9

The Generative Potential of Movement

In Chapter 1, I presented a local myth about a hillock located in the valley at Renchin's summer pasture. In this myth, the hillock is perceived as a runaway daughter. Attempting to escape from her parents to live with her future husband, the daughter is caught mid-point in flight, and remains suspended, glancing back at her past life while attempting to move towards the future. Reflecting on this myth, I suggested that the hillock's position could be seen as analogous to the Buriad's position in the country where they currently live. Living in Mongolia, the Buriad look back towards their ties to a different people and to a place where they lived before. While oriented in the present, they also live in a world where the past affects their lives in multiple ways.

Looking in one direction while moving in another is also reminiscent of the pastoral herding families I have been describing, who, in the early 1990s, shifted from socialist co-operatives to household-based units for subsistence, and are now increasingly turning to various kinds of trade, such as hunting or working as seasonal migrants in cities to subsidize their livelihoods in the open market economy. The idea of movement and transition is something that also sustains the balancing acts of engagement that I have been describing, which pivot around a desire for containment or replication, and the need for separation and change. Focusing on various interactions that appear to turn on this tension, I have suggested that containment and separation may be understood as different modes of agency that bridge distinctions based on age or gender, and appear in various kinds of interactions when people engage with each other, with the past, and with the landscape in which they currently live. In these concluding remarks, I reflect on some of the overarching themes addressed in the chapters and discuss these themes in relation to some wider anthropological questions.

Senses of separation

While drawing a similarity between different kinds of separation for people in Ashinga, it is also important to recognize the differences between them too. Clearly, separating a young bull from the herd, or giving away a daughter at marriage, is not the same as the Buriad's experience of separation involved in migration, in which people left behind their past lives amid destruction and war in Siberia. Experiences of migration also differ from the Buriad's experiences of persecution in Mongolia. Here, people were separated from their fathers, brothers, uncles, and grandfathers, in terrifying night raids, leaving people with a sense of having been singled out and targeted for no apparent reason. Experiences of separation were not just confined to the events themselves. They also lingered, as the Buriad were marginalized by the Mongolian state during the twentieth century (see also Buyandelgeriyn 2007). As their fathers, brothers, and sons were made to 'disappear', those who remained were also marked out as different from those who held more central positions of power. This sense of being marked out as different, as an immigrant or dissident 'other', generates its own sense of separateness.[1]

These senses of separation will have resonance with immigrants elsewhere, who may also have experienced persecution by their host state and a sense of difference from those around them. And, as in the experience of other immigrants, we have seen that these sentiments persist, even among second- or third-generation Buriads living in Mongolia and China, creating a sense of connectedness to a wider diaspora of people who have experienced similar events in different places. Yet, I think we should be mindful not to cast these concerns as the same everywhere. As we have seen, very particular and locally situated issues appear for the Buriad as they relate to their past and to the place in which they now live. Migration, political persecution involving killings, imprisonment, and the banning of traditional genealogies, as well as current economic activities predicated on temporary migration, have all disrupted people's connections with places and with absent or deceased kin. Arson attacks in the district centre may be viewed as an actualization of people's multiple senses of resentment against these forms

[1] To describe the Buriad as marginalized in Mongolia is, of course, to take a centre–periphery perspective, something that I find problematic, not least because it implies an abstraction in terms of scale. From the perspective of people in Ashinga they are at the centre of various hierarchies and differences, while also being concerned that they are at the margins of economic wealth and power vis-à-vis those in cities.

of separation, and against the lack of any reasonable explanation for their persecution during much of the socialist period. In this sense, arson may be viewed as one way in which some people in Ashinga attempt to initiate a move away from this past. Setting fire to local government buildings, or to someone's home, can be seen as an attempt at purification, a way to wipe the slate clean, and to reorient the present.

Yet, we have also seen that separation is not simply to be viewed in negative terms and as something one is subjected to by someone else. For instance, it is imperative for people to learn how to separate themselves from their rebirth-self in order to become the sons and daughters of people in the present. In turn, mothers and young infants have to separate themselves from each other before they can be incorporated into households. And throughout the year, people live apart from each other, as they move between seasonal encampments, and with different people, sometimes at a great distance from the place they think of as their home. In contrast to the kinds of separation that the Buriad experienced as forced upon them, these kinds of separation are a means by which people actively generate their livelihoods and relate with each other. In these multiple senses, separation appears as an ambiguous and equivocal concept. Through various forms of detachment and reattachment, there is a contradictory pull between the desire to guard or contain people, animals, or things, and at the same time to initiate separation, or distance, in order to generate growth.

In exploring this pull between attachment and detachment, I have suggested that we may identify distinct ways of being, or modes of agency, which turn on a series of juxtapositions (cf. Astuti 1995; Butler 2006). On the one hand, the Buriad hold that growth and wealth is achieved through the containment of fortune, through some portion or piece that is placed inside a vessel, or container. In a similar way, a person's soul may be viewed as a separated portion in relation to their body that houses, or encloses, them temporarily. The district centre may, further, be viewed as a container for those in the countryside, who send their children to live there on a temporary basis in order to attend school and contribute food and produce in return. In this light, a similar set of motifs appears, revolving around the idea that it is through the coming together of a separated part and a stable container that growth and generation are achieved. Indeed, this idea of part and container may also be cast in other ways, such as predation and commensality, affinity and consanguinity, flesh/blood and bone, soul and body, rural and urban, master and custodian, insider and outsider, and could even extend to the Buriad's position as an external Other contained in Mongolia as a nation. In highlighting this, I have suggested that these

positions or modalities should be viewed not as diametrically opposite, but as aspects or attributes that are internal to each other and are dependent on each other for their own existence. Only through certain interactions do they appear in their singularity.

The pull between these different modalities may also be cast in terms of past and present. For example, the past is very much something that is internalized in the body, through intra-kin rebirths, or in the landscape, through attention to its previous residents, and in people's homes in the form of artefacts that make up the household chest. Following Navaro-Yashin's (2009: 6) analysis of Kristeva's concept of the 'abject', we may say that past places and people exist not as a contradiction and something to be erased, but as a counterpart, or shadow, that is necessarily domestic, local, and sometimes intimately present. In this sense, the Other, whether that be the inheritance of someone's soul, pollution from outside affecting one's children, the invisible presence of past residents that linger in places and comment on one's actions, or an active arsonist who appears to be living in one's midst, is intrinsically constitutive of the way in which people generate ideas about personhood and place. Indeed, we may say that the emergence of selfhood is founded upon the recognition of this past/other in the self (Sandywell 1999: 51), which in turn gives rise to new kinds of subjectivity. Here, lingering senses of separation provide a positive background against which people constitute themselves as subjects and forge themselves as people in the present. Separation, then, does not necessarily point to an idea of loss. Hiding, burying, or concealing one's separation from a place, person, or thing is not something that should be mourned, but rather appears as a kind of generative potential through which transformation and movement occurs.

Tending to this past also points to contesting ways of dealing with what we commonly refer to as inheritance. Inheritance here appears in many guises, from the inheritance of ancestral souls that are reborn in people, origin spirits who demand attention from the living, to past residents who reside in the landscape, as well as the obligation to remember one's migratory history and experiences of marginalization during the socialist period. As we saw in Chapter 8, issues of inheritance also extend to include forms of property, as ownership over buildings and new forms of wealth are disputed among descendants. In these multiple senses, the inheritance of material and immaterial forms is both a source of prosperity and possibility and something that one must tend to lest their neglect affects one's life in various ways in the present.

The visible and the hidden

The idea that people shift between ways of being that rest on a tension between attachment and detachment can also be viewed in terms of that which is hidden and that which is visible. We have seen that the concept of fortune turns on the idea that something that is invisible to the human eye is made visible through various forms external to itself. Thus, herds of horses are the visible manifestation of the presence of fortune in a household, while also being the vessels that gather further fortune (Chapter 2). The differing perspectives afforded through the household chest also turn on ideas about the visible and the hidden. While the exterior of the chest visibly emphasizes multiple attachments, its interior draws attention to a series of separations and movements (Chapters 3 and 4). This tension is further highlighted when people look into the mirror at the centre of the display and reveal an image of themselves made up of the relations that compose the chest (Chapter 5). What is visible and what is hidden thus appears to turn on a wider tension between multiplicity or movement, and singularity or fixedness. In Chapter 6, for instance, we saw that people are born as multiple when they house the rebirth of deceased relatives. This multiplicity is, however, unsustainable in life, as people need to establish a singular and more fixed way of being in order to become the sons and daughters of people in the present. In contrast, in Chapter 7, while movement in the landscape may be said to turn on the idea that one moves to different centres which can be seen to replicate in different places, in tending to the space that allows for this passage we see that the landscape contains an endless multiplicity that provides access to various resources. Finally, while the accumulation of wealth in singular static sites, such as elaborately decorated wooden houses, is admired, this accumulation attracts potential dispersal, as acts of arson separate people from these sites (Chapter 8). Multiplicity and singularity thus appear to turn on a similar set of motifs concerning that which is hidden and that which is visible.

Another series of connections may be noted, particularly with regard to ideas about perspective. To be able to see the household chest as an exemplary person, one needs to see the perspective of the image staring at you through the mirror. In a similar way, shamans seek the perspective of deceased people who reside in particular places in the landscape to create themselves as subjects who can remain here. Eliciting another's perspective is also found in rebirths. When a woman sees her brother in her niece, she reveals herself as a person linked to people outside her husband's family. In all of these instances, one perspective is contingent upon another for its completion. In highlighting that perspectives are relational, I aim to draw attention to the

idea that people actively seek the perspective of someone else in order to constitute themselves as subjects. Like the image of the hillock, which only appears as a daughter in relation to the mountains that are viewed as her natal family, so too do the Buriad only appear as distinct because of the territorial borders that they have crossed and the political history that has marginalized them in various ways. In this sense, difference is only made visible through the perspective of someone else who, in turn, is considered to be different from oneself.

In each of these cases, the kind of subject that comes into view is contingent on the gaze of another. For a person to be a rebirth, they need to be recognized by someone else as the rebirth of that person. Just like ideas about blood and bone, or piece and container, the perspective of another is needed to reveal the person in a particular way. The idea that forms of subjectivity are contingent on the gaze of another may be cast in another way, through the idea of co-implication. Taking the view not so much that social relations exist between people (that is, relations serve to connect entities), but that people are already co-implicated in different kinds of relations of which they are a part (Strathern 2005: 40–1), we see that different persons are made to appear in their relations with others. Raising this point may recall the idea of contour rivalry presented in Chapter 5, where one part of the chest provides the necessary background by which the other is foregrounded. In a similar way, to foreground a person as a mother implies an already present child, just as a sister implies a sibling, and so on. Viewing people as part of the relations that make them appear need not be viewed as prescriptive. Rather it can imply a dynamic and shifting self, which is brought to the fore through one's interactions with others. Focus on these shifts in perspective may be said to provide a foil by which to think about the way in which people move between different modalities of being. Here, people can be said to appear as different people throughout their lives as they engage with others who cast these different perspectives on them. Of course, in drawing attention to these different ways of reflecting, I also want to highlight that, like the mirror at the centre of the household chest which throws back the ambiguity of our own reflection, these perspectives can be cast in many varied and different ways.

