e. the figures held in high esteem are projected onto values in daily life.

notion of equality as in equal educational opportunity and liberation of social stratification was simultaneously promoted. The following section will look at present narratives on the socialist past and how etiquette and aesthetics support a notion of order. This is very close to a formalized ritual as notion of order, and hence bears resemblances to Qing institutionalization of respect. Yet, it also bears the signature of a post-socialist economy, where alternative moralities are being sought. The section will also thematize how too much freedom threatens order by offering the right to choose, an inversion of custom, which in turn signifies a loss of morality and hence, order.

Discipline and Order

The notion of “freedom” entered an interesting relation with discipline in hindsight, as narrated from contemporary witnesses in Mongolia today. This relation is particularly pertinent for respect, since present-day narratives oscillate between respect as discipline, strife, order and capitalist “freedom” as potentially chaotic. The latter view is based also on the experience of the early 1990’s

Most fledgling traders faced multiple obstacles in Mongolia, for example, inflation that reached 400 percent in the early 1990s, lack of loans, long travel distances, and poor infrastructure. [...] Because of such obstacles, which led to losses, chronic uncertainty, and confusion, the term *market economy* came to imply insecurity, hardships, competition, shortages, instability, and even danger and fear (Buyandelgeriyn 2007, 130).

The narratives evince melancholy for the past, but also oppose it to love and freedom more generally at present, which is characterized as either “true respect” or criticized as “chaos” by its critics. With regard to the latter view, discipline is often juxtaposed with democratic human right’s narratives, such as improved children’s rights. In turn, these are at times thematized as an encroachment into personal judgements on child rearing and a type of excessive freedom, which is detrimental to children.

What lies at heart of the above-mentioned negotiations appears to be an incongruence of “freedom’s” present-day use with its past counterpart of socialist “democratic liberation.” It exemplifies a discourse and negotiation of two political ideologies, which provide their past and present subjects with values. Freedom in this sense may be understood as “license.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ This point is not unfamiliar to what Locke attempted to refute in his *Second Treatise of Government*: “But though this be a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of licence.” (Locke 2003, 102).

When liberation is positively connoted, it concerns the availability of a certain public infrastructure,¹⁴⁸ called *khögjil* “development, progress.” Generally, this notion resembles an egalitarian claim to “opportunity or capabilities” (Wood 2014, 257). Yet, in line with a socialist rejection of egalitarianism, “equality” is not at stake in the narratives either.

In treating the notion of equality, then, Engels as well as Marx holds fundamentally to two ideas: first, that equality is properly speaking only a political notion, and even a specifically bourgeois political notion; and second, that the real meaning of the proletarian demand for equality, to the extent that it has a meaning, is the demand for the abolition of classes—and that this demand is a better developed and more precise expression of proletarian aspirations (Ibid., 255).

Rather than equality, what present-day narratives on freedom focus on is “custom.” While custom was also used with regard to socialist values as in *sotsialist yosoor* “through the socialist custom,” the notion of custom today has shifted significantly to include and emulate the past. These narratives establish the past (and associate rural areas) as worthy of emulation and worship, while at the same time claiming that it is backward in terms of development. In that case the future (and metaphorically the city) holds the promise of cultivation and refinement, while it is simultaneously perceived as morally and culturally deprived and corrupt. While in these dual narratives custom can be bemoaned to have declined together with order, it is just as much heralded for finally having acquired the freedom to re-appropriate these old customs. Freedom oscillates between positive and negative connotations often within the same conversation. Consider the following narration by a woman in her mid-50’s called Zayaa, who took pride in her crafting skills and efforts on self-sustainability.

Chinggis Khaan, well I think he was respected during his lifetime. Oh and there was the Manchu oppression, oppressing a person means that the merit he accrued will be taken from him. If this happens, persons are being oppressed. This is why we didn’t have the right to study our own history, this is how it was. Yes. And in addition when you talk about socialism - because the Russians oppressed us, everything Russian was considered better. They thought that if we came to know our history and started to take pride in our history, they were truly overpowered. This is why we lived uninformed about the beautiful state of our forefathers. So, now that we have become free and

¹⁴⁸ Such as new buildings, the availability of goods, public transport, education and medical facilities. These notions even extended to the absence of violence in the city-scape.

have studied it [history], we have probably become proud that it used to be good and beautiful, that's what I think (Zayaa, 2014).¹⁴⁹

When I brought an encyclopedia of Mongolian customs to a school, the teachers were eager to grasp it, they read it out loud to check and confirm which customs they knew of. They claimed they had little knowledge themselves, but country-side dwellers knew and enacted them best. When I remarked that the book had been published in 1991, they were quick to note positively that of course all these books had been published after the fall of socialism. These were the same people, who had little earlier portrayed the Mongolian Lunar New Year during socialism in the country side as emphasizing the relations within the community and taking joy in small gifts. They argued that customs during socialism had been purer and interest in money was taking over today's customs.

Through engaging in a “dual narrative” a sense of ambivalence seemingly came to the fore, although the loss of traditions associated with the past and the revival of traditions are not per se contradictory. This phenomenon is not unlike what Neil Smelser characterized as ambivalence, the simultaneous existence of positive and negative attitudes towards “people, objects and symbols” (Smelser 1998, 5). While Smelser focuses on the psychological dimension of ambivalence in relation to rational-choice approaches and points to the significance of dependency as a factor involved in ambivalence (Ibid. 1998, 8), Robert Merton (1976) focuses on the sociological aspects of roles (1976). Deana Jovanović argues that ambivalence “appears as both an effect and a coping mechanism, has a potential to repoliticize power relations and to embed contradictions in actual contexts, where the simple choice of “either”/“or” is a very rare instance for people (2016, 4). What is at stake for Zayaa is a positive memory of her childhood and her personal notion of virtue consisting in accruing merit through good deeds, self-subsistence and herding, which she traced back to the history of her ancestors. Her position as teacher, who needs to teach children proper behavior might have encouraged her focus on the past because “custom” and “proper behavior” are coterminous. Finally, there is also an element of national identification and pride capitalizing on a salvific past, which enter into a negotiation with socialist and neoliberal ideas of a salvific future.

¹⁴⁹ She had studied home economics in Ulaanbaatar after she grew up in the country side. She returned to Baruun Kharaa after her studies, but decided to move to the city with her adopted daughter and husband due to the educational and medical infrastructure. In Ulaanbaatar she worked as a cook and teacher at an informal school.

Forms of respect can come very close to forms of etiquette, but have greater implications and address a sense of order. The notion of “order” is raised particularly by interlocutors, who had lived through the socialist era as children and adults. Consider this present narrative of a woman I had previously called Khadam Eej, the mother-in-law of Khongorzul:

Oh of course it exists, it has to. Well, the custom of respect has almost disappeared in recent times, but our generation of people they really respect each other well. So when you guys meet each other, isn't it so that you call out “hey Tsagaanaa, how are you?” We, on the other hand, [we say] ‘How are you doing? Mrs. Mariusai. Is your body strong [probably slang for *danagar*, energetic, strong] Is your health [hon: *lagshin*] well? Is what [we] say for example, we ask; but they, they say ‘hey you!’ for example. And then they say some English words like ‘hi’ and such things, what does that mean? These two are only in English and only shoved in really. Then there is ‘how are you, what’s up?’ for example, these days. That’s how they are and how we are, right? So peers, we call each other up on our cell phones. “Oh grandfather [hon.], how are you? Is your body well?” That’s it. We take a liking to a person, who is a bit older. “Oh, well how are you? Is your body strong? Your image and looks are beautiful, how beautiful you [hon.] have become! You [hon.] really look very elegant, you are glowing” and then their spirits rise. But they, they let you go with a ‘hey you!’ You can find these two mistakes all over, the peers of this generation, for example my Tüvshin is your age, she would probably act like this, who knows! (Khadam Eej, 2014)

Khadam Eej emphasizes the impact an address has on a person’s wellbeing and state of mind. Respect’s aspect of etiquette was not only addressed with regard to forms of address, but also recurred in forms of dress or clothing, which was characterized as neat. A sixty-year old woman, who was a member of the then ruling Mongolian Democratic Party, particularly emphasized how pioneers had dressed neatly and extended the concern of dress to that of food. If there was no strife towards neatness or in the case of food to prepare it, and people enjoyed ready-made food instead, this would bring about laziness. What seems to be implicit is that “license” lacks the incentive to “cultivate” or “govern” oneself, generally leading to a decrease in moral values. This kind of consumption was not only connected to a lack of respect, but also to a lack of “customs.” Most importantly, though, a sense of respect also comprised discipline within family relations:

The custom of respect existed earlier, I mean in the time before democracy, my time, the time before people weren’t able to study and go to school. It was much nicer for people than today. Now the most elementary [question] is how you treat your mother and father and how you wear things. Nowadays people do not [style] the hair in two braids but not adorn them with many different things, [we used to] wear a beautiful red ribbon and became members of the pioneers, and afterwards joined the union, yes

when we reached 16, when we reached 15 years we joined, it was usually really beautiful [reference to time]. It was beautiful, now it is not that bad, but this depends not so much on the different times, rather on the environment, right? Now and also at that time, our people were a country of nomads, we are nomads, the Mongolians, this is beautiful and so my time was also really beautiful. Yes. [...] Really, our time now, this [time] is also becoming beautiful. Now respecting people and elders, when you think of the past [*deer uyed*] Mongolian customs are being forgotten a little. Now this and that is good, but there are also many people, who don't master them. I think, when talking about it, I don't want to talk bad about people, but it has become like this a little, and this I find a little unfortunate. Yes, it has become like this more and more and in general the kids have everything ready-made, now it's beautiful to have things prepared, they get up in the morning, breakfast is already prepared, it is as if they had someone go to the bathroom for them, things being ready is also [a sign of] laziness, it has become like this, at least this is not human. Some of the youth they ride the public transportation, get into the bus, some really stand up very politely [lit. nicely to give you their seat], but some really don't look at the elder people, look from the corner of their eye and sometimes I say, my child your grandmother's feet are tired, may I sit down? And then they get up, that is the loose manner, that is bad, isn't it? (Namin Gishüün, 2013)

Her account addresses the interrelation of discipline with regard to outer appearance and membership in institutions as a kind of order. To her this is not unrelated to respect for parents. Indulgence, comfort and license appear to bring about a lack of respect in the sense of a lack of consideration i.e. moral behavior. Consequently, she seems to argue for a relation between internal and external self-cultivation, governing or care. It seems as though prescription of behavior or careers and principles enhance the practice of respect in my interlocutor's opinion.



Fig. 10 Date unknown. A parade by pioneers at the Sukhbaatar square on the first of May. Mongolian pioneer girls. Digital image. Mongol Tüükh Gerel Zuragt, accessed May 14th, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/mongoliintuuh/photos/>.

A man in his mid-forties, who had been around 20 years old and in the army when the government had transformed explained:

According to my knowledge the custom of respect existed in the past society, but it was also a totalitarian regime. Other than that the custom of respect was very impressive. It was very good, but alongside there was oppression, the totalitarian regime directly ordered, administrated. That is how it was, and due to this the custom of respect existed, and it was probably much stronger than today. They did that because there were principles, a totalitarian regime. “Now you will not do this, this you are not allowed you can’t go along doing that.” This was exactly how Leninism, communism worked. Due to these principles respect and the likes were impressive, they were very good, I just mentioned the example of when an [senior] person got into

the bus, the seat would be given to them, when a pregnant woman got in, they would give her the seat. It was really good and nowadays this is very rare. They called the time “dark”, now everything is open, it was horrible that time. . We first had perestroika, in the 80s, 88, 89, 90s, right? During the perestroika we were watching the movies in 89, which had come out in the 70s. [...] Now that we go in and out [of the country] we have relations with many different people. Yes. There was no such thing before, [only] with Russia, right, yes and now the quality has also become very open [i.e. diverse], right? [...] Of course there is the custom of respect between people today! We have respect today, in general, but we have also come to learn it from the TV, the custom of respect, now traditions, right, how were Mongolian traditions before, they were like this, they tell us we are forgetting them. That’s what’s being said, a lot of critique is being broadcasted in the news on TV, and the kids... – now this is my opinion. We are forgetting a lot of our traditions. [...] This is what is being propagated on TV because the future Mongolian children will not have them, they are forgetting them, nobody is explaining them the remaining heritage needs to be continued, this is what people have come to talk about a lot. During socialism traditions were [practiced] severely. I don’t know that well, the socialist time, we have just recently started with the [Lunar] New Year, before we didn’t celebrate *Tsagaan Sar*. Secretly we celebrated, right? We weren’t able to carelessly sing and play instruments, it was the herder’s celebration, right. It was allowed to celebrate it in the country side; it was forbidden in the city (Batbold, 2014).

As we can see from Batbold’s explanations, he evinces an ambiguous relation towards respect. Though prescription and dictatorship produced more respect, according to him, relations and communication were opened in the era of the market and enabled an increased relation. The term relation is coterminous with communications and if these improved, then relations, which consist of respect in the first place, are subsequently understood to have improved as well. Yet, at the same time, they have deteriorated. He relates how the media propagates the threat of losing customs, which in turn means a loss of morality, since these, too, are nearly coterminous. In fact, bookstores in Ulaanbaatar are filled by volumes on customs, history and heritage, which are semantically related to morality. Batbold opines that discipline then produces respect; however, an increase in relation/communication counter-balances this. The strict practice of customs in socialism is opposed to the reappropriation of customs today. What becomes evident is that semantic interrelations between communication and relation with regard to respect on the one hand and morality and custom on the other hand allow for moral deductions. A loss of custom may imply the loss of morality and hence, a lack of order. An increase in relations and communication implies an increase of respect. This particular argument appears to evade claims to heritage as foundation of respect.

The narrative of “saving heritage” with regard to respect is not only raised by people, who experienced and lived through the socialist period, but also by younger generations. In this vein, a thirty-year-old woman, a mother of two, also commented on the increased respect and prescription which reigned in families during socialism. There is some irony in her account regarding gender roles. Though she does not reject female emancipation and takes pride in it, she indicates that it has come to exceed its measure in family relations. She too, seemed ambiguous in her estimations, for although she appeared to admire discipline to some degree and caricatured present family relations, she nevertheless took the opposing view to the sixty-year old party member I called Namin Gishüün. In her view people’s conscience and moral judgement only developed once they were allowed to make their own decisions. She opted for choice rather than prescription:

In general I think every person has to pay attention themselves. There is no government which will order, do this and that, which orders people around, that directly orders and gives instructions. All people have to be aware and understand themselves of what lies below them [i.e. what they are responsible for] and in this way they are humane. For example when you’re in high school you follow the lessons, in which you are taught how to live and act, and you think you have to follow these rules and customs. Having come along that way [children] enroll in graduate school, having become a student and they are taught again, ‘this is what you need to do’ but they are themselves highly aware [and if they follow that] they will not err. Directly ordering people, ‘you do this and you do that, you must treat this person like this and treat that person like that’ it is not appropriate to tell them directly, that’s what I think. People have their own awareness. It comes from every single person themselves. [...] Respect in the family? In the old days the husband was called “elder brother,” they were very respectful. Now people don’t call their husbands that, they scold them if they don’t like something, they arrange it [to their likes], especially the women have got attitudes, in olden times the wife wouldn’t say anything in front of her husband, she would boil the tea and would sit a bit in front of the fire and then she would call him “older brother, older brother”, she respected him enormously and the husband did not speak one superfluous word. The women nowadays are not like this, they scold their husband, they take his salary, the women decide everything on their own, everything is organized and the husbands almost have no authority, the men are like this, right? Generally everyone has come to follow the women in the family, now. Yes (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013).

As we have seen at the outset of this section her focus on consciousness/awareness and teaching is in line with socialist claims to understand social interaction consciously and directing it purposively (Kain 1986, 295). Moreover, *ukhamsar* i.e. consciousness/awareness is reminiscent of the Buddhist sense of mental awareness, which is permanent and spans across the variety of rebirths and lives and is hence intricately connected to morality, crucial in order to break out of the cycle of rebirths.

The following statement by a young soldier, who was walking with his child in a small town called Zuunmod in Töv Aimag will elucidate the interconnection between consciousness/awareness and practicing respect i.e. customs. His is a narrative of revival.

When you think of the custom of respect in the old days, it was also a bit low. According to what people say it has decayed, but if you [start] thinking of the past, I would say it has been rather revived [lit. arisen], right? People respect each other and especially honor senior citizens [now], in this way the younger generation are also following the Mongolian custom a bit, they have grown a bit more aware/conscious, right? (Tsereg, 2014)

Narratives on the revival of the custom of respect maintained that since it was now allowed to focus on heritage, to seek, revive and perform customs in the capitalist governing system society was becoming morally superior. Both arguments contain reverence for history. Both narratives of loss and revival draw on a concept of chronological altitude as in *deer üye* literally “high generation/age.” Respect draws on notions of historical “height” (rather than depth) and this sense of history involves different overlapping levels such as ancestors of the family, nation-building and chronological time. Another significant feature of this aspect of time is that it appears mainly in narrations. *Deer üye* does not differentiate between segments of the earlier and later past without additional specification and seems to be used primarily in vernacular contexts. Similar to what Ines Stolpe has found regarding “Golden Age” (2013) it reaches across different chronological periods. It is in this relational context that time and respect are linked in contexts of reverence for the past, as a kind of “human, valued time.” Julian Thomas offers an important account of how this may be conceptualized:

[...] Heidegger’s criticisms are echoed by Paul Ricoeur (1988), who offers the insight that the conflict between objective and subjective conceptions of time can be reconciled by the historian through the recognition that the writing of the past has the character of narrative composition. This position can be pushed somewhat further than Ricoeur might have intended by repositioning it as social theory. That is to say, the human experience and perception and experience of time is story-like, and it is through such a narrative composition that individual and group identities emerge (1996, 32).

The narrative composition of loss and revival also involve the narratives of progress vs. reversion as they are reflected in the past as resource for experience, morally superior and ideal time or “Golden Age.” They are pitted against the present or future as morally superior, progressive and ideal time to practice historical reverence. Ironically, the

socialist narrative of the future as progressive and enlightened has turned into a present reversion narrative in which the socialist age is revered as the morally superior past.

The official speeches from the 1960s reveal that the government attempted to mold respect in terms of social relations, albeit preeminent for the state (such as the biological reproduction of the political system or political relations of seniority with the USSR, respect for the collective, thereby legitimizing different levels of authority). However, what has remained in collective memory and is being negotiated under different premises such as custom, consciousness or communication is the measure of discipline necessary for a thriving of respect, which implies a sense of order. Once again, respect resurfaces in narratives on social volatility. With regard to respect, freedom plays an ambiguous role, identified with “license.”

Liberation and Progress

“Liberation” as it surfaces in the Prime Minister Tsedenbal’s speeches, or Mongolian short stories of the 1930’s to 1960’s¹⁵⁰, which are mandatory in Mongolian school curricula, refer to liberation as freedom from capital driven relations. These relations in turn are described as having relied on status, and forms of respect, which solely pertained to people’s standing in society as well as tribute within master-disciple or lord-subject relations. Liberation is cast as equal opportunity for everyone particularly for commoners at the beginning of the early socialist period. After the transformation period in 1992, freedom refers predominately to the lack of fixed forms, i.e. a lack of prescriptions. As we have indicated, this is often associated with chaos.

Interestingly, just as “freedom” and “progress/development” are associated with postsocialist “democracy” *ardchilal*, today, so too did “liberation” and “progress” take up much space in socialist rhetoric. Both compounds are used by the respective politicians to dissociate themselves from past regimes of governing.¹⁵¹ Today’s political agenda unites notions of “freedom” and “progress” with “heritage.”¹⁵² The term “development” was a core term of the socialist agenda, not only in Mongolia. It also characterized a myriad of early Mongolian literature such as B. Rinchen’s *Bunia the Parachutist*, M. Yadamsüren’s *Three Girls*, Damdinsüren’s *The Rejected Girl* and even G. Ser-Od’s *Original mind* (Wickham-Smith

¹⁵⁰ Some of these stories have been collected and translated by Simon Wickham-Smith (2012).

¹⁵¹ For current examples see president Battulga’s speeches: <http://president.mn/?p=1132> and Elbegdorj’s speech: <http://www.president.mn/eng/newsCenter/viewNews.php?newsId=848>.

¹⁵² See e.g. the president Battulga’s speech on Naadam: <http://president.mn/?p=1109#>

2012). Most of these stories ended with the prospect of development of common people's lives and improvement through education.

Khөгжил "development" was (and is) not only meant in technical and scientific advances, but also morally speaking as "cultivation of virtue." Interlocutors, who belonged to an older generation such as a guard of a student-dormitory in her sixties used the term *khөгжил* in combination with *zorilgo*, "aim," "objective" in relation to one's personal character. Another lady in her sixties, whom I had described previously as party member of the Democratic Party recounted:

He's alright [Chinggis], but Sükhbaatar was also a great person[ality], yes, great in Mongolian history, right? He was directing greatly and he went down in history, right? In general these great renowned men in past times they were true warriors/heroes and protectors, they were brave, this is what kind of people they were. Now these traditional people, true customs *developed* in their period. That's why they are considered great people who went down in history, the people of the past they wrote the first history, they were really great people. Yes (Namin Gishüün 2013, emphasis added).

The immediacy of this future outlook and sense of personal development associated with "virtue" was linked in descriptions of what people meant when they spoke of "development," which they seemed to contrast with respect to the transformation period of 1992. Goods had been very scarce, poverty widespread and every family had received rations allotted in "cards." This in turn had stood in sharp contrast to a period of "modernization" which was particularly significant in the 1950s-1980s when Mongolia received foreign investments from both China, and the Soviet Union in the 1950s until 1962 (Radchenko 2006, 99) in a competition over political influence in Mongolia. Later, in the late 1970s Japan also provided financial assistance to build different structures such as e.g. a Cashmere factory. Hence, in recent narrations "development," *khөгжил* comes to signify the abundance of goods, the building of skyscrapers and foreign investment, i.e. visible markers of consumption as outward manifestation of progress. Yet, in terms of internal "development" i.e. moral development, these same features may be seen critically. The thirty-year old mother of two kids, Mönkhtstetseg shared her thoughts on development:

Now oh well because our country is developing, and we don't have food rations. Things are abundant, things are entering [into the country], in the past things didn't come in from the outside, Mongolia produced in Mongolia, Mongolian liquor, Mongolian beverages, beverages in glass bottles. Mongolian yoghurt was filled in

glasses. This is how it was; the factories produced a couple pieces of bread, that's how it was. And now things have started to develop. It's happening, we're developing, in this way there is excess. People are overstepping their bounds, that is how it's becoming – it was never like this before (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013).

“Development” is differentiated into personal and material development, the latter of which seems to be a manifestation or at least contingent on the former. Respect as internal development may manifest itself in external manifestations such as etiquette, neatness i.e. form.



Fig. 11 Advertisement at a Bus stop in Ulaanbaatar, 2014. It reads “Thank you for respecting my work.” “Respect for labor” here belongs to a notion of “personal development” as it contributes to a material manifestation of order in the city-scape. Photograph by author, August 14th, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Chaos and Negative Freedom

It seems as though the discussions of “discipline,” “liberation” and “development” in relation to respect all make up a complex field of negotiation, in which rule and order are juxtaposed against chaos and negative freedom. This juxtaposition may be classified as what I have called a “dual narrative,” in which people may draw on ostensibly contradicting narratives in

different sequences of a conversation. Some interlocutors emphasized the freedom and increase of customs, contending the repression of customs during socialism. They were also prone to view the present as chaotic state, in which the lack of form and prescription produced a kind of negative freedom. Holding both views was not a principal, but rather a possibility. In this discussion, I will focus on “negative freedom.” The first assertion was offered by a kindergarten teacher, who lived in a ger-district with her eight children. She had left the country-side in the late 1990s and had resettled in the city:

The words of elder people are different, it was understood that this person is speaking the truth [*zöv yum khelj baina shüü gej oilgodog*]. When I was little, it was exactly like this, but not today. After the democracy had arrived everything became different. Before that everything was different. When I was a child I was in awe of elder people [*akhmad khünees aidag baisan*]. I was raised at my mother’s mother. I was a spoiled and self-willed [*erkh duraaraa*] child, but I was still in awe of elder people. Today’s children are very strong willed [in the sense of they do what they want because *dur* denotes desire]. It is now ten years that our people have come from the country side. When I came from the country side I felt [*medersen*] this, it is said that people of the country side are generally different. When walking on the street [in the city] people pass next to you and push you or if you are about to buy something in a store and you want to enter before entering they bump into you [*dairaad* in the sense of offending, walking by] you. But when you are from the country side you will carry heavy things for persons and help them. This is why in the country side things were not this loosely free [*sul chölöötei*]. All people had their own work [*ajil töröl*], their own purpose [*zorilgo* as in aim], they went out in the morning and did their work. But today, people who have work are rare or missing. Socialist times [literally: *zakhirgadalt* means command] were also alright because now everything got too loosely free [*dendüü sul chölöötei bolchikhson yum bolvoo*]. Today therefore the country itself has no industry and persons with work are scarce (Bagsh 2007).

Freedom may take on another connotation, namely that of appropriation in terms of “mastering.” “Mastering” then translates into neoliberal “possession.” Whereas reversionist perspectives will view “mastering” positively as being skilled, disciplined and thrifty and as a contribution to a shared community, they are likely to denigrate it in terms of privatization. Revivalist arguments will emphasize “mastering” as repossessing history, taking up, managing positions and thereby obtaining a higher social status, as self-control and being successful in economic terms through acquiring private property. Revivalist stances are rather optimistic towards the term, but tend to view lower social strata in terms of “tiredness” i.e. a specific sense of idleness. The narratives participate and draw on the same framework of social transformation. Consider this comment on revivalist notions, which had been rendered by a mother of three children, who had recently moved to the capital to have access to health institutions for her son.

In the past society, customs of respect played a big role. Since the year 2000 this role has become weaker. After 2011/12, when you went by bus, you might say there was no custom of respect any longer. In the old days there was a canon of respect, there were rules. Therefore, many things were achieved. There was no person without education. My parents, older brother, and younger siblings all graduated from 8th grade [...]. After graduation we were ordered to go to this and that *sum*, this and that *aimag*. When we had done our work we received a salary. Nowadays, parents pay for their children to study in college, and after that there are still many people without work and an apartment. [...] Because of this, the custom of respect has almost become extinct. In the old days, we had work and we were very industrious. [...] Now all of this is gone.

[...] When democracy appeared and the totalitarian regime was gone, it was really like Chinggis – ‘this is mine, I will take it, now we have to be masters of our country.’ These kinds of people, that kind of meaning you have now in the era of the market, the heroes that appeared now in our democratic generation. [...] Now in recent times, Chinggis was really Mongolian, Chinggis’ Mongolia. [...]. He is the hero of later times, on the one hand during the despotism¹⁵³ there was a lot of governing aristocracy. [...] After that in the old days, they didn’t appear. When democracy began, there was freedom; everything became free like Chinggis. Everybody had to master themselves, everybody was to find something, everybody was to split and take something [...].¹⁵⁴ Reputation was aroused in this way. [...] This is why I think that the Chinggisid time is being glorified in recent times. Now our legal government [...] named a college after one of Chinggis’ children. [...] Sühbaatar generally raises the poor, low and weak. [...] You have to honour Chinggis and you have to honour Sühbaatar, but Sühbaatar is closer to my heart and thought, closer than Chinggis. Yes, because Chinggis is Mongolian, but the word Chinggis has appeared quite a lot in recent times. When we were children he was kept a secret, but Sühbaatar was much closer (Naran, 2013).¹⁵⁵

Narratives of loss and revival essentially comment on political systems of governing. My interlocutors seem to underline the impact of political values in “governing their selves.”

Another elderly woman, whom I introduced as a party member linked the lack of respect with a lack in knowledge or misunderstanding, which she seems to see as connected to “democratization”:

Respect, generally speaking it is lacking a bit in this new society, I think. Oh well, of course there are beautiful people, beautiful relationships, and beautiful culture. There

¹⁵³ She is drawing on socialist discourses describing Mongolian aristocratic rule.

¹⁵⁴ This is a comment on the introduction of a neoliberal economy. The term “to master” is multifarious. It evokes Chinggis’ appropriation of land, but also skills and independence, entrepreneurship and luxury rather than shared property and mutual care. To split and take refers to the privatization process, but simultaneously connotes the “individual” which is also called “part.”

¹⁵⁵ This interview can also be found in a different context within the publication by Kohl-Garrity (2017).

are people who have beautiful manners [lit. who have become beautiful]. But at the same time there are people, whose conscience, their thinking is a bit restricted, and also their human quality is lacking a bit, yes. [...], No, now if we ask why it became like this, in the said period, there was a transformation to democracy. We tried to become a democratic country, during this time was the societies threshold; some of the people of this grey [*saarmag*: extremely polarized] period, understand with their heart-mind, but some apprehend wrongly and are additionally a bit bad, that's what I think (Namin Gishüün, 2013).

Another woman in her late 70s in 2008 also bemoaned the conditions of social ills. These were particularly pertinent during my field research periods from 2007 to 2009, but decreased in the years 2013 and 2014, when correspondingly people increasingly commented on the level of “development,” which Ulaanbaatar had reached. This development was mainly visible in a boom in construction and extension of Ulaanbaatar's infrastructure into the ger-districts. Visible public violence in the streets during the day had similarly decreased. Interlocutors in 2008 had often characterized the conditions as *zambraagüi*, “disorder, libertine, neglect.”

When I was younger everyone was so well behaved and very cultivated and that was the same during the mid of my life, there was absolutely no beating, but in my older age I'm seeing those bad images of society like alcoholism, unemployment and (fist) fighting. We didn't have that when I was younger. It was different when I was younger and I was a very well behaved girl when I was younger. When I graduated from University people started behaving, treating me in different ways. I think everyone behaved in different ways in those times. But nowadays I don't think I could work in any work place because everyone would say 'oh you are a member of the communist party.' I would just be discriminated because of my party affiliation (Tuyagin Emee, 2008).

The arising nostalgia with regard to “order” may also be comparable to what Olivia Angé and David Berliner have attested for Europe as an experienced “rupture”:

In Europe, at that period, nostalgia for the past times indeed blossomed. Massive changes, such as those induced by industrialization and urbanization but also by the French Revolution, fostered a ‘perception of history as decline’ [...], ‘a dramatization of discontinuity’ [...] and a desire to recapture what life was before. A sense of temporal acceleration prompted by unprecedented social and economic transformations produced, among many European elites, a sense of loss and distance from the past that nurtured their wish to patrimonialize and museumify it, but also boosted their scientific and literary interest in memory and loss (Angé and Berliner 2015, 2,3)

Mongolia, too, saw an unprecedented industrialization and urbanization from the 1930s onward, accelerating in the 1950s and 1960s and the narrative of ‘history as decline’ can be found in many popular short stories of M. Yadamsüren (1991), Ts. Damdinsüren (2012), B. Rinchen (2012) among them also those who later turned to actively promote a positive understanding of ‘heritage.’ After the decline of the Mongolian People’s Republic and a long period of shortages, which promoted social inequality, an economic transformation took place once more. While social inequality persists,¹⁵⁶ there has been considerable investment in the city’s building industry changing the face of the city visibly, which is also reflected in present narratives on ‘development.’ In this sense, Mongolians also experienced ‘acceleration,’ though in the latter case it is coupled with social inequality, pollution, precarity and insecurity also accounting for narratives of nostalgia. This older party member then on the one hand is able to portray her youth as modern and at the same time recur to historical reverence, in which the past is morally superior.

However, apart from this sense of rupture dual narratives and their element of “reversion” or “modern nostalgia,” can be characterized as “[...] a response to time’s passage that for all its melancholy is reflective, self-revealing, even creative” (Hutton, 2013, 1). Dual narratives of loss and revival equally evince the tackling of

personal continuities and discontinuities [...] [a] felt awareness of how identity is entangled with difference [...]. Instead of starting from the assumption that nostalgia is a typically unreflective form of memory, we might say that it gives sensory depth to our awareness of the other places, times and possibilities that are at once integral to who we are and definitively alien to us (Atia and Davies 2010, 184).

The “creative” aspect of nostalgia seems to pertain to the production of a “future,” which is modelled after and inherently linked to the reverence of the past. However, despite its merits as an analytical concept, the term nostalgia brings with it its own history, as it was coined in the 1688 by Johannes Hofer to describe a (psychological) medical condition of homesickness, a notion easily detectable in the remaining focus on identity (Dahl 2016).

¹⁵⁶ Rebecca Empson used the ex-Vice Minister of Finance’s expression of the “Wolf Economy.” She says “In Mongolia, the wolf is revered but also hunted, hinting at the way in which the economy could emerge with strength or alternatively, be subject to destruction.” Empson (2013). While the economy had looked promising in 2013, the initial anticipation gave way to disillusionment in 2014-2016. In 2017 it recovered strongly through a soaring coal production, rather than copper concentrate production. “Mongolia: Economy,” *Asian Development Bank*, accessed December 15, 2017. <https://www.adb.org/countries/mongolia/economy>
To this day wealth is concentrated in the hands of a wealthy minority.

The emphasis of my interlocutors on principles, rules and order produce narratives, which are cast against a background of lurking chaos and void. Within this nostalgic perspective (which took hold in the mid-1950s and reached its apex with Mongolian post-socialist governments) socialist notions of liberation are discussed as quite distinct from post-socialist “freedom.” “Freedom,” becomes an ambiguous term, which is linked to the present and portrayed as morally loose. Hence, freedom often carries a negative connotation, particularly when it refers to an evolving human rights discourse in Mongolia.¹⁵⁷ A 61-year-old woman, who worked as a cleaning lady at the University for many years and who was taking care of her children, many of whom suffered from blindness, described how she perceived students’ behavior:

Now with regard to traditions and upbringing there is much change, there are many bad sides, but also many good sides, right? Now [the time] is passing and things are developing on the one hand that is beautiful, things are materializing, there are cellular phones, televisions, now there is also internet and the likes when you think about the things you’re interested in, now that we have gotten there and look around, things are developing from that perspective. And then there are also shortcomings, people, the young people regarding their upbringing there are a few shortcomings. Apart from that, they all have a lot of privileges; some have more, others less. All people have their property. Now from this perspective there are shortcomings. When we say the custom of respect in the past, our Mongolian people had many customs and regulations, in general, people greatly feared their elders and important [lit. big] people. When we were kids and we stood next to an important person we didn’t have the right to say irrelevant things, we really didn’t have the right, we really feared, that’s how it was and now it is no longer so. Now, the present society what does it follow, from that perspective things are becoming a bit worse, now. The children, now, because I work at a school, today’s students have really become extreme, almost, we feared our teachers, the fear was really great, now they are really not afraid, [...] from this perspective there are really some shortcomings, bad effects are coming, and the custom of respect among today’s kids is sparse, but not all are like this. Yet, not all, some are good, but half of them are like this, that’s how it is. It has spread, they are almost not afraid of us, but some are also kids with a good upbringing, and they will fear/respect an elder person. Another sign is that they listen to you and do what you tell them. And some really don’t listen at all. Of course these exist too (Dulmaa, 2014).

Another woman of 35 years was Erdenchimeg, who was living on the southern side of Ulaanbaatar in one of the residential areas and had somewhat more comfortable living circumstances. However, she had grown up in the ger-districts and came from a difficult family background. She was the sister-in-law of the young woman I called Khongorzul:

¹⁵⁷ It appears that there is an increasing awareness of child abuse in 2017 countered by such popular social movements as *nudee nee* (open your eyes) or *khüükhdiig khüchirkhiiilekhiig dakhin tevchikhgüi* (No more tolerance of child abuse). It attests to the rise of a stronger civil society, while at the same time being a by-product of a neoliberally oriented government, which increasingly privatizes matters of social welfare. In this discourse the reference to human rights, however, is almost absent and builds rather on personal fates and how parents or other relations fulfilled or did not fulfill their relational duties.

No, now in general the custom of respect has ceased, as we can see in the relations we entertain with each other, right? Now we in the past, there was interaction between older brothers and younger siblings. Now regarding the words spoken by my father and mother or grandmother and grandfather I would take them in and reflect on them amply and I treated them in a respectful manner. My older brothers and younger siblings, now our younger siblings they are afraid of their elder sister, they were never disobedient, this is how it was, isn't that so? Now this is no longer so. It is just like with Americans, from the early childhood on, I am this way, I am separate, I am an individual person I say and have to talk about what I wish, this is my role and right, is what they say, it is becoming like this a lot (Erdenechimeg, 2014).

Erdenechimeg more explicitly juxtaposes two systems which she seems to identify with imperial powers such as the United States and values commonly associated with them. Her response is complex for she attacks the violence she experienced as a child and her mother's strictness, but at the same time estimates fear as a positive form of respect, while portraying what she characterizes as "freedom" or more precisely an excess of choice and "right" as negatively.

Discourses of respect and their interrelations are manifold. I have singled out some strands of narratives in the present which touch on the ambiguity and negotiation of order as juxtaposed against chaos and an understanding of what I have analytically differentiated as "freedom" (as referred to in collective memory) and "liberation" (socialist rhetoric). Both relate to freedom from despotic rule, but particularly: "the positive enjoyment of various social, political, or economic rights and privileges" (Merriam-Webster.com 2016b). "The absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in choice or action" (Merriam-Webster.com 2016a) however is only relevant to the present discourse of "freedom."

While we may consider the standardization of Qing rhetoric and practices of respect institutionalized particularly by governing agents, I would take this analysis one step further and extend it to the intentional deployment of moral concepts such as "care and protection," "order," and "freedom" etc. within such relations as "filiality," and "seniority." Such notions as "order" seem to remain tied to a "past," but only work complementarily with a juxtaposition of a presently experienced "chaos." Together they refer to material manifestations such as architecture, infrastructure and "open" intentions, appearances or

expressions – the known as corollary to the unknown or “concealed” e.g. inner (moral) states and thoughts.¹⁵⁸

Institutionalization of values through particular rhetoric, which refers to morality and transforms into moral markers may be related and recur in nostalgia, as much as it is related to the present through its critique of capitalism and negotiates the present through the past. Certainly, nostalgia in Mongolia is also connected to widespread “reverence for the past” which can be traced back even earlier than the Qing dynasty, as I have tried to indicate in chapter 2. It has been embodied in senior relations and its inherent notions of respect. Socialist governments featured the dominant political narrative of modernization, a narrative which has had a significant impact on Mongolian authors and can be traced in their early works. Seniority was referred to in order to legitimate this outlook.

References to history were particularly critical in the early 1930s and the negotiation of the term set in only with the onset of the Khrushchev era, when renowned scholars like Tsendgiin Damdinsüren among other leading scholars of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences started arguing for its resignification as “folk wisdom” i.e. positively connoting heritage against the critical stance labeling reverence of Mongolian history as “nationalist.” Unlike academic disciplines in general, these works were also received by non-academics. After the transformation, these developments even lead to a positive evaluation of “nationalism.” Hence, when we consider nostalgia in Mongolia at present, we need to bear in mind that history itself was perceived to have been “repressed.” Therefore, nostalgia, can also be read as an affirmation, yet counter-narrative of a past to a certain institutionalized valued rhetoric.

Notwithstanding, past and present Mongolian empires and governments such as the Qing dynasty, the socialist era and the ruling political parties of the postsocialist government have drawn on “the moral authority of the past” (Humphrey, 1992) or its counterpart a kind of “moral superiority of the future” to promote political agendas and intently extend these into the very lives of their subjects. This includes the valuation of time to create legitimacy.

Institutionalization of respect (and values related to it) is not just a question of political processes. It shapes its subjects and their values through the answers they evince by

¹⁵⁸ In Mongolian this is referred to as *il* “open” and *dald* “concealed.” However, these terms can also refer to “legal” and “illegal.”

appropriating, rejecting and negotiating the not always coherent agenda. In part through these common references (whether in accord, discord or ambiguity) collective identities take shape. “Identity” here should be understood in terms of Stuart Hall, who assessed:

Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity – an ‘identity’ in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation)” (2008, 17).

At this point it is also important to caution from falling back to an intense focus on the (universally conceived) “subject” (both in the psychological and political sense) as I have tried to argue in the first chapters. When we focus more on the formation of relation as one possible perspective among many it is important to look “beyond” the subject. Pierre Hadot has made a convincing attempt, which explains just what this might be. Granted, it might not be the only possibility. He agrees with Foucault that “practices of the self [...] correspond [...] to a movement of conversion toward the self (2008, 378). However, he identifies a necessary complement and extension, which better explains just why a person engages with practices of the self. We may draw on Hadot’s insights to explain why “institutionalization” paired with the valuation of time may prove so fruitful i.e. it invokes a moral identification deemed universal. It is with regard to the questions of being, sense and transience¹⁵⁹ that practices of the self, (which are politically motivated) may then be geared towards a different level of identification: the identification of a person with a “universal;” a universal of which one is a part and a part which dissipates into a higher purpose – not unlike a Buddhist conception of *khooson chanar* “empty quality.” This annihilation of the self for a greater purpose is at the same time quite powerful also in political terms.

I do think, however, that this movement of interiorization is inseparably linked to another movement, whereby one rises to a higher psychic level, at which one encounters another kind of exteriorization, another relationship with ‘the exterior.’ This is a new way of being-in-the-world, which consists in becoming aware of oneself as a part of nature, and a portion of universal reason. At this point, one no longer lives in the usual, conventional human world, but in the world of nature. One is then practicing ‘physics’ as a spiritual exercise. In this way, one identifies with an ‘Other’: nature, or universal reason, as it is present within each individual. This implies a radical transformation of perspective, and contains a universalist, cosmic dimension, upon which, it seems to me. M. Foucault

¹⁵⁹ Though not exclusively.

did not sufficiently insist. Interiorization is a going beyond oneself; it is universalization (Ibid., 378).

Even though Hadot still guides his narrative misleadingly focused on the “psyche” and “individual,” his point seems useful when looking at moral discourses such as those on respect and their significance for relations and their “parts” *khuvi* i.e. persons and “shares.”

This chapter has drawn extensively on present-day narrative of the socialist past and I had initially remarked that all ideological aspects of governments try to integrate the political within the daily personal lives. It seems as though this aspect is quite significant. Therefore, a cursory remark on present institutionalization of values may be in place as a concluding observation. Furthermore, these narratives on the socialist past can only be understood through the present and should not be mistaken with the past. The transmission of professed values, like respect, in a present framework relies in part also on consume (of e.g. historical products and historiographies) and global import. Mongolian political campaigns have utilized respect for and veneration of the past as resource extensively. Neither are they unique in this manner as we find such a focus in politics not only in Central Asia, but also China and the Middle East. In as far as national sentiments draw on this reverence of the past one could argue that it is a greater political movement which encompasses Europe, the United States and many others. Funding of political campaigns through corporations and international non-governmental organizations are tied to agendas. In this vain in 2013, scholars of the Academy of Sciences, who competed in funding with the National Mongolian University hoped to receive support when they invited parliamentary members to the institute. They were advised to form a lobby to petition for their interests (not unrelated to their scientific reputation dependent on funding) according to the US-model. Another example is the “streamlining” of international educational discourses, which are exported to “developing countries.” Ines Stolpe and Gita Steiner-Khamsi have pointed to the relevance of this for Mongolia, albeit acknowledging other perspectives explaining convergence:

One of the explanations most frequently given for the international convergence of educational systems is the following: Once the barriers for global trade are eliminated, anything can be imported and exported, including educational reforms. Since the trajectory of that trade tends to be unidirectional—transporting educational reforms from high-income to low-income countries, and rarely the other way around—educational systems in different parts of the world are increasingly becoming similar (Stolpe and Steiner-Khamsi 2006, 1).

An import of educational agendas often comes with the evaluation of time and the binary between the “moral authority of the past” (Humphrey 1992) as it is pitted against the moral superiority of the future i.e. progress. These in turn are intricately linked to the value of respect as I have attempted to show. Globally active value discourses not only have an impact on social relations such as conceptions of senior-junior relations, they also produce local variants of discourse. Currently in Mongolia social change is discussed and negotiated in terms of custom (including respect) as I have shown elsewhere (Kohl-Garrity, 2017). Political processes of institutionalizing and intending value discourses in societies influence the negotiation of values such as respect on multiple levels. Explanations of influences involved in present institutionalization, in turn, are not supposed to hide the aspect that the Qing and socialist government were both similarly embedded in the construction of more globally aimed value dimensions.¹⁶⁰ We will remain with the topic of history in the next chapter and look at how history has been subject to “intentional” processes.

