

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: CHASING THE SINGERS:  
THE TRANSITION OF LONG-SONG (*URTYN  
DUU*) IN POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIA

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Long-song (*Urtyn duu*) is a prominent Mongolian traditional folk song genre that survived throughout the socialist period (1921-1990) and throughout the political transformation of Mongolia from socialism to democratic capitalism after the Soviet Union was dismantled and terminated its aid to Mongolia in 1990. This dissertation, based on research conducted from 2006 to 2010, presents and investigates the traces of singers' stories and memories of their lives, songs, and singing, through the lens of the discourse on change and continuity in, and as, folk tradition.

During the socialist period, this genre was first considered backward, and was then subtly transformed into an urban national style, with the formation of a boundary between professionalism and amateurism among long-song singers and with selective performance of certain songs and styles. This boundary was associated with politics

and ideology and might be thought to have ended when the society entered its post-socialist period. However, the long-song genre continued to play a political role, with different kinds of political meaning on the one hand and only slight musical modification on the other. It was now used to present a more nostalgic and authentic new Mongolian identity in the post-socialist free market.

Through my investigation, I argue that the historical transition of Mongolia encompassed not merely political or economic shifts, but also a deeper transformation that resulted in new cultural forms. Long-song provides a good case study of the complicated process of this cultural change.

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IN POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIA

By

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Dedicated

to

My Parents

Who have given me the world

and

All the Long-song Singers in Mongolia

Who have sung a world to me

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## TRANSLITERATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Throughout this dissertation, there are numerous Mongolian terms and names. I have based the transliteration in this dissertation on the Tibetan and Himalayan Library Mongolian-Cyrillic Transliteration system, but with certain exceptions: В, е, ь, ы, ъ, and ю are romanized to v, yö, ' , y, ", and yu, respectively. The following table shows full details:

а (a)	п (p)
б (b)	р (r)
в (v)	с (s)
г (g)	т (t)
д (d)	у (u)
е (ye)	ү (ü)
ё (yo)	ф (f)
ж (j)	х (kh)
з (z)	ц (ts)
и (i)	ч (ch)
й (i)	ш (sh)
к (k)	ъ (")
л (l)	ы (y)
м (m)	ь (')
н (n)	э (e)
о (o)	ю (yu)
ө (ö)	я (ya)

In this dissertation, a Mongolian's surname, following Mongolian standard practice, is presented as one alphabet letter. For example, if somebody's full name is Narantsetseg (first name) Burkhuu (surname), then it is written as B. Narantsetseg. A person's surname is derived from the person's father's given name in Mongolian tradition. For example, if there is a person named Bob who has a father named John, then, Bob's name will be John's Bob; Bob's surname becomes John. Using only the

first letter for the last name, e.g. J. Bob, is a common way of presenting the name in Mongolia. One of the strongest Soviet influences in Mongolia was in the area of naming. During the socialist period, surnames were much decreased in prominence, and now are not considered an important part of the name. While I was interviewing, not many people mentioned their surnames unless they were questioned. For this reason, there are a few names that are not presented in this dissertation with initials of their surnames. In the bibliography at the end of this dissertation, names are alphabetized by given name, since that is easier for readers to find.

## Map of Mongolia



[Source: "Mongolia." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/61518/>]

## PROLOGUE

### LEARNING MONGOLIA

*Khöörkhön khaliyn dolgin shüü*  
*Khöld n' suuj bariarai*  
*Khünni gazar khetsüü shüü*  
*Khüleej baij dasaarai*

The beautiful bay horse is timid,  
In order to catch it, you should kneel down to its legs.  
Foreign [new] land [environment] is difficult,  
In order to adjust to it, you should wait and take time with patience.  
[Long-song, “Beautiful Bay Horse” (*Khöörkhön khaliyn*)]

The song “Beautiful Bay Horse” (*Khöörkhön khaliyn*) is the very first long-song I learned when I was conducting my fieldwork in 2007. This is an example of one kind of long-song, *besreg urtyn duu*, which is mostly for beginners who have just started learning long-song (*urtyn duu*), because it is relatively easy and lightly ornamented. It seems to me, however, that this song is taught to first-time long-song learners not only for the reason that the musical characteristics are easy, but also for another reason: the lyrics teach one of the important Mongolian values—how to stay calm in hard times and amid change—by waiting and with patience.

Geographically located with China to the south, Russia to the north, several central Asian countries to the west, and connected to East Asian cultures through China, Mongolia was an important historical part of the Silk Road, and as a result, Mongols have been influenced by various different cultures, through ceaselessly

coming nomadic travels, experiencing juggling between new and old, as well as retaining their own culture.

Mongolian themselves have lived as nomads, and many of them still have the life style of nomads, particularly in the countryside. They move around according to the season, herding animals. The winter in Mongolia is harsh, and when the temperature goes down to around minus fifty degrees Fahrenheit, the nomadic Mongols wander around to find a relatively warm place so that their families and animals can survive. In the summer, conversely, they shift from places that are hot and desert-like to grassy and watery land, so that they can also survive through the summer. While moving about, they meet new people, and at the same time, some family members depart for their own territories.

This song, “Beautiful Bay Horse” (*Khöörkhön khaliyn*) is usually sung by mothers for their daughters who leave their home areas to follow their husbands in traditional Mongolia; it expresses their wish that their daughters can survive with new nomads in a new land. The lyrics in this long-song, thus, teach Mongolian traditional philosophy as well as the overall nature of (at least the “old way” of) Mongolians’ attitude toward their situation and their lives. As nomads, they do not upset or reconstruct nature. Rather they move themselves according to seasonal changes, and, if it is hard to stay where they are, they move back to their original place or to still another place, if the season does not allow them to survive well where they have gone. Mongolians have been in constant negotiation with, rather than confrontation with, their new areas, so change comes not as abrupt alteration but more as a transition that maintains continuity.

The Mongolian value of waiting and patience throughout change is not just reflected in their nomadic cultural environment, but it is also deeply carved throughout their history. Mongolia, that once conquered nearly the whole of Asia and part of the Europe, led by Chinggis Khan in the thirteenth century, has recently survived a sixty-year period as a socialist country under the umbrella of the Soviet Union. When the socialist system as part of Soviet Bloc ended in 1990, the Mongols experienced other types of political and economic change, as well as cultural transition. Throughout its turbulent and dynamic history, Mongolia has developed the sense of an enduring culture and way of holding on to their Mongolness.

This sense of retention has appeared in several parts of their expressive culture, and long-song in particular has become one of the representative examples. Mongolians believe that long-song has survived through the long history of the Mongolians, since it carries numerous legends that relate to their lands, carries their philosophy in their lyrics, and also demonstrates musically a quite distinctive vocality and other musical characteristics.

In this dissertation, I will present main features of the overall long-song tradition and investigate how symbolic meanings and musical structures have been both changed and retained during social and political transitions in Mongolia, particularly before and after the socialist collapse in 1990. Based on research conducted from 2006 to 2010, this dissertation mainly investigates the current remnants of socialist influence on the Mongolian folk song tradition, both in urban and rural areas. During my research, the recurring big question has been the nature of

changes in the long-song tradition, and how one can observe and measure changes and transition.

Long-song singers in my interviews often do not seem to recognize or acknowledge the changes in the musical style of long-song. There are two possible reasons for this. First, because the rate of change in the long-song is slow, singers who live through a temporal era do not easily see the change that has occurred; they live in the moment of transition. Second, because they take an attitude of negotiation rather than resistance, they do not see change as something to be struggled against or avoided. Rather, in the long-song tradition, change has been seen as a kind of continuity. The transitions, and indeed the entire history, of long-song in Mongolia have been the product of individual singers' acceptance of change in their lives as singers—every day and in every moment.

My fieldwork has made it possible to observe how the meanings and functions of the long-song genre were shifted and reshaped through the everyday lives and music of long-song singers in the socialist period and have done so again within the post-socialist era. Furthermore, observation of the changes in the long-song genre make it possible to contemplate and understand a much deeper and broader transformation, coalescing experiences of new cultural forms with a combination of alteration and continuity in every part of Mongolian society. Mongolian long-song, as a consequence, provides a good example of the complicated process of cultural change, and this dissertation is a microcosm of that process.

With the influences from various external cultures and particularly the recent rapid economic transition in current Mongolia after Soviet Union influence, it is quite

common to observe two kinds of contrasting population settlement of the nation in terms of change, that is, between city and countryside. With the current new rising rapid modern city life with a free market system in Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, the change is quite abrupt and is busy catching up with global modernity as part of post-socialist reality, while the countryside has been pictured more as a place where there exist pre-socialist memories and an emotion of longing. Having forty-five percent of the total Mongolian population living in Ulaanbaatar, rather dissimilar methods of musical survival have arisen in Ulaanbaatar, compared to the countryside. Not surprisingly, this trend more or less reflects the overall musical environment.

The rapid change in Ulaanbaatar was my first impression back in 2006 at my initial arrival, and this dissertation starts with an account of that experience.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### SEVERAL ARRIVALS: THE TRANSITION FROM 2006 TO 2010

I arrived for the first time in Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, in 2006. At that time, its society has already become officially democratic and free market capitalist, as I learned. On the evening of my arrival, I made a short trip to an indoor market to buy small things I needed. When I went into the market, I felt that it seemed very empty, though it was supposed to be full of all kinds of things, since it has a big space and is located in a main street. It seemed to me that it did not carry many goods. Perplexed a little bit, I looked around. The cashier also looked at me dubiously.

As a person who grew up in the southern half of a peninsula, Korea, where for over sixty-five years there have co-existed two very different ideologies, communism and democracy, I myself remember having had, deep down, somewhat of an antagonism toward communism, which I learned when I was in elementary school. The prejudice left me later on, when I found out that what I had learned was more or less a combination of propaganda and fact, rather than the factual only. But from this background, I always have had a certain image of communist/socialist countries: fewer materials, less freedom, more controlled.

The encounter in the market in that day refreshed in me the image I have kept in my mind about what it would be like being in a socialist/communist country, and I felt actually I was in one of those socialist countries, even though the country,

Mongolia, itself had already moved toward a free market and democratic system. What I sensed would be certainly remnants from the previous time, the socialist period, and it could have been expected.

On the streets the next day, I started noticing some of the statues that still remained as vestiges of socialism. Several buildings, including the building where I stayed, had certainly been built during the socialist period, in the Soviet style; they were, in fact, rather well-built. However, I also started seeing new things on the street; New restaurants, second-hand public buses that had been imported from other countries, a new road under construction, and much else. On the road, there were not many cars. People could easily get a taxi to go somewhere, and once sitting in the taxi, they did not take long to reach their destinations, since there was not much traffic. It was clear that this county was following a new reality and moving toward, though I was not sure of the direction of the movement, where it had started from and where it was heading, perhaps because of the mixture of old cultures and new realities.

In 2006, I had a hard time finding a place where I could access the Internet. There were some Internet cafés where people often went to check email, but not all with updated computers and fast connections. In the place where I was staying, it was impossible to set up my apartment for Internet access, and certainly it was not common at that time to have Internet access at home, although in some apartments was possible to use dial-up internet service. In front of the state department store, which is the biggest and most central shopping place in Ulaanbaatar, or around the corner of the street, there were always some people using public phones.

In Sükhbaatar Square, which is the center of the Ulaanbaatar, there was a big statue of Damdin Sükhbaatar, the heroic leader of the 1921 Mongolian revolution over the forces of the short-lived Chinese occupation. Across from the statues, there was only empty space in 2006. According to local residents, it had earlier been occupied by the mausoleum of Sükhbaatar and Choibalsan (another revolutionary hero), imitating Lenin's mausoleum in the Soviet Union. It was taken down in 2005, and the space remained empty when I saw the place in 2006. Around the Sükhbaatar Square were buildings such as the Cultural Palace, the State Ballet and Opera theatre, and the Folk and Dance Theatre across the street, which had been built during the socialist period.

When I arrived again and stayed in Mongolia for my last field trip in 2010, however, there was much visible change from the conditions of 2006 in Ulaanbaatar. The street was full of traffic. Around three o'clock in the afternoon, the main road, "Peace Avenue," where there used to be few cars, was jammed with cars that could not move at all. It took almost three times as long as in 2006 to get to the airport from the place where I stayed.

On the streets, there were many new shops that were filled with goods, and many new restaurants, including vegetarian restaurants, which were quite surprising, given Mongolian eating habits, and a variety of ethnic restaurants. There are now also many more places to access the Internet easily, and people can easily set up fast Internet access at home. Almost all the public phones are gone, since everyone has a cell phone. People drive big cars that were imported from other countries, and it has become difficult to find a taxi. The taxi ride is also longer, because of the heavier

traffic. Some of the younger Mongolians I met were very much into American pop culture and knew nothing about their long-song (*urtyn duu*), very different from their previous generation who were much into Russian culture.

In the Sükhbaatar Square, in the empty space formerly occupied by the mausoleum of Sükhbaatar and Choibalsan, a huge Chinggis Khan sculpture complex has been built, along with the Mongolian parliament building. Many new high-rise buildings have now risen around Sükhbaatar Square (Figure 1). Behind the Cultural Palace there is now a huge shopping mall, containing even a Louis Vuitton outlet. The state department store, once the only place to find most goods (but hardly overflowing), has now been expanded because more and more products have been coming in. All this has happened in only four years.



Figure 1: New Sükhbaatar Square with Chinggis Khan Sculpture 2010



Figure 2: New Building Across the Sükhbaatar Square 2010

These rapid changes that occurred in only four years were just as perplexing to me in 2010 as things had been back at the small market with empty shelves in 2006. The surge of Mongolian modernity I witnessed between 2006 and 2010 made me ask myself many questions. What is this rapid transition? Is it a part of the transition from socialist to post-socialist Mongolia? Is it the development of “modernity” in an era of globalization and nothing to do with the political shift from socialist to non-socialist? Or is it just economic, the triumph of a free market? Where can the culture and music be located in this process?

Compared to Ulaanbaatar, most rural areas also have modernized with small changes. In my trip to see the countryside in 2007, there were still a great many Russian Jeeps that were still the main transportation that people considered the best. However, by 2009 it was hard to find Russian jeeps during my trip to the countryside; Japanese jeeps had become more common. Over time, some tourist sites and a tourism program have been built. Nevertheless, there were still herders, livestock, and

open steppe, along with temples and cultural centers that had been built during the socialist period and Soviet-style theatres and factories. People in the countryside still lived in *ger*, the Mongolian nomad house, and lived as nomads. In 2010, I saw the father (a herder) of a singer get up at dawn to give animals water. I saw the cows coming back home in line when the sun went down. The constant steppes appear not to have changed, there were *ovoo* (shamanistic sites), and I saw a mother milking a horse and singing a long-song. I was bewildered again by this experience of the countryside, because of the contrast between the rapid urban developments and the seemingly static continuity of the countryside.

The contrast between the settled life of Mongolians in Ulaanbaatar and the still endless, moving nomadic life in the countryside began under the socialist period, when the Soviet Union planned to greater urbanize and systematize their blocs, including Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar became a place where Mongolians were moved to pursue their jobs with a more sedentary life style, while the countryside was left as a place where the nomadic life still existed, sometimes considered a “backward” area during the socialist period. Nevertheless, as more rural population moved to urban areas, the countryside has not been far from the minds of people in Ulaanbaatar, since many of them have come from countryside. Rather, it is always in them as a place to which they can nostalgically go back. One of the phrases I most frequently heard among Mongolian people, especially in Ulaanbaatar, while I conducted the field research, was “*Khödöö yansan*,” meaning “went to the countryside.” For weekends or in nice seasons, such as summer, Mongolians often go to countryside whenever they have a chance. More than ninety percent of people in Ulaanbaatar have a connection

to the countryside, in that their relatives, their siblings, still live there.

The degree of change that has occurred in recent years seems quite different between Ulaanbaatar and the countryside as well. While Ulaanbaatar has been constantly changing for years, the countryside seems to have not changed at all. Why has one part of the country—the city, Ulaanbaatar— been so much altered, while most of the rest of the nation—the countryside—has stayed so seemingly the same? Where can the musical culture be located in this contrast? Where must the long-song be placed in the bigger picture? If Mongolian mothers still sing long-songs when they are milking in countryside, and still sing them by heart, how does this compare to long-song singers in Ulaanbaatar?

## LONG-SONG SINGERS

Before examining the long-song musical form itself, it is helpful to describe who the singers are, along with the contexts in which, over time, they have performed.

In the older context, long-song singers were mothers who do the daily chores, grandmothers and grandfathers who remember the old legends, or herders; they did not have any special training. They learned long-songs aurally in their daily lives as well as in special occasions like a feast. They learned the lyrics by heart, with stories from legends. As the socialist period progressed, these old contexts started disappearing; long-songs were less welcomed, and singers were not appreciated. My research, conducted in interviews, showed that the long-song was presented in the newer context of concerts only with hesitation and was prohibited in certain former,

more traditional contexts, such as feasts held by socialist party. Certain songs with religious texts and older, more philosophical long-songs were prohibited. The more I have examined long-song culture during the socialist period, however, the more I find two ambivalent paths of long-song: one of suppression of long-song, and the other, by contrast, of promoting long-song by singers' movement to the city, Ulaanbaatar. The second path has resulted in the introduction of a professionalized musical style and a professional lifestyle for singers. Consequently, a contrast between professionalism and amateurism, and between urban and countryside styles of folklore presentation distinctly emerged, and this development of long-song tradition was a new change during the socialist era of Mongolia.

My research found that this development has influenced by several social mechanisms, such as competition, a system of awarding ranks, the national radio station, and particular methods of teaching and learning. Through these mechanisms, singers have shaped perceptions of professionalism and amateurism and initiated a way to classify themselves as singers, as well as forming a boundary between city singers and countryside singers. Through this process, some singers have gained reputations as legendary professional singers, and that has become the general track current singers are moving along in contemporary Mongolia.