Memory and relatedness

Previous accounts of Mongolian kinship have tended to privilege the importance of certain 'structural' relations, such as clans, relations defined through

linguistic terms, and particular rules of behaviour. In these analyses, it is very rare to find examples of the way that relations come to the fore through everyday activities and interactions. Rather, they tend to isolate certain rules or events as standing for the way in which people relate. Here, ideas about personhood appear static and unaffected by time, history, or the turns of intimate relations. Other anthropologists, writing more recently about the Buriad in Mongolia, have been concerned with more temporally situated analyses. They focus instead on wider and shifting features of concern for the people themselves, such as the emergence of nationalist discourses and inter-ethnic relations between different Mongol groups (Bulag 1998), or on the activities of religious specialists, such as shamans, where issues such as misfortune and anxiety are addressed through practices that look to the past in periods of economic and social uncertainty (Buyandelgeriyn 2007; Swancutt 2006).

This book has attempted to approach some of these concerns, but from a rather different angle. Using various ethnographic nodal points, such as songs, the creation of photographic montages and embroideries, and other household objects, and attending to certain practices such as everyday ritualized acts, or forms of violence, such as arson, I have engaged in debates concerned with object–person relations, ideas to do with memory, inheritance, personhood, and wealth. I have suggested that everyday forms of relatedness rely on moments of separation, rupture, and difference in order for the appearance of sameness, or consanguinity, to continue. In so doing, I have drawn inspiration from the work of Carsten (2000a, 2007), whose concern with the processes of making kinship in the everyday shifted the study of kinship in anthropology from something concerned with rules and structure. This relational approach is also inspired by Strathern's analysis ([1988] 1990, 1994), which emphasizes that personhood is dependent on shifting perspectives generated in and through one's relations with others. Here, the emergence of a person as a relative is dependent on certain kinds of performance and on wider societal forms, which may include ideas about transmission and inheritance, but can equally include other ideas that have a formative quality on social actors.

While drawing on these approaches, I have also stressed that these different forms of sociality and kinship are inherently grounded in the complexities of memory and ideas about materiality. Large-scale political events, such as migration, as well as changing institutional structures of the state have impinged on people's personal and familial lives in different ways. In light of these events and in attending to the different material forms that people surround themselves with, 'kinship emerges as a particular kind of

sociality in which certain forms of temporality and memory-making, and certain dispositions towards the past, present, and future are made possible, while others are excluded' (Carsten 2007: 5). In attending to the way in which these past events live on in the lives of people in the present, I have highlighted that this relational approach may also be found in ideas about the Buriad's position in Mongolia. Here, memories of migration and political events in the past are anchored in particular places or people. These act as sites through which relations with others can be blocked, or taken up, and tended to in order to forge new links and connections. Women's embroideries, photographic montages, and accounts of rebirth all provide media for displaying ties of connection. These artefacts are contained in the house and made portable, so that absences and losses may be located in mobile houses rather than being silently hidden, or erased through state suppression. A focus on the everyday process of relatedness in households has informed ideas about wider political agendas and struggles for the Buriad that involve revealing or concealing different kinds of knowledge.

Through this, we have seen how relations between living people, who may be separated from each other throughout the year, are managed through various items kept in the home. People maintain networks of relations in the absence of people through photographic montages, embroideries, and artefacts hidden inside the household chest at the rear of the house. These objects are not simply to be viewed as commemorative artefacts. Instead, by attending to practices associated with 'harnessing fortune', we have seen that relations do not simply hover over or inscribe themselves on material forms. Forms of personhood and relatedness are also made to appear out of people's interactions with these various objects. They serve to mediate social relations while also producing new ones. In this sense, a physical presence is not always necessary for relations between living people as various forms extend and transform the agency of people in their absence. In contrast, relations with the deceased are managed through the objectification of another person. Here, a person's body, or a certain place in the landscape, becomes the vessel or 'channel' through which the deceased are held to maintain their presence among the living (Battaglia 1990: 194).

Following the concerns of the people I have been writing about, I started this book with descriptions of people's narratives about the past. I then turned to indigenous ideas about harnessing fortune. This is to foreground what many consider to be important. By privileging practices concerned with harnessing fortune, we have seen that ideas about personhood, memory, and place appear to revolve around attention to particular objects that are held to contain fortune and affect the people who use or tend to

them. Through this I have suggested that previous distinctions, which have usually been considered as distinct modes, or ways of being—such as 'vertical' and 'horizontal', or 'agnatic' and 'consanguineal'—should instead be viewed as instantiations of a wider archetype for perspectival traffic that revolves around a concern with separation and containment on many different levels. This includes the accumulation or dispersal of property and wealth, the Buriad's relation to a wider diaspora or their connection to the country in which they live, the need to maintain wider networks or the inward attention to relations in the household. By focusing on the transformations afforded when parts are extracted from people, animals, and things and then contained, or housed, to allow for growth and generation, we have seen that distinctions such as agnatic and consanguineal, vertical and horizontal, or separation and containment are always internal. The boundaries between movement and rootedness (Chapter 1), separation and containment (Chapter 2), affinity and consanguinity (Chapter 3), outsiders and insiders (Chapter 4), concealing and revealing (Chapter 5), the deceased and the living (Chapter 6), the invisible and the visible (Chapter 7), and distributed and accumulated wealth (Chapter 8) are blurred and shifting. I have suggested that they only emerge as distinct in different interactions, not so much as polar opposites, but as the ground that necessarily supports the figure of the other. In this sense, they are intertwined, consumed, and internal to each other, allowing each to appear in its own shadow. People are not simply caught in one modality or the other. Rather they move between them in their daily interactions with each other. In showing some of the ways in which this is achieved, I have also suggested that this is how people believe that fortune may be harnessed so that growth may be realized for the people and the place in which they live.

The preoccupation of tending to the prevalence of one or the other of these modalities extends beyond the instances I have been describing to include other spheres, such as a recent loan scandal that erupted in the district centre in summer 2008. When the local branch of the national bank began to issue loans, borrowers signed up to larger debts than they had anticipated. Local bank workers allowed people to take out loans in return for a private share which they took for themselves. When this was discovered by the central bank, no one spoke out against anybody else or identified a single culprit. The boundary between those who had coerced and those who were coerced was hazy and everyone was made to feel implicated, with some having to sell their animals and houses in an attempt to pay back debts. As in the response to arson, no one individual was identified, and the share of responsibility was distributed among the whole community. Here, the

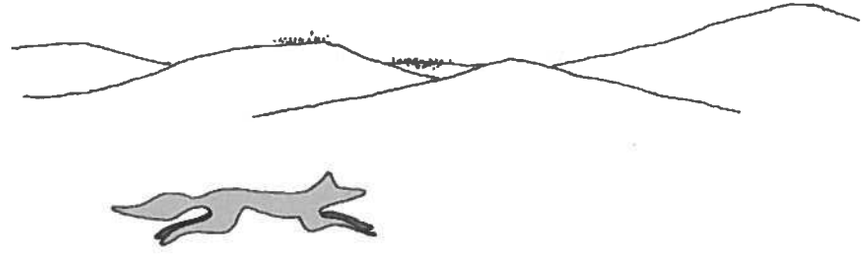
boundary between lenders and borrowers, which had facilitated the initial practice, collapsed to produce a hazy mix as each revealed the other to be co-implicated in the practice. Borrowers, it could be argued, allowed a share to be siphoned off to lenders, while lenders, equally, lent loans to borrowers in return for a portion for themselves. In highlighting this I want to suggest that the tension between separation and containment (in this case indexed through portions of monetary wealth) seems to be a motif that could be used to explore different spheres, as could the co-implication of different relations.

One of the motivations for writing this book has been to document life at a juncture or crossroads. As people look to a past that is recast in order to understand the present, they find themselves at the threshold of a future that contains different possibilities. This is not to suggest that life is experienced as transitory, but that movement—between places, time periods, and modes of subsistence—has become the norm for many after a socialist era that attempted to direct people in a unified way towards a planned future. Focus on ideas about mobility, flux, and becoming, particularly in a globalized world, has become a common way to challenge structural and representational approaches based on rootedness and place. The lived experiences of exiles, migrants, and refugees across the world have encouraged new ways of thinking about different kinds of mobility and connectedness (Cresswell 2006: 44–50). The way in which new persons and forms of sociality are produced out of this movement resonates with the kinds of transformations I have been describing. Alongside a history of migration, in the countryside the household is made of people and forces that pass through it as it moves in a choreographed cycle to different places. By attending to various sites or anchor points within this cycle, such as intra-kin rebirths, spirits of particular places, and the household chest, I hope to have shown how these sites provide pivots or junctures through which further movement occurs. Here the tension between rootedness and movement (or containment and separation) is not diametrically opposed. Rather, movement away from specific sites of containment is a means by which people relate to each other and to the place in which they currently live.

Opening with classical anthropological debates to do with sacrifice and exchange, I have explored the different ways in which people seek to secure possible futures through this idea of movement. We have seen how Buriad herding households conceptualize kinship through the transmission of substance that pivots around ideas about separation and containment. This concern mirrors their social, historic, and geographic position in Mongolia. Further, forms of social remembering, which make use of people's bodies,

sites in the landscape, and the material culture of the home, link people to wider networks that stretch across national borders and beyond the constraints of their recent history. Finally, new articulations of wellbeing, prosperity, and fortune that are emerging in the neo-liberal economy have drawn attention to the fact that we should not see these ways of relating as somehow outside wider global concerns. Rather, distinctions between what is local and what is global appear blurred and work together in a dynamic that perpetuates ever-newer forms. Through these themes I hope to have shown how different connections are made to prevail in the face of adversity and new dreams may be born for the future.

APPENDICES



Appendix A
Photographic Montages, Individual Portraits, and Private Albums

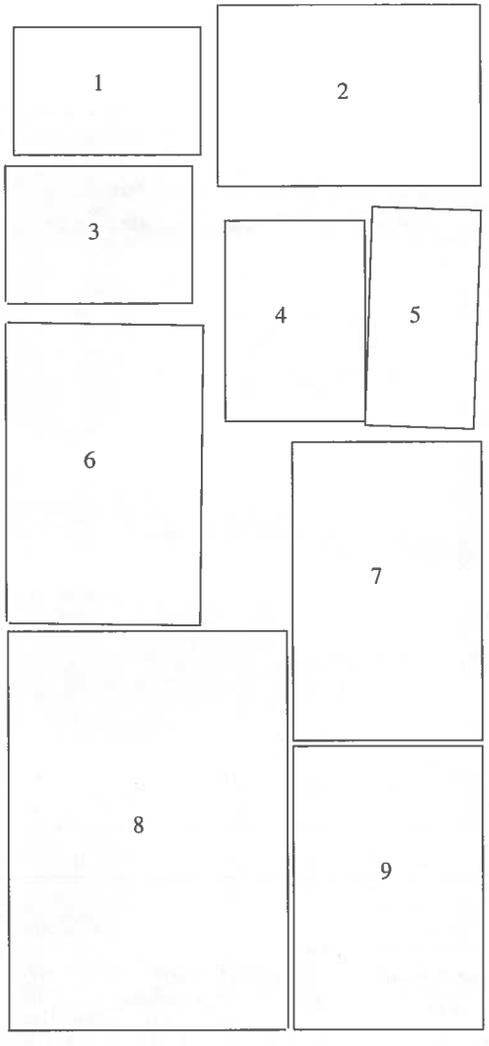
The photographic montages, portraits, and albums of seven households are presented. Certain shared motifs emerge in their display. For example, it is often the case that one frame contains photographic images of the husband's relatives and friends, while the other frame contains images of the wife's family and friends. Despite similarities, people make strategic choices about which relations and connections to display at different seasonal encampments. This short analysis complements points raised in Chapter 3, where I suggested that the household chest and the photographic montage are means by which people deliberately project an image of themselves embedded in various relations.