¹⁶⁰ While socialist “brotherhood” and “internationalism” might have made up two such dimensions of more global impact, the Qing case is a bit more complicated. The Qing emperors mobilized such notions as the emperor’s grace (which included ranks and titles) and divine fortune to incorporate more subjects and provide such a metaphysical rationale for governing. On a smaller note, the trade with the Qing dynasty and access to its scholarly works through Jesuit intermediaries also influenced European thinkers such as Gottfried Leibniz to develop his binary system (Frankopan 2015, 270). There are serious scholarly shortcomings when it comes to focusing on the trade of intangible goods such as values.

6. Intending History

The Question of Longue-Durée

This thesis incorporates and juxtaposes a variety of historical and ethnographic material over a longer period of time, an enterprise which may be likened to the *longue-durée* approach of the *École des Annales*. However, this approach came under scrutiny by both anthropologists and historians particularly when postmodernism was in full sway. “The cultural theories that emerged in the 1960s to 1990s undermined these paradigms [of the *Annales*] by challenging the fundamental assumption shared by all of them: that economic and social relations provide the foundation for cultural and political expressions” (Hunt 2014, 14). Syncretically oriented anthropologists were also likely less favorable to a *longue-durée* approach as are some historians, who seemingly tend to follow a certain *mentalité* approach towards epochs, with the difference of sealing them from a broader reference to time (quite in contrast to the *École des Annales*, who proposed the idea of *mentalité* and *longue-durée*). Historians dealing with particular events or persons (rather than *longue-durée*) and who may also be focusing on a “diversity of temporality,” “causal heterogeneity,” “historical contextualization” and “chronology” characterize each period and its constructs as distinctively composed (Sewell Jr. 2005, 10). Therefore each period has “different social dynamics.” History, I quote: “assume[s] that what entities exist in the social world, how they operate, and what they mean change[s] fundamentally over time.” (Sewell Jr. 2005, 9) This is not necessarily an antithesis to a *longue-durée* approach. Some historians look for regularities within an epoch, others are also inspired by and incorporate more overarching temporal regularities or meta-narratives, much like the social sciences have tended to do [ontology (Holbrad and Pedersen 2017); post-modern “no-meta-narrative”, structure, function etc.] In contrast to William H. Sewell Jr.’s observation (2005), I see an encounter of two complementary epistemological approaches by Social/Cultural Anthropology and History, which I believe are not mutually exclusive, yet may enter into a relation of contestation. A diametric opposition must be avoided, for as cultures or societies cannot be viewed in isolation, so - I would suggest - all reservations and cautions granted, it may also be fruitful to look at relations over time. Bearing this in mind, I will further embark on the path of a frame of “references” and take a *longue-durée* approach

which entails interrelations between different respect-related ideas.¹⁶¹ For as David Glassberg has rightly said:

If the meaning of a historical fact is not intrinsic but changes with context, then public historians can investigate the successive contexts created by the author, by institutions of communication, and by audiences, tracing the social organization of knowledge about the past in particular settings (Glassberg 1996, 16).

Alongside “the *social organization* of knowledge about the past in particular settings,” (emphasis added) we shall also look at “social knowledge of the past” as the basis of “*collective identities*” (emphasis added). Something the ancient historian Hans-Joachim Gehrke pointedly called “intentional history:”

Social knowledge of the past, in other words that which a society knows and holds for true about its past, its ‘intentional history’, is of fundamental significance for the *imaginaire*, for the way a society interprets and understands itself, and therefore for its inner coherence and ultimately its collective identity (Gehrke 2001, 286).

¹⁶¹I here refer to ideas which are largely still prevalent today and historically documented, but whose extent of practice cannot be ascertained for the past with certainty other than indicated by scholars who have already established certain insights and written on these topics. One such concept would be *khishig* or “grace,” which Christopher Atwood (2000) has written about as “grace” with regard to the Qing Dynasty, while Rebecca Empson (2011) has thematized the same concept as “fortune” in her anthropological study of the present. Another seminal study in this context is the previously mentioned work by David Farquhar (1987).



Fig. 12 Chronology of Mongolian Khaans depicted in a classroom at a local Ulaanbaatar school, together with posters featuring the national cultural goods, national Mongolian symbols, a map etc. Photograph by author, November 30th, 2013, Ulaanbaatar.

Hence, the thesis also aims to point to different frames of references from a “deep past,” and to show people’s reproductive and “creative” engagement with these frames in the more recent past and present. This of course is not to argue against ruptures and discontinuities over time with regard to respect, but to also point them out by drawing on historical sources.

Entangled Relationships and the Social Organization of Knowledge about the Past

At the heart of “the social organization of knowledge about the past” we may discern an influential relation, which maintains the reproduction of this organization of historical knowledge and images of the past. The master-disciple configuration has been designated as “formalized relation” by David Rugg (1991, 442). It also recurs in the “two orders” *khos yos* of state and religion (Choimaa 2006b, 3) as promoted by the 13th century *Oyun Tülkigür Neretü Shastir*, or the *White History* supposedly commissioned by Khubilai Qayan (Sagaster 1976, 3) with additional textual insertions in the 16th century (Heissig 1959, 25). This order

was an expression of an underlying political ideology and negotiation of powers between state and religion – or Tibetan-Mongol relations in the form of preceptor-officiant and donor.

Ruegg argues:

In the Inner Asian polity, whereas Sa skya Pandita had already stood in a kind of preceptorial relation to the Mongol prince Köden (Go dan) and while Karma pakši stood in a similar relationship to both Qubilai (for the first time in 1255) and the Great Qan Möngke (reigned 1251-1259), the teacher-disciple relationship between a preceptor-officiant (*mchod gnas*) and donor (*yon bdag*) was evidently formalized both religio-politically and terminologically in the *mchod yon* relationship between Sa pan's nephew 'gro mgon' Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po and Qubilai, who reigned as emperor from 1260 ” (1991, 448)

Ruegg comments that the question arose as to their respective honor and position of thrones, which was solved by the emperor's precedence in worldly matters and the Phags pa's precedence in religious matters as the emperor's *bla ma* and preceptor. He continues to explain that during the Manchu reign this relation – which can be perceived as personally dependent – became blurred: The emperor though secular in power was also identified as Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the Dalai Lama ruled over Tibet through spiritual power and was identified as Avalokiteśvara or “Lord of the world” (Ibid., 450). Ruegg identifies this relation to date back to ancient Vedic India. Chinggis Qayan came to be identified as *Vajrapāni*.

This arrangement of master-disciple relationship, however, does not appear to have been restricted to Tibet and took a more overarching political formation as Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz argues:

Broadening the traditional three-fold scheme of the realm of the *Rigs gsum mgon po*, the 'masters of the three realms', including China (with the emperor as emanation of Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of wisdom and knowledge), Tibet (with the Dalai Lama as emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of infinite compassion), and Mongolia, the realm of Činggis Qan (considered to be the emanation of *Vajrapāni*, the bodhisattva of martial strength), Russia was visually integrated into this symbolic world order by addressing the Russian Tsar as the emanation of the female bodhisattva White Tārā, who traditionally has a strong relationship to Avalokiteśvara, thus symbolically joining Tibet and Russia (2014b, 130).

Anya Bernstein among others has pointed out that in 2009 the Russian president Dmitry Medvedev was declared an incarnation of the “White Tara” drawing on an older event¹⁶²:

In 1764, Empress Catherine the Great granted an arguably independent (which many today interpret as “autocephalous”) status to Buddhism, a non-Russian religion in the sensitive borderlands, for which she reportedly had been proclaimed the first Russian reincarnation of the Buddhist goddess White Tara (Bernstein 2012, 269).¹⁶³

We may say that a master-disciple relation, in which the religious head acts as master and the worldly leader becomes the disciple, who is nevertheless in “power” in the worldly realm is reminiscent of Louis Dumont’s elaboration on ancient India (Dumont 1986, 252-253), in which the Brahmin’s and king’s relation is also defined by hierarchical reversal. The merging of these two categories by which the worldly leader also becomes his transcendent counterpart and in which both functions become united contains the idea of a master-disciple relationship in it, but becomes devoid of it.

Both, the master-disciple relation and the merging of political and religious functions point to how ethical precepts become transmitted. Caroline Humphrey is right to point out that in Mongolia “almost no space is given to general ethical precepts as emanations of God or society. Rather, precepts tend to be *authored*, and they then appear in relationships as tied to the personalities of both the mentor and the follower” (1997, 33).¹⁶⁴ Yet, the precepts and the template for this relationship are often contained by historical narratives. It follows a frame of reference.

Transmissions of Social Knowledge of the Past

¹⁶² Dittmar Schorkowitz drawing on Grünwedel (1900, 147) relates how the Russian Tsars were seen as incarnations of the White Tara since the time of the empresses Elisabeth and Katherine II due to the Buryats, who had been in close relation with the capital. The gifts of the Kalmyk and Buryat delegations to St. Petersburg attesting to this view can be still be found in the present State Russian Museum. Schorkowitz also cites that Bormanshinov (1992, 167) explained that the Tsars were not seen as Bodhisattva, but Cakravartin, Buddhist enlightened rulers (2001b, 283; 409-410).

¹⁶³ Karénina Kollmar Paulenz argues that this was Empress Elisabeth of Russia, who officially issued a decree to recognize Buddhism (Kollmar-Paulenz 2014b, 129). She then inserts in a footnote that this is historically doubtful because the decree has not been found. She argues that the 18th century under Empress Elisabeth saw the “most severe restrictions with regard to Buddhism.” (Kollmar-Paulenz 2014b, 129). On the more detailed political circumstances see also Dittmar Schorkowitz (2001a).

¹⁶⁴ This can also be seen in Paul Ratchnevsky’s analysis of the role of Šigi-Qutuqu (1965). Ratchnevsky describes how Šigi-Qutuqu is entrusted with judicature, the allocation of appanages (*kesig*) and the scriptural recording of decisions based on the Khan’s orders, which were considered binding also for later cases (1965, 109). Šigi-Qutuqu refers to the *yeke yosu* (customary law), on which he bases his decision not to accept gifts from Qada of Jungdu, which had been conquered by Chinggis Qan. He argues, due to the conquer they belonged to Chinggis Qan. In contrast, Önggür and Arqai had interpreted the acceptance of gifts differently. However, Chinggis was convinced of Šigi-Qutuqu line of reasoning and reproached Önggür and Arqai.

From a focus on the relation by which precepts become authored, let me now focus on how this frame of reference regarding respect was produced. It seems that from the outset history, morality, religion and governmentality are inextricably linked. Historiography, which was perceived as instructive, was just as much political.

As we have seen in previous chapters respect for decrees issued by Qing aristocratic rulers were key objects for asserting respect. Johan Elverskog contended for this period that besides the “alms master and object-of-veneration relation” which was described in the previous section, “Mongol concepts of religiopolitical authority were [...] premised on a dual model of legitimacy” (Elverskog 2006, 46). The other component besides *karma* was the will of God (*Tengri*) – or fate, which Elverskog identifies as contradictory. He argues that the *khoyer yos* “the dual or two order(s)”¹⁶⁵ had less impact than scholars have assumed; he points to the role of the will of God/heaven: “Among the Mongols a similar phenomenon is found; however, the rulers allied themselves [...] with the father of the Mongol ‘nation,’ who had initially received the blessing to rule from God” (Elverskog 2006, 48).

What he does not mention is that *Tengri* was likewise conceptualized as father and¹⁶⁶ The Secret History refers to “mother earth” in § 255 of *The Secret History of the Mongols* (De Rachewiltz 2015, 175). The will of God was evinced through the ruler, who was chosen by God/mighty heaven and granted fortune; this was a much earlier concept found on coins of the 13th century. Hence, it comes as little surprise that the words and will of the Qayan were accorded such weight or respect. This seems to have been the ideological foundation. Yet, I would argue that as both *Tengri* and Chinggis Qayan (Ibid., 40) were conceptualized as father at least during the Qing dynasty – this can also be looked at in terms of filiality, a point to which we will come back. Looking at forms of respect in the 13th century it is possible to draw on a long literary tradition either directly attested or attested through interaction in the larger spheres of the empire. There are two aspects of respect – once the forms of senior respect or breaches thereof recorded within historiographical texts and secondly the sacrosanctity and secrecy accorded as well as the minute record taken of words spoken by the rulers. The minute records are as much an example of a broader history of diplomacy during

¹⁶⁵ The two orders refer to Buddhism as spiritual leader and the Qayan as the worldly ruler.

¹⁶⁶ The Secret History of the Mongols does not refer to heaven *tenger/tengri* as “father.” However, the later *Jewel Translucent Sutra* of 1607 speaks of powerful Eternal Tengri as father as does an Oirat prayer to the eternal heaven, item ii, lines 18-19 of approximately late 18th century by Walther Heissig (1966). Earlier literal references could not be found.

the middle ages, of bookkeeping and matters related to jurisprudence as secrecy and sacrosanctity create a monopoly of knowledge.¹⁶⁷ Rashid Al-Din notes:

Now it was the custom in those days to write down day by day every word that the ruler uttered; and for the most part they would make use of rhythmical and obscure language. Everone [sic] had appointed one of his courtiers to write down his words. The aforesaid Vazir did this for Chaghatai (1971, 155).

At times the boundaries between direct and indirect attestation will be difficult to delineate – the most popular example being the workshop of scholars under Rashid Al-Din who compiled chronicles of the Mongols for Ghazan Khan, “[...] fearful that the Mongols in Iran were forgetting their glorious past [...]” (Allsen 2001, 85) Here again, it is the past which is to instruct a future collective identity. Information on Mongolian customs, landscapes and values are remarkably detailed and accurate due to Rashid Al-Din’s informant and workshop member Bolad, who likewise had assistants.

However, there is also a limitation to this spreading of official history during this time:

It is quite evident that the Mongolian elite considered these materials, at least in the Mongolian versions, sacrosanct, possessing great spiritual force since they were associated with the founding father. Rashid al-Din relates that there is “much that is secret and there are narratives of the Mongols which [Ghazan] alone knows and they have not been recorded in this history. Naturally, access to them was strictly controlled; they were secured in the treasury and entrusted only to the ‘intimates’ of his Majesty Ghazan. Clearly, as a great amir and recognized authority, Bolad was one of those with such access and it was he (and his research team) who provided Rashid al-Din with Persian translations and extracts from the Mongolian originals. It is also possible that Bolad and his associates passed on such data to others such as Het’um, a prince of Lesser Armenia and an intimate of Ghazan, who wrote an account of the Mongols in the early fourteenth century which he claims recounts ‘everything just as the histories of the Tartars say (Allsen 2001, 88).

Obviously, there was a conflict between the “sacrosanctity” of the documents and its instructive force. However, that it was safeguarded to such a degree also speaks to the value of its moral dimension. Besides preservation of a moral community or collective identity, it is likewise apposite to consider periods of change and their impact on historiography and by implication the value of respect. Rashid Al-Din makes frequent reference to the reverence and a cult of Chinggis Qayan as well as the confirmation which needed to be obtained for major decisions from the *akha* and *ini* - the elders and the junior Mongol princes. History and

¹⁶⁷ Thanks goes to Dittmar Schorkowitz for pointing to this aspect of creating “power.”

genealogy were essential as a moral and political legitimation, served as foundation for education, but also family relations in that seniors were respected qua their knowledge, an implication of history. History is only related to knowledge because acts and events in the past have already produced results in time and their study is perceived to be able to make causal explanations about present and future acts on the present and future. Hence, mastering it, worshipping it, writing it down and obtaining the supervision over it all involved processes wherein history was intentionally¹⁶⁸ organized and was able to produce explanations on cause and effect, but also more spiritual senses of salvation, while at the same time producing a rationale for governing people. While these histories were written for the elite, they nevertheless enjoyed popularity in their oral transmissions at later points in history.

One of the historiographies which flowed into Rashid-Al-Din's *Successors of Genghis Khan*, a section of the *Jami' al-Tavarikh* indirectly through the *Altan Debter* was the *Secret History of the Mongols*, whose main protagonist Chinggis Qayan has become the fore-most cited historical protagonist in the wake of national interest today. David Sinor (1982) draws parallels between narratives associated with Turkic origin and some which appear in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. As Christopher Atwood has claimed (2010) the agenda under which the *Secret History of the Mongols* was written was one, which he calls "reversionism" or "nativistic" in Allsen's theoretical framework (Allsen 2001) and differed decidedly from contemporary Confucian-inspired historiographies commissioned e.g. by Qubilai Qayan such as his contribution to the *Yuan Shih*. In order to situate the adaptation of Confucian elements in the 13th century, I would like to turn to Atwood once more, who describes how diplomatic visitors in Qubilai's times aimed at reinterpreting Mongolian customs as inherently Confucian and that it had been offered and conceptualized as a foreign religion among others to Mongolians under Chinggis Qayan. A temple to Confucius was established in Karakorum as early as Chinggis' rule by the Kitan Confucian Yelü Chucai. The merging between Mongolian customs and Confucian rituals, however, was not taken up favorably by all of the Mongolian nobility such as Möngke Qayan, who had been raised by Ögedei Qayan, but was the son of Ögedei's junior brother Tolui. This can be read from the *Secret History* written

¹⁶⁸ This includes acting upon historical narratives, i.e. re-imagining them, constructing them in discordance with the actual past events. I favor this term of intention to invention as the latter moves the question of authenticity to the foreground, often questioning legitimacy of the narrative itself, rather than contextualizing it and overshadowing the argument that histories are generally written from a particular vantage point which is politically informed. A powerful example of such representation, rewriting and construction of history can also be found in the Paul Ratchnevsky's discussion of Šigi-Qutuqu (1965). More general theoretical endeavors in this regard have also been undertaken by Judith Anderson (1984) as well as Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger ([1983] 2000).

presumably during Möngke's reign (Atwood 2007). While *The Veritable Records of Chinggis Qan* compiled by Qubilai's historians and oriented towards Confucian works such as the *Classics of Filial Piety*, emphasize respect for parents, according to Atwood, the *Secret History* as well as the Persian accounts (Rashid Al-Din) both contrastingly feature fratricide "the shocking deviations from the idea of brotherly union" and "[...] the ideal of fraternal, collective rule expressed therein" (Atwood 2010, 112). We have a parallel orientation in the 13th century of embracing Sinization under the Tolui line of Qubilai Qayan and his brother and predecessor Möngke, who rather rejected this framework. Thereby, the history of thought during this period is rather complex.

Rashid Al-Din in his account edited by John Boyle already indicates that the norms were conceived of as historical. Traditions taught by elders are already explicitly referred to by when he relates that Ögedei asked how he could take the throne if his elder brothers were present and proposed that Tolui, Chinggis' youngest son, to be the more suitable ruler. For, as the youngest son, he had been living in Chinggis Qayan's palace, attended to him and therefore had received a closer instruction in the *yosun* customs than any other of his brothers (1971, 30-31). This was stated in a context of inauguration of ritual refusal of the throne and therefore seems to have been institutionalized. This notion of historically grounded norms is also apparent in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Historiography then captures the norms that were intended to be disseminated. To situate Mongolia in a larger frame of exchange on the Silk Roads, what has been emphasized predominately by scholars are exchange of goods because they are tangible. Values in this regard, have only received little attention, not even mentioning forms of respect. The sole argument of nomads-as-annihilators of civilizations-argument¹⁶⁹ has been refuted, after which the Mongols were classified as disseminating the "high culture" of the sedentary civilizations. This appears equally unconvincing, for studies by Allsen (2001), Atwood (2010), Reuven and Biran (2005) show, that the rulers of Mongolia were selective in partly choosing, partly perpetuating the moral frameworks underlying their rule, which were highly susceptible to the politics of the region at the time, social and economic factors. Dittmar Schorkowitz takes a differentiated and minute view over a broader time frame with regard to the culture contact in the *Slavia Asiatica*.

¹⁶⁹ Nicolay Kradin points out that these were classical works on the philosophy of history (2013, 171). Allsen attributes this view to nationalist historians (2001, 5-6). For the political agendas behind the evaluation of Mongol conquerors see Paul Hyer (1966) and with regard to the Mongolian self-perception see Igor de Rachewiltz (1994). For an ecological-functional explanation of a Mongols-as-annihilator approach see Fletcher (1986).

Während als chasarische Entlehnung nur der Herrschertitel Chagan für 965 bezeugt ist, dieser aber durch Metropolit Ilarions „Predigt über Recht und Gnade (Sloveo o zakone i blagodati) von 1051 als möglicher Transfer eines überlegenen Herrschaftskonzeptes (translatio imperii) in Frage kommt, das Turkbulgarische und Qipčaqische überwiegend onomastisches Sprachmaterial aber kaum Abstrakta vermitteln, so verbreitet die Pax Mongolica in nur wenigen Jahren eine Vielzahl von Begriffen zentralasiatischer Provenienz, die komplexe politische Institutionen bezeichnen und vielfach Eingang in die Verwaltung des altrussischen Staates fanden (2014, 156).¹⁷⁰

He speaks of cultural forms as a *mixtum compositum* (Ibid., 160), that they are neither unsorted nor unseparable. He also points out that political power does not necessarily lead to a transformation of existing cultural forms, as political units of declining political dominance can also have a strong cultural impact (Ibid., 159).

Paul Ratchnevsky in his article on legal relationships has pointed out that the fall of the powerful Mongolian federation in the 12th century under Qabul and Qutula-Qan had led to a “profound political, economic and social crisis.” (Ratchnevsky 1987, 64) He goes on to discuss the status of (non) members of a tribe i.e. servants of a master and lays out the legal i.e. also normative and moral understanding of Chinggis first as master and then ruler. Many of Chinggis’ *yasa* are portrayed as reforms in the course of rulership and therefore to some extent imply social transformation. Ethical precepts, such as the discussion of respect also simultaneously imply deficiencies because the need for laws, reforms and the forming of a discourse on a certain ethical topic arise particularly when there is a perceived void. Reasons for this perceived void are manifold and may entail a shift in values connected to a shift in governing powers.

With regard to “respect,” *The Secret History of The Mongols* does not feature prescriptive ethical principles on the subject literally. Yet, it depicts respect in narratives as it is embedded in senior relationships, friendships and features a number of honorific terms such as *aldar* – “respected” connecting the “name” to “respect.” The narrative’s purpose, the reverence and authority of Chinggis Qan is no novelty and much reference to him pervades different works throughout the centuries (Charleux 2008 and 2009, Sagaster 1976, Kaplonski 2005). However,

¹⁷⁰ Michal Biran has suggested the term Pax Mongolica to be problematic as it suggests the role of the Mongols to have been a passive one with regard to how the “sophisticated sedentary subjects learnt from one another” (2004, 348). I do not concur with this assessment as the primary implication of the Pax Mongolica is that of peace and relative stability.

many present colloquial references do not seem to cite *The Secret History of Mongolia* (but indeed refer to it).

Another genre, which was similarly reproduced (in comparison to historiographies) are instructive works *surgaal*, which draw on historical authority. Though little is known about the genesis of the *Oyun Tülkigür Nertü Shastir* (from here on modern Mongolian: *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir*), it played a prominent role in education (Choimaa 2006b, Stolpe 2008, Damdinsüren 1967). *The White History* contains elements of a *surgaal*, but it is a *ülger-ün sudur*, a governmental compendium of legal and instructive nature which seems to have influenced the frame of references extraordinarily.¹⁷¹ According to Ines Stolpe (2008, 78) citing Sharavin Choimaa (2002, 3-7) the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* had also influenced the education of the Mongolian administration during the Qing dynasty. Fragments of both works are said to date back to the 13th century, however, due to the processes of copying and adaptation over the centuries, scholars are arguing to this day, which parts this may concern (Yakhontova 2000, 69-70). In the case of *The White History* it is even disputed if it is datable to the 13th century, whereas it is unquestionable that it is a document from the 16th century, parts of which go back to an even older date (Kollmar-Paulenz 2001, Schuh 1977, Vanchikova 2001, Bira 1977, Sagaster 1976).

Despite a clearly detectable impact of referencing, it needs to be emphasized that both the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* and *The White History* were dependent on the agendas of respective historical periods, which were clearly marked by the two orders and their subsequent ambiguities, as Ruegg has shown. The *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* was presumably written or orally transmitted from the 13th century onwards, but attained its final form only in the 17th century (Yakhontova 2000, 70) and had been used also during the Qing dynasty as mnemonic device in schooling children after they had learned the alphabet. It is educationally instituted to this day and the opening verse recounts that it has evolved from the *biligs* (wisdom) of Chinggis Qayan (though this is most likely simply an attribution to him). Transmission during the Qing dynasty is more complex here and didn't follow strict lines of wealth or nobility, for home schooling and private teachers, who were hired by higher strata extended their teaching to include the children of the servants at times (Hyer 1979, 228, Stolpe 2008, 81). Hence, the schooling which servants received depended on the benevolence of their masters. Though the aristocratic clergy held better positions and moved upward faster,

¹⁷¹ Strictly speaking the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* and the *White History* are not historiographies, yet both include historical narrations and myths of origins.

the circumstance that almost every family sent one male family member to the monastery, which speaks against a strict segregation between knowledge and wealth, indicates that there were small loopholes in society's hierarchies of the time.¹⁷² This is supported by Heuschert-Laage's finding that some owners of servants adopted them into their households as their children and heirs in the 18th century (Heuschert-Laage 2009). A general feature of historiographical works in Mongolia is that older works were copied and re-copied into newer historiographical works which then contained them. One example is the Secret History of which major parts were copied into the *Altan Tobči* by Luvsanvandan in the 17th century. In this vein, according to Klaus Sagaster *The White History* only attained its "book of laws" and "Hymne" in the 17th century, as well as its attribution to having been commissioned by Qubilai from the Secen Qung Tayiji in the 16th century (Sagaster 1976, 57). The re-citation and copying of older works speaks as much to the authority older literature held as it does to how older sources were respected as knowledge. Much the same way the *Oyun Tülkhüür* features influences and sequences from *Rashiyān-u dusul* and the *Subashita* of Sa-skyā Pandita (1182-1251) (Yakhontova 2000, 70, Choimaa 2006b, 3). This technique of copying continued at least until the 18th and 19th centuries. With regard to *The White History*, Sagaster notes:

Die Weiße Geschichte ist nicht nur ein theoretisches Werk. Die in ihr enthaltenen Vorschriften hatten auch praktische Bedeutung. Dies ist daraus ersichtlich, daß noch im 18. Jahrhundert die Ernennung von Beamten unter Berufung auf die Weiße Geschichte erfolgte und daß sich die in ihr niedergelegte Staatsämterordnung im Činggis-Khan-Kult des Ordos-Gebietes im wesentlichen erhalten hat (1976, 33-34).

In addition, ritual might have been one prominent factor for dissemination among a broader public. The excerpt points to the legal and political impact of *The White History* as well as its transmission, as civil servants had to undergo a rigorous education. Walther Heissig states that many copies are known to have existed well into the second half of the 16th century and manual copies excerpting the text were found well into the 19th centuries (Heissig 1959, 18-19). We must keep in mind that the citation and acquisition of knowledge is the very technique by which the master-disciple relation comes to be defined, a relation which is also very much a political template as the notion of the two orders discloses. The description of the two orders and *The White History* in particular can also be included in the works on

¹⁷² Ines Stolpe (2008, 82) cites Rinchen (1964, 28), who estimated that 44% of the male population attended the monasteries by the end of the 19th century. Jagchid and Hyer also confirm large numbers of males having joined monasteries (Hyer 1979, 177). However, while monks might have been instructed in the basics of reading in writing, the overall focus lay on recitation through memorization; hence there was still a high quota of illiteracy.

Mongolian legal and political systems, but the *White History* is no historiography in the strict sense (Heissig 1959, 22). The necessity for such precepts, however, may stand in contrast to the technique of copying and revering old sources. The negotiation over the division of powers and the description of the duties of different functions which make up a supposed order lies at heart of *The White History*. Though not all designations of duties and divisions of power are novel, the negotiation and recording per se imply a political and moral change, the introduction of the *khoyer yos* “dual order” itself. For once, this was the “second conversion” in 1578 when the third Dalai Lama and the Altan Qan implemented the legal order of the norm of the ten virtues under the lead of Setsen Qung Taiji, calling on the authority of the books of the 3 Tibetan Cakravartin kings and Qubilai Setsen Qayan of which *The White History* was a part as Sagaster writes (1976, 57). However, if *The White History* were a text of the 13th century as Sagaster relates, then initially, the agenda behind *The White History* was to regain political hold of Tibet after the death of Chinggis Qayan, which was de facto ruled by Buddhist clerics and withheld tribute. The different Buddhist sects were struggling for power among one another, the reason why the Sa skya pa favored an alliance with the Mongols to cement his power on the one hand and to raise Buddhist religion as authority over worldly power on the other hand. After the religious dispute in Karakorum in 1256, which had been formally won by quietist Chinese Buddhism, Qubilai had invited the ‘P’ags pa (the successor of Sa skya pa) as Tibetan Buddhism was more favorable to uphold the mentality of warriors and traditional *böö mörgöl* shaman beliefs (Sagaster 1976, 24-27).

Historiographical works, which may also feature legal aspects, were not the only genre which enjoyed sacrosanctity. The Qing historian Heuschert-Laage has established for legal documents from the 16th to 18th century, though they were fixed on paper, it was not necessary to “put them into effect verbatim” (2004, 131) and they were often kept secret. What all these genres also share is their instructive character and ultimately their focus on morality. In this vein, Heuschert-Laage attests that the relevance of legal texts “should be understood as evidence of a collective identity and as a means of forming a sense of community in 16th -18th century Mongolian society.” It can be argued analogically that historical texts and those drawing on historical authority likewise may be understood in this way. Furthermore, as the validity of legal texts cannot be equated with their effectivity, so historiographical and instructive works framed by different political agendas have developed a validity and reality beyond their original intention and scripture.

In this sense, the written reception of historiographies became particularly widespread with the onset of socialism, peaking in the reinterpretation of history after the change of government in 1990. Historiography and identity-building once more became the medium of expression and a moral arena of negotiation. It became the foundation for later nation-building processes.

Frameworks of References

Repetitious configurations pertaining to respect as they were addressed in the previous chapters include those of care, respect and indebtedness/provision. Care is rendered by the superior and indebtedness (which in turn implies a sense of provision) pertains to the inferior. This configuration concerns primarily the Qayan-subject relation and by extension may include the parent-child relation. It suggests itself that as the Qayan inhabited the formalized relation of father as Elverskog (2006) has pointed out, this configuration then also conceptually included the parents.¹⁷³ Atwood (2000) attested the theme of “grace” in connection with “political loyalty” in which the emperor bestows grace *kiindii kesig* as unique to the Qing dynasty. This might be the case regarding the lexical use. However, at least parts of the thematic configuration can be found in the Secret *History of the Mongols*,¹⁷⁴ the *White History* and the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir*. As *The White History* was recited until the 17th century, and the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* was recopied approximately until the 19th century, these two sources do not formally stand ground for arguing that the configuration and political importance of grace (and with it respect) were present before the Qing dynasty. The terms *soyurqal ök-* and *öglige soyurqal* (Cleaves 1996, 19), however, are already attested to in *The Secret History of the Mongols* as well as the Sino-Mongolian Document *Hua-i i-yü* and denote “grace” and a “reward” rendered from a superior to an inferior (Sagaster 1976, 140). That there is no lexical unity to express notions of care, respect and indebtedness/provision can be seen also in the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir*:

degedüs-i kündülen itege :
dooradus-i ergün tedkü : (§65)

Believe and respect those above,
Support and take care of those below (Yakhontova 2000, 73).

¹⁷³ It should be noted that the topic of indebtedness seems particularly Buddhist. However, the notion of care and provision can be found also in thought history of other traditions.

¹⁷⁴ For the topic of providing for the Qan and pledging loyalty to him see de Rachewiltz (2006), vol. 1.

The term *tedkü* used in the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* also appears in *The White History* as office *titegülügçi* (guard), the verb *tetegül-*, is described by Sagaster to mean “help,” “support” and “protect” (1976, 129). Furthermore, the office of “Tuγulçi,” who “distributes” *tüge-* is referred to in *The White History* as “*Wer fehlerlos verteilt, den setze man in den Rang eines Tuγul ein*” (Sagaster 1976, 161). Sagaster identifies the term *tügel* “distribution” to have been used in the context of sacrificial meat offered to the ancestors which was then “distributed” to the “believers” according to rank i.e. *kesig* a “share” (Sagaster 1976, 206). Yet, these terms do not exclusively refer to care, respect and indebtedness/provision in *The White History*. “*Soyurqal*” as “reward, grace” given by the Qan in *The White History* refers to the care or literally grace the emperor was to accord his descendants and extends to include his subjects. “*Bezeige gnädigst, Allherrscher und Boddhisattva-Heiliger, Güte gegenüber deinem königlichem Sohn! Erfreue deine Minister und die vielen Lebewesen, die deiner Güte bedürfen, gnädigst!*” (Sagaster 1976, 168).

Respect/provision inheres in the title of the emperor as *kündü qayan/qan* – translated by Sagaster as “*gestrenger König*” i.e. “stern, exigent.” However, “honored” or “weighty” are more literal translations and seem more befitting. Finally, *The White History* calls for following Buddha, the religion, the clergy and the teacher as well as respecting ones parents and “repaying their benevolence,” which Sagaster explains to mean to fulfill the commitments a lama has imposed, to follow the commands of the emperor and to follow the instructions of one’s parents (Sagaster 1976, 376).

Regarding the role of *soyurqa-* in the Yuan dynasty Chinese Ancient Historian Dezhi Chen relates:

The Yuan feudal system generally had two layers: the first layer is dividing the *qubi* 忽必 (份子) for the imperial clan members (i.e. the so-called *aqa-de’u* “older and younger brothers”) which granted fiefdom and people in its real sense; and the second layer was the *Soyurqal* (reward) for meritorious subjects which was actually granting inheritable rights to guardianship (2005, 14).

The Japanese historian Murakami Masatsugu (1961, 1) explains that *soyurqal* was a fiefdom in Chinggis Qayan’s empire and was used in oaths of allegiance between lord and knight. The subjects of the Qayan’s were *qubi kesig* i.e. portions of heritage i.e. common property. *Soyurqal* originally meant “grace” bestowed by the lord unto the knight and later in the early Mongol empire concerned inherited privileges conferred upon grand knights and princes with

regard to their non-Mongolian (not native steppe land) *emčü-irgen* (subjects). It signified the property of knights and princes in general. The verb *soyurq-* then seems to have been closely linked with notions of “property” in a “superior-inferior” relation. While the the subjects of the Qayan (*ulus irgen*, and Mongolian) were *qubi kesig*, the subjects of knights and princes were registered as *soyurqal*. It may prove insightful to inquire into supplementary, thematically varied documents of the 15th and 18th centuries to determine whether there existed a configuration of care, respect and indebtedness/provision on a *longue durée* scale. A document of 1452 rendered in Chinese and Mongolian posing an order made by the emperor Kung-jên k’ang-ting ching huang-ti and addressed to the t’ou- mu of Lār also features *soyurq-* in the sense of “gracefully sending” goods in exchange. As Cleaves did not recognize *soyurq-* as a complex transferring a specific meaning he translated it as “pleased to send.” Yet, the document relates how the superior (the emperor) answers to the tribute sent by an inferior and reciprocates by “sending gracefully” i.e. bestowing. Cleaves translated the document and thereby showed how it utilizes a rhetoric of the emperor’s affection (*enerin asaraqı*) towards an inferior (vassal) who had shown him respect, complied with heaven and had honored the emperor (*tngr-yin ayur-i kündülen dayan degedüs-i erkilen*) by gifting him. He had thereby showed him his “good will” (*čing ünén joriy*), an expression used to communicate “loyalty” as Cleaves explains (1950, 443). The emperor then returns/answers in “goods” (*qarimjilamui*). The emperor bestowed “grace” for loyalty. The “will of Heaven/God” (*tngr-yin joriy dayan*) is a core reference in the exchange. Cleaves mentions that it is not clear why the document had been rendered in Mongolian, but that the text was clearly written by someone fluent in the language, as it is not a direct translation of the Chinese. As the document was not produced by a Mongol emperor it may only attest to shared values.

A leap in time is necessary to show another realm affected by a similar relation. Invocations from approximately the second half of the 18th century translated by Walter Heissig (1964) contain a close connection between *soyurq-* and notions of loving kindness (*qayır*) and in this instance protective spirits, which guarded and increased property. Finally, hunting ritual invocations¹⁷⁵ published by Charles Bawden (1968), which go back to recordings by Rinchen, Heissig and Damdinsüren dated around the 18th century and later also contain *soyurq-*. Here the term appears in the framework of requesting booty and bounty from the blue heaven and golden earth as well as the mountains or the “Manaqañ Tngri” (a hunting god). The term is in

¹⁷⁵ These are discussed within the framework of Buddhist influence on shaman rituals. It is clear through Kara’s work on Uyghur verbs of compassion that “grace” was also part of a larger Buddhist rhetoric. It appears to be more productive to speak of an “entanglement” of uses.

close alignment with loving kindness/grace (*qayiralan soyurqa*), protection (*qaraǰu tedkün soyurqa*) and a share in game (*qamuǰ ang görügesün-ü kesig-i öggün soyurqa*).

There seems to be a tacit connection between “grace” as it is carried by the term *soyurq-*¹⁷⁶ and the Qing *kesig* in terms of imperial property (which in turn ultimately depended on the will of God as Elverskog would have it). Arguably then, care, respect and indebtedness/provision within a superior-inferior relationship made up key concepts within that relation. As care, respect and indebtedness/provision is a rather general concept, it would be possible that there are more detailed historical shifts embraced by it. This remains to be studied. Suffice to indicate that the Qing narrative of grace seems to have forebears which concern an exchange relation between a superior and an inferior. The Qing primarily referred to compassion in terms of Middle Mongol verb *örösiye-* which “is derived from *örö/öre* ‘heart, interior; cardia’, and [...] may be decoded as ‘to take (something) much to heart’, ‘to regard (a living being) with much heart(y feelings)’, hence ‘to treat with compassion’” (Kara 2008, 74). Kara argues that Mongolian *soyurq-* comes from Uigur *tsuyurka-* in turn “a Buddhist and Manichean religious term *tsuy* ‘sin’, coming from the not necessarily religious Chinese term *zui* 罪 ‘sin, crime; wrong; suffering; retribution; to blame’ [...]” (2008, 73).¹⁷⁷

Further common points of reference in which respect plays a key role are notions of calmness/peace, reputation, intention and knowledge as salvation as they surface in *The White History*, *The Secret History of the Mongols* and *The Key to Wisdom*. The topics of “compassion and loving kindness”¹⁷⁸ and “salvation through knowledge” are markedly expressed in *The Key to Wisdom* as well as to a lesser degree in *The White History* and related to respect in a Buddhist framework. The latter also lays particular emphasis on “modesty.” However, “compassion” being a component of *soyurq-* (favor, mercy, grace) can be traced back to *The Secret History of the Mongols*. This “compassion” took the meaning of favor and was overwhelmingly assigned by the Qayan (*qayan-u soyurqal*) (Cleaves 1982, 275) or heaven.

¹⁷⁶ György Kara identifies the verb as one of “compassion,” which is Uygur in origin and part of a greater Buddhist legacy. He discusses these forms in relation to Ossetic and Chinese while reviewing a book on Saka culture in Ancient Khotan (1986, 351).

¹⁷⁷ This seems parallel to the Mongolian term in Classical Mongolian for Buddhist compassion *nigülesküi*, where *nigül* also denotes “sin” and *nigüles-* “to be merciful.”

¹⁷⁸ In *The White History* and also *The Key to Wisdom* this particularly concerns the idea of a Bodhisatva and Chakravartin ruler.

As regards “calmness” or “peace,” *The Secret History of the Mongols* (§280) features *amuyulan* as a closing remark when Ögedei recounts the achievements of his father and his own faults. Then it becomes clear that this was the purpose given for his rule, yet it is one which seems to be given posthumously. The term *jiryalang* (§230) surfaces with references to a “throne of joy” (De Rachewiltz 2015, 150). Due to their infrequency they pose rather cursory references and are hence incomparable to the use in *The White History* or *The Key to Wisdom*. Yet, happiness here too plays a role. Although filial piety is described towards the mother (§254) it does not draw on the same language as *The White History* or *The Key to Wisdom*. Reputation is an important repeated value (e.g. §7, §238, §249). Another point of emphasis is “intention” *setgel* (e.g. §156, §167, §181) *The Secret History of the Mongols* focuses more on the will of God/Heaven, fate, favor, loyalty, trust, reputation and commands. Though it was written for posterity and its values were to be emulated it becomes clear that it was written under an entirely different agenda than the precepts of the other two works. Reputation *aldar* appears frequently in *The White History* as the “fame” of the emperor/king and in *The Key to Wisdom* mainly with regard to the “name,” i.e. the general reputation/fame of a person.

Sagaster describes peace/calmness, happiness and order in *The White History*, a Dharma text, thus:

Die Beiden Ordnungen beruhen auf vier Pfeilern, den sogenannten Vier Großen Regeln [dörben yeke törö]. Die Ordnung der Religion [nom-un yosun] besteht aus den beiden Regeln der Religion, den Dhāraṇīs and Sūtras [tarni sudur]. Gemeint sind hiermit die Erlösungswege des Mantrayāna and Sūtrayāna [...]. Die Ordnung des Staates [törö-yin yosun] besteht aus den zwei Regeln der Welt, also Frieden und Leichtigkeit [engke kilbar]. Leichtigkeit [kilbar] ist gleichbedeutend mit Ruhe [amur, tübsin] und Glück [jiryalang]. Die Vier Großen Regeln sind die Voraussetzungen, durch welche die Lebewesen zum Heil gelangen: Geistliches Heil wird durch die Dhāraṇīs and Sūtras ermöglicht, weltliches Heil durch Frieden und Ruhe (1976, 179).

The Key to Wisdom also refers to worldly and spiritual prerequisites which enable peace:

Õm, may there be propitious peace!
 I bow down to the supreme lama and three treasures.
 To bring to remembrance briefly the shastra composed by former holy ones:
 Lords and kings,
 If you want to gather the many, give alms.
 If you want to act without error, favor your officials.
 If you want to enlarge your power, take care of your warriors.
 If you want rejoice broadly and carefree, pay attention to harmony (Yakhontova 2000, 122).

Furthermore, this worldly order i.e. the concepts of *amuɣulan*, *amur*, *tübsin* and *jiryalang* can be found in ritual opening and closing phases in Qing correspondences between the aristocracy of the 17th to 19th century, and they pose an underlying rationale in the references towards respect.

Salvation through knowledge is also embodied by the dual order *khoyer yos*. *The White History* promotes the two orders of state and religion and juxtaposes them as patron and donor, each master of their realm, and draws on the notion of master and disciple, or more correctly for the time, preceptor-officiant/chaplain and donor. As Ruegg has noticed honor is inscribed in this very relation of master-disciple (1991, 448). The *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* and the *White History* display how wisdom is connected to respect and they offer codified, yet authored precepts, ascribed to Chinggis Qayan in the case of the *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* and a genealogy of kings dating back to *Olan-a Ergügdegsen* (literally: elevated by many) with regard to *The White History*. A salvation through knowledge appears to be the guideline for respect as authority and its incipient power. *The Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* states:

Do not break the vow given to a worthy lama.
Do not disobey the orders of the masters.
Do not forget the precepts of your parents.
Do not follow the words of a woman, a child or a slave.