In line with what the singers told me, the changes in the long-song tradition during Mongolia's socialist era may not have been obvious, but they were certainly present, particularly in connection with the formation of professionalism, and singers' traveling back and forth between city and countryside. Interestingly, as much as professionalism was framed in Ulaanbaatar, the image of amateurism was naturally

perceived more and more as “backward” (*huuchirsan*) as the opposite to the concept of the new professional, urban elite during the socialist period. This opposition should not be considered as forced on the culture by the socialist party, but more because countryside and city, amateur and professional, appeared as wider social contrasts in the same period. Those changes are still to be found in contemporary Mongolia, and it is not necessarily the case that the people realize it. This phenomena become much stronger and even combines with new nationalistic presentation in the process of new national building process in post-socialist period of Mongolia.

The year 2006 was celebrated as the 800th anniversary of Chinggis Khan’s uniting of Mongolia as one nation. That year many special events were held, especially in *naadam*, one of the biggest holidays and festivals in Mongolia, which usually lasts for three days in the middle of July. In the 2006 *naadam* festival, 800 *morin khuur* (horse head fiddle) players and 800 long-song singers (Figure 3) were called from all over Mongolia to participate in the festival opening ceremony. At the same time, they had a reconstructed parade of Chinggis Khan that featured imitations of his *ger* and his costume.



Figure 3: National Naadam 2006 in Ulaanbaatar to Celebrate the 800<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of United Mongolian State by Chinggis Khan.

In the opening ceremony, 800 long-song singers all together sang long-songs such as “Sun of the Gentle Universe” (*Uyakhan zambutiviin naran*) and “A Fine and Ancient Destiny” (*Ertnii saikhan*), which are quite popular among long-song singers in Ulaanbaatar now. In the stadium, there were many foreigners who came to record the “historical” festival, tourists, and those Mongolians who had been able to get tickets.

Later, when I went out to countryside for interviews, I found that a lot of the singers were very proud that they had been part of the festival and often showed me the certificates that they received from the government for their participation. Some of the singers had never learned long-song before they were selected as part of this event, although they had sometimes sung some different kinds of folk songs such as short-songs or composed folk songs, and they certainly had strong voices. I have found that a great number of singers became long-song singers by means of this opportunity. People, both Mongolians and foreigners, have often described this as a “great” event, and I certainly agree that it was quite spectacular and thought-

provoking for Mongolians, although my own question has never gone away: “why was the solo tradition of long-song, not short-song, used in the festival and sung as a chorus by 800 singers?” To my understanding, it is not very important to Mongolians how the long-song is presented musically, but rather the significance lies in how the long-song carries a cultural meaning to the society.

#### MONGOLIAN LONG-SONG, *URTYN DUU*

Mongolia has kept many strong oral traditions more in vocal genres than in instrumental genres. Mongolian vocal genres consist of several variants, of which three are primary. First, *khöömii*, often referred to as throat singing or overtone singing, Second, more narrative types: close to folk tales are *tuul'* (heroic epics), *ülger* (legendary epics), *magtaal* (wishing chant), and *yerööl* (praise songs). The third category is one of song-type: long-song and short-song. While *khöömii* is concentrated on the twisting of vocal timbre and sound, *tuul'*, *ülgar*, *magtal*, and *yerööl* are more focused on lyrics and contents, rather than on musical techniques. Long-song and short-song come in between these two. The long-songs, short-songs, and some of the more recent composed songs in folk style, called *zokholin duu*, are considered to be “folk songs (*ardyn duu*)” in Mongolia.

In this overall picture, long-song is considered to be one of the best-known genres of Mongolian vocal folk music and is often sung in Mongolia. This popularity means that long-song has come to be easily accessible by the outer world, and external audiences. Also, long-song is a powerful tradition itself in terms of its musical character. Its name, *urtyn duu*, means literally long (*urtyn*) song (*duu*). It is

called this not because of the length of the songs, but because of the method of singing. In two lines of lyrics, with generally about eight to ten words total, singers make what would otherwise be one minute of music into about three minutes. They do this by elongating the vowels in the words, playing with them by adding ornamentations and other vocal techniques to extend the words. Because there is a great deal of exaggeration and ornamentation of the vowel syllables, even ordinary Mongolians cannot exactly understand every word. The techniques employed in this music-making are distinctive. In the midst of improvisation, singers sometimes show easily almost two octaves of vocal range and are able to make abrupt articulations with strong and tense vocal timbre.

Considering all these features, long-song was proclaimed a “Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” by UNESCO in 2005, and it has been inscribed since 2008 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.<sup>1</sup> This means that long-song has been perceived as a representative cultural asset, not only among current long-song singers but also among other contemporary Mongolians and an audience outside of Mongolia. Although long-song has possibly become considered a representative cultural form because of the importance of its features, I ask why this genre, rather than any other folk-genre, had been placed on the Representative List. A suspected explanation could be that long-song might have been more woven into the intertwined context of music and politics; however, music

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<sup>1</sup> *Morin khuur*, the horse head fiddle, was, in 2003, the first Mongolian musical item to be proclaimed a “Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity,” and long-song followed after that (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/00115>).

itself of long-song genre has not always responded to these new phenomena as much as the musicians themselves have responded.

Nevertheless, my research shows that the long-song repertory has clearly been affected by the concept of professionalism versus amateurism, along with other social mechanisms that also influenced singers' lives. Certain long-song pieces came to have precedence over other songs as representative, and they were selected as the standard repertory in long-song performance, particularly during the late socialist period. Other songs, not benefiting from support by the new system of professionalism, faded away. This process happened mostly in Ulaanbaatar. Some of the new standard long-songs, however, travelled back to the countryside and gradually influenced countryside singers' selection of songs. At the same time, changes in the long-song musical style have also occurred as songs traveled from countryside to city and also through the emergence of the professional style.

Although singers do not usually say that there has been a change in the long-song tradition, my research indicates a phenomenon that essentialized certain style characteristics of long-song into a form that is much like the Khalkh style (to be described below), with much more fixed *chimeglel*, and this style is performed by most of the professional singers in Ulaanbaatar. In the process, certain legendary singers' techniques served as models for this essential style of ornamentation, particularly those of professional singers. For example, the big influence of the legendary singer J. Dorjdagva's teaching, which formed the core of discourse on long-song techniques prominently featured on MNB, resulted over time in the elevation of Khalkh style as fundamental to the overall Mongolian long-song style.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DIRECTION

Most scholars who have looked into the phenomena of post-socialist societies, particularly the post-Soviet Bloc societies, emphasize “transitional” aspects (Berdahl 2000; Hann 2000; Verdery 1996). They suggest that post-socialist society is not a new beginning or even a new chapter of the society in question, but rather it consists of the continued struggles of a social pattern that has been retained from the socialist era. For this reason, the scholars claim that post-socialist society is not simply an economic and political alternative to the previous socialism society. Instead, they claim, it is more of a shift or exchange of cultural meanings and values.

Haferkamp and Smelser suggest that “conceptions of change appear to have mirrored the historical realities of different epochs in large degrees” (Haferkamp and Smelser 1991: 1-2). It seems certain that Mongolia, during the time of my visits between 2006 and 2010, was full of social changes in economy and culture and featured a shift of “historical realities,” while it has also continued certain things. Mongolians have generally welcomed the changes, but their past also remains embedded in aspects of the current Mongolia, the places and memories of Mongolian people, and within in a new discourse of paradigms that they have built as part of their history. In my research, therefore, I found it necessary to go back to the time of socialism in order to understand the present, to understand today’s environment for current long-song singers, and also to understand the musical style of today’s long-song.

This dissertation seeks to investigate changes and continuities in the musical style and performance practice of Mongolian long-song, as well as in musicians’

lives, focusing on the significant historical transition of Mongolian society since 1990, when the socialist regime collapsed, but also looking at what happened under socialism that led to the current circumstances of long-song. So, this consideration brings the following primary research questions: 1) What does the long-song tradition signify in contemporary Mongolia? 2) What does it mean to contemporary Mongolians who have experienced the aforementioned shifts in their economic system and changes in their cultural or political identity? 3) What have been the procedures for the construction of new perspectives during the transition? 4) If the long-song tradition has retained its social meaning and identity over the course of the political transition, then what does its sound structure and style, changed or unchanged, tell us? 5) If the tradition has endured, how has this been possible, and as what kind of icon has the long-song tradition played a role in transitional Mongolia?

Mongolia is the only country in the East Asian region that has been a Soviet-bloc socialist country. Located between Russia and China, Mongolia chose the Soviet version of socialism over Chinese communism through revolution, when exposed to both ideologies. For this reason, Mongolia was strongly influenced by the Soviet system not only politically, but also culturally, between the 1930s and 1990—the extent of the socialist period. During the socialist regime, the nation was modernized and urbanized quickly, with emphasis on collective labor and a political ideology geared toward a collective Mongolian socialist identity and modernity aligned with the Soviet Union. After the socialist government fell, the socialist Mongolian modernity continued on into a new post-socialist modernity that is more cultural and capitalistic than political.

During the socialist period, long-song, along with other folk traditions, was moved from the countryside to certain performance venues in Ulaanbaatar and received government support. Performance venues such as the Folk and Dance Ensemble Theater (Figure 4) were built during the socialist period in the 1960s and were the main sites of performance for both Western and folk music until the Opera Ballet theatre was built as a Western musical venue in 1963. The Folk and Dance Ensemble Theater remains the main venue for the performance of folk musics in current Mongolia. There have also been regular folk concerts for tourists during the summer.



Figure 4: Folk and Dance Ensemble Theater, Ulaanbaatar

Philip Bohlman explains the transition in the Jewish synagogues of Eastern Europe, and looks for the transition of traditional music within the context of commodification in modern Eastern Europe. From his case studies, he asserts that what is considered “change” or “transition” turns out to be only “restoration” of tradition (Bohlman 2003: 40-68), causing him to ask the question “transition from what to what?” In the case of the Mongolian long-song tradition, also, once the new post-socialist modernity had appeared, long-song could be seen as a “restoration” of

tradition after the socialist period. Or, as Buchanan's study (2005) of Bulgarian music's revival as a new tradition as part of new nation building suggests, long-song could be a revival of tradition in the context of new nation building. Another possibility is that long-song could have been a counterpart of the new political movement, as outlined in Russian popular music case studies (e.g., Cushman 1995). These are all possibilities.

In short, based on observation of the current scene of Mongolian long-song and based on previous case studies in other post-socialist countries, my research traces how long-song has developed through history, from the socialist period to post-socialist Mongolia, focusing on what has been changed or continued, as well as what has been empowered or reinforced. In this way, I establish an understanding of the overall meaning of *urtyn duu* in contemporary Mongolia.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SELECTION OF MATERIALS

This dissertation is the result of ethnographic fieldwork and archival research in Mongolia between 2006 and 2010. In 2006, I arrived in Mongolia for the first time, and that year provided me with a good glimpse of Mongolia while I was learning the language, participating in several concerts, and observing various musical venues, mainly in Ulaanbaatar. I had not yet had individual contact with singers at that point. After I came back from the field, I was also frequently involved with Mongolian culture in the Mongolian-American community in Arlington, Virginia, which certainly helped me practice Mongolian language and learn Mongolian culture, although I was physically far from Mongolia.

The main research for this dissertation project started in summer 2007. I resided mainly in Ulaanbaatar, in order to take singing lessons and conduct archival research. I worked closely with researchers in the Academy of Science, who provided much assistance while I collected materials and studied archival holdings. Due to my study of the printed and recorded material in archives, I was able to compare the musical style of recordings made during the socialist period and the styles of current Ulaanbaatar, which I could hear from concerts and CDs. This gave me a good start on my research, as I questioned some of the important issues of change and continuity. In addition to this urban study, I was able to consult numerous countryside singers who appeared along my path of searching for the answers to my questions.

In 2007, in fact, my main area for meeting with current singers was the countryside, particularly in Sükhbaatar *aimag* (province: the largest type of administrative subdivision in Mongolia), Dundgov' *aimag*, and Töv *aimag*. This provided me with an opportunity to compare the past, represented by the long-song materials in archives, to the musical and lyrical features of current long-song singers in each *aimag*. Traveling to three main contrasting sites was particularly important to my research: Sükhbaatar as the main eastern long-song region, Dundgov' as the main central region, and Töv as a place that combines the long-song styles of multiple regions that is close to Ulaanbaatar. My trip to each *aimag* was a separate journey; I went back and forth between the countryside and Ulaanbaatar. I had to keep returning to Ulaanbaatar, to recharge and purchase the necessary batteries for my camera and additional recording equipment, and to transfer my videos to a computer. Moving back and forth between the countryside and Ulaanbaatar in the process of fieldwork

also helped make it possible to sense what it is like for singers moving from the countryside to city area.

In 2009 to 2010, the years of my second and longer main fieldwork trip, my main base of operations was again Ulaanbaatar, and I continued working closely with the recorded materials in the Academy of Science archives, although many recordings were in poor condition and many were not available. This time, I focused mainly on Ulaanbaatar singers, working closely with students and teachers at the Music and Dance College, observing the teacher's lessons and their practices, and also being a student there myself. I went through a whole semester with the students and had the chance to observe their preparation for their senior recitals. Meanwhile, I again made trips to the countryside, researching the area northwest of Ulaanbaatar: Bulgan *aimag*, Selenge *aimag*, Darkhan city (the second largest city in Mongolia), and parts of Arkhangai *aimag*. I also met singers at several competitions in Övörkhangi *aimag* and Nalaikh district.

My fieldtrips to the countryside between 2009 and 2010 were mainly conducted during the winter, when the temperature sometimes goes down to minus 50 degrees Fahrenheit. It was easier to find singers during the winter compared to the summer, since they were moving around less. Finding singers in the countryside was one of the most intriguing parts of the research: Mongolians in the countryside, including singers, are still nomads. They move around with their own *ger*, a movable house. Finding singers, thus, was like chasing their trails; my research assistant and I frequently had to ask around to find a particular singer.

Me: "Do you know where the singer Dad'süren *gui* lives?"

Response: "Oh, he moved a couple of weeks ago to about seven kilometers to

the North!”

Then after driving for a while, we would arrive at another *ger* seemingly in the middle of nowhere. Then we asked again, “are you the singer Dad’süren?” “No, I’m not,” said the person there, “he *was* my neighbor [!] but he moved two more kilometers, because this site wasn’t good enough to set up his summer *ger*.” Then we drove again for two more kilometers. If I was lucky enough that day, then he was there. If I was not lucky that day, then I had to go find another singer, because the one I was looking for had gone out herding.

Actually interviewing countryside singers was another great part of my field research. For example, one of the singers in Sükhbaatar *aimag* once stopped me suddenly and very seriously from continuing our interview, because his baby sheep had run away and he had to go find it. Another singer would not continue to sing without vodka. Some singers were very sick when I was met them, but sang for me regardless. Most of the singers provided great hospitality with milk tea (*süütei-tsai*) and with rich stories of their experiences.

In addition, I had several interviews with singers in Ulaanbaatar, who seem to be more formal and who gave me a completely different point of view. Overall, I have met more than sixty singers through my fieldwork. I interviewed most of them only once, particularly singers in the countryside, but I have tried to revisit some of the singers who provided key answers to my questions.

I always asked singers their names and ages and what song repertory they knew. Since my dissertation was going to focus on continuity and change, I had questions about their memories of socialism and the methodologies they have learned.

Sometimes the conversation went on for several hours, including talk about the weather and my interviewees' lives in general, but the discussion always finished with their singing.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 5: On the Way to Find a Singer in Sükhbaatar *aimag*

In addition to meeting with singers and conducting archival research, I conducted interviews with people working in cultural sectors, such as some of the current and past producers at the Mongolian National Television and Radio Stations, and the Center of Cultural Heritage (*Soyolyn Öviin Töv*). In short, the route of my field research was constantly moving, just as a nomad's route. I started my research with archival work in Ulaanbaatar, my initial encounters with singers took place mainly in the countryside, and finally I followed their thread back to Ulaanbaatar, where I had started, and that provided me with a more syncretic and comprehensive picture.

Although I had decided to focus on ethnographic fieldwork and participant

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<sup>2</sup> The sound recordings mentioned and analyzed in this dissertation have been archived. Inquiries regarding the recordings should be addressed to the author.

observation, and have indeed concentrated on that, as my research proceeded it was unavoidable to do substantial historical study based on archival materials and printed sources. Another aspect of my research, musical analysis, therefore is very comparative, referring to materials collected at different times. This comparative analysis is essential since I am looking at the “transition” that carries “continuity” and “change.”

The archival materials have been important basic sources for comparison of the current situation to the long-songs of the past, and Chapter Three below introduces the archival collections. The investigation of past singers’ lives could possibly have been based on my interviewees’ narratives and memories, but the songs from archival recordings have given particularly detailed insights into the past life of the music itself. Thus, my research methodology has become a combination of methods, from personal interviews and participant observation to historical research, based on the archival materials that suggested the possibility and need of aspects of historical ethnomusicology in this dissertation.

Conducting personal interviews with about sixty singers was the most blissful process of this dissertation, and I have learned a lot, particularly considering the long-song tradition is oral tradition, by interacting with them through their heartfelt conversation, through observing their attitudes, and by sharing meals together. Nevertheless, because of the limited space of this dissertation and the necessity of framing the work in a coherent way, it was impossible to describe all the singers I have ever met. I have unavoidably had to chose a few interviews that are particularly relevant to my argument in this dissertation, leaving behind an abundant number of

valuable stories and songs of singers, particularly ones in the countryside. I will retain many of these materials for my future work.

## STRUCTURE OF CHAPTERS

The dissertation is organized by discussion of transition in each main aspect of the research: social transition of Mongolia, transitions of long-song singers, and transitions of long-song musical styles. Chapter Two frames the theoretical thoughts and approaches: starting with a literature review of post-socialist studies and related sub-issues, I introduce an overall picture of post-socialist studies and elaborate the issues that align with the premises of a Mongolian long-song case study, such as arguments on modernity, understanding of folk tradition, nationalism, forming of social identity, immigration between countryside and city, and the transition of musical/cultural values.

As an extension to the consideration of the theoretical framework, especially in the case of Mongolian society and culture, Chapter Three investigates the overall history of Mongolia's modernization under the Soviet Union, along with the contemporary situation of Mongolia, to see how these frames can explain its transitional history. In this chapter, I particularly place those issues that appeared in Chapter Two into the historical timeline of Mongolia, dividing it between socialist Mongolia and post-socialist Mongolia. Several important works in the literature of Mongolian studies are also introduced here.