The following examples are based on visits to households in the district centre and at countryside encampments in summer 2007. This is a time when people gather together and visit each other's homes. I knew the people whom I visited well and they were keen to narrate details about the people who featured in the images in their houses. They provided additional information, such as the year the photograph was taken, or what people are doing now. Family members gathered to hear these stories told through the various objects on display, and they added details as they shared aspects of their family history. While some paused at certain images to explain detailed events, characters, or life histories, others went through each of the images in a matter-of-fact way.

Household No. 1

The items at Household No.1 are displayed at Purev's summer encampment. Purev and his wife, Dulam, have four daughters. One of their daughters committed suicide by hanging in spring 2007, not long before my visit, and the family were searching, with a shaman, for an explanation for her death. In their home are two photographic montages, a small shrine located on a shelf on the northern wall, and a portrait of Dulam's deceased parents, and by the mirror on the household chest, stands a picture of their recently deceased daughter (see Figure A.2). Here I present information about the people displayed. The information is told from the perspective of Purev's second daughter, Chimeg. In describing the relations on display, it became apparent that photographs in one of the frames were oriented towards her mother's relatives, while the photographs in the other frame were oriented towards her father's friends and relatives.

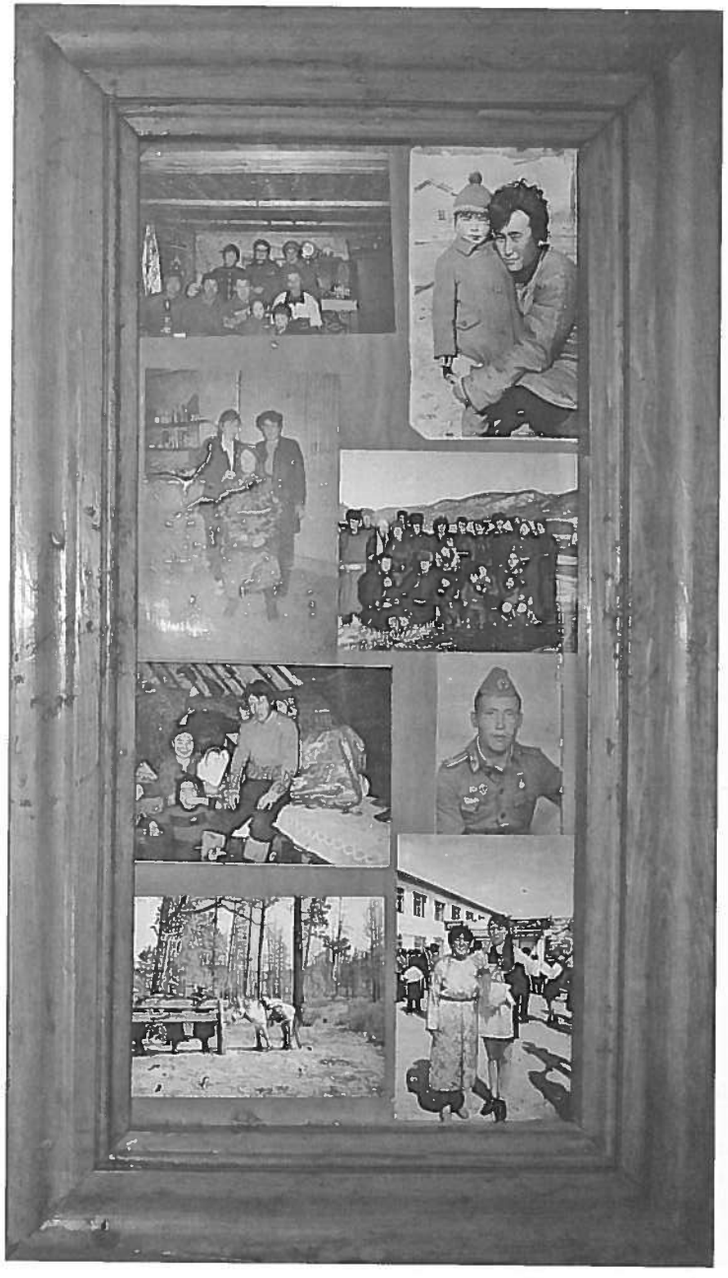
Chimeg's parent's left-hand side montage

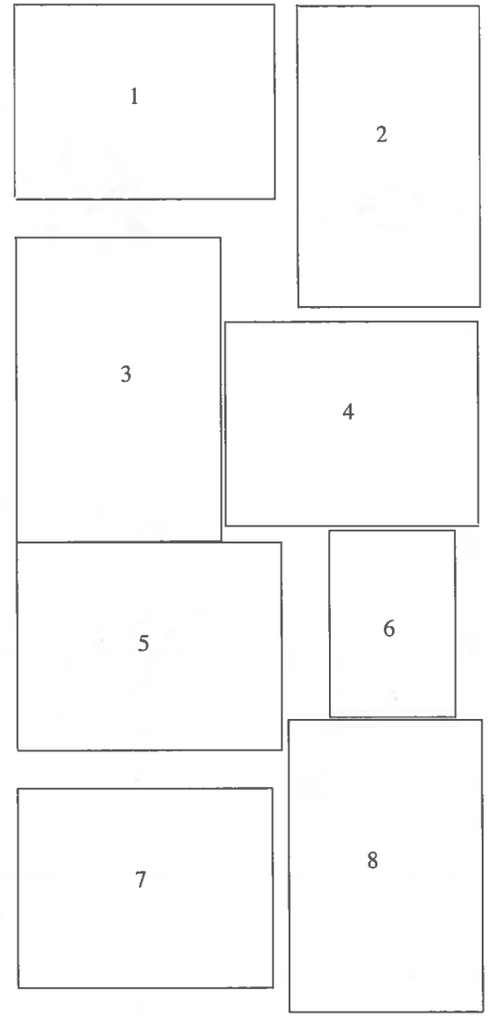


Key

1. Chimeg's mother's father, mother's brother.
2. Her father, mother, older sister, younger sister, Chimeg.
3. Her mother's sister's children, Chimeg's older sister.
4. Older sister.
5. Mother with her friend.
6. Mother, father, and Chimeg's younger sister.
7. Mother's brother, mother's sister's child.
8. Top row: mother, younger sister (now deceased), father. Bottom row: mother's sister's son, mother's sister's son's child, mother's sister's son's wife.
9. Chimeg, younger sister, mother.

Chimeg's parent's right-hand side montage

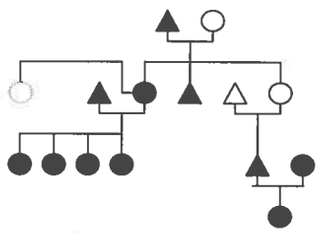




Key

1. Top row: female friend of Chimeg's parents, father's younger sister, mother. Bottom row: father's older brother, father, father's younger brother, with father's sister's daughter's child. Friend, with father's younger brother's child.
2. Father and sister.
3. Father's younger sister, mother, father's mother.
4. Mother's relatives at a wedding at their winter pasture, 2000.
5. Father, mother, Chimeg's younger female siblings.
6. Father in army.
7. Father, with two friends while hunting.
8. Mother and Chimeg at her 10-year school graduation.

Left-hand side montage



Right-hand side montage

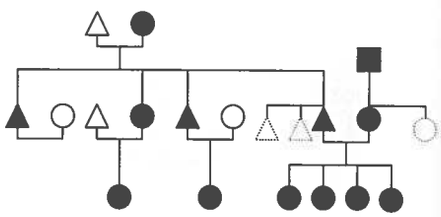


Figure A.1 Kinship connections in montage. Symbols in black index relatives in the montage. Symbols in the dotted outlines index friends included in the montage. A square symbol indexes an undefined group of relatives.

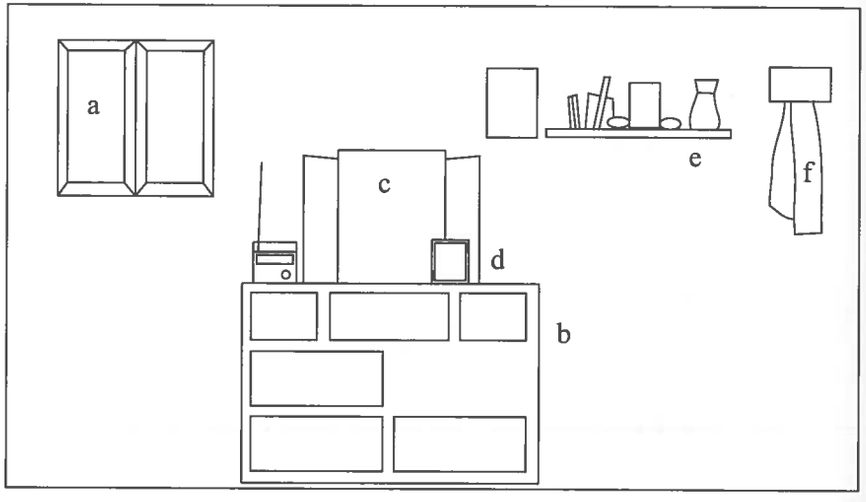


Figure A.2 Diagram of household interior: a. photographic montages, b. household chest, c. mirror, d. portrait of deceased sister, e. small shrine with fortune bag, offering bowls, and pictures of Buddhist deities, and f. portrait of deceased maternal grandparents, with ceremonial silk scarf.

In front of the triptych mirror on the household chest is a framed photograph of Chimeg's deceased sister, shrouded in a blue ceremonial silk scarf. On the northern wall hang sporting medals, sunglasses, and a photograph of Chimeg's deceased maternal grandparents. These two portraits do not resemble the photographs in the montage. The people's images have been isolated and placed on a different background. Not tied to any particular location, they appear to float, dislocated from a specific place. Deceased people are said to be 'immortalized and made everlasting' (*mönhjüüleh*) in such images. The lack of any definable location points to the

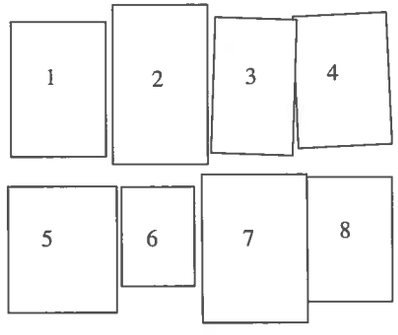
Figure A.3 Detail of objects in interior: a. Shrine with fortune bag, located in northwest corner of house, b. portrait of deceased sister, and c. portrait of deceased grandparents.

deceased's abstract presence. While these portraits are photographs, it is also usual for hand-drawn portraits to be displayed in this way (see, for example, Household No. 3).