[...] That is why if you make efforts in studying
The fame of your name will echo everywhere.
A parable on not recognizing the difference of evil and knowledge:
Those of foolish mind showed more respect to a man
Leading a monkey, than to the wise [note, literally: move away from the wise]
Take such as supplement to the basic knowledge.
(Yakhontova 2000, 130-134)

The *White History* offers some parallels, one of which is that authority is not unconditional; a lama and a king can be parted from, if they don't show compassion. That is salvific knowledge is tied to compassion:

*Wenn man die Lehren des Lama-Lehrers nicht befolgt, trifft man mit
verderbenbringenden Schutzhorten zusammen.
Wenn man die Lehren von Vater und Mutter nicht befolgt, tut man schlechte Werke.
Wenn man nicht auf die Befehle der Herrscher und Könige hört, fällt man in die
Dunkelheit.
Wenn man nicht nach den Gelübden [sanvar] lebt, [14v] werden*

*Die Eide [tangyariy] gebrochen.
 Wenn man „ich“ sagt, wird man von den schwarzen Teufeln [qara simnus] gepeinigt.
 Wenn man eigenwillig handelt, trennt man sich vom Lehrer.
 Einen mitleidslosen Lama soll man verlassen!
 Von einem erbarmungslosen König soll man weggehen!
 Nachsichtslose Fürsten [noyad] soll man verlassen! [...]“ (Sagaster 1976, 95/144)*

*„[...] Für die Toten tue man verdienstvolle Werke!
 Dem erhabenen Lama, durch den man (den Weg zur Erlösung) geführt wird,
 dem erhabenen Buddha, der (den Weg zur Erlösung) weist,
 der erhabenen Religion, die der Weg zur Erlösung ist,
 den erhabenen Geistlichen, die die Gefährten zum Nirvāṇa sind,
 dem erhabenen Lehrer, bei dem man beginnen muß,
 den erhabenen Eltern, die man ehren muß,
 ihnen (allen) soll man ihre erhabene Güte vergelten.
 Die Lama-Eide achte man dem Augapfel gleich!
 Die Befehle des Königs achte man dem Herzen in der Brust gleich!
 Die Lehren der Eltern achte man dem Leben gleich! [...]“ (Ibid. 1976, 98/149)*

The devaluation of an “I” seems to be a reference to the Gelug interpretation of Buddhist notions of emptiness; it is crucial to guarantee successful instruction.

We find teaching conceptually bound to religion. Interestingly, the conception of a debt or reciprocation which is due to parents is owed to them on behalf of having benefitted from their rendered benevolence and knowledge. Finally, the monkey, a symbol for stupidity, is a trope used even today and most commonly associated with Galdan Galdan Tusalayči who cited the 5th Dalai Lama: “A human who doesn’t know his origin is like a monkey living in the woods. A human, who doesn’t know his *ovog* is like the hypocritic turquoise dragon” (Tusalayči 2007 [1841], 33). Knowledge of one’s origin and the recognition that honor is socially granted, and that this knowledge is hence connected to social hierarchy seem to be paramount. *The White History* emphasizes the aspect of salvation through teaching i.e. a lack of teaching will bring about immoral acts, as well as structural harm to order and a lack of accountability.

The *Oyun Tülkhüür Nert Shastir* explicitly uses respect for people who say mantras (clergy), those hierarchically above one, the ruler who knows to differentiate the two fortunes/fates, and the one, who possesses knowledge. Reference also goes to parents, only that the word “respect” does not explicitly refer to them, but they are included figuratively. The above cursory overview over essential concepts in different historical sources such as historiography and *surgaal* “teachings” as well as correspondences provide a frame of reference, which was

reproduced during the Qing dynasty – some sources of which originate to that time at least in part. The following address is intended as an example of such reproduction in Qing correspondences.

While respect is featured threefold and refers to the ruler, the parents and the religion, it is heightened the more one person inhabits these relations. This heightened sense of respect is evident in a personal address of the late Qing dynasty, where this framework of knowledge was reproduced. The previously mentioned Minister Venerable Prince R. Navaantseren wrote to his superior the prince of *Ikh Erjigen Khoshuu* (banner division), the deputy general of Aimag S. Luvsandondov. Interestingly, we also find an entanglement of different roles of a superior as teacher, elder brother and prince/ruler. “Elevated teacher, wise elder brother, prince (Luvsandondov) to you a thousand harmonies we raise [respectfully] reporting. A son has been born unto lady Davaasambuu, my younger sibling’s, Nyamjav’s, wife” (Tümenjargal 2010a, 23-24).

It may be tentatively concluded that respect as it surfaces in references of the Qing dynasty and today primarily echo respect in Buddhist and Confucian frameworks (which I have dealt with in chapter one). However, respect also plays a role in an exchange relationship between emperor-subject/superior-inferior, found in a correspondence of the 15th century in which it is an attribute of the “will of heaven”, i.e. by extension attributed to the emperor (Cleaves 1950). This could be an indicator that it was also part of an older tradition, as I have also tried to show in chapter 1, when discussing the appearance of *kündü* in Khazar sacral kingship. Within the Buddhist framework it is embedded in a master-disciple relationship as well as filial piety. It should be stressed once more, that the sole practice of tracing these references is to show their entanglement and mutual reinforcement by creating different configurations and multiple layers of values.

[Entanglement of Filial Piety with the Master-Disciple Relation](#)

During the Qing dynasty, the emperor intently stylized himself towards his subjects as “master” *ezen* and “father,”¹⁷⁹ while the aristocratic descent lines - depending on their

¹⁷⁹See Atwood (2000). I would argue that there is a semantic link or conceptual overlap between *ezen* and the concept of father, since the father can also be called *geriin ezen* “lord of the *ger/yurt*.” However, it is not clear at what time this conceptual overlap came into being. Moreover, since the term *ezen* was also used for Chinggis

proximity to the golden lineage (not depending on the de-facto age of their members) - addressed each other as *akh* and *diüü*: “elder brother” and “younger sibling.” Hence, the value of filial piety strongly suggests itself not so much as imposition, but as an existing and shared value, which the Qing empire utilized and built upon in its cosmopolitan empire. Christopher Atwood suggests:

To conclude, the Qing emperors did not always have to act as split personalities, despite the diversity of peoples within their realm. The Qing made use of at least one language of loyalty that proved equally at home in the “land of fish and rice” along the Yangzi and in the rolling steppes of Khalkha Mongolia. Among Chinese, Manchus, and Mongols, they claimed and succeeded in getting their subjects to agree, at least verbally, that their power and authority was analogous to, yet even higher than, the power and authority of parents over children, and that any office, rank, or title held by his subjects was granted solely as a result of the immense forgiving mercy of the Emperor (2000, 129).

What is however specific are the terms in which this relation was cast as Atwood has shown: With regard to the complex “grace, guilt and striving” (2000, 101), most notably *kesig* “grace” and *kičiyenggüile*- “to strive,” he proposes that its spread was promoted through popular Chinese novels during the Qing Dynasty and that this complex was not only restricted to the ruler, but was also applied to rulers in hierarchically modified form and codes, referring to similar value configurations:

With the phrase “to return the important great merciful favor (thus) granted” (Mongolian, *qayirlaysan kündü yeke örösiyeltü ači-yi qariulyqu*) the phraseology of recompensing the kindness of parents and that of striving in response to grace are applied in mixed form to the banner ruler. *Kesig* evidently had a supernatural and sovereign connotation (in earlier Mongolian usage it was used for the blessings of either Heaven, or the ancestors, or, after his decease, of Chinggis Khan) that was inappropriate for the local banner ruler. Hence his goodness to the people is kindness (*ači*), not grace (*kesig*), and the associated verb action is to “return” (*qariulyqu*), not to “reverence” or “prostrate before.” Yet the same emotional response of felt unworthiness and a response of devotion (symbolized by the offering) closely links this usage to those reviewed in connection with the Emperor. The use of adjectives great (*yeke*), weighty (*kündü*), and compassionate (*örösiyeltü*) all recall similar usages in the imperial vocabulary. Elsewhere the kindness (*ači* or *ačilal*) of the ruler is extolled three times with the adjective great (*yeke*) or weighty (*kündü*), and the people respond to it with worship (*sitüjü*) and reverence (*süsülejü*) [...]. Clearly, then, with the exception of the substitution of the parental *ači* for the imperial and

Khaan, it presumably indicated a great authority and established a semantic link between the Qing ruler and the Chinggisid line.

sovereign *kesig*, the same language of loyalty expressed towards the Emperor in Beijing could be and was used for the banner ruler (2000, 105).

The relation of father-son is not only attributable to Confucian thought history¹⁸⁰, but goes beyond it as it can be equally found in 17th century to 20th century Buddhism. It seems intertwined with notions of a master-disciple relation and hegemony. Kollmar-Paulenz looking at Tibetan-Mongolian relations describes the imposition of the father-son relation on the Mongolians by the Tibetans in spiritual and political terms:

They develop a relation towards the Tibetans as their spiritual masters, like that of a son to his father. This metaphor stresses the cultural and religious dependence of the Mongolians on the Tibetans who have the task to educate them. In return, the Mongolians have to hold their Tibetan masters in filial devotion. This image of the Mongolians lasted well into the 20th century, and nowadays it experiences a revival among the exile Tibetan religious elite (2014a, 51).

Atwood makes a similar point when he states that “the rhetoric of repayment of the grace of the emperor derived power from a similar theme of repaying the kindness of parents, a motif also found in moralistic and ritual literature, often of Tibetan Buddhist origin” (2000, 91). Tibetan sources construct the hegemonic claim and moral content of a father-son relation on a political level as an educating relation, for which respect is due. Yet, Elverskog in his book “Our Great Qing” (Elverskog 2006) warns us of the overall explanatory weight which Buddhism has been credited with. According to Kollmar-Paulenz, rather than referring to the Tibetan conception, the Mongolian sources merge their narrative of the ancestry to Chinggis Qayan with Buddhist historiography (2014a, 49). This merging may be found already in the White History of the 14th century and carries on into the 19th century Erdeni-yin Erike by Galdan.

In the period of independence, this father-son-subject implication persists as we see in a letter of the Khalkh Zasagt Qan Chin Achit Jun Van Go to the Darkhad governor making a list of the revenues, animal and families living there in 1918: “The Reason for the Dispatch to the governors of the people who offer sacrifice to Holy Chinggis Khaan Father of Heaven is: [...]” (Tümenjargal 2010b, 40).

¹⁸⁰ Atwood clearly states that the complex of “grace, guilt and striving” cannot be attributed to Confucian thought history. However, my focus is on the importance of the filial and master-disciple relation, rather than the rhetoric complex.

What is at work is a multivalency of references – the emperor chosen by the will of *tengri*, “Heaven/God” being sometimes conceptualized as “master” *ezen*, sometimes “father” (*aav*). The emperor, who is simultaneously “master,” “father” or “ancestor”¹⁸¹ to his subjects, and who can be visualized in a relation with the clergy as worldly disciple or in turn can contain both the worldly and spiritual master within himself as a Cakravartin. The master-disciple relation in turn can be projected onto a filial relation or a relation of seniority in turn. We are reminded of Ruegg’s analysis of patron-donor as “formalized relation,” (1991, 442) which likewise is stylized as a relation of respect and care, in which respect/honor includes recompense. Ruegg addresses an overlap between teacher-disciple and preceptor-officiant/donor relation (Ibid., 448). The donor/patron relation, includes the aspect of offerings for wisdom and knowledge (in daily life, but also ritually expressed e.g. during the Soli-Lunar New Year *Tsagaan Sar*), as well as the rendering of “honor” by the donor to the patron:

In Buddhist usage, the word *dakṣiṇīya* = *yon gnas* (*su gyur pa*) has been employed as an epithet for the Sage (*muni*) or the *pratyekabuddha*. As one who is in receipt of such honour/honoraria (*dakṣiṇa*) from a donor (*dānapati* = *sbyin bdag* or *yon bdag* == * *dakṣiṇa-pati*), the *yon gnar* is identifiable with the *mchod gnas*, that is, one who is an object of respect/worship (Skt. *arcya* or *pūjya*) (Ibid. 1991, 447)

The entanglement of political value agendas coincides with the entanglement of a variety of social and geographical spheres and their related thought histories. This results in strong links between political, ritual- and family-related values. At this point entanglement seems to add to our previously held thesis of value that “value emerges in action” and that “the desirability of objects and the importance of human relations are refractions of the same thing” (Graeber 2001, 45). The importance of human relations is not a natural given, but is itself contingent with histories of thought and their entanglements. At the latest from the 17th century on, the relation between ritual and family-related imagery implies an inherent dimension of morality. In part morality is understood in terms of ritual i.e. sequence and forms, which can be reproduced, may come to form a habit or become to some degree conceptually “fixed.” The configuration of the relation between politics, ritual and family, has changed in different ways over time. A prime example of the entanglement of these different spheres is the multivalent symbol of Chinggis Qayan.

¹⁸¹ There is a further dimension of “this-and other-worldliness” concerning Chinggis Qayan being referred to as “living” after his “individual” death.

Sagaster, in his analysis of the Chinggis Qayan-cult in the Buddhist framework of *The White History* brings up some interesting analogies with regard to *kesig* “grace”, which would also augment the section on *soyurq*- “grace”:

Das Ritual der Opferdarbringung weist deutliche Züge eines alten Hofzeremoniells auf. Es scheint, daß hierdurch das Hofzeremoniell der frühen Mongolenzeit teilweise lebendig geblieben ist, wie in den Titeln der Kultbeamten auch die alten Hofränge teilweise erhalten sind. Die Opferhandlung gleicht einer kaiserlichen Audienz, die ihrem Wesen nach ja ebenfalls Kultdienst war, da der Herrscher bei den Audienzen und in anderen Staatsgeschäften als Gott angesehen wurde. Der Opfernde wirft sich vor dem Altar Činggis Khans nieder und berührt mit Stirn und Händen den Boden, vollzieht also den Akt des mörgükü, des homagium, der Unterwerfung, also des Eintritts in das Vasallenverhältnis bzw. dessen Bestätigung. Die Opfergabe ist das Tributgeschenk für den Herrscher. Die Verteilung [tügel] des Opferfleisches an die Gläubigen, bei der das gewöhnliche Volk kleine, die Würdenträger aber große Portionen erhalten, ist die Belohnung der Verdienste (kesig, wörtlich: „Gnade“), die sich die verschiedenen Gefolgsleute Činggis Khans beim Aufbau des Reiches erworben haben. An das alte Hofzeremoniells weist auch das Ritual der privaten Opferdarbringung auf.

Daß die Opfer an Činggis Khan eine Pflicht des gesamten Volkes waren, beweisen auch die Reisen der Darchaten durch die gesamte Mongolei, auf denen Tiere und Wertgegenstände als Opfergaben für Činggis Khan eingefordert wurden (1976, 206).

This shows that ranks and titles were an inherent feature of the ritual as was the notion of submission and patronage and that it was also spiritually connected to the emperor, and hence a politico-religious category. Sagaster goes on to explain that this Chinggis Qayan-cult was “a private family cult” for his descendents on the one hand (hence, ancestor worship), but on the other hand it is also the cult of the first Mongolian ruler, the basis of legitimacy for all succeeding rulers and hence, “state cult.” Moreover, Chinggis became the guardian or patron god of all Mongolians “*sülde*,” which was also the basis for his entering the Buddhist pantheon of deities (Ibid., 204). Isabelle Charleux comments on Chinggis Qayan as a multivalent symbol:

[...] an ancestor deity and deified hero of the whole nation, as a fierce protector of Buddhist religion, as the ‘Creator King’ and the ‘ethical ruler’ (the Buddhist Cakravartin), to paraphrase Caroline Humphrey (2006), and as the material representation of the Eternal Heaven/Sky – are not simply expressions of different cults, but have obviously been used in different contexts, sometimes by the same actors, from ancient days up to now (2008 and 2009, 246).



Fig. 13 Graffiti on a wall in Ulaanbaatar reading: “Charlie says relax.” It seems the spray artists were playing with the meaning as it could easily be read “Chinggis says relax” from afar. Photograph by author, August 30th, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

Charleux also mentioned the allusions to Chinggis as a representation of “Confucian wisdom and morality” (Ibid., 229) as well as his broader symbolism with regard to fertility:

These attributions repeated in popular prayers where he is said to multiply the flocks and herds, rain, crops, and to dispense treasures. The white color, the bestowing of wealth, multiplication of flocks and herds and the ambivalent identity also connect him to the White Old Man and with the land masters; he is the *yajar-un ejen* of the whole country (Ibid., 225).

Though she clearly says that Mongolians perceived Chinggis Qayan as “father of the nation” after 1990 (ibid., 231), we have seen from the above standardized introduction in the letter, that he was also acknowledged as the father of Heaven during the era of independence. The purpose of fulfilling rituals for him was because he was stylized as “father,” linked to an ancestral understanding and its moral relation of granting a “share,” which is understood as a form of “fortune” determining one’s lot. Respect and the care, which elders and ancestors require, was to be paid to him. Within this figure we witness an entanglement of levels of history on multiple levels: family-, religious- and political history. The entanglement of relations coincides with an entanglement of historical levels; as Charleux has pointed out it is not a question of “different cults.”

Finally, the entanglement of different thought histories concerns not only relations, but logically also their inherent conceptions. The term *khishig/kesig* will serve as an example. The dictionary by *Tsevel* (1966, 680) describes *khishig* as *öglögin khündetgel* “gift/donation of respect/honor.” *Khishig* “share, grace, favor” which is also an integral part of the Buddhist faith to receive favor/merit’, simultaneously refers to the ritual “share” which the elder accords their junior e.g. on *Tsagaan Sar* when the senior distributes the fried cake pieces with white foods to the juniors, or when seniors distribute candy to smaller children. Some of my interlocutors told me that this practice signifies the general notion that elders bestow favor through their care for their juniors. The term for bestowing *khishig* is *khishig khürtekh* “to grant, confer, honor” (Lessing 1960, 507) while *khishig khürtekh* is “receiving favor” notes, particularly from a superior (Ibid., 506). Regarding the political realm during the Qing dynasty, it meant rank, salary, whereas today the *ekh orni khishig* “The mother-land share” signifies a share in natural resources and the country’s favor it bestows on its citizens in the distribution of profits raised through the exploitation of those resources. The *nasni khishig*, on the other hand, is a disbursement senior citizens receive before the two main festivities of *Naadam* in the summer and *Tsagaan Sar* in the winter.

The entanglement of different realms produces different possible claims and expectations or understandings of senior and filial relations, which are different in degrees of responsibility rather than in nature of relation. However, the entanglement also allows for the confluence of different logics and is an ongoing process. As Kollmar Paulenz (2014b) has shown for the 19th century in her study on the encounter of Buriyad-Mongolian, Tibetan and Russian knowledge cultures, it was a notion of “order” which was at stake, not only politically, but also with regard to (religious) values. A present discourse on “mastering” one’s fate is an entanglement of neoliberal ideas and nationalism with Chinggis Qayan as a conqueror, ancestor deity and source of collective identification. A longing for order is as reminiscent of socialist discipline as it is of more general ideas of governing. The popularity of self-help books is as connected to the strife for knowledge in “mastering” one’s fate, attaining wisdom and compassion or love (for oneself and others) and following a bodhisattva path, a sense of knowledge as salvation is equally connected to an US-American notion of self-improvement, progress and success as sign of divine favor. Gifts to teachers and the ensuing discourse on bribes are as linked to ideas of commodification as they are to “offerings.”

What these different intellectual works I have cited before have in common is that they purport a view of respect as being integrated in a sense of harmony/peace, fulfillment of relation and order. Value configurations such as the Heaven/God-Emperor-Father-Master-Disciple axis have complex present and historical trajectories which are spatially, chronologically and intellectually “entangled” (Mintz 1986, Conrad 2002, Cañizares-Esguerra 2007, Kollmar-Paulenz 2014b). Moreover, the medium of copying and reciting historiographical works seems to be the expression of a continuous sense of historical reverence¹⁸², a phenomenon which Atwood (2010) has called “reversion,” Allsen (2001) has termed “nativistic” and “reaffirmation of tradition,” Gehrke (2001) calls “intentional history,” Humphrey (1992) calls “deep past” and Angé and Berliner call “Nostalgia” (2015). This historical reverence has of course changed over time and is very particular for specific time periods, but seems to be a phenomenon pertinent across disciplines.

¹⁸² This official reverence for history was disrupted only during the early years of the Socialist government from the 1930s to the late 1950s, after which historical works were revered again having been resignified as “folk wisdom,” as I have mentioned earlier.

7. Respecting Tradition

Respect Customs	Yostnig khündel
Celebrate Age	Nastnig bayarluul
Elevate Descendants	Achtanaa örgö
Distance yourself from Deceit	Bachtanaas zail (Chuluunpürev and Odonchimeg 2011, 348)
Gods follow customs	yosig burkhan dagana
Demons follow omens	Yorig Chötgör dagana (Ibid.)
Custom follows the Moral (lit. customs)	Yos yosoo dagadag
Omen follows the Bad	Yor muugaa dagadag (Ibid., 347)

Custom as Heritage

Dealings with materiality and behavior are directed to ward off evil on a daily (habitual) scale, as they pose a potential omen. Customs form a dialectic contrast in that they give an orientation of what produces morality. As custom is an integral part of the “custom of respect,” this section will look at how the term custom has been used in different political configurations over time, namely the late Qing period, the socialist period and how the present refers to or differs from these uses. The chapter focuses on the underlying value discourses and their semantics to arrive at different layers and implications for the use of custom today, which draws heavily on notions of heritage. The term thereby evokes authority and hierarchy through multi-layered semantics and uses the past as “resource,” (Thomas 1996, 54) also in a capitalist sense. In order to reveal these different aspects and layers of “custom”, this section draws on different historical sources as a frame of reference, such as correspondences between members of the Mongolian aristocracy and popular literature, which still makes up school curricula or is circulated in the present.

Moreover, it implicitly touches on how the term “custom” is subject to different governing powers and has been subject to change. “Custom” *yos* then comes to reveal an interrelation of ritual, habitual, legal and moral spheres, which are shaped by political agendas as the examples will reveal. This is relevant for “respect” in that it documents the changes the forms and conceptions of respect have undergone and comments in particular on present assertions of “heritage,” in which emphasis on “custom” is recurred to in order to negotiate a changing moral economy, challenge hierarchies and assert authority.

A delegation of Mongolian Academy of Science members, more specifically, those working for the History Department were on their way to a conference in Khentii aimag. As the area

was close to the birth place of Chinggis Khaan, the overwhelmingly Buryat population had been able to distinguish their area through the *Khatin örgöö*, the Queen's palace built in the shape of a 13th century Queen's head gear. It had become a tourist attraction and hence, naturally the conference's topic evolved around the role of Queens in Mongolia, which turned into a celebration honoring mothers. The queens as ancestors became linked to mothers as life-giving kin. During the journey, the co-driver took it on himself to entertain the bus riders. He seemed to consider handing out *arkhi*, vodka, as a substantial aspect of building friendships, and it soon turned compulsory under his supervision. Had the bus riders not been academics, who considered this travel as working hours and had the group of academics not been as diverse (elders, juniors, mothers with their daughters) they might have taken to drink more easily, as colleagues of the same age frequently did in their free time. Their context of work did not allow them the way meetings with their friends did. Due to his rigor, the co-driver was consequently titled *udirdagch* "supervisor." Attempting to curb his fervor, one colleague in her 40s, who was also known for joking, admonished the "supervisor:" "*Jaakhan yostoi, juramtai yavakh kheregtei.*" "You have to go about things with a bit of custom and rule." To which the "supervisor" replied: "*Bi yosoo aldagdasan uu?*" "Have I lost my customs¹⁸³" She assured him that he hadn't lost his custom. After some time had passed and in this colleague's absence the "supervisor" recounted that she had *muulsan* "denigrated" him, literally "made him bad." From that time on he jokingly started calling her *bor shiltei* in address "the one with the brown glasses." He continuously addressed her as such, until a soft-spoken, respected elderly lady in her 50s admonished him to not always call this colleague "the one with the brown glasses," for she was also a big doctor (*tom doktor khiin*) to which he replied that he had learned to call her this way and he now needed to follow this way of address to the end. He did not stop immediately, but gradually became more reserved. As this incidence shows hierarchical relations, involving status are negotiated in terms of "custom." *Yos*, "custom" invokes a sense of continuity from a recurring historical past and legitimizes actions with reference to habit and a certain order. It is also a crucial factor in assessing whether behavior is morally appropriate and whether a certain etiquette has been breached. On the other hand, *yos* at present can be used in order to discuss social change with regard to appropriate behavior.

During the same outing three elderly ladies were getting ready to go to bed and started reflecting on their generation. One elderly lady, who had had four children, recalled how she

¹⁸³ One could loosely translate this as "etiquette;" however, I would like to keep the original wording, for it transports rather different concepts.

would go to work and put her children into a room with four beds. When she'd come home from work during lunch time, she'd make food and go back to work. Another woman in her sixties responded "in that era society was calm" [*ter üyed niigem taivan.*] She said that during those times you could leave money under the mattress on a cupboard and when you got back it was still there. The older lady related that she had been elected the "head of the farm collective" [*aj akhuin negdeliin darga*], but because she was pregnant repeatedly they chose someone else, who took her place. When she read the history of the sum¹⁸⁴, she wasn't mentioned by name only as the "head of the senior citizens" [*khögsh chiüüd darga*]. They complained how no one knew of history anymore and Dogmidmaa told the others how she used to listen to her grandmother talk about the Manchu occupation, the "princes" [*noyon*] and princesses [*khatag*] as well as the *tsam*¹⁸⁵ dance and how she used to take notes in a little notebook which she lost. She continued to relate that this generation was so different. When her daughter came to visit with her husband on the weekend, they would just play with their cell phones on facebook and wouldn't talk to each other; meanwhile she would ask all the questions to stay informed – people don't communicate with each other. She continued talking about her work in the archives. Her young colleagues would not recognize old famous scholars anymore and that she was the only one left. Moreover, the young people didn't know the content of the material and hence can't give advice where to find what. She said the young would throw out [*khöögööd*] the elders like everybody else because they didn't recognize them and would tell them to come back in a week.

"Custom" [*yos*] has become a term through which respect and moral conduct seem to be negotiated in Mongolia. I would differentiate the present use of custom as it is associated with a notion of being "cultured through heritage" pertaining to a specific identity- and nation-building process from previous uses of the term *yos* as they signified adherence to imperial decrees, ritual, religion or customary law. Moreover, respect had not been designated as custom during the socialist era (Jagvaral 1976), where it was simply labelled as "words of respect." However, the aspect of moral conduct implied by the term "custom" [*yos*] is a more *longue-durée*, cross-cultural feature with regard to "custom." A recurring topic in this

¹⁸⁴ Administrative unit below the province [*aimag*].

¹⁸⁵ This is a masked dance carried out during New Year's celebrations, spring festivities and solstice in Mongolia and other Asian countries such as Tibet. It has become primarily Buddhist-connoted. For archival depictions of such dances in Kalmykia and Buryatia see Schorkowitz (2018, 351-355). Thomas Hauschild (2012) has explored the history of *Tsam* dances with regard to the figure of the white/grey old man. For further references on the *Erlig Tsam* see also Werner Forman and Byambin Rinchen (1967).

negotiation of *yos* is the nostalgic portrayal of the present as lacking “custom.”¹⁸⁶ This also conjures up the sense of “crisis,” i.e. loss of “order.” A grandmother of around sixty years, who was taking care of her grandchild and sent him to an informal school after he hadn’t received admission into regular schools was reminiscing about society and rendering examples of persons, who didn’t engage in respectful conduct. She bemoaned:

Oh well, there will be jealous people. Some because of their life in poverty. Having stolen and gone to prison, they enter the wrong road [*buruu zamaar orokh ingeed yavaad buruu zamaar orood*] and having gone that way they continue on the wrong road. [Concerning] adults, who are conscious, [they enter the wrong road] because of their jealousy; this is how I understand it [*Tom uhamsartai khümüüs ni bolhooroor ataa jötöö yum üü bi tegej oilgoj yavdag shüü dee*]. Those poor [literally: tired—*yadarsan*] people, oh well, they go for food, while they go they defend each other, they want to protect each other, make mistakes and when they go to prison, if you are a prisoner you embark on the wrong road, but some people, some might be able to go on fairly self-aware/self-consciously (Emee, 2013b).

Expressions such as “entering the wrong way,” [*buruu zamaar orokh*] “going,” [*yavakh*: can also be understood figuratively as ‘continue thinking’] “abide” [*mördökh* – verb of *mör* also known as a trail] or “following” [*dagakh*] of which I will give an example below, indicate that moral conduct is presently imagined in the form of a “way” or “path,” reminiscent of “ritual paths:”

That is the national custom [*yos zanshil*]. Apart from that, grandparents and parents pass it on, from our parents we have [with custom] to pass it on and preserve it, right? In general, I definitely strive to preserve these customs. The custom of requesting a wife and all the likes. I like following [*dagakh*] all things with customs and order/moral [*yos jayagtai*]. The Mongolian person’s customs have come from the respect and the reverence [lit. accumulation] of grandparents, wearing the *deel* [traditional costume], all of these are a part of customs, among them is the custom of taking a wife. To take a wife, to request a wife it is said, all of these are customs that have a moral reason, order, they are honor/respect. When I know them myself, I like to embody them, I like to do them too. I requested the wife for my younger sibling in summer. On the one hand, requesting means in general pronouncing the words “you have become one of us – she has become one of yours;” I like following this tradition [lit. order, morality]. To abuse and use mores wrongly is being without custom and order/immoral. I don’t like to see people not adhering to order. It doesn’t suit me. This is how it is (Naran, 2013).

¹⁸⁶ I would argue that the idea of the present as lacking „custom“ is also a more *longue-durée* and cross-cultural claim.

What becomes evident apart from the notion of “way” in this moral discourse and its interrelation with tradition or custom is the looming sense of moral order, habit or rule and heritage. Custom and its sense of heritage are often morally charged and used in nationalist discourses, which are intricately linked to the (post)socialist economy.

Rendering Heritage Capitalist

In the 20th century, the notion of cultural heritage and national pride have coalesced with the conception of economic strength as a sense of “mastering” [*ezemshikh*]. This “mastering” in turn is also lexically associated with aristocratic conquerors or rulers [*ezen*], who had governed a variety of territories. Aristocratic heritage and mastering have now acquired implications of origin and exclusivity. The aristocratic heritage is appropriated as ancestral heritage or “custom,” which feeds into notions of an exclusive heritage of a people.

History, Mongolian history in general is almost as connected to the custom of respect as if it were tied and ran along a rope. Originally it was taken from the ancestors, emperors [lit. master kings] and now respect continues on with the heads of state and these people, yes they treat [it – the Mongolian history of Chinggis Khaan) with respect, now they show respect to the state flag, to go along like this is to become connected to history is what I think (Khödöö Aj Akhui Oyutan, 2014).

Luxury, i.e. status symbols, is the common denominator of the aristocratic heritage and economic strength. In a way luxury comes to imply this great cultural heritage and appropriation understood as a skill which past aristocratic leaders possessed as well when they took land. The notion of “mastering” as appropriation should not be underestimated, however, for “mastering” suggests that the appropriator must be skilled. There is then a conceptual link between education, heritage, power, morality and economic strength. This then is a orientation towards and, to some degree, imitation of past political cultural elites by the people as well as the present political and cultural elite. A movement, which took place against the background of redeeming an aristocratic cultural heritage during the Mongolian Khrushchev era by declaring ethnographically reported customs, literature and skills as “people’s wisdom,” rather than associating them with aristocratic heritage.

There are two historically distinct approaches on different levels towards the people in Euro-American scholarship – one referring to an epochal change. Peter Burke stated that “the discovery of the people” in Europe (1978, 3) goes back to the 18th and 19th century i.e. it was a

shift of focus during the enlightenment. The other approach concerns a shift in paradigm, which took place in the 70s and was followed by the cultural turn in the 80s. Sewell Jr. made it a point that “the rise of social history [1970s] introduced fundamental changes to the field: a shift from the study of high politics and the actions of political cultural elites to the study of social structures and the actions of ordinary people” (Sewell Jr. 2005, 180).

The interest in the “people” and their customs had similarly flourished during this time in Mongolia and still does today. The premises were different: the focus on the people in Mongolia legitimized the access to and reverence for “high-culture” produced by members of the clergy and aristocracy. This “high-culture” was to secure a higher status within the international community. While the interest for the “people” had been a top-down interest as was the case in Europe, the simultaneous fascination of the people with the aristocracy and its subsequent popularization comprised academics as much as ordinary people. George Duby had already recognized in the late 60s that popularization was a two-way road.

But the ramifications of the problem become much more complex as soon as one extends the inquiry into “culture” in a broader sense. One sees immediately that the movement of popularization operates over a much wider area, and affects not only beliefs, knowledge, and religious attitudes, but also social consciousness as a whole, individual behavior and ethical values, in brief the whole mode of life. Here also the phenomenon of popularization is seen in its twin aspects: the acceptance and imitation by lower social groups of models and attitudes put forward by the élites; and conversely, the adoption by the élites themselves of some of the values of the lower social orders (Duby 1968, 5).



Fig. 14 Khatdiin Örgöö in Bayan-Adarga Sum, built to commemorate the Queens of Mongolia, thereby being able to attract (local) tourists in competition with the Dadal Sum, which claims to be the place where Chinggis Qayan was born. The pictures show a part of the display of a succession of Mongolian Queens, the standard and hearth in the middle of the palace and a throne, which symbolize the dwelling of a queen. Photographs taken by author, July 6th, 2014.

It may not come as a surprise that Chinggis Qayan is the main object of this aristocratic popularization, yet it is appropriate to speak of “aristocratic popularization” because people envision him as leader while they themselves can be elevated to “aristocratic” grandeur. Presidential speeches identify Chinggis as spiritual and worldly leader, a “bogd.”

Yet, there are not many who had left indelible footprint on soil [*möröö* as in path gone] and molded their fame [*aldar* – hon. name]. Of these few, our forefather-master [*övög-ezen*] bogd [spiritual and worldly ruler] Chinggis Khaan stands out expressly. There is virtually no one on earth who didn't hear of his name (“*Mongol Ulsin Erönkhülögch Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj-iin Chinggis Khaani meldelsenii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg*,” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>).

The official discourse on heritage and its formal institutionalization of the rhetorical aspects of respect are tied to respect for customs, but imply social mobility as well. Features include respect for personages such as Chinggis Qayan or the Mongolian aristocrats of the Qing era (particularly visible in their homelands *nutag*), aristocratic address (*khatagtai* and *noyodoo*) to appeal to the audience or colleagues or the new movement of wearing only deels *deeltei Mongol* (which mix stylistically modern and Qing features of dress). “Aristocratic history sells” be it the shelves of historiographical works in book stores, hotels (Chinggis Khaan Hotel, Kempinski Khaan Hotel, Tumen Khaan Resort etc.), real estate companies such as Khan Khur Holdings LLC, Imperial Castle LLC and Royal House Construction LLC, constructions like Khaan Suudal – literally: “King’s seat” or the Royal County complex, printing companies (Khaan Printing LLC), foods (Khaan ice cream and Khaan buuz), car supplies companies, cleaning companies, building material companies, writing supplies companies and children’s clothing companies, not to speak of airports, department stores, banks, restaurants or tourist resorts all carry the name Khaan to better sell their products.



Fig. 15 Station for car repair just outside a tourist camp. Close to Ongiin Khiid. Photograph taken by author August 25th, 2014.

One might easily dismiss the popularization of the aristocracy at present as conspicuous consumption (Burke 1992, 69). While this may certainly be one aspect, the social mobility

(Ibid., 63), which this display of luxury, appropriation and mastering seem to be aimed at is in turn tied as much to political economy as it is related to a social phenomenon. To display an immaculate appearance and prosperity by alluding to luxury will give the image of a “high” *khiimori*. Rebecca Empson has described *khiimori* in complementary relation to *khishig*, which I have discussed in terms of “share, grace, favor:”

Hiimori (vitality, might) is generally considered to be individual to a person and circulates inside his or her body. It rises and falls or increases and decreases throughout life according to a person’s behavior and actions, but it is never lost entirely. The kind of fortune I focus on is called *hishig* (*hesheg* in the Buriad dialect). This term has been translated into English in a variety of ways, including ‘blessing’, ‘favor’, ‘benefit’, ‘grace’, ‘fortune’, ‘felicity’, and ‘good fortune’. This kind of fortune is conceived as something that circulates outside of the subject but can be harnessed and carefully ‘contained’ in certain forms to secure the growth of people, animals, and things (2012, 119).

Hedwig Waters has similarly addressed particularly female comportment in relation to fortune in a neoliberal economy (2015). These notions of “fortune” are then paired with an emulation of an “instructive” past.

Critical Heritage

Yet, the discourse on aristocracy is also powerfully appropriated to express social critique, comment on the morality of politicians [we recall the customs are synonymous with morality] by citing the authority of Chinggis Qayan or by disqualifying this popularization altogether in terms of the economic aspect of heritage. Mönkhtsetseg, a mother of two at the time, drew on Chinggis Qayan as a moral authority and reproduces this discourse of Chinggis Qayan. In her imagination he had been the virtuous ruler to criticize politicians and Mönkhtsetseg followed his supposed lead in condemning the wealthy of today, who in turn utilize this same discourse.

He was a very exalted person, Chinggis Khaan. He always chose the path of being honest and speaking the truth [...]. Today’s generation’s honest people, the one’s you could compare to Chinggis Khaan would be the president, right? But our present president is not [honest]. People like him redeem themselves; they are extremely apathetic, aren’t they? Sitting in their warm room and when they enter their home, they can say ‘do this, do that.’ They almost don’t go outside; you don’t see them, do you? Chinggis didn’t do so, on his horse he devoted himself to all, he almost did everything by himself and because this is how he went along, he went down in history and became a commmorable person.

Yes, everything is blocked and comes to a standstill, but even though he walks as if he is exalted, he [the president] doesn’t even make up a fraction of what Chinggis did. The current president doesn’t go freely among the people, right, so that he won’t be

killed, they say and he is afraid and is protected, right? He always walks with secret protection; [...] Chinggis was not such kind of person. He was closely together with the people, he ate and drank together with them, they were together. He ate what they ate and drank what they drank, he followed them, he was so skilled he protected himself, and because of this he went down in history. After four or eight years our current president will leave office and continue on, but nobody will speak of him as having gone down in history, and so he will be forgotten and forsaken, right? On the contrary Chinggis will be talked about as having gone down in history (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013).

Mönkhtsetseg unites values such as self-reliance, independence, toughness, justice, honesty and power with proximity to commoners, i.e. she picks up on the political rhetoric. She bemoans the lack of respect for the common people and counters it with an example of grandeur. In her account the values and their embodiment make a person go down in history and she contrasts this with appearance. She evinces a suspicion for “concealment,” which she depicts as contrary to honesty. Another example of aristocratic popularization is that genealogical descent to Chinggis Qayan has become subject to popular use as Ines Stolpe has found.

Today, many people both in and outside Mongolia claim to be direct descendants from the Great Khan on their paternal side. Even those who had lost the historical evidence for their clan affiliation (due to the ban on its use under socialist rule) choose to make reference to the Golden Lineage as ‘symbol(s) of Mongol identity’ [...], which is why about 60 percent of the population has registered under the prestigious clan name Borjigin since the ban was lifted in the 1990s. The heartfelt wish for historical significance seems, also on the individual level, to represent a longing for a meaningful present and future (2013, 143).

Exclusive forms lose their character through their popularized use. However, at least for a limited period of time, these forms can retain some of their “exclusiveness” while bestowing greater honor on all. One example is how people address their audiences or opposites as “ladies/queens” and “princes”. The inflation of forms of respect and the affiliation with aristocratic ancestors whether these be rhetorical or directed towards mythical or historical personages may also seem to jeopardize their exceptional status. Inflation may be witnessed as increased reference, becoming “naturalized” through its circulation.

In our time Chinggis was very, very bad, in our generation when you said Chinggis they would kill you. When you said Chinggis you’d go to prison. In 1950, or was it in the 60s the minister Tömör Ochir¹⁸⁷ was found guilty for proposing to build a

¹⁸⁷ He was a member of the Politburo of the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party and academician at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. In 1962 he was charged with organizing the celebrations for 800th anniversary

monument for Chinggis Khaan. He ruined his reputation. That was how many years ago from now? Now the person who says Chinggis climbs the ranks, the person who built the monument [to commemorate] Chinggis Khaan climbs the ranks. When you say the word Chinggis you climb the ranks. When you hold the name Chinggis it is good, there is almost no toilet which is not called Chinggis! That's how it is, there is the Chinggis Hotel, Chinggis this and that, right? In the old days, 40 years ago, you'd have gone to prison, you had committed a crime; it's true, true (Togtokhnanan, 2014).

The question is, however, whether popularization and the inflation of forms of respect indelibly lead to their disregard or their depreciation. The question may be tied to an institutionalization of such forms. The opinions regarding Chinggis Khaan above dismantle notions of governmental "use" of Chinggis Khaan as well as the promise of social mobility. Though at present there is no strict rhetorical fixation of this discourse, the engagement with notions of "heritage," "custom" as well as aristocratic ancestors like Chinggis Khaan and their moral implications in terms of respect constitute a discourse which is politically mobilized, re-cited and transformed into a critique as we have seen in the above comments.

of Chinggis Khaan's birth by the polit buro, and was sacked from all his positions and labelled "nationalist" after the Soviet communist party newspaper *Pravda* had denounced Chinggis Khan in their publications (Sanders 2010, 696). For further information on the case see also Christopher Kaplonski (2004, 112-115).



Fig. 16 Marco Polo Statue, known as presumable envoy of Khubilai Khaan in Ulaanbaatar's Public Park surrounded by cartoon characters. Photograph by author, May 11th, 2014.

This allows for a peculiar comparison with Socialist rhetoric. To frame it in Alexander Yurchak's words the political and economic marketing of the past, the copying of these aristocratic forms becomes more constitutive of everyday life than the adherence to the values associated with the aristocracy through historiographical works or the political form they signify. While still invested in the values associated with the aristocracy, as we can see, the narratives become decoupled and also imply a complex and shifting relationship to the neoliberal (i.e. political) ideological appropriation of aristocracy that claims and represents these values (Yurchak 2003, 481). Interestingly, this discourse seems to share another feature, "it is forever," however, not only in terms of the future, but also the past i.e. it projects the past into the future and vice versa – it is in a sense, cyclical. The discourse of heritage is ever more expanding into the past, now reaching the Xiongnu. Their "customs" are then taken to have symbolic character and are indeed a screen on which ideals for the morality of a present

and future collective identity are projected. The eternal blue heaven is appealed to in order to cite the ancientness and mingles with Buddhist and new age conceptions.

Histories of Custom and Heritage

So far, we have taken the relation between custom and heritage for granted. It may prove insightful to look at the historical development of this relation, which has become so “natural.” Processes of institutionalizing certain narratives to build up a particular society, but also its intentional history as it was envisioned during socialism are other instances, in which values like respect had to be explicated time and again in specific socio-political contexts. This intersection of the moral and the political becomes evident once more when we look at literature from the 1930’s to 50’s which promoted a socialist agenda. Here, *yos* came to signify something potentially backward. At the same time, it was used to describe the “new” socialist ethical approach to all spheres of life including the economy. Hence, though the word itself was not erased from colloquial and literary speech and still frequently described habitual or moral practices or “to have to/must”, it also became ambiguous.

Yos had the potential to carry a controversial connotation as it was associated with and ascribed to imperial histories – consider for example the literary narrative still popular and part of the school curriculum today - *Bunia the parachutist*. The story, written by Byambin Rinchen in 1957 based on a visit to a museum in 1928 narrates the time of 1745 when a young monk who wants to fly, is fought by the clergy and aristocratic-bureaucratic establishment. His endeavor to fly, which stands for progress, is doomed to fail and he is beaten to death. The story uses the word *yoslol* to describe “ritual” performances. It also employs *yosun biis* as “lawless” or “immoral” i.e. without custom to describe the parachutist’s endeavors as viewed by the clergy. Moreover, it also employs the term *yos* as “discipline” in the Buddhist title of “discipline master.” *Bunia*, does not act within the order of the clergy:

You have made a lot of trouble for the monastery, and your *lawless* behavior has come to the attention of the governor. You’ll be thrashed severely, as a deterrent to the other students.” He viciously scolded him, and sent his students to inform the abbot about this renegade monk and his *lawless* conduct (Wickham-Smith 2012, 10 emphasis added).

Similarly, Londongiin Tüdev, a prominent author, whose work was widely received in the 1960s, uses *yos* and in particular, the custom of respect, to refer to imperial practices, which he calls “feudal” in line with socialist narrative:

Standing next to this despotic lama fearlessly, not speaking regardless of dismounting your horse, kneeling and [paying] the custom of respect having suffered such torture the youth will [experience] a bitter lesson, injustice and abhorrent thinking will have been further strengthened (1988, 3).