Chapter Four describes the overall characteristics of Mongolian long-song and explains the musical terms that appear in the dissertation. English-language

ethnomusicology has not produced many in-depth of studies of Mongolian long-song itself; thus, this chapter not only provides the necessary knowledge for understanding this dissertation but also is essential to further scholarship in ethnomusicology. It will introduce a brief history of long-song and its definition, performance contexts, musical characteristics, necessary techniques, and so on. In addition, this chapter concludes with the description of important archive recordings. Since the archive recordings and printed sources are essential and basic information for understanding the later chapters, it is necessary to describe them here.

Chapters Five and Six present the main analysis of the “transitional” aspect of the long-song tradition. Chapter Five illustrates the process of change in singers’ lives under socialism and after the socialist period, through several case studies of singers I have encountered. Chapter Six discusses the issues arising from the transitional aspects of long-song in terms of musical style, the song repertory, and the story of the songs themselves, in order to trace the changes there. It illustrates the collections that allow for the comparison of long-song past and present, focusing on one specific song, “Bor bor byalzuukhai” (Brown Brown Little Bird) and finishes with the story of a song, “Jaakhan sharga” (Small Yellowish Horse) related to a local legend, in order to see how the meanings of songs have been circulated.

In Chapter Seven, I summarize the previous chapters and connect singers’ lives in transition and the musical aspects of the transition of long-song, and I attempt to answer the dissertation’s big questions about transition, continuity, and change as a conclusion.

Finally, the dissertation ends with an appendix and a glossary. The appendix

contains the song lists I have compiled during my field research. These are important not only to accompany the discussions in the dissertation, but also as resources that have not been published before in English. Furthermore, they will provide insights to anybody who is interested in research in the long-song area.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The basic theoretical framework in this dissertation is suggested by the issues that emerge from post-socialist studies within a discourse of “change” and “continuity.” As it has appeared in the context of other Soviet bloc countries and other socialism countries that have been experiencing post-socialist transitions, the term “modernity,” or more precisely, post-socialist modernity, has been a somewhat confusing concept as scholars have tried to define it. The term would seem to imply a situation in which a new “modern” culture has emerged along with the pursuit of economic capital after the transition to a free market and the entrance of new technology. In the changed social and cultural context, post-socialist modernity also has meant something that is not socialist and something anti-socialist, although it also can be still political and nationalistic. It has implied globalization, but ironically also a return in some cases to the more traditional. It has described increased urbanization, but also an accompanying rustic nostalgia. Therefore, even the concept of “modernity” has become a complicated one in post-socialist contexts.

Post-socialist studies do not constitute only an observation or analysis of regime change or political change that happened in one day. Rather, they observe the gradual transitional process that has embedded within itself implicit and explicit power struggles, not only political but also cultural and social. Sometimes there is alternation, modification, and re-enforcement. However, at the same time, there are contrasting and persistent remains. Given this, the observation of musical-cultural

phenomena in a post-socialist transition does not form a simple history. Rather, it chronicles not only power relational struggles among people, but also people with their music and with each other by means of music. In this dissertation, I identify several important concepts with which to explain culture and music in post-socialist Mongolia. I discuss several important concepts that appeared in the transitional process of post-socialist Mongolia, such as the concept of folk, the theorizing of social identity (social class), the process of formation of nationalistic identity, urban immigration and its relationship to ideology, and changes in aesthetic valuation.

Along with the theorizing of these concepts within the post-socialist Mongolian context, I describe how music, in particular, has been a site where people express and negotiate their daily lives as individuals and their collective identities. In this process, expression of national pride and national identity is clearly presented in the musical tradition, but each individual singer has responded to the situation in a different way.

#### UNDERSTANDING ISSUES IN POST-SOCIALIST STUDIES: EVERYDAY LIVES IN THE TRANSITIONAL SOCIALIST ENVIRONMENT

Efforts to understand post-socialism have been made mainly within two disciplines: sociology and anthropology. Earlier post-socialist studies focus on the ruptures of socialism. Such studies have generally concluded that the collapse of socialism means simply the success of democracy and free market, and the triumph of “the West” and civil society. In criticism of these earlier naïve observations, most recent works in post-socialist studies, from both sociology and anthropology, have

started to see beyond the capitalistic and democratic triumph over the failure of socialist political and economic processes. Rather, the scholarship has started to focus on such matters as: who are the subjects of the social change, what could the subject or object of empowering or disempowering the social transformation, how the collective social discourse has influenced the individual, and how individuals have interacted on broader levels of change.

Throughout his contemplation of the diverse directions and numerous subcultural interactions of social actors in post-socialist society, Michael D. Kennedy, a sociologist, discusses the notions of identity, ideology (in contrast to utopia), and discourse (in contrast to fantasy) in *Envisioning Eastern Europe* (1994). In this book, he implies that post-socialist society is not just a political and economic alternative to the previously existing socialist society, but actually a reproduction of identity, ideology, and discourse that have survived the passage of time. Kennedy suggests that identity formation itself can be understood as an autonomous process, inconsistent with the system-within-the-system, whether individual or collective, and whether with or against the stream of the previous ideology. However, rather interestingly, identity formation after socialism is not unrelated to “nation’s imagination” (Kennedy 1994: 7) or ideology (10). Kennedy defines ideology as the social actor’s vision or illusion that they wish to relate to the world, and its discourse as the active will, through or sometimes beyond the language of the social actors who have constructed the ideology. This could be an interesting connection to the post-socialist Mongolian case studies indicating that the ideology, even after the collapse of the socialist

system, is alive not as political propaganda but as social actors' vision, illusion, or discourse.

Anthropologists Chris Hann, Caroline Humphrey, and Katherine Verdery in the edited collection *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia* (Hann 2002: 1-28) provide valuable theoretical frames with ethnographic case studies of various post-socialist areas. Hann and Humphrey warn us to be careful of taking a polarized viewpoint that would find a non-socialist "self" looking at socialist "others." Saying that "there never can be a sudden and total emptying out of all social phenomena and their replacement by other ways of life" (Hann 2002: 12), they suggest that post-socialist society could constitute another "self" of socialistic power struggle. Thus, this volume shows the necessity of connection between socialist and post-socialist society when they are investigated.

Humphrey criticizes the younger generation's anthropological research that connects too little to the socialist past in its discussions of "globalization, [the] integration of Europe, or new communications technologies." (Hann 2002: 14). Interestingly, Verdery, in the same book, theorizes post-socialist studies as a parallel to post-colonial studies, since the issues involved are quite similar: the important role of knowledge and information, examination of representations of "the self" and "other," the importance of the third voice, and so forth. Recent post-socialist studies suggest that post-socialism is not the discontinuity or failure of socialism; rather, it is a matter of different representations of ideology and identity in the service of reinforcing who the people in a society are and what they have done. In post-socialist studies, scholars often question how they can analyze and define post-socialist places

because it seems that those places are observed as having continued Soviet influence in their own transitional nation-building procedure. The resistance to and reformation of economic forces and the reconstruction of alternative economic values in Romania, as discussed in Verdery's work, are useful to an understanding of the overall transitional process, since she distills several theoretical concepts that are important to explain the culture overall: the process of rural decollectivization as new market economies emerge (privatization), national and ethnic conflict, devaluation of blue collar labor, the making of a civil society, changes of gender relationship, and the renewing of identities (Verdery 1996).

Studies of the post-socialist world are about concepts of transition and transformation overall, and their understanding of the concept of "transitional process" in post-socialist countries can be a critical paradigm by which scholars can grasp the picture of socialism and post-socialism.<sup>1</sup> Scholars, thus, have started to look at these transitional phenomena as a much more complex whole and to try to break the conceptual frame that has been raised from a Western point of view, which would consider the relationship between socialism and post-socialism as a simple regime change. The volume *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Berdahl et al 2000), shows several case studies of transitional phenomena from soviet bloc countries, emphasizing that post-socialism

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<sup>1</sup> In post-socialist studies and post-communist studies, the study of these transitional processes has been developed in the name of a transitology paradigm. This was often treated as a comparable term for democratization in numerous contexts of political change. More recently, placement of democratization and transitology in a similar usage has been criticized for the reason that it is only used to describe the changes of countries from authoritarian to capitalist, and it thus mostly implies the "Western views" toward to these changed countries.

is a complicated social phenomenon that deals with “what happened to people’s memory, identity, and personhood in the aftermath of rapid political, economic, and social change.” (Berdahl 2000: 1) Berdahl also illustrates that the transition moves “from nation-states to states of mind, from local and individual states of crisis to the crisis of the state” (ibid), rather than being “a discourse of capitalist triumphalism, or teleological thinking in relation to direction of change: from socialism or dictatorship to liberal democracy from a plan to a market economy” (ibid).

As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the transition detailed in post-socialist studies is a matter of how the social actors have reacted or resisted in their power relationships during the changes in their daily lives. Recent post-socialist studies, thus, have tried to investigate not only how each country has responded to political change, but also to explain how or by whom the transition was empowered or disempowered. These studies indicate that the empowerment and disempowerment have stemmed from individual activities and knowledge that existed under socialism or were based on socialistic ideas, rather than from collective power or from hegemonic power. For example, Fürst locates the seed of the collapse of socialist society in the late Stalinist Soviet period (Fürst 2006). Also during this time, strong control was exerted by the central government, but there was an increase in the strength of individuals. Fürst says, “Late Stalinism is better understood as a debate between official norms and the people affected by them” (Fürst 2006: 11), as she continues to describe the pre-transitional time during which “most Soviet citizens found themselves in a double role. At times, they were representatives of the state and at other times they became its subjects and victims of its rule” (Fürst 2006:11).

Extending from this view, some of the post-socialist works such as Alexei Yurchak (2006), Kharkhordin (1999), and Havel (1986), which analyze the dichotomy of public practice (collectivism) and private practice (individualism) in Russia (Yurchak and Kharkhordin) and central Eastern Europe (Havel), also make the point that citizens as individuals and their everyday lives under socialism have performed an important role in the transition of the post-socialist nations.

Kharkhordin points out that most post-socialist studies from both Western scholarship and native scholarship in the post-socialist countries have been too much focused on Marxist textual theory, which analyzes overall social norms and social structure as ideological practice, rather than observing the everyday lives of the people in the society. Thus, he sees that individuals' interactions with hegemonic and ideological power have formed important elements of most social change. For this reason, he emphasizes the difference of individualism in the Western world from individualism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Individualism in Soviet Union and the post-soviet world is, thus, more well-understood as referring to relations among individuals and also of individuals with the official public system, while Western individualism is more a concept of individuals' autonomy from the bigger system (Kharkhordin 1999: *passim*). In a similar context, Yurchak describes well the performative roles of individuals as Soviet citizens that engaged with the states and the public. Therefore, Yurchak does not consider the collapse of the Soviet system to have been unimaginable, unanticipated, and surprising, but rather to have been almost logical when it happened (Yurchak 2006).

An understanding of these mechanisms of power interaction between the public and individuals during late socialist period from the 1960s through the 1980s in most Soviet Bloc countries, including Mongolia, can help explain the cultural phenomena that underlie the social change, and also why it happened in the transition after 1990 in post-socialist countries. Thus, the studies mentioned above suggest the possibility of a new understanding in post-socialist studies. First, post-socialist society is not a result of abrupt transition, but is rather more gradual and more complicated, needing to be explained with relation to a variety of social factors. Second, the transition was anticipated and expected, because of the complex interactions of individuals and their societies at the end of the socialist period, and those interactions continued into the post-socialist period. To understand these complex interactions, it is necessary to study common people's everyday lives in every cultural corner of transitional Mongolia, including music, as they unfolded along with the political and economic changes.

#### POST-SOCIALIST STUDIES ISSUES IN EXPRESSIVE CULTURE AND THEIR RELATION TO ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Although the post-socialist studies have not frequently provided direct theoretical frameworks for studies of expressive culture, particularly musical culture in post-socialist nations, existing publications do provide interesting case studies that illustrate emerging issues in the overall cultural aspect of post-socialist studies (for example, Cushman 1995; Faraday 2000; Szemere 2001; Gordy 1999; Lemon 2001). These studies investigate specifically how expressive culture such as music, film, and

theatre has played a role in the transition of the society and culture overall, or how the cultures have been influenced by every aspect of the artists' or musicians' new lives in the transitional society. Cushman's case study (1995) illustrates the rock music counterculture in contemporary Russia, particularly how the rock musician's artistic autonomy has responded to the post-socialist Russia when it comes to the new capitalist cultural market freedom. Szemere (2001) also investigates the rock counterculture in the post-socialist era, but in Hungary. Faraday (2000) brings a case study on film, again in the transitional post-soviet Russian society. Gordy (1999) illustrates rather dissimilar case studies on how popular music, culture, and media have been controlled to legitimize political power in post-socialist Serbia. Lemon (2001) brings an interesting study of how ethnic and cultural identity relates to artistic and performance identity in the lives and performances of Russian Gypsies.

Particularly these studies of expressive culture in post-socialist societies concern the nature of "autonomy" as embodied among artists and musicians in Socialist and Post-socialist Russia, Romania, and Bulgaria. They illustrate how expressive culture has tried to balance between artistic freedom and political or ideological expression. The concept of the autonomy of musicians is illustrated as the struggle between aesthetic autonomy, political as well as economic autonomy.

Rock became increasingly contested: viewed as high art by some people, as entertainment by others, or as surrogate form of political self-expression. The discourse about rock thus involved a confrontation of diverse aesthetic approaches within the community as well as between the musicians and the cultural officials, media personnel, grant-awarding agencies, and other outside the music scene whose discussions affected it. This struggle for autonomy under a changing set of possibilities and constraints constitutes the politics of cultural activity. (Szemere 2001: 8)

Giving the explanation that the concept of aesthetic autonomy has been derived from Western high art, Szemere illustrates that aesthetic autonomy is closely related to political and social reflection. Although the art and the culture itself have their own artistic freedom, it is generated within the environment of ideological and social change in Szemere's case studies.

These arguments on aesthetic autonomy or cultural autonomy are interesting and important ones for this dissertation, since the folk tradition has been reflected in transitional Mongolia's nationalistic direction, while the music-making and sound of the long-song singers are still rendered in a manner apparently much continued from the socialist period. The position of singers has rather taken its own path to respond to the new-nation building, yet it still coordinates with the post-socialist Mongolian political and economical direction.

Analysis of the positioning of the performer in the post-socialist world is possible, not only through the observation of expressive culture in a broad sense, but also by understanding the daily lives of conflict and consolation in the performers' language, senses, listening, and voices. Even the public sphere of political and nation-state concerts, often described in their theatrical genre and part of popular culture, is filled with the process of everyday life performances to which individuals bring their active wills. Roman (2003), who describes popular culture case studies in Romania, finds identity confirmation through numerous different individuals' everyday lives in all kinds of Romanian culture, and Roman brings an understanding of transformation of the individuals' lives into the overall public and social cultures.

More observations on the connection between post-socialist studies and the musical aspects are necessary. I investigate here some of the ethnomusicological literature concerning parts of the post-Soviet bloc in central Asia and Eastern Europe. Although several works look at music in the context of Soviet bloc regions such as Hungary (Lange 2003), Bulgaria (Rice 1994), Central Asia (Levin 1996), and Mongolia (Pegg 2001; Marsh 2009), they are not approached as case studies that illustrate a strong interaction between music and politics, or emphasizing much on political shift to a post-socialist country. Instead, they deal with specific transitions of the role of music in selected post-socialist societies.

Rice (1994) and Buchanan (1996, 2005) researched Bulgarian folk songs, but with different approaches. Interested in the broad historical background to and of the socialist period, Rice investigates the music through in-depth of personal experience with one musician's family. Closely observing musical transmission and changes to music-making during the individual musician's biographical history and his own personal experience, Rice reflects on and searches for the Bulgarian musical tradition. In contrast, Buchanan, investigates how folk music has responded to political changes and how the music has gained ideological power; Buchanan's work aligns with some of the post-socialist framework discussed above.

The edited collection *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe* (Slobin 1996), consists of more specific case studies in the Soviet bloc and makes cultural observations in relation to the political changes from socialism. The editor, Slobin, acknowledges the lack of musical scholarship in this field focusing on post-socialist situations, and this book touches on numerous

possible issues for discourse about the musical culture of post-socialism: concepts of folk and folk revival (Levin, Beckerman), relationship between economics and aesthetics (Rice, Frigyesi), and culture as symbolic imagery of national identity or tradition continuity (Rasmussen, Lausevic, Wanner, Mazo, Buchanan).

Slobin argues that there have coexisted three aspects in post-socialist societies: “identity,” “continuity,” and “modernity,” all as embodied in music-cultural transition. These concepts are closely related to the works mentioned above. Slobin sees several layers of identities in transitional societies: “public display” vs. local and personal identities, and the contrast of governmental or socialist control in the name of modernity despite the existence of the “local” in the name of “continuity.”

Nationalism and discourse on continuity and the revivalism of tradition are also an important debate in Slobin’s book. The interaction of musical culture and political change is also revealed in some other works, such as Rees’s (2000), that are not specifically about Soviet-bloc, but addressing another communist country, China. Rees sees music in China as a more active and powerful force that influences non-musical elements of society, such as politics, rather than receiving unidirectional influence from politics or the social environment. The music, thus, can possibly reform and influence those non-musical elements.

Following Slobin’s formulation of continuity, Olson’s (2004) viewpoint toward folk music in Russia is also close to Rees’s, as it examines how the music itself has been “revived,” “reinvented,” and presented in dissimilar ways within Russia’s historical and ideological context to play a certain role that reflects the national conciseness and need. Levin’s work (1996) also shows how folk music

survived and was preserved through “Soviet-Colonization” and how local people struggled to keep their spirit through this music.

Although some of these authors did not specifically mention the post-socialist transitional formation of modernity, identity or continuity, they certainly still opened up the discussion for music-specific issues in post-socialist studies. Among those studies, Pegg (2001) and Marsh (2006) illustrate important specific case studies of Mongolian musical culture. Both investigate the concerns of Mongolian musical culture regarding survival and change in socialist times: Pegg illustrates the aspect of suppression of tradition under socialist ideology, while Marsh investigates transitional aspects of the horse head fiddle from the perspective of how it become integrated into Mongolian culture.

