

## BILEGSAIKHAN TAMIRJAVYN

### Some Remarks on *Ovoo* Worship among the Dariganga Mongols

#### Abstract

In result of an anthropological long-term fieldwork among the Dariganga Mongols, I discussed in the paper some theoretical approaches to the cult of the Earth. The *ovoo* (in English literature often written as *obo*, ‘cairn’) worship is one of the most well-known religious practices in Mongolian communities across Inner Asia, but some of its aspects still remain unclear in the academic literature. For example, I distinguish the term *ovoo* as having three different meanings: a) supernatural entities, b) sacred mountains, and c) altar facilities in eastern Mongolia. Some urban inhabitants criticize the *ovoo* worship as useless, while majority of Mongols continue to worship the Earth. I stressed some extreme cases of the Halzan *ovoo* in the recent years in the context of the interrelationship of culture and nature. As a consequence, I regard the supernatural entities, which Mongols call *tengers*, as playing important role for the local community. The *ovoo* worship, such as the county *ovoo*, is formally supported by the state. Therefore, *ovoo* worship is interconnected with the concept of homeland.

**Keywords:** Mongolia, *ovoo* worship, Halzan county *ovoo*, Tenger, animism, punishment, propitiation, homeland

#### Introduction

“Women must not climb to the top of a mountain because of a new regulation,” – every woman arriving in front of the Mount Halzan was warned by some men. Women wondered who introduced this new custom. They were informed that the lamas forbid women to ascend the Halzan Mountain. As a result, most women, who would have liked to make a pilgrimage to the mountain peak, unwillingly stayed at the foot of the

mountain. The small dispute occurred last summer in the Sükhbaatar province, southeastern Mongolia, where I did fieldwork over sixteen months among the Darigangas. Dariganga people, an ethnic group of Mongols, inhabits mainly six counties of the southern part of the Sükhbaatar province, namely Asgat, Bayandelger, Dariganga, Naran, Halzan, and Ongon.

In this paper, I will use my data from the Halzan county to describe some aspects of the *ovoo* worship. In fact the *ovoo* worship is one of the heated social issues, and one of the well-known religious practices in modern Mongolia. For example, in the present day, some intellectuals and inhabitants of urban areas strongly criticize the *ovoo* worship as superstitious practice. According to them, the revival of the *ovoo* worship retreats to the dark period (*haranhui üye*) from before the dramatic socialist transformation in the last century. On the contrary, the *ovoo* worship is still essential activity for many Mongols, in particular in the rural areas where people are related closely to nature.

Today Mongols divide *ovoo* into two types: state *ovoo* or more precisely ‘*ovoo* of state offering’ (*töriin tahilgatai ovoo*), and local *ovoo* or ‘*ovoo* of local offering’ (*oron nutgiin tahilgatai ovoo*). Currently, ten sacred mountains are worshipped on national level under the auspices of the President of Mongolia, while several hundred *ovoos* are worshipped by local people. In fact, none of the twenty-one provinces of Mongolia worships sacred mountain at a provincial level at present. Local *ovoos* are worshipped at a lower level of the province such as county, district and so on. Sławoj Szynkiewicz divides local Mongolian community into four levels such as a) group camping together, b) the community of one valley, c) the former county and the present unit, and d) the former banner and the present county.<sup>1</sup> I will describe the main sacred mountain of the Halzan county, because it can represent the county *ovoo*, the largest *ovoo* of the local community in contemporary Mongolia.

The Mount Halzan, 1153 m, is a hill with a gentle slope looking similarly to other small mountains of the semi-deserted steppe, but it is the most sacred mountain in the surrounding area. Local people have worshipped it for hundred years. The elderly say that they heard how the Mount Halzan was a main sacred mountain of the unit of the Western horse of Dariganga Pasture during the Qing Empire. When the unit was transformed to a county system in 1925, the county borrowed the name Halzan (‘bald’) from its sacred mountain. Even though the ceremony of the mountain worship was temporarily forbidden by the party (MPRP) during the socialist times, the believers made a secret pilgrimage to the Mount Halzan. When Mongolia was transformed into a democratic system, the believers restored the ceremony of the Halzan Mountain worship as a county *ovoo* (*sumyn ovoo*) – worship of the main sacred mountain of the county. Actually, the Halzan *ovoo* worship became the official duty of the county governor. As a consequence, mainly local leaders organized the Halzan *ovoo* worship apart from lamas’ religious activities during the year.