Household No. 2

Büdjav is married to Renchin's younger sister, Dolgor. They live in Household No. 2, where Dolgor's deceased parents' montage is also located. This montage is distinctive in that the frame is smaller than most modern frames and the photographs are all of a similar size, with one person in each picture. The newspaper backing the montage, visible between the pictures, speaks of a time when co-operatives reviewed their quotas and received state honoured rewards. Even though he was

adopted by his father's younger brother, Renchin's image is included in the montage. (Dolgor, in contrast, does not include Renchin in her family tree, see Appendix C.) Renchin's father's younger brother also adopted his sister's daughter. This daughter had an illegitimate son whom she gave to her adopted parents. By adopting this boy, Renchin was able to take the position of 'eldest son', while the younger boy became the 'youngest son', and took care of his adopted parents in old age. Photographic montages sometimes include relatives excluded from genealogies, such as divorced wives, children who have been adopted, or family friends. Here I present the people in the photographs along with other images on display. The relations are all told from Dolgor's perspective.



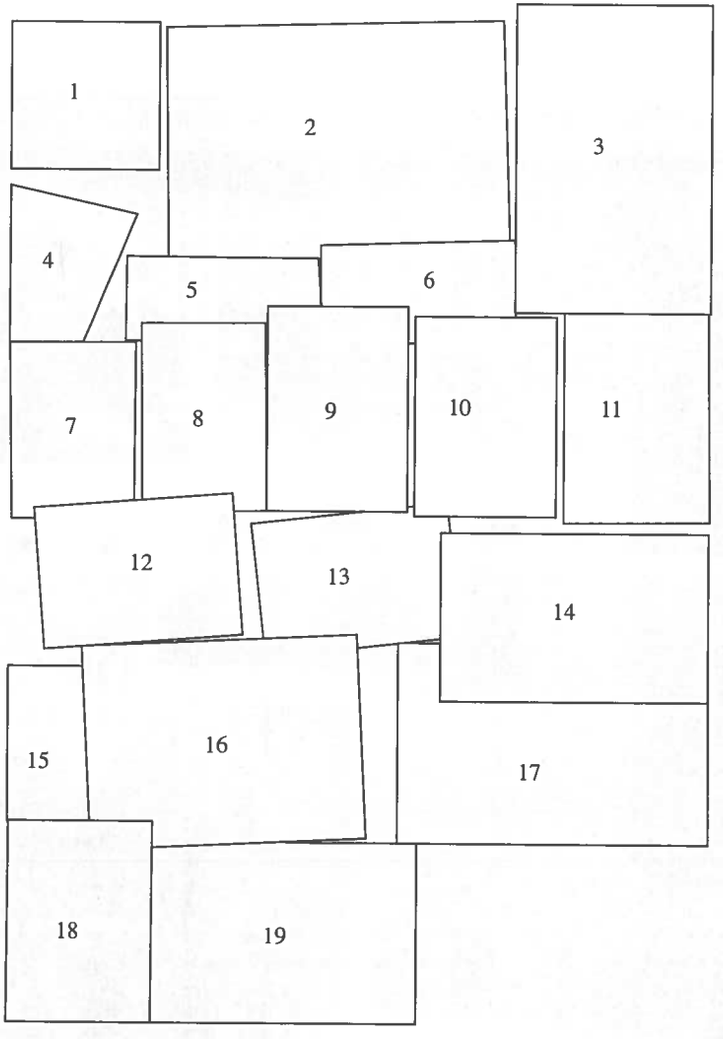
Key
1. Dolgor's father, 2. Her mother, 3. Her older sister, 4. Her older brother (committed suicide), 5. Her older brother (adopted out), 6. Her older sister, 7. Dolgor (in whose house the montage now hangs), 8. Her younger brother.

Figure A.4 Poster for the Mongolian Revolutionary Party.

A pair of photographic montages hang on another wall of their house, adjacent to this montage. Like the photographic montage in Household No. 1, the images in one frame relate to the husband's relatives and friends, while the other frame relates to the wife's relatives.

Underneath the two frames is a poster for the Mongolian Revolutionary Party, distributed as part of their campaign in the spring 2000. It depicts various Mongolian pop stars that support the party. Not unlike the way in which alliances are revealed in photographs, displaying the poster reveals the family's allegiance to a political party.

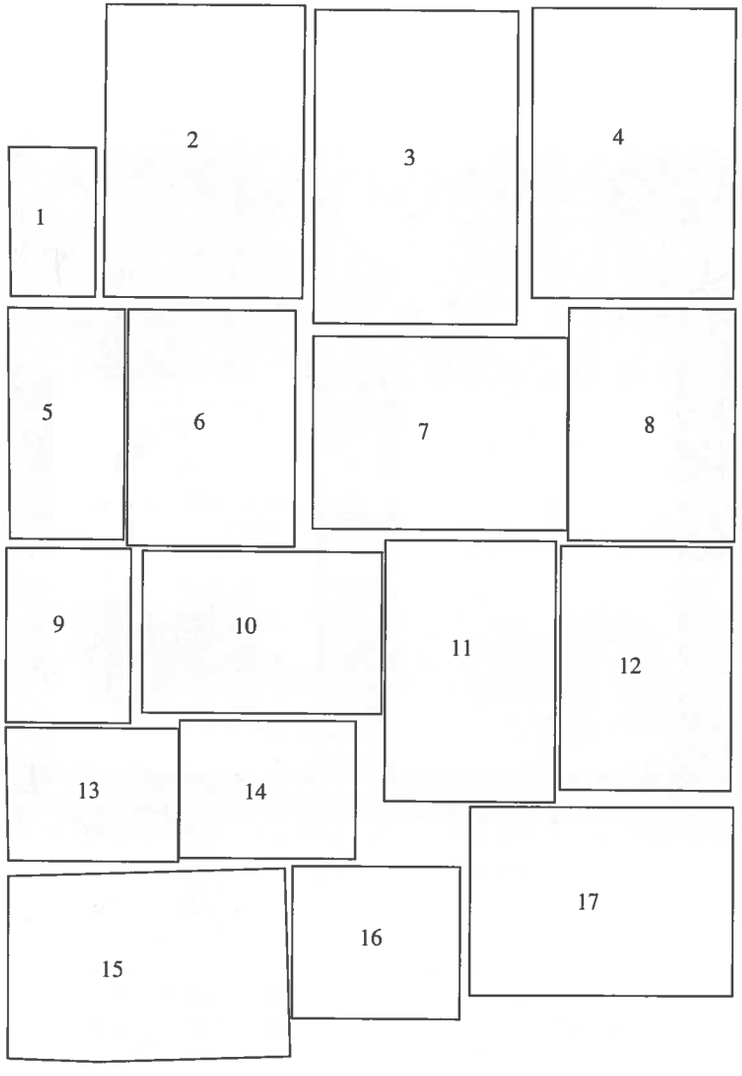
Dolgor's parent's left-hand side montage



Key

1. Dolgor's sister, her mother's sister's daughter, Ulaanbaatar, 1970s, 2. Her husband's mother's younger brother, Dolgor with her youngest son, her husband, other relatives in Ulaanbaatar, 3. Her father, 1960s, 4. Her son, 5. Her son and her daughter with another child, 6. Her son and daughter, 1980s, 7. Her son, 8. Her husband, when he was a child, 9. Her husband's brother with child and their child, 10. Her husband, 11. Her sister with her child and Dolgor, 12. Her husband, as truck driver, 1980s, 13. Her husband, as a child, with sibling and grandmother, 1958, 14. Her husband with his relatives in Ulaanbaatar, 1970s, 15. Her brother's friend, 16. Her husband, with friends who drove tractors, 17. Her son and daughter at kindergarten, 18. Her relatives in Ulaanbaatar, 19. Her mother with her relatives.

Dolgor's parent's right-hand side montage



Key

1. Dolgor, 2. Her sister with her husband and their daughter, 3. Her father with local official, 4. Her mother with eldest daughter, 5. Her brother who died in 1960s, 6. Her parents, 7. Her older sister, with husband and child, 8. Dolgor with her siblings, 9. Her brother as parachutist, 1970s, 10. Her father holding a horse with Dolgor on the horse. Dolgor's brother holding a horse with her sister on the horse, 11. Her uncle, her father and mother, her father's mother, 1960s, 12. Her brother, Renchin, with her aunt and uncle, 13. Her sister with a friend, 14. Her sister with a friend, eighth grade, 1970s, 15. Her cousin, with her mother-in-law and husband, 16. Her father, 17. Dolgor, with her son, 1970s.

Household No. 3

In the northern rear part of Dolgor and Renchin's youngest brother's house hang large hand-drawn colour portraits of their deceased parents.

Figure A.5 Dolgor and Renchin's deceased parents.

The portraits of deceased men tend to appear on the left-hand side while the portraits of deceased women are displayed on the right. This mimics the display of the man's relatives' and friends' photographs displayed in left-hand side frames, and the display of woman's relatives' and friends' photographs in the right-hand side frame (as you face them). This division also marks the male side (west) and female side (east) of the house.

Household No. 4

Handmaa is a widow in her seventies. She has three children and is the mother of Renchin's youngest brother's wife, Jargal. I would often stay with her for extended periods when visiting the district centre. During the time I knew Handmaa, her son was on the run from the local police and lived in the forest, wandering across the border to Russia. He had been involved in a tragic bear-hunting accident in which his hunting partner had died. Handmaa looked after her son's belongings and

he would sometimes return to the house in the middle of the night to collect new clothes and give her produce from the forest. We would sit and talk while she would feed him and repair his shoes. In her home, Handmaa has three photographic montages: two are displayed on either side of the household chest, and one hangs on the southern wall of her house. Visiting her house over the years, I was able to observe how she altered the images in the montages.