## IMPORTANT CONCEPTS IN POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIAN MUSICAL CULTURAL CONTEXT

### Modernity

The word “modernity” has become complicated to define, as the meaning or usage of modernity is understood in various ways in different contexts. The meaning of modernity varies between Asian countries (including Mongolia), which have been influenced a great deal by outside powers, and the West, which has for the most part *become* the power economically and culturally. The concept of modernity in the European world, especially in industrializing periods, often refers to technology advancement or to relatively recent things that can be opposed to “being traditional” or “being old.”

However, is the concept really about a matter of time (old/new) or a matter of space (West/East)? The meaning of modernity becomes even more complicated when we consider that most contemporary societies are full of intrusions from mass media, information is fluid, and besides, when this complicated concept of modernity comes into the context of the post-socialist, it needs to be understood in the context of the modernity that has been performed. Dingsdale sees “modernity” as “looking to the future, destroying the old to develop new locational, societal and cultural relationships and so constructing new geographies” in central Eastern Europe through the socialist and post-socialism periods (Dingsdale 2002: xix). Slobin introduces the idea of “modernity” as a result of the state-control system, as opposed to local and cultural management activities that kept “continuity” alive within the old tradition (1996). It is interesting here that Slobin frames the concept of modernity as the official public presentation of music at the time while smaller scale music-making was kept as “non-modernity.”

Appadurai describes the fluid boundary of imagination enabled by media mediation and people’s immigration, suggesting that modernity is “global,” “mobile,” and rather “dynamic” (Appadurai 1996: 1-23). Siao, in her studies of the reconstruction in the nineteenth century of a Chinese city (2004), investigates the idea of modernity as constructed by Chinese concept and practice in that era (Siao 2004: 5). She finds the concept through various dynamic representations of people’s act and behaviors. She calls it “exhibitory modernity” (Siao 2004: 5) here.

Modernity is not so much, or merely, about adopting Western institutions and values; it is also about presentation. After all, modernity is a fashion that requires validation—to be modern is to be seen judged, consumed, and thus, legitimized as modern by the

public... In fact, in history and reality, all great powers or movements have had an exhibitory dimension to shape and reinforce their greatness... In contrast to these political powers that came and went, modernity is an ongoing process without a “fixed paradise,” a process that holds seemingly infinite promise and universal appeal and thus is much greater and lasting force... As a result, exhibitory modernity prevails in less-developed areas once the consciousness of the modern begins to take hold. The consciousness can and often does stimulate a tremendous desire among groups in the periphery to imitate the center, even if on a miniature scale and in utopian formulas... (Siao 2004: 5-7)

For Siao, modernity is not a concept of the “being new” or “innovative,” as opposed to “being old” or “traditional” or even being “global.” Rather, it seems that it is more the presentation of “nowness”—current presentation of the past, and current reconstructed views of certain things. In a similar context, Ivy, in her book (1996) that illustrates the Japanese national nostalgic conciseness toward pre-modern Japanese culture overall, explains the concept of modernity as stemming from current Japanese people’s anxieties and desire not to lose their national identity. At the same time, she illustrates that the presentation of Japanese tradition and folk (folklore) is actually another reconstruction of Japanese modernity for nation-building.

Similarly, Marsh discusses the concept of modernity as a tool of nationalism and nation-building in conjunction with cosmopolitanism in Mongolian case studies. Describing the Soviet-era Mongolian context, Marsh (2009) sees modernity as “the story of process” (Marsh 2009: 11) and defines it as the coexistence of two levels: not only the Soviets discourse about nation, but also the promotion of a national identity as Mongol. In the case of this dissertation, to step further, the concept of modernity in my research would synthesize concepts that appeared in the work of Ivy, Siao, and Appadurai, and would investigate how Marsh’s two levels of socialist discourse and

national identity have been shifted into modernity in the post-soviet context. The Japanese conscious longing for pre-modern times, the Chinese idea of current act and presentation to define modernity, and the globalized mobility of culture as modernity all are inherent in the modernity of post-socialist Mongolian culture.

Modernity might seem a concept unrelated to a post-socialist context. However, in the process of nation-building after the collapse of socialism, people were in constant pursuit of modernity in the matter of representation of the self toward others—the representation of national identity, local identity, and individual identity, as well as the new cultural identity. This modernity could be understood as only trans-locality as opposed to the traditional locality that Slobin defined earlier, more specifically, as “the state control-system.” However, modernity in the post-socialist Mongolian context includes both the present and the past as well as local and global. In addition, Siao’s concept, modernity as the presentation of nowness, and Ivy’s concept, modernity as current Japanese people’s anxieties and desire not to lose their national identity, are not exceptional in Mongolian long-song tradition. The long-song genre is considered a traditional or “folk” expression, but it has become new and has newly surfaced as the nation searches for its identity. In this way, it has rather represented a strong, new national identity for Mongolia. Thus, the following section headings are, in more cultural specific ways, about how modernity in the post-socialist world has been presented through music and culture. They will investigate the theoretical frames of “folk,” “nationalism,” “identity,” and “mobility of culture” that have essentially survived in modern post-socialist Mongolia.

### Concept of “Folk”: Preservation, Revival, and Representation

The concept of varies according to different cultures and situations. It is often defined as people’s music, the word being rooted in the German “Volk,” and so implying music of a lower class as opposed to court, art, or classical in Western music or aristocratic or elite music in non-Western music. Sometimes, it implies transmission by oral/aural method, although this is not always the case. Often the word “folk” has been interchangeable with “traditional” music in certain cultures or certain genres. Particularly it does in the Mongolian case, since Mongolian traditional music does not much include classical, court, or art traditional music and most of the traditional music has been nomadic music.

It is well known that the concept of folk music had already appeared in eighteenth-century Europe, as a contrast concept to an “art” music. Gelbart (2007) describes an interesting contrast between conceptualizations of folk music and art music in terms of who is playing and what materials has been used, etc., taking into account most possible ways of classifying these two factors. He describes the concept of “folk” as already having in eighteenth-century Europe the implication of relation to nature, and being simple or primitive as opposed to the music of civilization:

Whereas at the start of the century its “natural” qualities had little to do with “folkishness,” by the end of the century newer ideas of “nature” had rendered “Scottish music” essentially synonymous in European minds with the modern category of “folk music.” (Gelbart 2007: 40)

Bausinger, in his description of folk history, compares folk studies in West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) with those in East Germany (German Democratic Republic), where “it has undergone its own unique development under

the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine” (Dow and Lixfeld 1986: 3). He also emphasizes that “East German folklorists are particularly concerned with a historical analysis of their culture and of the lifestyle of the working classes, i.e., the proletariat of Germany. Thus, he shows that in virtually all of the socialist states of central and Eastern Europe, folklore has developed in an ideological lockstep with closely related disciplines” (Dow and Lixfeld 1986: 3-4). Furthermore, he explains that how the folk tradition started developing the connection between folk and national tradition:

From their inception, these discussions reflected national interests, i.e., folklorists preferred to investigate their own nation, their own Volk and its history. Even though there have certainly been major contributions made throughout its long history, a scholarship conceived of in this way has ideological limitations on its perspectives, of course. The era of fascism was not the first time that national politicians used well-known scholars, including folklorists, for interests, which were intended to stabilize a political system. It would thus be foolish to conceive of German Volkskunde of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as somehow beyond ideology and national political interests, leading a self-assured and separate life in an ivory tower...(ibid: 6-7)

The idea of folk music has been more specifically understood and presented in music as four cases: first, folk music as an element of musical composition in classical Western music; second, folk tradition as it appears in the folk revival movement; third, represented folk tradition according to political ideology; and fourth, folk music as a traditional and nostalgic idiom in music-making. The first case is often found in the early twentieth century. Folk music was used as an element of musical composition in classical Western music and as a particularly important element by certain European composers such as Béla Bartók. However, this is not very relevant to this Mongolian case, and I will not pursue it further here.

Second, folk tradition came to people's attention when it was revived and applied later in the twentieth century in the American and European folk revival movements. In the second case, not only were there attempts at preservation in folk revival, but it also emerged that what we see as real folk is actually "invented, constructed and formally instituted," according to Hobsbawm (1983: 1). He emphasized, "novelty is no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity" (Hobsbawm 1983: 5), and "existing customary traditional practices – folksong, physical contests, marksmanship – were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for the new national purposes. A powerful ritual complex formed round these occasions: festival pavilions, structures for the display of flags, temples for offerings, processions, bell-ringing, tableaux, gun-salutes, government delegations in honour of the festival, dinners, toasts and oratory. Old materials were again adapted for this" (Hobsbawm 1983: 6).

This invented tradition is thus clearly defined as "folklorism" as opposed to "folk" (Bausinger 1986: 114-123). Bausinger (1986) defines folklorism as the represented or reconstructed folk to distinguish it from the folk culture that actually existed in the past. This idea of folklorism also appears in the work of Olson (2004), who investigates the role of folk music and dance in post-Soviet Russia. She finds evidence of an illusory folk tradition constituted from the re-making and representation of folksongs in post-Soviet Russia to correspond with political and ideological transition. She looks for authentic Russian songs, but instead finds "folklorism," which she defines as "the conscious use of folklore in popular, elite or officially sponsored culture" (Olson 2004: 6). Therefore, she says, "folklore becomes

folklorism as soon as it is consciously manipulated, scripted, organized, institutionalized, published or marketed” (Olson 2004: 6).

Mongolian long-song tradition has been believed by Mongolians to be an “authentic” tradition that has always been alive through their long-history. As Hobsbawm argued, the authenticity, as oral tradition, is imagined, and in Bausinger’s terms, it can be “folklorism,” not “folk.” Or, as Olson’s work shows, it is “consciously manipulated” under the influence of political ideology. However, the Mongolians’ belief regarding the genuine authenticity of the long-song tradition is very strong, and the manipulation characteristic of Olson’s case studies is observed more subtly in Mongolian case studies.

Discussion of revivals, reinvention, and even manipulation of folk tradition has often appeared in other works. Goertzen (1997) provide case studies of the folk revival through the fiddle tradition in Norway, showing the function of contest in the society and the politics within. Buchanan (2005) describes a state folk ensemble in Bulgaria and illustrates the process that has made it a central agency of political transition by modulating its musical styles and repertoires. Although writing from a somewhat different perspective, Williams (1977) outlines case studies of folk revival in a national folk festival and in the process of staging the traditions represented. The research in this book describes how this national folk festival has influenced musicians’ lives and continued traditional cultural forces into the present, a process related to this dissertation.

Reconfiguring folk tradition, in short, often occurs through several operative processes: governmental cultural policy, competition and contest, concert, music

club, folk ensemble, and mass media. Mongolia is no exception, although in the Mongolian case, the reconfiguration of folk tradition would be more closely related to political transition as a cause.

The third case arises from the communist/socialist ideology in which the folk tradition has become state-controlled or defined as “classical folk” music. This is clearly the case for Mongolia. In this idea of folk, the folk culture is ironically presented as something that is close to the people and the worker class, but the style and type officially represented is considered more “cleaned up,” since the “authentic” folk music is considered as more backward and out-of date, needing to be improved to go along with a “scientific” social system. In consequence, a great many Mongolian folk ensembles have an invented and cleaned-up sound that has been termed “classical folk,” or “professional folk music tradition.”<sup>2</sup> This is still closely related to the “folklorism” explained as part of folk revival. In the involvement of folk music within the political ideology, folk has become much more “folklorism” rather than folk culture itself—more focused on presentation regardless of a tradition’s genuine nature or authenticity.

This case is well illustrated by Marsh’s description of an interview with Ch. Gankhuyag, the theater director from Arkhangai *aimag*:

The folk music repertoire has also suffered, he said: “All of our folk art has been made into ‘classical’ folk art which is not being left behind.”...He was referring to the professional folk music traditions, like those performed by the State Folk Song & Dance Ensemble, that the performers were trained to perform during the socialist period.

While acknowledging that this modern folklore was an example of the “strong” development of the Mongolian arts during the

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<sup>2</sup> The term “classical folk” is used by Ch. Gankhuyag, who is quoted in the following paragraph; Marsh rephrases it as “professional folk music tradition.”

modern era, Gankhuyag complained that this art had become so complicated and technical that no one but professionals could perform it... “[Since the socialist period] the modern Mongolian art has been developing quickly, but the traditional things are being left in a place which not every person can reach. (Marsh 2009: 151)

Clearly in this conversation, the concept of folk is used as something that is interchangeable with traditional culture. This folk-traditional music, thus, has come into Mongolian society during the socialist period to represent Mongolian socialist modernism with modification of the traditional music that brings it closer to the Soviet Union’s classical art music, which is very highly skilled. This is more similar to the concept of “folklorism.” In other words, it is a type of “professional” music, which is interesting because folk music also is closely related to the concept of amateur musicians in terms of no education or professional training.

The fourth case of presentation of folk culture has occurred mostly in more recent times. In this case, folk music is more understood as “traditional music” here. It becomes what is conceived as a part of a purely Mongolian culture, but within a more commercialized and globalized context. Folk music has been used in popular culture in the contemporary world, especially in global popular music, in contexts meant to show the diversity of ethnicity in the world, and the uniqueness of each culture or nation. Folk tradition often has been described as something from the past that is nostalgic (Ivy 1996; Yano 2002), supposed to be authentic or original, or, negatively, given an image as something backward as opposed to high art (Rees 2000).

Not exceptionally, contemporary Mongolia has sought to represent their new but strong Mongolness. Mongolian folk culture has been part of that and the

representation of folk in contemporary Mongolia has been closely related to nation-building and reconfiguration of national identity; although it was also related to these things under socialism, folk as a nationalistic tool has become even stronger, for different reasons, in the post-socialist period. Thus, the permeable boundary of folk and traditional music has played the pivotal role of power in the post-socialist countries that is in the new nation-building process.<sup>3</sup>

All these images of folk exist in the post-socialist Mongolian culture; long-song has been considered backward by the Mongolians themselves (although that idea was learned from the government), and that is opposed to the elite culture of the socialist period. The folk tradition was less admired by most Mongolian intellectuals, who much preferred the Russian brand of Western art culture. However, it was possibly able to survive because the concept of folk was fit into what the socialist/communist ideology has proclaimed: the music of the people should be investigated, rather than music among the elite culture. Long-song was part of the folk tradition, and, therefore, it was considered the music of the people. Later, the folk tradition was reinforced, after the demise of the socialist regime in 1990, to

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<sup>3</sup> Compared to traditional folk musical genres, discourse on popular genres have frequently appeared in post-socialist studies (Szemere 2001; Cushman 1995). Popular music in socialist countries and post-socialist countries emerged as having a political voice. Popular music, especially the rock genre, in post-soviet countries including China, in the late 1980s started to become a tool of anti-hegemony and resistance of the main power or regime, with its own artistic autonomy, during the late socialist period. However, this music's aesthetic autonomy became blurred later, when those nations faced the post-socialist period, and its anti-hegemonic nature has been weakened more and more. In its later development, popular music has taken on some folk elements and become a pillar of the main stream of popular culture again in those post-socialist countries including Mongolia, reflecting a nationalistic character. This illustrates that folk culture today holds strong meaning in popular culture in such places.

present the cultural identity and nostalgic history of Mongolia as derived from “authentic” Mongolia or, rather, the imagination of the authentic Mongolia.

Humphrey has examined Mongolians’ image of the pre-revolutionary “deep past” (1992: 375), and how the connection between the deep past and current Mongolians has been triggered by their current desire to form a new national identity. According to Humphrey, this process of formation has been exemplified by two “enactments”: first, “historical mimicry, that is the intention to reproduce physical events or objects of the past while always emphasizing the symbolic capacity of these objects to represent ideas,” and second, what she calls “embodiment,” which is “the identification of people or actions in the present with those of the past, although they may look quite dissimilar” (Humphrey 1992: 378). In line with this concept, a past is necessary as the thing to be embodied in the present. The current aspiration for Mongolian nationalism is, thus, well explained in conjunction with the concept of folk.

#### Music as National Pride: Nationalism

In the process of explaining the concept of nationalism, each case study describes different ways in which the concept of nationalism is used and how the term is defined. Some cultures have built nationalism through imagery, memories, and nostalgia (Ivy 1996; Yano 2002; Largey 2006<sup>4</sup>) for their past. Largey investigates art

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<sup>4</sup> Largey has mentioned that “cultural nationalism” appears in connection with memories, and he classified four kinds of cultural memories: first, recombinant mythology, which is the practice of using cultural heroes mythologically. Second, vulgarization and classicization, which are “the use of lower-class performance genre in upper-class performance contexts—[which] occurs when composers borrow popular musical forms to reinforce elite authority” (18), third, diasporic

music by Haitian and African American composers to seek the meaning and memories of Haitian cultural nationalism, while Yano finds cultural nationalism embedded in the nostalgic emotion of Japanese popular music, and Ivy finds nationalism the imagery of Japanese folk culture. Some studies find cultural nationalism in a reshaping of expressive culture or reinventing of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Olson 2004). Turino shows, in providing the context of cross-over between Shona music and pop music undertaken by a cosmopolitan black middle class population, that nationalism can be built as a form of direct resistance (Turino 2000). Frederick (2005, 2009), in the case of Cuban artists, illustrates another good example of how artistic tradition has a way of forming nationalistic imagery in political transition.

Nationalism illustrated in post-socialist countries is more clearly presented as “imagined” (Anderson, 2006) and “the key idea [of nationalism] is in any case so very simple and easy that anyone can make it up almost at any time (Gellner 1983:126). So culture becomes what Yano calls “internal exotic, a resource once removed from people’s lives, yet central to their version of national-cultural identity” (Yano 2002:15). Yano’s statement is in parallel with the issues in most post-socialist countries that have struggled in efforts at new nation building and new culture development through transitional times.

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cosmopolitanism, in which the cultural product is not limited in geographical boundary and is connected to a global context, and the last one, music ideology. This is understood as a reconciliation or combination of several different cultures in the process of music-making. Largey says that these modes of cultural memory produce narratives that connect the present with an idealized past (19).