---

<sup>1</sup> Szynkiewicz 1992: 25.

### A retrospective outlook on *ovoo*

At the beginning of my paper I would like to clarify better the term *ovoo*. It is referred to as *obo* or *oboo* in literature, however I prefer to use the modern Mongolian form *ovoo*. In general, the *ovoo* is mainly described as an altar, which is figured by stone or wooden cairn on the top of the mountain, mountain pass, rock, and water resources (river, lake, spring). For instance, Tatār considers that the *obo* is not the dwelling place of a certain spirit but rather a common altar.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, Lindskog describes that the *ovoo* neither contains a spirit(s) nor is the spirit(s)' abode – it is a physical construction in the land where one can be summoned to the master of land and interact with it by means of offerings of various kinds.<sup>3</sup> I appreciate their description of the *ovoo* as the altar, but it is only one meaning of the term *ovoo*.

From my interlocutors' point of view, the term *ovoo* has three separate meanings, one of them is a familiar term – altar. Furthermore, they use the word to designate the sacred mountain. In the steppe, *ovoo* represents a whole sacred mountain. In the forest-mountain steppe region of Mongolia, however, only the summit (at which the altar exists) of the sacred mountain is called *ovoo*. Last but not least, the essential meaning of *ovoo* is a supernatural entity of nature. Although Darigangas use the term *ovoo* in all three mentioned purposes, they mainly regard the term *ovoo* as the supernatural entity of the sacred sites such as the Halzan *ovoo* – a supernatural entity of the Halzan Mountain, Dari *ovoo* – a supernatural entity of the Dari Mountain, and Ganga Nuuriin *ovoo* – a supernatural entity of the Ganga Lake.

Vesna A. Wallace in her paper about how the summit of the Hangai mountain range of Mongolia was transformed to a Buddhist deity and proclaimed as the land of Vajrapāṇi, wrote that Vajrapāṇi, also known as the Lord of Secrets (*nuutsiin ezen ochir barigch*, Skt. *guhyaḍhipati*) is the most influential among Buddhist deities that were adopted, naturalized, or politicized by the Mongols.<sup>4</sup> What is more, in his recent paper about *ovoo* worship, David Sneath regards that similar offerings and prayers are employed, and both aim to propitiate spirit masters/owners or deities of a local territory. In the Tibetan case the local entities concerned might be *gzhi bdag*, *yul lha* or *sa bdag* – the equivalent deities and entities as in the Mongol practice.<sup>5</sup> Those are some examples of Buddhist transformation of the Mongolian *ovoo*.

Now I consider that terms below, from the Tibetan texts of Mongolian *ovoo* worship and having Buddhist influence, do not appropriately represent the Mongolian meaning of the supernatural entity of the Earth. For example, the supernatural entities are encompassed under a variety of different terms in the academic literature relating to Mongolia, such as 'local deities' (Bawden 1958: 25), 'master-spirits' (Tatār 1976: 1), 'the Lords of the Earth' (Heissig 1980: 102), 'the Earth-deity' (de Rachewiltz 2007: 132), 'local spirits'

<sup>2</sup> Tatār 1976: 18.

<sup>3</sup> Lindskog 2016: 4.

<sup>4</sup> Wallace 2015: 179.

<sup>5</sup> Sneath 2014: 464.

(Sneath 2007: 135), and ‘the spirit masters’ (author’s 2014; 2016). Supposedly, the above translations were based on a term *ovoo* after the Buddhist transformation of the Mongolian worship. Moreover, some Mongolian scholars use just Tibetan term in their literature in the Mongolian language, as for instance, *lus, savdag* (from Tib. *klu, sa bdag*, Urtnasan and Duurenjargal 2007: 21), or its translation to Mongolian: *gazar üsnii ezed* (‘lords of lands and waters’, Byambadorj 2011: 126).