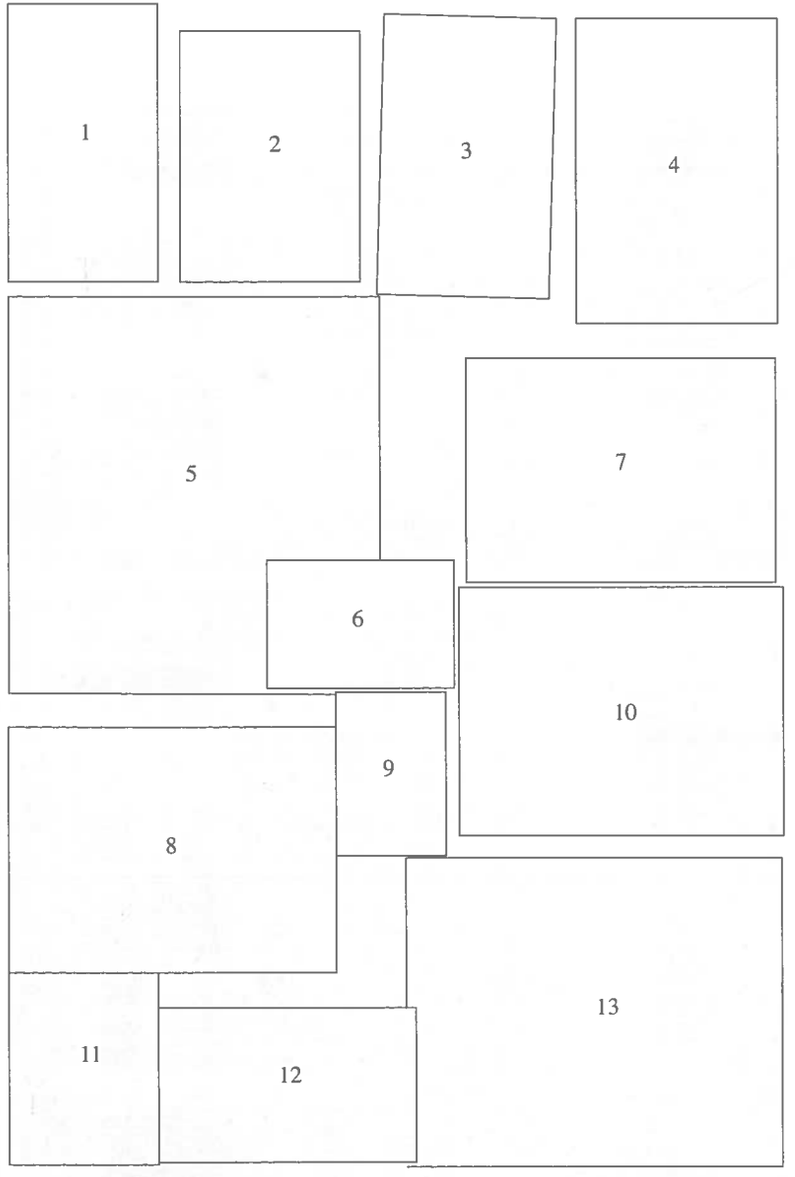
Between 2000 and 2007 the photographs had moved, and additional images were added.

Displaying her son's photographs in these two montages may be a way for Handmaa to uphold his position in the district, while also asserting his presence as the only living male member of her household. The central montage, by contrast, is oriented towards her and her husband's relatives.

Figure A.6 Photograph of montages taken in 2000.

Figure A.7 Photograph of montages taken in 2007.

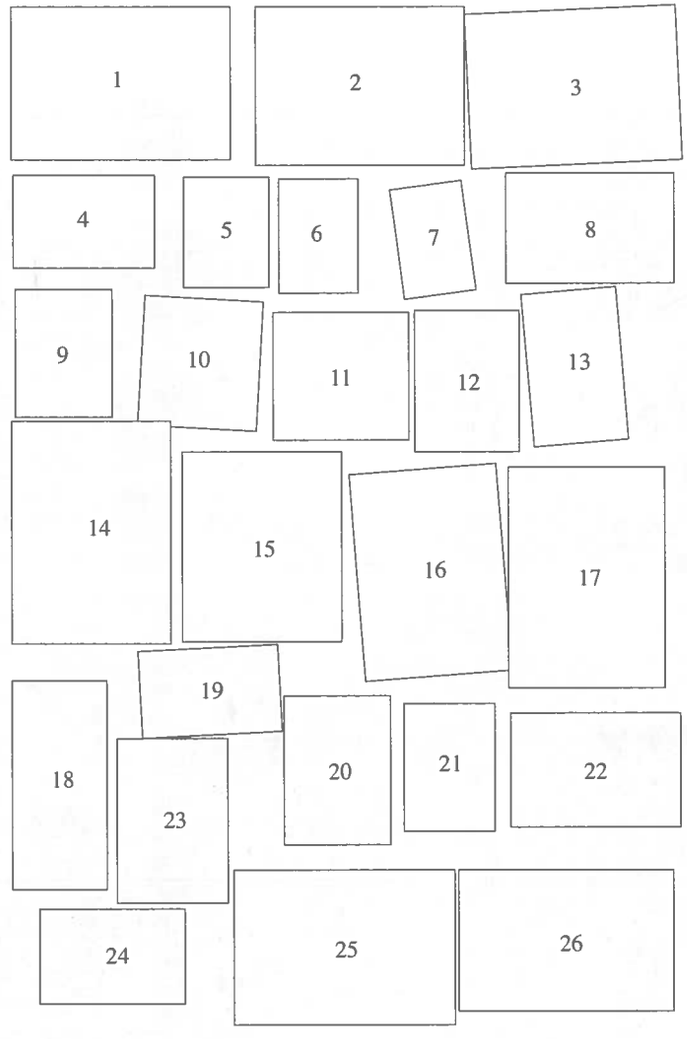
Handmaa's left-hand side montage



Key

1. Handmaa's son's school friend, 2. Her son, 1980s, 3. Her son's school friend, 4. Her son's wife, 5. Handmaa, Rebecca, her nieces, 6. Her son, working at co-operative, 7. Her son's university class, 8. Her son's friends, studying in Russia, 9. Her daughter's son, 10. Her son's friends, in Russia, 11. Her brother's daughter's husband, 12. Her son's friends, 13. Her son, tenth year school photograph.

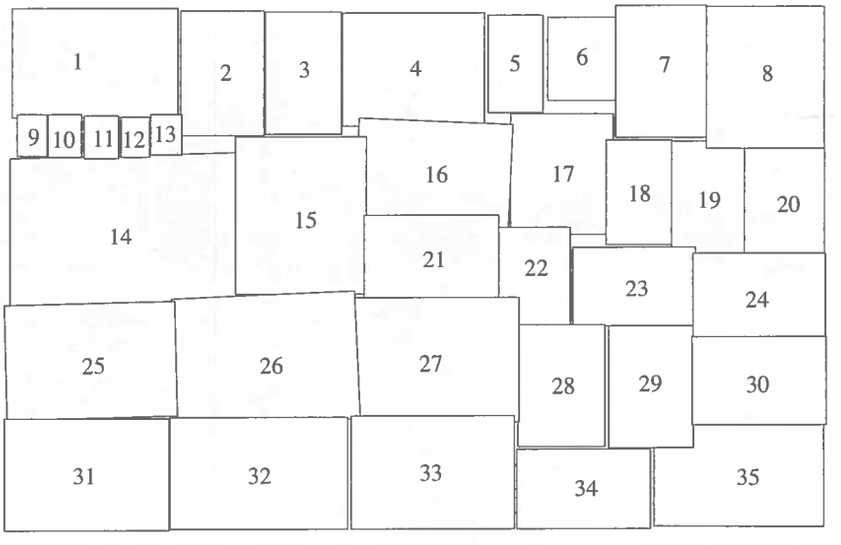
Handmaa's right-hand side montage



Key

1. Handmaa's husband with his class friends (all teachers), 2. Her younger brother with his wife, 3. Her son's classmates, 4. Her oldest daughter and her three children, 5. Her son's friend, 6. Handmaa, 7. Her husband, 8. Her younger siblings with children and in-laws, 9. Her son with his classmates, 10. Her mother's younger female sibling, 11. Her older daughter's two sons, 12. Her son with his friend and child, 13. Her father's brother's child, 14. Her son with friends, a picture of Moscow as the backdrop, 15. Her son with friends in Ulaanbaatar, 16. Her son with friends, 17. Handmaa, her son with his wife, in Ömnödelger district, 18. Her son with friend, 19. Her son with friend, 20. Her younger daughter's daughters, 21. Her son's friend, 22. Her son, 23. Her son with friend, 24. Her son with friends, 25. Her son with friends, 26. Her son with friends, at Altargana naadam, 2000.

Central montage



Key

1. Handmaa, her daughter, her mother's younger brother, her husband (in centre), her daughter's son, 2. Her father, 3. Her mother, 4. Her husband's adopted father and mother, her father's sister, 5. Her husband's younger brother (died aged twenty-five years old in countryside—truck by lightning), 6. Her husband's birth-mother, 7. Her father, 8. Her husband's adopted father's younger sister. 9.–13. Her husband's adopted father's father in Russia (various passport/identity photographs), her daughter, 14. Her older brother's son with wife, 15. Her oldest sister, 16. Her children, 17. Her friend in Ulaanbaatar, with child on knee, 18. Her daughter, 19. Handmaa with her younger sister, 20. Her older brother and his daughter, 21. Her mother's elder brother's son, with wife and family, 22. Her younger brother, 23. Her eldest daughter with friend, 24. Her eldest daughter's twins, 25. Her oldest sister's family (same as no. 15), 26. Her son's wife and her youngest daughter, 27. Her mother's younger sibling's children, 28. Her sister's son in the army, 29 Her son, 30. Her son's friend with her mother, 31. Same as no. 1, but people in slightly different positions, 32. Her husband (top left) with local teachers, 33. Her husband (bottom right) with local teachers, 34. Her brother with horse, 35. Her two younger brothers.

Household No. 5

One of Handmaa's eldest friends in the district centre is a woman called Renchinhand. They meet, almost daily, to play cards and catch up on news. Renchinhand is a widow who lives in her marital home, along with her children and grandchildren. Two large montages are hung in the front section of her house, an area visible to anyone who enters. As in previous displays, the frame on the left-hand side, when facing, appears dedicated to her husband's relatives, while the one on the right-hand side contains images of her own relatives.

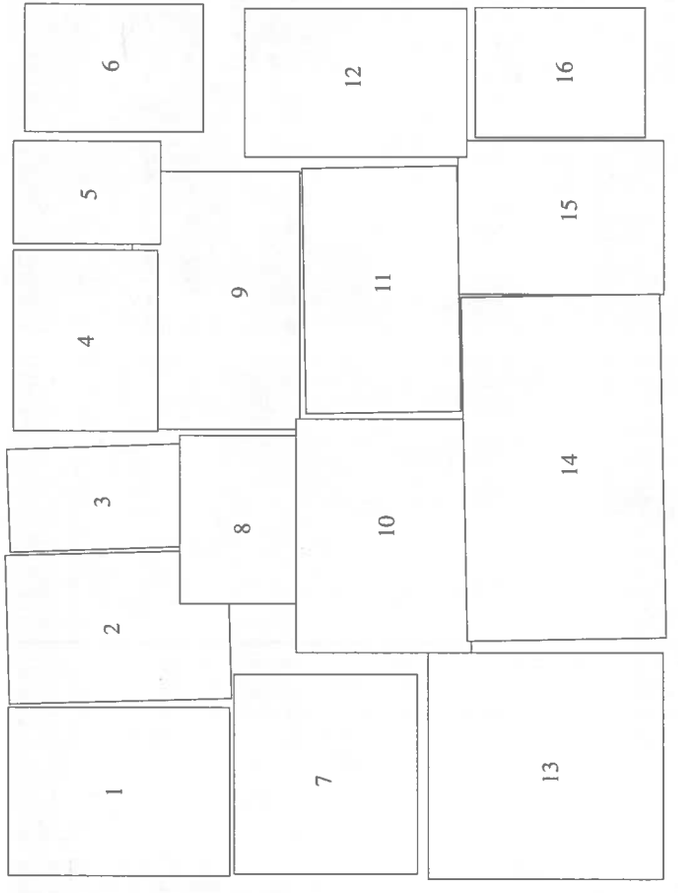
Figure A.8 Card-playing friends who grew up in the same sub-district.

