

**Religion and Mongol Identity in the mid-19th Century Urga
On the Basis of a Mongolian Monk's Oral Narratives
Recorded by Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna in 1873¹**

[Budapest] BIRTALAN Ágnes

I. On Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna²

Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna (13 March 1844 Transylvania, Szentkatolna, near Kézdivásárhely [today Târgu Secuiesc] – 26 May 1913 Transylvania, Temesvár [today Timișoara]) was one of the first versatile researchers of Mongolian languages worldwide, though his scholarly heritage in the field of Mongolian studies should be reappraised.³ He collected folklore and religious material during his long lasting field work among the Kalmyks (1871–1872) and among the Khalkhas (1873). From his early childhood and during his studies at various faculties (law, humanities) in Vienna and later in Budapest, he

¹ The research of the author has been supported by the TÁMOP and co-financed by the European Social Fund; grant agreement no. TAMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-000; the fieldwork has been granted by the OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Fund), currently K 100613. Herewith I express my gratitude for the valuable comments made by my colleagues during the session of the conference. I will consider the remark of Professor Veronika Veit to examine the possible similarities between Yondonjamcan's text-corpus and the text-collection of Old Jambal (Bawden, Charles R. (ed.): *Tales of an Old Lama*. (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII). Tring, U. K., The Institute of Buddhist Studies 1997.) in the publication of the whole manuscript currently kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: *Bálint Gábor: Keleti mongol (khalkha) szövegek*. (88 pages), Nr.: Ms1379/2; [Bálint, Gábor: Eastern Mongolian (Khalkha) texts].

² In details cf. the Introduction of *Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, A Romanized Grammar of the East- and West-Mongolian Languages. With popular Chrestomathies of both Dialects*. Ed. and Introduced: Birtalan, Ágnes. (Budapest Oriental Reprints: Series B 3) Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Csoma de Kőrös Society 2009. pp. IX–XXIX.

³ The re-edition of his *Grammar* (cf. above) and his Kalmyk material by the author of the present lines tries to assist this task; for the Kalmyk material, cf. Birtalan, Ágnes: *Kalmyk Folklore and Folk Culture in the mid-19th Century. Philological Studies on the Basis of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna's Kalmyk Texts*. (Oriental Studies 15) Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Elista, Kalmyk Institute of Humanitarian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences 2011.

turned with growing interest to the Oriental languages and prepared for long fieldwork among the ethnic groups he aimed to study. Leading scholars of oriental studies, as the Turkologist Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913),¹ and eager researchers of the Hungarian language contacts, as János Fogarasi (1801–1878), became patrons of Bálint's efforts and helped him to find the necessary resources for his journey to Mongolian and Turkic speaking people in Russia and in Mongolia.²

I. 1. Bálint's Fieldwork among Mongolian Ethnic Groups and his Research among the Khalkhas in Urga

Bálint's research trip among Turkic and Mongolian speaking peoples started in the summer of 1871 and he arrived back to Hungary in 1874. His *Jelentése* (further *Report*)³ he delivered at the session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2 March 1874) is a valuable source on his research, working method and also on the mid-19th century situation of the sites and people he visited. The fieldwork method employed among the Christianised Tatars in Kazan was used by him among the Kalmyks as well, i. e. he looked for a school where he was able to find teachers of the language and also students from various parts of the country, to master various dialects. The centre of his researches in Astrakhan was the "Kalmyk foster home and school" (he named it in Hungarian "Khalymik növelde és iskola"). He spent several months among the Astrakhan Kalmyks (end of September 1871 – May 1872) and worked with many informants.⁴ After recording considerable amount of material among the Kalmyks, Bálint left Astrakhan and arrived in Saint Petersburg where he contacted A. F. Schiefner (1817–1879) and also other scholars,

¹ Vámbéry's bibliography and further information on his scholarly activity, cf. <http://www.terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/vambery.html>.

² Fogarasi favouring the possible language contacts between Hungarian and Mongolian, proposed to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to send Bálint to Asia in order to document vernacular languages, first of all Mongolian. He remained Bálint's supporter and an inexhaustible propagator of his achievements, he read out Bálint's letters and accounts for the academic plenary sessions, as it is documented in several issues of the *Akadémiai Értesítő* [Proceedings of the Academy] (re-edited by György Kara with the original page numbering: Kara, György (ed.): *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei. Jelentése Oroszország-és Ázsiában tett utazásáról. Ertekezése a mandsuk szertartásos könyvéről*. Budapest, Kőrösi Csoma Társaság 1973. [Gábor Bálint's eastern letters. His report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. His treatise on the Ritual book of the Manchus].

³ Bálint Gábor Jelentése Oroszország-és Ázsiában tett utazásáról és nyelvészeti tanulmányairól. Melléklet öt khálymik dano hangjegye. In: *Ertekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből*. IV. (1875) pp. 1–19. [Gábor Bálint's report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. With notes of five Kalmyk songs. In: Treatises from the Department of Linguistics and Aesthetics of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences] cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

⁴ In detail, cf. Birtalan: *Kalmyk Folklore and Folk Culture in the mid-19th Century*. passim.

officials and made them acquainted with his results and further plans. Apparently he had enough to do in Saint Petersburg with language informants and library material,¹ and postponed his further trip to the Mongols of Outer Mongolia.² In one of his letters written to Fogarasi Bálint tried to convince his patron not to send him to the Mongols living in Mongolia, as he wanted to work on the Kalmyk records and “to introduce the Kalmyk folk tongue in the German language.”³ Towards⁴ the end of his letter he made his plans not to visit the Khalkha Mongols even more obvious, claiming that to have a concept about the Mongolian language his Kalmyk field work (as materials about the spoken tongue) and the dictionary of O. Kovalevskij (J. É. Kowalewski)⁵ were enough, therefore it was not necessary to travel to the Mongols. He was unconvinced about the result of his journey as well: “Even if I were able to finish the journey successfully, what could be its outcome? A few folk songs and folk tales. I have collected such ones in the Kalmyk language.”⁶ Nevertheless he changed his mind and in his letter of 5 September 1872 he reported to Fogarasi the following: “I look forward to every day that I have to see the Chinese Mongols with my eyes.”⁷ Finally he was able to continue his research trip to Mongolia to learn the language of the Eastern Mongols and departed on 20th February 1873.⁸ He probably used the quickest means to get to Inner Asia, and travelled on sledge through Russia and Siberia. Though he met in passing some Buriats around Lake Baikal, his Buriat vernacular material is not significant compared to the Kalmyk and Khalkha (he did not have the opportunity to make records due to the lack of sufficient amount of time). He arrived in Urga (Khal. Xürē, Ix Xürē, Mong. Yeke Kūriyen, today Ulānbātar) in April 1873.

¹ Cf. “Az én itteni teendőm a mongol nyelv tovább tanulmányozása és az ugarsággal való ismerkedés [My task here is to further study the Mongolian language and get acquainted with Ugrians].” *Akadémiai Értesítő* VI. (1872) pp. 208–210. [Proceedings of the Academy] on p. 209, cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

² Cf. the letters written to Fogarasi after his arrival in Saint Petersburg. 17 June 1872 and 16 July 1872 cf- *Akadémiai Értesítő* VI. (1872) pp. 208–210, cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

³ “Visszatértem után pedig a khalymik népnnyelvet kell megismertetnem német nyelven.” In: *Akadémiai Értesítő* VI. p. 209 (cf. Kara: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*).

⁴ This passage is based on Introduction of the *Grammar*. p. XIV.

⁵ Kovalevskij, O. / Kowalewski, J. É.: *Mongol'sko-russkij-francuzskij slovar'. Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*. I–III. Kazan'/Kazan 1844–1849. (reprinted: Taipei, SMC Publishing Inc. 1993).

⁶ “Föltéve, hogy szerencsésen bevégezném az utat, mi lehetne eredménye? Néhány népdal és népmese. Ezt gyűjtöttem khalymik nyelven.” *Akadémiai Értesítő* VI. p. 210 (cf. Kara: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*).

⁷ “Mindennap tapasztalom, hogy a sinai mongolokat saját szememmel kell megnéznem.” [Bálint Gábor levele Fogarasi Jánoshoz 1872. szeptember 5.] In: *Akadémiai Értesítő* VI. (1872) pp. 211–212. [Gábor Bálint's letter to János Fogarasi 5 September 1872. In: Proceedings of the Academy] on p. 211 (cf. Kara: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*).

⁸ Cf. also Bálint's English Preface to his *Grammar*. p. III (p. 4).

In his *Report* and also in other sources, such as his fragmentary *Diary* (further *Diary*)¹ and the article devoted to his stay in Mongolia² he informs us about his new working method to record Khalkha vernacular: he preferred to work with an only informant and just occasionally turn to others, when “his lama teacher started to create song himself and that was why he looked for other informants (e. g. Lusīn Dorj, in his transcription Lusin Dords) to record folk songs”.³ His tutor, the forty-five-year-old Yondonjamc (in Bálint’s transcription Yanden Dsamczs) belonged to the Buddhist clergy as a monk: “... a Khara [Khalkha *xar*] lama (a Mongolian married clergyman), who had wandered in several parts of Mongolia ...”.⁴ Unfortunately Bálint did not provide more details on his possible affiliation with or dispelling from any monastery in Urga or elsewhere in the country. Being a Lama, he was without doubt well acquainted with the affairs of Mongolian Buddhism even if he had some ahistoric and odd ideas about the history of the spread of Buddhism among the Mongols. Nevertheless his views root in a mid-19th century Mongol man’s efforts of self-identification and self-determination (in details cf. below).