On the other hand, my Dariganga informants use word *Tenger* (*Tengeris* pl.) to designate the supernatural entities of sacred sites in their local area. For example, inhabitants of the Halzan county said: *Halzan ovoonii tenger* (‘Heaven/God of the Mount Halzan’), or *Halzan ovoonii ezen tenger* (‘Lord of the Mount Halzan’). Moreover, a decree of the President of Mongolia was written to make an offering to Tenger of the Dari Mountain, a state sacred mountain. Baumann notes that in this reliance, there is no evidence whatsoever to assume that the Mongolian *tngri* means anything beyond or other than heaven proper, that is, the totality of celestial systems culminating in what was described figuratively as the heavenly ‘vault’ or ‘dome’.<sup>6</sup>

I suggest to avoid using some terms such as the term *lus savdag* and their translation *gazar usnii ezed* and further its translation to ‘masters of lands and waters’ with regard to the *ovoo* entities due to the fact that all of those terms do not represent the actual contemporary Mongolian meaning of *tenger* (modern Mongolian speaking and writing, otherwise it is also written widely as *tenggeri*). Mongols also use *tenger* to denote ‘sky’, but these terms have separate meanings. For example, note Mongolian collocation *tselmeg tenger* (‘clear sky’) and *höh tenger* (‘Blue Heaven’). The first one indicates popular meaning of the sky while the second one is related to the religious understanding.

„The theory of *Tenggerism* was elaborated on the basis of the worship of Tenggeri, a fundamental concept of Shamanism, the old religion of the Mongolian and Turkic nomadic peoples. According to the tenets of Shamanism, *Tenggeri* is like God represented on earth. And in relation to *Tenggeri*, the Earth represents a subordinate feminine force called Etügen. Hence come the expressions *etsege Tenggeri* (‘Father Heaven’) and *eke Gajar* (‘Mother Earth’).”<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, de Rachewiltz concludes that the Mongol ruling elite of the period under investigation held beliefs concerning Heaven and Earth – their two principal deities – that in spite of obvious formal differences, were in substance very similar to those of the ancient Turks.<sup>8</sup>

Those ideas about Heaven are very interesting, however, in my understanding based on my research, Heaven and Earth are not two different deities what scholars summarize as

<sup>6</sup> Baumann 2013: 246.

<sup>7</sup> Bira: 2004: 3.

<sup>8</sup> de Rachewiltz 2007: 137.

the ‘two principle deities’. It is true that modern perceptions of heaven are not necessarily the same as those of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Mongols. However, exploring the contemporary Mongolian *ovoo* worship, Heaven and Earth are inseparable, a one entity in Dariganga sacred sites.

In fact, Heaven itself is the supernatural entity of nature. The Earth is a visible entity, whereas Heaven an invisible (supernatural) entity in the Earth. In case of the Darigangas, when the people of the Halzan county say “Halzan *ovoo*”, it indicates in general both the nature – ‘the Halzan Mountain itself’, and the supernatural entity – ‘the God of Halzan Mountain’. For example, the chief administrator of the county informed me that the staff clean the Halzan *ovoo* every month. On the other hand, he also told me that the Halzan *ovoo* always protects the people and herds in the county from any natural dangers. The first usage is about the fact that the staff of the county removes garbage from the Mount Halzan, whereas the second meaning indicates that the God of Mount Halzan protects its believers. In short, God, a supernatural entity of the Halzan *ovoo*, is only one master who exists as the Mount Halzan according to local people.