These studies introduce the idea that the picture of nation building in various different cases is closely formed by cultural activities, and culture has been always a part of forming new national identity, whether it is clear or not. Nationalism has been clearly embedded in socialist Mongolia and also in post-socialist Mongolian music and culture. My research has found that the presentation of national pride in the long-song tradition in post-socialist Mongolia is a reflection of political expression, political consciousness, and national imagery, even stronger in post-socialist Mongolia than in socialist Mongolia. National imagery of Mongolian culture was sought from a range of pre-revolutionary Mongolia and also as representing a new Mongolia that is different from that of the socialist period.

During socialist times, Mongolian nationalism could be understood only in political terms, while in the post-socialist period, nationalism has become not only a political concept but also a cultural one. The confirmation of identity in post-socialist Mongolia could be what Mongolians needed strongly, yet became deeply expressive and unstable, when the nation collapsed in 1990. In the process, their nomadic and pre-socialist Mongolian traditional culture has been brought in as a tool for the new nationalism. The process of forming these public sentiments and the reconstruction of collective cultural power is again a result of the conjunction of numerous individuals' agencies and voices, as shown in the other post-socialist case studies. The collective national survival is a phenomenon of the nation as a whole, but it always starts with the individual's struggles, debating, and actions. This picture in Mongolian long-song tradition and individual long-song singers' cultural activities are an important cultural agency to be understood.

### Forming Musician's Social Identity

Mongolian long-song is a solo performance, although it is often sung at feasts when everyone is gathered together, and the songs do have a refrain that everyone in the feast can sing together. In ethnomusicological research, the performance of communal identity such as the communal social norm, emotion, or social identity by means of music-making and musical elements is more explicitly explained as taking place in communal performance and musical styles such as ensemble drumming, folk ensembles, group singing performance, or the combination of social dance and solo individuals playing together (Kisliuk 1998; Hagedorn 2001). This also is illustrated in the concept of “unisonance”: singing or performing together, no matter what the words or tune might be, people can be connected by keeping together in space of “imagined sound” (Anderson 2006: 145). Then, is it possible to find the common ground of social identity embedded in the solo performance of individuals? In the case of solo traditions, presentations of communal social identity often appear in the messages of lyrics directed toward a political situation, such as in a political song (Buchanan 2005; Erlman 1996; McFarland 2008). In other cases, specific musical idioms or even instruments can serve as symbols of something extra-musical (Marsh 2009; Berliner 1978), or a musical genre can itself signify a social message (Charry 2000, Hesselink 2006).

In my attempt to find out how these social norms impart change to musical elements in the Mongolian long-song tradition, I used two levels of investigation in my research. First, I observed musicians' lives, particularly how they have been mapping their social positions as musicians in Mongolian society overall. The second

approach has been to connect social activities to the musicians' actual music-making and musical style. For example, participation in competitions, linking to party or government level of activities, and active involvement in higher education institutions. Examining mapping of the musicians' positions in society is important: even though the basic communist/socialist concept of class pursues the idea of political and economic class equality, the classes in socialist countries have not actually been equal in either of these ways. That ambivalence has effectively influenced the formation of the transition of singer's social position and musical styles. As in corresponding studies in other cultures, several Mongolian studies have focused on illustrating "socialistic" class formation in Mongolia (Morozova 2009; Brown and Onon 1976).

The long-song singers' social status in relation to their musical activities in the areas of repertory and style are closely related. Some local and regional styles of the long-song can also illustrate how individual singers, and different groups of singers, represent and understand the culture and society in certain time and meaning of Mongolia. This can lead us to understand the formation of the various individual singers' social identities and how this is connected to the public level of communal, rather than national identities of Mongolia. This, in turn closely relates to the basic theoretical framework from socialist and post-socialist theory in which the means of the formation of social class has been considered one of the key matters of discourse (Morozova 2009; Brown and Onon 1976). Socialist society is often depicted as a totalitarian society, and post-socialist society is often described as an authoritarian society, which implies that socialist society is supposed to have no class distinction,

while new democratic and free market societies, such as post-socialist societies, are carved into social and economic hierarchies. As part of the dynamics of cultural change in the socialist countries, however, those higher classes have also appeared in socialist societies, being frequently depicted as “elites.” The study of elites, class, and layers of people’s social identities in political, economic, and cultural terms has been central to post-socialist studies (Higley and Lengyel 2000; Kideckel 2008; Gal 2000).<sup>5</sup> However, these elites and classes were formed more by social and educational circumstances than by economic power.

In the study of transition in post-socialist studies, the dynamics of the change of social positions and the emotions it engenders, and the effect of music-making upon the change is important and interesting. In the socialist period, shaping of knowledge was considered one of the mechanisms that manufactured the power relationship into a social hierarchy. Under socialism, the economy or money was not an important cause for forming the social classes. Rather, it was knowledge, labor, and information. When a society comes into a post-socialist period, however, power relationships are governed by the market, and thus by money; interestingly, knowledge plays a role as well, but different kinds of knowledge. This theoretical approach has not been fully studied in ethnomusicology or in other post-socialist

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<sup>5</sup> Published in 2000, the edited volume by Higley and Lengyel, *Elites after State Socialism*, analyses the interplay and role of elites in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe. In contrast, Kideckel (2008) investigates the stories of the working-class in Post-socialist Romania in terms of their class formation. Gal (2000), in contrast, does not provide a direct connection to the class issue. However, this discussion of gender issues also provides the possibility of relating to explanations of class formation, on grounds that both class and gender are involved in power struggle and that their situations could both be explained by the same procedures of power resistance.

studies of culture. Nevertheless, Mongolian case studies have intriguingly and importantly observed how the musicians have negotiated the change of dynamics among the different layers of positions in their musical tradition and the society.

### *Intelligentsia and Formation of Musical Elites*

“Intelligentsia” is one of the terms that is often mentioned in Mongolian studies in connection with discourse on class, and this connects closely to the formation of the singers’ status and position in Mongolian society. The term “intelligentsia,” which might be close to the word (cultural or academic) “elite,” has occupied a central place in Russian public discourse, since it was first introduced in the 1860s. The intelligentsia or musical elites have been the conceptual model for constructing the position of the singers in socialist Mongolia, and the forming of this specific group of people in Mongolian culture is also closely connected to the understanding of culture in Mongolian society overall, as well as the transition of musical elements of long-song tradition. In positioning themselves in the transition of Mongolian society, when the nation came to have a free market, the singers have continued to pursue the status of musical elites, who possess not only intellectual or cultural political power, but have also some level of economic power.

According to Faraday, “most simply, the term [intelligentsia] denotes the class of people possessing higher education and employed in occupations involving mental rather than manual labor” (Faraday 2000: 27-28). He brings the concept of opportunism and the sense of distinction pertinent to intelligentsia, yet shows the ambivalence between the cultural values and the dominant culture that appears as intelligentsia.

By contrast the Soviet authorities were successful in determining what kind of people achieved access to executive power. Within the realm of culture, this success carried a price, however. It stimulated antagonism between the producers of culture, on the one hand, and the administrators of culture, on the other. The former not only created but embodied cultural values; yet their autonomy was restricted by the Party's claim to ultimate authority over their activities. The later, on the other hand, were drawn from a class whose members were incapable of embodying the cultural values they were assigned to control. In the light of this argument, Soviet cultural producers' valorization of "art" as an autonomous moral force fundamentally incompatible with "opportunistic," conformism, can be interpreted as a specific expression of the intelligentsia's privileged yet subordinate status within Soviet society. Contrary to Marx's assertion that in every society the ruling ideas are the ideas of its ruling class, we can say, therefore, that under socialism there was a profound disjuncture between the dominant cultural values and the culture of the dominant. (Faraday 2000: 50)

In the Mongolian case, according to Ginsburg, "party membership expanded dramatically after 1970, outstripping population growth. The economic system emphasized professional identities for the first time. Urbanization increased rapidly as well during this period," and "along with a modern industrial work force and an urban bureaucratic class, socialist development created an intelligentsia" (Ginsburg 1999: 258). In addition, he emphasizes that these modern intellectuals and classes were products of Soviet-based development. Most of the intelligentsia were educated in the Soviet Union, with the thinking that "there was sense in which the modern was 'out there' to the North [Russia]" (Ginsburg 1999: 260).<sup>6</sup> So the intelligentsia who have influenced the post-socialist society are the second or third generation after the revolutionary generation and have developed their perspectives through the outer powers' lens, that of the USSR for example. Interestingly enough, however, the

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<sup>6</sup> Marsh and Ginsburg also described this as "cosmopolitanism." Mongols look at the world through the lens of more modern "out there" countries, Russia in this case.

intelligentsia group has formed at the same time a resistance to the MPRP (Mongolian People's Republic Party), although on the other hand, "the traditional position of the intellectual in Mongolian society has been as a vehicle for importing foreign knowledge" (Ginsburg 1999: 263). This ambivalence is clearly reflected in the long-song singers. Although they were "traditional folk song singers," they were in a sense attempting to become musical elites, by participating in the concert tradition or by entering the urban higher education system and attending singing school as a step to bring themselves higher in society and a position as musical elites.

In addition, once positioned as musical elites, they were moving to urban areas or invited to participate in state-controlled media under socialism to be part of the nation-building process. The MNB (Mongolian National Broadcasting) still possesses a great number of recordings of long-song that were been made under socialism. Most of the singers in that collection were at that time considered as musical elites and part of the intelligentsia.<sup>7</sup> The Mongolian case is not dissimilar to that revealed in Adams' study of cultural elites in the case of Uzbekistan:

Cultural elites are along with the state-controlled media, the main agents of these transmissions. The people are invited to receive these messages, but they are not normally invited to respond or to initiate communication themselves, resulting in a deceptively unified public discourse about culture and national identity. The intermediaries in this relationship between state and citizen, such as cultural elites, have some opportunities to initiate communication with the bureaucrats above them and to affect the government's nation-building program, but for the most part, the flow of political communication moves in one direction. However, we cannot assume that the system works like a radio broadcast, with cultural elites simply transmitting the words, they are given by the "announcers." *Cultural elites have interests of their own, shaped by their institutional location within the state, that*

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<sup>7</sup> The case studies of this example will more specifically described and analyzed in Chapter Five.

*can put them in conflict with other state actors and shape the production and transmission of ideology* [my emphasis], albeit within the parameters acceptable to the regime of president Islam Karimov. (Adams 2004: 95)

As Adams mentions, cultural/musical elites appear to be under the influence of rather bigger social hegemonic power such as social institutions and political party. It is true in Mongolia: musical elites have arisen as a result of urbanization, song competitions, or competitive higher education supported by the party. However, at the same time Mongolian cultural elites have formed themselves from their voluntary desire to follow the dominant Russian cultural system. This same is true of long-song singers.

While the intelligentsia or musical elites are general social and political concepts and boundaries, the concepts of professional or amateur musicians are more specific to musical skills. When the concepts of professional or amateur musicians are combined with the concepts of intelligentsia and musical elites, which certainly is happening in contemporary Mongolia, the understanding of the map of long-song singers in the transition of Mongolia becomes more interesting but more complicated, reflecting what is happening in post-socialist Mongolia. Unlocking the several modes of mixture and observing singers' positioning in the society under such considerations as professionalism, amateurism, and intelligentsia, may make it possible to explain the subtle transformation of features in the music itself.

#### *Professional vs. Amateur*

A primary and common concept creating contrast among musicians is the distinction of professional and amateur. Discourse on the boundary of professional and amateur has already featured in numerous ethnomusicological studies. However,

in this Mongolian case, the definitions of professionalism and amateurism should be understood in the complex intersection of the context of socialist/communistic political ideology and the post-socialist context when members of both groups came to be involved with new nation-building and meeting in a new free market system.

When the Mongolian long-song tradition was involved with the socialist political ideology in the beginning of the socialist period, there was less clear distinction between amateur and professional. A “professional” long-song singer was started being to be considered someone who was working in an *aimag* (provincial) cultural center or working in an Ulaanbaatar theatre, while an amateur singer was much less clearly defined, since most of the singers of that time had other primary occupations. Being selected to work in the theatre was somewhat privileged in the singers’ minds, but it did not give them much economic power. In contrast, the amateurs put more cultural value on singing in feasts or singing while herding. They learned a large variety of songs and many singing techniques at the feasts, and gained a greater contextual understanding when they sang while doing daily chores.

Recognition of the dichotomy between amateur and professional, therefore, was not particularly necessary for the singers during the early socialist period. In contrast, the distinction between the two had become more clear by the time post-socialist Mongolia arrived: it was clearly decided by the singer’s social position and economic power, although the social position of singers had started to form under the early socialist period. Consequently, the definition of these two categories has become more complicated, and the layers more varied, in post-socialist Mongolia.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Case studies of this and more in-depth analysis will be presented in Chapter Five.

Shifting views toward the professional and amateur boundary upon the change of social backdrop and appearance of nationalism, as discussed in Lee's work (2009), is useful to compare to Mongolia's case in terms of how the boundary and perspectives of two different categories, professional and amateur, have responded to social change.

While performance opportunities for professional troupes vary according to changing patronage and social circumstances, the amateurs have maintained a relatively continuous presence through their performances in indoor contexts with support from wealthy patrons and membership enrollment. Since amateur opera troupes reinvented the Chinese street opera in the 1970s, however, there has been a discernable shift toward a comparative view of amateur and professional opera organizations framed against a backdrop of cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism aims to shape a national culture by identifying unique cultural attributes of a community. The process focuses on forging national sentiments primarily through cultural and artistic domains... In Singapore, the shaping of the morals and values of Singaporeans is a primary concern in the state's concept of nation-building... "Asian" morals and values became defining traits of what a Singaporean identity should be, embedded in the cultural attributes of the Chinese, Malay, and Indian ethnic communities...(Lee 2009: 10)

In Lee's work, it is clear that there is control of the "traditional culture" from the state in the process of nation-building. In Mongolian case, similarly, it also clearly involved with the party's political movement. In the cultural and musical response to the political movement in both the socialist and post-socialist periods for new nation building, the musicians have followed their own directions. Another point is that Lee's case study of Chinese street musicians in Singapore shows that the performers' musical skills and aesthetic values do not always correspond obviously to the boundary between professional and amateur: the amateurs can have the great skills, aesthetic values, and economic power. This case corresponds in some ways to the Mongolian long-song situation.

In late socialist and post-socialist Mongolia, amateur singers (herders, mostly) stayed in the countryside instead moving to the city, Ulaanbaatar, and they kept their personal singing styles, unique regional styles, and song repertoires. Most professional singers were those who had moved away from countryside, on the other hand, being represented as among musical elites or theater singers, and also traveling outside Mongolia; as a result, their music-making created different musical values and techniques. The professional singers mixed the regional styles, restructuring local songs into city songs, rather than keeping the “old” styles. Some changed styles brought spectacular concert performance, but some audiences understood the performances as less “authentic” or “pure.” When Mongolian society met post-socialist modernity as the new Mongol nation after 1990, amateur and countryside singers were mapped onto the new cultural backdrop: there began a more active reconfiguration of the boundaries, in line with the newly reconstructed traditional, “national” culture that that was meant to represent Mongolness. Since then, the distinction between professional and amateur has become ever more tangled and complicated, not only in musical aspects but also in social aspects.

Thus, in understanding the formation of these singers’ social identity and positioning in relation to professionalism, an explanation of the function of place is essential. The countryside in the early socialist period was considered backward by both the Mongolian intelligentsia and the countryside singers themselves, and it became a place that professional singers tried to leave behind. The city was considered a new opportunity and a new economic market for singers, even until contemporary Mongolia. However, interestingly, as the nation proceeded into the

post-socialist period, the countryside became the space associated with the past, nostalgia, and the image of genuine folk culture, not “folklorism.” Thus, the dichotomy of rural and urban is intriguingly represented in the process of Mongolians’ nation-building. The contrast between countryside and city have influenced the mapping of another geography—one of professional and amateur singers—and the formation of a social hierarchy among contemporary long-song singers and their cultural, aesthetic, and moral values as cultural bearers.

### The Immigration: Countryside and City

Urbanization was initiated when the socialist ideology came into Mongolia. The socialist ideology brought factory industry and built up the urban areas, where the population of factory workers grew as opposed to the countryside. Thus, Mongolian sovietization had not only turned Mongolia into a socialist country, but had also brought urbanization and modernization. The traditional values of the culture and society overall had been altered into socialist ideology in the process. At the same time, the new political ideology that came from the Soviet Union introduced most of the values of modernization and urbanization into nomadic Mongolia. Goldstein describes the change of socialist Mongolia regarding the urbanization:

The goal of the Mongolian Revolutionary Party was to transform Mongolia from an undeveloped nation of herders into a modern agro-industrial “socialist” state. New urban industrial centers (mostly mining) were developed, and Mongolia went from a country that was 78% rural in 1956 to one that was 58% urban in 1989! The Mongolian communists had no use for old customs or nostalgia. Mongolians needed to know Marxism-Leninism, so Russian language study was made mandatory in school. This enabled many, if not most, of the country’s intelligentsia to study and travel in the Soviet Union and East Europe; reciprocally, tens of thousands of Russians and East

Europeans have lived and worked in urban Mongolia. (Goldstein and Beall 1994: 25)

Although the urbanization was started by the Soviet Union when they brought industrialization to Mongolia, the most significant migration between rural and urban areas happened in the 1990s as the economy collapsed and people needed jobs. People in the countryside moved to Ulaanbaatar for new jobs, and at the same time, they brought their values to the urban area, at least so far as rural people conceptualize the image of modern urbanness in post-socialist Mongolia.

People from the countryside came to the city, Ulaanbaatar, but additionally, people who could not get a job in the city went back to their pastoral lives, particularly in post-socialist period. This process of back-and-forth migration between Ulaanbaatar and rural areas is still constantly happening, although the distinction between rural and urban area has deepened.