On the basis of his firm knowledge of Kalmyk vernacular Bálint was able to ask questions and record first lexicological items, as objects in his environment, parts of the yurt, horse equipment, animals, plants and essential sentences of the everyday conversation. While the sentences are included into the Khalkha manuscript I am working on currently, the vocabulary lists have been lost or not found yet.

“My primary activity was to collect words and sentences; first I put down the names of the objects seen in my room and around me, then I went into the Mongol yurts and recorded the parts of the tent itself and the objects inside. On festive occasions when complete horse furniture and carts could be seen and several Mongols rallied together, I collected the names of harness and carriage.

I went with my lama teacher to the bank of the river Tuul [Bálint Tula, Khal. Tūl] and registered the names of animals and their young.

When we went to the town, I asked the names pertinent there. I went into the kitchen gardens of the Chinese and the Lamas, but I could learn the names of very few plants, for the

¹ Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor önéletrajzi naplótöredéke. In: Zágoni, Jenő (ed.): *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor; Válogatott írások*. Budapest, without publisher 2005. pp. 19–57. [Fragmentary Diary of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna. In: Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works].

² Bálint, Gábor: Százötven nap a halha-mongol földön. In: Zágoni, Jenő (ed.): *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor; Válogatott írások*. Budapest without publisher 2005. pp. 109–116. [One hundred and fifty days in Khalkha-Mongolian Land. In: Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works].

³ *Bálint Gábor jelentése*. p. 14 (cf. Kara: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*). Introduction to *Grammar*. p. XV.

⁴ Cf. Bálint’s English Preface to his *Grammar*. p. IV (p. 5).

Mongols had only got to know them through the Chinese people and therefore they had no native designations, even for those growing wild, at least in that area.

I conducted the collection of sentences and dialogues by naming different occasions and asking my tutor to speak about them in the way they usually talk about them among themselves. I put down these accounts in as faithful transcription as possible, then I read out what I had written and we corrected them.”¹

Later he began to collect folklore materials of various genres. He transcribed the written *Geser* epic into spoken Khalkha on the basis of Schmidt’s material written originally in Uigur Mongolian script.²

“During 155 days I did nothing else than writing down phonetically all things my lama or other persons called by him to me were able to dictate to me. I read the whole fable of Geser Khān with my lama and transcribed it in the spoken language. I must remark that my lama was no literator [sic!] but cleaverer [sic!] and more experienced than many of the learned ones.”³

Among the Kalmyks Bálint was fond of recording folk songs and probably his interest persuaded his Lama to create songs and due to this reason he looked for other informants (e. g. Lusīn Dorj, in his transcription Lusin Dords) to continue collecting this genre.⁴ In Urga he also learnt Chakhar from the travelling merchants and spoken Manchu tutored by a certain nobleman called Nayintai (in Bálint’s transcription *Nainté*). He could master Manchu to the extent that he was able to read the *Jin ping mei bitxe* “Roman about the Plum in the Golden Vase” and translate the ritual book of the Manchus (Mand. *Hesei toktobuha Manjusai vecere metere kaoli bithe*).⁵

¹ Bálint *Jelentése*. p. 14, for the detailed bibliographical references cf. Appendix I.

² Šmidt, I. Ja.: *Podvigi ispolnennago zaslug geroja Bogdy Gesser Hana, istrebitelja desjati zol v desjati stranah; gerojskoe predanie mongolov, s napečatannago v Pekine ekzemplara*. S. Peterburg, Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk 1836; Schmidt, I. J.: *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan’s, des Vertilgers der Wurzel der zehn Übel in den zehn Gegenden. Eine ostasiatische Heldensage*. St. Petersburg, W. Gräff – Leipzig, Leopold Voss 1839. Cf. Bálint’s English Preface to the *Grammar*. pp. IV, VIII, (pp. 5, 9).

³ Cf. Bálint’s English Preface to the *Grammar*. p. IV (p. 5).

⁴ Bálint *Jelentése*. p. 14 (cf. Kara: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*).

⁵ Bálint *Jelentése* pp. 16–17; Bálint, Gábor: A mandsuk szertartásos könyve. In: *Bálint Gábor Jelentése Oroszország- és Ázsiában tett utazásáról és nyelvészeti tanulmányairól. Melléklet öt khálmik dano hangjegye*. (Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből. IV. 1875) pp. 3–16. [The ritual book of the Mandus. In: Gábor Bálint’s report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. With notes of five Kalmyk songs. (Treatises from the Department of Linguistics and Aesthetics of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences) cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

I. 2. Bálint in Urga

Some parts in Bálint's *Report* and fragments in his *Diary* narrating about his trip to and staying in Urga belong to the first accounts on the capital city written by foreign travellers and as such offer valuable first-hand information. He put down his personal experience about the Russian consul Šišmarjov and his wife (Marija Nikolaevna), the location of various districts in Urga, impression about the Maitreya temple and other miscellaneous facts as well. In his observations Bálint touched upon the problem of the ethnicity and identity – the central topic of the present paper, too.¹ Though he was the guest in the Russian consulate and lived in certain isolation; he was acquainted with the city life, but not taking longer journeys through the county he remained an outsider to some extent. Yondonjamc, his Lama informant moved closer to his residence in the consulate and apparently other informants also visited him and not vice versa.

To name the city Bálint used mostly Urga and occasionally also Küren in his notes.² To create the context to Bálint's observations one is recommended to consult the most detailed description about that time Urga offered by A. Pozdneev's substantial monographs: *Mongolija i mongoly* and *Očerki byta buddijskih monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii*³ based on its author's field research in 1876–1879 and in 1892–1893,⁴ a couple of years later than Bálint's stay in the city. During Bálint's visit the most significant factor in the life of Urga was no doubt the Buddhist religion. The 8th Boyda Gegen jebjündamba (Khal. Agwānluwsančoiijinyimadanjanwančug from Tib. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma bstan-'dzin dbang-phyug; reigned 1870–1924)⁵ had just started his organising

¹ Facts concerning this topic cf below.

² The name Urga is the Russified form of Khalkha Örgö Khal. örgö “palace, residence, residential centre”. In his articles Bálint used mostly Küren, a form of Khalkha Ix/Dā Xürē i. e. “Great monastic city”, or Bogdīn Xürē “Monastic city of the Saint”, etc. cf. Khal. xürē, Mong. küriyen “fenced camp, area, circled camp, monastery, monastic city”; for further names of the capital cf. Pozdneev, A. M.: *Mongolija i mongoly*. Rezul'taty poezdki v Mongoliju, ispolnennoj v 1892–1893 gg. 1–2. Sankt-Peterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk 1896, 1898; Pozdneev, A.: *Očerki byta buddijskih monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii v svjazi s otnošenijami sego poslednego k narodu*. Sanktpeterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk 1887; Rupen, Robert A.: The City of Urga in the Manchu Period. In *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nicholas Poppe*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1957. pp. 157–169; Teleki, Krisztina: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. Ulaanbaatar, Institute of History Mongolian Academy of Sciences 2011. p. 21

³ The most recently issued work on the Buddhist sites and Buddhist life in Urga cf. Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*.

⁴ Šastina, N. P.: A. M. Pozdneev. (Podgotovka k pečati i primečanija A. G. Sazykinym). In: *Mongolica* VI. 2003) pp. 7–18, on p. 8. http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/images/pdf/a_šastina_2003.pdf (last downloaded: 11. 03. 2012)

⁵ On the Khutugtus of Urga, cf. Bawden, Charles R.: *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*. (Asiatische Forschungen 9.) Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1969 and Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. pp. 26–30, 107–171 and passim.

activity in religious, economical and political spheres in the city. The period of his reign was a promising era for the Mongols to revive the glorious historical past by the means of religion. Urga was the centre of Buddhist education and culture and as such attracted not only the native people but also foreigners.

Three major nationalities shared the fate of the city and played important roles in developing their own destiny and parallel with it shaping the image of Urga. This threefoldness appeared physically in the division of Urga's territory into particular quarters, where the Mongols lived, where the Russians tried to gain their foothold and the "Chinatown" where the Chinese merchants established their settlement.¹ Bálint describes in detail the Mongols and the Chinese remarking the obvious differences between the two ethnicities, in a fairly objective manner but not entirely free from stereotyping them (in detail cf. below).

One of the main attractions of the Buddhist Urga was unequivocally the Maidar temple (Khal. Maidarīn süm) housed in a Tibetan style monastery,² built by the Chinese between 1820 and 1836. The weighty³ and 16 m high statue of the future Buddha housed in the temple Maidar süm caught the attention of Bálint:

"Riding fast all day, by sunset we arrived in the capital of Mongolia, Urga, just at the time when two gecül-s (Lama candidates) [Khal. gecül, Tib. dge tshul] were blowing a flourish on their instruments similar to the Sekler [Hung. Székely] alpine horn to celebrate Maitreya [Bálint Májderé, Khal. Maidar, Mong. Maidari, Skr. Maitreya] Buddhist Lamas claim she will be the female [sic!] Buddha of the next age when women will rule and the horses will urinate like dogs now. The statue of this goddess rising 75 ells⁴ high reaches to the top of the temple built of pine logs."⁵

Bálint's above facts provide a brief but important addendum to the detailed description

¹ Rupen: *The City of Urga in the Manchu Period*. p. 164; Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. 209– passim.

² Majer, Zsuzsa – Teleki, Krisztina: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree, Ikh Khüree or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century*. Ulānbātar 2006. p. 32.