Tüdev criticizes the ritual of respect i.e. the bodily prostration of having to stop beside the clergy, not being allowed to speak, having to dismount one's horse, to kneel and pay respect. Interestingly, too, he bemoans the negative influence that the youth is "taught" by this. Hence, these practices are perceived to have a greater educative influence, however negative. These adverse references to the past are noteworthy in that socialism introduced the notion of progress, which was seemingly opposed to historical knowledge, branding the latter as "backward." This juxtaposition enforced the merit of the present in contrast to the past. Reverence was no longer due to historical institutions such as monasteries or aristocratic lines. This also had an effect on the reverence for seniority. While aristocracy and ancestor worship were discouraged particularly in the 1930s, they still coincided in the political and moral agendas of the early years of the socialist period. Popular figures had often been of aristocratic descent and were also worshipped as ancestors in their respective homelands. Moreover, ancestors and the notion of "seniority" were interrelated as well. Senior relations could not be easily disposed of and were rhetorically reinforced as a less hierarchic model of relationship. The notion of custom, too, draws on a sense of historical depth and by virtue of experience, it is seniority which is credited with its knowledge. The tale of "The Young Couple," authored by M. Yadamsüren, had surely been perceived exceptional and revolutionary at the onset of the socialist transition.¹⁸⁸ Consider the ending of Yadamsüren's ideological tale, which challenges traditions by proposing that the elderly may learn, while at the same time featuring a monologue of reflection on the life-experience by an elder:

Oh, my children you were born at a good time, you are lucky. Your older brother here has reached the age of fifty-seven. I remember when I came of age at eighteen and I have passed these forty years bearing the pain and happiness of the world. And I'm thinking to myself that, over these forty years, while I have had many happy days, I have also had many days of sadness. [...] I know for sure that the monks who think that nothing has more water than in the Tuul, that there is no mountain higher than Songino, [...] that nothing is more powerful than the Triple Jewel, and that nobody is more estimable than the ancestors, who if they're hungry moan about their fate, who if they're sick rely upon the monastic community, who go around reciting the six syllables, and who earn no living for themselves - I slaughter a sheep to give to them,

¹⁸⁸ The author M. Yadamsüren was shot during the great purges in 1937.

and hope to get myself the head and the legs, I give a horse to the rich to be broken, and get a cup of airag in return, I'm sent as a messenger to one of the offices, and get to hold the minister's cooking-pot for warmth, [...] and I'm bound by the deceitful teaching of the lamas, who cheat me into foolishly praying for the nobles to oppress me in my work, into foolishly mistaking the rich people's exploitation of me for my own fate, and into foolishly believing that if I suffer in this life, I will be happy in future lives, and so am led astray, only to dive in a thousand situations into the ocean of bitter hardship. [...] "Oh, my younger brothers and sisters! When I listen to all you young people amusing yourselves and having fun, I recognise the shameful behavior of the old world. [...]"

The party and the government of the people are able to show the true qualities of pain and happiness. I have left behind the poison of pain through the power of the state and I have taken to the road of happiness. Today, as I am sitting together with you young people, who are growing up in this free country of ours, I will not stint in my praise of your abilities (Wickham-Smith 2012, 89-91; original by Y Adamsüren 1991, 32-34).

What needs to be highlighted about this excerpt is that it is the senior, who legitimizes the narrative of “progress” and simultaneously undermines it since he, as the “reversive” element in the narrative, has the authority that gives credibility to progress. Hence, novelty can only be introduced as improvement through its support by a traditional authority. Through the figure of the old man, this authority of tradition was incorporated and intentionally employed. The discarding of historical tradition embodied by monastic teaching is a very slippery ground and can only be upheld while not questioning respect for history and tradition embodied by the social relation to the elder. It is not that the respect for the old man is questioned per se i.e. respecting embodied history and experience, a relation. It is institutionalized religious tradition and aristocratic rule, which are denounced. Moreover, while the relation to the elder is one of education, the normative effect of both, the discarded and the new teaching are recognized through their designation as a kind of “genre,” namely “teaching.” This narrative is then a good example of how the negotiation over the type of knowledge “progress and professionalism” vs. “experience” has itself a certain tradition. It is one which seems to be not only due to the translational progress which set in via the introduction of socialist agenda, but such notions of “progress” and “improvement”, nevertheless closely intertwined with “reversion,” can be found in 19th century reformers such as To Van or the social critique of Isidangjinwangjil.

Though the Qing dynasty was not rid of ideas of reform and in fact these works were readily cited during the socialist period Ines Stolpe has pointed out that

Up to the early 20th century, the genre of eschatological literature served not least as a means of religious legitimization for political authority. When a secularized salvation history took over in Mongolia, the image of a Golden Age was for much the same reason solely projected into a future yet to come. Despite this ideological reallocation, the relational character of the trope still invites a turning back into notions of decline. As we shall see later, today its usage is supposed to challenge the authority of contemporary historical narratives (Stolpe 2013, 140).

Stolpe drawing on Patricia Berger's work (1995) and writing on Mongolian notions of a "Golden Age" also addresses the worship of the Buddha "Maitreya" or Mongolian *Maidari*. He will bring about the "dawning of a new age of universal enlightenment." (Berger 1993, 63 and Stolpe 2013, 143). Hence, such Buddhist conceptions may be seen as the frameworks in which the future was depicted as "progressive" prior to socialism.

The literary scholar Damdinsüren was head of a movement in the mid 1950's, which attempted to resignify and negotiate how Mongolian history was written. Tsendgiin Damdinsuren rehabilitated notions of heritage in his famous essays *Soyolyn öviig khamgaaliya* "Let us protect our Cultural Heritage" and conceptually brought together notions of "high-culture" with heritage. Though we may speak of predominant efforts to render historical reverence unacceptable particularly in the 1930s, arenas for negotiation were intensively used during the Khrushchev era, when "heritage" was re-evaluated. Interestingly, Damdinsüren does not utilize "custom," but "cultural heritage" – which became coterminous in the years to follow. He listed works contesting aristocratic institutions, rendering the reference to aristocracy as role model and ancestors socio-politically acceptable. Damdinsüren's venture was part of a larger movement,¹⁸⁹ which sparked an era of "self-research" through "expeditions" to the countryside aiming at documenting "customs" and negotiated the edges of what was labelled "nationalism" and "heritage." On the other hand, history books were issued by the party almost every year, i.e. the socialist party had appropriated and recognized the importance, which history played and intended to rewrite it.

When B. Shirendev was the director of the University he agreed with them to take the Geser Epic and the Jangar Epic out of the University curriculum. But their rejected Geser and Jangar Epic reveal the Mongolian people's true wishes and they were comprised of all kinds of works including the directions which the feudal classes had opposed. This will represent the annihilation of national cultural heritage with regard

¹⁸⁹ This is clear from the archival holdings of the Mongolian Academy of Science's History Institute (HIMAS Box 3, which features a variety of material on ethnographic expeditions to the country side, see also Kohl-Garrity (2017) and the catalogue for archival holdings by the Mongolian Academy of Science's History Institute, (Tüvshintögs 2010). However, this movement did not have an official name, but rather consisted of the scholars from different departments working at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

to the people's important cultural heritage feudal writings, aristocratic literature and oppressive books.

If we execute the ministry's rightful decision to fight against people with a nationalist view, then we commit the error of annihilating our cultural heritage. Persons with a nationalist view do not discriminate against classes in the cultural heritage of old times, they do not separate the feudal from the people; they include and praise all. Critics don't think you should correctly differentiate the cultural heritage in feudals and peoples, they view all together. Among them, some of them will even tell you straight forwardly that the cultural heritage of Mongolian people doesn't exist (Damdinsüren 1987, 19- 20).

That this notion of heritage and negotiation over intentional history took place under the auspices of education is no coincidence. Notions of heritage and education are also cast as a relation of seniority to knowledge and are intricately related. Narratives on experience vs. progress resurface therein. Damdinsüren's essay *Mongol Ardin Ulamjalt Sargan Khümüjüülekh Züigees* [Study of the Mongolian People's traditional pedagogy] from 1982 [1987] in which he argues that literate Mongolian commoners had established home schooling while general schools were lacking and monasteries held the monopoly on education, poses a struggle over intentional history as the multiple history books issued by the government clung to the narrative that socialism had brought education to a people deprived by the machinations of the ruling aristocracy.

It was so cruel the Manchurian emperors exploited the cruel Tibetan high lamas, brought the Yellow Creed [Buddhism] to Mongolia and spread it in Tibetan thereby rendering the people senseless and misguiding them and continuously harming and damaging their national cultural development (Lkhamsüren, Shirendev, Baldo, Sanjaa and Tüdev eds. 1967, 4).

In line with the uneasiness regarding the reverence of history, a publication called *Mongolin khelnii khündetgeliin üg* "Words of respect in Mongolian language" published in 1976 leaves out any mention of respect as "custom," though it continues the narrative of its having passed down through history and associates it with famous historiographies. It seems the Mongolian Academy of Science scholar Jagvaral is avoiding the term:

Especially among the chosen Mongolian language sources, the "Secret History", the "Altan Tovch [Golden Summary]," the *Erdeniin Erikhe* [The Precious Rosary]," "Bolor Toli [Crystal Mirror]" etc. as well as some translations of sutras and literature by Mongolian scholars, and the main dictionaries, which have appeared after the development of Mongolian studies [I have] intensively studied almost completely. [...] Words and the Mongolian language of respect have been passed on from one generation to the next, and along with well used and important words, there are also a

few old words, which were only heavily and frequently used in a certain period of a particular social outlook. These words often occur in historical and literary books (1976, 20).

This shows that even though respect was not coupled to custom it nevertheless maintained all the historical qualities associated with “custom.” Meanwhile “custom” *yos* which continued to be used with regard to the moral authority it invoked, started to play a major role as “socialist custom” [*sotsialist yos*]. This term marked the moral aspect of socialism, propounded a way of life semantically connected to a tradition and implied adherence.

A book called “Society Research,” published by the People's Republic Ministerial Council of the Labor Remuneration Committee, seems to exemplify the notion of adherence and law, rather than heritage. The 1975 work is a state production and given its socialist agenda it draws heavily on a communitarian language of legitimation by using a combination of legal terms and implying rules to be followed. Notably, notions of a “way” are evoked:

“Our citizens rigidly follow the state’s law, their role is to follow jointly and to adhere to the form of living together according to socialist custom” (Sambu 1975, 145). The long-term ruling party leader Yumjaagiin Tsendbal employed the term *sotsialist yosoor* frequently in his political speeches, while using the term simultaneously to describe wrong and long-habituated exploitation. *Yos*, “custom” here receives the ability to change and appears alongside imperial exploitations.

Agriculture is changing in accordance to the socialist custom, the result of which is that the means of production that were privately owned and the custom of oppression and exploitation of people has been eradicated, which in turn is of great significance for history and these achievements will prove of great success (Tsendbal 1967, 8).

This use seems to introduce the idea that there are good and bad customs, and that customs are primarily habits. Hence, the above contextualization appears to stand in contrast to its previous use. Only in the 1980’s the writing of Mongolian history such as the 8th Volume of *The History of the People’s Republic of Mongolia* made a few concessions to previously existing knowledge under the Qing dynasty (Sh. Bira and Bat-Ochir 1987, 125). Also, the prime minister and revolutionary Anandin Amar’s *Short History of Mongolia* became popular in the 1980’s due to his rehabilitation in 1962 after he had been tried as counter-revolutionary and executed in 1941. Often the editors of these political histories were the same academics,

who were engaged in rehabilitating the research of Mongolian heritage, which was per se aristocratic and therefore, a sensitive topic. The different socialist governments either strongly persecuted things deemed traditional and thereby nationalist, particularly in the 1930s, or accepted them more or less from the Khrushchev era on as folk wisdom and cultural heritage. That is, either way, they kept the subject alive and reinforced this kind of discourse inadvertently even by rendering it unacceptable.

To Van, a famous Qing reformer, who was cited in socialist works such as Jagvaral (1976), drew extensively on *yoslol* ritual. Socialist works were able to draw on these terms via reference to historic works:

[...] In this world *one respects custom/etiquette/moral [yos juram]* and strives for subsistence, *one is mindful of one's parents, honors Buddhist religion*, reads virtuous books (and thereby does a good deed). Therefore the divine books, *the lama clergy, the aristocrats, the officers etc. will provide information* regarding the honorary rituals. A person, who has been only recently raised by the teachings of his parents should never forget this *benevolence* [literally: return, *achiig*] and should always think of it. If he cannot always bear it in mind, he should at least render the *New Year's greeting by holding the ritual shawl, kneeling ritually in front of his parents* after the great ritual on the first New Day on Tsagaan Sar. *He shall strive to have them eat fat every day and not have them lack the clothes for the four seasons [...].* Even though the son may be wise, *he may not pride himself in his life with his knowledge in front of his parents* without asking. Now (if you don't follow the rule, who will care for you) *you should respect and elevate your parents, elder brothers, elder sisters and sisters-in-law*. So shall it be! [...] If you go along with this rule *your age and virtue will likely increase*. [...] And is it not so that if you humiliate someone 70 sins will come? And is there not an old proverb that says that parents and elder brothers don't need indulge and *teach their juniors unnecessary privileges, and that they teach them tediously the rules and customs and the way to live*. Moreover, the enlightening *teachings and decrees* which cause to prosper call for many citizens to *tirelessly respect the custom of being seniors and juniors, strive to be thrifty with their equipment* and to become good citizens [...] Does it not say in the *teachings of the Chinggis Bogd* that the *height of wisdom is harmony?* [...] When big and small find their rituals according to their rank, they will be full of blessings and become good citizens, this is the most important (Togtokhtör 1990, 3-4, emphasis added).

He referenced filiality, religion and Chinggis Qayan within the framework of instructive and historiographical works. To Van (1797-1868) was also known as *khetsüü van* – “difficult wang,” a rather unpopular prince who even caused the rising of a revolt among his subjects due to his drive towards reforms and his teachings. To Van was fluent in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan. In addition to authoring teachings, he organized schools, theaters, designed curricula and translated Buddhist scriptures. Finally, he exploited the resources of his territory to achieve a high level of self-sufficiency and “tried to run the territory as an

integrated and diversified economic and cultural unit” (Bawden 1989, 180). In the present and socialist popular reversion¹⁹⁰ to Mongolian history, To Van is an important figure who is heralded for his teachings and innovations. During socialism his work seems to have been able to bridge notions of progress and heritage.

Reversion or nativistic reaction now and then brings about change, but also confers authority or respect on those, who cite its authenticity and moral weight. This goes as far as using history for marketing purposes, for history sells. Narratives of historical reversion and their changes in emphasis, omissions, reorganizations and reinterpretations display a kind of agency on temporality, which also invests the tellers with power to appropriate events beyond their control. This is why to speak of “the invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2000) seemingly pushes authenticity and credibility to the fore and implicitly questions the protagonists’ efforts, whereas intentional history focusses on the importance of the social past for collective identities, the entailing agency and appropriation of temporality. “The invention of tradition” is a form of intentional history. This section underlines that present publications and quests for customs are not exclusively a new phenomenon of post-socialist transformations, but took their early beginnings in this negotiation of national heritage. Certainly, the quest for custom today is also motivated by the utopian search for an alternative morality, which can supplant or complement socialist communitarian values. The latter have not entirely lost their validity and are still negotiated and opposed to discourses coupling notions of “the period of democracy” [*ardchilalin üye*], capitalism, more commonly known as “*zakh zeeliin üye*”¹⁹¹ with the rhetoric of mastering/appropriation [*ezemshikh*] referencing Chinggis Khaan.¹⁹² Socialist and neoliberal rhetoric respectively is also identified as in themselves coherent ideological systems by many Mongolians. Therefore, the discourse around morality and respect, which draws on the notions of customs, may take on nationalist tones or draw on a “Golden Age” of Mongolian history, cast in entrepreneurial and consumerist notions of appropriation, luxury and mastering as managing. Despite the custom’s reference to an ancient past, the notion of heritage in particular can be classified a rather recent construal, one which gained momentum in the late 1950’s, as I have discussed

¹⁹⁰ “Reversion”(Atwood 2010, 96) to history through reference or the valuation of history seems to be an intricate aspect of a master-disciple relationship which reiterates such a “reversion” and the principle is the rehearsal of tradition which produces knowledge. Though it appears to persist over centuries, how “reversion” was recurred to and for which purposes seems highly specific also politically and morally with regard to time periods.

¹⁹¹ “The era of the market” in which the compound *zeel* denotes “credit/loan.”

¹⁹² The popularity and authority of Chinggis Khaan is a well-researched field, see for example Kaplonski, (2005) or Charleux (2009).

with reference to the scholar Damdinsüren. *Yos* “custom” is not only “passed on” [*ulamjlagdakh*] and needs to be “preserved,” [*khatgalakh*], it is also a common understanding that customs need to be “taught” [*zaakh, surgakh*].



Fig. 17 Advertisement of the Empire epic by S. Erdenebold on Sükhbaatar square. Photograph by author Ulaanbaatar, November 4th, 2013.

Custom in the Time of the late Qing dynasty and during Independence

The rulers of banners had multiple titles, which it was mandatory to name by law, another facet of what it meant to observe *yos*. In this vein Agvaantseren¹⁹³ of the *Baga Erjigen*¹⁹⁴ military division extends his New Year’s greetings to the *Ikh* [big] *Erjigen* military division *Khoshuun* head of the banner S. Luvsandondov¹⁹⁵, also known as Lu Gün. The *Baga* [small] *Erjigen* was a branch [*salaa*] of the *Ikh Erjigen* and was dependent on the latter, as prince Rinchinpil of the *Baga Erjigen* military division earlier refers to his counterpart Sedbazar, the prince of the *Ikh Erjigen*. Moreover, he claims that they had sprung from one family (Tümenjargal 2010a, 17). This in turn implies that they can be considered junior and senior

¹⁹³ The “*Khoshuun*’s” head of the banner and prince (*Zasag Noyon, Tuslagch Gün*), the deputy of the *Zasag*, of the rank of *gün* (Manjurian title comparable to a duke).

¹⁹⁴ *Erjigen* is sometimes also spelled *Eljigen*.

¹⁹⁵ The deputy of the administrative unit called *Aimag* and general (*Zasag Noyon, Aimgiin Tuslagch Janjin*)

not only in address – as *akh* [senior brother] and *düü* [junior sibling], but also with regard to their respective territories which are called *Ikh Erjigen* (the ruler of which is addressed as *akh*) and *Baga Erjigen* (the ruler of which is addressed *düü*).¹⁹⁶ This relation strengthened the claims that the *Baga Erjigen* could advance towards the *Ikh Erjigen*.

Agvaantseren, also known as Navaantseren ruled within the Zasagt Qan (1879-1922), today's Övs Aimag, and was among the aristocrats who secretly gathered in a meeting devised by the Bogd Qayan to discuss a possible independence. S. Luvsandondov has likewise been a prominent figure in Mongolian history, but was particularly known for his literary achievements, namely as poet of blessings.¹⁹⁷ Their following correspondence authored by Agvaantseren states:

Warrior *gün* [title] greatly merciful wise brother, I elevate to you a thousand harmonies of the great New Year's celebration.
Through the *gün* brother's compassion Your foolish younger sibling Agvaantseren is in possession of health and the season of the new year is arriving, because the harvest has been plentiful, a celebration was performed ritually. My merciful *gün* older brother may your wise merit and thousand virtuous moments in piling on top of each other both increase, I elevate my sincere wishes to you may your feet [hon.] eternally travel and be strengthened (Tümenjargal 2010a, 25).

Here, *yos* primarily signifies the rituals of *Tsagaan Sar*, the Mongolian New Year and their inherent greetings. This is also true for *yoslokh*, the verb for carrying out a ritual i.e. greeting and *yoslol*, the noun, which denotes ritual. Tellingly, the term *yoslol* is used to denote “the ritual of respect” by the 19th century prince reformer To Van, particularly with regard to filial piety. Ritual certainly had political dimensions during and after the Qing dynasty, also with regard to filial piety, which played a significant role in emperor-subject relations. We may assume that it also maintained its importance at the household level – hence establishing a contiguous connection between the political and the moral realm.

As I have thematized in chapter 5 the term *yos* also became crucial to institutionalize respect towards the end of the Qing dynasty, for it implied an official and authoritative address in decrees, and a long-standing tradition (which thereby could not easily be questioned). Yet, at

¹⁹⁶ In this case the actual age of Navaantseren/Agvaantseren, as he was renamed in 1905 and born in 1865 corresponded with the address of Luvsandondov as senior, who was born in 1854. They were both situated within the Qing banner system. For a comprehensive discussion of pre- and “postimperial Chinggisid-centered Mongolian groupings” see Peter Golden (2010, 662).

¹⁹⁷ Heissig writes: “Lubsangdondub (*Blo bzan don grub*) stammte aus der Fürstenschicht des *Ĵasaytu Khan-Aimak* im westlichen Teil der nördlichen Mongolei. 1854 wurde er im Khan *Kököüi-Banner* geboren. Um 1876 tritt er schon als *Ĵasaytu noyan* seines Banners auf, ab 1897 war er *Tusalaqu janĵun güng* (Generalgouverneur) des *Ĵasaytu Khan-Aimak* der *Khalkha*.” (1972, 455)

the same time, the extensive use of doing something according to custom and the prescription of respect also opened new spaces for redirecting authority. Tellingly, the Hong Taiji's elaborations on a fixed rhetoric of correspondence, which Heuschert-Laage draws on, feature *yos* only to denote a "way" in which something needs to be done, hence this indicates that *yosu-bar/gar* at this initial stage was not yet standardized. Custom here evokes "following" something or "adhering" to a rule set by an authority. The correspondences from 1911 to 1921 between the aristocracy, in particular between those actors, who became pioneers in the independence movement leading to the Bogd Qayan's reign such as the Ching Aчит Beil L. Gonchigdamba, Jalkhanz Khutagt, Ja Lam, Magsarjav and Manlai Damdinsüren, among others, do not feature the connection between *yos* and notions of respect. Instead, *yos* was used rather in terms of institutionalization i.e. standard communication, while notions of respect used in military jargon were used in terms of adherence. Hence, respect in combination either denotes "ritual," as in the teachings of reformer To Van, or it comes to stand for adherence with regard to law and religion. Yet, it is apposite to keep in mind that this legal aspect was tied to a surrounding legal community and seniors rather than an abstract textual notion of law. In both cases – To Van's attempts for reform and the independence movement we are dealing with contexts of social unrest, which claimed moral decay. The circumstance of social unrest suggests that values had to be explicated and negotiated and were no longer taken for granted.

Archival material from the National Archives of Mongolia and the History Archive at the Mongolian Academy of Sciences don't seem to offer a reading for *yos* as heritage in the sense of high culture. For the late Qing dynasty, the period of autonomy (1911-1919) and the Bogd Qayan's continued theocratic rule (1921-1924), rather, *yosu ügei* denoted "without custom" and stood for negation, "lawless" or "non-adherence" also with reference to historical authority i.e. the notion of future as development and redemption was insubstantial. Yet, the discussed institutionalization of forms of respect and the inherent ritualization which took place allowed for an understanding of custom not only as adherence, but also as etiquette and long-standing practice as we have seen with the use of *yosu-bar* in correspondences between the Mongolian aristocracy itself as well as the letters they addressed to the emperor. The Jebsumdamba Khutukhtu, however, referred to, embodied in one person and legitimized himself through the *khoyer yos*, "the dual order of religion and state" during the era of Mongolian independence in the early 20th century. According to Sagaster the Jebsumdamba Khutukhtu reinstated the *khoyer yos* by calling himself *olan-a ergügedsen* likening himself

to Qubilai in reintroducing the dual order. Evidently, he referred to its inherent configurational element of peace.

Er verschafft den Beiden Ordnungen von Religion und Staat gleiche Geltung [...] . Hiermit begründet er jene doppelte Ordnung, in der allein er seinen Herrschaftsauftrag erfüllen kann: seinen Untertanen Frieden [engke] und Ruhe [tübsin], also weltliches Heil, zu bringen und dadurch günstige Lebensbedingungen zu schaffen, die es möglich machen, den Weg zum geistlichen Heil zu beschreiten (1976, 49).

In this sense, *yos* referred to the worldly and spiritual “order” and was a significant ideological feature of political legitimation; however, it was also a reference to the remote past.

Past Popularization: Custom or Consumption?

The conception of way, which is often rhetorically connected to *yos* may be faintly reminiscent of rhetoric of “the way,” also found in such works as the Analects, as Laura Hess has revealed (1993).¹⁹⁸ In fact, Munkh-Erdene Lkhamsuren has claimed with regard to the 13th century that:

Törü is always normative, that is, everyone was to uphold the *törü*, while *yosu* is not necessarily or not always normative; rather *yosu* is the way things are or way things occur. [...] Meantime, in a Mongolian version of the Hsiao ching, *törü* is rendered as Chinese dao 道, *törü yosun* as Chinese yao-tao 要道, and *jasaq törü* as Chinese du 度 and fa 法. Hence *törü* was the humanly, naturally or heavenly-established moral regime. As such it was not only the source of order, norms, custom or tradition (*yosu*), law (*jasaq*), decree (*jarliq*), and government but also the constitution against which every conduct and government was judged. Of all the actors, khan is [sic] the most important in the sources. Khans were to rule ‘the people of the world by *törü* and *yosu*’ and, indeed, ‘Ancient sage khans governed the people of the world by the *törü* of care’ (Ibid., 70).

It is however, not only Confucian works which prominently feature this term, in Mongol Iran *yos* clearly had legal implications.

Originally the Mongols had their own Mongolian term *yosun* for the customary law, ‘which after the Mongol period appeared in Turkic texts too, thus in the Uighur civic

¹⁹⁸ De Rachewiltz contends that the Analects had been translated and published around the middle of the 13th century. Hess lays out (1993, 409) and De Rachewiltz summarizes the correspondences of “way” in which the premodern Mongolian composite *törö yosun* and the modern *yosun* translate into Chinese *tao*: “4. *Tao* m ‘the Way, the way(s); doctrine, the (right) principle(s)’: rna. doru « mo. törö ‘law; order, regime; rule’) ‘doctrine, way, rule, rite’; pmo. törö yosun ‘norm(s) and manner(s)’; mo. (G) yosu ‘rule, custom; doctrine, principle’; mo. (QS) id. 23’ (2006: 61)” (Rachewiltz 2006a, 61).

documents and Chagatay. But the term *yosun* survived in Mongolian even after the Turkic *töre* had taken root. Moreover, sometimes they were used as synonyms, as parts of the binom *yosun töre*. [...] Otherwise, in early Mongol texts, especially in the SHM both synonyms, *töre* and *yosun*, were used generally with the attribute *yeke* ‘great’, as *yeke töre* and *yeke yosu*. They can be translated as ‘the great principle’ or ‘the great norm’, as Rachewiltz does. Although not expounded explicitly, it is apparent from the context that these phrases refer to one of the cardinal principles, maybe the cornerstone of the Chingissian [sic] imperial law, the *yasaq*, namely the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject: loyalty and service of the inferior party (the subject), and protection and reward from the superior party (the lord) (Vásáry 2016, 163).

Vásáry goes on to say that the customary law *yosun* was part of the imperial law the *yasaq* and assumes that elements of the customary law must have been the constituents of the imperial law. Custom here was mainly normative and seems to have been related to chronological authority. Yet, there is no indication that it was in any way “popularized” in the way the Chinggisid line was subject to creation, invention and hence popularization.

Sophisticated traces of historical popularization as Ágnes Birtalan has related, regard the presence of the Great Qayans and local rulers in toponymy and aetiological myths, (2005, 301) the latter of which also concern the invention of rituals, objects and customs. The myths (mainly with regard to the Great Qayans) found entrance into Mongolian chronicles of the 17th to 19th century (Ibid., 305). Birtalan also argues that the worship of the Chinggisid line prevailed until the 15th century, when the Oirad ruling elite started to receive worship in addition to the Chinggisid line in Western Mongolia. In chapter seven, we also discussed the cult of Chingis Qayan as an official court ritual, which extended to include commoners, while at the same time presenting a family ritual in reference. While the main reference for worship is the Chinggisid line, nevertheless, particularly during the Qing dynasty, the exclusive political Chinggisid rule no longer existed. While the Qing dynasty is strongly associated with poverty, abuse and exploitation today, the aristocracy of that time at large are still identified as ancestors, as is the Bogd Qayan, who was born in Tibet and identified as an incarnation of the Bogd Gegeen or Jebtsundamba Khutuktu. The first Jebtsundamba (Zanabazar) and the 2nd Jebtsundamba had been direct members of the Chinggisid line. Generally speaking, if there was no direct link to the Chinggisid line, affiliations through e.g. reincarnation could bridge the gap as was the case with the Bogd Qayan.

Present nationally oriented aristocratic popularization and its associated consumption are seeking to Mongolianize ever more distant time periods. Hence, nationally minded historic

ventures now claim the Xiongnu as Mongolian ancestors (see also Stolpe 2013, 143) drawing on *yos* with reference to culture and ethnicity. Custom in present Mongolia, then features a cultural heritage and ethnic dimension, which is politically motivated and delineates itself from present existing and neighboring people, while at the same time encompassing past people to legitimate Mongolian origin, drawing on depth in time. At the same time custom primarily refers to a past aristocracy and its practices, when they are performed by a rural population today (and emulated by an urban population). These practices are then often products of a previous popularization of governmentally instituted and aristocratic values.

Already at the time of the Xiongnu, the inflationary use of royal titles and their ontological implications seemed to have been wide-spread phenomena. Sanping Chen argued for an intercultural exchange and influence regarding royal titles and claimed “It should first be noted that a royal title being gradually devalued of its original meaning and importance is in fact a wide phenomenon present in almost all ancient cultures” (Chen 2002, 301). Chen mentions the modern Mongolian *baatar* (classical Mongolian: *bayatur*) meaning “hero,” (and I would add “warrior”) as having been subject to such an “inflation process” and therefore came to mean “prince,” of noble origin” and “chieftain.” According to him, ancient Sogdian Letters featuring *bagapuhr/βγpwr* “son of god” reveal that the title comprised both the social and religious spheres (Chen 2002, 301). He concludes that the inflation process is due to a lack of centralized power. Christopher Atwood (2012/2013, 67) has questioned this derivation, while nevertheless conceding that inflationary processes were widely extant, if, perhaps, not in this instance. However old the phenomenon of inflation or popularization of aristocracy, there are significant differences concerning the present consumerist inflation and the inflation of such titles as *baatar* in the remote past. The use of titles such as “prince” or “queen/lady” are no longer linked to an existing political governing power or royalty, while inflation nevertheless builds on the guise of social mobility in both instances.

Respect for custom as tradition or heritage, an inflation of forms and address both inadvertently point to the status at stake. We have hitherto discussed status in terms of Weber, who related status to consumption and production of goods differentiating honor as based on the importance of a cause and hence value-rational. Thomas Marshall has put forward an intriguing analytical differentiation and claims “status emphasizes the fact that expectations (of a normative kind) exist in the relevant social groups, while role emphasizes the items which make up the behavior that is expected” (Marshall [1977] 2008, 308). He differentiates

status from rank (structured hierarchical positions), social status (unstructured hierarchical position in a community), rating and standing. To him status is the link between structure and the individual. More importantly, he differentiates status from sole hierarchical position.

Whereas status, as “position relative to other individuals’ implies only comparison, a ‘place in the relationship system’ implies interaction” (Ibid., 311).

When Mongolian present notions of custom as heritage are creatively intended and arranged, they are often about hierarchy, about a “position relative to other individuals.” Custom, when it is understood as normative such as the relation of an elder sister or brother to their junior, master and disciple, is about interaction. Yet, the superior-inferior relation may be politically intently cast as being about interaction, while simultaneously implying comparison, herein lies its actual success. Questions of inflation are then particularly related to comparison or rank, whereas notions of custom as heritage include a broader range of both comparison and interaction and cannot be clearly differentiated. This in turn is similar to how respect can be performed to bring out comparison or social interaction. When recollecting the statements of my interlocutors they seem to imply that popularization and the inflation of forms of respect (or the display of affluence through reference to “aristocracy” as a question of rank) are directed towards comparison and often lead to depreciation. However, when they are performed for social interaction including worship, they are perceived to have longevity i.e. they go down in history.

8. Negotiating Love, Fear and Respect

Love and Respect in Late Qing Time

The discussion of Qing affectionate rhetoric revealed that love *qa(y)irlaqu* was often coupled with respect *kündülekü*. This included notions of “love” first used to establish relations of submission with the Mongols. Correspondences in the late Qing time and the years of independence furthermore indicated that the rhetoric had also been adopted by the Mongolian aristocracy and officials to appeal and extract goods from one another at times referring to their relational obligations as inferior and superior. While there is a conceptual link between seniority and superiority, and a junior’s inferiority, correspondences show that it was the socially inferior, rather than per se junior, who drew on this rhetoric. It went hand in hand with the diminishment of the self vis a vis the other, which was carried out with reference to lower intelligence or wisdom, but not necessarily seniority. The following excerpt is an example of how love was contextually used with regard to interpersonal superior-inferior relations. It will be followed by a plea for financial support to show the overarching relational framework and its transference to an economic context.

In the letter the junior head of the banner Dүүрегч Vangiin Khoshuu (feudal lord) and league chief (at the time)¹⁹⁹ Da Van Mandirvaa congratulates the senior head of the banner Chin Achit Vangiin Khoshuu (feudal lord) and at the time assistant to the league chief, Tseveendash on the birth of his son. The letter was written between 1828 and 1834.

Tsogt, of the merciful heavenly father, has begotten a son [*agi* is the son of a high dignitary] by his wife Dar. Upon hearing this I, unworthy fool, rejoiced. I am approaching for the big festivity [Tsagaan Sar] thinking of the merciful fatherly love I have acquired and under the incomparable thousand [or folk] festivity I [from Mandirva’s office] strive to raise [he wishes and offers] the enlightened fatherly New Year’s peace, the sought ritual scarf of the big festivity, foolish I of the holy great heavenly father without the slightest bad intention from infant times until now and until I am forgotten [I die] offer the blossoming mercy of our khoshuu’s intimate love/compassion, the likes of a straight path [when] fettered, from the source of a thousand pure thoughts at any time. [...] (Tүменжаргал 2010c, 44)

The reference to love/compassion invoked senses of senior care received by the junior and personal relation, yet, it is also clear that the head of the banner Tseveendash is addressed as

¹⁹⁹ These military positions were appointed by the emperor through the Lifanyuan to disperse power (Rašidondug and Veit 1975, 188).

Mandirva's superior qua age. He also refers to his *khiimori* (individual vitality, might) having risen through virtue and blessing and benefitting all living beings.

To show the greater embeddedness in the exchange relation between emperor and aristocratic subjects i.e. *khishig*, consider a correspondence from the years 1834 to 1849 between the senior Rinchinpil, head of the *baga* (minor) *eljigen* banner, and the junior Sedbazar, head of the *ikh* (major) *eljigen* banner. Rinchinpil beseeches Sedbazar:

[...] If you receive all grace and love [i.e. gifts/favor from the emperor], I bow and beseech you from here to love [grant us] horses from your own herd and to love [grant us] a letter by respectfully dispatching to you a heavenly good, a pure white ritual scarf (Tümenjargal 2010a, 130).

The next letter is addressed to the junior Da Van/Beil Dovchindamzad (who served as head of the banner Dүүрегч Vangiin Khoshuu from 1854 to 1885, then became league chief from 1865 and had been awarded the title beil in 1854. The senior "Se" Sedbazar, head of the banner Chin Aчит Van Khoshuu requests money from his junior Da Van Dovchindamzad for horses between 1865 and 1873: "Because the 49 lan you had granted me have come to an end, I, who don't have the right to receive, beseech you to dispatch the envoy with the outstanding amount for two horses of 56 lan of white silver this summer month." (Tümenjargal 2010a, 86)

In both instances, however, the term "love" *khair* could be equally termed "compassion," alternately *örshööl* and in fact in this case too, both letters also draw on this broader rhetoric of compassion, which also designated love. Spiritual and financial value is welded together in this superior-inferior relation. Love or compassion clearly flows from the superior to the inferior, even if the inferior is older in age. It is then also important to look at why compassion played such a crucial role during the Qing dynasty.

For this we shall turn to Pamela Crossley's insights into how the Qing emperors had portrayed themselves in aesthetic and religious objects, which reveals much about their self-representation, if not understanding.

The imperial figure is seen to hold in its left hand the Wheel of the Law (dharmacakra), that is, the wheel that the "wheel-turning" (cakravartin, zhuanlun) king propels in his role of bringing the world closer to the age of salvation. As such it is a simultaneous representation of the *Manjusri* and *Avalokitesvara* (the emanation of compassion and, as Chenresig, the patron bodhisattva of Tibet) aspects. *Incarnation as bodhisattva and*

as Manjusri had, as Farquhar demonstrated, placed the emperor in China and established the Chinese seat as the fulcrum in the relationship with Mongolia and with Tibet. Manjusri, however, was not only the patron of learning in Tibet, Mongolia, and elsewhere in eastern Asia, but the emanation of "insight" (prajna), particularly in G. Samuel's apt phrase "insight into the nondichotomizing nature of reality," an appropriate spiritual font for a self-consciously universal ruler (Crossley 1999, 242 emphasis added).

Johan Elverskog also identifies compassion as the main trait of a bodhisattva (2006, 186). However, loving kindness and mercy also refer to a bodhisattva. It is then highly likely that the rhetoric of compassion/mercy/loving kindness was to invoke the role of the Qing emperors as the bodhisattva and show their inferiors, that they were to bring salvation to their people and guide them to the Nirvana. For the bodhisattva not only reaches Nirvana himself, but also helps others to free themselves from the reincarnation cycle. This role is also closely connected to wisdom and underpins knowledge as salvation. It is the *paramita* "the perfection of virtue" at which the logic of governing sets in. According to Vesna Wallace to this day Tibet is associated with the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, while the Qing emperors representing China are cast as Manjusri and Chinggis Qayan signifying Mongolia is cast as Vajrapani (2015, 187). Hence, this trinity retains its political significance, if albeit in a discourse geared towards national identity.

Apart from their stylization as Avalokitesvara (with regard to Tibet) the emperors simultaneously invoked Manjusri, the framework of learning and the master-disciple relation which plays such a great role to this day as we have seen in the first chapter. We may want to recall that Chinggis Qayan was stylized as the bodhisattva Vajrapani, the third most important bodhisattva besides Manjusri and Avalokitesvara, who embodies a fusion of action and wisdom.²⁰⁰ Essentially in their functions all bodhisattvas refer to a framework of a master-disciple relation. Drawing on the representation of these bodhisattvas (Chinggis Qayan was equally claimed by the Qing emperors) would have not only given the emperors a religious ground to govern, but also a moral one, as the bodhisattvas represented values as "salvation through knowledge," "compassion/mercy," "loving kindness," "patronage as protection," "the ruler as self-conscious, virtuous and guiding ruler." In a way, the rhetoric of "love/loving kindness" perpetuated the previous superior-inferior relation, in which the superior bestowed

²⁰⁰ There is another level with regard to Buddhist scholars, as Matthew Kapstein notes: "Typically, they were the patron-divinities of renowned teachers, who are sometimes also regarded as their emanations. Among the "five forebears" of the Sakyapa, for instance, Drakpa Gyeltsen is often thought to have embodied Vajrapani, and Sakya Pandita, Manjusri. Jé Tsongkhapa, too, is identified with the bodhisattva of wisdom, while the Karmapas and the Dalai Lamas are thought to be Avalokitesvara (Tib. Chenrezi) (2014, 58)."

“grace/favor” [*soyurqal*]. However, it seems to be largely supplanted by *kesig* to designate this “grace/favor” in the Qing era.²⁰¹ Loving kindness/compassion was a welcome reference with which a government or empire could reach their subjects in their everyday lives and on a moral basis.

The reference to love and care to extract goods included correspondences between different military office holders of the Mongolian aristocracy and was therefore not limited to personal relations as archival materials seem to indicate. It was part of a broader discourse, which may have been intently fashioned by Qing diplomacy.²⁰² They employed a rhetoric of love and compassion which also referred to what was literally called “a weighty share” *kündü kesig* i.e. “grace.” While juniors may speak of repaying grace or respecting, compassion refers to what is rendered by the seniors or superiors and is consciously linked to Buddhist deities. In form of the bodhisattva, loving kindness and compassion are attributes of wisdom. The bodhisattva ruler instructs his subjects to attain Nirvana and thereby shows compassion/loving kindness. There is a certain parallelism of seniors showing compassion/loving kindness through educating juniors. This relation then equally maps onto seniors, parents and superiors. The rhetoric in addressing a banner ruler is projected from that in use for the emperor as Atwood notes (2000, 105).²⁰³

Kündülekü is the verb, whereas *kündü*²⁰⁴ is an adjective. The adjective was used in the discourse of grace more commonly attributed to the senior and superior, however *kündülekü-yin yosu*, “the ritual of respecting” as it was used in the didactic poetry by Ishidandzanwanjil and drawn upon by Atwood (2000, 103), does imply that it was as much a legal institution as it was a normative category also with regard to the inferior.²⁰⁵ It was a part of the discourse on

²⁰¹ This is not the case in ritual texts e.g. concerning hunting see Bawden (1968) or Heissig (1982).

²⁰² Christopher Atwood (2000) argues for the “identity” of this theme of imperial grace across Inner Asian borders and cultures. However, the fact that there appears to be a shift from *soyurqal* to *kesig* casts doubt upon the assumption, that it was “merely” identity – it may have been a preexisting category altered and purposefully put to use. *Kündü kesig* [grace] was also used in the sense of repaying the kindness one received from seniors/ancestors, for further examples see Atwood (2000).

²⁰³ Atwood (2000) argues that *kesig* is not literally employed as the rhetoric was somewhat inappropriate for the banner ruler as it was primarily inhabited by the emperor. However, the correspondences between banner rulers I have drawn upon in this study, (Tümenjargal 2010) show that they too used this rhetoric amongst one another.

²⁰⁴ It was also a title for the emperor in *The White History*, and an office in the Qing dynasty “subordinated to a Sumun-u ǰanggi” (Rašidondug and Veit 1975, 188).

²⁰⁵ While the White History features *kündü Qayan*, a title, the Qayan gave *kündü kesig* – weighty grace, it was in fact the inferior, who was to respect, while the superior gave grace/loved i.e. was loving kind, merciful/compassionate and bore the adjective of “weight.”

grace, which heavily employed notions of worthiness, unworthiness and repaying²⁰⁶ i.e. was performed by juniors. Therefore, the use of the language of love and respect in contexts of claims and expectations has a longer history of thought, which it is worth to keep in mind. The crucial difference between the Qing dynasty and later governments in what we might call the bridge between governing and ethical self-formation (Fassin 2012, 9; Foucault 2010 [2008]) is that the underlying reference to love was compassion, where later uses of love took *setgel* “thought, idea, sentiment” as basic reference. This also meant a shift from love within a superior-inferior relation to an innate human quality. This quality in turn also extended to include “erotic” love in the 20th century, which seems to have been previously more frequently described by verbs denoting “love” like *yanag*, *amral*, *enerel*, etc. and continues to be specified in these terms.

The Use of Love in the People’s Republic of Mongolia

Though no longer in the same political context, “love and respect” continued being used in politically inspired contexts, which were to transport an ethical impulse. Literary genres, such as a poem by the still popular Dashdorjin Natsagdorj from 1935 couple love and the term *erkhemlekh* “to esteem, honor, prize, respect,” which I would argue may be seen as equivalent to *khairlakh khündlekh* “to love and respect.” Love and respect, in this instance, was related to helping one’s parents (formerly repaying kindness) or the inability to do so and was joined with “being of use” to one’s country in the early socialist period. The poem starts out by describing a fifteen-year-old boy.

Loved by his parents
Respected by ordinary people.
Helpful in the *ger* [at home] and of use to his country.
To be this person [lit. become human] is necessary (Natsagdorj 1961, 142).

The boy dies and the moral of the poem is that he cannot support his parents (or his country) and if he had been vaccinated, he would not have met this fate, in short: medical progress was promoted.²⁰⁷ In this example, love and respect are not coupled, but stand in close relation, in which “love,” describes the caring relation by his parents (who are at the same time his seniors and superiors) while respect refers to how ordinary people esteemed him.

²⁰⁶ The topic of recompense or “repaying” debt seems to be part of a Buddhist framework as it is also referenced e.g. in the 16th century White History.