In the process of transition, there is a grave danger that capital and country will drift apart and Mongolia will be divided into increasingly cosmopolitan urban centres and a vast disconnected countryside slipping back into subsistence livestock herding for the major part of its inhabitants. And whereas the extent of poverty and unemployment has been moderate in the capital, rural areas and small towns have faced a near-total collapse of employment opportunities in the formal, non-herding sectors necessitating a massive reorganization of the labour force. (Bruun and Odgaard 1996: 27)

There are other relatively big cities in Mongolia, such as Darkhan and Erdenet, that developed during the socialist period. However, Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, has been conceptualized by Mongolians as the only real city.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> An interesting part of this conceptualization is that the boundary of urban and rural is very relative. When addressing the concept to the country as a whole, Ulaanbaatar would be considered the only city. However, if it is addressed to one *aimag*, then the

Ulaanbaatar is the place where people can access higher education and quality goods and which, with its high-rise buildings, makes them think of technology.

Ulaanbaatar occupies a distinct yet ambivalent position in Mongolia. It is the capital, and the social, intellectual and economic heart of the country. Few who live there would give up the opportunities it offers... (Kaplonski 2004, 27)

Two different locations, city and countryside: Ulaanbaatar and the countryside, in the Mongolian case, should not be defined therefore as simply geographical places, but rather discussed more as “space” where people form their culture. There are some studies that define countryside and city in more conceptual terms. Raymond Williams, for example, has critically written about the thinking about the boundaries of places, saying that it is important to be aware of people’s concepts in the construction of place, particularly in the two distinctively constructed areas of countryside and city (1977).

However, most discourses on the “countryside and city” dichotomy have focused on urban areas, since they are considered, especially today, to have a greater complexity of on-going cultural activities than rural areas. For example, *Altering States* (Berdahl et al 2000) shows, with several interesting examples of urban ethnography, how anthropologists have searched for values in the politics, cultures, and economics of post-socialist society. The selections in this book show the urban landscape as it appears in environments (De Soto), memories (Platz, Dyke) such as metro (Lemon), synagogue (Bohlman), gender (Bunzl), festivals (Persmen), and classes (Szemere).

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idea of “countryside” (*khödöö*) would refer to a very remote place which is far from the *sum* or *aimag* center. This concept would be close to Williams’s concept (1977).

In contrast to *Altering States*, which consists mostly of urban ethnographies, Frederik's works (2005, 2009) and Ching and Creed's *Knowing your Place* (1997) describe the nature of transformation in a rural area, detailing the distinctions between rural and urban. Particularly, Ching and Creed illustrate that the distinction between rural and urban is not a place marker, but more of a social identification marker, cultural marker, or even cultural imagery. They emphasize that the countryside has been devalued while at the same time it was mythologized as the "heartland" of the past. They claim that the urban and rural distinction is nothing but constructed aesthetic metaphor:

Yet, whether the object in question is a priceless icon or a stylish cowboy hat its value comes not from rustic appreciation, but from the judgments of highly visible urban consumers who use such objects to signal their class and cultural superiority. (Ching and Creed, 1997: 21)

In line with the concepts advanced in Ching and Creed, as well as Frederik's work, an aesthetic imagery of the countryside appeared in Mongolia and has become ever more visible in the post-socialist period. The image that was offered during the socialist period, of rural areas as backward, began blurring after the socialist government collapsed. Then, the outside world and even most Mongolians started seeing Ulaanbaatar as not being the real Mongolia. On the other hand, the countryside has its own images of itself, as more "authentic" and more "pure" than the city, although younger people still prefer to come to the greater opportunities of Ulaanbaatar:

Yet Ulaanbaatar is often ignored or downplayed in Western accounts... Most Westerners who visit Mongolia seem anxious to get out to the countryside, to see the "real" Mongolia of nomads and open spaces. Even Mongols often view the "true" Mongol as the one out on

the steppe, rather than living in an apartment in the city. (Kaplonski 2004: 27)

Here all these images—countryside as authentic, pure, real Mongolia, and Ulaanbaatar as access to technology and the global world—are constantly built through people’s thinking, as Raymond Williams claimed. My research shows that these contrary images in response to city and countryside also were influential on long-song singers’ music-making as well.

An important question that is necessary to pose here is: are the people who live in the city real modern, urban professional elites while the group of people who live in the countryside are peasant rural workers who carry the real Mongolia? Are they forming really two contrary or opposing groups of people? To what extent are the singers who reside in Ulaanbaatar professional singers who do not carry the “real Mongolia,” while singers in countryside are retaining “authentic” Mongolian culture? Do they really contradict each other? Perhaps the “others” of urban professional singers are not rural amateur singers, nor the “others” of rural amateur singers the urban professional singers. It has been the audiences and the singers themselves who have created the cultural elites of the new free market. Thus, the social positioning of post-socialist singers might not be a function of their musical skill or style, and it also might not be about the semantic cultural value that has been carried on their musical tradition. It might be more about how they position themselves as singers in contemporary Mongolia in order to survive and continue their nation in a global world.

## DEFINING MUSICAL AESTHETIC VALUE AND MUSICALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIA

In an investigation of the change from the perspective of the Mongolian long-song tradition, it is necessary to look from not only the angle of musical styles in relation to the social change, but also the aesthetic value and the value of the musicality<sup>10</sup> that they carry in this transitional process. As Small tells us in his book *Musicking* (1998), “music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do” (Small 1998: 2), and music comes through the people’s “musicking” and the interaction of numerous social environments.

In all of these situations, and an infinity of others, it is not so much the style of the sound relationships themselves that we may or may not like—in another context I might well find many of them pleasurable—but the relationships of the performance space themselves. Any performance, in fact, that the hearer has no choice but to hear affirms a relationship of unequal power that leaves the hearer diminished as a human being; for whatever else it might be all musicking is ultimately a political act. (Small 1998: 213)

In following the trace of aesthetic value and musicality, Hatten explains that musical elements are “gestures” (Hatten 2006:1-23),<sup>11</sup> and in long-song tradition, the role of “gesture” has become connected to the performance practice, and also musical aesthetic value. Thus, analysis of musical elements and styles in the long-songs in

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<sup>10</sup> The scholarship on aesthetic and musical perception could be a very broad theoretical area to examine in this dissertation. It would be necessary to bring in studies related to semiotic interpretation and the musical cognition process, as well as classic discourses on aesthetics, such as Hegelian. For this reason I will not go into an in-depth discussion, since this is not the main theoretical frame of my dissertation. I develop my writing here based only on a few directly relevant studies and concepts (Small 1998; Gritten and King 2006; Bowman 1998).

<sup>11</sup> In his article, one of the chapters in the edited book *Music and Gesture* (Gritten and King 2006), Hatten defines human gestures and connects them to musical elements and styles, then applies this theory to the compositions of Beethoven and Schubert.

these transitional times is important, as well as an examination of how singers have defined and perceived their musical activities and aesthetic values, carried out by looking at their current choice of songs and vocal techniques, as well as their methods of teaching and learning, ways of improvisation, and knowledge of long-song repertory.

Musical gestures derive meaning from biological and cultural correlations as these are negotiated with both discrete (harmony and voice-leading; rhythm and metre) and analogue (articulation, dynamic, pacing) stylistic elements. (Gritten and King 2006: xxi)

Making a clear connection between musical gestures and musical activities is an enduring theme of ethnomusicology, either from the context of the social background or at a personal level, to diagnose their implied musical values or aesthetic values. There are often general assumptions that when society changes, music possibly changes along with it. Certainly social change and elements there have influenced the music itself and modified musical styles, music making, and musical values in some ways. However, there are also some cases in which music has appeared in various altered contexts and yet retained the same musical style, performance technique, or aesthetic value with little or no change.

There are some specific case studies in ethnomusicological scholarship that investigate important musical elements in relation to important social elements during post-socialist transition. Harris's work (2008) in Chinese Central Asia, for example, is one that gives clear examples and analysis of musical changes in a transitional context. In this work, she looks for ways in which a certain musical canon has been formed (changed) in the transitional Uyghur area. By comparison with the canon of the earlier *maqam*, as it appears in historical documents, she discovers how the canon

has been negotiated musically. Rice (1994) describes some of the musical characteristics of Bulgarian music through his own music-making experience, and he seeks further the answer to the question what could be the meaning of Bulgarian music to the Bulgarians themselves. In her book, *Performing Democracy* (2004), Buchanan provides an analysis of how musical culture has been used in the process of nation-building as a symbol of nationalism in Bulgaria, although it is hard to find the specific musical elements connected to the process. Writing in Tenzer's edited volume, *Analytical Studies in World Music* (2006), Buchanan further investigates the more musical side with co-author Folse.

Thus, asking the corresponding question to Rice, "what is the meaning of the Mongolian music to them?," my research has found a certain musical "canon" that also changed in response to the progress of social change. It needed the insiders' view to understand the musical language, just as Buchanan brought the views of insider co-author Folse. Making and examining specific connections not only between the social theoretical frames and musical activities but also between musical styles and their social contexts helps explain specific musical practices or performances in current long-song tradition, such as improvisation (particularly in the way of ornamenting the melodic lines), comparison of musical repertoires and styles, the categorization of songs, and singers' vocal techniques.

Along with an investigation of the elements of music and its performance, an understanding of repertory is necessary for my research. Most publications that came out in Mongolia on the study of long-songs consist of the collection and categorization of long-songs (Norovbanzad, N. 2000; Tuyatsetseg, Ts. 2004;

Dorjdagva, J. 1970; Tsoodol, S. 1959). Currently a great many long-songs have disappeared from the active repertory, and some others have been quite altered in terms of text and ornamentations while some musical aspects still remain. Most of the obsolete pieces are now only possible to access through the published anthologies, some of which include transcriptions and some of which include only lyrics. Particularly the anthology by N. Norovbanzad (2000) reveals different types of improvisation, by providing several versions of numerous songs.

The recent collection *Asar Öndör (The Height: Mongolian Folk Long-song*, Tuyatsetseg, Ts. 2004) is useful for recognizing which songs might be sung most frequently in contemporary Mongolia and also because the transcriptions are rather more accurate in this book as compared to other anthologies. *Urtyn duu (Long-song*, Dorjdagva, J. 1970) is important in that the editor was a famous and active long-song singer and teacher during the socialist period. This volume gives a clear picture of the numbers and sorts of long-songs during the socialist time.

Along with studying the collections of long-songs, analysis of the improvisation process is critical and important for measuring notions of musicality and aesthetic value during the transitional time period. The method and degree of improvisation varies, as observed elsewhere by ethnomusicologists (Nettl 1998; Berliner 1994). Nettl (1998) exemplifies different ways of approaching and understanding improvisation in many different cultures and genres, while Berliner (1994) analyses improvisation specifically in jazz with a view to exploring how musicians conceptualize their improvisation and how they understand and create musical “gesture.” Along the same lines, it is necessary to define and describe

improvisation in the long-song transition. From this point, it will be possible to see any changes to improvisation in long-song and what changes to power relationships might be illustrated by changes to the musical “gestures” used in such improvisation.

As already mentioned, traditional long-song is a solo, melodic folk song genre, but recently it is usually accompanied by horse head fiddle. The music itself could possibly be considered simple from a Western viewpoint, but the interaction among syllables in the improvisation is far from simple, and the various ornamentations in this genre hold great musical and lyrical aesthetic value as well. Analysis of small ornamentations of musical elements and of the relationship between melodic line and lyrics is necessary for a detailed understanding of the genre.

A detailed analysis of the musical elements of long-song appeared in Nakagawa’s article (1980). Nakagawa presented several long-song examples, deconstructing each phrase and ornament in an attempt to find the basic essence and method of long-song ornamentation. This is so far the only work of its kind in English. However, the musical aspect of long-song has also been studied to some degree by native scholars (Badraa, J. 2006; Jantsannorov, N. 2005), and their works illustrate richer knowledge from the insider’s view and context.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the fact that there is only a short history of Western studies in Mongolian music, native scholars have raised important discourses and studies for quite a long time.

One of the interesting things I have observed in my fieldwork is that the singers—especially the rural singers—have a firm knowledge of how to make better

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<sup>12</sup> J. Badraa (2006) and N. Jantsannorov (2005) provide not only an explanation of the terminology of long-song, but also a brief picture of Mongolian traditional long-song and its singers’ lineages. Through these books, it is possible to sense the important concepts in long-song music-making and their musical value to insiders.

sounds in singing, as well as of stories and legends of the songs. Also, most of the singers (even more so in the case of amateur singers) know how to explain the process of their performance; they are very conscious of what they do. Long-song has been transmitted as part of an oral tradition. In the process of learning and performing the music for feasts, particularly, they not only performed, but also engaged in discussion about the conceptual process and philosophy of music-making. Through the singers' discourse of and on music-making, a body of native musical theory has been built that has reinforced the musical structure, formed a musical canon, and regulated notions of aesthetic value. Musical knowledge has come to be considered an identifying marker of the better singers in the society. Thus, thorough musical knowledge has been a necessary asset for singers, directly connected to their musical styles and cultural value as singers in Mongolian society.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Bohlman asked, "transition from what to what?" (Bohlman 2000: 44).

Mongolian society has moved from a socialist to a democratic free market system since the 1990s, but from what to what have the musical transition gone through this transition? While the society has changed from a socialist to a rather democratic one, and would seem to be looking toward the future in terms of its globalized economic and informational interactions, music, particularly in traditional culture in Mongolia, seems more and more to represent a longing for pre-revolutionary and ancient Mongolia. By bringing together studies from a variety of perspectives (post-socialism studies, ethnomusicology, and Mongolian area studies), my research sets out to

understand some of the important concepts appearing in the investigation of change and continuity of culture: the concept of nationalism, construction of past and present folk tradition, conception of social identities, professionalism, modernity, authenticity, and understanding of musical values.

Largely based on post-socialist studies that consider how those issues above have been accepted, debated, and resisted in case studies in Soviet bloc countries or other countries where specifically communist or socialist ideology once dominated, this chapter has explored how it could be similar or different in a Mongolian long-song case study and how it provided a framework for study about transition—change and continuity. Chapter Three discusses more aspects of these issues in the context of Mongolia's modern transitional history.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MONGOLIA IN TRANSITION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a concise description of the historical and social background, showing how Mongolians accepted socialism into their society and culture, as well as how it later went through the collapse of the socialist regime during the post-socialist transition after 1990. The overall layout of this chapter is chronological, and it focuses more attention on some historical facts that relate to the theoretical frames introduced in Chapter Two. My research shows that the current thread of musical phenomena is connected to every part of the social and cultural phenomena that have existed not only in post-socialist Mongolia after 1990, but also the socialist period between the 1920s and the 1990s. For this reason, a basic understanding socialist Mongolia is necessary, and it is made possible through the scholarship in Mongolian studies.

The literature on Mongolian history is informative and helpful for understanding the place of music through the pre-socialist, socialist, and post-socialist eras. Earlier publications focused on general aspects (Bawden 1968; Brown and Onon 1976; Rupen 1964, 1979; Sanders 1968, 1987 Jagchid and Hyer 1979), while recent scholarship provides a detailed picture of the Mongolian political and social transition after the collapse of the socialist regime (Bruun et al. 1996; Kaplonski 2004; Rossabi 2005; Sabloff 2001; Morozova 2009; Kotkin and Elleman 1999; Bulag 1998; Akiner 1991; Humphrey 1992, 1999, and 2002). Some of these works were more focused on detailed accounts of current Mongolian predicaments in the situation of change

(Akiner 1991; Rossabi 2005; Sabloff 2001). Some look into the urbanization and immigration issues in current Mongolia (Bruun et al. 1996; Humphrey 1999), the remnants and the historicization of socialist Mongolia from the Mongols' current viewpoint (Kotkin and Elleman 1999; Morozova 2007), and the transformation of values and morals that accompanied the historical change (Humphrey 1992, 2002; Bulag 1998 particularly in ethnic judgments). Morozova's work provides a rich account of archival research connected to the background of the cultural transition of Mongolia during the socialist period, and her writings have been particularly useful in my research. An investigation of the process of new nation-building is covered in Kaplonski's analysis (2004) of the symbolic imagery of Chinggis Khan (representing the nostalgic past long before socialism) as a tool for the reconciliation of various social elements to achieve a cohesive sense of national pride.

Written documentary sources project their own viewpoint, particularly when they discuss ideological views. Certain documents published by Mongolian institutions (such as Academy of Science 1991) are often propaganda-like, although they still are useful sources. English sources before the 1980s lack the perspectives of the Mongolian insiders. Thus, I provide here an overview of the modern Mongolian social background—rather than presenting limited interpretations or particular ideological views toward Mongolian transitional society. This background forms a basis for further important analysis and interpretation of the long-song tradition.

Understanding the educational system provides related background for explanation of the method of long-song transmission; understanding conceptions of social class help to explain how musicians have positioned themselves in society.

Understanding Soviet-influenced cultural policy and its impact on cosmopolitan Mongolians' lives is necessary for explaining the musical environment for singers. Some of the process of new nation-building and ethnic consciousness explained in this chapter connect to the essential issues of the discussion of the long-song tradition as well.

I follow two main categories of historical investigation: socialist period and post-socialist period. Following its independence from the Qing dynasty in 1911, Mongolia began as a feudal, theocratic monarchy. However, Mongolia's surrounding environment made its situation unstable, located as it was between China and Russia. After World War I anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements arose, and in 1920 the socialist MPRP (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) was formed by revolutionaries, and Mongols choose the Russian socialist model over the Chinese communist system. For this reason, overall social aspects (politics, economics, and culture), Mongolia developed a closeness to Russian styles of social environment. In 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed and adopted its first constitution at the first national assembly of the Great People's Gathering (*Ikh Khural*), having had the first democratic elections in 1923 to 1924 (Brown and Onon 1976: 178-207).

From that time until 1940, Mongolia went through political turbulence, such as several purges to build the nation as a socialist country. Specifically, from the 1940s to the 1960s, when much of the world was in a cold war era, Mongolia developed a broader sovietization in its society, not only within its political and economic systems, but also within its cultural system.

By the 1970s and 1980s, even though Mongolia was still the socialist country, the society had already begun a movement toward democratic society and a free market, although the final collapse of the socialist government did not occur until 1990. Thus, the Mongolian social and cultural situation under the socialist party played a fundamental role to shift the Mongolian culture and lives overall, and consequently, we now take a close look the socialist Mongolia and will start from the socialist reformation of the 1920s.