³ "... weighed 11,000 Chinese catties; was cast at Dolon-nor and shipped north across the Gobi to Urga in seven parts." Rupen: *The City of Urga in the Manchu Period*. p. 161.

⁴ Cf. further data on the height of the statue: "16m high (50 tokhoi, cubit, with 1:0.32 m)" in: Majer – Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. p. 52.

⁵ Here Bálint's informants misinterpreted something, concerning the female Buddha. The phrase "horses will urinate like dogs now" is a commonly known motif in written and oral prophecies, for the context cf. Birtalan: *The Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan*. p. 249–251.

of Pozdneev, summarised by Majer and Teleki: “A special place of worship was the *Maidar* temple housing the 16m high Maitreya statue. During the reign of the 5th *jewtcündamba khutagt* the abbot (*khamba*, Tib. *mkhan-po*) of Ikh Khüree, Agwaan Luwsan Khaidüw (Tib. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhasgrub, 1779–1838) established the statue in 1834. Behind the Maitreya temple was the open-air kitchen where food for the lamas was prepared in huge metal vessels.”¹

I. 3. Jakov Parfen’evič Šišmarjov (1833–1915)² and the Russian Consulate³

The determinative personality of the epoch when Bálint visited Urga was without doubt the second Russian consul (acting between 1864 and 1904) Ja. P. Šišmarjov. The all-round and clever politician deserved his superior reputation in all social strata of Mongolia and won the recognition of the Russian and Chinese political elite. He participated in the signing of the First Convention of Peking (1860).⁴ Having a firm language knowledge (besides Russian, excellent Mongolian, Manchu, Chinese) and experience in communication with representatives of different social layers he became able to shape the historical trends of the Russian – Mongolian relation under the permanent control of the Manchu-Chinese administration. He was half Mongolian and this background was advantageous for him indeed. The Russian consulate in Urga gained a fair name under his leadership and became the shelter for foreign travellers and researcher. Šišmarjov’s name emerges in the diaries, travelogues of Russian researchers of Mongolia, some of them became his friend and corresponded with him for years. His visitors included the leading explorers of the epoch, such as N. M. Przeval’kij (Pol. Przewalski) (1839–1888), A. Pozdneev (1851–1920), P. K. Kozlov (1863–1935) and others.⁵ Šišmarjov assisted the advance of Russian merchants and the development of trading⁶ as well as the establishment of the position of Russia in the region. He himself carried out “field research” and wrote academic or popular articles on various topics concerning Mongolian

¹ Majer – Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. p. 32.

² Edinarhova collected exhaustively a lot of facts about Šišmarjov’s life in her article devoted to his activity: Edinarhova, N. E.: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii: Otčjot Ja. P. Šišmarjova o 25-letnej dejatel’nosti Urginskogo konsul’stva*. Irkutsk 2001. Edinarhova, N. E.: *Sozdanie russkogo konsul’stva v Urge*. In: *Rossija i Vostok: Vzgljad iz Sibiri v konce stoletija*. I. Irkutsk, Izd. Ottisk 2000. pp. 333–335. The data in the above part of the article are based mainly on her results. Cf. also: Darevskaja, E. M.: *Sibir’ i Mongolija. Očerki russko-mongol’skih svjazej v konce XIX – načale XX. vv.* Irkutsk. Izd. IGU 1994.

³ Here I follow Pozdneev’s description concerning the building of the consulate.

⁴ Edinarhova: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii*. pp. 10–11.

⁵ Edinarhova: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii*. p. 30.

⁶ Edinarhova: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii*. pp. 18–22.

natural and cultural phenomena.¹

The establishing of the Russian Consulate in Urga was included in the First Convention of Peking² and though the first consul was K. N. Boborykin, Šišmarjov was involved in the administrative staff, as interpreter and secretary. Since 1861 he was assigned as deputy consul and in the year of 1865 the emperor (Alexander II) confirmed him in the status of consul in Urga. The building process of the consulate (1863–1865) did not pass smoothly; there are accounts on how the later so impressive construction lacked a proper roof and for a certain period even windows. Pozdneev remembered the building as follows:

“...the Urga consulate is, although only from the outside, undoubtedly the most handsome building in the city. Unfortunately, it is not situated in an entirely suitable place. Thus, because of lack of water, the residents of the Russian consulate have neither flower nor vegetable gardens, although no little effort, time, and money have been spent in cultivating both. The consulate consists of one large, two-story building of wood and plaster, with an iron roof and two wings. Immediately adjoining the main building there is also the small one-story building of the house chapel, the roof of which is graced by a small cupola. The upper story of the consulate is taken up entirely by the quarters of the consul, and the lower story houses the quarters of the secretary on the right and of the interpreter on the left, next to the chapel. Of the wings the left wing houses the Urga post office and the adjoining quarters of the postmaster, while it has been proposed to install quarters for a priest in the right wing. In addition, there are the following small buildings in the courtyard of the consulate: accommodations for the psalm reader, for the pupils of the Urga school, for the Cossacks, and for the kitchen.”³

Ever since the very beginning Šišmarjov and his wife formed the consulate in both

¹ E. g. mapping the river Kerülen, collecting folklore legends on the Oirat – Khalkha war, describing and analysing the Manchu administrative system, the activity of Öndör gegēn, the wedding ceremonies and the *dolōn xošūnī nādam*. Cf. Edinarhova: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii*. pp. 25–29. The wedding ceremonies attracted Bálint’s attention as well and recorded a detailed survey on the customs. This part of his Khalkha material is not published yet, but Bálint gave a short survey on it in one of his articles: Bálint’s *Diray*, cf. Appendix II.

² Article V. „As well as the trade that goes on at Kiakhta, Russian traders will retain their old right to go from Kiakhta to Beijing for commercial purposes. On the road, they are to be allowed to trade at Urga and Kalgan. They are not obliged to set up a big market to do so. The Russian government will place a Consul at Urga, or a lingshiguan. He will be accompanied by a small group of aides and will build a house at Russian expense. The Governors of Urga will negotiate with the Russians: a piece of land for the house, the size the house may have, the pastures it may use.” English translation cf.: <http://www.chinaforeignrelations.net/node/234>

³ English translation of Pozdneev’s crucial work: Pozdneev, A. M.: *Mongolia and the Mongols*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 61) Ed. Krueger, J. R. Bloomington IN, Indiana University 1971.

<http://www.iras.ualgary.ca/~volk/sylvia/Pozdneev.htm> (last downloaded: 11. 03. 2012).

senses: the exterior of the building and the surroundings, and its interior, i. e. the life in the consulate, offering the Russian hospitality to everybody. Below as testimony of the above survey based on works utilising Russian primary sources, I present Bálint's report on the consulate and the consul Šišmarjov, enriched with a new piece of evidence of the earlier source material.

"Outside the town a mounted Kozak came to meet me and escorted me to the precincts of the Russian consulate. In the yard of the compound fenced round with planks, the secretary of the consulate I. V. Paderin¹ welcomed me in English and led me to the room assigned to me. I gave Bold [Bálint Bolot] a little purse with silver 10 Kopek pieces worth one and a half Rubbles. He thanked it with the "Be happy!" greeting and started back for Khüree [Bálint Khüren], which they call Urga in Mongolian, with a joyful face. I got out my pulp wash basin and washed myself for the first time in a week, then put on my grey suit bought from Budapest,² for I took no black suit abhorred by the Mongols with me. When I had a hearty meal from the snack sent to me by the secretary, I went upstairs to the consul who welcomed me warmly and told me he had been instructed by the Asian Department [Russ. Aziatskij Departament]³ to give me board and lodging while I was there because I could get no accommodation or food in Urga. Soon the consul's wife Maria Nikolaevna, a blond woman of 30, appeared and her husband introduced me to her. The most respectful address among Russians, both men and women, is to say the person's Christian name and the name of the father with the suffix meaning N's son or daughter. Maria Nikolaevna (pron. [in Hung.] Nyikolayevna) is thus Maria, the daughter of Nicholas. The consul Jakob Parfenteevich Shishmarev [correctly: Jakov Parfen'evič Šišmarjov]⁴ as the surname indicates is of Mongolian origin, speaks Mongolian and is a practical man. His secretary studied Manchu-Mongolian and Chinese as well as law at Saint Petersburg University. The consul's wife is the daughter of a rich doctor in Irkutsk who finished secondary school, learnt French and English but for lack of practice forgot both. She called me Mister Bálint in the English way, her husband addressed me as Gabriel Andreevich. While we were conversing, the consul's wife brought a samovar to the table and after drinking a few cups of fine tea, we parted. I made my bed with the bedding I had bought from Kazan and slept till morning."⁵

¹ Paderin "služil ispravljajušim dela sekretarja I dragomana konsul'stva v Urge"; he became famous as one of the first explorers of Karakorum. Cf. Us, Larisa Borisovna: *Zarubežnye ekspedicii sibirskih otdelov IRGO*. <http://history.nsc.ru/kapital/project/us/3-2.html>.

² This name-variant of the Hungarian capital city became officially accepted in 1872.

³ A department of the Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Empire, founded in 1819.

⁴ In her detailed account, Edinarhova pointed out the use of the consul's father's name (Russ. *otčestvo*) in various forms in the sources, among others as Bálint used it: Parfent'evič Edinarhova: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii*. p. 37.

⁵ Bálint's *Diary*, cf. Appendix II.