²⁰⁷ This contrast of the “knowledgeable West” and the “dilapidated East” as China was portrayed, not only produced an ethical formation of socialist subjects, but also a “moral other.” See Billé (2015).

The socialist state often represented itself as caretaker and educator of its citizens, though in direct address, speeches conjure the notion of a joint “we” in order to motivate for progress. Though it is not explicitly stated in this literary excerpt, it might not be too far-fetched to argue that the story implies the boy had not received enough care by the bygone administration of the empire and religious institutions. The latter are portrayed in the form of superstitious works of Buddhist medicine, which in a way, stood for the more general desolate and corrupted state of the empire. Actually, the Cultural Revolution battled against ignorance and practices they deemed superstitious. Ines Stolpe cites the Soviet scholar Gataullina and writes that it was typical in the 1960s to consider what she calls “folk education ‘as the most important task in building the Mongolian People’s Republic’” within this context (Stolpe 2008, 18). In fact, in contrast to what Caroline Humphrey (1992) termed “the moral authority of the past”, the socialist state promoted “the moral superiority of the future.” Both alternate in present-day colloquial discourses as the latter is also endorsed by an international funding community. Here, even senses of time are embedded in governing and ethical self-formation. Consider the following excerpt of the Mongolian People’s Party’s short history in which it gives a five-year plan and elaborates upon its function:

The great *khural* [government] sets [itself] the goal to improve cultivation and enlightenment, the ideological extent and meaning of the fine arts, to enrich its form, to improve the skills, to strengthen its adherence to party principles and democracy and to increase its power to educate (Lkhamsüren, Shirendev et. al, 390).

During the period of socialism, and arguably until today, the salvation a society could experience through knowledge became attached to notions of salvation of a different kind – namely progress. It displaced the education or wisdom tied to the notion of being or becoming a bodhisattva, the prevailing concept of salvation in the Qing dynasty. Though the socialist notion of knowledge as salvation can no longer be regarded a metaphysical salvation, it increasingly shaped the ideas of morality within the Mongolian society. This learning relationship was also embodied in the political rhetoric of senior and junior brotherhood, which in turn was characterized in terms of love. Socialist political rhetoric by Tsendenbal in 1961, too, reveals that he drew on notions of love coupled with respect, and created a kinship bond by invoking fraternal relations with the USSR.

The senior-junior brother relationship which has been established between the Mongolian People’s Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been based on the proletarian international high principles and the smaller and greater

nations fulfill the role model of a relation of working together in equality and helping [each other]. [...] The heroic peoples of the Soviet Union have established our freedom and happiness through their unfading tireless effort and their generous help and support. From all sides the workers of our country have received *unlimited love* and respect (1967, 10 emphasis added).

This short quotation neatly summarizes the promoted crucial values of fraternity, a proletarian and international political alignment, work, equality, helping each other out, freedom and happiness and a sense of heroism. Adherence was described in terms of *khatuu sakhikh* “to abide firmly.” It seems that it is this notion of discipline which forms present day associations of fear with the regime and its discipline. Moreover, it should also be mentioned that the *khelmegelelin üye*, the era of political repression beginning in 1922 and having reached its peak in the 1930s, in which thousands of clergy were executed, laicized, political opponents incarcerated and killed has also manifested itself in collective memory.²⁰⁸

Love and respect played a greater political role in that it showed the social care which the (in this case foreign) government accorded its citizens. It also showed the hierarchical relation, as love here is rendered by the political superior. It seems to be this political notion of love and respect, which is referred to when speaking about the better care which was provided by the socialist state. Yet, we can also see that help is expected within this relation. Whereas a notion of a superior i.e. emperor or government granting care is no longer in use in this context, the use of love and care persisted and seemed to be tied to foreign aid by the USSR. It seems to be the senior-junior/superior-inferior relationship i.e. this relational constellation which contains and transfers those earlier ideological references into the new era and with it the claims and expectations one would have in such a relationship of provision, respect and care.

Yet, as mentioned, its foundation was *setgel*, rather than compassion [*örshööl*], as Tsendenbal continues his speech in 1961, “This gratitude and love will eternally, for generation and generation come to remain in the mind-heart [*setgel zürkh*] of the [hardworking] Mongolian workers and the mind of our party members.” (1967, 11)

This shift is a modern one, which supplants the religiously loaded compassion with a more secular basis which is often (not quite accurately) translated into English as “feeling”

²⁰⁸ See Kaplonski (2016).

[*setgel*].²⁰⁹ It might also constitute a cultural borrowing, though this would need further investigation.

The socialist government itself had to master the dual relation of representing itself as caretaker and superior/senior,²¹⁰ receiving due authority and respect from its citizens, while at the same time appropriating the socialist egalitarian rhetoric of “we, the people,” and appealing to the ethical self-formation of every person along the lines of the socialist moral agenda. It did not seem especially urgent to conceal this gap; rather the preexisting framework of an ideally caring, yet superior government appears to have been a common ground. Nevertheless, the concept of education and knowledge as salvation, which was promoted by the socialist state seemed to bridge the gap between ethical self-formation and governing. As we have seen in literary examples, furthermore, seniority was resorted to in order to justify the progressive agenda – thereby seemingly uniting historical reverence and progress within the political agenda.

In this vein, at the 14th party convention in 1966 Tsendenbal discussed the goals of the state as propagating (containing the semantic quality of education) Marxism-Leninism among the workers in terms of ideology (*khödölmörchdiin dund Marksist-Leninist üzliig surtalchlahk*) and to consolidate their education²¹¹ (*khödölmörchdiig khümüüjüülekh ajlig khüchtei bolgokhig*) against a background of “international brotherhood,” which translated into Mongolian as a relation of seniority (*akh düügiin nairamdai*) (1967, 210).

His successor Jambyn Batmönkh inherited this duty to bridge the gap between a superior, “caring” state and portraying the state as run by the people. Laying out the 5-year plan at the 11th party convention of his term in 1985 he spoke in authoritative terms of “our party” (representative for the state). As usual he emphasized education and health, “We have successfully implemented the goal of strengthening the facilities regarding the branches of public education and health protection and developing the culture and sciences (Ibid. 1986, 568). In his speech of 1983, the notion of salvific education was also used in reference to *Leninii surgaal*, the “teachings of Lenin,” which had led to the revolution, and hence liberation (Batmönkh 1986, 289).

²⁰⁹ The semantic quality of *setgel* is related to “thinking,” rather than “sentiment” although it often appears in the context, which the English language would ascribe to sentiment.

²¹⁰ However, in terms of international relations, the Mongolian state took the role of “junior.”

²¹¹ In the sense of educating/developing them in the socialist mould - *khümüüjüülekh* lit. “to become human.”

In looking at Batmönkh's speech of 1976 and published in 1986, I tentatively suggest that the egalitarian form of "we, the people" was used more in speeches directed not only to a Mongolian public, but also at the Soviet Union as e.g. the 30 year anniversary of cooperation, relation and help between the Soviet Union and Mongolia.

The conceptual gap and hierarchy between an authoritarian government and a government run by the people does not seem to have been a tangible conundrum. In the sense of caretaker and pursuer of an educated and moral society, the state as working towards the best interest of its citizens, could fashion itself as their representation. It is this element which chimes in with the totalitarian vision of the project of socialism as it was practiced, imposed, appropriated and to some degree resisted across cultures. Neither is this approach unique. The context specific historical transmission of care and love were the basis for a notion of positive freedom, which shared the potential of styling coercion as freedom, a "sleight of hand" exercised by a variety of political regimes and their respective agenda throughout history (Berlin 1969, 24-27).

Qualities of Fear and Respect

However, what is evident from present colloquial accounts, but notably absent in the aforementioned political speeches or written accounts is the association of respect with fear. Evidently, love served much better to describe relations within political agendas, but (an often positively connoted) fear has been taken up primarily by my interlocutors to describe past and present respect for authorities, whether institutional authorities such as police or personal authorities such as seniors and teachers.

In conversations respect was pointed out as containing both sides of love and fear. It was the kind of fear people spoke of which Caroline Humphrey ascribes as the "[...] 'normal' fear that a male person should feel in the presence of superiors, such as his father, older brother or a boss, because these people have the right to punish, insult or beat a junior for disobedience, or even for no reason whatsoever" (Humphrey 2013, 290). *Aikh or emeekh* were frequently used to describe respect, the former pertaining to the colloquial form of danger, risk and misfortune, while the latter describes a sense of being shy or embarrassed (Lessing 1960, 19 and 313). Yet, I would argue this fear is not entirely without reference to the past and it too is associated collectively with the socialist era, not necessarily in a negative manner. It was seen to have contributed to order and discipline i.e. a sort of constructive fear, which makes social

development, order and processes possible. Moreover, it is a kind of fear which produces a high self-awareness and sensitivity, drawing attention on the relation between the fearful subject and the feared in a different way. It diminishes the fearing person while particularly amplifying the space between one's own worth and the value of the other, creating distance and hierarchy. Humphrey's observation of fear, in which the (possessive) socially superior fears the socially inferior – fear being a medium to reach empathy, focuses on the relation. Fearing the superior, rather, is a form of self-negation. It allows one to suspend one's own identity and will and work through the will of another towards a common goal set down by the superior. This allows a pooling of efforts. It is this quality of fear upon which my interlocutors seemed to have commented positively. At times, this fear is related to a notion of salvific knowledge i.e. fear leads to increased consciousness/receptivity and the instruction by the socially superior leads to personal development or order. Furthermore, notions of strength *khüch* are linked to ideas of success, i.e. fearing authority may take on the quality of admiration of strength, but is also equally criticized as insincere respect.

Dual Narratives of Love and Fear

The opposition of love and fear again contains components of referencing the past. Fear is claimed to have declined since socialism and people have bemoaned that in turn respect has declined. Others equally hold up the increase of love to be seen in a declared strengthening of human rights and equality between people, and hence increased respect. Human right's agendas, democratization and equality have been promoted particularly by an international funding community and have been adopted by political actors of the present Mongolian government and non-governmental organizations. Hence, in these sectors too love is intently used with regard to governing and ethical self-formation.²¹² The notions of respect as love and fear also participate in a dual narrative of progress, the moral superiority of the future and reversion, the “moral authority of the past” (Humphrey 1992). These senses of times have also been politically implemented drawing predominantly on the former during socialism, yet already developing the latter after the Khrushchev era. To perceive the future as salvation or the past as perfection has implications for the ethical formation and orientation of subjects. Though not clear cut, at present these narratives are again bifurcating, the future as salvation narrative being intently employed by international agendas promoting development, progress, resource extraction, while the latter is drawn on by ecological sustainability movements,

²¹² See e.g. the interactive governmental platform and its article on the policy of children's right's Erdene, S. “Khüükhed Khamgallin Tukhai Khuuli.” VIP 76 Very Important Person, accessed April 19, 2018. <http://vip76.mn/law/project/59>.

nationalist agendas and cultural preservation (as in world heritage). Neither the narratives nor the political agendas are mutually exclusive.

Parallel to these temporal dimensions of political agendas by dual I refer to the process by which love and fear are portrayed as having increased while at the same time, at times the same people attest to their decrease.

To clarify the point about the social negotiation of fear and love in respect, let me present some of these topics revolving around love and fear in respect. When people recurred to these notions they discussed the changing of societal norms, family and the requirement of care and provision, acquainting themselves with all relatives on the Lunar New Year [*Tsagaan Sar*], the effects of wealth and poverty, the requirements of a respectful relation which contains consciousness and the value of seniority, teaching, the past as locality of love and fear, but also the role of ethnicity and law with regard to respect. Men often commented on respect encompassing love and fear with regard to nature or animals and commenting on their immeasurable worth and exchange value. Another important medium which picked up this topic of love and fear rather unambiguously were self-help books, widely sought and available in bookstores of Ulaanbaatar.

A student dormitory guard mainly considered the necessary requirements for respect and the looming threat of the disappearance of love, which she finally negated:

Now respect is a tradition passed on by father and mother. Our parents have learned it from their parents and it has always been passed on by ancestors, it is not the case that the custom of respect just suddenly came to exist, it has been passed on, we will pass it on and it will be passed on, this is how it comes into being. Oh well now in the city, the sedentary place when you compare it to people in the country side, respect in the city has decreased and has also diminished a bit in comparison to the way out in the country side, in the beautiful herding families, the beautiful people from the countryside, it is a lot more beautiful than in the city. They don't have bad [black and wrong] *intentions*; the way of respecting people has come from parents and ancestors. So for it not to become disrupted, the following generation has to continue recounting it, every household has to tell their children, right? Everybody needs to respect one another. Right? We need to be nice and *peaceful and harmonious*. Only if we can respect one another and forgive one another, there will be something like peacefulness. If there was peacefulness/, how beautiful would the country be? It is said that the world is globalizing, right? Inside and outside [the country] there is such beautiful peacefulness. This is what it could be. I believe in that, but we need to learn the custom of respect. The ones who *know respect and love one another, who respect, love and honor one another* then don't need to be harsh; if these things don't exist [love, respect and honor], then I really don't know, it will be really difficult. Maybe

[we] will die, is what I think, but I think they will probably not disappear. When there are people who know them, then they shall not let them disappear or extinguish them (Jijur, 2014 emphasis added).

What is important in her account is that innate personal qualities (intentions and their actions like love and respect) are directly connected to societal conditions (peace). Many accounts doubted the present's capacity to maintain love and respect or even fear and respect. Some nostalgic approaches viewed the past as more loving. These accounts also often cited a lack of societal or governmental care and the absence of social welfare today. Hence, these accounts negotiate wider social and moral transformations.



Fig. 18 Feeding the pigeons at Gandan monastery – an act of compassion. Photograph by author, May 3rd, 2014, Ulaanbaatar.

A manager of a local cosmetic store assessed that she had to love first, as well as love herself first in order to receive love; this was a point often made. She described herself as having doubted her ability to manage as she was very gentle [*zöölön*]. In her capacity as manager she had to inhabit all roles: she had to reprimand (*zaginakh*), respect (*khiindlekh*), protect (*khamgaalakh*), show compassion (*örövdökh yostoi*) and love (*khairlakh yostoi*). As to the customers, no matter what mistakes they have or whether they are rude she has to treat them as *Khaan*. In this sense, she described her relation to her employees in terms of a senior relation, while this shifted with regard to the customer.



Fig. 19 “Love yourself month.” Marketing an entangled version of Buddhist compassion, feminist slogans and neo-liberal consumption. Advertisement by the pharmacy Monos. Monos Tuul Emiin San. “Ööriigöö Khairlakh Sar.” Advertisement. *Medee Medeelel*, last modified April 15, 2016, accessed May 05, 2018. <https://emonos.mn/information/news/27/>.

These accounts also seem to engage with and negotiate a discourse of love often depicted in popular self-help books. However, it goes beyond this. The concept of loving yourself has become a popular slogan in Ulaanbaatar to advertise a variety of lifestyle products by *Herbal life*, *Oriflame*, or *Monos* and the likes, promising general improvement, strength, success, health and beauty through self-indulgence. They speak to a concept of fortune [*khiimori*] and are neatly embedded in a neoliberal economy, in which responsibility for one’s success and well-being is located with the competitive individual.

While on the one hand then this is experienced as self-empowering and promotes agency, it also leads to an understanding that everyone is responsible for and deserves their own fate. The self-help books promote the idea that if one loves oneself enough and thereby radiates an innate balance and strength that this will automatically create love for others, and ultimately a (financially) successful, happy life. Fear in this view is rejected as something which disintegrates the strength of the individual. Moreover, there is a connection to self-respect – as self-love produces self-respect (Branden, 1969). This in turn is described vital for self-confidence and value, ultimately the ingredients for personal and professional success. The self-help discourse in Ulaanbaatar is an entanglement of US-imported self-help literature, which goes back to its protestant roots and seemingly effortlessly translates into ideas of Bodhisattva compassion, strife to attain enlightenment, and consciousness [*ukhamsar*].²¹³ It

²¹³ I suggest the promotion of self-understanding is then translated into consciousness of a more Buddhist taint. This US-imported literature dates back to the 19th century late Qing time and was translated on the basis of Japanese translations. However, US self-help literature has undergone numerous significant developments see (Effing 2009). This is also true for Samuel Smiles’ *Self Help* which had been translated from a Japanese version into Mongolian in 2011 and received a foreword and endorsement by the then president Bagabandi. For further insight into this topic see Heuschert-Laage (2019) and Kohl-Garrity (2020).

picks up feminist inspired and psychological discourse on self-care, which companies have already appropriated to promote consumption of their products, which promise stress-relief. Larisa Honey pointedly remarked about self-help related discourses:

As theorized through Michel Foucault's framework of governmentality, this new neoliberal self is constituted in the West alongside new state rationalities that have emerged with the shift away from the Keynesian welfare state [...]. Strategically framed in terms of "freedom, autonomy and choice" [...], neoliberal modes of governing utilize "technologies of the self" such as self-help practices to produce new subjects who view themselves as responsible for their own social welfare and wellbeing [...] and, consequently, are induced not only to govern themselves "according to market principles of discipline, efficiency, and competitiveness" [...] but to feel "empowered" in the process [...] (2014, 7).

She also highlights the depolitization of participants and the legitimation of social inequalities. This discourse was either endorsed through relating to Buddhist notions of self-improvement or countered by Buddhist notions of cultivating "empty quality" [*khooson chanar*], a kind of self-renunciation.²¹⁴

So now for example in Buddhism we talk about the empty quality. When we say empty quality, we don't speak about individualism [*khuvi yosiig*]. We understand the object called "I" does not exist. That I don't exist, the non-existence, and therefore it is the thought of emptiness. On the one hand we say the I doesn't exist, the emptiness is one meaning. For this reason, the Buddhist religion stands apart from other religions. If you want to live in peace in the future, you think you need to set the object called 'I' aback. Right? When you don't feel yourself [the I] as object, it is just the way you think – not more than the others, not better than the others or no influence by others, right? Because this object is empty then, we call it empty, it does not describe anything immaterial. On the one hand if you want society to become beautiful, you really have to [...] Mongolians nowadays have entered into mental deprivation, they only cling to words. Because it was said that it is empty, it is empty. It is not the lesson that you have to live for others, that is what do you call it? That is education. This lesson you cannot take once and learn it, not in 2 years, not in three and 4 years (Khamba Lama, 2014).

The notion of emptiness is on the one hand perceived as the perfection of wisdom of a bodhisatva, but it is also to be imbued with compassion for oneself and other according to Atiśa (Kapstein 2014, 60). Notions of emptiness and compassion are then interconnected, and compassion and love are coterminous in Mongolian.

²¹⁴ As this practice could potentially still be called an exercise on the "self" it did not always counter such "self-improvement" but could also work as complementing it and focusing on the self rather than alterity.

Moreover, despite the overarching consumer-oriented discourse of love, what people focused on when speaking about love and respect was the love for others or the interrelation of love and fear, in family relations, where the senior or parent loved and the junior or child feared:

We really fear our father and mother. In front of these kinds of people, seniors, in front of many people, we don't look at them in a nasty manner and don't curse. We greatly feared our mother and father, our siblings and other seniors. Now our father and mother love us immensely. Yes, because this is the end of love [she likely means her parents high age] we love them too, so when someone loves us, we thereby grow up, become educated, cultivated and learned. Once we have graduated from school, acquired culture and have a profession we return the favor of our parents [show gratefulness and return] and strive to give, whatever possibilities you have is what you will give. This is how one's life goes on [lit. how one pursues one's own life]. Apart from that the thought of love will always exist, it seems we like to love (Uranaa, 2014).

Some accounts debated meanings of negatively evaluated fear and emphasized its sense of awe.

No, not fear. Now to fear someone, this has generally passed. They have forgotten how to fear and feel ashamed. Although fear and shame are something big, now there are many, who don't fear. Yes, now when we say "I don't fear you," it doesn't mean people think "he can't do anything to me", rather people of high age, even when someone is a few years older than me, I would have respect for him and call him "Ta". But people have started to call each other you [informal] a lot (Batbold, 2014).

A student of social sciences also discussed social change through referring to respect and love with regard to goods and property.

When we speak about the past society, speaking about people from the generation of the 60s and 70s every person during this government whether it was their own or others' property they had to treat it with love and protect it; for this reason other peoples' goods were cherished [respected] and used in a loving and careful manner, this is how it was, but it depended on the morality of a person. When you use other people's things, need to love [take care] and protect [look after] them ... [She interrupts herself] Certain people only communicate with people of the same social standing. Actually one should, whether a person comes from a foreign country, or even without social standing [higher or lower standing]... [incomplete strand of thought by interlocutor] In today's society human rights are valued too highly, a quality called a person's role has disappeared, for this reason although people's roles have disappeared, when you inquire about your heritage you need to keep the quality of respect, for if you don't, everyone might refer to human rights and start quarreling

or refer to human rights and might humiliate and oppress, upon being born everyone needs to learn how to respect (Oyunaa, 2013).

Most people in valuing the past are critical of the present and its political agenda. Many accounts deal with a sense of history in locating fear and love. This account is unique in that it also brings in a socialist rhetoric of loving and protecting what was once called socialist property (as in contrast to an imperial rhetoric of loving i.e. granting goods by the emperor as favor to his inferior.) In hindsight some accounts are comparisons on a broader political level. The socialist period was ambiguously identified with love or fear – love in reference to the social welfare, fear in reference to the discipline and central orders. The period of the Qing dynasty, is unambiguously associated with fear, referring to poverty, slavery and exploitation, which have also been key themes in the still popular literature of the 1930s.

In the past society people were beautifully respecting each other and went along loving and respecting the people. If the big superiors treated the people well and with respect, they were role models. If they treated them like slaves, it was bad for themselves, for their own reputation. In the past [*deer üye*] this relationship seems to have been worse because the aristocracy, the rich abused the others. Nowadays oh well, it is better but if the superiors are getting so exceedingly rich and there will be many poor, it will be the same, this is why I think, please don't let that happen (Namin Gishüün, 2013).

This grandmother in her late 50s, who was raising her grandson, evaluates the different periods by the standard of general wealth equality. She located the more positive attribute of love in the past, thereby also taking a nostalgic view, while not entirely revering the past. As I have mentioned revering the past, not only takes the form of time, but also of relations, such as family relations. Love was generally associated with the family and family members, while fear was associated with official authority or the authority some family members exercised.

Zayaa shared her childhood memories to describe the love her father showed for his children. She takes a more egalitarian approach towards fear, in that she refers to individual conscience rather than the often cited mandatory deference for seniority. According to her, mistakes can also be made by seniors, who then feel “fear” with regard to their junior:

[...] Now, once I was supposed to recite a poem at a concert, a [socialist] slogan, and then I said I won't recite, I won't recite a slogan. Although my father was not a member of the party, the head of the party came and told him your daughter does not recite the slogan, you weren't able to raise your children well, he said. Then my father came and pleaded with me, forget about whether you like it or not, come on just recite it for two little minutes, please recite it. This is how he loved [treasured] us, he was a very loving person. Then my father dressed up as father frost at New Year's and we all

received presents from our father. Although we knew it was our father, we rejoiced, we were this type of kids. [...] There needs to be consciousness. You need to become aware of your wrong actions, you need to be aware of the good and the beautiful things, one needs to be aware of love and respect. You need to be conscious. You need to be aware of the things you did wrong, you need to be aware of the good and the beautiful things; you need to be aware of loving and respecting. A person's mind means consciousness. You need to generally think, for example, am I doing the right thing, am I doing the wrong thing? Is this right? Is this a mistake? Is what one always needs to think and be aware of, right? (Zayaa, 2014)

Other accounts juxtaposed love and fear and deemed love true respect while fear would be either secondary or negatively valued as authority.

Oh well, what means to love and respect, oh well! I don't think there is a great difference. But there is one difference, right? One person might [fear] his father, one his teacher, and another his boss, right? But if a person is feared, they are not hated, he respects [him/her] inside – this is what you would probably call fear and respect. The other, if you say love and respect, there is no reason to fear the other, if this [love] is the case, he truly goes along respecting [him/her], this is probably the difference (Tsereg, 2014).

Family relations involve love, but love is also described as care, which can easily turn into a claim or expectation as Naran, whom I had previously referred to as a mother of three, explained:

Father, mother, grandmother, grandfather - but the most [respected] are grandmother and grandfather, I have only one grandmother. All the others have gone, but my father and mother still remain. I receive love and respect from them. In return I try to reciprocate. But to offer them reciprocation in return is sometimes difficult, money, finances, it is difficult, sometimes I cannot make it (Naran, 2013).

When reflecting on love and fear with regard to respect, many male interlocutors brought up their relations with nature, animals and goods. They pondered about the worth and the conversion into goods for the market, generally pointing to a moral value inextricably linked not only to the care of the animal, but also labor:

What to do with things you get for free? But this I had to work hard for in order to acquire it. For one month's salary I go with horses and animals and give one of them to slaughter, upon receiving the money I really treasure [lit. love] it [the money]. Normal money I put in my pocket; this money I put deep into my pocket. A person, who lets it fall, throws it away, is a person, who doesn't care. Yes, because many people have moved to the center [Ulaanbaatar], the custom of respecting people is disappearing, you know? (Baatarsaikhan, 2014)

The discourse on love and fear in respect brought out a politically embedded variety of at times conflicting and intersecting thought histories, intellectual entanglements and ideas of

what constitutes a moral society and represented a negotiation over the value of social transformation, heritage and collective identities. It lays bare neoliberal ideological elements like the promotion of human rights which conflict with prevalent ideas of authority, harmony and hierarchy. Of course, love may flow both ways as people exchange their platonic and non-platonic *khairtai shüü* “I love you.” However, it can represent a quality which the senior/superior holds for the junior/inferior. This is obvious when sighting Mongolian legal drafts of children’s rights and their discussion of Unicef’s children’s right’s convention. They shift from a focus on children, to the love that parents, and the love a mother, in particular, nurtures for her child. While the child may also love its parents, it is not in this case politically relevant. As we think in terms of caring for children, while the reverse is possible, it only becomes pertinent with regard to parents in old age. Though mutual, the values of love in these different relational positions are quite distinct: the former speaking to nurture, education and continuity while the latter is discussed in terms of indebtedness.

Understanding Love: the Shift from Compassion to Heart-Mind

Respect is part of a composite relation of love and fear, in which a senior or superior loves and a junior or inferior fears, i.e. respects. Nevertheless, love may stand for the caring proximity of a relation to be exercised by the senior or superior, while fear is a quality which produces proper comportment and elevates the senior or superior i.e. a quality to be exercised by the junior or inferior. *Khüni erk* – “human rights” then assumes that each person is to assume authority, which runs counter to this relation and explains its contested nature.

Importantly, too, love is not classified as a passion or emotion, but rather as premodern *sedkil*, which often refers to what Europeans would call emotions or sentiments, but literally translates as a compound of thought or “state of mind” and “heart or sentiment.” While *sedkil* was not commonly linked to *qayir/qair* love in pre-socialist rhetoric or literature,²¹⁵ the term *sedkil* did qualify a variety – of what Euro-American philosophy would call – sentiments. *Qayira-* or the older preclassical version *qayirala*²¹⁶ seemed to designate and describe forms of loving kindness or care, rather than romantic love.

²¹⁵ See e.g. Danzanravjaa’s poem “Gentle” *Dömön*, Zanabazar’s “A prayer for peace” *Tsag Lugaa Zokhilduulsan zalbiral adistadin deediig khairlagch orshivoi*, or “Prince Tsogtu’s Inscription” *Tsogt taijiin khadni shüleg*. Neither does ritual and religious literature feature this connection of *qayir* and *setkil/sedkil* compare e.g. the incantations in Charles Bawden’s “Mongol Notes” (1963) or *The White History* or any other pre-socialist literature or pre-socialist sources of cited in this document.

²¹⁶ Igor de Rachewiltz (2013, 102) differentiates Kowalewski’s *qayira* “faveur, grâce” (1844, 36) from *qayiran/qairan* “poor, pitiable, dear.” According to de Rachewiltz *qayira* is not attested in preclassical language,

György Kara (1997, 43) observes “An example of the fourth category, a Mongolian neologism is *sedkil*, ‘mind; heart; thought’ < *sedki-* ‘to think’ for Uygur *köngül*, Sanskrit *citta*, Tibetan *sems* and *yid*.” Takao Moriyasu in analyzing introductory phrases to letters establishes that “The word *köngül* appearing in (1 f) and (1 g) always refers not to one’s own (i.e., the sender’s) ‘heart, feelings,’ but to the other party’s (i.e., addressee’s) ‘heart, mental state > health,’ and *köngül ayit-* or *köngül ötün-* ought to be translated as ‘to inquire after someone’s health.’” (2012, 3) He identifies *köngül* in letters of Karakhanid and Manichean origin. The reference to health is absent in *sedkil*. The meaning of *setkil* generally not only shares the semantic field of *köngül*, but also significant features with Chinese *xin* (心) and Sanskrit/Pali *citta*, both having been designated as “heart-mind.” Jana Rošker in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* describes *xin* as “The heart-mind which represents the crucial part of this self-awareness, is innately equipped with the basic structure of (moral) recognition” and is “the source of both emotions and reasoning.” Finally, another important faculty of heart-mind is the reaching of wisdom or knowledge. (Rošker, 2017). The Pali-English dictionary also gives a closer description of the heart-mind composite *citta* as “the centre and focus of man’s emotional nature as well as that intellectual element which inheres in and accompanies its manifestations.” Moreover, it describes how intention is another important dimension of *citta*, as opposed to the will (1921-5, 299).

While the concept of *xin* (心) has existed as early as the pre-Qin era, *citta* has been tied to the teachings of Buddhism. The Mongolian scholar Juriin Bayansan, uses the term “soul” to describe the more overarching meaning of modern *setgel* and its characteristics. He also defines *khair* “love” as belonging “to the same lexico-semantic field” as *setgel* (Bayansan 2005, 1). Analyzing lexical components of *setgel* he maintains that it is a container, which conceals what is in it, but needs to be controlled or “held,” that others try to make sense of what is inside another person’s soul or *setgel* and that it is also a tool to communicate though it is unstable and volatile (Bayansan 2005, 4). Even though Bayansan identifies *setgel* as soul and therefore different from Mongolian dictionaries, he nevertheless stays within the frame of the heart-mind attributes or qualities of “thinking and feeling.” Compare also an entry from

but *qayirala/qairala* is well attested as “to love, feel pity, begrudge”. Lewicki attests *qairala-qayirala* for the *Houa-yi yi-yu* of 1389 and translates it as “aimer, traïter avec amour” (1949,42) and *qayiralam* as “compassion” (1949, 45).

The illustrated Encyclopedia of Confucianism in which Mencius' term "preserving the heart-mind" is discussed

ts'un ch'i hsin, or preserving the heart-mind, designates a step in the process of self-cultivation. It is unclear exactly what was meant by the phrase "preserving the heart-mind," but it does suggest that the heart-mind complex is to be cared for, to be watched over, and not allowed to slip away. [...] In addition to this meaning, however, there is a sense of the heart-mind as the repository of knowledge, perhaps the knowledge of the nature which Mencius says it must have to fully realize itself. As a repository, what is needed in the learning process is what is already contained within the heart-mind as a reflection of what is found in the nature. The focus is upon an interior process of realization, rather than the acquisition of knowledge from external sources (Taylor and Choy 2005, 630).

As we may see, the notion of heart-mind is shared and a common feature of East and Central Asian conception and philosophy of the tangible and intangible human aspects. It too points towards entangled histories along the Silk Road. Yet, *sedkil* during the Qing dynasty is used in a rather different way as it was not commonly associated with love, but rather accompanied a range of human qualities or deficiencies such as respect, fear, generosity, good or bad intentions etc.

This short excursion of the shift from different forms of "compassion/mercifulness" and "loving kindness" [*örshööl, qayir*] in the Qing rhetoric²¹⁷ to modern *setgel* "mind-heart or thought, feeling" points towards a shift from an intentional representation and reference to a compassionate, loving kind bodhisattva emperor i.e. specific political semantic frame of loving kindness, mercy/compassion in the Qing era towards a term of a more internal and secular quality *setgel* in the framework of a socialist government. Interestingly both semantic frameworks were intended to refer to the care a government accorded its subjects. The new frame of reference for love [*setgel*] concerned a location "heart-mind" which allowed certain qualities of the previous Qing rhetoric of "strive, unworthiness, respect and grace" to be transmitted to a more socialist agenda. *Setgel* as "heart-mind" was also a source of innate learning, knowledge and self-cultivation i.e. admitted the access to the ethical formation of a moral subject being, who was receptive to the moral caring socialist agenda. However, this is not just a one-way process: It is crucial for moral conduct to have benevolent intentions towards something. If one is "to understand something correctly" [*zöv oilgokh*], one has to

²¹⁷ And pre-Qing governmental compassion/grace often cast as *soyurqal* see e.g. Cleaves (1950).

harbor good intentions [*sain sanaatai*] as we have seen in accounts given by Narantsetseg. A description of a person as *saikhan setgeltei* also describes them as harboring good intentions.

To me respect means understanding me in a positive way [*zöv khüleej avakh*] and treating me in a cultivated way [*khünteï bolovsrol kharitsakh*] and also not in an angry manner and in a very, very peaceful manner. To receive it [the message] in the right way I listen to the words of older people [*zöv khuleej avaad l gekhdee nastai khüniï khelj baigaa ügiig oilgood*] (Narantsetseg, 2007).

The attainment of knowledge, cultivation and self-improvement relies not only on an outside input, but also on an innate willingness to receive it. Hence, the acquisition of knowledge is also morally structured or pre-evaluated by subjects.

Qayir today seems to occupy an even greater internal quality or the rhetoric is at least contested on the grounds of the responsibility for care no longer resting with a government. With regard to modern “self-love” [*öriigöö khairlakh*] each subject is to make the best out of their fortune, to strive for a better life and education. While self-improvement and cultivation were also crucial in socialist rhetoric, they were supported by state investment into and imposition of accessing the infrastructures of education, health facilities etc. Today, these infrastructures are evermore crucial, but the responsibility to receive access lies increasingly with the financial means of the subjects themselves. Moral conduct in the present and past is not fundamentally disparate, but it contains different implications. The transient similarities between designating *khair* “love” as *setgel* “heart-mind” despite its longstanding history lends itself to the assumption that the term was chosen to assimilate Western socialist notions of governmental care and love.

[The Ontological Turn, Feelings and the Imposition of the Subject](#)

An important feature of *setgel* is also that the heart-mind may comprise what is known in English as the senses. This opens up a variety of Euro-American notions of feeling. The English “feeling, sentiment” and “heart” often pertains to the body and “mind” to the intellect, which has become the basis of the Cartesian dualism of mind-body. It gave rise to such intellectual movements as idealism and materialism, themselves turning into a dual divide. The heart-mind composition, with its emphasis on complementarity then provides a different philosophical outlook. The mind/matter intellect/body dualism is not mapped out in the same

way as they are not irreconcilably juxtaposed or hierarchized, yet there is the question of “knowledge and action,” “innate and external knowledge,” “revealing and concealing.”

Now love is differentiated into very different concepts in recent European and American philosophy such as self-love, passion, emotion or, to put it in La Caze’s words drawing on Kant, “the maxim of benevolence (practical love) that brings beneficence [...]” (La Caze 2005, 94). Carla Bagnoli, again differentiates “loving attention” which is part of respect from love proper (2003, 486). While La Caze and Marcia Baron (Baron 1997, 29 and La Caze 2005, 101) feel uncomfortable with Kant’s differentiation of love as proximity vs. respect as distance, their discussion of Irigaray and Kant still draws on a dichotomy of feeling and reason, though we must again differentiate in that Luce Irigaray herself does not differentiate love in this way. The interviews conducted in Ulaanbaatar all have in common that they focus on the notions of love which are not coupled with desire, i.e. erotic love, though that clearly exists too. Love in the terms of my conversational partners is not only a composite feature of respect, but to cite La Caze and Irigaray “love can be cultivated or is ‘governable’” (La Caze 2005, 99 citing Irigaray 1996, 129). This forms the basic common vantage point with the way love is conceptualized in European and American philosophy.

While *khündlekh* can be made up of the composites of love and fear, it can also stand as composite to love proper. To respect is an action associated with a state of mind. European philosophical elaborations of respect or *Achtung*, are characterized rather differently. Kant argues: “The principle of *mutual love* admonishes men constantly to *come closer* to one another; that of *respect* they owe one another, to keep themselves *at a distance* from one another; [...]” (1991, 244 [Ak. VI 449 § 24]) [original emphasis].

In this citation, love is a principle of its own and is contradicting respect in its quality, rather than a complementary, yet hierarchical exchange relation as it is has been portrayed throughout the Mongolian sources. The analytical emphasis lies on the differentiation between those qualities rather than their description within a relation of senior/junior, superior/inferior exchange.

Naturally this described exchange in the Mongolian context is not total in the sense that it accounts for all characterizations of love and its associated relations. We should rather view it as one possible ontology among possible others. At times it may intersect or interact with

other ontological approaches as in the case of love being supported by self-love which evolves from a relation between Buddhist ideas of Boddhisatva self-improvement and Euro-American self-help literature. In this view we find compassion/love, which is grounded in Buddhist *khooson chanar* “empty space.” The account of only one ontology runs the risk of either being totalitarian, inadequate or both.

To return to my initial reservations regarding subject formation in chapter 2, moral anthropology has relied on both, ontological approaches and subject formation. Perhaps it is time to ask whether not only the subject is a social construction (in that it is not essential), but also subject formation itself and its focus on consciousness,²¹⁸ i.e. ultimately the subject. To put it differently if we take Foucault’s claim of the subject as historically and culturally defined seriously, we should go one step further and look at the regional philosophical traditions and conceptualizations, which may offer, as in the Mongolian case, notions of “consciousness” (*ukhamsar*), which are not self-directed, but other directed. Consciousness defines a human only in as far as it is accorded to the other, which speaks to this “human’s upbringing” (*khümüüjil* lit. becoming human) and “education” (*bolovsrol* lit. from becoming). This is only one ontological aspect – another is the self-negation implicit in “empty space” [*khooson chanar*] offered by Buddhist canons or the term of *khuvi* (part, private) and the terminology of “grace” [*soyurqal, kesig*] over imperial centuries implying divine abundance allotted as fortune to those designated parts. They imply that it is not the subject, which necessarily takes center stage. What is also important is to point out the ontological plurality within one region, society or culture.²¹⁹ In a way, Immanuel Levinas, was the first philosopher to tread such a trail by leaving an Aristotelian trajectory and incorporating Jewish philosophy into his ideas of subject-formation. Moreover, within one realm, there may be yet different historically contingent notions of ontology. As the European-American philosophical history itself shows, different thinkers rely on different philosophical strands within this tradition of subject-formation such as Jarrett Zigon on Heidegger (2007) and Mahmoud on Foucault (2005) (who in turn is strongly reminiscent of Nietzsche). Last, but not least it is not an entirely new approach in philosophy to take such a “Derridian move,” in which *différance* is posited before the subject, though contrary to looking at regional philosophies, its deconstruction relies on its reference. Another “Althusserian move” would

²¹⁸ Or the Freudian unconscious for that matter. Much anthropological thinking relies on the excluded by which a subject constitutes itself see e.g. Billé’s (2015) approach.

²¹⁹ For arguing for separate and sealed ontologies would evince a strong parallelism to the concept of nation/nationalism.

amount to posit society first, but this too references the subject. Marilyn Strathern has demonstrated (1990) that a cultural account of different thinking does not necessarily include notions of a subject. However, strangely, her work is rendered ahistorical in that it does not thematize the historical trajectories of the thought in question. Dipesh Chakrabarty has recently also taken up approaches to think beyond the subject, particularly with regard to climate change and world history (2009). It has been the task of anthropology to render comprehensible the understanding of other societies or cultures, including that relating to the subject²²⁰ – but can this not more accurately also be realized from an engagement with local histories of thought?

Equality and Hierarchy in Respect

European scholars tend to follow Kant's complementary opposition of love and respect, in which love denotes proximity, and respect signifies distance and already contains a notion of fear as is commonly associated with the German *Achtung*. Allen W. Wood argues that:

Respect is perhaps most closely associated with the moral philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), where it is involved in several other fundamental ideas: moral obligation, humanity as end in itself, and the dignity of humanity. The idea of recognition (*Anerkennung*) belongs to the same family. Though it was used by Kant (MS 6:462), "recognition" is probably best known for its appearance in G. W. F. Hegel's (1770-1831) famous "master-servant" dialectic in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Hegel *PhG*, paras 178-96) (2010, 47).

It is known that the young Marx was heavily influenced by Hegel, while he was only selectively influenced by Kant (unless, we view his rejections as reactions to Kant as well). Yet, the philosopher Philip Kain noticed the proximity of Marx's interest in "how morality can be realized in society" to Kant's categorical imperative (1986, 278). Let me discuss some premises at the heart of Kant's and Marx's thought, which they share in order to be able to map out and contrast the issues discussed by my interlocutors when referring to "love" or "fear" in respect.

Kain establishes that: "Marx and Kant agree that only what is universal can stand the light of publicity; particular interests which contradict the general interest cannot – form and content would be in contradiction." (1986, 282) Moreover, he asserts an agreement between the two with regard to human dignity: "Philosophical criticism, criticism from the perspective of the

²²⁰ Or those aspects and projects which go beyond the subject and cannot be captured by the term.

ideals of German philosophy, gives rise, Marx says, to a ‘categorical imperative’ to overthrow all relations in which man is not ‘the highest being for man’. Kant argued that human beings must be treated as ends in themselves, never as means only” (1986, 284).

Kant and Marx then support a sense of universality i.e. equality qua respect, and underline the difference between dignity and price (Wood 2010, 564), though of course Marx does not refer to respect per se, but rather a sense of recognition. Simultaneously, Kant describes the sentiment of *Achtung* as hierarchical in creating a distance without evaluating it, while Marx wants to abolish social hierarchy as the root of social inequality. This gives rise to the European ambiguity of respect as egalitarian²²¹ as in the recognition of human dignity, but also deplorable in social hierarchies, which are popularly handled as potential threat to the recognition of human dignity.

Love and Fear or Encompassment and Distance in Mongolia

To discuss respect in Mongolia with reference to European thought, while fear marks a kind of respect for authority, akin to what Stephen Darwall would call “recognition respect” (2006, 159), love is accorded qua relation and encompasses “a person’s moral merits or the virtues of their character or conduct” akin to what the philosopher Allan Wood has described (2010, 566). Respect though is not rendered with regard to the person, rather within their relation. In this sense it is close to what Darwall has termed “appraisal respect.” Notions of fear, whether they turn up in conversations of fearing authorities in socialism or when speaking about unruly children are discussed with reference to *sakhilga* “discipline.” They also reference the Buddhist use of adhering to a monastic vow *sakhil*.²²²

However, there is a slight ambivalence within these relations in that they are hierarchical because in this relation of love the senior or superior nevertheless encompasses the junior and is an authority for him/her.²²³ In this sense, if we had to compare in these terms, love satisfies the criteria of equality more than fear would, but love too, is not equal, contrary to the way it seems to be often conceptualized in European-American thought. We might also say that

²²¹ While opposed to inequality, Marx did not endorse egalitarianism as a political notion, and in fact rejected it as “a vehicle for bourgeois class oppression” (Wood 2014, 253). Rather, he and Friedrich Engels saw a better alternative in the “abolition of classes,” an element which may be understood as egalitarian, but expresses the problem at issue better (Ibid., 254).

²²² For such use during the Qing dynasty see e.g. Bawden (1960) and his citation of Heissig on Mergen Gegeen’s reference to a 1724 issued order by the Manchu government in Blockprints (Bawden 1960, 540).

²²³ Interestingly, juniors also profess their love for their seniors by writing or saying *khairtai shüü* “I love you,” however, in conversations with regard to love and respect, my interlocutors only mentioned senior love, which is why it is treated in this context only.

within respect, love and fear are mutually constitutive, for love stands for the ability to give and grant and possibly esteem²²⁴ whereas fear serves a certain order and esteem. The confluence of different traditions of love might explain why some people, among them often also the elder generation who lived through socialism, embrace fear and insist on its necessity for order and peace, whereas others embrace love as true respect to the exclusion of fear.

I would propose that the differentiation between love (or its synonym compassion) and fear in respect today is a discussion over hierarchy and equality, introduced partially by political agendas of socialism, human rights, democratization and nationalist discourses. They seem rather different from Qing and pre-Qing governmental rhetoric of love, which they apparently cite.