In the rear section of their house, away from the gaze of visitors, hang portraits of the family's deceased children. In the north-west corner, a small shrine has been erected on a raised shelf where portraits of her deceased husband and her deceased parents are displayed. As in Household No. 1, these portraits are made from photographs that have been altered. The image of the deceased person is not located in any definable place, but rather appears to hover on a bright blue background.

Figure A.9 Deceased children from Renchinhand's family.

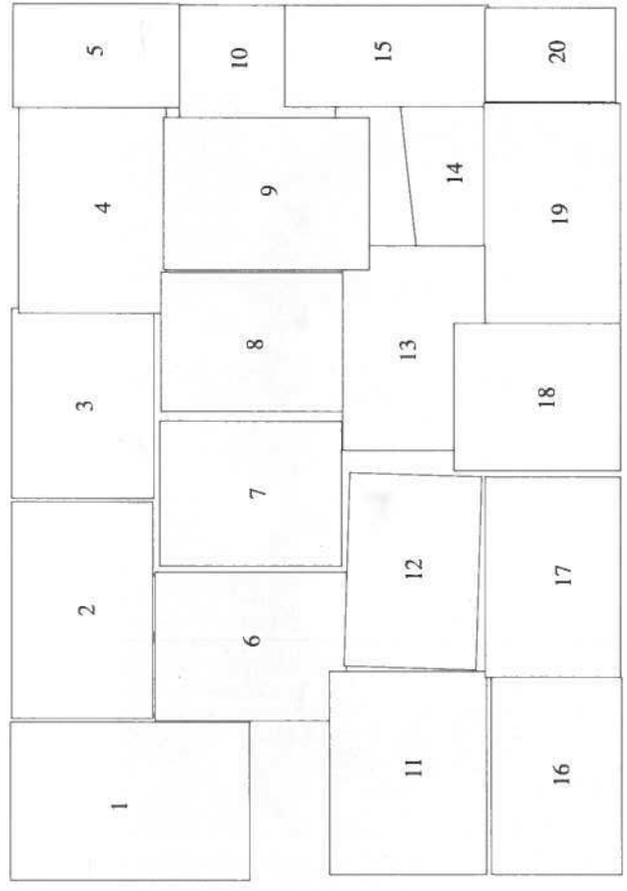
Figure A.10 Renchinhand's deceased husband and parents.

Renchinhand's left-hand side montage



Key
1. Renchinhand, her daughter, and her brother's child, 2. Her brother with sister, 3. Her brother, 4. Renchinhand with her friend, 5. Her husband, 6. Her husband's father, 7. Her husband with friend. 8. Her husband with friend, 9. Her husband, his younger sister, Renchinhand, 10. Her husband with friend, 11. Her husband with his siblings, 12. Renchinhand with friends, 13. Her mother-in-law, 1930s, 14. Her younger brother with friend, 15. Renchinhand and her husband and their younger daughter, 16. Renchinhand with her husband, her father, and her father-in-law.

Renchinhand's right-hand side montage



Key

1. Renchinhand's eldest son, 2. Her husband with relatives, 3. Renchinhand with her younger siblings, 4. Renchinhand with her siblings, 5. Her husband with his older sister, 6. Renchinhand with her brother and sister and two of her daughters, 7. Her younger daughter with two of her daughter's children and her husband, 8. Renchinhand with two of her children, 9. Her youngest son., 10. Renchinhand with her daughter's husband, 11. Her daughter with her husband and child, 12. A meeting in Ulaanbaatar, 13. Her father's younger sibling's daughter with husband and children, 14. Renchinhand with her younger sister's children, 15. Renchinhand at her grandson's graduation, 16. Renchinhand with her daughter and her daughter's children, 17. At a shamanic ceremony, east of the Onon River, 2004, 18. Her daughter's children, 19. Renchinhand with her husband and their children, 20. Her eldest daughter's children.

Household No. 6

Zorig lives in the district centre at Household No. 6 with his wife, Tsevel, and their children. All the relations in the images of people displayed in their home are told from Tsevel's perspective.

To the rear of the house, a large hand-drawn portrait of Zorig's deceased father is displayed above the household chest, while a smaller hand-drawn portrait of their deceased infant hangs above a window frame. The infant's portrait appears to be copied from a photograph, which is displayed below the drawing, along with photographs of themselves and their other children.

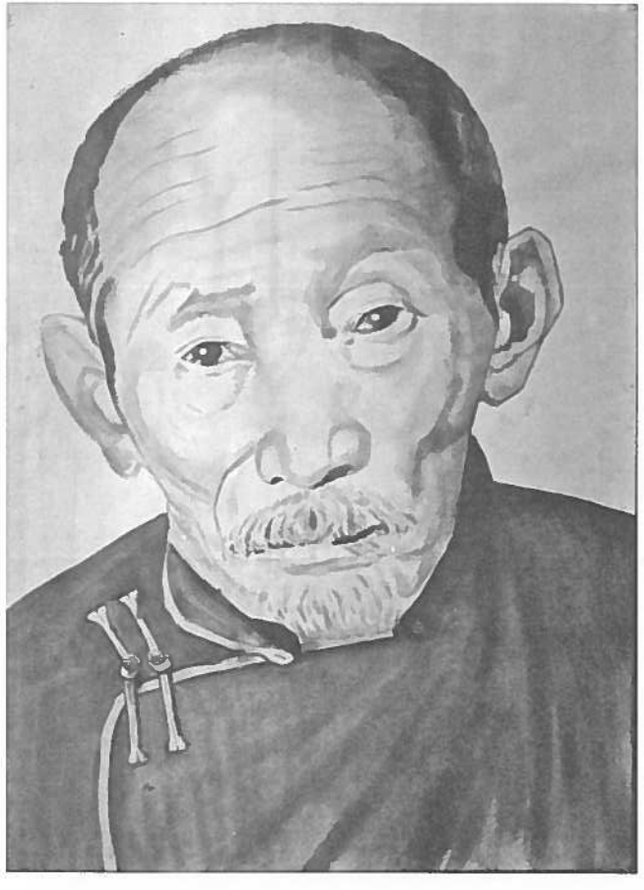


Figure A.11 Zorig's deceased father.

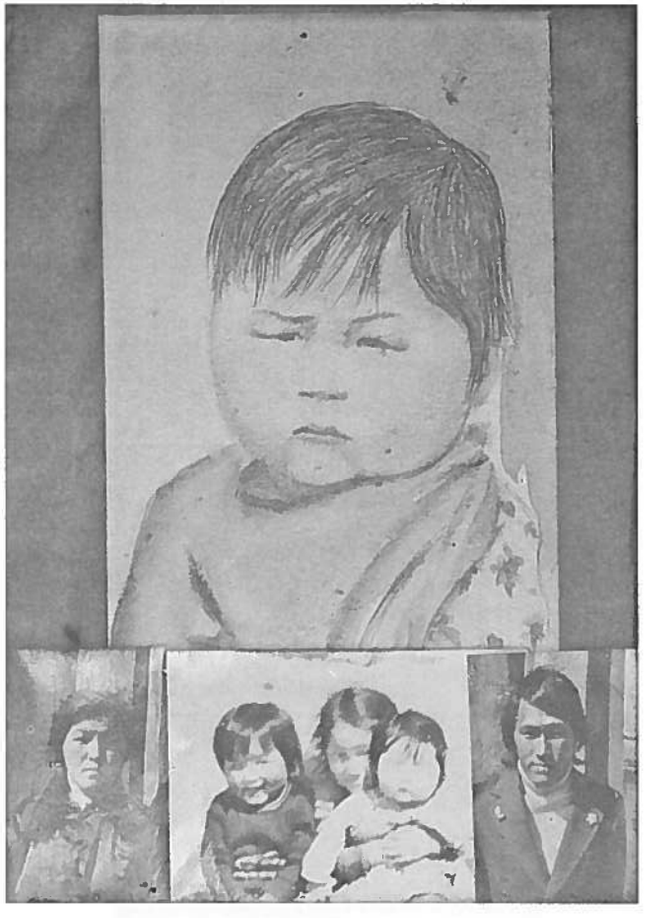
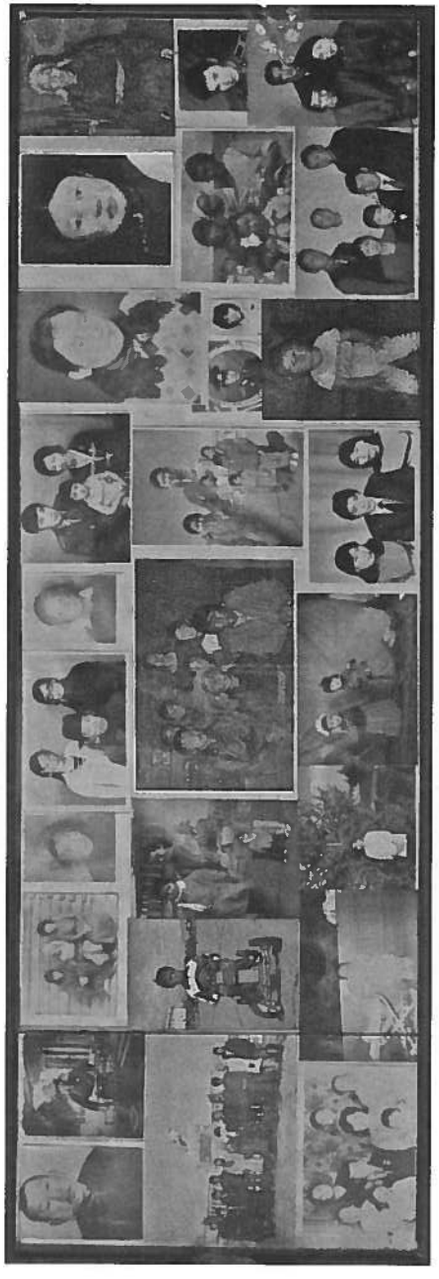
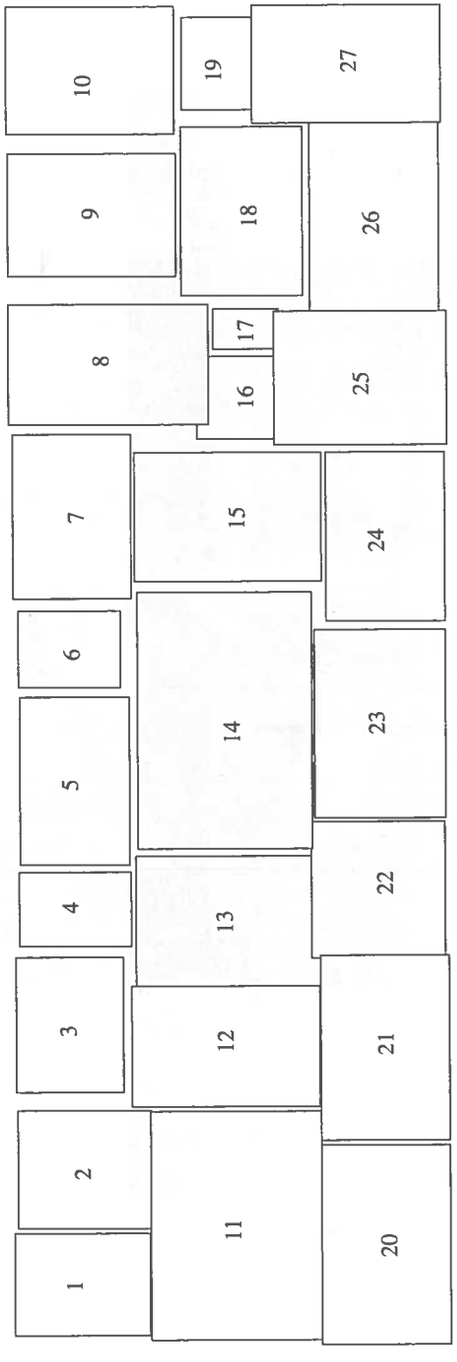