II. Religion, Identity and Self-determination in mid-19th Century Khalkha Oral Tradition

While working on Bálint's Kalmyk text corpus it was striking that the material recorded among the Astrakhan Kalmyk people – to a greater extent among schoolboys, students and teachers – Buddhism and signs of Kalmyk/Oirat identity appeared only sporadically.¹ As mentioned above, Bálint based his field work in Urga primarily on one informant, the Lama Yondonjamc. Bálint highly appreciated his knowledge about the Khalkha oral tradition and apparently was on good terms with him. The eighty-eight pages of the Khalkha manuscript bear witness to their well organised teamwork. Bálint esteemed their collaboration in his *Report* to the Academy as follows:

“Upon arrival in Urga, I contracted a widely travelled and wandered lower-ranking hence married Lama (that is, priest) aged 45 to teach me, because among the *xar xün* [Bálint *khara khun*] (black people), i. e. the common people that is, only office administrators could undertake tuition but their official engagements would not have let them devote the time I needed to me.

My Lama tutor called Yondonjamc [Bálint Jandén Dsamcza] had little to do. Well known for his fluency in speaking, he could not write in Mongolian but only in Tibetan, for the Mongolian clergy find it beyond them to write, or even speak, in the language of their native folk. Money however loosened his tongue, and I was glad that he had not been concerned with anything else but the sacred Tibetan language and writs, for in this way he did not know the language of the Mongolian religious books which is rather well known through Kovalevskij's dictionary and could teach me the vernacular. Moving next to the Russian consulate, this lama could visit me twice a day upon my request.”²

Apparently Bálint wished to work with lay people also this time – as it emerges from his lines –, but being unable to find a proper person, he had nothing better to do than being tutored by a Lama. Though this choice had its advantage, i. e. Lamas lived on cattle breeding, handicraft, or trading, being this way integrated in everyday life, too:

“Two classes are differentiated among the Mongols: the class of Lamas [Bálint *láma khun*,

¹ The self-determination emerged in depicting the hostility between the Kalmyks and Cherkesses in a folk tale (Nr. 13. in Birtalan: *Kalmyk Folklore and Folk Culture in the mid-19th Century*. pp. 117–121.). The pride of being heirs to an ancient nomadic civilisation is clearly testified in the ethnographic studies of Kalmyk life style similarly to YondonJamc's narrations on the Mongolian customs.

² *Jelentése* p. 14, cf. Appendix I.

Khal. *lam xün*] or priests and the class of seculars [Bálint *khara khun*, Khal. *xar xün*] or common people. The former is differentiated from the latter by the head being close shaven, the normally thin moustache and beard being torn out. The costumes of both genders are cut in the same way, the clerical class may wear red or orange, the two colours reserved for them. Women may also belong to the priests' class, also with bald heads. The clerics among whom anyone may enter are unmarried except in the lower ranks; their occupations are teaching, healing, divine service. Each priest, including the high priest, has a farm of livestock, for a priestly existence does not absolve anyone of the struggle of self-subsistence. Poorer and lower-ranking Lamas, priests pursue handicrafts or trade, or hire themselves to others. That means that among Mongols occupations that need some training can be found in the priestly class. According to the Mongolian concept, priesthood is not an office that provides for one's living – though it may hold true in some regards – but it is advancement, a manner of improvement in Buddhist terms.”¹

Similarly to other Lamas, Yondonjamc also offered religious service for weddings, funerals, and other family events, and was familiar with folklore (songs, tales, riddles, wise sayings, anecdotes) and besides he had ideas on the monastic life and political structure of the that-time Khalkhas. He belonged to the clergy – even if he seemed to be removed to a certain extent from monastic life and the organised church. Bálint referred to him as “wandering Lama”, i. e. a *badarčin*, who travelled throughout the country, but unfortunately one cannot learn too much about his rank in the Buddhist clergy. Bálint mentioned only that he was a “lower-rank Lama” who got married and for this reason he is referred to as *xar lam* “black monk”.² The use of Tibetan and neglect of Mongolian among the clergy offers useful information in Bálint's article. However, Yondonjamc dictated a prayer in Mongolian (*Itegel, mörgöl*), so the clergy did not wholly ignore their native tongue even in respect of praying. In fact there are no more similar texts of this type in the corpus, but Bálint obviously asserted not being interested in Buddhist matters of a religio-philosophical or ceremonial nature, as it has been elaborated by Kovalevskij.

While going through the texts dictated by Yondonjamc to Bálint, it becomes clear that he was not only a Lama, but a Mongol to the core. His views about being a Mongol

¹ *Százötven nap a halha-mongol földön*, cf. Appendix III.

² “... a Khara lama (a Mongolian married clergyman), who had wandered in several parts of Mongolia ...”. – as Bálint mentioned him in the English Preface of his comparative Grammar, cf. *Grammar*. p. VIII. On the way of lyfe of the married Lamas, cf. Pozdneev: “... ih lamy, vopreki obetam bezbračija, živut otkryto s ženšinami i imejut detej.” Pozdneev, A. M.: *Obrazcy narodnoj literatury mongol'iskih plemen. Narodnyja pesni mongolov*. S.-Peterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk 1880. pp. 80–81. Further: Teleki: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. pp. 44–46.

pervade many of his texts. He was proud of being Mongol and of the Mongolian tradition, carefully described various typical nomadic customs and dictated folklore genres confirming his adherence to Mongolian oral tradition. The effort to cultivate the Mongolian oral tradition and customs, to preserve the cultural identity under the foreign rule clearly emerges from the Lama's texts. The Khalkha corpus includes various folklore genres and some narrations concerning the mid-nineteen century Khalkha political and religious structure (the Four Khanates, in *Manuscript* p. 65), the teaching in monasteries (in *Manuscript* pp. 67–68) and some topics connected to the traditional nomadic lifestyle. The Khalkha corpus will be analysed and translated by the author of the present lines in a separate volume in the series of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, similarly to the previous two Bálint manuscripts.

Highlights from Bálint's manuscript relevant to the present topic:

pp. 12–17. Xōčin k'ūnē ūges (Xūčin xūnī ūgēs)¹ “Sayings of early people”

pp. 18–33. Dō (Dū) “Song[s]”

p. 36. Onisxo (Onisgo) “Riddle[s]”

pp. 37–42. K'ōk'ite inēte yūmud (Xōxtē, inēdtē yumūd) “Joyful, humorous anecdotes (lit. “things”)”

pp. 50–51. Mongyol ulusēn yabodalēg ūjūlekči toli (Mongol ulsīn yawdlīg ūjūlegč toli) “Dictionary showing the situation of the Mongols”

pp. 52–58. Mongyol ulusēn ek'ener abči gerelk'ēn yoso (Mongol ulsīn exner awči gerlexīn yos) “The custom of wedding of the Mongols”

pp. 59–62. Mongol ulusēn uk'usen k'unē yasaīg bārixa yoso (Mongol ulsīn ūksen xūnī yasaīg barix yos) “The custom of burying of the Mongols”

pp. 63–64. Itegel, mörgöl (Itgel, mörgöl) “Faith Prayer”

pp. 69–71. Üliger (Ülger) “Tale”

pp. 71–79. Čingis bogdo xānē xara depterēn dotrās yaryaksan ūge, (Khalkha Čingis bogd xānī xar dewtrēs gargasan ūg) “Saying taken from the Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan”

pp. 80–88. Dalunē nom (Dalnī nom) “Story of scapulimancy”²

Now returning to the problem of religion and identity of the mid-19th century Mongols, some of the above listed text-items are examined to survey this phenomenon. To review

¹ The reconstructed Khalkha forms are given in brackets.

² “During this period of waiting I dealt with the objects belonging to the occupation of the Lama, namely: I put down fortune telling with the help of the sheep's shoulder-blade and its short history.” *Jelentése* p. 15, cf. Appendix I.

the history of Mongol identity through the centuries¹ in order to create a wider context seems to be a tempting opportunity, but due to the lack of space here only some aspects of this phenomenon can be touched upon. The approaches of Maurice Rossabi's article on the development of 17–18th century Mongolian identity² and Johan Elverskog's³ survey on Mongol identity and Buddhism in the late Qing period are used here as a framework to demonstrate how the efforts of “being Mongol” emerge in the texts dictated by a Lama who was Buddhist and Mongol in the mid-19th century. On the basis of Yondonjamc's texts the main elements of the Mongol identity was without doubt the glorious past of Chingis' epoch and the religion (in details cf. below). Further, the self-determination of the Mongols enclosed a xenophobic attitude towards the Chinese or probably it is more accurate to say Chinese merchants. Though the Chinese were prevented by the court to stay longer than a year in Mongolia and their trading activity was controlled, too, they found the ways how to elude the restrictions.⁴

Several texts dictated by the Lama and in lesser part by his disciples⁵ include the following aspects of Mongol identity and also Mongolian ethos:

The status of the religion among the 19th century Mongols.

Religion as the means of national self-identification and self-determination in terms of being Mongol in the Manchu-Chinese environment.

The relation of the Mongols to the political milieu of the Manchu governance, to the Emperor.

¹ E. g. reaching back to the 13th century sources and examining the language-evidences (cf. Rykin, Pavel: *Sozdanie mongol'skoj identičnosti: termin 'mongol' v epohu Čingishana*. In: *Acta Eurasica* 1 (16) 2002. pp. 48–84.) up to the 19 century narratives of the Bálint-corpus.

² Rossabi, Maurice: *The Development of Mongol Identity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. In: *Itinerario* XXIV. 2. Leiden, Grafaria 2000 pp. 44–61.