We may argue that love was a dominant value ideologically promoted in the Qing dynasty and during socialism with different ideological foundations. However, though the notions of fear [*aikh emeekh*] were not officially promoted, we may find them in the context of filial piety in the Secret History of the Mongols when Chinggis fears his mother over a power struggle with Qasar [paragraph 244] or in the early Mongolian version of the Hsiao Ching (the Analects) with regard to the relation between officers and “the former holy kings.” (Cleaves 1992, 141) Moreover, reference to this kind of fear is found in the imperial “grace” discourse in the 1362 inscription in the memory of prince Hindu (Cleaves 1949). In that context it refers to a superior-inferior relation of the official Ui-Suu, who “was favored” in being entrusted with affairs and describes the superior Oron, who in turn obtained grace from the emperor. The official is “in fear” for not having executed an order (Cleaves 1949, 91). In the Qing trilingual inscription of 1640 this compound is also referred to in the context of foreign submission of the Solongya nation (Korea). It is characterized as “inferior” and defeated attributing “fear” to the ruler “Nan qan” and his people. Needless to say that this inscription was also received as affront by those designated as such.

The use of fear may also be reminiscent of the major role it plays in Chinese legalist ethical thought of the 3rd century BCE, as Yang Xiao portrays it: It is directly related to a “governing the other through the self:”

²²⁴ Although this could also be a more recent evaluation of love as we have seen.

The basic idea is that human beings have only two basic desires or emotions: greed and fear, which is why they like rewards and dislike punishment (*Book of Lord Shang* 241). From this Shang Yang claims that the following pattern exists: if a ruler governs by punishment, people will be fearful, and will not commit crimes, out of fear (*Book of Lord Shang* 229-30). In other words, the best means to achieve the legalist ideal society is to rely on physical force, as well as the threat of physical force (2010, 11).

Nevertheless, we need to disclaim that respect always contains love and fear in historical material or that the three are historically connected in an essential manner. This would not apply to the historical material discussed above in its entirety. The material seems to suggest a more flexible association. Fear stands in relation to “grace” [*soyurqal*] in the 1362 inscription, and is often paired with *qair-* in other Yuan dynasty material e.g. in the Secret History of the Mongols. Yet, generally, it rarely stands in direct proximity as a triadic relation with respect, as the above material demonstrates. “Respect” *kündiile-* in the 1362 inscription refers to reputation and the people esteeming an administrative superior official or in the Qing 1640 inscription, *kündü* is attributed to an imperial edict. In both cases the complex of grace (Yuan *soyurqal*, or Qing *kesig*) is utilized, but again not in this triadic relation of love, fear and respect, though it may contain one or the other. Instead of a triadic relation, the material suggests, that what happened is rather a shift in hierarchy.

During the late Qing time, grace and its inherent love/compassion tended to be rendered by the superior/senior and fear or respect was used in the sense of adherence and esteem by the inferior/junior. The term *kündü* “weighty” also appeared as an adjective describing the senior/superior. This notion of the hierarchical relation of grace and respect is still maintained throughout socialism and today. Yet, another idea has made inroads as my interlocutors’ accounts suggest – namely that respect consists of love and fear. Respect is to be accorded and is due to all humans. This latter aspect is being negotiated and is becoming ever more contested. Universal respect, while having been a component not only of socialist internationalism, but also human rights discourses promoted during socialism, has also become part and parcel of (neo)liberal agendas of human rights.

The negotiation of love and fear particularly in (post)socialist times in the light of universal ideas and human rights agendas of the benevolence and egalitarian quality of love and the psychological detrimental effects of fear might then at least partially evoke a preoccupation with distance and proximity in Mongolian respect. It is one which it has come to share with

Euro-American understanding of respect through a (post)socialist thought history. This conundrum of respect in the European tradition was exemplified by Wood in drawing on Kant:

Respect is a complex and even ambivalent feeling: it is uplifting, insofar as it is an experience of our own dignity and the high moral vocation that goes with it, but it is also painful and even humiliating, insofar as it limits the pretensions of our self-love and strikes down our self-conceited pretension that our point of view is worth more than that of others who are entitled to respect [...] (Wood 2010, 563).

Moreover, what is at stake under the present-day moral-political agenda in Mongolia regarding the cultivation of fear is that it can be understood as personal interest in status, which would not be universally applicable and hence, would not comply with the value of (post)socialist equality.

On a different note, in embracing fear as a necessary correlate of love, Mongolian seniors and superiors may well see themselves as fulfilling their relations, transmitting knowledge and benefitting their juniors i.e. engaging in a relation, which is also hierarchical and marked by a sense of grace. This sense of fulfilling a relation may also be framed in terms familiar not only to European thought history. Confucian and Hindu works as well as Buddhism draw on senses of duty.²²⁵ While Stephen Clark argues for Hindu ethics “Our duties, our *dharma*, are individual, or rather, depend on the many functions we will fulfill” (Clark 2010, 25).

Similarly, ethics associated with Confucian thought likewise feature this notion of duty:

Everyone in the ideal society has social roles and practical identities that come with special obligations; for instance, a son must have filial piety (*xiao*) towards his father (*Analects* 1.2, 1.11, 2.5-8, 13.18, 17.21), an official must have loyalty (*zhong*) towards his or her ruler (3.19), and a ruler must have benevolence (*ren*) towards his or her people (*Mencius* 1A4, 1A7, 1B5, see Lau 2005; *Xunzi* 10.13). A *junzi* (virtuous person, or gentleman scholar-official) must have a comprehensive set of virtues, such as *ren* (humanity, benevolence, or empathy), *yi* (justice, righteousness), *li* (social rules and rituals internalized as deep dispositions), *zhi* (practical wisdom), *xin* (trust), *yong* (courage), and *shu* (reciprocity, or the golden rule internalized as a deep disposition) (Xiao 2010, 7).

²²⁵ I discuss these here briefly, as their thought histories have also had a general impact on Mongolian thought history.

The negotiation over proximity²²⁶ and distance or love and fear in respect touches on the underlying notion of “how morality can be achieved in society,” which is rather similar to what Kain writes about Marx’s first concern being “how morality can be realized in the world,” (1986, 278) a question not only posed by Marx, but one, which has been addressed under various guises, not only in philosophical treatments of Chinese or Hindu philosophy. It is a negotiation which enables its participants to comment on society and its political agenda and is at the same time shaped and restrained by its proximity to and often obvious agenda of governing.

Albeit counter-intuitive at first, the present neoliberal economies are complicit in tackling this question even though they disown their interest in morality. Their general agenda often builds on a notion of either “survival of the fittest”(something often described as being a warrior in Mongolian) in that it claims to rely on the privatized responsibility to summon one’s strength and rely on oneself. Or, they promote agency, which translates into Mongolian notions of mastering and are in turn connected to performance or achievements which draw on the socialist notions of “labor” i.e. *khödölmör* in a Mongolian context. These tenets frame the moral evaluations of people and their character in a neoliberal society in Mongolia as well. They are also portrayed to be corner stones of what constitutes equality. In this way governmental agendas feed on the force of morality to consolidate their power. Thus, also in this framework, equal love is then potentially morally sound whereas hierarchical love and fear are potentially morally suspicious and have to be negotiated with other historically existing notions. The amalgamation of equality with performance in this case²²⁷ then constitutes the successful implementation of a governmental and transnational economic agenda. The intersection between morality and power is then not so much a confusion of what has value “dignity” and what is perceived to have value “price,” as Wood has articulated (2010, 564) , but much more an intentional objective of a political agenda.

²²⁶ Mongolians use the expression *oir dotno* “near inside,” which seems to contain both notions of encompassment and proximity and describes an intimate relation, but is not solely used for senior-junior relations. It may well describe all relations “at heart”.

²²⁷ Or “grace” *kesig* and loving kindness *qayir-* with subjection and “strife” *kičiye-* i.e. ultimately a kind of loyalty also embodied by the Yuan concept of *soyurqal*.

Concluding Remarks

Processes and Entangled Relations

In the course of this work I have taken people's account of respect to lead the way into a framework of reference which raised theoretical inquiries of the entanglement, confluence and juxtaposition of different traditions of thought – i.e. the trade of intangible goods along the Silk Roads, such as values. In this sense I explored respect through the lens of philosophy, but also the moral implications, their embeddedness in different literary and political contexts. The approach towards respect was a dialectic one which included disregard on the other spectrum of inquiry – as the opposite of respect was not so much inappropriate replies or relations (which often reinforced the discourse on respect) but disregard – the lack of a reply, which went noticed or no relation at all. Drawing on Fassin – I tried to sketch out the inherent proximity between the moral impulse in the governing of others and the ethical formation within the governing of the self (2012, 9) through different political periods. This proximity draws on different processes such as the institutionalization of respect, the popularization of respect within different hierarchical settings, and the entanglement of different thought histories. Entanglement operates with regard to thought histories, temporal, spacial dimensions and involves conceptual relations. It is often active in accommodating different political agendas and their transition from one to another. Respect has taken the form of multiple relations (master-disciple, senior-junior, filial, superior-inferior, ruler-subject etc.), reputation, ritual, legal and religious adherence, customary habit and historical reverence. Today, it also participates in a discourse on high culture and is embedded in marketing schemes, which allude to this entangled infrastructure. It has been negotiated, demanded, claimed, expected and had to be explicated in times of duress. Finally it has been legally inscribed and prescribed particularly in the Qing and Yuan era.

Value, Intent and Reference

Through my interlocutor's accounts I tried to investigate the interdependency between and translation from moral to economic value. In terms of respect this meant to show how claims and expectations with regard to respect were dependent on economic conditions and had economic implications. It also included complementing and puzzling together narratives of different family members to gain a deeper understanding of relational challenges. The accounts of respect had significant temporal dimensions as they were involved in intentional

history projects (Gehrke 2001) and negotiated salvific knowledge in terms of a progressive future or moral superiority of the future and an instructive past - a moral authority of the past (Humphrey 1992). Finally, in looking at a framework of reference and considering intentional processes to be acting upon history and referring to it, historical contextualization was indispensable to also live up to my interlocutors' accounts.

“The Custom of respect” participates in a neoliberal agenda in as far as it is part of a project of “the rule of maximum economy i.e. achieving maximum ends with cost-effective and minimal action” (Odysseos 2010, 753). Albeit counter-intuitive at first, the present neoliberal governmental agenda is complicit in tackling questions of morality even though in comparison to the infrastructures to the previous governments it disowns its interest in it increasingly. Achievement and performance are the basis of equality, to which everyone supposedly has access. They are enshrined in human rights which need to be individually claimed, and hence remain largely abstract. Morality has become increasingly privatized and agency promoted in terms of self-reliance and mastering. This project of “maximum economy” also links human rights discourses and a growing preoccupation with delineating these rights in terms of cultural specificity and self-determination. The custom of respect is then portrayed as a culturally unique feature of Mongolian culture worth preserving. This rhetoric, which draws on heritage is a cost-effective means of governing and producing a collective identity i.e. an awareness of a sovereign nation without having to render much in return. However, it can do so only because respect had been historically institutionalized. It receives resistance in the form of a critique of rights and freedom – however also embedded in references to socialist political agendas. That these values are often ascribed in hindsight is obvious also when Caroline Humphrey reminds us that in the 1980s her respondents portrayed modern city life as having brought about “a decline in filial respect and the emergence of individualist attitudes” (2002, 73). She argues that this was rather a reference to the “calamitous time” [*tsöviin tsag*] which in turn points to the emergence of the Buddha Maitreya, a reference to a salvific future. This was still in line with socialist narratives on progress in the 1980s, but also shows that after socialism this narrative adapted itself to a neoliberal framework. The example also shows that there are valued discourses – in this case religious - which can be drawn upon beyond specific political agendas. Resistance can also be a form of nostalgia or intentional history. A case in point is the contested promotion of Chinggis Khaan since the late 1950s and the claim of aristocratic heritage as folk wisdom and in turn propagation as Mongolian high culture. History itself was perceived as having been repressed. The cultural ascription to a

custom of respect served to create the necessity for it to have to be passed on, preserved, and taught.

In the postsocialist era this has turned into a nationalist movement which feeds on the resistance to the socialist agenda of discrediting nationalism. Moreover, socialist agenda is portrayed as having been void of subject-centered, individualist tendencies. Socialist narratives pertaining to the future as progressive and enlightened have then turned to a present reversion narrative, in which the socialist era is revered as the morally superior past. The moral authority of the past is played out against the moral superiority of the future. Communal orientation is associated with respect as the “awareness” [*ukhamsar*] not only towards others and the community, but in particular seniors. This discourse then allows for the appropriation of it to describe persons afflicted by poverty as the product of a lack of awareness, education and individualist tendencies of a degenerating society while on the other hand people in a vulnerable position (due to poverty related disabilities and addictions) claim the lack of respect in terms of recognition. Vulnerable persons are excluded from participating in a senior/junior relation vis a vis the other and hence, disregarded and muted. The claim that they cannot fulfill the social relations they should have inherited literally weighs heavily on them. Across different governmental agendas discourses on a lack of respect or a discrediting discourse of revered personae often reinscribed and reinforced the very values they described as deficient.

Histories of Relations and Political Agendas

Social and kin relations are not “natural” or “given” in the sense that they are universal as numerous anthropologists have shown (Schneider 1968; Wagner 1975; 1977; Strathern 1995; Carsten 2003). These relations incorporating filial, master-disciple, senior-junior, ruler-subject, superior-inferior relations are socially constructed by means of historical reference, thereby preconditioning the cultural construction and contiguity through governmental agendas, institutionalization and intentional processes of writing history. A historically transmitted understanding of compassion within a hierarchical relation underlies claims and expectations to respect in social and kin relations. Finally, this compassion is a very material issue. Already in the Yuan dynasty notions of *kesig* and *soyurqal* evinced a confluence of morality and economy as the terms referred to a kind of grace, share and fortune, compassion and favor on the one hand and a distribution, allotment and bestowment of property and heritage on the other. Respect was to be shown by the subject, was conceptually linked with

fear and also included the rendering of goods and tribute. In the Qing dynasty notions of *kesig* “grace, fortune” which was given through *qayir* “loving kindness/love” incorporated ranks, titles and financial endowments during the Qing dynasty and referred to a bodhisattva nature of the emperor. Respect here was due to the emperor, who bestowed “weighty” (linguistic feature of respect) grace and institutionalized respect, which was due to him. During the socialist era *qayir* was due to “socialist property” which had to be collectively “loved and protected” (Jamiyan 1967, 15-16). In retrospect the discipline ascribed to the socialist era is coterminous with the respect it incurred. Today compassion also participates in a narrative on self-respect – care has (also) been internalized and appropriated by subjects. Spiritual enlightenment, self-cultivation, psychological self-help and self-care run alongside an investment in cosmetics, life style products, nutrition, educative measures and self-help books to name but a few.

A person who has no means to invest in himself and is afflicted by poverty can be judged not to care or value himself and by extension not to participate in self-cultivation and measures to attain enlightenment. This then has an impact on the social relations this person engages in and they might even be denied junior or senior status. Due to this relation between material and immaterial value a material crisis similarly refers to, produces, or coincides with a moral crisis. In Mongolia, where wealth is associated with a source of energy a person possesses *khiimori* and poverty *yaduural* is literally “tiredness,” poverty can take away the potency to act and thereby may influence the value of a person (Graeber 2001). Moreover, relations afford exchange – the lack of distributive means is intricately linked with the interpretation of what certain relations afford, the priorities set i.e. a reference to the underlying intentions of people.

Moral relational obligations may also be created by governmental policies as we see in the processes of standardization and institutionalization of respect during the Qing dynasty. This governmental tool is closely interconnected with the popularization of values as the appropriation of imperial rhetoric on loyalty, grace and compassion by the Mongolian aristocracy and commoners during the Qing dynasty shows. The socialist rhetoric of progressive education as underlying respect and leading to self-cultivation as well as the communal as basis of respect are also examples of governmental policies and their impact on self-government. Former president Elbegdorj’s speech on the 850th anniversary of the birth of Chinggis Khaan, evinced a subtle charge by the Democratic Party against the MPP (the

Mongolian People's Party or MAN *Mongol Ardin Nam*) that they had participated in the repression of the legacy of Chinggis Khaan by nature of their rule during the socialist regime. His reference drew on the movement of the late 1950s in rehabilitating aristocratic heritage as Mongolian culture, which would signify Mongolian cultivation. The Democratic Party's appropriation of historical reverence in 2012 participated in a popularization process of aristocratic grandeur which came to imply future luxury and wealth and served as means for nation building and the attempt of a unitary reference point for a collective identity.

Luxury is the common denominator of the aristocratic heritage and economic strength. In a way luxury comes to imply this great cultural heritage and appropriation understood as skill, which past aristocratic leaders possessed presumably when they conquered land (or more accurately people). The notion of mastering as appropriation also contains the understanding that the appropriator must be skilled. Cultural heritage, salvific knowledge or skill and success are also indicative of moral superiority. There is then a conceptual link between education, heritage, power, morality and economic strength. Within this framework, the discourse can also be appropriated to express social critique by either indicating a discrepancy between past and present, by disqualifying the popularization of historically revered figures and pointing to their sacrosanctity or by referring to values of a past political agenda and its heroes.

The governmental standardization or institutionalization of values as in the case of respect also produces a social stratification and gradually mutes those strata who cannot participate in the narrative fully. During the Qing dynasty we have few unmediated records of commoners and slaves – as they could only raise claims through a stipulated protocol. Obviously those processes of institutionalization are in themselves supple as we have witnessed when the Qing rhetoric of affect turned from establishing relations between Manchu and Mongolian aristocratic members to a medium for extracting goods between impoverished members of the Mongolian aristocracy, clergy and officials. The adaptation of the rhetoric of affect (and compassion) from a filially stylized relation into socialist contexts of development by progress, in which citizens of the USSR were the senior brother, who “loved” and supported their juniors (the Mongolian citizens) is also a point in case.

At present those who cannot participate in narratives on self-sustainability, perseverance, success, strength and grandeur may be relegated to participate in nostalgia for a remote or recent past, but they don't have the infrastructural means in changing policies which impact their stratification or the terms on which their performance is evaluated.

Dual narratives as I have called them, such as those which portray freedom as license and liberation, customs as declining and thriving, discipline as repressive and creating order, past or future as salvific and morally superior or the temporal evaluation of rural and urban areas as seats of different kinds of salvific knowledge are located on the interface of a transformation from one political agenda to another. They may also be embedded in a critique of a political agenda through reference to more overarching ideological frameworks such as a Buddhist veneration of historical knowledge of masters against a salvific future. The reference to such overarching values, which have been cited and recited in historiographical literature includes the discussion of order, wisdom, awareness, intention, peace and calmness, felicity, reputation, indebtedness and compassion among others. This is not to underestimate that references to these overarching e.g. Turkic, Buddhist, Confucian, Socialist frameworks are obviously often embedded within certain governmental agendas and entangled as well as in themselves diverse. They allow for a confluence of social and kin relations of respect such as I have mentioned (master-disciple, filial, senior-junior, superior-inferior, ruler subject).

These dual narratives also demonstrate that temporal dimensions are not hermetically sealed from one another. They are traversed through undifferentiated time concepts of the past such as *deer üye* (literally high/above era/generation) and revisited through complementing and differentiated notions of an educative, morally superior past and a degenerative future. They may also be navigated through the coming of an equally educative morally superior new age and progressive future and the bypassing of a regressive past. A *longue-durée* perspective is apposite to understand a framework of reference, the social construction of the past and its workings. Time is political in that it is consciously acted upon to intend and write certain accounts of it. History e.g. has to be mastered, worshipped and its account supervised i.e. it is intentionally organized to produce explanations of cause and effect and spiritual senses of salvation, while at the same time creating a rationale for governing people. This acting upon time is also embedded in relations such as master-disciple relations, which employ copying and referencing history not only as embodiment of relations, but also as mnemonic device. In this way historiographical works were copied and recopied. Through its relation with instruction, time has moral implications. Another aspect is knowledge management and monopoly exercised mainly (but not exclusively) by ruling elites i.e. the attempt to preserve, keep disparate or keep history secret as a sign of its sacrosanctity or to gain insight into the future through omens and thereby traverse time. The evaluation of time may entail conceptual

conflicts as to the instructive purposes of historical documents and historiographies cast against their sacrosanct and secret venerated status. Respect is embedded in the veneration of the past and in the safeguarding of the future through respecting and thereby influencing omens as well as rituals of avoidance called *tseerlekh yos* indicate.

Philosophy and History of Thought

Finally, from a comparative viewpoint, from the perspective of the entanglement of thought history and anthropological theory respect requires philosophical inquiries into recognition and *Achtung* in the context of enlightenment philosophy. European-US American philosophical approaches and the anthropology of morality overwhelmingly take consciousness and subject formation as the point of departure. However, subject formation does not seem sufficient to capture other possible relationships to the world. This suggestion is not novel as it was already pointed out by Western thinkers such as Friedrich Nietzsche ([1886] 2008) and Pierre Hadot (2008). Hadot thematized this with regard to “another relationship with ‘the exterior’” oneself as part of nature, a portion of universal reason, the identification with the other within each individual, a universalist cosmic dimension (2008, 378). Rather than a theoretical deconstruction, we need to allow for different foci as ideas of attaining enlightenment in the form of emptiness definitely involves these ‘practices of the self’ described by Foucault, but also defies their logic. Forms of respect were as much engaged in discourses on “awareness” [*ukhamsar*] which referenced the strife for this kind of enlightenment and loss of the self, while at the same time pointing to the actual focus of relation-formation, repeating inherited customs and recreating history through the future. A problematic aspect of the legacy of subject-formation is also its preoccupation with Cartesian dualism – the distinction between body and mind and the quest for overcoming it. The Mongolian notion of *setgel* “thought” is often translated in terms of “feeling,” however it makes strong references to the mind. It might even be related more to notions of “heart-mind” to be found also in Turkic (Uygur, Karakhanid), Sanskrit and Tibetan historical material. In the Mongolian language ideas of bodily knowledge are conceptualized as cognition as the term *medremj* also implies and the root *mede-* was also used historically to describe divine knowledge. The differentiation between bodily and mental pain as in the terms *zovokh* and *övdökh* exists, but it is not undertaken on the basis of the same dualist or oppositional structure.

Part of the negotiation of Cartesian dualism and its quest to overcome it was acted out particularly with regard to subject formation theories and the anthropology of morality in terms of an opposition of Kantian ethics and (Neo-) Aristotelian virtue ethics. Yet, Kant too, is firmly seated in the tradition of Aristotelian philosophy (Sgarbi 2015). At heart seems to be a negotiation of dualism. In understanding morality, its embodiment or practice and material aspects anthropologists like Saba Mahmood (2005), Joel Robbins (2016), Lambek (2000, 2016), Jarrett Zigon (2007), Thomas Widlok (2012), even the sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (2008), who himself is a common reference point drew on a range of scholars within this (Neo-)Aristotelian tradition. These included Aristotle himself and later Euro- US American philosophers like Heidegger, Anscombe, MacIntyre, Foucault and Butler to name but a few. Another popular philosopher anthropologists (Humphrey 2012, Laidlaw 2002) like to draw on is Bernard Williams, known as a critic of Kantian ethics and utilitarianism. Moreover, phenomenological strands were particularly favored.²²⁸ The philosopher Martha Nussbaum on the other hand pointed out the totalizing nature of Aristotelian virtue ethics vis a vis Kantian ethics, which according to her at least leaves space for the “motivational and passionate character” (1999, 187) Even philosophers like Søren Kierkegaard participated in a juxtaposition of “either-or,” a life dedicated to principle i.e. a kind of legalism vs. an aesthetic way of life. It seems then that this juxtaposition is not only an anthropological preoccupation. More recently and partially simultaneously, anthropologists and sociologists have embarked on leaving this trail of Aristotelian virtue ethics, most likely through the influence of the ontological turn. They have come to draw favorably on the philosopher Levinas (Anjum Alvi 2013, Strhan 2015 and 2019, Throop 2012, Fischer 2012, Englund 2012, Benson and O’Neill 2007, Rapport 2015, Evens 2008, Widlok 2013)²²⁹. Some anthropologists have sought alternatives as when Zigon (2007) *draws on* Løgstrup and points out the similarity to encountering “the other.” Yet others like James Laidlaw (2002) also draw on Nietzsche. What makes Levinas theoretically so appealing is his approach towards “the other.” Perhaps, it is also his pointing to an alternative to Aristotelian virtue ethics in drawing on the Jewish philosophical tradition, while nevertheless remaining indebted to Aristotelian metaphysics. What is critical in looking at anthropological engagement with Aristotelian virtue ethics is that local philosophical histories are mainly disregarded for analysis (with exception to Mahmood, who looks at the historical embeddedness of Aristotelian philosophy in Islamic

²²⁸ Kantian deontological ethics are not favored while utilitarian ethics seem to have fallen from grace, most likely due to their cultural specificity in identifying “utility” and association with colonial enterprises (see e.g. Schultz and Varouxakis (2005) and even neoliberal projects.

²²⁹ For a debate on Levinas in the Anthropology of Ontology see Carrithers, Candea, Sykes, Holbraad and Venkatesan (2010).

thought, Talal Asad or Michael Taussig). And yet, this claim of considering more local philosophical tradition is one, which is further embedded in (Neo-) Aristotelian virtue ethics as Martha Nussbaum reminds us – as it is a movement away “from an ethics based on enlightenment ideals of universality to an ethics based on tradition and particularity” (1999, 164-165) .

Embedded Theory

From a different perspective, James Carrier (2016) has pointed to a parallel between neoclassical economy and postmodern anthropology. According to Carrier, both are devoid of systemic approaches, while economics was to focus on economic transactions and transactors (2016, 62) postmodern anthropology discredited “society” and “culture” as valid entities of analysis. Agency, became an influential analytical category of anthropology. The claim to rights of individuals against institutions and the emphasis of diversity became pertinent within this movement, while a parallel was discernible in economics, where individuals and their preferences became the source of prognoses (Carrier 2016, 63-65). We might then have to ask whether an ontological turn to multiple worlds and radical alterity (one on which this present work has arguably drawn much) and an engagement with virtue ethics in the anthropology of morality are not firmly embedded in the present socio-political agenda of our times.

How to move on? There is most likely more than one answer. The strength of the ontological turn lies in its ability to compare and translate concepts (unless the anthropologist is too creative, under which circumstances the work will be fictitious). This dissertation on “The Weight of Respect: Khündlekh Yos – Frames of Reference, Governmental Agendas and Ethical Formations in Modern Mongolia” is steadfastly embedded in anthropological traditions of theory and has attempted to move forward by embedding respect in various historical vignettes, by considering an entanglement and trade between cultures, governments and values on multiple levels, but also communicating with insights from other disciplines. It has relied significantly on Fassin’s depiction of Foucault’s argument that the moral impulse to governing is related to the governing of the self. As Keown (2005, 29) has pointed out “Classical thinkers such as Aristotle saw politics and ethics as inextricably linked and understood that a just and fair society had to be founded on secure and philosophically wellgrounded moral foundations.” Hence, this argument has itself a longer tradition. Another

strength of anthropological theory is then its tendency towards self-reflection, which is what continually reopens the way forward.

Appendix

List of Quotations

Chapter 2:

Jijur page 12:

*Mendlekh khündlekh yos eniig bol ikh sain medne odoo ene dund üyiikhen medrüülej ögökh yumsan. Jaakhan aldagsan, [...]zarim ni ingeed avtobusand suukh gej baikhad ta suu geed taviad ögch baina tegeed khün bürees l bolj baina tiim tegekheede [...] odoo khüniig khündelne gej ööröö l meddeggüi l bol ür khüükheddee yaj zaakh yum ach zeedee yaj khelekh yum yu ch medekhgüi meddeggüi shüü dee [...] odoo khün bolgon odoo ööröö ene amidraliin zarchim altan zarchimig medej baikh kheregtei **ene bol khuuli bish shüü dee, mongol khün bolgond suusan ene surgaal aav eejeese övlöj avsan öv ene bol.** Tiim tüünees eniig ene khen negen ireed ingeed bid nart zaakhgüi shüü dee. Bid nar l gol üüregtei khoich üyiikhen daraa daraa daraa ingeed yavya gej ingej baidag tasraldaggüi baidag uchraas odoo ene baikh l yostoi eniigee tegek yostoi zaluuchuud kheregjüülekh l yostoi,tiim?(Jijur, 2014)*

Altansarnai pages 15:

Manaikhan chini aigüi ikh khüniig khündeldeg shüü dee. [...] Odoo l neg ikh khüükhed zaluuchuud ni sain ter nögöö, ted nariin ch bas buruu bish l baikh l daa, yaagaad gevel nögöö khümüüsed tailbarlaj khelj medej ögökhgüi bolkhor ter khümüüs sain medekhgüi baikh ternees bish nögöö ter akhmad nastan deeree ochood odoo yu gekh yum ter khündlekh yum uu, tiim? Bayar yoslol yugaar ch baij bolno shüü dee. Odoo manaikhan bol sar shine baij khorondoo akh düü khamaatan sadan odoo khorondoo mendleed odoo yu gedeg yum biye biyenteigee amar yosiin mendeltseed medekhgüi khümüüsee taniad ingej yu yadag zolgoxh yos baidag (Altansarnai, 2014).

Zayaa page 16:

*Yerön zügeer khündlekh yos zan zanshil gedeg chini yerön khüükhdüüdee khümüüjüülekehes l ekhlej baisan yum baigaa shüü dee. Minii bodloor bol tegeed l ter ni ergeed l nögöö yu **akhui** ni yu boltoloo **soyol boltloo** tegeed yavsan tegeed l ergeed l odoo nögöö khüükhdüüd ni tom bolno etseg ekhees sonsoj medsen baisaniigaa bas l ingeed l yagaad l tegeed ter tasardaggüi tiim, ter ni ergeed бүр tiim surgaal bolsoor baigaa tasardaggüi tegeed yavsan gej oilgoj baina, tiim.”(Zayaa, 2014)*

Sükhbat pages 17:

Ter bol tegeed bagshiin surgaal sonsoogüi, övöö etseg ekhiin surgaali neg ikh sonsoogüi gadaa gudamjaar yavsan soyolgüi бүдүүлэг arkhi tamikh khergeldeg ter talaar l ednüüsiig l soyolgüi khog mogoo khaydag [...] Tegeed ankhni a üsegee zaalgaj yerön tegeed garaagaa ekhelsen dee. A üsegee zaalgaj bichig üseg meddeg bolood tegeed ikh soyoltoi surguulidaa itevkhte suraad tegeed surangaa ajil majil khüigeed ar geree tejegeed khoyer bagshtaigaa kholbootoi odoo 10 kheden jil bolj baina. Odoo khoyer bagshtaigaa odoo tom bolson ni tegeed etseg ekh eejiinkhee achiig khariulna.[...]Ireedüid odoo saikhan amidraliig khüisne dee. Odoo tegeed zorison zorilgodoo ünün ch khoyer bagshiikhaa eejiinkhee khüicheer saikhan amidarna. Tiim tkh. [...] Bagshiin surgaal ikh baina, eej aaviin surgaal ikh baina daa. [...] yag ingeed l bagsh nariin surgaal bol alt shüü dee. Eejiin surgaal bol erdem tegeed l tkh. [...] Bagsh nar bol sain, eej aav ch yakhav gants khelchikhdeg. Bagsh nar bol tegeed yakhav ünendee makhar (makhruu) shüü dee, tüükh bol. Bid nariin bagsh tegej khelj ögsön. [...] yakhav ünendee makhar [makhruu] shüü dee, tüükh bol. [...] Khoyer bagshiinkhan buyant erdem nomtoi saikhan l yavj baina buruu zam ruu orokhgüi kholbootoi l baina, khoyer bagsh daa l ikh bayarlay yavdag ödii daitai [tom/ene zeregt khurgej ugsun] khürgesen.[...] (Sükhbat, 2014)

Shabi page 21:

*Buddin shashin chini ene yag nögöö adaglaad [...], burkhii shashin ingeed suraltsaad **burkhan bolokh tegvel** iim yumnuud baidag shüü dee. Byasalgal khiigeed nom unshikh, zan üil üildekh, sakhil sanvar odoo zöndöö züils baigaa shüü dee. Ter bügdiig yag amidraldaa kheregjüüleed yerön buddiin shashintai khüm chini **yag burkhan bolokh** gej yavdag shüü dee. Ööröö dotroosoo **oyun ukhaanaar kheregjüüleed** aan tegeed ternii khamgiin ankhii alkham ni bolkhood bagshiiгаа khündlekhees, tegeed bagshiiгаа **chini setgeleesee** shütdeg. Bagshiiкhaа muu züüliig kharakhgüi sain züüliig kharakh gekh metchlen ingeed kheldeg bolkhood [...] khündlekh khyazgaargüi kholbootoi. Aan tegeed bagshiiгаа shütne, nomin nökhдөөд (nökhöd) khündelne, odoo zindanii lam ene nar baina, bainga ingeed nom kheleltsene shüü dee. Terniikhen daguu negniigee khündleed ter khedteigee akh düii shig baij baij nomoo üzeed oilgood, ternend tusaldag bolbol buyanii sand nomiin nökhöd gedeg baikhgüi uu. [...] Yalгаа baigaa l daa tegekheede yalгаагüi ch gej khelj bolno, yalgaatai gej khelj bolno shüü dee, tiim? Odoo jisheelkhed bagshiiгаа ingeed bid sain taliin boddog bolkhood, odoo bagsh bidend nom zaasan minii ene surj baigaa bolovsroj baigaa amidarj baigaa бүkh l yertöntsiiг kharj baigaa, tiim? [...] Tegekheer bagsh bol nadad mash ikh achтай gej bi bodoj baigaa, tiim aan tegeed bagshiiгаа erdemiig khar, bagsh bol tiim tiim tegej tegej yavj baysan, tiim olon khün tus bolood, odoo olon shavi nartaa tiim khümüüsd tus khürgeed burkhanii nom burkhanii shashniig ingej khögjüülej baina ingeed bodood irekheer bagshiiгаа ööriin erkhgüi khündetgeed irj baigaa yum l daa, tiim neg yosondoo bas aij emeej baigaa [...] tegeed khezee ch khajuud ni demii balai yum yarij chadakhgüi ch yum uu tiim esvel khezee ch odoo bagshiiгаа orood irsen baikhad khevteed baij baij chadakhgüi ch yum uu esvel bagshiiгаа yum yarij baikhad sonsokh ch yum uu, tiim? Ter ni ööriin erkhgüi ingeed yavj baidag neg yosondoo aigaad emeej baidag neg yosondoo bas neg talaasaa nadad bagshiiгаа nom zaasan khün uchraas khairlaj baigaa [...].(Shabi, 2014)*

Osor page 22-23:

Khündlekh mendlekh yos gedeg bol yerönkhüidöö odoo örkh ailaas ikhsüüleed niigmiin khürtel niigem ikhsüüleed uls güren khürtel, tiimee? Tendeese tsaashaa delkhiiin yertöntsii orshin togtokh biye biyenee tanin medekh mön bas khün ööriigöö oilguulakh zan üüliin khelber shüü dee. [...] tiim uchraas khün chini zaaval khündlekh mendlekh yosiig ösgöj baij öörsdüigöö bas neg khündelj baij ööriigöö khünd oilguulakhaar khüniig khündelj chadsanaaraa ööröösöö garakh ööriin бүteen baiguulsan amidraliin avch avrakh, ür khüüikhdee khümüüjüüleed ene zan üild zokhiszostoi. Tegekheer ene bolbol yamar negen baidlaar odoo surgaj ügüi surj biye boldog zan üild bish. Ene bol tukhain khüni ööriikhön odoo khögjiltei kholbootoi reflekseer tukhain tsag üyiinkhen nökhтсөл baidaliin zokhitsokhiin tuld khuvisaj baidag khüni ööriin ööröös ni garakh bodit, öv soyol. Tegeed khariltsaa adilkhan [...] Aan tukhai ni khünd aan tukhai ni tsag üyed tukhai ni orchimdooyamar baidliigaar ööriigöö ilerkhiiлj ööriigöö khün oilguulakh uu gedeges ter khariltsaanii soyol. [...] (Osor, 2014)

Jagvaral page 38:

*'Oyun Tülkhüür'- ees ish tatval: ... erdmiig khicheen survaas **aldar** ner khaа ch **aldarshina**,... 'Olon irgen bügdeeree **khicheengüilen** akhchlakh düüchlekh yosig khündetgen khereglekhiüniig khemnej sain irgen bolokhig khicheen temtsekh, khedreg muu surgamjiig бүrnee **geegtün!** Zereg surgaalyn zokhiold khüniig erkhemlen khündetgekh ev nairtai, eyeldeg saikhan khariltsaatai болgokhod surgasan surgaalin chanartai khündetgeliin ügs baigaa ni deerkh jisheenees kharagday baina.(Jagvaral 1976, 14)*

Jagvaral page 39:

Manai sotsialist niigemd khün khünee khündetgekh eyeldeg khariltsaand ch gesen khündegeliin ügiig ikh khereglekholloo. Mongol khelnii khündetgeliin ügiig sudlakh, zöv zokhistoi khereglekhol ni chukhamdaа khelnii bolovsroloo deeshlүүlekh asuudlin neg kheseг yum. Khelnii bolovsrol bol niit ardin yerönkhii bolovsrol tukhain tsagiin niigmiin khögjiltei kholbogdoltoi böгөөд shinjlekh ukhaan tekhnikiig uls ardin aj akhuid nevtriiilen khereglekhed khelnii bolovsrol zailshgüi kholbogdoltoi uchraas khün khüntheigee bichgeer buyuu yer ni eyeldeg saikhan üg khellegeer sanaagaa ilerkhiiilekhiig khicheekh ni orchin tsagiin khögjilin shaardlagad ulam ch chukhal yum." (Jagvaral 1976, 20)

Tsend page 43:

*... Ikh ch gesen ene neg müzeig
... ikhiin ikh Lenintei züirlevel
Gadaad dalain ikh üsig
Gants duslaar kharuulsan met
Niit delkhiin uul khadig
Neg chuluugaar üzüülsen met*

Khemeen züirlesen ni bishrengüüi sanaani belegdel bolj sonsogdoj baina. Iim uchraas orchlon deerkh khamgiin uujim yumand oroi deerkh khüikh tengeriig zaan kheleltsdeg bol ogtorgüi shig uudam bodoltoi khün gevel osoldokhgüi Lenin bagshiig nerlene [...]. Manai yaruu nairagchdaas ikh bagsh Iliichdee iinkhüi dotno khair khündetgeltei khanddag ni tüüniü üil khereg üzel surgaal dayan delkhiid tügj, daichin temtsliin manlai bolson önödriin tüükhte salshgüi kholbootoig üzüülj baina. Ene yund orshij baigaag suut ikh khün gej Leniniig surgaar ni khairladaggüi, surgaal khair ni nar shig giügüüldeg uchir khairladag yum, orosin baatarlag tümentei mönch nökhörlүүлj odoogiin mini jargalig bosgoltsoj ögson bolokhoor khairladag yum.” (Tsend 1989, 53)

Former President Elbegdorj page 44:

*Temüjin eejee sonsoj, geree nüülgej, düü naraa tejeej ösgösön. [...]
Chinggis Khaanig Öülen ekh “erdemt Temüjin” gej todorkholson baidag.
Ter khatan ukhaanig shütej amidarsan.
Chinggis Khaan medlegiig, urig, yaruug, sainig, saikhnig üneldег khün baisan.
Ter zöviig avamtgai, busdig sonsomtgoi, muu sain ügiig en tentsüü daadag khün baisan. Temüjin selem shig irtei yavakhdaa ch olzni boolin öchig dundaas buudain chinee altan sanaag aldalgüi shüürdeg baisan (“Mongol Ulsin Erönkhiiлөгч Tsakhiagiin ELBEGDORJ-ийн Chinggis Khaani мeлдeлсeнii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg,” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>).*

Former President Elbegdorj page 45:

*Ezen bogd Chinggis Khaan bol Mongol ündestnii tsaglashgüi orshikh oroin deed shüteen yum.
Chinggis Khaan khutatg khuvilgaan baigaagüi.
Chinggis Khaan makh, tsusand törsön Mongol khün baisan.
Mongolchuud bid Chinggis Khaanaa yamar uchraas ündesnii bakharkhal gej üzej bolov oo!
[...] Tenger zayat Mongol tümen mini mönkh orshig ee.
Tengerleg etseg – ezen bogd Chinggis Khaan mini mönkh orshig ee (“Mongol Ulsin Erönkhiiлөгч Tsakhiagiin ELBEGDORJ-ийн Chinggis Khaani мeлдeлсeнii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg,” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>).*

Former President Elbegdorj page 45:

*“Erkh Chölөөгөө олсноор манай ард түмен khuvi zayanikhaa ezen болсон yum”
 (“Mongolian Transition to Democracy and Lessons.”) president.mn, last modified October 19, 2014, accessed February 15, 2016 <http://www.president.mn/eng/newsCenter/viewNews.php?newsId=1333>).*

Chapter 3

Vogt page 54:

“Whereas Weber describes honor as constitutive factor of social strata and thereby looks at the *differentiating factors* in connection to social power constellations, Simmel moves integrative and cohesion-enabling functions of honor into the center of attention” (Vogt 1997, 12-13).

Vogt page 54:

“if stable conditions of recognition can be established through honor [...] then honor poses a *primary factor for social order*” (Vogt 1997, 23 emphasis added by author).

Micheel page 57:

Akh khün gekhleer [...] düü naraa uirdana jolood ni düü nartai zaaj surgakh etseg ekh ni akhd ni kher khandana akh tödiichinee düü nartai tiim khandana gej bi boddog. [...] Akh khün gedeg nögöö neg ööröö ailiin khamgiin tom yum chini medeej khereg surgakh yostoi. Örkh geree ch gesen ter khün tegjil avch yavna. [...] Khamgiin zöv shudraga khün baikh yostoi yum bol uu gej. [...] Za, düü khün gekhleer, akhiikhaa zaaj surgasan züüliig aigüü sain biyelüüldeg baikh yostoi akhtaigaa ev nairtai baikh yostoi khiikh gesen khiikh yostoi züülee khiideg baikh yostoi, üüreg khariutslaga düü khün khamgiin sain ukhamsarlaj baikh yostoi zarim neg talaaraa akhdaa khel chi, akh khiijikh bailgüü gesen tiim züüliig düü khün bailakh yosgüü üüreg khariutlagaiin tölöö öörikhöö khiikh yostoi züüliig zaaval khiij surakh yostoi (Micheel, 2013).

Oyunaa page 57:

Ülger duuralal aigüü sain üzüüldeg baikh kheregtei, ööröö ingeed l buruu züül khiideg baij chi tiim baikh yostoi geed khelvel yamar ch utaggüü shüü dee tiim? [...] Düü khün uul ni yag ööröösöö akhmad khüniig khelj baigaag sonsood oilgood, yag ügend ni uul ni aigüü sain orokh kheregtei yerön bas tiim baikhaa aimaar bolison. Yeröösöö akhmad khün üg khelj baikhad chini yeröösöö tookhgüü ingeed oh tiim üü miim üü geed l deer üyed tiim baigaagüü [...]. Akhmad khün neg egch maani l üg khelekh yum bol aan za. Tegeed ügend sain orood l (Oyunaa, 2013).

Note on Quotes from 2007 and 2008:

Some of those interviews had been carried out in 2008 with the help of a translator. The original Mongolian version was not transcribed at that time.

Heissig page 64:

Chinese traders had won economic influence in the territories of the Khalkha as well. The dissatisfaction of both the aristocracy and the people which surfaced here as well was jointly directed against the overlordship of the Manchu. [...] Their outrage particularly concerned the Chinese merchants. They had sold goods of around 957327 Ounces of silver in both Aimakhs of the Tüsiyetü Khan and the Sečen Khan of the Khalkha alone in the years 1884-1885 and hence rulers and monasteries were indebted accordingly. [...] Revolts started in the Sečen Khan-Aimakh in the banner of Beyise Sansaraidorji when the ruler tightened the tax screw to be able to meet his obligations of about 20 000 ounces silver vis a vis the Chinese merchants (Heissig 1972, 580).