However, people use the term ‘Halzan *ovoo*’ to designate both entities, in visible and invisible ways. Therefore, I will distinguish them separately in my paper to avoid confusing readers. When I indicate the supernatural entity, I use the Mongolian brief term ‘Halzan Tenger’ which can indicate similarly God/Lord of the Halzan Mountain (*Halzan ovoonii ezen tenger*), or the Lord of the Kingdom of Heaven of the Mount Halzan (*Halzan ovoonii tengeriin ornii ezen*). On the other hand, I use the term ‘Halzan Mountain’ to indicate a visible entity of the Halzan *ovoo*. For example, referring to the previous example, I just summarize that Halzan Tenger protects the people of the Halzan county, while the staff clean garbage from the Mount Halzan once every month. Lastly, I also use the Halzan *ovoo* in some occasions when its meaning is clear, such as making offering or worshipping the Halzan *ovoo*.

### Punishment of Halzan Tenger

The most dramatic events of the Halzan county took place in 2012–2013 when two subsequent governors passed away suddenly and also the governmental building burned to the ground by lightning. My informants told that Gurneejav, as the governor of the county, led the ceremony of the Halzan *ovoo* worship in 2012. After lamas had finished their religious activity, the governor made a ritual to raise an offering to Halzan Tenger (*tahil örgöh yos*). In every *ovoo* worship, the host of the ceremony performs the ritual in which he or she offers *hadag* (ceremonial scarf), milk, dairy products, sometimes vodka and meat on the altar of *ovoo*. After that, the governor also regularly makes the opening speech of the *ovoo* festival, and he continues to watch the festival. In 2012 the governor passed away suddenly in the festival square, meanwhile the ceremony was continued. The following year, Ulziisaikhan, the new governor also unexpectedly died when he was coming back home after the *ovoo* worship. However, they both

organized carefully the ceremony of the Halzan owoo worship, therefore the ceremony was completed.

I felt uncomfortable when I saw a ruin of the two-floor government building during my fieldwork in the Halzan county after the building burnt down in 2012. In the year before, Enh-Amgalan, the vice governor, said to me that they had the new government building constructed in 2010. Unfortunately, the building burnt at night of July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012. All facilities inside the building burnt, in particular, none of the documents of the county archives survived. It harmed the inhabitants of the county then and it affects them until today.

It is interesting to note that people of the community believe that Halzan Tenger caused all three tragic cases. For instance, Sharaa, the former veterinary surgeon of the collective, believed that Halzan Tenger punished the county.

Researcher: How do you connect the tragic events with Halzan Tenger? Were they not caused by other reasons?

Sharaa: You should consider why the governors passed away following each other during the owoo worship. In fact, over hundred people participated in the Halzan owoo worship, but only the governors, the hosts of the ceremony, passed away, not other people. Similarly, a new governmental building burnt by lighting from among many buildings in the administrative centre. It means that Halzan Tenger punished the head of the county and the main building as a warning for the whole county.

Researcher: What is your opinion, why does Halzan Tenger punish you?

Sharaa: The reason is in us, we did not worship Halzan Tenger properly; therefore, Tenger got angry. Furthermore, I heard many times that the elderly said that the Mount Halzan had a ferocious Tenger. As a result, the ferocious Tenger's punishment is harder than other Tengens'.

In fact, people had different attitudes to the death of the first governor, a majority of them expected that it was caused by improper holding of the Halzan owoo worship; as a consequence Halzan Tenger punished the head of the ceremony. Additionally, the investing lama whose role was to establish the cause of the person's death (Mong. *altan sav neeh*, lit. 'to open the golden vessel')<sup>9</sup> determined the reason of governor's death as caused by an angry local Tenger.

The month after the governor's death the administrative building burnt. G. Anhbayar, the head of the Emergency Agency of Sühbaatar province, informed that the strong lighting happened in the government building and it burnt entirely in short time ("Ödriin shuudan sonin", 22.07.2012). Local people also regarded fire caused by the lighting as a tool of Halzan Tenger and others. According to Urgunge's memory, if lightning strikes, Daur's think that *tengger* is punishing someone.<sup>10</sup> In my fieldwork Darigangas often called for protection from Dari owoo as well as other owoos such as Halzan owoo during the thunderstorm and they were terrified by the light.

<sup>9</sup> See more Krueger 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Humphrey with Urgunge 1996: 114.