³ Elverskog, Johan: *Our Great Qing: the Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*. Honolulu Hawaii, University of Hawai'i Press 2006.

⁴ “Chinese merchants, however, capitalised on the Mongols' economic vulnerability. The Mongols sold their animals and animal products only in summer and early autumn but needed such Chinese products as grain, cloth, tea, and manufactured articles through the year. The Chinese merchants offered them credit but at extraordinary high rates of interest, often placing them in debt for life.” Rossabi: *The Development of Mongol Identity*. p. 50.

⁵ Concerning the folk songs, other informants were interviewed as well, because YondonJamc: “Soon running out of the folksongs he knew, my teacher hoping for more money tried to improvise songs in the Lama spirit, which I immediately noticed and interrupted the song collection to find a native singer.” “In the meantime my teacher brought a young Mongolian novice who knew songs and I put down several songs in his performance. However, I failed again to get as many songs as I had expected and hoped to find among the descendants of Chingis”. *Jelentése* p 15, cf. Appendix I. In his monograph devoted to folksongs of various Mongolian ethnic groups Pozdneev drew similar conclusion about the Khalkhas: Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. pp. 76–81, passim. He pointed out that the majority of the Khalkha songs are of Buddhist content, so Yondonjamc might have been “innocent” in this respect. Moreover according to Pozdneev the majority of Khalkha folk songs have been created by the Lamas on the basis of religious texts, cf. p. 81.

The relation of the Mongols to the Chinese social and cultural milieu.

The above aspects are discussed below centred around two larger topics, namely shaping identity with the help of Buddhism (1) and showing loyalty and disloyalty towards the Manchu-Chinese political and cultural environment (2).

II. 1. Efforts of Creating Mongol Identity via Buddhist Religion

The Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan

Undoubtedly the best example for a model of self-identification, i. e. being Mongol with the means of religion, is offered by the so-called *Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan*.¹ In a previous study I dealt in detail with this unique text examining historicity in the ahistoric source: 1. the historical value of the narrative, 2. the problem of the “making of a khan”, 3. the role of the khan’s insignia.² As it unfolds in the plot of the *Black Book*, the origin of the Buddhist religion among the Mongols and, moreover, in the whole Inner-Asian region including Tibet, is connected to the Mongols, namely to Chingis Khan’s eldest son, who becomes [a reincarnation of] the Dalai Lama and who claims to be the religious leader of all Mongols (cf. the main motifs of the narrative below). As there is no other similar chain of motifs in any narration at my disposal, it is hard to decide how much the plot was known among the Mongols, or to which extent it is Yondonjamc’s invention.³ In both cases, however, the plot is narrated to testify the Mongols’ legitimization efforts via the means of Buddhism, connecting the glorious historical past of Chingis’ epoch with the appearance of Buddhism and not only incorporating Chingis’ lineage into the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist ancestry. On the basis of the chain of motifs the religion appears as the key-component of self-determination in the 19th century political and cultural environment.

The main motifs of the narrative:⁴

I. Description of the differences between the burial customs of shamanism and Buddhism (this passage offers a kind of introduction to the origin of Buddhism among the

¹ *Činggis bogdo xānē xara depterēn dotorās yaryakson uge* (Khalkha *Čingis bogd xānī xar dewtrēs gargasan üg*) “Saying taken from the Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan” in *Manuscript* pp. 71–79.

² Birtalan, Agnes: *The Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan: Remarks on a 19th Century Mongolian Folklore Source*. In: *Northeast Asian Studies* 16. (2012) Tohoku University pp. 245–259. On the internet: <http://ir.library.tohoku.ac.jp/re/bitstream/10097/53696/1/1343-9332-2012-16-245.pdf>.

³ Though Bálint claimed that this narration was supposed to be the part of the oral tradition: “Then he narrated the first part of Chingis Khan’s black book from memory, as it was alive in oral tradition.” *Jelentése* p. 15. cf. Appendix I.

⁴ Cf. also in Birtalan: *The Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan*. pp. 251–252.

Mongols, and how the Buddhist ceremonies replace the animal sacrifices).

II. A prophecy is given to Chingis Khan from the Buddhist transcendental world layer, i. e. the above world, by the god Khormusda.¹

III. The transcendental world layer transmits the Buddhist Canonical scripts to Chingis' eldest son, called in the texts as the Dalai Lama.

IV. Chingis Khan distributes his legacy among three of his four sons.

V. Chingis Khan wants to transfer both the lay and religious rules into the hand of his eldest son.

VI. Chingis' eldest son refuses to rule over the religious and lay spheres, he undertakes only the religious power; this son of Chingis appears as [a reincarnation of] the Dalai Lama.

VII. Chingis Khan distributes the empire's territory and some ruler's insignia among his three sons.

VIII. Chingis Khan's fourth son behaves himself improperly (he breaks a behavioural taboo by sitting in an improper way), for this reason he receives the most difficult task, i. e. to rule over the heretics [followers of other creeds than Buddhism].

IX. Chingis Khan's youngest son receives further ruler's insignia.

X. Chingis' teaching (with the poetic means of an epic hyperbole) on how to rule over various peoples and territories, and how to become the Great Khan of the whole empire.

XI. Chingis provides a prophecy on the decline of political, economic and religious spheres but also the rise of the Mongols with the help of the people who were formerly heretics.

The above chain of motifs comprises the complete identification of Mongols with Buddhism, i. e. explaining the Mongol ruling elite as the prime source of spreading Buddhism in the region, and conveys the message that being Mongol means being Buddhist.

II. 2. Loyalty and disloyalty to the Manchu-Chinese political and cultural environment

Allusions in folklore genres (folk song, riddle, anecdote)

The loyalty to the religious leader, the 8th Jebjündamba (Khal. Jawjandamb) and at the

¹ The god Qormusda (Mong.), Xurmast (Khal.), Xyurmas, Tyurmas (Bur.), in detail: Birtalan, Ágnes: Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion. In: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I. Abteilung. Die alten Kulturvölker*. 34. Lieferung. Ed. Schmalzriedt, Egidius – Haussig, Hans Wilhelm. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta 2001. pp. 879–1097. on p. 1026.

same time to the Manchu emperor is reflected in several texts, e. g. in a riddle (Bálint *onisxo*, Khalkha *on'sgo*). Cf. Bálint *Arada altan ačir, öbört möngön ačir. tūnēg tāson maši sāin: Gegen bogdo ejen xān xoyor. Khalkha Ard altan očir, öwört möngön očir. Tūnīg tāsan n'maš sain. Gegēn bogdo, ejen xān xoyor.* (in *Manuscript* p. 36) “A golden *vajra* on the back and a silver *vajra* in the lap. The invention of it is very superior. [They are] the Bogdo Gegeen and the [Manchu] Emperor.” This short example could be comprehended as the motto of the epoch in terms of the “officially” accepted ethos. The loyalty to the Manchu Emperor returns in the First Song of the *Manuscript* (1. *Dō*, Khal *Dū*, in *Manuscript* p. 18, cf. Appendix IV.) as a devotional appraisal of being in the service of the Manchu Emperor. The text was translated by Bálint in a fairly proper way and included into the *Chrestomathy* of his *Grammar*;¹ here I offer a Khalkhaised transcription of Bálint’s text showing also Western-Khalkha dialectal features and provide my interpretation of relevant strophes.

<i>Erdnīn jorō šargīg unaj</i>	Strophe 1.
<i>Ejen xānī alband</i>	Riding the jewel-[like] ambler
<i>Amar mend yawiyā!</i>	Let me go in the service of the Emperor
	In health and peace!
<i>Ejen xānī alban</i>	Strophe 3.
<i>Endūrelgūi gegč</i>	My racing yellow horse
<i>Xurdaṅ šar mor' min'</i>	[Goes] without failing
<i>Yigtei [=yāsan] sain mor' bī</i>	In the Emperor's service;
	[What a] superb horse it is! ²
<i>Ejen xānī xairlasan</i>	Strophe 4.
<i>Galtai šar mor' min'</i>	[What] the Emperor graciously gave me
<i>Yigtei [=yāsan] cecen bū bī.</i>	Are my fiery yellow horse and
	My superb wise gun.

The song alludes to the presents given by the Manchu government to loyal Mongols, as the best horse and the foremost gun. Pozdneev published Khalkha songs appraising the Boyda³ and the emperor's service (in Pozdneev's transcription and my translation):

¹ *Grammar*: p. 148.

² This strophe is not included in the *Grammar*, only in the *Manuscript*.

³ Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. pp. 87–88. He pointed out the loyalty to the ruling elite, too similarly as it emphasised in Bálint's texts: “... halhasy soveršenno ne imejut u sebja pesen', vyražajuših kakoe libo neprijaznosti k kitajskomu pravitel'stvu.” Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. p. 125. I. e. towards the Manchu ruling elite.

gürünei xānai albāndu erxe biši mordodog ¹	2cd He definitely leaves To serve the emperor [lit. the Khan of the empire]
--	---

The relationship between the Mongols and the Chinese people appearing in increasing numbers does not reflect the above loyalty towards the head of the ruling elite. Chinese people were face-to-face with the Mongols in everyday contacts. The typical difference between the nomadic Mongols and settled Chinese appears in Bálint's article devoted to the larger audience. Bálint respects both ethnicities and criticises them only to some extent, not falling into the trap of appealing stereotypes.

"Next, he describes the two kinds of people living in Khalkha Mongolia: namely, the still nomadizing hence miserable but proud Mongols despising all other people as ridiculous, and the immigrant, industrious, tidy Chinese, the main elements of all sedentary groups in Mongolia, who begin tilling land however hard it may at the very place they are allowed to settle, or do gardening at least, beside trading and the crafts.