Tümenjargal page 65:

Ded Da Khevei gün örshöölt noyon tanaa tümen amgalang ailtgaj örgöv.

... Ö'rshööl't Noyonoos shagnasan zakhiag mörgön khürtevei. Öchöökhen Rinchipil kheviin mend bolovch khajuugiin akh düügiin sanaa urvaj baigaag üzvees amar suukh tsaggiü baina. Nas ch ötölj er chadal, erdem bilegeer byaduu bolovch ikhes noyod ta bügdiiin örshööl khairand bagtaj yavdag bilee. Manai negen khoshuu bolovch khezeeni tsöökön yaduu bolovch, alban amini alivaa züild mökhösdökh tatagdashgüi döngöj yavdag ni gagtskhüi shanzov lamin khüchin tus tetgemj bölgöö. [...]Tiin atal ene lam maani man dor ergej gomorkhson byaduu sanaa urvaj, khoshuu songoj garakh bichig mediülj yavaa sanjee. Odoo bid ene lamaas salakh met avaaas yavch khümüüij yavakh arga ünen ügüi baina. Avralt noyoni gazraas örshöök zarlig gargaj manai shanzovig khorigsoj, manai bügd dor akh düügiin baidal nairamdlig olgoj, nam güm suulgakhig khüsmoi. Bid ertnees edügee khürtel khoyor khoshuu nertei bolovch ugtaa negen salaa, negen geriin bülees salsan ny mash ünen bishüü? Edügee khir dor tuslakh, tetgek, kharakh üzekh tsag bolson baina. [...]Odoo avralt noyoni buyanaar tanaa khoshuund enechilen khüi khümüüiniig tedüi or tas bodokh ügüi bishüü? Manai yadmag khoshuund kharuush nen ikh tuld öchüükhen Rinchipil **akh düügiin yosoor ereegüi güij**, ünenkhüi kheden ügiig murui üseg dor kholboj örshööl't noyoni gegeenee örgöj, üüni tukhaid örshööl khishig khairlakhig khüsej mörgökhöös gadna, gavj Nagamidyg Choirin khevgüi talbikhad tootsonig khüleej khürtekh mön avch, manai tsöökön khuvragt nom zaakhad tustai khün bile [...] (Tümenjargal 2010a, 17-18).

Tümenjargal page 66:

[...] Gün noyon mini khishig bolgoj süreg aduunaasaa khoid jil zuni tsag khürtel unakh aduu 20 mori, tun yadvaas arvaad mori khairlatugai. Gün noyon mini ene khir ikh l tus khüij, muu namaig yakhin eneren örshööj, tuslan khairlakhaas gadna unakh mory ügüid tüünkhüi mediülev. Kherev khishig bolgon khairlakh bolboos ööriin süreg aduunaas khairlakh ba zakhia bichig khairlakhig endees mekhüij, guin tengeriin ed ariun tsagaan khadgaar ailtgav [...] (Tümenjargal 2010a, 15).

Chapter 4

Khadam Eej pages 98:

Eej aav mani baisan bol medeejiin khereg shal ör baigaa shüü dee, bas saikhan amidrakh baisan baikh, zarimdaa ch bol zügeer bi eejtegee oirkhon baikhgüi yavaa bi dendüi khol össön, övöö emee khoyer deer üssün, tegeed nöggö eejeesee jaakhan khol tegeed eej mani namaig baina shüü dee, tiim? Yu yaasan baikhgüi uu, tiim? Kilo 1800 gramm dutuu törölsön, dutuu törökhör baragdaa namaig ükhchiklee geed khayaad yavsan yum shig baigaa yum teriig ni manai övöö emee khoyer olj avaad ösgösön yum. Teriünd ni bi jaakhan gutaj yavdag baij baigaad khün chini neg yag 45 öngöröd öngörsnii daraa tolgoi ruu shingedeg yum baina l daa, öngörsnii daraa. Za eejiigee neg ni l törölsen ni ünen, za yakhav tegeed zaluu nasand aldaa l biz khayaa l biz,

teriünd ni yalaad baikh yum yu baidag yum? Gekh jisheegeer odoo ööröö amidrald yadraad irekheer daraa ni yumiiig sain oilgoj baigaa baikhgüi uu, khervee yadraagüi medekhgüi baisan bol medekhgüi, teneg avgai yu geed khutsaad baigaa geed l üzeed yavna shüü dee. Jaakhan oirkhon baisan bol eejiigee arai ilüü khündlekh baij dee. Terend l tegej boddog yum teriünd l bi jaakhan kharamsdag yum. Ternees bish nadad odoo uchirgüi kharamsaad baikh yum alga doo, bi odoo khüikhüidtegee jargaltai uye tengkee yum shig khamt baina. Za ene Tsagaanaar l togloj chadakhgüi yum daa. Yakhav aigüi bolbol uilchikh baikh gej bodood. Chang chang khatuu üg khelbel aigüi bol ene uilna. Uilna, bi eniig chini eejte naiz baisan shüü dee. Amraatai chini naiz baisan baikhgüi uu, naiz khoyuulaa tsug ts (arkhi uukh) ingejchen, khaya. End, end baikhad ni bi naiz baisan tegeed l bas meddeg baisan bolkhooroo ednii akh chini odoo minii khuurai khüi, tegsengüi ingesengüi geed l bi enend gomdolno khaya. Ter ni ochij kheldeg yumuu, yaadag yum, nöggödökh ni sanaa garaa ch yum uu? Setgel zasakh gej orj irdeg tiim l baikhgüi uu, za neg iimerkhüi l yum dö. [...]

[Zan ulamjlalaa martval] Dain bolno biz dee. Yostoi nöggö zan ulamjlalaa khezee ch martakhgüi, ene khüikhed ch martakhgüi yaagaad gevel eej aaviigaa khündlekh yos mos mash mash tsusand ni bur ingeed shingesen baigaa yum chini khen martakh yum be? Martakhgüi shüü dee, khezee ch martakhgüi shüü dee (Khadam Eej, 2014).

Khadam Eej page 100:

Gekhdee bas saikhan khüümüüjүүлsen minii bas khüü müü khelekhgüi. Khelekhgüi, khüükhдүүdee bas neg daruulagatai ösgön. Daruulgii бол би бол захиргаа, захиргаадлиг үйиг бол дөндүү их sain khüükhдүүdee (zodson, she slammed her fists together) dandaа eregtei khüükhдүүд бүгдiin (zodson), eregtei emegtei gekhgüi одоо negen одоо, одоо, Erdenechimeg khereg tarisan бол бүгдiin zodno. Tiim baisan shüü dee, би aan Olonmönkh khereg tarilaa zodloo ter үйед chini Olonmönkh gantskhan бага ni baisan shüü dee, Olonmönkhtei ni yutai kheetei ni бүгдiin deesh ni chimkhen shüü dee, tiim baisan tuldaа би одоо yu бол бол геј boddog jaakhan tiim, jaakhan eeј taltaigaa eeј talruugaa jaakhan tiim kharitsakhдаа, khüuntei kharitsakhдаа [uurlakh, she makes a blowing noise] tiim kharitsaatai болсон бол уу? Геј би одоо boddog yum. Boddog shüü dee, одоо манai khüükhдүүд бол khoodondoo gekh iim l khariltsaa baina shüü dee. Aan gaadnii khüuntei би bas yaj kharitsdag yum medekhгüi shüü dee манai ene Zörig, Bayarmaa ene ter бол их ayataikhan, goyo kharitsana, ene khoyer medekhгüi, duugarakh yum уу? [snorts] геј baiј magad. Tiim. Aan khüükhдүүд бол одоо ingeed bid nariin khögshörj baina shüü dee, bid nariig tejeekh үйреgtei. Би бүkh yumnuudad, бүkh yumaa khüükhдүүdee zoriulchikhлаа shüü dee. Oдоо khüükhдүүд namaig ingeed kharj үзekh negen kharj үзне l биз. Kharj үзekhgui l бол kharj үзekhgui l baina биз. Би terүүнд neg их gomdoldoggüi shüü dee yagaad gevel би ulsaas tetgeveree avchikhaj baina tiim uchraas uchirгüi за minii khüükhed, ter khüükhed namaigaa kharj үзekhgui baina ene khüükhed mani teren ch kharj үзekhgui baina геј gomdloј tavikhгüi, khezee ch tavikh ch гüi, taviulakhchikhгüi. Tegeed khervee neg jaakhan setgel dunduurkhan baival би khutsana shüü dee, aan yostoi khazgar emgen khazagnaad l khadam khadam геј davkhiad baigaa геј би khelne shüü dee. Oдоо oдоонii нөkhтсөлд бол zodokh erkх baikhgüi shüü dee, oдоонii нөkhтсөлд бол zodokh erkх baikhgui yagaad gevel одоо бол khüükhдiin erkх гараад irchikhlee shüü dee, ed nariin үйед бол khüükhдүүdee [...] Tegeed zodsnii khergeer муудсан ch yum алга. Saidсан ch yum алга, одоо ter муu tal ni khüükhдүүdee tiim moralгüi ösgösön. Aan tegeed 2. jaakhan khüuniiг khündlekh tiim, одоо jisheelbel idnii нөkhрөөр jishee l avya daа eniiг aigüid бол khaaa! [angry] terniiгee khiihgüi yaasan [snorts] tiim aan medekhгüi tegeј baiј magadгüi [Khongorzul: gaigui shüü dee] magadгüi ter khüin бол, tiim одоо биr одоо khajuud khania khündlekh medegdekhüi ni jaakhan dutuu, dutuu геј boddog shüü dee 2 yum ni deer би jaakhan gol ni aan би нөгөө khüükhдүүdee, möngnüidiig, tiim? [...] Möngnüi ter yumiig möngnüi sonirkholtoi болгосон 3 yuman deer jaakhan tiim aldsan baikhgüi уу, tiim baigaagüi baisan одоо ene zakh zeeliin үйед би одоо id nariig gargasan baisan бол id nar chini tolgoi ni shal öör , tolgoi ni, [...] tiim baikhgüi уу (Khadam Eej, 2014).

Mönkhtsetseg page 101:

Oдоо bid nariig барag khüükhed törch mörөөгüi baikhad ch yum уу, одоо jar dal on ch yum уу tiim? 40 50 онд биr deer үйеiin улсууд khündlekh их saikhan baisan shüü dee. Биr aigüi yos judagtai. Aigüi kharitsaanii soyoltoi. Tegeed deer үйеiin khüükhдүүд neg 10/20 khüükhed baisan chigsen. Olon khüükhed baisan chigsen aimar khümüüjültei öсгөдeg baisan. Eтseg ekheseе aidag jishee ni ingeed makh chanaad tavikhad khezee ch ochij ternees möljidөггüi baisan. Eтseg ekh ogtolj l ugviul ogtloј ugukhgui бол khezeech iddeggui. Tiim tegeed барag khuukhduudtei бол барag makh zakh ögdөггüi ch baisan baikh deer үйед baisan ugaasaa baidag baisan геј yaridag yum. Oдоонii khüükhдүүд бол makhaа chanaad tavinguut манai khüükhed jishee ni bid khoyoroos töröleeд аваад iddeg. Bid khoyor moyoroos asuukhchгüi, tegekhleer baakh ni deer үйиin yos zanshil manshil ch baikhgüi jaakhan duraaraа erkх duraaraа болсон ch yum уу khüükhдүүд ni tiim. [...] (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013)

Sagaster page 107:

“Nevertheless the White History is a ‘Nomo-canon.’ She is a guideline (*kanon, śāstra sūtra, teiike*) for the ‘norm,’ the ‘law’ (*nómos, dharma, nom*) of proper conduct.” (Sagaster 1976, 176)

Chapter 5

Bayarsaikhan page 121:

Nigen jüüil. Jasay ba jasay busu vang, beyise, beyile, güng-üid-ün ergümjilegsen čola-yi burin ese dayudabasu ese dayudaşsan kümün-i nigen yisü-ber torşayad ter-e yal-a-yin mal-i vang-ud terigüten-dür öggümüi (Bayarsaikhan 2004, 40).

Bayarsaikhan pages 121:

deger-e jarqu, oruqui-dur uytuqui nigen jüüil. yadayadu mongyol- un vang, noyad, tayijinar aliba mandal süme tayiqui-luḡ-a tokiyaldubasu čöm emün-e-ki dumdadu qaḡalyan-u yadan-a ḡar-iyaran jişsayaju joşsuḡayad deger-e qarqu, oruqui-dur sögüd-čü uytutuyai, üdetügei. jarliḡ-un bičig-I uytuqui anu. nigen jüüil. yadayadu muji-yin vang, noyad-tur yeke törü-yin čiyulyan ḡarču jarḡu sigükü erkin sayid-i ilegebesü jarliḡ-un bičig-tür qas tamay-a daruju ilegemüi. mongyol-un jaq-a-dur kürbesü, jaq-a-yin ulus oduşsan sayid-un ner-e čola, oduşsan učir siltayan-i asaḡuju urida yayaran odču öber öber-ün vang, noyad-tayan ögülegtün. tere ulus-un vang, noyad tabun ḡajar-un üjügür-e uytuyad, bügüde morin-ača baḡuju, barayun eteged-tür jergečen bayiyad, jarliḡ-un bičig-i önggeregüljü, morilan qoyin-a-ača güyičen ireged jarliḡ-iyar ilegegsen sayid jegün eteged-tür, uytuşsan vang, noyad barayun eteged-dür jergečen jarliḡ-un bičig-i emün-e-ben yabuḡal. ger-tür-iyen kürügsen-ü qoyin-a siregen deger-e küji sitayaju oduşsan sayid jarliḡ-un bičig-I siregen deger-e talbiju, jegün eteged-eče barayun jüg qanduju bayimu. tere vang, noyad nigen üy-e sögüdčü, ḡurban ta mörgüged sögüddügseger bayimu. oduşsan sayid jarliḡ-un bičig-i siregen-eče abču dayudaşsan-u qoyin-a oduşsan sayid jarliḡ-un bičig-i siregen deger-e talbimu. vang, noyad basa nigen üy-e sögüdčü, ḡurban ta mörgümüi. oduşsan sayid, jarliḡ-un bičig siregen-eče abču, vang, noyad sögüdčü qoyar ḡar-iyaran küliyejü abuyad öber-ün qariy-a-tu kümün-dür öggüged nigen üy-e sögüdčü, ḡurban ta mörgümüi. mörgügsen-ü qoyin-a jarliḡ-un bičig-i qadayalaqu kümün-dür öggüged vang, noyad oduşsan sayid qarilčan qusiyaḡad üy-e sögüdčü, qusiyaḡad üy-e mörgüged, dumda jai talbiju, oduşsan sayid jegün eteged-tür, vang, noyad barayun eteged-tür sayumu (Bayarsaikhan 2004, 40-42) [Heuschert-Laage does not provide the transliteration].

Heuschert-Laage page 122:

The means to resolving the legal dispute was not an interpretable text of a written law, which claimed legitimacy, but the outcome of the conflict was much more determined by the decision-making-process of the disputing parties (Heuschert-Laage 2004, 148).

Heuschert-Laage page 122:

It was always members of the legal community of the defendant, who functioned as compurgators e.g. senior relatives on the father's side, neighbors or officials. They were given the chance to take an oath and confirm the defendant's testimony and thereby cause his exoneration. Through the symbolic actions connected to the oath, which were ascribed magical effects, the oath, however, signified a self-execration of the affiant in case the defendant had not been innocent (Heuschert-Laage 2004, 147).

Heuschert-Laage page 123:

In judging the requests we need to take into account that the 18th century Qing government took an interest in decreasing the number of persons, who belonged to commoners, *qaraču kümün*. These people were to be taken up in the group of the *albatu*, the *qamjilya* or the *Şabi*, i.e. either to become subjects of the banner ruler or the personal dependents of an aristocrat (Taiji) or the clergy respectively (Heuschert-Laage 2009, 196).

Heuschert-Laage page 123:

“*köbiüd* (servant), *bojul* (slave), *qariyatu* (subject), *medel kümün* (subordinate) or *jaruča kümün* (servant) [...]” (Heuschert-Laage 2009, 187).

Di Cosmo, Bao page 125:

Čaqar qariγsan qoyin-a jolyay-a geju iregsen-dü čimayi qayiralaju ür-e-iyen ögčü yosun ügei kündüleju tana: altan: bulayan: silügüsün: ed torγ-a: quyay duγulay-a [duγuly-a]: tabun mingyan lang mönggü: kümün-ü kereglekü aliba jüyil bügüde-yi ögči ilgebe: či yambar neretü mal ögbe: čimayi qaiyiralaju kündüleksen qayan ečiγe burqan-u törül oluγsan-I sonusuγad bey-e sidu kegüked sayid-ıyan yaγun-du es-e ilegebe (Di Cosmo and Bao 2003, 56).

Togtokhtör page 126:

“*Edügee ta nar etseg ekh, akh nar, egch bergediig khündelj (es juram bolgovoos khoino tanig khen) örgömoi.*” (Togtokhtör 1990, 3)

Tümenjargal page 128:

Itgelt erkhem baatruud tanaa amgalang irekh yaldaar guikh ni:

Gonchigdamba bi buulgasan deed zarligüig khündetgen dagaj, ünekheeriin zütgekhüig mekhiin zalbirch, ööriin biye ba tus khoshuund onooson tsereg eriig ch bolov chukham sainig ni songon oduulj, süslen bükhiid minii biyed khöl övdökh khünd övchin tokhioson ni khedii бага saga emchliülevch, yer ilaarshikh tölvöggüi, kharin ulmaar ügderch bui bölgöö.(Tümenjargal 2010b, 47)

Tümenjargal page 128:

Ochir dar bagsh tümnii avralt Gegeen tanaa amgalang erj örgöv. [...] Saya shagnasan zakhidlig khüleen khürtej, mörgön bayarlavai. End öchüükhen shavi mönöökh deed zarlig tushaalig khündetgen, khoyer sarin shiniin tavand Uliastai gazar irj, alba khaasan bolj, deedes bagsh narin kheterkhii avral örshöölöör mend buigaas devshüülekh ni: [...] (Tümenjargal 2010b, 79)

Tümenjargal page 129:

Edügee Gonchigdamba minii biyeiig Uliastai, Khovdin khergiig erkhlen shiitgüüleheer deed zarlig buulgasanig khicheengüülen dagaj, Niislel khürenees garch, zamin gudas mend yavj, khariyat nutagtaan saya khürch irev. Daraa Ulaiaastaid odoj suukhig zavdan bui böggöd gagskhüü ert edügeegiin yanag khaluun jurmig iltgej, mash ... bat sanaj songokh ni:

Örshöölt Chin Van noyon akh tanaa shar shashing khündetgen dagaar orokhod sejiglekh züilgüi darui deer khüreend morilon odoj, bayarin medee yosolig khurdlan güitsetgevees ünekheer züitei. Ter ch boltugai kharin khojdokh gazar bui met tsag udaashirvaas etseste yer talaar bolokh bolbuu. Günee tolilooroi. Kherev morilvoos, dav div khurdnig bodoj, uridaar albani bat bichig gargaj, zakhidlin khamt nen türgen khurdlan iriülen bi

üügeer uchir gargaj, shuud deer devshüülen ailtgaj, jich nevtriiülekh ulaa kheregliüülen moriluulj bolmoi (Tümenjargal 2010b, 101).

Tümenjargal page 130:

Chin van Sodnomjamtsoi bi tuilin mergen Said beis tanaa buyanaar uul ööriinkhöö khüssen dor kheviin mend butsaar irsniig iltgekhees gadna jich tulgailan gargaj, khoish khoish siirüülen tushaakhig medüülj guikh ni:

Övöl tsag Khüreend khuraldsan van günüüdiin gazraas Khalkh dayar zövdöj, öörtöö tulgai uls bolson bagsh Bogd Javsandamba khutagtig khan örgömjilj, shashin töriig khoslon tetgesen uchrig siirüülen tushaasaar atal Khovdin khariyat Dörvödiin khoyer garin jinkhene ded chuulgani darga tuslagch janjin, khan, van, gün zasguud sharin shashnig badruulj, shajin tsaazig khündetgen erkhemlekhgüügeer ül baram Khovdin manj said jurgan narig khariyat khotoos ülden khöj, ariutgan tseverlej, mongolchuudig zoviur züdgüürees tonilgon zailuulakhgüi mönöö boltol nam güm bükhii ni kherkhevch beer khezee egnegt yosni dundadig ül olson ni chingej niileltsekhgüi gekh zergeer Uliastain said beis tanaa gazraas manai Dörvödiin züüngarin jinkhene chuulgani darga dalai khan, Ded chuulgani darga jun van, baruun garin jinkhene chuulgani darga chin van bid nart tus tus albani bichgiig darui yaravchilan tushaakhig erkhemnen guikhaas angid tuilin mergen Said beis ta Uliastain konsul lugaa manai Khovdin khuuvin said, Jurgan, Manj narig yakhin ülden khöj, Khovdoos zailuulj ariutgakhig khariltsan zövlösön züiliig todorkhoilon, gün dotnin zakhidlig negen khamtaar ödör shönögüi khoish shagnan khairlaj bolokh ba ül bolokhig guin devshüülekhhees öör ergelzseer bui (Tümenjargal 2010b, 105).

Note on Archival material: The location is given as e.g. HIMAS (History Institute Mongolian Academy of Sciences) *Khömrög* is rendered Fonds, *D* stands for Box and *Kh*n is the folder.

Ching ulus-un eyeber jasay-yin doloduyar on dur olan qosiyuun un albatu nar dur arban tabuner-e kümün büri dür örgön- iyer negen yajar, urdu bar qorin yajar-un yajar-i kürtegejü yerü-yin üi-e dür egün dür tariyalang ba mal-un ajal-i üiledejü ajü amidaral-un yosu-yi olyujqoi page 132 [In the seventh year of the harmonious Qing dynasty the subjects of many khoshuu (administrative unit) and 15 males were granted land of the width of one land and the length of 20 and were allowed to make a living of farming and herding in ordinary times] pages 132-133:

Tere jasay-un qosiyun-u dоторақи монгол күмүн ану, qosiyun-u arad, tayiji tabunang, basa, qariyatu bojol-un yurban kilkeye- ber bolju amoi. Tere qarčin qosiyun dur bolbasu, tabunang-un oron qubi anu önggiru öndör qosiyun dоторақи el-e alban-i qamsiqu ügei, ulus ger ba qosiyu qota-yin egürge-yi öcöken cü egürkü ügei, yajč kü, yeke körönggen-i edleju, qarjis omojorqaq-iyer ayasileju, yadaju mongjol tojatan-i darulaq-un tedüi l amui. . Busu qosiyun- u tayiji nar bolubasu, qarčin jerge-yin qosiyun alban qayaqu ügei anu büi bolbaču, olangi anu, olan arad luya negen adali qosiyun-u alban-a yavmoi (Granting of Land, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 7).

Yadaγuraqsan iletgen bičigsen bičig pages 133-134:

Uliasutai—iyen jangjun quubi-yin saiid- uud-un bičig. Qamiyaruqsan jasaytu qan aiimay-un čiyulyan-u daruy-a Mipamasambuu-dur tusiyaan ilegebe. Tusiyaan yabugulaqu učir, čereg-ün qoriyan-u mongyol juryan-u ergügsen anu, sain noyan qan aiimay- un čiyulyan-u daruy-a nar, tusalaγči janjun nar-un γaγar-asa ergün medegüljü iregsen bichig-diir, mönöken nodunun jil ebül čay küriyeni-ü saiid-uud-un γaγar-asa baiičaγalayaqubar tusiyaqsan ker-diir man-u saiin noyan aiimay-ig yadaγuraqsan anu üneden bolbaču jerge-ber yadaγuraqsan učir qauli yosoyar üker qoni γaγaču tusalan tejiģegegsen üggei, odo beise čaytörjil-ün jerge qosiyu qariyatu yadaγuraysun- i aryačayan tejiģeju ülü čidaqu-du kürügsen kemen medegülüģseger büi, jiči onča kelemegden [gilemegden] yadaγuraqsan güng-ün jerge jasaγ Abarmid-un qosiyun- u kümün mal-i baiičaγalyan büküü jerge učir-i γaγaču jiyān tusiyaqui-yi guyun küriyen-ü saiid-uud, basakü qariyatu uliyasutai-yin jangun quubi-yin said-uud tan-a tus tus ergün medegülüģed, basa man-u nigen onča yadaγu aiimag-dur noydayulun dangnaqu olan jam-un örtege qabsuray-a-yin alban-i yerü negen čay-dur tegsilen kürülčekiü ügei yamaγta bačılan nökübeči, kebe-iyer masi ülemjü tasuldagulun büküü-yi inü tegsilen arγ-a üneker olqu ügeibboluqsan. Egün-diir Dörben aiimay-un γačig-ün kereg-i qaraqan sitegentusiyayadui bögede olan jam-unjam-un erüke čerig-ün alban-i tegsilensitgeküü-yi külliyegesger üneker-ün küčiün yadaγuraču arγa moqoγsan man-u negen ayimay-i uridayān tengkerekiükü yabudal-i gadaγadu mongyol-un törü-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun- ača jiyān iregsen jüil-diir niylegülin sitegeči olan jam-un erüke čereg-ün alban-i kündü künggen-i tegsilekü ba dörben ayimay-dur tegegi ügei dangnagsan kabsuray-a-yin köer jayun ileküü erüke-yin alban-i niyigemjilen tegsileči siljikülün sitgekü yabudal-i darui örösiyen sitegeju, yadaγu mongyolčud-du qubi olyaγulun el-e erküke-yin alban-i tegsilen jalγamjilaγulju čidaqu ügei dur kürügsen čiyulyan-u daruy-a nar biden-i buruyusiyan sitgekü yam-yi qamtubar güyün jangjun quubi-yin sayid-uud tan-a ergün medegülüģed, basakü küriyen-ü sayid-uud gadaγadu mongyol-un törü-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-a tus tus nigen adali ergün medegülüģsen bülüģe, [...] (Document Reporting Poverty, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 294)

Yadaγuraqsan iletgen bičigsen bičig pages 135:

Tegüber dörben ayimay čiyulyan neyilejü tere qabsuray-a-yin jereg aldaba alban-I erkebişi yayaqin sidgebesü joqiqu yabudal-I urida biden-ü γaγar-ača tusiyaysan yosu-bar siduγu-yi bariju sayiqan sanaya niyilejfen jöbleldön toytaγaju tegüber uliyasutai-yin jangjun nar-dur medegülüģed [...] (Document Reporting Poverty, HIMAS, Fonds 1, Box 1, Folder 294).

Tümenjargal page 135:

“Örshöolt gün noyon tanaa tümen amgalang ailtgaj tengeriin ed ariun tsagaan khadag örgöv. Ene üye örshöolt gün noyoni erdeniin lagshin khüģeed örgöönü khotloor amar uu? End minii biye kheviin sain amoi.”
(Tümenjargal 2010a, 15)

Chapter 6

Tsedenbal page 139:

[...] Olon түmnii sanaachlan gargasan ‘sotsialist yosoor surakh, ajillakh, amidrakh’ gesen lozund tod ilrelee olson [...]. Namin baiguullaguud [...]khödölmörchdiin büteelch idvekhüģ sergeen uls ardin aj akhuin tövlögöög amjilttai biyelüülekhed chigliüülen [...]” (Tsedenbal 1967, 81-82)

Tsedenbal page 140:

“Manai tergüünii emegteichüüdiin egnee jil irekh tusam ösöj, tednii dundaas BNMAU-in khödölmöriin baatruud ch törj erelkheg tsogtoi khödölmörlökh, sotsializm baiguulagchiinkhaa erkhem khündet üürgiig ukhamsartai biyelüülekhiiin ülger duurial üzüülj baina.” (Tsedenbal 1967, 353)

Tsedenbal page 140-141:

Chukham iim uchraas ür khüükhdiig khödölmör surlagadaa idevkh charmailttai niigmiin ömnö khüleesen üüreg khariutslagaa öndör ukhamsarladaг үnench shudraga төлөв daruu, zokhion baiguulalt, sakhilga battai, nökhörsög, khamt olonch, akhmad khümüüsüig khündeldeg khün bolgon sotsialist ekh oronch, proletarian internatsionalch үзлийн өндөр zarchim, uls түмний энх таиван ev nairamdlin үзлеер tuushtai khümüüjüülekh shaardlaga nam, uls, olon niitiin baiguulga, niit etseg, ekh ard irgediin ömnö tavigdaj baina. [...] Sotsialist yosoor ajilaj, surch, aj törökhiiin tuld Zövlölt Kholboot Uls болон akh duu sotsialist busad orni yaruu aldart egch, diüü, baatar emegteichuudiin үлгер jисheenees tsutsaltgüi surakhig MAKHN-in Төв Khorooni ömnös manai orni khödölmөрчин emegteichüüded urialiya (Tsedenbal 1967, 358-359).

Zayaa page 145-146:

Chinggis Khaaniig chini odoo zügeer yakhav ter amidarch baisan üyed ni khündelj baisan baikh gej bodoj baina, aan tegeed nöggö manjiin darlal baikhad khünii darlalt baina gedeg chini khünii бүтэесен гавьаг бол baikhgüi болгон шүү dee. Tegej baij l khüniig darlna шүү dee. Tiim bolkhood odoo nöggö öörsdiikhöön түүкhiig үзекh erkх baikhgüi l baisan baina tiim baina l daa. Tiim. Deerees sozialism ch gesen nöggö orosuud daranguilach baisan uchraas orosiin l yum deeshee garch baisan bolkhood. Tiim tegeed bid nar nöggö түүкhee medeed, түүкheeree bakharkhaad ekhlekх yum бол ted nart diilegdekhee baichikhan шүү dee. Tiim uchraas nöggö övög deedees sain saikhan baikhiig mini l medüülekhgüi l amidarch baisan yum shig baigaa yum. Tegekheed odoo nöggö chölöotei bolood तरीгее үзеед sain saikhan baisan yum baina geed bakharkhakh yumtai болсон baikh l gej bodoj baina (Zayaa, 2014).

Khadam Eej page 147:

Oo bailgüi yakhakh yum be, yostoi. Za khündlekh yos chini odoo süüliin üyed бол baragiin baikhgüi dee, gekheed odoo bid nariin üyеiin khümüüs бол biye biyеniigee khündetgekх ni yostoi sain шүү odoo бол khen ta nar taaraldval khüüyee Tsagaanaa sain uu geed l gej baigaa biz dee. Tegekheed bid nar chini bolokhood sain baina uu? Mariusai guai. Tani biye dang uu [probably slang for danagar, “energetic, strong”]? Lagshin sain uu gekhchikh jisheetei. Asuuna шүү dee, aan id nar бол “khüüye” gekh jisheetei. Barag khudalj ch und hi mi nöggö neg yu бilee? Gants khoyer angli kheleer bas dund ni khavchuulna шүү dee, aan ternee minee. Tegeed sain uu, yu baina gekh jisheetei, odoo бол. Tiim шүү dee, odooniikhan tegeed l заримдаа үе tengiikhen bid nar odoo tiim? Üye tengiin khümüüs bid nar khoodondoo utas mutasaa yarina шүү dee. Oo övgön sain uu? Biye chini gaigüi uu? Tegeed boloo. Aan bid naraas neg arai jaakhan khögshivter khün taarna шүү dee. Oo za sain uu, biye chini dang uu? Tani tsarai tsüs saikhan baina, yamar saikhan bolchikhoo ve ta! Ta chini, tegeed ta ikh goyo kharagdaj baina шүү dee, gyalalzaad yalalzaj шүү dee setgeliin örgön шүү dee. Aan id nartai khüüye gekhikheed yavaad ögnö шүү dee. Im 2 buruu yanz baina шүү dee, khedii үе tengiikhen ondoo chamtai manai Түвшин khüüye gekhigeed yavaad ögnö, yavaad ögj magadgui l khün. Ee büii met (Khadam Eej 2014).

Namin Gishüün page 148:

Khündlekh yos uu, khünd yerön bol deekh ni odoo ene ardchilaas ömnö odoo ene minii üyiin odoo surch chadaagüi surguulid yavaagüi üyed bol ikh odoogoos ikh saikhan baisan. Ikh yeröösööbür odoobür naad zakh ni yeröösöö eej aavtaigaa kharitsakh odoo ingeed khuvtslakh. Odoo tegeed l üs ene teriig chini khoyer süljeed tegeed ene terii iim yanzburiin iim goyol zöddöggüi, tegeed ikh goyo urt ulaan böch möch züügeed pionoriin gishüün geed tegeed daraa ni zaluuchuud evlelt elssen tiim 16 nas khürkheeree 15 khürkheeree elsdeg baisan, tegeed yerön ikh saikhan baisan. Ikh saikhan baisan, tegekhdée odoo neekh muu ni ch alga l daa yakhav bas l ter chini yag tukhai tukhai üyiinkhee niigmees bish orchnoos baigaa baikhgüi uu, tiimee? Odoo bol bas ter üyed chini yakhav manaikh chini bas neg nüüdelchin oron tegeed nüüdelchin shüü dee mongolchin tegeed tiimerkhüügeeree bas ikh ikh l saikhan baisan daa minii üyed bol, yerön saikhan baisan. Tiim. [...] Tiim uu manai ene odoo ene üyed bol yakhav bas l saikhan bolj l baina tegekhdée jaakhan tiim khüniig khündlekh akhmad tiim khüniig khündlekh jaakhan tiim deer üyiikheegee bodvol odoo tiim mongoliingoo yos zanshiliig jaakhan martang. Odoo teriig teriig odoo sain bas l neg ezemshikhgüi l baigaa muu daa gej bodoj baigaa yag yarikhad bol bi, yamar ulsaa muulaj baigaa bish yerön tiim jaakhan tiim l baigaa, tegeed yakhav ter bol odoo bas l jaakhan nadad bas jaakhan kharamsaltai sanagdag. Tiim tiim yerön tegeed odoo bol ulamal ingeed yeröösöö khüükhed chini belen yum ni deer ingeed ingeed belchelkhel yeröösöö saikhan l baidag öglöö bosood tsaigaa yagaad l ingeed yeröösöö barag l biye zasvalkhad khün daguulkhan kholgüi dendüübas neg tiim neg belen chilsen tiim neg zalkhuu tiim odoo bur neg tiim khüü baidaltai naad zakh ni ingeed l khün khün tiim bish l dee zaluuchuud zarim ni yeröösöö odoo ingeed l niitiin tveerer yavj baina avtobus ingeed ochikhod zarim ni ingeed aigüi saikhan bosood ögch baigaa nastai khünd zarim ni yeröösöö ingeed l kharaagüi yum shig l gyals ingees khüügeed l ingees khüügeed l tegeed bibür zarimdaa tegdeg baikhgüi uu, güi minii khüü emee ni ingeed khöl yadraad baina suujval bolokh uu gejiij neg bosogdog tiimerkhüü l sul tal tiim muukhai tiim? (Namin Gishüün, 2013)

Batbold page 150:

Öngörsön niigemd bol minii medekheer odoo khündetgekh yos baikh ni baisan gekhdée zakhirgaadaltan ikh baisan. Tiim ternees bol khündetgekh yos ikh aikhtar baisan shüü dee. Aigüi sain baisan, aan ternii khajuugaar ni daranguilal zakhirgaadald shuud tushaadag, zakhirgaaddag. Tiim l baidag baisan, ternees bol khündlekh yos bol baisan, büür odoogoosoo ilüü baisan ch baij magadgüi. Aan tegekhdé chini yu zarchimj baisan, zakhirgaadaltai. ‘Odoo chi tegekhgüi bol yeröösöö bolokhgüi, tegej yavakhgüi bol bolokhgüi.’ Odoo nögöö neg Leninism, kommunizm yag terüügeer yavj baisan baikhgüi uu? Aan tiim ter ter zarchmaar tegeed nögöö neg negeniigee khündlekh mündlekh bol aikhtar baisan aigüi sain baisan zugeer bi jishee ni türün khelsen shüü dee avtobusnd khün orj irekhdé sandal taviad ögdög, jiremsen khün orood irekheer sandal taviad ögdög. Tiim aigüi sain baisan baikhgüi uu, odoo bol büür khovor bolson. [Kharankhui gej yarisan] odoo bol bol bükh yum neelttei. Aimar baina, ter üyed chini odoo. Bid nar chini odoo 80 – 88, 89, 90 üyed l odoo ankh perestroika tiim l ? Aan odoo perestroika odoo kino 9 jorin kino ter chini ali 70 kheden ond garsan kinonuud bid nar 89 üzsen shüü dee. [...] Tegeed l odoo ingeed gadagshaa dotogshoogo yavdag bol olon ulstai kharitsdag bolson. Tiim. Ene urid ni yeröösöö baigaagüi shüü dee, orostoi tiim, tiim tegeed kharin ter chanar ni baigaa l aimar neelttei bolson baikhgüi uu? [...] Önöödriin niigemd khündlekh yos biye biyenee bailgüi yakhav! Khündlekh yos yerön odoo gekhdée bas neg surchikhdag bolj baina zuragtaar, khündlekh yos, odoo tegeed zan üil, tiimee, mongol zan üil urid ni yamar baisan tiim baisan teriig odoo bas martagdag baina ch gedeg yum aa. Gekh yum üü odoo shüümjleltei yum odoo zuragtaar medeeliig aigüi ikh gardag bolson, teriig khüükhdüüd ... Ügüi odoo minii bodloor bol tiim l baina l daa. Yos zan üilee ikh martaj baina. [...] Tegeed tiimerkhüü jisheenii zuragtaar surtalchladag tegeed yaagaad gevel mongolchuud zan üilee ireedüin khüükhdüüd baikhgüi uu ted nar odoo martaj baina, ted nar oilguulj ügükhgüi üldeekh üv zalgamjluulakh tiim l yum aigüi ikh yaridag bolson. Bas sozialismiin üyed zan üil aikhtar baisan. Bi ch bas sain medekhgüi tegekhdée sozialismiin üyed chini, odoo saya bid nar shine oni bayar bolson shüü dee Tsagaan sar saya teriig khüilegdeggüi baisan. Nuutsaar khiine, tiimee? Khamaagüi duulaj khuurdaj bolokhgüi. Ter chini malchdiin bayar baisan baikhgüi uu? Khödöögöör temdeglej bolno, khotod bolokhgüi.” (Batbold, 2014)

Naran page 157:

Öngörsön niigeemt khündlekh yos asar üregtei asar rolitoy, ikhtei baisan, odoo 2000 onoos khoish, üürig roli sularch baina. Damaa 2011 onoos khoish 12 on avto suunand yavakhad khündetgekh yos baikhgüi gej khelj bolno. Tünees bol deekhen üyedee khündetgekh yos ikh deeg jayagtai yos düremtei baisan.

Terüüger, Terüügeer chini aguu yum büteesen. Surguuligüi erdemgüi, nomgüi, khün ch gej baigaagüi. Minii eej aav, akh diüi nariin üyed khün bolgon naimdugaar angi tögsön, [...] tögsdög baisan tegeed l ali neg ter ter sum ruu, ter ter aimag ruu tomiglogdoog ochidog baisan. Ajilaa khiideg tsalin möngö avdag. Odoo yerön ikh deed surguuliig aav eejeeree möngö tölöleed surdag sursan mörtlöö ajiliin baigüi zaluu chuud ikh baina shüü dee, [...] Tegekheer khündlekh yos yerön untraal baigaa odoo bol. Deekhen üyedee bol ajil chini ajilsag ikh khiideg baisan. [...] Odoo bol baikhgüi.

Tiim zakhirgaadal, ene ardchilal garaad zahirgadal baikhgüi bolood ene yostoi neg chinggischin ene miniikh eniig bi avna gesen odoo uls orniig ezeldeg tiim khümüüsed tiim utgaaraa zakh zeeliin üyed odoo nögöö neg ardchiliin üyed garj irsen baatar [...] Suuliin üyed tünees bol ugaasaa l Chinggisiin mongol baisan Chinggisiin mongold [...] odoo khoin garj irsen baatar daraan neg talaaraa bol daranguilal ikhdee zasag noyod khaad baisan bolood ter üü. [...] Tiim bolood deekh ni üyed dee garch ireegüi. Ene ardchilal garch ireed erkh chölöö bükh yum ene Chinggis duraaraa baig. Khün bolgon öörüigöö ezemshleer baig, khün bolgon yumiig olj bolno, khuvaaj bolno avch bai gesen utgaar garj irsen boloo [...] Ner khünd ni tegej sereesen baina boloo [...] Bi Chinggissid yagaad suuliin üyed örgömjelekh bolson be, gedegiig bi yerön tegej boddog genee. Ene nögöö khuuli zasag mani tegeed odoo manaid bol shikhikhutug geed l odoo Chinggisiin neg khüükhdiin nereer ögsön deed surguuli bii. [...] Chinggis, Sukhbaatar yerön yaduu dooroi buurai khümüüsiig deesh ni tatdag. [...] Chinggissig ch khündlekh kheregtei Sükhbaatariig ch khündlekh kheregtei gekhdee Sükhbaatar bol minii setgel zürkhend arai oir Chinggisees oirkhon baina. Tiim Chinggisiin Mongol bolkhor, gekhdee Chinggis gedeg üg chini suuliin üyed garsan arai ikh bolson üg. Bid nariig khüükhed baikhad ene ter nuugdamal baisan shüü dee. Gekhdee Sükhbaatar ni ilüü oir baidag, yum aa (Naran, 2013).

Namin Gishüün page 157-158 :

Khündlekh yos bol odoo yerön ene jaakhan yerön shine niigemd jaakhan dotagdaad baigaa yum uu daa gej bodoj baigaa yakhav dee tegekheer saikhan saikhan khümüüis baina, saikhan, saikhan kharitsaatai, saikhan soyoltoi. Saikhan bolovson ch khümüüis baigaa. Sayani khajuugaar saar gekhcheer tiim bas neg tiim neg jaakhan ukhamsarin ööriin bas neg bodol bogino tiimeesee bas neg jaakhan khündleg chanar aldagdaj baigaa yumuu daa gej, tiim. [...] Ügüi odoo, yagaad iim bolokhov dee, ter odoo tukhai ni üyenkehe neg ardchilal manaikh ch odoo archilalsan oron bolokh geed ter üyed l odoo ter niigmiin orgoo bosogoo üye ter saarmag üyed l khümüüis l bas neg jaakhan setgel sanaagaar zarim ni oilgoj baina zarim ni ikh dutuu oilgoj avch muutai ter ni deerees l jaakhan tiim baikh l gej bodoj baigaa shüü dee (Namin Gishüün, 2013).

Dulmaa page 160:

Odoo ingeed l yuniikkaa yos zanshil khümüüjiliinkhee ni khuviar bas ikh örchlögdöj baigaa, muu tal ch ikh baigaa bas sain tal ch ikh baigaa shüü dee, tiim? Odoo ingeed yavakhlaar yum ingeed khögjööd l aigüi neg talaaraa aigüi saikhan yum bütej baina geed odoo ingeed utas mutas, zuragt muragt, tegeed l odoo internet minternet gedeg odoo öörüigöö sonirkhosen yumiig bodvol odoo ingeed orood kharakh odoo yutai neg talaaraa bolbol ter talaaraa bas khögjij baigaa, tegeed neg talaaraa bas dogodoltoi tal ni khümüüsiin bas jaakhan zaluu khümüüis bas ch jaakhan khümüüjiliin talaaraa bolbol bas jaakhan dogoldoltoi. Aan odoo yugaa dagaad bügdeeree neg ikh erkh medeltei neg ikh tiim yugui bolood odoo bas khün bükh ni bas ööriin gesen yutai geed l odoo ingeed l ingeed l tiim ter talaaraa bas jaakhan dutagdaltai baigaa. Khündlekh yos gedeg bolbol odoo uugaan naadakh chini manai mongol bol mash ikh yutai baisan uugaan, ikh odoo yos juramtai, odoo ingeed akh khünd yerön tom ulsuudaasaa yerön ikh aidag emeedeg gedeg tegeed odoo tom khümüüsiin derged bol bid nar chini ingeed khüükhed baikhdaa bolbol tegej yum khum khamaagüi yum khelekh erkh baikhgüi erkh ch baikhgui yeröösöö aigaad l ingedeg baisan bol, odoo bol bas tiim bish bolchikhood baigaa baikhgüi uu. Odoo ene odoo önöögiiin niigemd yu geed dagadaj tegdeg yum uu, odoo ter talaaraa bas jaakhan muu bolchikhood baigaa ni baigaa ni daa odoo. Khüükhdiüü chini ingeed bi chini nögöö surguuliin gazar ajildag bolokhloor odoonii oyutanguud yeröösöö aikhtar bolson ingeed baragtai bolbol bid nar chini bagsh magsh naraas aigaad aigüi ikh

aigaad yostoi ikh baisan bol odoo yeröösöö aikhgui, [...] ter talaaraa bas jaakhan yu dogoldoltoi bolj baigaa yum daa, muu ür dagavar bolood baigaa ni daa, khündlekh gesen yosoороо болбол одоо бас jaakhan odoonii khüükhdüüd bol taruu tegekhidee бүгдеее ch tiim bish l dee. Tiim, бүгдеее ch tiim sain. Tiim, tiim tiim bish tegekhidee, tegekhidee бас khagas ni бас tiimerkhüü. Ikh yaadag болсон багаа, tiim ikh болсон багаа bid naraas chini bolood barga ni aikhgui shüü dee, zarim ni aigüi бас зөв khümüüjiltei khüükhdüüd baina l dee ted naraas chini odoo болбол ene akhmad khün baina geed l aina shuu dee. Uu tegye ing, tegye ing ing ene ter geed khelekh ter ügend orno . Zarim ni бол yeröösöö orokhgui. Medeechgui l baj baina, ter (Dulmaa, 2014).