When I visited the Halzan county in autumn 2012, some people criticized Enh-Angalan, who was at that time the acting governor, that he was not able to do something proper for appeasing Halzan Tenger after the governor's death and therefore Tenger again punished them by destroying the government building. Moreover, some people also claimed that the punishments are related to leading party of the county, the late governor and his party (the unit of MPP), which could not develop well the county, and so the Tenger of the county *ovoo* was judging them.

The Buddhist monks were called to help: one lama of the Hataavch temple of the Halzan county and over ten lamas from the Erdenemandal, a central Monastery of the Sühbaatar province, performed religious activity to calm Halzan Tenger. Many people participated in the ceremony without *ovoo* festival to Halzan Tenger. Although the Halzan community propitiated Halzan Tenger in 2012, the new governor, elected in October 2012, died during the Halzan *ovoo* worship in the following year. After the second death of the governor people consider that they should do more appropriate actions to appease Halzan Tenger.

### Calming the ferocious Tenger

In order to appease or tame the ferocious Tenger people of the Halzan county created in 2014 a large stone statue of the Buddhist deity. A Tibetan lama, by locals' information, advised them to create in their territory Tsagaan shühert deity, (Skt. Sitāpatrā, 'Goddess of the White Parasol'), a protector deity against supernatural dangers. The Üüden chuluu Company of the Sühbaatar province made the figure of the deity by 40 million tögrögs which were donated by the community of the Halzan county. Then Tseemaa, the governor of the Halzan county, and Tsambanurdev, an abbot lama of the Erdenemandal Monastery invited three lamas from Tibet. Mahagal, a former teacher of history at the secondary school, informed that the Tibetan lamas, who arrived to purify the figure, advised them to put the statue near the administrative centre on the opposite side of the Halzan *ovoo*. As a result, the deity is located on the terrace of the eastern side of the centre from where people can look at the Halzan Mountain.

In the following year lama Tsambanurdev suggested building two stupas on the Halzan Mountain; accordingly, some local people created one stupa in front of the Mount Halzan, and another large stupa on the top of the mountain.

On the other hand, local leaders also invited a shaman from Dornod province, to make a performance to appease Halzan Tenger. At that time, a participant of the ceremony told me that the shaman instructed a half day performance and many people of the Halzan county were engaged there. They prayed many times to Halzan *ovoo* guided by the shaman. The shaman advised them to cover a standing stone at the forehead of Mount Halzan to appease the Tenger. Later on the association of shamans of the Sühbaatar province, including three shamans of the Halzan county (*Sühbaatar aimgiin böögiin holboo* NGO), organized the ceremony to propitiate Halzan Tenger and they also build the shaman *ovoo* on the eastern slope of the Mount Halzan in 2014.

Ultimately, during my last fieldwork in 2017, inhabitants of the county firmly stated that nothing strange happened in the Halzan county in the recent years. Indeed, some people related it to the Buddhist appeasing of Halzan Tenger, whereas others claimed that the shamanist performance calmed the deity. It is hard to determine the whole tragic story, but taking it as an example I would say that Darigangas believe that the Halzan ovoo is like a person who may get angry and may calm down. In any case, it is like animist perception in Harvey's writing about "persons, not all of whom are human".<sup>11</sup>

### Homeland Tenger

One low-level leader told me that the people of the Halzan county are much smarter than from other counties of the Sühbaatar province or even further away. He gave some examples of the number of people with scholarly degrees in comparison with other counties. A total population of Halzan is three times smaller than the inhabitants of Bayandelger county. However, scholars who hold Sc.D. degree of the Halzan county are larger than the total number of scholars of Bayandelger. He also mentioned leading politicians from the Halzan county such as the current prime minister of Mongolia. Ultimately, he concluded that the reason for the Halzan people to be smarter was related to the Halzan homeland and its Halzan Tenger.

Interestingly, there is one expression popular among the Halzan people: *Shuvuu tengertei shüteentei bolohoor, manai Halzangiinhanii hün ni hurts uhaantai, hüleg ni hurdan shandastai*. The expression means: "People of the Halzan county have sharp intelligence, horses of the Halzan county are faster because the *tenger* of their main sacred mountain is a bird." Indeed, Halzan Tenger is a bird, but it is uncertain which type of bird. When I asked my informants about it, nobody replied undoubtedly. They could only reply that Halzan Tenger is a bird, or "our sacred mountain has a bird as Tenger (*shuvuu tengertei*)".