#### SOCIALIST MONGOLIA (1921-1990)

After the Socialist Revolution in 1921 and the founding of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in 1924, a drastic political change in Mongolia had started. The changes in Mongolia were heavily reliant on Soviet support, and the Soviet Union served as the model for its administration and economic development. The overall earlier transformation of socialist Mongolia is considered from 1921 to 1960s. This earlier historical transformation period was often considered to be divided into two stages (Brown and Onon 1976: 357): the first stage, 1921 to 1940, was "the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Democratic Revolution," and in this stage occurred "the prerequisite material and intellectual conditions for shifting to a socialist structure" (ibid: 357). The second stage, beginning in 1940, was considered "the period of developing and establishing a socialist society in the country" (ibid: 357).

The earlier period of socialist Mongolia, particularly from around 1920s to around the 1960s, is often considered as the time when Mongolia diligently transformed their society to a socialist system in political, economic, and cultural

areas. 1921 to 1930 was a politically turbulent period evidenced by Mongolia's interaction with bordering countries, Russia and China, Japanese intended invasion and World War II. Within this environment, the socialist political ideology started to overtake Mongolian everyday life. Adapting the Soviet Union system and with a great deal input from the Soviet Union, the transformation of Mongolian society into a socialist one has many similarities at each stage with Russian Soviet political history.<sup>1</sup>

Since the 1960s, Mongolia society overall was stable as a socialist country, since a new generation who had little memory of pre-revolutionary times had appeared. This younger generation had come to the center of society, standing at the front line of the socialist nation. With this stabilization, Mongolia started looking toward the development of its national culture in combination with socialist ideology, going beyond simply following the Soviet Union in a desire to elevate every part of its society. The movement toward transformation into a socialist "new Mongolia" was reflected in the culture, education, and other social elements of Mongolia.

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to understand the context of Russia around this time, due to the close relationship between Mongolia and Russia, since Mongolia adopted Russian socialism over Chinese communism. The years from WWII to Stalin's death in 1953 are considered the "late Stalinist" period. During that time, Russia intensified the upheavals of collectivization in the process of post-war recovery. This was a time that brought "unprecedented upheaval with large swathes of the Soviet population on the move and much of the Soviet physical and ideological infrastructure in tatters," according to Juliane Fürst (2006:1). She sees Stalin's last years as a time, which "heralded many developments associated with so-called mature socialism," and she describes this time as featuring "the emergence of a fledgling consumer society, the birth of youth counter cultures and the rise of a Soviet middle class" (Fürst 2006:1). Mongolia from the 1960s was particularly closely connected to Russia's movement in this "late-Stalinism" time particularly in terms of culture.

## Education System

Under socialism, one of the biggest changes to Mongolian society was the building of its education system. The socialist party claimed that one of its main goals of the socialist government was to eliminate illiteracy, with the idea that “scientific” knowledge was to be the essence of the society, as opposed to a religious, traditional, and ritualistic frame of mind. This phenomenon equally reached out to rural *arad*, or “common people.”<sup>2</sup> The education system in pre-socialist Mongolia had heavily relied on Buddhist Lama and temples, so to build up anti-feudalist and anti-lama ideas, the development of a secular education system was necessarily for the socialist party.

The public education system was focused on organizing the educational institutions as well as developing the methodological approaches, training teachers, and educating students in remote areas, including women and workers, who had had less experience of public education up to that time. Thus, the education system was actively built up in Ulaanbaatar but also actively connected to the countryside by means of *aimag* or *sum* education centers. Like many other things, this public education system was patterned after the Soviet Union system.

Deconstruction of monasteries and construction of schools represent major results of communist power in Outer Mongolia. An impressive educational system today differentiates contemporary from traditional Mongolia. The USSR exerts predominant influence on Mongolian education: the pattern derives from the Soviet Union, the equipment is usually Russian, the textbooks are often translations of Russian ones. Russian is the second language in the schools. Russian teachers in

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<sup>2</sup> *Arad* (ард) is a Mongolian term that indicates common people. Rather than simply “people,” as a whole, it implies the middle class and lower class people who were the opposite of the *noyon* (noble) and privileged class. It is romanized sometimes as ‘ard’ as well.

Mongolia and in the USSR trained many of today's Mongolian teachers. Numerous Mongolian officials and scholars received their advanced education in the USSR. (Rupen 1964: 283)

Starting in the 1930s, Soviet influence also led to the use of Russian Cyrillic for the written Mongolian language, relinquishing the classic Mongolian script. As the socialist party built the education system, several higher educational institutes, institutions for technical training and specialized training, were opened by the Ministry of Education, including a school of arts and one for drama and circus. Research centers such as the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, several museums, and the States Library were also actively developed around the same time.

Due to the high support for the building of educational institutions, production of materials for education, and training of teachers, the profession of teacher was positioned as important in the society. The teachers in the beginning of the socialism process in the 1920s and 1930s were in support of the idea of “secular” schools, and they received great benefit from this development. The role of teachers in the beginning of the construction of the education system was not only as educators in the common sense, but also, as part of the “enlightenment” — in an ideological sense— of the *arad*, particularly in the countryside. Thus, they not only built and stabilized the educational institutions in the city, Ulaanbaatar, but were with the party actively involved in building the educational institutions in the countryside as well. Given the importance of the role of teachers in the early period of building Mongolia as a socialist country, teaching was conceptualized as one of the preferred occupations during this process, as described in the following:

In the 1920s and 1930s the first school teachers in Mongolia were disseminators of culture in a very broad sense. They had to teach not

only children but also adults; they had to organize schools and induce the *ard* to send their children to them voluntarily... The teachers travelled from *ger* to *ger*, explaining the advantages and objects of secular schools and enrolling children in them... A system of retraining teachers has been introduced, with refresher courses and seminars once every five years. There are also proficiency examinations for teachers. In order to improve their qualifications, they can follow postgraduate courses with or without acquiring academic degree. Teachers who perform well were awarded the titles of Merited Teacher of the MPR and People's Teacher of the MPR, and may receive government and other orders and medals. Some 40 per cent of all teachers are recipients of the latter. Teachers enjoy special benefits. A person who has worked as a teacher for 25 years has the right to retire before the official retirement age. Teachers in rural areas are encouraged and assisted in running subsidiary farms. Those working in the *gobi* region are entitled to a 15 per cent increment to their salaries. Teachers are entitled to an annual leave of 48 working days. If they are temporarily disabled they receive 90 per cent or sometimes 100 per cent of their salary from social security funds. (Academy of Sciences 1990: 293)

As it turned out this establishment of the education system later influenced methods of learning and teaching in the long-song tradition quite a lot, creating long-song programs in higher education and having short-term teaching and learning programs called *kurs* from professional singers. It also brought another new view, to the musicians including long-song singers, regarding the position of teacher when long-song training moved into the established educational program. Having a position at a school and being a teacher started to be considered the equivalent to having a ranking title such as "state honored artist" or "people's artist," and this phenomenon has been even stronger in post-socialist Mongolia. Thus, originating as part of the process of sovietization in Mongolia, the development of the public education system has influenced the methodology of long-song transmission as well as conceptual perspectives toward the social status of long-song singers.

Two categories of education, rural education and adult education, proved to be the most complicated, while educating the younger generation was easily folded into the public education system. During socialist times, boys and girls in rural areas could be sent to Ulaanbaatar boarding schools for their education, separating them from their parents, since it was not easy to educate them as part of the nomadic life style. Even now, most youngsters try to go to school in Ulaanbaatar. For the party, in this way, educating the youth in a centralized location was rather more systematic and easier than the alternatives. However, it was more complicated to deal with adults, especially in rural areas, since they were not an easily reached target for the socialist party. Education for adults was approached in several ways:

The education of adults was more complicated. It was tackled firstly by the traditional method of teaching at home or privately; secondly, by teaching short-term courses, organized by local government bodies; and thirdly, by training at illiteracy liquidating centers at state enterprises and public, cooperative and other organizations. (Academy of Sciences 1990: 279)

As the excerpt describes, one of the methods of educating adults devised by the socialist government was the short-term course, *kurs*.<sup>3</sup> This is an extension of the adult education program in the form of short-term curricula. Early on, the *kurs* seems to have taken shape in rural areas as described below, but later as it became more spread out, some rural groups travelled to Ulaanbaatar to receive certain training. Teachers, for example, were trained in courses every four to five years in

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<sup>3</sup> The term *kurs* is a romanization of the Russian word *Kypc*, and it is often translated into “circle” or “courses” in English. There was no equivalent word for this in Mongolian, so Mongolians used the Russian word for this program. I will use the word *kurs* for this term.

Ulaanbaatar, especially rural teachers, so they could obtain more information and upgrade their teaching methods.

During these years the most widespread method of educating the rural population was that of forming ‘circle’ (courses). If there was no possibility of gathering the ‘students’ in one place, the teacher himself went from home to home. All kinds of moral and material encouragement were given to teachers in the effort to eradicate illiteracy among the population, and a movement with the slogan ‘Every literate must teach several illiterates’ was launched. (Academy of Science 1990: 279)

This *kurs* was not only limited to the opportunity to send rural people to Ulaanbaatar or to send a teacher to rural areas. It later provided even more opportunities for some technicians such as radio sound engineers, certain scholars, or talented people to be sent to other countries to have the chance of further education that Mongolia could not provide at that time.<sup>4</sup> The *kurs* also became later an important method of education for long-song singers.

Another interesting aspect of the education system resulted from the services of the Mongolian People’s Army. Members of the Army were sent to rural areas to become a part of “enlightening” the rural population, and this was considered an important educational method. Within the Mongolian People’s Army, there were musical groups that performed several performing arts, and my fieldwork reveals that several talented singers served in these Mongolian People’s Army musical groups. Thus, the Mongolian People’s Army, along with some other organizations such as the

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<sup>4</sup> One of interviewees, Kh. Khirvaa, who was an engineer at the MNB (Mongolian National Radio Station) mentioned that she was also part of the groups who went to another country for *kurs* (short-term training), Hungary in her case. She had not been a professional sound recording engineer before then. She said she just happened to work at MNB but later she was sent to Hungary to study, but for only a short time (Interview with Kh. Khirvaa 01/08/2010).

railroad worker's association, started to have their own education systems to reduce illiteracy. Because of this tendency, singers tried to locate themselves in certain organizations to become certain types of singer. The party's constant systematizing of people's activities, as illustrated above, influenced singers' perspectives regarding how they could become professional singers. This development of a secular and public education system not only influenced the transmission of the long-song tradition but also played an important role in the singers' establishment of different social positions and social classes.

### Social Class

Having gone against imperialist society and feudalist society, because they had hierarchical social systems, and claiming an ideological philosophy based on the idea of equal opportunity for all human beings, the socialist government ironically also ended up forming different sorts of social classes, even though this was not its intended purpose. In the course of the construction of socialist Mongolia, the change of social structure was one of the main social transformations effected by the different economic system and political system. This development was not only related to people's life styles but also had an impact on changing values and perspectives toward cultural and social standards.

As the economic system called for collectivization, and since the new revolutionary power was anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist, the nation under socialism clearly aimed to liberate itself from the former, hierarchical society. The endeavor started with the elimination of the class of lamas and *noyon* (noble class)

and aimed to develop Mongolia as a “self-supporting” country. The socialist society would eliminate the pre-socialist system, which it often considered “backward,” with the religious aspect of the society considered an outdated “spiritual life.” During this process, the concept of the working people, *arad*, was created and encouraged. By the 1960s, the life of the average Mongolian *arad* had qualitatively changed. They had become the people who were loyal to the party, devoted to local administration, and motivated to work harder.

The society itself was focused on the expansion of the proletariat, as industrial workers formed the main mass of the *arad*, which consisted of three groups: first, industrial workers; second, co-operative collective farmers (*negdel*) who adopted technical agricultural methods, particularly in the countryside; and third, people who had had higher educational training, defined as the intelligentsia. They were often called “working intelligentsia” at the beginning of the socialist period in the 1920s and 1930s. This group of people grew in size during the later socialist period, as more people went abroad for study, to Russia, Germany, and so forth. This group became the leaders of Socialist Mongolia, as opposed to the more spiritual leaders such as monks or shamans of earlier Mongolia.

Morozova, and several other sources (Ginsburg 1999; Marsh 2009; Academy of science 1990), illustrate the intelligentsia “class” as a group with higher education and further education outside of Mongolia, particularly in the Soviet Union. Besides this, intelligentsia was described in those sources as people who were at the forefront of modern Western-style education as well as in life-style and knowledge. Thus, the appearance of the intelligentsia had an influence on Mongolian life which has been

more urbanized, industrialized, and at the same time internationalized as time went on. This stratum had become the center of the Mongolian elite.

According to Morozova, this kind of phenomenon was continued and deepened “within the first five years after the social change that had begun in 1940-1941” (Morozova 2009: 118). Particularly, she explains that when the Soviet ideology translated readings came out, the number of younger intelligentsia increased.

In 1921-1946 a rapid generational change took place. After the war the dominant majority of MPRP members were people brought up during leftist extremes and purges. But the promotion of graduates of the Ulaanbaatar Party School of Soviet educational institutions was becoming visible. These graduates differed from the first generation revolutionaries in their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. The system of political education was finally established in Mongolia in the 1940s, when Marx’s works in Mongolian translation began to appear. In 1947, Stalin’s work *The Questions of Leninism* was translated and published. Soviet ideology penetrated the minds of new Mongolian intellectuals. (Morozova 2009: 128)

Importantly, however, Morozova sees the Mongolian intelligentsia as somewhat independent from Soviet influence. She argues that although this young intelligentsia had grown out of the Soviet-style education system and its ideological line, they had developed more independent new Mongol identity and they were not always cooperative to MPRP rule. She explains, they become a stratum that can be more critical of the communist party and voice “open (and hidden) criticism”:

After political opponents and potential rivals were eliminated and the broader public suppressed and purged, the less numerous, but noncompliant elite group of intellectuals capable of independent decision-making appeared on the scene. In the 1950s, a modern Western-style educated intelligentsia was still a relatively new group in the MPR, which was to be expected... The MPR intelligentsia consisted of people educated mainly in the Soviet Union. Although education played a major role in the formation of concepts on society and development for Mongolian intellectuals, it in no way guaranteed

their full loyalty or even mere conformity to MPRP rule. The intelligentsia was a thin stratum capable of critical analysis of socio-political realities, so the ruling political elite had to create an arena unfavorable to open (and hidden) criticism. (Morozova 2009: 129)

The intelligentsia's independent power in the center of the Socialist Mongolia world was an important social stratum in the late socialist period. The young intelligentsia is comparable to the groups that Yurchak has observed in the late Soviet Union before its collapse:

For many, 'socialism' as a system of human values and as an everyday reality of 'normal life' was not necessarily equivalent to 'the state' or 'ideology'; indeed, living socialism to them often meant something quite different from the official interpretations provided by state rhetoric. (Yurchak 2006: 8)

Though "state ideology" controlled and censored individual power, Yurchak in the Soviet case and Morozova in the Mongolian case show that there were also groups of individuals who did exercise independent and critical thought toward the ideology of the party and toward unconditional obedience to its ideological hegemonic power. These types of thoughts came from the intelligentsia stratum even if not always as an active movement. The intelligentsia's work and activity was, thus, at a more "internal" and more "individual" level of power, precipitating the shift of the society forward to post-socialism, maintaining the "socialist" sentiments.

The occupations of the intelligentsia members varied, consisting of teachers, scholars, physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, economists, and even cultural employees, as well as media representatives. Writers, artists, scientists, and even certain musicians were considered as intelligentsia. Thus, the connection between cultural employees, such as theatre artists or

musicians, and definition of intelligentsia was important to explain in the context of the long-song environment. This uprising of a musical intelligentsia and the formation of the concept of professional musicians were closely related.

The typical characteristics of the intelligentsia, such as pursuit of modern Western knowledge and lifestyles, also appeared in a group of newly emerged long-song professional singers. This shows the influence of the intelligentsia on the formation of long-song professional singers.<sup>5</sup> The direct relations between the intelligentsia stratum and the cultural aspect of Mongolian society is clearly revealed in Morozova's statements:

In the second part of the 1940s, a number of steps were taken to bring about such conditions, among which were continued repressions and the establishment of special institutions of socialist culture. Evidently, Soviet organizations dominated the Mongolian cultural domain. The All-Union Society for Cultural Ties with Abroad (VOKS) had been operating in the MPR since 1946... Soviet advisers assisted younger Mongolian colleagues in establishing the socialist management of culture and recruiting intelligentsia and artists in trade unions. The National University, the National Musical Drama Theatre, the Union of Writers, the Mongolian Fine Arts (Mongolizo, Rus.), Cinema Studio, and the Chinese Theatre (a product of Sino-Mongolian rapprochement in the 1950s) appeared in Ulaanbaatar. The main task of these new cultural institutions was to cast the national identity of the Mongols in a friendly attitude towards the Soviet people and to approve of the Soviet Union's assistance in post-war reconstruction and its international relations. (Morozova 2009: 129)

The intelligentsia created by socialism continues to exist in the post-socialist society, although it has developed in somewhat different ways and brought different

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<sup>5</sup> The specific cultural policy and other cultural aspects is explained in more detail below, and the relation between the long-song tradition and the intelligentsia tradition is precisely analyzed in Chapter Five as an important part of long-song's transitional history.

results. I have deduced three important points regarding this social class phenomena: first, it is necessary to understand how new social/political classes were formed under soviet ideology, because this phenomenon developed later into the appearance of a diverse map of peoples even in post-socialist Mongolia. More importantly this could explain for the purposes of this dissertation how the different strata of long-song singers have been created and survived amid the musical transition in the post-socialist society.

A second point is that, in the process of building an intelligentsia under socialism, public education was perceived by Mongolians as an important value to the society. Having higher education became exalted in the society where apparent economic competition did not exist and where there was no free market for competing for better income. Combined with the emergence of a free market economy after 1990, education developed even more interesting social/aesthetic values among musicians.

Thirdly, as shown in Morozova's comment above, the social agency that consisted of the second generation of the intelligentsia group is important. They had learned Marxist theory as a tool of thinking, while they did not have memory of, or lament, the purges and the turbulent process in the beginning of the socialist society between the 1920s and 1940s. Later, by the 1960s, this younger intelligentsia had kept a socialist perspective, but they also developed their own critical views toward their society, which made for more vivid and active activities toward their culture and underground movements.