Figure A.12 Hand-drawn portrait of Zorig and Tsevel's deceased child, with photographs of other family members.

Tsevel's montage





Key

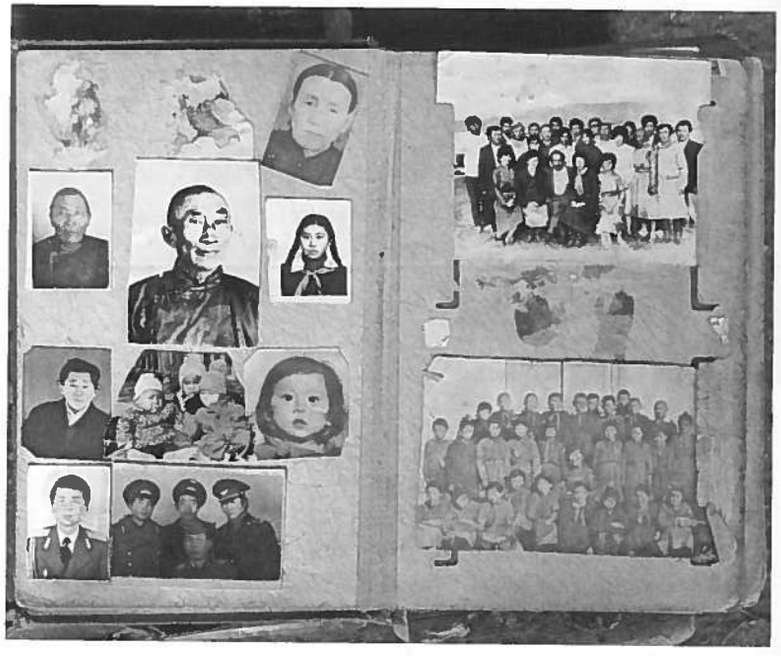
1. Zorig's father, approximately 1972., 2. Zorig's father outside new government building, 3. Zorig, Tsevel, and her mother approximately 1962, 4. Zorig's older sister, approximately 1972, 5. Zorig's two older sisters and their father, 6. Zorig's younger brother, 1970s, 7. Zorig's sister, his sister's husband, and their child, 8. Zorig's sister, 9. Zorig's mother, 1970s, 10. Tsevel's mother, early 1990s, 11. Tsevel's brother and sisters, Ulaanbaatar, 2002, 12. Zorig and Tsevel's youngest son, 13. Tsevel's youngest and eldest daughter, and her sister's child, 1998, 14. Tsevel and her siblings, with their mother, 15. Their two daughters and her sister's children, 2000, 16. Zorig in army, 1977, 17. Tsevel, 1980s, 18. Zorig's eldest brother, with wife and children, 19. Tsevel's younger brother, 20. Tsevel's older sister with husband and children, 21. Tsevel's older sister's child, 22. Their eldest daughter, 2000, 23. Their daughter with kindergarten friend, 24. Tsevel's school friends, 1985, 25. Their daughter, 26. Zorig's classmates with their children, 2002, 27. Zorig and Tsevel, Zorig's younger brother.

Household No. 7

Figures A.13–17 show pages from Delgermaa's photographic albums, kept inside the household chest. Photographs from albums differ from those displayed in montages. In the albums, people appear engaged in some task, or expressing varied emotions, rather than simply appearing front-on with fixed expressions. Photographs are also displayed in different ways in these albums, with images cut and placed at different angles creating compositions and collages.

Figure A.13 Delgermaa's daughter looks at her mother's private albums.

Figures A.14–17 Pages from Delgermaa's private albums kept inside the household chest.



Figures A.16–17

Appendix B
Shamanic Genealogies

The genealogies of two families who 'carry' (*barih*) their ancestral 'roots' (*ug*) through shamanic worship are presented. The families are Hudir Buriad and live to the east of the Onon River. Local people claim that they are 'authentic' (*jinhene*) shamanic families, that is, their relatives were well-known shamans in the pre-socialist period, they continued to practise during the socialist era, and they trained the teachers of the younger shamans of today. Such families are known to 'pass on' shamanism to their descendants (*udam damjsan böö nar*). A man from one of these families, Tsedev, explained that the Hudir originally came from an area in Buryatia to the north-west of Lake Baikal, near to the Hudir River and steppe. From here, they moved to the east side of the lake, to an area called Yaruuna. 'My parents often spoke of their time in Yaruuna,' he explained, while clarifying that the Hudir have five different clans: Ih Chono, Baga Chono, Hamnai, Avzai, and Hengelder. The Hudir dialect differs from other dialects. For instance, the Hudir term for fish is '*zaguuni*', while in Hori Buriad it is '*zagaha*', and in the Halh Mongol dialect it is '*zagas*'. In Figures B.1 and B.2 symbols in black indicate people who were or are shamans. The grey symbols index people through whom 'ancestral origin spirits' (*ongon*) are said to have communicated the need for someone in that family to become a shaman. The two families are related through marriage.

Family 1

The socialist prohibition on worshipping shamanism affected this family in a particular way. In 1973, while visiting her parents' house, Renchinhand did

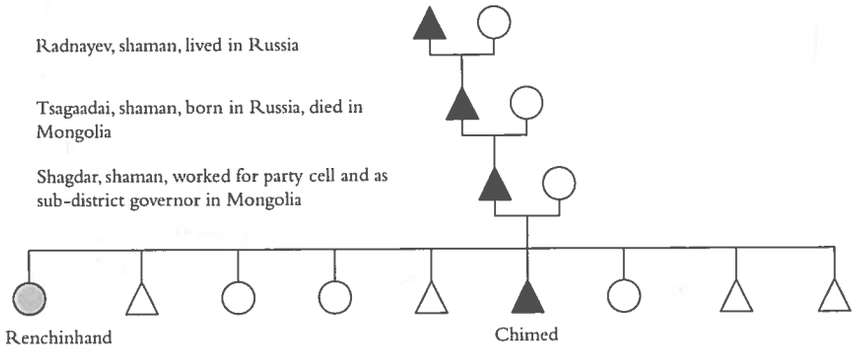


Figure B.1 Family 1.

something alarming and completely out of character: she stabbed herself with a kitchen knife (see Chapter 7, and Appendix A, Household No. 5). While causing only minimal physical damage, her family realized that this behaviour pointed to something important. They quickly called for a man named Tsend, who worked as a veterinarian in the district and was also a practising shaman. In the past, Tsend had been imprisoned for his religious practice, but Tsedev explained:

> Although it was prohibited to worship, the older men gathered one evening in the beginning of September near to a place called Ulaanburgas, where our winter pasture is, to attend a ceremony with Tsend shaman. Tsend called Radnayev's ancestral spirit (*ongon*, Bur. colloquial, *ongo*) and asked what the reason was, but he replied that he did not know. Then Tsend called the ancestral spirit of Tsagaadai [Renchinhand's deceased paternal grandfather] and he told them that he had cursed her. They asked for the reason for the curse. Tsagaadai said that he had cursed her because her father [that is, his son] had not buried him in the correct way and they were not looking after their ancestors (*ug udam*). Because of this, he was working as a servant for the Oihon shaman spirits [an island on Lake Baikal]. At death, shaman's bodies are placed on specially raised platforms with four poles (*arangalah*). His son had failed to inter his father in this way. He was a revolutionary party member, a chairman of the party cell (*namyn üüür*), and a sub-district governor (*bagyn darga*). Interring his father in this way was prohibited during socialism. Tsagaadai also told his family that one of their family members had a mark on his body. This person should become a shaman and 'carry the origins' (*ug barih*). Shagdar's son, Chimed, had a mark on his leg, a wound that continued to weep. He became the shaman.

Chimed, like Tsend, was also a veterinarian and they knew each other well. After the meeting, Chimed took on the duty of becoming a shaman and Tsend became his teacher. One of his shamanic levels or exams (*chanar*) took place in the district centre, in the early 1990s, near to the sports stadium. Many people gathered and saw him 'fly up a birch tree like a bird'. Even though this ceremony took place publicly, when I first arrived in Ashinga in 1999 people were cautious about talking openly about their shamanic ancestors and sometimes mocked Chimed's behaviour. By 2003, however, more and more people began to consult shamans and became shamans themselves. Tragically, Chimed committed suicide by hanging, after what was believed to be a curse levelled at him from a meeting of shamans at Lake Baikal in the mid-1990s. After this, Tsend moved to a neighbouring province. It is not clear whether Tsend was himself Buriad, but he married a Buriad woman who came from the east of the Onon River and became a high-ranking shaman (*zairan*) and the teacher of many of the new Buriad shamans.