In fact, Dariganga horses are regarded as the best breed in contemporary Mongolia. Furthermore, horses of the Halzan county are the fastest horses among the Dariganga counties. In reality, many people of the Halzan county have some successes, in particular in academic higher career, while compared with other counties.

Regardless of other reasons my informants assumed local influences over the inhabitants as having effect on their mentality and body. Tenger of the Halzan Mountain, the main sacred mountain of the Halzan county, is considered as Tenger of the whole Halzan county. Homeland Tenger (*nutgiin tenger*, 'Tenger of the Homeland') always supports the local people wherever and whenever. The perception of the homeland Tenger is akin to a familiar expression "By the power of the Eternal Heaven" of Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Beyond the Halzan ovoo, inhabitants of the Halzan county honour the Dari ovoo, the main sacred site of the Dariganga ethnic group and one of the ten national-level sacred

<sup>11</sup> Harvey 2005: xi.



mountains of Mongolia (see more in author's 2016). The Halzan *ovoo* is the representative of the Dari *ovoo* in the local community. Power of Halzan Tenger is restricted to the Halzan community. On the other hand, the Halzan *ovoo* is assessed as the leader of other *ovoos* in the Halzan community. The central sacred mountain plays a substantial role for its believers in the Halzan county. In the case of my studies of the Halzan *ovoo*, the *ovoo* worship significantly influences building of the identity of the local community.

### The brief conclusion

The present paper focused on the Halzan *ovoo* worship, the county *ovoo* of the Dariganga area, as an example of the local Mongolian *ovoos*. Dariganga Mongols indicate the word *ovoo* in at least three separate meanings. In a broad sense, the *ovoo* represents a supernatural entity of the Earth, while in a narrow sense it indicates a sacred mountain. In the most restricted sense the *ovoo* refers to a physical structure such as stupa, wooden and stone cairns as an altar. Secondly, I recommend using the term 'tenger' to supernatural entities of the Earth. According to the Dariganga Mongols, a variety of *tengers* settle down in the sacred sites such as mountains, lakes, and rocks. Furthermore, the *tengers* are related to each other which builds a whole complex network of them.

Thirdly, the field materials show us that Mongols still have some animist landscape perception. According to my informants, Nature is alive, so that people try to establish correct contact with *tengers* of the sacred sites. Otherwise, the *tengers* can punish them. In the case of the Darigangas they consider that apart from them a number of other beings also inhabit Earth invisibly.

The *ovoo* worship as a primitive religious rite was influenced by shamanism and Buddhism. Even today some higher level religious organizations like the Central Monastery and an association of the shamans of the Sühbaatar province play influential role in the cult of the Mount Halzan. In some cases they also influenced the local leaders to make decisions. On the other hand, the new rules such as no permission for women to climb to the top of the sacred mountain cause some troubles for the local believers.

The state has been playing an essential role in the *ovoo* worship after the collapse of socialism. It is the case of the Halzan *ovoo* worship which was regarded as one of the official duties of the county governor. Moreover, the cult of ten sacred mountains on the national-level which are officially worshipped and propitiated by the President of Mongolia should be mentioned. Under the power of the state the *ovoo* worship seems to be more a native religion than anything else.

Last but not least, I consider that the local *ovoo* plays significant role in building regional identity as a concept of homeland. As a consequence, the *ovoo* worship became inseparable from the homeland cult. It might be the answer to a question why Mongols at present still actively worship *ovoo*.