The traveller tries to clarify that labelling the Chinese as swindlers without scruples is unjustified; he adduces in proof the letters of credit issuable to the amount of one's wealth by merchants of Khüree and Maimachen [Bálint Khuren [sic!], Mai-mai chin, Khal. Xürē, Maimačēn]; these *tedza-s* (Chin.) introduced because of the tediousness of shopping with blocks of tea and hemispheres of pure silver are based on mutual trust, and it never happens that someone issues so many *tedzas* in return for blocks of tea that he is unable to pay immediately as his *tedza* is presented. A corollary argument is that the traveller had not seen a single Chinese convict with a penal wooden board round his neck."²

However, in Yondonjame's texts the xenophobic, negative attitude towards Chinese people cannot be denied and the Mongol ethos comprises the clear distinction between themselves and the Chinese.³ The Mongols, otherwise losers of the mutual connections, tried to overcome their rivals in the folklore, in mocking anecdotes and – not surprisingly with the opponent's "weapon", trickiness which was a characteristic feature of the Chinese merchants.⁴ The mocking anecdotic narrations about the conflict between the Mongolian

¹ Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. pp. 125–127.

² *Százötven nap a halha-mongol földön*, cf. Appendix 3.

³ "Such affirmations entailed an explicit identification of what constituted 'Mongolness' as well as what did not – that is, the distinction between themselves and the Manchus and Chinese." Rossabi: *The Development of Mongol Identity*. p. 50.

⁴ Here again Pozdneev can be quoted: "Javl'ajajs' v Halhu v bol'sinstve slučae v kak torgovcy, oni nevol'no v'hodjat v soprikosnovenije s narodom, a stalkivajas' s nim neobhodimo vozbuz'dajut k sebe nenavist'" Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. p. 123-

and Chinese cultural environment appears in the pages of Bálint's Khalkha manuscript (pp. 37, 39–42). The basic situation of these anecdotes is: a Mongol and Chinese travel together and the Mongol using the Chinese's credulity makes a fool of him. Two of the anecdotes have been translated by Bálint into German, published in *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*¹ and referred also by Laufer as specimens of Mongolian folklore.² Pozdneev reported that mocking song are also widespread among the Khalkhas: "Nasmeški i bran' sostavljajut glavnejšee soderžanie narodnyh mongol'skih pesen' pro kitajcev."³

This dichotomous attitude to the ruling forces is without doubt a characteristic of the 19th century Mongolian ethos. Being brave enough to communicate to a foreign researcher not only the integrating but also the disintegrating views towards the Manchu-Chinese milieu is also an important sign of self-determination.

Concerning the xenophobia of the Mongols, it is not extended to the Tibetans⁴ and Russians in the seventies of the 19th century. The Russian just started to be present permanently in Mongolia either as diplomats (cf. the above the part on Russian consulate), or explorers travelling into the deepest country, or merchants, but not yet in larger numbers. The alluring idea of Russophilism in the text of the *Black Book*, the conscious identification of the Russians (called by him the heretics in the text, cf. above Motifs VIII–IX) as the future ally of the Mongols and as a means to find a way out of the present situation cannot be proven and cannot be indisputably comprehended as a political vision of the Lama.

Conclusions

Ethnic and religious self-identification in the texts

The mid-nineteenth century ethos characterising the Mongols is reflected in Bálint's records. While religious views, the loyalty and relation to the Russians or other nationalities are infrequent among the Kalmyk texts, they are decisive in the Khalkha records. One of the main reasons is unquestionably that the circle of Bálint's main

¹ Bálint, Gábor: Mongolische Anekdoten. Aus dem Volksmunde aufgezeichnet und mitgeteilt von Gabr. Bálint de Szt.-Katolna. In: *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*. IV. (1895) pp. 70–71.

² Laufer, Berthold: *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*. (Keleti Szemle VIII.) 1907. pp. 12–261, on pp. 247–248.

³ Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. pp. 123–124.

⁴ Cf. also Pozdneev's meaning on this phenomenon: Pozdneev: *Obrazcy*. pp. 121–123.

informants in Urga belonged to the clergy (even if Yondonjamc was a married monk and as it is clear from Bálint's notes that he was keen on the secular life), but it is also obvious that the records – as sample texts of that-time folklore genres – reflect the common views of the Mongols living in the Manchu-Chinese cultural environment. The recollection of the glorious historical past is embedded into the religious context of Buddhist legitimation and self-determination (as in the *Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan*). Nevertheless, parallel with this decisive ethos both loyalty to the Emperor (riddle, folk song) and keeping a distance from the Chinese cultural environment (mocking anecdotes on various social layers of the Chinese people) are represented equally in the folklore genres.

Bibliography

Akadémiai Értesítő VI. (1872) pp. 208–210. [Proceedings of the Academy] cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

Bálint, Gábor: A mandsuk szertartásos könyve. In: *Bálint Gábor Jelentése Oroszország- és Ázsiában tett utazásáról és nyelvészeti tanulmányairól. Melléklet öt khálmik dano hangjegye*. (Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből. IV. 1875) pp. 3–16. [The ritual book of the Mandsus. In: Gábor Bálint's report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. With notes of five Kalmyk songs. (Treatises from the Department of Linguistics and Aesthetics of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences) cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

Bálint Gábor Jelentése Oroszország- és Ázsiában tett utazásáról és nyelvészeti tanulmányairól. Melléklet öt khálmik dano hangjegye. In: *Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből*. IV. (1875) pp. 1–19. [Gábor Bálint's report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. With notes of five Kalmyk songs. In: Treatises from the Department of Linguistics and Aesthetics of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences] cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*.

Bálint, Gábor: Mongolische Anekdoten. Aus dem Volksmunde aufgezeichnet und mitgeteilt von Gabr. Bálint de Szt.-Katolna. In: *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*. IV. (1895) pp. 70–71.

Bálint, Gábor: Százötven nap a halha-mongol földön. In: Zágoni, Jenő (ed.): *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, Válogatott írások*. Budapest without publisher 2005. pp.

109–116. [One hundred and fifty days in Khalkha-Mongolian Land. In: Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works].

Bawden, Charles R. (ed.): *Tales of an Old Lama*. (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII). Tring, U. K., The Institute of Buddhist Studies 1997.

Bawden, Charles R.: *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*. (Asiatische Forschungen 9.) Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1969.

Birtalan, Ágnes (ed.): *Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, A Romanized Grammar of the East- and West-Mongolian Languages. With popular Chrestomathies of both Dialects*. Ed. and Introduced: Ágnes Birtalan. (Budapest Oriental Reprints: Series B 3) Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Csoma de Kőrös Society 2009.

Birtalan, Ágnes: *Kalmyk Folklore and Folk Culture in the mid-19th Century. Philological Studies on the Basis of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna's Kalmyk Texts*. (Oriental Studies 15) Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Elista, Kalmyk Institute of Humanitarian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences 2011.

Birtalan, Ágnes: Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion. In: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I. Abteilung. Die alten Kulturvölker*. 34. Lieferung. Ed. Schmalzriedt, Egidius – Haussig, Hans Wilhelm. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta 2001. pp. 879–1097.

Birtalan, Ágnes: The Black Book of the Holy Chingis Khan: Remarks on a 19th Century Mongolian Folklore Source. In: *Northeast Asian Studies* 16. (2012) Tohoku University pp. 245–259. On the internet: <http://ir.library.tohoku.ac.jp/re/bitstream/10097/53696/1/1343-9332-2012-16-245.pdf>

Darevskaja, E. M.: *Sibir' i Mongolija. Očerki russko-mongol'skich svjazej v konce XIX – načale XX. vv.* Irkutsk. Izd. IGU 1994.

Edinarhova, N. E.: Sozdanie russkogo konsul'stva v Urge. In: *Rossija i Vostok: Vzgljad iz Sibiri v konce stoletija*. I. Irkutsk, Izd. Ottisk 2000. pp. 333–335

Edinarhova, N. E.: *Russkij konsul v Mongolii: Otčjot Ja. P. Šišmarjova o 25-letnej dejatel'nosti Urginskogo konsul'stva*. Iskutsk 2001.

Elverskog, Johan: *Our Great Qing: the Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*. Honolulu, Hawaii, University of Hawai'i Press 2006.

Kara, György (ed.): Bálint Gábor keleti levelei. Jelentése Oroszország- és Ázsiában tett utazásáról. Értekezése a mandsuk szertartásos könyvéről. Budapest, Kőrösi Csoma

Társaság 1973. [Gábor Bálint's eastern letters. His report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. His treatise on the Ritual book of the Manchus].

Kovalevskij, O. / Kowalewski, J. É.: *Mongol'sko-russkij-francuzskij slovar'*. *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*. I–III. Kazan'/Kazan 1844–1849. (reprinted: Taipei, SMC Publishing Inc. 1993).

Laufer, Berthold: *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*. (Keleti Szemle VIII.) 1907. pp. 12–261.

MOSES, L. W., *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*. Indiana University Uralic Altaic Series. Vol. 133. Bloomington, 1977

Pozdneev, A. M.: *Obrazcy narodnoj literatury mongol'skich plemen. Narodnyja pesni mongolov*. S.-Peterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk 1880.

Pozdneev, A. M.: *Mongolija i mongoly. Reul'taty poezdki v Mongoliju, ispolnennoj v 1892–1893 gg.* 1–2. Sankt-Peterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk 1896, 1898.