Family 2

Ochir's first son, Jigmed, was a calm child but it became obvious that he was slowly turning completely blind. On finishing school, he found work tending the fire of the school's heating system. If normal sight eluded him, he could work in conditions that required him to sense heat. After a few years, however, he joined Tsend shaman and became his assistant and interpreter (Bur. *tulmaash*). While he could not see, he could clearly hear what the ancestral spirits said through Tsend, and he relayed their

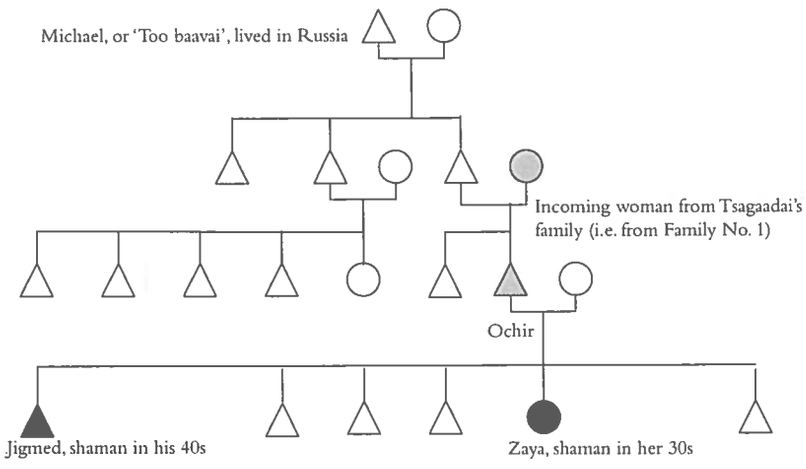


Figure B.2 Family 2.

words to people who came to seek their advice. They worked well together. Tsend called him his son. Their reputation grew. People came from all over Mongolia, from Buryatia, and from far-away countries, such as France and Russia, to consult them. When he called these people's ancestral origin spirits, people explained, he spoke in their language.

Jigmed's sister, Zaya, became a shaman when she was young, with Tsend as her teacher. After the death of Chimed (see Family 1), she took on his main ancestral origin spirit (*ongo*), who was her father's mother's relative, Tsagaadai shaman. At first, Tsedev explained, Tsagaadai's spirit was upset and asked for a horse to be consecrated (*seterlüüleh*). An unbroken horse was brought. Tsend recited a consecration, while trying to make the horse drink from a bowl of milk. The horse refused to drink the milk. Butter was rubbed on its hooves. Incense was burnt. The horse was scared and difficult to manage. Tsend told the horse not to be so angry and, after some time, it put its muzzle to the bowl and drank the milk. From this point onwards, Zaya took on the mantle of caring for Tsagaadai's ancestral spirit. She has passed many levels (exams) and regularly conducts mountain ceremonies. 'Somehow', Tsedev explained, 'she can be an individual.' In the spring of 2005, to people's great sadness, Tsend made a prediction that when the grass turned yellow he would die. In September 2005 Tsend died, and it is said by the shamans who gathered around him that a rainbow appeared from his body at death. By 2007, Jigmed, the blind man who had been his assistant, took on Tsend's role and is now training new shamans.

From these two accounts we see that ancestral origin spirits can be passed bilaterally, through either the mother's or father's side. Certain family members may take on the role of caring for, or 'carrying', these ancestral origin spirits so as to alleviate the suffering of other family members who are being punished by them.

This suffering may manifest itself in an extreme case such as a one-off stabbing, or in longer-term suffering, such as blindness. In both cases, the welfare of the living is dependent on the welfare of the dead, so that the deceased appear to live alongside the living. Knowing who one's ancestors are and what they expect of you thus becomes a way of caring for one's living relatives.

Appendix C
Biographies

Traditional anthropological kinship diagrams are very particular kinds of abstractions that often leave out aspects of familial relations, such as adopted or illegitimate children, unmarried women, and important events in people's lives. When I collected information about family histories in the early stages of my fieldwork, it quickly became obvious that sharing this kind of information was something that people did as a way to establish friendship and intimacy. Conversations tended to digress to include details about events, tactics, and strategies that would be left out if presented in abstract diagrams (cf. Barnes 1980). Indeed, sharing this kind information was a way to establish friendships and alliances, alongside the day-to-day intimacy of living together in cramped surroundings for an extended period of time. In this section, I present short biographies of members of Renchin's family. I begin by presenting his daughter-in-law Tsendmaa's narrative about her family. I then present information about his wife's family. These two women come from families that have experienced great difficulties and tribulations. Finally, I illustrate some of the tensions that emerge around adoption when looking at the family tree of Renchin's sister. I have shortened these narratives considerably to exclude personal names.

Tsendmaa's natal family

Tsendmaa's maternal grandmother was a widow when she gave birth to Tsendmaa's mother. Her husband had been arrested and killed when she was pregnant. At two months old, she gave her daughter for adoption to an elderly monk who lived on his own, to the east of the Onon River. He did not have a wife, so Tsendmaa's mother kept in touch with her birth-mother. Tsendmaa and her siblings refer to this old man as their 'grandfather' (*högshiin baavai*). Tsendmaa's father had an elder brother and a younger sister. At thirteen years of age his parents died and he was adopted by a family friend, whom I shall call Bold. His siblings were adopted by Bold's brother. Bold already had a son and this son married a woman who was from a family of shamans. They had a son who has become a famous Ashinga shaman. Tsendmaa wonders whether Bold's other son was adopted too, but the important thing, she comments, is that it is this man's wife, who came from outside, who brought the shamanic lineage to her family.

Tsendmaa's mother had seventeen children, but only seven survived. The first has two children, the second has four children, the third died as an adult, the fourth has four children, the fifth has two children, the sixth is unmarried and lives with their mother, and finally there is Tsendmaa, who has one child. Tsendmaa was

seventeen years of age when her father died. After her father's death she took the surname of her eldest brother (*ner avah*, lit. to take his name), as he was childless and needed someone to carry his name. We may note that people take their father's name as their surname, and women retain these as surnames after marriage. Later, her eldest brother married a woman who had a daughter and they adopted another boy. Now, her brother says, he has three children, including Tsendmaa. He donated some of her dowry when she married, but all the formal arrangements were carried out between her father-in-law and her birth-mother. She wonders if it was wrong to take his name as he now has a family of his own.

Delgermaa's natal family

Delgermaa's mother came from a neighbouring province called Dornod. Her parents died when she was young and soon after her sister died too. As an orphan, she became a kind of servant (*zarts*) to a noble Halh family. She watched their sheep and passing riders would beat her with sticks if the sheep crossed their paths. One day she escaped to Ulaanbaatar and met Delgermaa's father. Delgermaa's father came from Russia to Mongolia with his mother and younger brother. His brother died in a tragic accident when his clothes caught fire while making bread on an open stove. Delgermaa's mother gave birth to thirteen children: seven of them died young, two were adopted out, one died later in life, and three survived and remained in the family. Delgermaa was born prematurely at six months. She was about to be given away to a passing trader, but her mother insisted on keeping her. Her parents moved to Ashinga when she was six years old. They joined the co-operative and became herders. An elderly couple fostered Delgermaa in order that she could attend school in the district centre. Her older brother died recently and her elderly sister, whom she has met only once, lives in Dornod.

Renchin's family

This narrative was told to me by Renchin's birth-sister, Dolgor. One day, when looking at a family tree that she had created of her family, I noticed that Dolgor had not included her brother Renchin in the genealogy. She did not include him, she explained, because he had been adopted as a young child (although we may note that his image is included in his birth-parents' photographic montage; see Appendix A, Household No. 2). In telling me about her family, Dolgor explained how several adoptions had taken place between her parents and their siblings. Dolgor and Renchin's paternal great-grandfather was born in Russia. He had five children. The youngest of these five children was born in Russia in 1886 and was their paternal grandfather, whom I shall call Buh. Buh had four children, all of whom were born in Russia (two daughters and two sons). The youngest child was born in Russia in 1920 and was their father. Not long after the birth of this boy, Buh and his family, along with some of his relatives, migrated to Mongolia. Some time later, Dolgor and Renchin's father married a woman in Mongolia who was born in 1928 and they had six children. This woman's parents were also born in Russia and they had five children: one son (who had two children), one daughter (who had ten children), one

son (who died at war), one daughter (Dolgor and Renchin's mother who had six children), and one son (who had six children).

In Mongolia, Dolgor and Renchin's female cousin (the daughter of a paternal aunt) had an illegitimate son with a Halh man when she was very young. Their paternal uncle (their father's elder brother) had no children, so he adopted this girl along with her son. At the same time, he also adopted Renchin. A childless married man thus adopted his niece and her son from his elder sister, as well as a nephew from his younger brother. Although Dolgor and Renchin's mother gave birth to six living children, in her genealogy Dolgor notes that she only gave birth to five children. When Renchin saw this genealogy he was upset to see that he was not included. Dolgor did not include her paternal uncle and his adopted children (who are her brother and her cousin) in her family tree. Rather, she documented her birth-parents and siblings, excluding her brother, even though she relates to him as her full sibling in daily life.

Appendix D
Glossary of Terms and Names

Main terms used in the book

Ashinga	name of district
Hentii	name of province
Buriad, Hamnigan, Halh	ethnic groups
Hori, Tsongool, Hudir, Barga	Buriad sub-divisions
Ail	family
Avdar, *Bur.* hanza	household chest
Dursamj nom	remembrance book
Gal golomt	family hearth
Ger	house/Mongolian felt tent
Hadag	blue ceremonial silk scarf
Hatgamal	embroidery
Ovoo	sacred ritual stone cairn
Tol'	mirror
Toonto	buried placenta
Ugiin bichig	genealogical record
Ber	daughter-in-law
Dahin töröh, ergej töröh	rebirth
Ehiin töröl, tsusan töröl	blood/flesh relations
Etsgiin töröl, yasan töröl	bone relations
Hüi büten ail	a family with many children
Hüin holboo	umbilical relation/communication
Hüühed	child
Hüühed shig, nyalhrai	child-like
Nyalh hüühed	infant
Buzar	pollution
Geriin hiimori	household luck-fortune
Geriin ezen	household master
Hadgalah	to contain
Hiimori	luck-fortune/vitality-fortune
Hishig, *Bur.* hesheg	fortune
Hishig hürteh	harnessing fortune
Hishignii sav	fortune vessel/bag
Malyn hishig	animal fortune
Süns, *Bur.* hünehen	soul
Süld, *Bur.* hüld	spirit

Salah	to separate
Tahih	sacrifice
Gazryn ezed (ezen)	land masters/masters of the land
Lus savdag	spirits of the mountains and rivers
Ongon	ancestral origin spirits
Üheer	spirits/ghosts of those who suffered violent deaths

Names of some of the people who feature in the book

Household in countryside

Renchin	Head of household
Delgermaa	Renchin's wife
Bayar	Renchin's son
Tsendmaa	Renchin's daughter-in-law
Dorj	Renchin's son
Hongor	Renchin's son
Baigal	Renchin's daughter
Altaa	Renchin's son's daughter
Dashdondog	Renchin's brother
Jargal	Dashdondog's wife
Dolgor	Renchin's sister
Büdjav	Dolgor's husband

Household in district centre

Bat-Ochir	Head of household
Saran	Bat-Ochir's wife

People in district centre

Baatar	District centre's governor
Bold	Cultural centre director
Erdenebat	Explainer of all things
Togtoh	Kindergarten cook
Garam	Elderly man
Handmaa	Elderly woman
Renchinhand	Elderly woman
Ichinhorloo	Female friend and young mother
Densmaa	Female friend
Erdenebold	Young boy
Enhtuyaa	Female friend who grew up in Ashinga, but now lives in the city

Religious specialists

Tümendelger	Male poet and shaman
Nergüi	Male shaman
Oyunaa	Female diviner
Narangerel	Female shaman

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