Fig. 1. Cover of the book (2015) published for the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Halzan county (Behind the scene there is the Halzan ovoo)

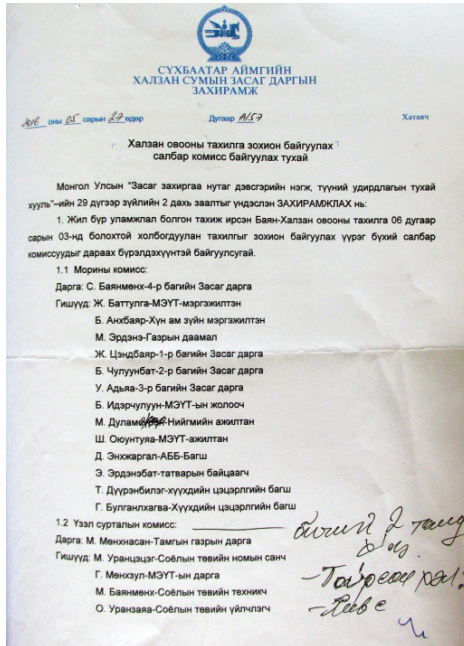


Fig. 2. The first page of the Governor's Decree to organize the Halzan ovoo worship in 2016 (photo by the author 2017)



Fig. 3. Tsagaan shühert deity (photo by the author 2017)



Fig. 4. The top of the Halzan ovoos (photo by the author 2017)



Fig. 5. The ceremony of the Halzan ovoo worship (photo by the author 2017)

## References

- Baumann, Brian, “By the Power of Eternal Heaven: The Meaning of Tenggeri to the Government of the Pre-Buddhist Mongols”, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* [Online] 2013, 35, pp. 233–288.
- Bawden, Charles, “Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-worship”, *Oriens Extremus* 1958, 5 (1), pp. 23–41.
- Bira, Shagdaryn, “Mongolian Tenggerism and Modern Globalism”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2004, 14, pp. 3–12.
- de Rachewiltz, Igor, “Heaven, Earth and the Mongols in the Time of Činggis Qan and his Immediate Successors (ca. 1160–1260) – A Preliminary Investigation”, in: Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens, (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of His 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday and the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U.Leuven*, Fedinand Verbiest Institute, Leuven 2007, pp. 107–144.
- Harvey, Graham, *Animism: Respecting the Living World*, Wakefield Press, London 2005.
- Heissig, Walther, *The Religions of Mongolia*, translated by G. Samuel, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980.
- Humphrey, Caroline, with Urgunge, Onon, *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1996.
- Lindskog, Benedikte, “Ritual Offerings to Ovoos Among Nomadic Halh Herders of West-central Mongolia”, *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* 2016, 47, pp. 2–20.
- Sneath, David, “Ritual Idioms and Spatial Orders: Comparing the Rites for Mongolian and Tibetan ‘Local Deities’”, in: Hildegard Diemberger Uradyn Bulag and (eds.), *The Mongolia-Tibet Interface. Opening New Research Terrains in Inner Asia: PLATS 2003*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2007, pp. 135–157.
- Sneath, David, “Nationalising Civilisational Resources: Sacred Mountains and Cosmopolitical Ritual in Mongolia”, *Asian Ethnicity* 2014, 15:4, pp. 458–472.
- Szynkiewicz, Sławoj, “The Local Mongolian Community”, *Ethnologia Polona*, Warsaw 17, 1992, pp. 25–33.
- Tatár, Magdalena, “Two Mongol Texts Concerning the Cult of the Mountains”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XXX (1), 1976, pp. 1–58.
- Wallace, Vesna A., *Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society*, Oxford University Press, New York 2015.
- М. Бэхбат бусад, *Халзангийн суут хүмүүс цуут хүлгүүдийн шастир*. Эзэнсүлд компани, Улаанбаатар 2015.
- С. Бямбадорж, *Монголчуудын овоо тахилгын зан үйл сэргээж байгаа нь*. Монголын тахилга шүтлэгт газар нутаг. ЭШХ. Улаанбаатар принтинг. Улаанбаатар 2011, т. 125–130.
- Н. Уртнасан, А. Дүүрэнжаргал, *Монголын тахилгат газар нутаг: өв уламжлал, үнэ цэнэ*. Улаанбаатар 2007.
- “Өдрийн шуудан сонин”, Дугаар – 2017.07.22 [Newspaper].