Pozdneev, A., *Očerki byta buddijskich monastyrej i buddijskago duhovenstva v Mongolii v svjazi s otnošenijami sего poslednego k narodu*. Sanktpeterburg, Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk 1887.

Rupen, Robert A.: The City of Urga in the Manchu Period. In *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nicholas Poppe*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1957. pp. 157–169.

Rossabi, Maurice: *The Development of Mongol Identity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. In: *Itinerario XXIV*. 2. Leiden, Grafaria 2000 pp. 44–61.

Rykin, Pavel: Sozdanie mongol'skoj identičnosti: termin 'mongol' v epohu Čingishana. In: *Acta Eurasica* 1 (16) 2002. pp. 48–84.

Šastina, N. P.: A. M. Pozdneev. (Podgotovka k pečati i primečanija A. G. Sazykinym). In *Mongolica VI*. (2003) pp. 7–18.

Schmidt, I. J.: *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's, des Vertilgers der Wurzel der zehn Übel in den zehn Gegenden. Eine ostasiatische Heldensage*. St. Petersburg, W. Gräff – Leipzig, Leopold Voss 1839.

Šmidt, I. Ja.: *Podvigi ispolnennago zaslug geroja Bogdy Gesser Hana, istrebitelja desjati zol v desjati stranah; gerojskoe predanie mongolov, s napečatannago v Pekine ekzemplara*. S. Peterburg, Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk 1836

Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor önéletrajzi naplótöredéke. In: Zágoni, Jenő (ed.):

Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, *Válogatott írások*. Budapest, without publisher 2005. pp. 19–57. [Fragmentary Diary of Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna. In: Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works].

Szilágyi, Zsolt: Legitimáció. A mongol buddhista egyház szerepe a világi hatalom legitimációjában. In: *Ethno-lore XXV*. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Kutatóintézetének Évkönyve. Szerk.: Vargyas Gábor – Berta Péter. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 2008. pp. 54-70.

Teleki, Krisztina: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. Ulaanbaatar, Institute of History Mongolian Academy of Sciences 2011.

Zágoni, Jenő (ed.): Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, *Válogatott írások*. Budapest, without publisher 2005. [Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works]

Internet sources

First Convention of Peking (1860). <http://www.chinaforeignrelations.net/node/234> (last downloaded: 21. 04. 2012)

Ioriš, I. I.: *Važnejšee sobytija žizni i dejatel'nosti A. M. Pozdneeva*. http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/images/pdf/a_iorish_2003.pdf (last downloaded: 10. 08. 2011)

Majer, Zsuzsa – Teleki, Krisztina: *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree, Ikh Khüree or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century*. Ulānbātar 2006.

<http://www.mongoliantemples.net/images/pdfs/OLDUBWEB%202008.pdf> (last downloaded: 21. 04. 2012)

Pozdneyev, A. M.: *Mongolia and the Mongols*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 61) Ed. Krueger, J. R. Bloomington IN, Indiana University 1971 <http://www.iras.ucalgary.ca/~volk/sylvia/Pozdneyev.htm> (last downloaded: 11. 03. 2012)

Šastina, N. P.: A. M. Pozdneev. (Podgotovka k pečati i primečanija A. G. Sazykinym). In: *Mongolica* VI. 2003) pp. 7–18. http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/images/pdf/a_shastina_2003.pdf (last downloaded: 11. 03. 2012).

Us, Larisa Borisovna: *Zarubežnye ekspedicii sibirskih otdelov IRGO*. <http://history.nsc.ru/kapital/project/us/3-2.html>

Vámbéry, Ármin's publications and biography: <http://www.terebess.hu/keletkultinfo/vambery.html> (last downloaded: 01. 04. 2012)

Appendix I.

The three sources offer three different approaches to the topic. The first is the official Report to the Academy almost free of personal attitude. It is an account of scholars who tried to confirm the results of his field research in a somewhat hostile milieu of his contemporaries. The second, his *Diary* was not published until Zágoni collected and issued it, and seems to be written down in order not to forget the events and probably with the intention of later enhancement. The third, *One hundred and fifty days* is a popular article that was published in Bálint's time with the aim of making Hungarian people to become acquainted with Bálint's journey and some customs of the Mongols.¹

Fragment from Bálint's *Report*²

(Fragment)

[Jelentése 13, Zágoni 152] I already began my Mongolia-related activity during my journey from Kyakhta to Urga by registering the pronounced names of objects I saw on the way.

From Kyahta the language I communicated in was the Western Mongolian or Kalmyk language which I had studied in Astrakhan; the Mongols [Jelentése 14] understood my language after which they thought I was Torgot [Khal, Torgūd] i. e. Hungarian [Bálint Dzsungáriai] Mongol better than at first I understood the Mongolian they spoke.

Upon arrival in Urga, I contracted a widely travelled and wandered lower-ranking hence married Lama (that is, priest) aged 45 to teach me, because among the xar xūn [Bálint *khara khun*] (black people), i. e. the common people that is, only office administrators could undertake tuition but their official engagements would not have let them devote the time I needed to me.

My Lama tutor called Yondonjamc [Bálint Jandén Dsámca, cf. Khal. Yondonjamc] had little to do. Well known for his fluency in speaking, he could not write in Mongolian but

¹ It is remarkable, that he did not issue similar essay on the Kalmyks.

² Zágoni, Jenő. Cf. *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, Válogatott írások*. Ed. and published by Jenő Zágoni. Budapest 2005. pp. 152–153. Bálint Gábor Jelentése Oroszország- és Ázsiában tett utazásáról és nyelvészeti tanulmányairól. Melléklet öt khálmik dano hangjegye. In: *Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztálya köréből*. IV. (1875) pp. 1–19. [Gábor Bálint's report on his journey in Russia and Asia and on his linguistic studies. With notes of five Kalmyk songs. In: *Treatises from the Department of Linguistics and Aesthetics of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences*] cf. also Kara, György: *Bálint Gábor keleti levelei*. pp. 13–16.

only in Tibetan, for the Mongolian clergy find it beyond them to write, or even speak, in the language of their native folk. Money however loosened his tongue, and I was glad that he had not been concerned with anything else but the sacred Tibetan language and writs, for in this way he did not know the language of the Mongolian religious books which is rather well known through Kowalewski's dictionary and could teach me the vernacular.

[Zágoni 153] Moving next to the Russian consulate, this lama could visit me twice a day upon my request.

My primary activity was to collect words and sentences; first I put down the names of the objects seen in my room and around me, then I went into the Mongol yurts and recorded the parts of the tent itself and the objects inside. On festive occasions when complete horse furniture and carts could be seen and several Mongols rallied together, I collected the names of harness and carriage.

I went with my lama teacher to the bank of the river Tuul [Bálint Tula, Khal. Tūl] and registered the names of animals and their young.

When we went to the town, I asked the names pertinent there. I went into the kitchen gardens of the Chinese and the Lamas, but I could learn the names of very few plants, for the Mongols had only got to know them through the Chinese people and therefore they had no native designations, even for those growing wild, at least in that area.

[Jelentése 15] I conducted the collection of sentences and dialogues by naming different occasions and asking my tutor to speak about them in the way they usually talk about them among themselves. I put down these accounts in as faithful transcription as possible, then I read out what I had written and we corrected them.

When I had gained some command of the Mongolian vernacular in this way, I began collecting materials by translating into Khalkha [Bálint *kálka*] Mongolian the Geser Khan epics [Bálint Geser Kháné tódsi, Khal. Geser xānī tūj, lit "story"], an epic or myth of a popular hero published by Schmidt with German translation.

The transcription of this narrative amounted to fifty written pages; I could hardly do more than a page a day, because I had to understand sentence by sentence, even word for word, how my teacher interpreted the published text first and then how he expressed it in his own native language.

During transcription I put down the sayings and variants of the terms in the story that came to my teacher's mind.

After the transcription of this story I began the actual collecting work of the vernacular tongue. Soon running out of the folksongs he knew, my teacher hoping for more money tried to improvise songs in the Lama spirit, which I immediately noticed and interrupted

the song collection to find a native singer.

During this period of waiting I dealt with the objects belonging to the occupation of the Lama, namely: I put down fortune telling with the help of the sheep's shoulder-blade and its short history. [Zágoni 153] Then he narrated the first part of Chingis khan's black book from memory, as it was alive in oral tradition.

Then I put down the "Credo" of the Mongolian people, then the story of the "Crazy khan" and a few funny anecdotes told by my tutor.

In the meantime my teacher brought a young Mongolian novice who knew songs and I put down several songs in his performance. However, I failed again to get as many songs I had expected and hoped to find among the descendants of Chingis.

My Lama also brought some members of the southern or Chakhar [Khal. Čaxar] Mongol [Jelentése 16] tribe to me, who were interesting to see and whose speech was good to hear as its tone is different from the northern Mongolian by the palatalisation of a few consonants. These southern Mongols usually come to Mai ma chen [Bálint Mai-mai-chin] and Küren transporting Chinese commodities and some of their cereals on two-wheel ox-drawn carts. As the journey takes nearly a month across the Gobi desert, they were in a hurry to return, so I got no more linguistic material from them than a few words of different pronunciation.

Then I wrote down a Buddhist parable and a few riddles which are rather poor but still enlarged my vernacular collection.

Finally, I recorded the main outlines of the Mongolian way of living after my Lama's account, precisely the customs of the Mongols related to birth, marriage and death.

Appendix II.