Erdenechimeg page 161:

Ügui yerön züger l bidnüüsiin khorooniin kharitsaa tiim khündlekh yostoi baikhaa болсон tiim? Odoо bidnüüs ingeed deer üyed бол одоо манай ах дүү нар ch gedeg yum uu, одоо би аав eejiin öödөөс ingeed l emee övөөgiikhön khelsen üger ch gedeg yum uu tednüüsiig todorkhoi khemjeend tусгај аваад tegeed tednüüsiig khündleed kharitsan shüü dee yerön бол бол нөгөө ах ni ах дүүгийн одоо манай дүү мүү нар ch gedeg yum uu ingeed l egch naraasaa aidag, ах naraasaa aidag yagaad gevel khündlekh yostoi khündetgeed aidag ügnees ni зөрөч gardagui tiim biz dee baisan baikhgui uu одоо tiim bish болсон shüü dee. Ene chini нөгөө l yag l amerik чууд shig khar bag nasaa bi ingeed bi tusdaa bi khün khuvi khün gesen bi öörikhөө нөгөө khüssen yumaa khelj yarikh kheregtei minii одоо yu aan үүрег erkх ene ter gee tiim khüükhdiin erkх geed baina shüü dee, aigüi ikh ter болгониг chini нөгөө neg teriig chini niigem chini би болгоод baina shüü dee (Erdenechimeg, 2014).

Chapter 7

Schorkowitz page 175:

While only the imperial title of *Khagan* can be attested as a *Khazarian* borrowing for 965, it also being considered as possible transfer of a superior imperial concept through Metropolitan Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" of 1051, and the Turk-Bulgarian and *Qipčaq* impart mainly onomastic linguistic material, but hardly any abstract nouns, the Pax Mongolica was able to disseminate numerous terms of Central Asian provenance in only a few years, denoting complex political institutions and having found their entrance into the administration of the old Russian state (2014, 156).

Sagaster page 177:

The White History is not only a theoretical work. The precepts contained in it have also had practical significance. This is evident from the circumstance that the appointment of officials took place with reference to the White History even in the 18th century and that the order of state offices within the Chinggis-Khan-Cult of the Ordos territory laid out in it have been mainly preserved (Sagaster 1976, 33-34).

Sagaster page 180:

qamuγ-un ejen bodisung boγda qan köbegün-iyen qayirlan soyurqa./ qayirlaqu sayid olan amitan--iyan bayasqan soyurq-a (Sagaster 1976, 102).

Ruler of all and Bodhisattva-saint gracefully show grace towards your royal son! Gracefully gratify your ministers and the many creatures, which need your grace! (Sagaster 1976, 102 and 168)

Sagaster page 183:

The two orders rest on four pillars, the so-called four great rules [*dörben yeke törö*]. The order of religion [*nom-un yosun*] consists of the two rules of religion, the *Dhāraṇīs* and *Sūtras*. What is meant by these are the salvation paths of *Mantrayāna* and *Sūtrayāna*. The order of the state [*törö-yin yosun*] consists of two orders of the world, that is peace and ease [*engke kilbar*]. Ease [*kilbar*] is equivalent to tranquility [*amur, tübsin*] and happiness [*jiṛyalang*]. The four great rules are the requirements by which living beings achieve salvation: Spiritual salvation is enabled by the *Dhāraṇīs* and *Sūtras*, worldly salvation through peace and tranquility (Sagaster 1976, 179).

Yakhontova page 183:

owa [=ōm] sayin amuyulang boltuγai : [...]
degedü blam-a γurban erdeni-dür mörgümüü[=i] [...]
erte[n]-ü boydas-una bayiyuluγsan šastar-i [=sastar-i] öčükend sanaγul'qui-
yin učir/-a [...]
noyad' qad-<i>
olan-i quriyay-a geküled öglige-ben ög :
osoldal ügei yabuγ-a geküle tüsimed-yin [=iyen] ergü :
auγ-a küčün-iyen yekü[=e] dkey-e geküle čere[=i]g-iyen açara [=asara] :
ayudam čüla [=sula] jiray-a geküle ey-e-ben keciy-e [...] (Yakhontova 2000, 84)

Yakhontova page 184:

*erdem-tü blam-a-yin tangγariγ-yi buu ebde: ejed-üid jarliγ-ača buu daba : ečege eke-yin surγal-i buu marta: em-
e köbegün boyol-un" ügek buu daγ-a [...]*
*teyimü-yin tulaa erdem-ib kečiyen surbasu: nere-yin aldar qamiγ-a ču bolba daγurisqu
gem erdem qoyar[-i] esea ilγaju taniγsan-u üliγer anu: mungqay uqaγatu-bai: merged-eče: sarmaγčün
kötölügšen kümün-i kündülebe gekü : eyimü eyimü-yin ijaγur-un erdem-luγ-a [=lüge] selbin ab (Yakhontova
2000, 108-117).*

Sagaster page 185:

If one doesn't follow the teachings of the Lama-teacher, then one will meet protective strongholds of disaster.
If one doesn't follow the teachings of father and mother, one will do bad deeds.
If one doesn't listen to the decrees of rulers and kings, one will fall into darkness.
If one doesn't live in accordance with the vows [*sanvar*], the oaths [*tangγariγ*] will be broken.
If one says "I", one will be tortured by black devils [*qara simnus*]²³⁰.

²³⁰Simnus also refers to old Turkic. The term is used for Mara, a Buddhist demon which ultimately entails death, but is also associated with sensual seduction. According to B. Khabtagaeva (2009, 190) it is related as follows: "Turkic *šimnu: cf. Old Uighur šimnu ~ šmnu 'demon, devil, Satan' (DTS) Sogdian šmnw 'Ahriman' [...]" Hence, this seems to be a reference to the over-evaluation of the I which in the widest sense harms that I.

If one acts self-willed/idiosyncratically, one departs from the teacher.
A merciless lama shall be left!
One shall depart from a relentless king!
Princes [*noyad*] who don't make concessions shall be left! [...] (Sagaster 1976, 95)

Sagaster page 185:

[...] One shall do meritorious Deeds for the dead!
The elevated Lama, through whom one is lead (to the way of salvation)
The elevated Buddha, who leads (the way to salvation)
The elevated religion, which is the way to salvation,
The elevated clergy, who are the companions to the Nirvana
The elevated teacher, with whom one must begin,
The respected elevated parents, whom one has to honor, all of them one has to repay their elevated kindness/benevolence [*ači ačilaqu*].
Mind the lama oaths as the apple of your eye!
Mind the decrees by the king as the heart in your breast!
Mind the teachings of your parents as your life! [...] (Sagaster 1976, 98)

Tümenjargal page 186:

“*Örshöolt bagsh mergen akh, gүн noyon [Luvsandondov] tanaa tümen amgalang ailtgaj örgöv. ...Manai khoshuuni Nyamjavın düü avgai Davaasambuugaas negen khövgөөн төрсөн бilee.*” (Tümenjargal 2010a, 23-24)

Tümenjargal page 188:

“*Bogd Chinggis Khaan Tenger aaviin takhilin khariyat Darkhadiin darga nar tanaa, ilgeekhiin uchir ni:*” (Tümenjargal 2010b, 40)

Sagaster page 190:

The ritual of sacrifice evinces clear features of an old court ceremonial. It seems that a court ceremonial of an early period of the Mongols has been kept alive as the old court ranks have been retained in the titles of ritual officers. The sacrificial performance resembles that of an imperial audience, which was also a ritual service since the ruler was viewed as God at audiences and other state affairs. The sacrificer prostrated himself in front of the altar of Chinggis Khan and touches the ground with his forehead and arms and is hence performing the act of *mörgiikii*, the *homagium*, the submission, thus the entrance into a relationship of vassalage and its confirmation. The sacrifice is the gift of tribute for the ruler. The distribution [*tügel*] of the sacrificial meat to the believers, in which the people receive small and the dignitaries receive large portions, is a reward for merit/achievements (*kesig*, literally: ‘grace’) that the followers of Chinggis Khan have received/acquired in building the empire. The liturgical texts are also reminiscent of this old court ceremonial. Private sacrifices evince the same features of this court ceremonial. The travels by the Darkhat across all of Mongolia in which animals and valuables were claimed as offering/sacrifice to Chinggis Khan proves that the sacrifice to Chinggis Khan were obligatory for the entire people (Sagaster 1976, 206).

Chapter 8

Emee page 197:

Yaakhuu dee ter chini odoo ataa jötöö nüüs bolno. Zarim yaduu züdüü aimdraltai bolkhoor. Khulgai zelgii khiigeed shorond oood baikhaar buruu zamaar orokh ingeed yavaad buruu zamaar oood. Tom ukhamsartai khümüüis ni bolkhooroor ataa jötöö yum uu bi tegej oilgoj yavdag shüü dee. Ter yadarsan khümüüis ni yakh uu dee khool khüins yavaalakh gej yavaad l biye biyenee, ömööörökh ömööörj yavj baigaad l aldaa maldaa khiigeed shorond orokhooroo uugaasaal shorond orson khün chin buruu zamaar l yavna zarim neg khumuus, zarim negen gaigui l ukhamsartai yavj chadkha l baikh (Emee, 2013b).

Naran page 197:

Ene chini yostoi uls ündestnii yos zanshil. Tegeed tsaash l bol övöö emeegees, aav eejid ulamjlagdaj aav eejees bid nar övölögdöch khataglj baikh yostoi yum l daa. Tiim? Tegeed yerön bi ter yos zanshliig khatgalkhiig khicheedeg shüü. Ber khürgenii güilga gedeg chini bügdeeree dor doroo. Bükh yum yos jayagtai ter bügdiig dagakh durtai. Mongol khünii chini zan zanshil övöö emeegee khündelkhees ikhsüüleed deel khuvtas ömsökh ene ter chini bügd yos degüüdtei ber avakh. Ber avakh ber guikh gedeg chini bügd yos jayag döggötei khündetgel yum shüü dee. Yerön öörükhöö meddegüig bol yerön bieliüülekh durtai, khiikh durtai bas. Bi zun düügiikhen avgaig güisan. Güinii gedeg chini neg yoson doo, manai khün bolson shüü tanai khün gej khelj baigaa üg l dee ter yos jayagiig yerön dagakh durtai bi, yerön. Zan buruugaar aashilsan tiim yos jayaggüi. Jayaggüi khüniig bi bas üzekh durgüi. Talaad baikhgüi. Tiim baidag (Naran, 2013).

Khödöö Aj Akhui Oyutan page 198:

Tüükh yerun mongolchuudiin tuukh ni khündlekh yostoigoo baragalj uildaa kholbootoi yavdag baikh yavdag l daa uul ni tiim odoo ekhes deedes ezen khaanaas avkhuulaad odoo turiin tergüüniüüd ter khüntheigee khündetgeltei ingeed ingeed yavdag tiim khündetgeltei kharitsana odoo tiim törin tug dalbaa ni daa khündetgel üzüülne ingej yavakhaar tüükhtheigee l kholbootoi bolood yavchikh baikh gej bodoj baina (Khödöö Aj Akhui Oyutan, 2014).

Former President Elbegdorj page 200:

“Gevch khörst delkhiid möröö arilshgüi üldeej aldraa duursgasan ni tiim olon bish. Ter duundaas bidnii övög-ezen bogd Chinggis Khaan argagüi tod bilee. Delkhiin kheelend neriig ni sonsoogüi khün üldeegüi shakham” (“Mongol Ulsin Erönkhiilögch Tsakhiagiin ELBEGDORJ-iin Chinggis Khaani meldelsenii 850 jiliin oid zoriulsan khündetgeliin khurald khelsen üg,” president.mn, last modified November 14, 2012, <http://www.president.mn/mongolian/node/3043>).

Mönkhtsetseg page 202:

Aigui aguu khün yugaaraa ch Chinggis Khaan, dandaa nögöö shudraga ünen zuv aigui sain shudragaar yavj baysan. Odoo odoonii üyeiin shudraga ulsuudiig odoo chini odoo Chinggisdee züürlekh yum bol yerönkhiilögch l baina shüü dee, tiim? Tegekhd chini odoonii yerönkhiilögch bol tiim bish shüü dee. Tegej ter khün shig tegej aimar ami biye zolij tegej aimar züdgekghui baigaa biz dee, dulakhan öröändöö suchikhaad ger orondoo ohood teg ing gesen bol boloo. Tegeed barag gaduur garakhchikhgüi, kharagdakhchikhgüi baigaa biz dee, Chinggis bol tegeegüi baysan baikhgüi uu, morin del ni deer bükh nasaa zoriulsan bükh l yumaa barag ööröö khiigeed l tegeed l yavj baysan bolkhoor argagüi tüükh dursgaltai khün.

Tiim, buglurul uusegdeg bügdiin zogsoodog gekhdee bas yakhav aguu gej yavj l baigaa mörtlöö Chinggisiig bol kheden khuvidaj khürekghui ted nar odoonii yerönkhiilögchiig bol chölöötei ard tümeniigee önnö chölöötei garch irekhgüi baigaa biz dee, aluulchikhgüi khyaduulchikhgüidee gesen dee geed aigaad, khamgaalch baidag yum uu? Dandaa yumaa khamgaaluulj nuudaj yavj baidag baigaa biz, Chinggis bol tiim khün bish baysan. Yag

ard tümeniiteigee khamt, khamt idej uuj, khamt baisan. Yu l idej uuna, yu l khiine, teriig ni dagaad l baij baina yakhav tegeed l öörigöö khamgalaad l tiim chadaltai khiin baisan, tegekheer ter tüükh bolj üldsən aan tegekheer odoonii yerönkhilögch bol neg bol dörvön jil bolood ch yum uu, naiman jil bolood ch yum uu, tegeed l alban tushaalaasaa buugaad odoo yavakhad ter khiiniig bol tüükh bolgoj yarikhgüi shüü dee, tegeed martagdaad üldechkhøj (üldekh) baigaa baikhgüi uu? Tegeed l soliodol tegekheer bol Chinggisiiig l tüükh gej khelne dee. Tkh (Mönkhtsetseg, 2013).

Togtokhnasan page 203:

Aan Chinggis ikh muu muu odoo tukhai ni chini, bid nariin üyed chini Chinggis gej khelbel aluulna. Chinggis gej khelbel shorond yavna. Chinggisiin khöshöög 1950 kheden ond baina uu, 60 tegeed ene Tömör Ochir said Chinggisiin khöshöög bosogyee geed buruutaj baisan baikhgüi uu. Bür odoogoos kheden jiliin ömnö, odoo tegekhed chini Chinggis gesen khiin deeshee yavj baigaa. Chinggisiin khöshöög ni barisan khiin odoo deesheegee yavaad baina, Chinggis gej duugarval deesheegee yavaad baina, Chinggis gej nertei baival odoo sain arai ch Chinggis gej noliniin gazar baikhgüi baikh shig baina. Güi iim baina, Chinggis geed zochid buudal Chinggis yu ni ene ter geed. Tiimee? Odoo deer üyed odoo bol nögöö 40 jiliin ömnö baisan bol shorond yavna. Kheregt orj baisan odoo ünen ünen (Togtokhnasan, 2014).

Rinchen page 205-206:

Oron khiided tümen tüveg tataj zarligiin amban saidad yoson büs yavdlaa medegdesen chamaig zad torlogdoj, olon shavi nart tseerlel üzüülne gej nüür nüdgüi zagnaj Zuugiin lamd muu nokhoi yoson büs kheregsliin khamt barisnig ailtga gej shavi naraa zarj khudalgüi Zuugiin lamin shavi ni irj bagsh, Buniag yaj nisseniiig üzekh gej baina. Sümiin tend avaachina uu gej irjee (“Shükherch Bunia.” BIIRBEH.MN, accessed February 4, 2016, http://www.biirbeh.mn/index.php?sel=content&f=one&obj_id=817).

Tüdev page 206:

“Terkhüü ezerkheg lamin derged aimshiggüi zogsokh büi khel, morin deereesee buun sögdöj khündlekh yostoig khaikhraagüin uchir tinkhüü banzduulan shiitgüülсэн ni залуу насни гашуун сургамж болж, шудрага бүсиг jigshikh setgeliig ni ulam changalsan.” (Tüdev 1988, 3)

Yadamsüren pages 206-207:

Ta nar bas sain tsagt törsön sain zayatai khüükhed baina daa. Muu övgön akh chini odoo 57 nasig khürcheed 18 nastai eriin tsee tseelsen gej toolokhod бүтэн 40 jiliin дотор yertöntsiin jargal, zovlong tolgoi daakh öngörüülen irsen yum. Ene 40 jild bi jargaj yavsан ch olon, zovj yavsан öдөр ch olon gej öörtөө санaj yavdag baisan бilee. [...] Tuulaas ikh üsgüi, Songinoos öндөр уулгüi [...] lam gурvan erdenees khüchtei yumgüi, ezen deedees erdemtei khüngüi yum baina gej lavtai itgeed ölsvöl zayandaa gomdoj, övdvöl lam nartaa daatgaad ezen noyondoo khüchee örgöj, oron khiiddee örgöl takhil, bariad khamag jargalin ür ayandaa бүтне gej санaj maaniin zurgaan üsgiiг unshlaga болгон yavsан бөгөөд argagüi ami zuuj aj törökhiiг oroldon lam nart khoni alj ögch tolgoi shiir goridood, bayachuudad эмнег сургaj öгч ayaga airag uugaad, tamgand takhar khiiг түшmediin togoo tevreed [...] bolovch noyodin darlalig ööriin үйл gej залbiraad, baychuudin мөлjlogiiг минii khuvi zaya gej endüüreed, ene yavaa nasandaa zovbol etses khoid nasandaa jargadag yum gej munkhruulan mekhlegch lam narin khuurmag surtald khülegdej tümen зүүliin гашуун berkhiin dalaid khövön umbaj garakh argagüi төөрөдөн yavjee. [...] Ai дүү nar mini ee! Ta nar минii залуудаа зугaalj bayasan tsengej jargav gej yavj baisan бaidлиг сонsvол үнекheer khuuchin yertöntsiin byaduu gutamshgiiг танikh бilee.[...] – Ardin nam, zasag ni ardin jargal zovlongiin үнен chanarig үзүүлен öгч chadakh baina. Bi бол ardin төriin khücheer zovlongiin khorоos салj jargalin zamд orjee. Öнөдөр bi өöriin erkх chөлөөт улs orondoo өсөj khөгjiг бүkhii залуу дүү nar

ta nartaigaa khamt suuj baikhdaa ta narin sanal chadlig bakharkhaj barakhgüi baina (Yadamsüren 1991, 32-34).

Damdinsüren pages 209:

B. Shirendev Ikh surguuliin ryektor baikhdaa tedentei sanal niilj Geseriin tuuj, Jangarin ülger khoyerig Ikh surguuliin programmaas khasch khayasan baina. Getel tednii shoovdorloj baigaa Geseriin tuuj, Jangarin ülger khoyer bol Mongolin jinkhene ard түмнii үнен khüsel ermeleliig ilerkhülsen bögөөд fyeodal ангиг esergüütssen chiglel бүхii зохiol yum. Ard түмнii soyolin chukhal өв болсон иим зохiolуудиг fyeodalin зохiol, noyodin бүтeel, khargis nom gekh zergeer kharaaj baisan yavdal бол үндеснii soyolin өвиig үгüisgekh үзliin ilrel болно.

Bid үндеснii үзeltentei temtsekh naming зөв shiidveriig biyelüülekhdee soyolin өвиig үгüisgekh өөр neg aldaa gargakh bailaa. Үндеснii үзелтен бол khuuchin tsagiin soyolin өвиig анги yalgavarlakhgüi, fyeodalin, ardin gej yalган салgакj үзeкhgüi khamran magtaj bailaa. Үгüisgekh үзелтен бол khuuchin soyolin өвиig fyeodalin, ardin gej мөн yalgaj үзeкhgüi khamran kharaaj baidag. Tednii зарим ni Mongolin ard түмeнд soyolin өв baikhgüi gej shuud kheldeg baina (Damdinsüren [1956] 1987, 19-20).

Lkhamсүрен, Shirendev, Baldoo, Sanjaa and Tüdev eds. page 209:

Manjiin khaad, tövdiin khargis tom lam narig ashiglan mongol orond sharin shashnig zoriud tövd kheleer delgerüülсen ni mongolin ard түмнiiг munkhruulan, төөрөлдüüleed зогssongüi түүнii үндеснii soyolin khөгjild khor khönөөлиг uchruulsan khargis yavdal baiv (Lkhamсүрен, Shirendev, Baldoo, Sanjaa and Tüdev eds. 1967, 4).

Jagvaral page 210:

Yalanguya Mongol khelnii songodog ekh survalj bolokh “Nuuts Tovchoo”, “Altan Tovch, “ “Erdeniin erikhe”, “Bolor Toli” gekh met, мөн зарим sudrin orchuulga, мөн Mongolch erdemnii зохiol , mongol Sudlal khөгjsөн iйees khoish garsan gol gol toli bichigt durdsan khündetgeliin үг khellegiig барag бүрен ashiglan sudalsan.[...] Mongol khelnii күндetgeliin үг khelleг бол neg iйees нөгөө iйed uulamjlan irsen ikh kheregledег chukhal үгс deer bas зөvkhөн ter iйeiin niigmii түр үзегдeld idevkhtei khereglej baisan зарим khuuchin үг ch baina. Edgeer үг ni түүkh, uran зохiolin nom sudart bagagüi tokhioldono (Jagvaral 1976, 20).

Sambuu page 210:

“Manai irged төриin khuuliudig khatuu juramlan dagaj, niitiin dagaj möрдөkh, sotsialist yosoor khamtran amidrakh kev jurmig sakhikh үүрегтеi.” (Sambuu 1975, 145)

Tsedenbal page 210:

“Khödөө aj akhüig sotsialist yosoor өөрчhilj, түүнii үр дүнд үлдverleliin kheregслиг khuvi daa өмчлөkh yavdal, khün khünee darlan möljikh yosig үүрд ustgasan ni түүкhen chukhal ach kholbogdol бүхii ololt амjilt боллоо.”(Tsedenbal 1967, 8)

Togtokhtör page 211-212:

Khünii erkhemlekh yum ni. Ene yertöntsöd yos jurmig khündetgen aj zuukhuig khicheekh, etses khoidig sanaj burkhan nom, lam khuvrag, noyod, tüshmediig zereg deeseer khündlekh yoslol yun ögüülekh. Khün etseg ekhiin surgaalaar saya khümüüjisen tul khezeed achiig martalgui sanan sanan yavj, adag ni ürgelj es chadvaas tsagaan sarin shiniin negend ikh yoslolin daraa etseg ekhdee sögdön yoslon mörgöj khadag barin zolgoj, ödörbür öökh idekh, drövön tsagiin khuvtedig dutuugui khicheen, oldson ali amttaig idiüülj, khöngön dulaanig ömsgöj saikhan khündel. Khövöön ööröö setsen mergen bolovch etseg ekhees asuulgui aj töröld medemgiil bolokhgüi. Edügee ta nar etseg ekh, akh nar, egch bergediig khündelj (es juram bolgovoos khoino tanig khen) örgömoi. Gekhchiüü baitugai. Zarligiin dotor negen nas akh bolovch khelekhed ayatai bol, suukhuid door bol, yavakhuid khojid bol khemeesen bish üü. Iim juramtai yavbal nas, buyan magad nemne. Khuuchin ügend akh narig avgailbaas arvan tsagaan buyan nemdeg. Doromjilboos dalan nügel irdeg bish üü. Etseg ekh, akh nar ni khüükhed düü naraa kheregüi erkhiüülj erkhiig surgakhaar, juram yoslol aj törökh yavdlig zaaj berkhiig surgaltai mön khuuchin üg bish üü gekh tödiigüi, Bogd ezenii senkhriülen badruulakh surgaal zarligiin dotor olon irgen bügdeer khicheengüilen akhchlakh, düüchlekh yoslolig khündetgen, kheregkhiüüniig khemnej sain irgen bolokhig khichee. Temsekh khetrek muu suramgaig bürne geegtun. Ekhend khicheegeed, adagt büü zalkhuuran osoldogtun. Bürelgen süitgej ül arivlakhig tsereg, irgen nen günee tseerleves/zokhino khemeesniig khicheengüilen üüird dagaj yavbaas/zokhikh tuld Chingis Bogdin surgaald erdmiin deed ev khemeesen boloi. Bas evleves bütdag, khovlovoos gutdag khemeegch khuuchin üg. Ikh бага бүгдээр зэрэг yosloloo olj evtei bolbaas tsöm ölzüitei bolj khamag sain irgen bolokhin tergüün ni ter. Bas Evleves bütdag, khovlovoos gutdag khemeegch khuuchin üg. Ikh бага бүгдээр зэрэг yosloloo olj evtei bolbaas tsöm ölzüitei bolj khamag sain irgen bolokhin tergüün ter (Togtokhtör 1990, 3-4).

Tümenjargal page 214:

Baatar gün tüilyn örshöolt mergen akh tanaa shine jiliin ikh bayarin tümen amgalang erj örgöv. ... Teneg düü Agvaantseren gün akhyn örshöölöör biye mend бүххүүгээс shine jiliin uliral orj, tümen bodis khövörjin delgersnees tulgailan ikh bayarin ugtalga yosolj, örshöolt gün akhin min' erdmiin gav'ya myangan buyan tsagiin khamt ovololdon nemegdej, ölmii önöd örnön delgerch batatgakhig chingees khüsen... örgöv (Tümenjargal 2010a, 25).

Heissig page 214:

Lubsangdondub (Blo bzang don grub) originated from an aristocratic class of the Jasaγtu Khan-Aimak in the western part of northern Mongolia. He was born in the banner of Khan-Köküi in 1854. He already appears as Jasaγtu noyan of his banner around 1876, from 1897 he was the Tusalaqu janjun gung (general governor) of the Jasaγtu Khan-Aimak of the Khalkha." (Heissig 1972, 455)

Sagaster page 216:

He enforces the equal weight of the two orders of religion and state [...] He thereby establishes a dual order, in which only he can fulfill his assignment to govern: to yield his subjects with peace [engke] and composure [tübsin], that is worldly salvation and to thereby create favorable living conditions, which enable one to embark on the path to spiritual salvation (Sagaster 1976, 49).

Chapter 9

Tümenjargal page 220:

*Edügee sonsvoos örshöölt tenger etsgiin Tsogt dar avgaigaas agi olsnig sonsch munkhag bi bayarlay oldokhgüi ikh bayrig olj nilüülsest etsgiin taalal бүрdseniig bodon адилтгај болoкхгүи түмен байар дор мандарвани газраас etsgiin gegeenii shine jiliin амгаланг ерј делгесен икх байрин khadgiig аврал икht тenger etsgiin munkhag namaig nyalkh tsagaas edüügee dor khürtel khoshuuni khamt dotno **khairig** badruulan örshöösööriг biye etsestlee martaj ene khorond öchüükhen ch buruu sanaagüi ikh khülegnii shuluun zam met khezeenee önöökht түмен ариун санаани uгаас khicheengüilen örgösön. [...] 1828-1834 oni zakhidlin san UTA M-170 D-1 KhN-90 kh-15 (Tümenjargal 2010c, 44)*

Tümenjargal page 221:

“Kherev khishig болгон khairlakh болбоос өөриин сүрег адумаас khairlakh ба zakhia bichig khairlakhig endees mekhii, guin tengeriin ed ariun tsagaan khadgaar ailtgav.” (Tümenjargal 2010a, 130)

Tümenjargal page 221:

“Urid khairlasan mön 49 lan möchid болсон тул одоо 2 morini dutuu үне 56 lan tsagaan möngiiг зарagdsan khüneeр buyu ene zuni sard erkhibish khairlay uul khünd khürteen olgokhig guisugai.” (Tümenjargal 2010a, 86)

Natsagdorj page 224:

*Etsег ekh ni khairtai
Engiin khün ch erkhemlene.
Gertee tustai, ulsdaa kheregtei
Khün bolokh ni zailshgüi бilee (Natsagdorj [1935] 1961, 142).*

Lkhamsüren, Shirendev et. al. page 225 :

“Ikh khurlaas soyol gegeerel, uran бүтelliin ајlin үзел surtlin khemjee, aguulgig bainga saijruulakh, khelberii ni bayjuulj uran chadvari ni deeshliüülekh, tüünii namch, ardach zarchmig ulam khüchtei болgokh, khümüüjüülekh, khüch chadli ni nemegdüülekh zoriltig заан темдеглев.” (Lkhamsüren, Shirendev et. al., 390)

Tsedenbal page 226:

BNMAU, ZSBNKHU khoyerin khorond togтson akh дүүgiin khariltsaa бол proletarian internatsionalizmin икх zarchim deer tulguurlasan бөгөөд икх бага улс үндестнүүд erkх tegsh khamtran ајilaj khariltsan тусlaltakhin үлгер duarial болj baina. [...] Zövlöltiin баатарлаг ард түмен, манай ард түмний erkх chölöö, аз jargalin төлөө баигуулсан гандан буурshgüi гавyагаараа, setgel kharamgüi бүкх talin тусlamj demjlegeeree манай орни khödölmörchdiin khyazgaargüi khair khündetgeliig khüleesen yum (Tsedenbal 1967, 10).

Tsedenbal page 226:

"Ene khair talarkhal Mongolin khödölmörchdiin setgel zürkhend manai naming gishüüdiin oyun sanaand üyeiin üyed mönkh orshij baikh bolno." (Tsedenbal 1967 [1961], 11)

Batmönkh page 227:

"Ardin bolovsrol, erüüliig khamgaalakh salbarin materiiallag baazig bekhjüülekh, soyol, shinjlekh ukhaanig khögjüülekh zorilt amjilttai kheregjee." (Batmönkh 1986 [1985], 568)

Jijur page 231:

Odoe ene aav eejees l yeröösöö ulamjlal l baina shüü dee. Bid nariin aav eej bas l aav eejeese sursan baij taarna dandaa övög deedees l tegekheer yerösöö l etseg ekh ene ulamjlal tkh tüünees gantskhan ene khiindlel gedeg chini odoo yerösöö gantskhan genet l garaad irsen yum bish shüü dee tiim, yerösöö l ulamjlaad l ulamjlagdaad l bid nart ulamjlagdaad l ulamjlagdaad l irseer baigaad l ene ni deer khürsen. Tiim Odoe yakhav khot suurin gazar бүр khödөөниkhниигеe bodokhot khot suurin gazar bas neg jaakhan khiindlel bol bas jaakhan sarmagjigaad l baigaa, bas l bagasaad l baigaa bur khödөө taldaa бүр goye malchin ailuud бүр goye khödөөnikhөн болбол бүр sain shüü dee, khotiin bid naraas бүр saikhan shüü dee. Ter khar buruu sanaagüi, khüniig khiindlekh ter odoo бүр aav eej övög deedeese irsen yuman ter chigtei, tiim, ter chigtei. Tegekhed eniig taslakhgüi ni tuld bid nar odoo khoich üyede l kheleed baikh kheregtei odoo ail bolgon l khüükhedee khelekheer bolokhgood baigaa biz dee?

Khün bolgon l neg negeniigee khündetgekh kheregtei shüü dee. Tiim? Tegeed saikhan taivan amgalang baikh kheregtei. Tegej l neg negeniigee khündetgej chaddag, uuchilj chaddag l baikh yum bol amar amgalang gedeg yum ene l bolno doo tiim. Amar amgalang l baival uls oron yamar saikhan baikh uu? Tiim ene odoo delkhii yertönts dayarshlagdaad gej baina tiim? Ene chini odoo gadaad dotoodgui l бүгд l iim saikhan amar amgalang .baina shüü dee. Bolno shüü dee. Ene khiindleliig l meddeg neg negeniigee khairladag negeniigee khiindlekh khairlakh deedelkhii meddeg l bol yagaad chiv tiim shirüün dorvi ni baij bolokhgüi shüü, kherevzee ene odoo baikhgui bolokh yum bol neeree yostoi medekhüi, yostoi khetsüü. Ukh l baikh gej bi bodoj baina, arai ene uusaj baikhgüi bolokhgüi bailgüi dee. Odoe tegeed eniigee meddeg ulsuud bol eniigee odoo untrakhgüi bökhögüi baikhan tuld l baikh kheregtei (Jijur, 2014).

Khamba Lam page 233:

Jisheelbel odoo yu bilee burkhanii shashind odoo khooson chanar geed yariad baigaa shüü dee. Khooson chanar geed odoo khuvi yosiig yariagüi yum. Bi gedeg züil chini baikhgui shüü gedegiig oilguulakh. Tegdeg baikhgüi uu, bi ügüi, bi ügüi gedeg chini ügüi yumaa tiim uchraas khooson yumaa gesen sanaag. Neg yosondoo bi ügüi gej khelekh, khooson gedeg khelekh neg utgatai baikhgüi uu. Tegekheer bolkhoodoo burkhanii shashin enüigeeree l busad shashinaas yalgarj ögch baigaa ni. Ireediid ta nar khervee ev züitei amidarnaa gej bodoj l baigaa bol bi gedeg züilee busdaas khoishoo tavikh kheregtei. Tiimee? Bi geed setgeed baigaa züil chini yag tiim yag tanii setgesentei adilkhan busdaas ilüü busdaas mundag esgüi болбол busdad nölööldeggui züil bish yumaa gedeg tiimee? Ter yumiig chini khooson uchraas khooson yumaa gej khelj baigaa, ternees bish khii khooson züiliig tailbarlaagüi shüü dee neg yosondoo niigme goye bolgokh yostoi daan ch teriig ni odoo odoo khümüüs mongolchuud odoo oyun sanaanii khoosrold orson zövkhөн ügend ni naadaad baina shüü dee. Ug ni khooson gej khelsen uchraas khooson gej baina.

[...]Buddin shashnii khooson ügüi, bi ügüi busadiin tuluu yavakh yostoi gedeg ene bol khicheel bish ene yamar negen ter yu gedeg bilee? Aan ene bolkhoodoo khümüüjil baikhgüi uu? Aan ene khümüüjiliig bi neg tsagaa аваад surakhgüi, khoyer jil аваад surakhgüi, 3 jil аваад surakhgüi, 4 jil аваад surakhgüi (Khamba Lama, 2014).

Uranaa pages 234:

Aan aav eejeese ain shüü dee. Tiim, khünees, khünees, odoo khün, akhmad nastai khün odoo yanz büriin khümüüsiin ömnöös yamar ch baisan, muukhai khardaggui kharaal yerööl kheldeggüi shüü dee. Aav eejeese l

ikh aidag baisan, akh düügeesee tegeed öör nögöö akhmad nastai khünees. Odoov aav eej bol bid nariig aimar ikh khairalna shüü dee. Tkh, bid nar odoo tegeed khairlakhiin ezdel yum chini bid nar öörsdöö khairlana shüü dee, ene bid nar ingej khün khairlaj bid nariig ingej odoo tom bolgoj surguulitai soyoltoi bolovsroltoi odoo iim bolgoj baigaa yum chini bid nar odoo tegeed surguuli soyoloo tögsööd mergeljeltei bolood etseg ekhiinkhee achiig khairulakhgaad l ug ni zütgedeg yum, tegeed l ali bolchikhooroo chadakhaar bolichikhdog yum. Tegeed l öörsniikhöö amidraliig l khöögööd yavchikhdag. Tkh, ternees bish khairlakh setgel baigaad l baidag yum khairlamaar sanagdaad l, tiim (Uranaa, 2014).

Batbold page 234:

Ügüi aikh emeech bish shüü dee. Odoov yerön khünees aigaad baikh tiim yum öngörsön baina shüü dee. Aikhiin yerön aij ichikhiin bür martsan aij ichne gej bas neg tom yum baikhgüi uu, odoo aikhgüi ch gesen aigüi gedeg shig. Tiimee odoo, aikhgüi gekheeree khümüüs chini odoo ene namaig yasan ch yaj chadakh yum gedekh ch yum uu tiim bol bish shüü dee, za ingeed öndör nastai khün ingeed baina, nadaas neg akh ch yum uu tiim khün baina shüü, bas aikhgüi ch gesen aigüi gekheer. Ta gej yaridag baikhgüi uu, neg nasnii zöröö ni deer khümüüs aigüi chi mi bolchikhdog baikhgüi uu (Batbold, 2014).

Oyunaa page 234-235:

Za öngörsön niigemd gekheer odoo jar dalaad üyeiig avaad yarikh yum bol jar dalaad oni üyed khümüüs odoo khün bolgon nögöö neg uls tört (busadiin) ömchiig ch gesen khairlan khamgaalakh kheregtei tiim l baisan, aaaah ene ni bolkhooroo busdiin ed züilsig ch gesen busad khüniig khündlen busdiin ed züilsig khair gamtai khereglene gesen tiim züil baisan, gekhdee khünii mön chanartai aigüi suurildag baisan yum bol uu. Odoov khünii züiliig yamarvaa negen züiliig edelj khereglekhteii ööriin khüniikh geltgüi khairlaj khamgaalakh [she interrupts herself]..., aah todorkhoi neg ni khüntei khariltsakhdad gadnii esvel zindaa deegüür dooguur geltgüi khairlakh odoo ijilken tövshind khariltsdag tiim l baina [incomplete strand of thought by interlocutor] Önöögün niigemd odoo nögöö neg khünii erkhiig kheterkhii deedeldsen khünii üüreg gedeg züil odoo baikhgüi bolgoson aa tiim uchraas khün üüreg gedeg züil baikhgüi yum chini yadaj öv ulamjlalaasaa asuukh khündlekh gedeg züiliig bailgakh kheregtei tegekhiig khünii erkheer geed khün bolgontoi margaldaad baikh esvel khünii erkhiig khün bolgoniig deerelkheed doromjlood baikh bish ah ene chini khün bol ch törsniikh busdiig khündelj surakh kheregtei (Oyunaa, 2013).

Namin Gishüün page 235:

Öngörsön üye niigemd khümüüs biye biyenee saikhan khündleed ard tümenii khairlaad khündleed yavbal ene tom darga nar mani ard tümen saikhan zovch movokhgüi saikhan aimdarna darga nar ikh kherterkhii davamgailna. Nögöö khediigee bool med üzeed l baival ekhel khetsüü baikh. Tegeed manai deer üyeiin deer üyed ikh muu baisan yum shig baigaa shüü dee yagaad gevel nögöö noyod bayan chuud chini büür yaduu chuud ikh zovoodog baisan, odoo bol yakhuu dee odoo bol barga l ch gaigüi baikhaa tekhdee l darga nar kheterkhii ikh bayajaad irvel ikh yaduu khüntei bolchuu l bas dökhüi l baikh, tegekheer bitgii tiim baigaasai gej boddog (Namin Gishüün, 2013).

Zayaa page 236:

[...]Tegeed yu odoo bi neg udaa ingeed kontsert ni deer shüleg unshik loozon unshikh yostoi bailaa loozon shüleg tegeed bi unshikhgüi bi loozon unshikhgüi geed tegeed manai aav namin gishüün khün baigaagüi l dee tegsen mörtlöö namin darga ireed tanai okhin loozon unshikhgüi geed baina laa, khüükhedee khümüüjüülekh chadaagüi baina geed tegengüüt manai aav namaig irj guigaad teriig durtai durgüi ch yaadag yum khoyorkhon minutend unshine shüü dee unshaad ögchökh geed. Bid nariig tegej khairladag baisan tiim tegeed tegej l ikh khairladag khün baisan. Tegeed l manai aav chini övöliin övgön bolj shine jileer tegeed l bid nar chini bügd aavaasaa beleg avch baigaa mörtlöö övliin övgön ögnöös beleg avna geed khöördög tiim khüükhedüüd baisan, tiim. [...]

Ukhamsar bol yerön baikh l yostoi. Ööriikhöö buruu khiisen üliig ukhamsarlakh kheregtei sain saikhan yumaa bol ukhamsarlakh kheregtei, khairlaj khündelkheej ukhamsarlakh kheregtei. Yerön khünii oyun ukhaan gedeg

chini ukhamsarlakh l gesen üg l dee. Yerön bodoj l baikh yostoi bi odoo jishee ni zöv yum khiij üü, buruu yum khiiv üü? Ene zöv üü? Ene buruu yu? gedeg yum bol bainga l bodoj ukhamsarlaj l baikh. Tiim, tiim üü? (Zayaa, 2014)

Tsereg pages 236:

Yakhav khairlana khündelne gekheer yakhav dee! Za, odoo neg ch yalгаа ch baikhgüi baikh l daa tegekhee yalгаа ni gekh yum bol, tiim? Khüniig neg khünees odoo avaasaa ch yum uu neg bol bagshaasaa ch yum uu, neg bol dargaasaa, tiim? Aidag. Aan tegsen khernee aigaad ter khüniig uzen yadaj chaddaggüi, dotroo khündelj yavdag – teriig l odoo aij aina ch khündlekh gedeg baikh daa. Aan ternees nögöödikhön nögöö neg khairlana khündlekh gekhleer ni yakhav ter khünees neg ikh uchirgüi aij emeech yum baikhgüi tegekhee yakhav chini setgeleesee ünekheer khündelj yavdag, tiim l yalgaatai baikhdaa bodvol (Tsereg, 2014) .

Naran page 236:

Aav, eej, emee, övöö. Tiim khamgiin deed tal ni emee övöö, bi gantskhan emetei. Busad ni bügd baikhgüi, aav eej bol baigaa. Tegeed ted naraasaa khair khündleliig bol avdag. Bi ergüüleed khariu baridag chadakh yadkharaa. Gekhdee ergüüleed khariu barina gedeg zarimdaa khetsüi baidag möngö ediin zasag tegeed tiim tegeed khetsüi baidag, tegeed boldoggüi (Naran, 2013).

Baatarsaikhan page 236:

Tiim ünegüi olj baigaa yum chini yakh yum, aan bi eniigee bolbol zovj olj baina shüü dee. Sariikhan tsalingaar tiim bi aduu malandaa yavj baij neg malaa makhand ögj baij möngönd ögch baij avsan yum chini eniigee bi khairlana shüü dee, tiim, eniigee bi end kermandaa khüideg baisan bol, ene kermaan ruugaa [dald] khiine shüü dee. Eniig odoo ungaachikhav dee, khayachikhav dee, aan ter khün bol tookhgüi shüü dee. Tiim tiim, tegekheer ene töv gazar baraadsan bolkhor yeröösöö khüniig khündlekh yos gedeg chini baikhgüi bolchikhoj baigaa baikhgüi uu? (Baatarsaikhan, 2014)

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Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich an Eides statt, dass ich meine Dissertation „The Weight of Respect: *Khündlekh Yos* – Frames of Reference, Governmental Agendas and Ethical Formations in Modern Mongolia“ selbständig verfasst habe, keine anderen als die von mir angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet und die den benutzten Werken wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen kenntlich gemacht habe.

Des Weiteren erkläre ich, dass ich bisher keine vergeblichen Promotionsversuche unternommen und die Dissertation in ihrer gegenwärtigen bzw. einer anderen Fassung keiner anderen Fakultät vorgelegt habe.

Halle, den

29.03.2021

Elisa Kohl-Garrity