Fragment from Bálint's *Diary*¹(Fragment)

[51] April 20th. At Sunday dawn the water for tea was not boiling yet when Dondog² [Bálint Donduk, Khal. Dondog] and Serenjaw/Cerenjaw [Bálint Sherendzab, Khal. Serenjaw]³ Lamas arrived with the rest of the camels. We had arrived at the resting place earlier despite the detour because our three camels were the strongest and could proceed at a good pace, while the rest of the company had weaker animals as the season of spring was

¹ Zágoni, Jenő. Cf. *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor, Válogatott írások*. Ed. and published by Jenő Zágoni. Budapest 2005. pp. 51–52.

² The names and Mongolian terminology follow Bálint's spelling; the corrected forms are given in square brackets.

³ The form Šerenjaw seems to be not correct, the current version of the name could be Cerenjaw/Serenjaw or pronounced in Buriad way: Serenjab.

nearing. All were thin as the livestock of the Mongols live on the dry grass they scratch out of the snow for themselves. At 9 in the morning Bold [Bálint Bolot, Khal. Bold] got three camels ready and set out for Urga (Khüren); I gave half a Rubble as a present to both Dondog and Serenjaw Lamas who remained behind. Riding fast all day, by sunset we arrived in the capital of Mongolia, Urga, just at the time when two *gecül*s (Lama novice) [Bálint *gecül*, Khal. *gecül*, Tib. *dge tsul*] were blowing a flourish on their instruments¹ similar to the Sekler [Hung. Székely] alpine horn to celebrate Maitreya [Bálint Májderé, Khal. Maidar, Mong. Maidari, Skr. Maitreya] Buddhist Lamas claim she will be the female [sic!] Buddha of the next age when women will rule and the horses will urinate like dogs now.² The statue of this goddess rising 75 ells high reaches to the top of the temple build of pine logs. Urga, the seat of the *Khutugtu* (archbishop or high priest) [Bálint *khutuktu*, Khal. *xutagt*, Mong. *qutuytu*] of the Mongols consists of tents surrounded by pine fences, which form the irregular streets. Apart from the temple of Májderé,³ the temples are all large tents. Exceptions are the houses of the Chinese living on the outskirts of the town; these are made of mud bricks with mud roofs level with three sides of the plots, the fourth side – the entrance side – being fenced off with pine planks. In the middle of the town I gave the rest of my bread to a little naked boy who could hardly speak. Outside the town a mounted Kozak [52] came to meet me and escorted me to the precincts of the Russian consulate. In the yard of the compound fenced round with planks, the secretary of the consulate I. V. Paderin⁴ welcomed me in English and led me to the room assigned to me. I gave Bold a little purse with silver 10 kopek pieces worth one and a half Rubbles. He thanked it with the “Be happy!” greeting and started back for Khüren, which they call Urga in Mongolian, with a joyful face. I got out my pulp wash basin and washed myself for the first time in a week, then put on my grey suit bought from Budapest,⁵ for I took no black suit abhorred by the Mongols with me. When I had a hearty meal from the snack sent to me by the secretary, I went upstairs to the consul who welcomed me warmly and told me he had been instructed by the Asian Department [Russ. Aziatskij Departament]⁶ to

¹ Cf. Mong. *ix бүр* or *үхэр бүр* “large lamaistic trumpet”.

² This text fragment appears in the so called Black Book of Chingis Khan recoded by Bálint from his Lama teacher, Yodonjamc as prophecy on the future: “the women will govern the state (Bálint *ek'ener-k'ün törö bärix bolxo*); the dog will urinate as the horse (Bálint *noxāē morišik (moričilai) šēk'e*)”, in details, cf. Birtalan 2012.

³ On the temple cf. the main text of the article.

⁴ Paderin “služil ispravljajušim dela sekretarja I dragomana konsul'stva v Urge”; he became famous as one of the first explorers of Karakorum. Cf. Us, Larisa Borisovna: *Zarubežnye ekspedicii sibirskih otdelov IRGO*. <http://history.nsc.ru/kapital/project/us/3-2.html>

⁵ This name-variant of the Hungarian capital city became officially accepted since 1872.

⁶ A department of the Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Empire, founded in 1819.

give me board and lodging while I was there because I could get no accommodation or food in Urga. Soon the consul's wife Maria Nikolaevna, a blond woman of 30, appeared and her husband introduced me to her. The most respectful address among Russians, both men and women, is to say the person's Christian name and the name of the father with the suffix meaning N's son or daughter. Maria Nikolaevna (pron. [in Hung.] Nyikolayevna) is thus Maria, the daughter of Nicholas. The consul Jakov Parfen'evič Šišmarjov [Bálint Jakob Parfenteevich Shishmarev]¹ as the surname indicates is of Mongolian origin, speaks Mongolian and is a practical man. His secretary studied Manchu-Mongolian and Chinese as well as law at Saint Petersburg University. The consul's wife is the daughter of a rich doctor in Irkutsk who finished secondary school, learnt French and English but for lack of practice forgot both. She called me Mister Bálint in the English way, her husband addressed me as Gabriel Andreevich. While we were conversing, the consul's wife brought a samovar to the table and after drinking a few cups of fine tea, we parted. I made my bed with the bedding I had bought from Kazan and slept till morning.

I spent the 151 days in the land of the Khalkha Mongols with the following work: [...]².

1873, Sept. 12th, Thursday morning I said good-bye to the consul and his wife, as well as the secretary and joined a Buryat Mongol and Russian caravan on a borrowed Chinese cart drawn by horses, which cost me 24 Rubbles to Kyakhta.

My black lama teacher Yondonjamc escorted me to the pass called Mantaer³ on a borrowed horse, and took farewell when it was past noon with the well-wishing "May your trip be lucky, mister Bálint!" and he turned back. We stopped for the night at Orrkha-daba.⁴

Appendix III.

One Hundred and Fifty Days in Khalkha-Mongol Land⁵ (Fragment)

[Zágoni 112] Next, he describes the two kinds of people living in Khalkha Mongolia: namely, the still nomadizing hence miserable but proud Mongols despising all other

¹ In her detailed account, Edinarhova pointed out the use of the consul's father's name (Russ. *otčestvo*) in various forms in the sources, among others as Bálint has used it: Parfent'evič Edinarhova..

² No further information is given here on his achievements, apparently because it is introduced in his Jelentés and in the report entitled *Százötven nap halha-mongol földön*. "Hundred and one Days in Khalkha-Mongolian Land". The number of days differs in his report and in the diary.

³ The place is not identified closer yet.

⁴ The place is not identified closer yet.

⁵ *Százötven nap a halha-mongol földön*. In: Zágoni, Jenő (ed.): *Szentkatolnai Bálint Gábor; Válogatott írások*. Budapest, without publisher 2005. [One hundred and fifty days in Khalkha-Mongol land. In: Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, selected works] pp. 109–116.

people as ridiculous, and the immigrant, industrious, tidy Chinese, the main elements of all sedentary groups in Mongolia, who begin tilling land however hard it may be at the very place they are allowed to settle, or do gardening at least, beside trading and the crafts.

The traveller tries to clarify that labelling the Chinese as swindlers without scruples is unjustified; he adduces in proof the letters of credit issuable to the amount of one's wealth by merchants of Khüree and Maimachen [Bálint Khuren, Mai-mai chin, Khal. Xürē, Maimačen] ; these *tedza*-s (Chin.) introduced because of the tediousness of shopping with blocks of tea and hemispheres of pure silver are based on mutual trust, and it never happens that someone issues so many *tedzas* in return for blocks of tea that he is unable to pay immediately as his *tedza* is presented. A corollary argument is that the traveller had not seen a single Chinese convict with a penal wooden board round his neck.

Finally, he touches on the relationship between the merchant and his assistant: the assistant works for a set ratio of the profit, which rises after each year of service until it is equal with that of the capitalist.

[Zágoni 113] Two classes are differentiated among the Mongols: the class of Lamas [Bálint *láma khun*, Khal. *lam xün*] or priests and the class of seculars [Bálint *khara khun*, Khal. *xar xün*] or common people. The former is differentiated from the latter by the head being close shaven, the normally thin moustache and beard being torn out. The costumes of both genders are cut in the same way, the clerical class may wear red or orange, the two colours reserved for them. Women may also belong to the priests' class, also with bald heads. The clerics among whom anyone may enter are unmarried except in the lower ranks; their occupations are teaching, healing, divine service. Each priest, including the high priest, has a farm of livestock, for a priestly existence does not absolve anyone of the struggle of self-subsistence. Poorer and lower-ranking Lamas, priests pursue handicrafts or trade, or hire themselves to others. That means that among Mongols occupations that need some training can be found in the priestly class. According to the Mongolian concept, priesthood is not an office that provides for one's living – though it may hold true in some regards – but it is advancement, a manner of improvement in Buddhist terms.

By contrast, the *khara-khun* who are little concerned with religious knowledge are looked upon as inferior because they contribute less to salvation as it is understood by Buddhists.

The common Mongol people are livestock breeders to the extent to which they see to it that the livestock in their area shall not be stolen or attacked by wild beasts, without devoting more attention to them. Even in winter the domestic animals, camels, cattle and goats – sheep which constitute the only nutriment of the Mongols – must go untended.

Appendix IV.

Song Nr. 6.¹

<http://innerasia.hu/private/Balint-duu6.tif>

¹ The Song is numbered as 6th in the *Grammar*. Bálint used a simplified transcription for his *Chrestomathy*, added an English translation and a short list of vocabulary. *Grammar*: p. 148.