### Soviet Influences, Cosmopolitanism and Mongolian Socialist Modernism

As intelligentsia, particularly through some of them such as artists, writers, and film makers who are in cultural areas, had come into the Mongolian picture under socialism, Mongolians had come to see themselves in the context of the broader world. This perspective had been initiated by relations with Soviet Union.

Particularly, as shown earlier, Mongolia had largely followed the Soviet Union in its social and cultural systems, such as its school system, and as a result, the interest of Mongolians toward other countries had expanded. These phenomena, along with growing relationships with other foreign nations, although they were mostly in the Soviet bloc, show that the influence of the outside world on Mongolia has become more significant. According to Akiner (1991), “State and party structure, legal institutions, defense, commerce, education, medicine and health care, even the range and titles of newspapers and magazines such as *Ünen* (‘Truth’) or *Namyn am’dral* (‘Party Life’), exhibit an unmistakable, and unsurprising, affinity with Soviet models” (Akiner 1991: 29). China was another big influence in Mongolia’s foreign relations, although from the 1960s China reduced its influence on Mongolians as Mongolia looked more to Soviet systems for its social structure.

Beginning in the 1950s, the USSR and China, now both Communist governments, started competing with each other by giving numerous aid packages and loans to Mongolia. By the end of the decade, other Communist countries such as Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Hungary provided technical and professional help for the development of factories. In 1959, 76 percent of Mongolian net exports went to the USSR, 15.25 percent to Eastern Europe, and 4 percent to China. (Sabloff 2001: 49)

The intelligentsia in urban areas was the biggest group that had been influenced by travelling to the Soviet Union for further study, and clearly the

influence of cosmopolitanism resulted from the relationship with Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had become Mongolia's biggest "brother" country, and from the earliest socialist period, Mongolia tried to become a follower of the way of the Soviet Union, even in terms of biological identity:

This change of identity, which had its background in the difficult relations with the Chinese, lent the Mongols the political and nationalist enthusiasm to deny themselves their oriental identity, and instead strive to be a 'Western' nation. During this period Mongolia's culture was archeologically 'proved' to be much related to that of Soviet Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Near East. (Sanders 1987: 4-5)

However, as I illustrated through Morozova and Yurchak's studies, the younger generation had become the main people who stated critical views toward the socialist regime, and this also later turned into a project of looking for their own "Mongol" identity as a traditional cultural value in the late 1980s. The new generation, which Marsh has labeled "cosmopolitan nationalists" (Marsh 2009: 99), came to the center of the effort to form a new Mongolian nationalistic identity.

.....the political and intellectual elites who shaped the development of modern Mongolian society in the twentieth century were from the very beginning cosmopolitan nationalists. We can see in their writings and activities that many were generally more inclined towards enabling national development than towards promoting the assimilationist goals of Soviet ideology (Marsh 2009: 99).

Besides, their acts, ethics, and philosophy have become the part of Mongolian culture since the 1970s and 80s. Bulag explains the problem of national identity in late Socialist Mongolia:

Mongolian nationalism during the socialist period was characterized by a tension between a desire for development towards a Soviet-oriented civilization and the wish to develop a national culture. The traditional identity was being transformed into the concept of a socialist 'new Mongol'. This was occasionally resisted by intellectuals,

yet without the force that might undermine the ‘iron friendship.’  
(Bulag 1998: 16)

Marsh (2009) uses the terms “Soviet modernism” and “cosmopolitan nationalism” to identify the growth of a Mongolian national identity out of the process of “Soviet modernization” among Mongolian intelligentsia who had studied under the Soviet school system, and who mostly went to Soviet Union for further study and came back to Mongolia.<sup>6</sup> Thus, cosmopolitanism in the Mongolian context seems to indicate the influence of the outer world and at the same time, internalization of the outside influence in their culture. Marsh defines cosmopolitanism as an “imagined connection that people sense they have with a broader trans-local or international community, but which is manifest in distinctly local ways,” and that “connect[s] the socialist and post-socialist periods” (Marsh 2009: 7) by presenting Mongolian nationalism.

A good example of the Mongolian “cosmopolitan intellectual” is J. Badraa, a writer. J. Badraa supported the inclusion of traditional culture as part of Mongolian identity during the late socialist period, criticizing the type of professionalism that had been established and governed by the party’s system. For this reason he was condemned by the party, but at the same time, he was considered and accepted as an intellectual by music scholars because of his activities in writing about and speaking up for the traditional culture (Marsh 2009: 97-99).

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<sup>6</sup> One of my interviewees, Ch. Buyanhishig, talked about the situation in the 1970s and 1980s, having herself been one of the intelligentsia at that time. A great many students who had good scores in school were given scholarships to go to foreign countries for studying, and became part of the intelligentsia. She indicated that one of the conditions of being sent to the Soviet Union was that they would come back to Mongolia to change their nation (Interview with Ch. Buyanhishig 1/19/2010).

If the 1950s and 1960s were a time when a more Western type of culture (mainly derived from the Soviet Union) was implanted and encouraged, then the 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of cosmopolitanism in a group of the intelligentsia who could now be more familiar with the international Western popular culture. However, the intelligentsia—defined as “cosmopolitan nationalists” by Marsh, also acknowledged Mongolian traditional culture, and initiated its “revival,” although this movement was not overt as a social phenomenon. Thus, traditional culture was not still fully welcomed by many Mongolians in the 1970s and 1980s, but it was less censored or restricted. So, it was obvious that the seeds had been sown of a shift toward interest in the traditional culture that was different from the situation in the earlier sovietization period; it continued and developed through to post-socialist Mongolia.

Radio stations in Mongolia started in the 1930s, and since then broadcasting has been an important tool for connecting countryside and city in Mongolia, and for urbanizing Mongolian society. In contrast, television was developed when Mongolia began to move toward a cosmopolitan society in the 1970s and 80s. The influence of television under the late socialism allowed an increased awareness of life outside Mongolia and began to have an impact on cosmopolitan Mongolians’ lives.

Television now (1986) reaches about 60 percent of the population, and has undoubtedly had a tremendous impact on people. It has not only shown them something of life in the outside world—albeit a world seen through Soviet eyes—but has brought them into contact with some of the world’s greatest music and theatre. (Sanders 1987: 132)

Mass media such as television and radio interacted with several other mechanisms of cultural control or formation, particularly during the soviet period.

These mechanisms had an influence on the formation of continuity through to the overall culture of the post-socialist period. These mechanisms—cultural policies and cultural organizations—are addressed in what follows.

### Cultural Policies and Cultural Organizations

After the collectivization and the overall communist economic system had been stabilized, Mongolian society faced another phase, which tried to integrate further with the Soviet Union, both culturally and socially. Consequently, the culture in Mongolia focused on forming a socially collective and more organized direction of development. This state control of culture started with a movement called “cultural enlightenment” (*soyol gegeerel*) in the 1930s (Pegg 2001: 254), and it was intensified through a “cultural revolution” (*soyolyn khuv’sgal*) beginning in the mid-1940s (Marsh 2009: 47), which aimed at the centralization, nationalization, and institutionalization of Mongolian culture. Around this time, “largely regional and fragmented music-cultures were absorbed into an expanding system of schools, theaters, and other cultural institutions, each of which was linked to central Party institutions in the nation’s capital” (ibid: 48). Consequently, there were many “party-sanctioned institutions” of culture (ibid: 48):

The earliest of these efforts were those by national cadres (*ündesnii kadr*), groups of Party activists, cultural workers, teachers, musicians and others that were sent out to rural villages and encampments to play music, sing Revolutionary songs, and spread the word about Lenin and Marx. (Tsendoj, quoted in Marsh 2009: 48)

Organizations formed by the party included the Red *ger* (*ulaan ger*), later changed to Red Corner (*ulaan bulan*) clubs, and the Union of Mongolian

Revolutionary Youth (*Mongolyn khuv'sgalt zaluuchuudyn evlel*) as small groups. Bigger groups were the cultural centers (*soyolyn töv*) and cultural palaces (*soyolyn ordon*). The cultural center was the main venue for cultural activity in each *sum*; the cultural center at the *aimag* level was called a cultural palace. The number of cultural organizations, according to Sanders, increased from seventeen in the beginning to 140 in 1941. It even increased to 545 by 1960.

By 1985, there were 449 houses of culture and clubhouses, while the number of 'red corners', which had reached a peak in 1970 of 1,422 had declined to 1,262. The number of political propaganda centres in the country thus now greatly exceeds the number of monasteries and temples at the time of the revolution. (BNMAU 65 *jild*, quoted in Sanders 1987: 133)

In addition to the red corners, cultural centers, and other cultural institutions, numerous unions among writers, musicians, and artists were organized by the party.

...the most significant of the creative unions are the Writers' Union and the Artists' Union... there are seven secretaries to the committee—also well-known writers—plus at least a further six editors of councils in charge of children's literature, youth literature, military-patriotic literature, newspapers and periodicals. (Sanders 1987: 82)

Furthermore, there were numerous newspapers or journals published by the Writers' Unions and Artists' Unions, such as *Literature and Art* (*Utga zokhiol urlag*), *Fine Art* (*Dürslekh urlag*), *Culture and Art* (*Soyol urlag*), and so on. By 1949, the newly created media and literature censorship office had mandated certain restrictions on the teaching of Mongolian history and literature (Sabloff 2001: 50).

As revealed above, culture under the socialist regime in Mongolia had not simply developed unabated. It was clearly something that had been politically planned. The culture, thus, was directed and mostly run within the system and its

policy during this time. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Mongolian society was controlled only by total, systematic power. Rather, it simply must be understood that this is a mechanism that cannot be overlooked for an understanding of the culture, because the cultural agencies of the socialist period have been one of the important sources of the current contemporary Mongolian cultural phenomena.

The state investment toward the culture in Mongolia became more active once the country had completed the process of nationalizing private property and when it completed organization of the state-run economic organizations, such as *negdel* (farmers' collectives), in the 1950s. When these political and economic organizations had been transformed from private sector to national property between the 1950s and 1970s, the party developed the cultural collective organizations more strongly, by implementing in its cultural policy numerous kinds of cultural campaigns, such as competitions. Thus, as Marsh addresses, in the post-War era, from mid-1950s to 1970s, the most significant aspects of the cultural socialist transformation in Mongolia appeared.

The “Cultural Leap Forward” campaign is a good example. This started at the fourteenth Congress of the MPRP in 1959, and “the congress defined the goals of this campaign as ‘raising the cultural level of the working people, indoctrinating them in the spirit of communism, and fighting against the vestiges of old thinking’” (Magban, as quoted in Marsh 2009: 51).

Just as the army was involved in education, as seen earlier, the army also was not a small part of Mongolia’s cultural nationalization. My interviews have revealed

that the Red Army played an important role in getting the culture going among the “*arad*” (the people), as Morozova has also described:

Red Army soldiers, who came to the Mongolian steppes only after Ungern had repelled the Chinese, had the clear objective of conquering the remains of his army...In their ‘free time’ Red army officers and soldiers were responsible for involving the local population in political meetings, which Mongols, who liked entertainment, attended mostly because of the concerts at the end of the programmes. Red Army soldiers were forbidden from humiliating the nomads’ national or religious feelings. Thus in the ‘instructions’ published before the military’s march to Urga, there were quite clear commands, such as ‘loyalty to religious policy’; ‘Mongolian monasteries, temples, spiritual leaders... Religious groups...must not be touched. (Morozova 2009: 31)

State control is clearly shown in the 1982 UNESCO document, “Cultural Policy in the Mongolian People’s Republic.” In this document, under the heading “Financing of cultural undertakings,” it is clearly stated that “in the Mongolian People’s Republic, the development of culture is based on the state budget and planning” (UNESCO 1982: 12). The budget for this cultural policy consisted of two parts; the first was the “state capital investment budget,” and the second consisted of “voluntary donations by the people including property, cattle, and other goods.”

The people welcomed the establishment of such organizations and, in the late 1930s, launched a voluntary movement to raise funds for them. In the 1930s, there were such patriotic initiatives as the saving of one mungo per tughrig from planned expenditure by economic organizations, and the donation of one day’s salary annually by employees and workers, to be spent in the cultural and educational field. (UNESCO 1982: 12)

The document shows that the entire budget was planned and organized by the state, saying that “the setting up of new cultural and educational establishments (ensembles, theatres, libraries, museums) is financed by the state” (UNESCO 1982: 13).

I remember, in the field, a singer who used to be a theatre singer in the socialist period, saying “I might be more free to perform what I want to play now, but I have to admit that I couldn’t be more free from money and living worries than I was back then, so that I could concentrate on playing.” The budget situation around the time is described in this way:

Annual expenditure of various cultural arrangements is also borne by the state. Allocations for social and cultural measures now make up 42 percent of the state budget. Professional art organizations have one- and five-year income plans from the state. Their own income covers 30-50 per cent of their expenses, the rest being financed from the state budget. (UNESCO 1982: 13)

This constant state involvement with culture through financial support continued until the socialist nation collapsed, and it included building of cultural schools, music theatres (including small and big ensembles), nationwide competitions, support for education for the members of organizations, expanding the media system such as radio, and so on.

Systematic media control was a substantial part of the party’s efforts. The development of radio stations made it possible for the party to control the remote rural area as well as urban areas. According to Tsedenbal’s reports, between 1960 and 1965, about 150,000 radios were sold in Mongolia, allowing an estimate that 1.4 radios existed per ten people, which was the usual number of people in one common family unit in Mongolia (Marsh 2009: 162).

By the mid-1960s all of the nation’s *negdels* and provincial centers had been connected with Ulaanbaatar through radio and telephone communication links. At the same time, an increasing number of people, even in distant rural areas, had access to inexpensive radios, allowing them to tune-in to broadcasts from the capital city. Such broadcasts, along with the print media, films, and later television, helped to establish a truly national popular culture. (Marsh 2009: 52)

During my fieldwork, most of the *ger* I visited in the countryside had television or radio. Radio had been intended to centralize the whole nation as a socialist force. However, it became part of education, part of the urbanization of the countryside's people, at least conceptually, and also provided the new entertainment and culture to remote areas.

Cultural policy and the cultural system in socialist Mongolia was a large influence on the transformation of the society. While more recent political and economic transformation has reformed the infrastructure of Mongolian people's lives, the cultural transition has brought changes in their ethics, cultural values, and life philosophies. The phenomena appearing in the process of the state's nationalization of the culture were meant ideologically, and the organization of the cultural institutions of the socialist period served the party's collectivization of Mongolian people and the building of their nationalism during the socialist period. The viewpoint toward diverse ethnicity is another transformation of Mongolian culture overall. Mongolia is one nation state, but it consists of diverse ethnic groups, which is revealed in the musical styles of long-song. Just as long-songs have specific regional and ethnic styles throughout Mongolia, Mongolian people also consist of diverse ethnic groups. Those went through severe changes in the socialist period. This is interestingly connected to the concept of dualism that was created under socialism in Mongolia; countryside vs. urban, professional vs. amateur, and us (generally meaning central/khalkh ethnic groups) versus others (minorities).

### Khalkh-Centrism

Mongolia was ethnically a very diverse state before socialist times. Diverse ethnicities in Mongolia had their own cultural traditions, appearances, and life-styles. The diversity of ethnic groups was greatly reduced during the socialist period, and now the dominant ethnic group of Mongolia is called Khalkh. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 2011, about 94.9% of the Mongolian population is of Khalkh ethnicity. The debate surrounding this ethnic group is an interesting one, and it is also closely related to the formation of the new urban musical style of long-song and the situation regarding other regional/ethnic styles of long-song.

Several Mongolian studies (Pegg 2001, Rupen 1979, Bulag 1998, Kaplonski 2004) indicate that the Khalkh ethnic group has been elevated as the main ethnic group in Mongolia in response to the Soviets' socialist process. An attempt was made to unify Mongolia's diverse ethnicities into one ethnic identity as part of Sovietization and de-Mongolization of the Mongols. Rupen describes concepts that were formulated among Russian scholars, to the effect that ethnicity is not a biological formation, but rather its cultural construction (1979: 244). Such an argument would be an aid for planting their political ideology. The centralized systems of Mongolia were easy for the Soviet Union to access, and having one majority ethnic group would make it still easier for them to influence socialist Mongolia.

The MPRP's process for building up the Khalkh identity is quite intriguing. For example, Bulag's description of the "ethnic process" during the socialist period toward Khalkh ethnic groups is as follows:

Dugarsuren is a middle-aged Barga in Hentii. His mother is Barga [ethnic group]; his father is a Buryat [ethnic group]. According to the

local practice, he said, a child of two different *yastans* [tribe] usually choose the mother's *yastan* identity. His wife is a Buryat, and they have four children. They are all studying in Ulaanbaatar. They are registered as Halh [Khalkh]. He tried to persuade them to register as Buryat, but none listened... To be a Halh [Khalkh] means one is a proper citizen, a real Mongol, and to be Buryat means to be peripheral... Particularly interesting is one family: the parents are both Buryat, and they have six children, of whom two born before 1977 are registered as Buryat, while the four younger ones are Halh [Khalkh]. The pressure to become Halh [Khalkh] became stronger from the late 1970s... (Bulag 1998: 35-36)

Therefore, if individuals were descended from other ethnic groups, if they dwelled in Ulaanbaatar, or could not find their clear genetic origin because of intermarriage between different ethnic groups, they used to be registered as Khalkh. This had a lot of influence on the formation of Khalkh-centrism. In addition, the adopting of Russian Cyrillic as the country's standard script in 1946 contributed to the formation of Khalkh-centrism as well. From amongst the various possibilities, the Khalkh dialect was adopted as a main language to be converted to Russian Cyrillic.

Nevertheless, it seems that a push toward Khalkh-centrism began much longer ago than the socialist period. Bulag says, "greater Mongolian nationalism is based on a thirteenth-century Mongolian state built by Chinggis Khan, and Halh [Khalkh] - centric builds on a sixteenth century tribal division which was later strengthened by the Manchu" (Bulag 1998: 28). However, he indicates that Soviet-era Khalkh centrism was not a result of the ethnic ideas of the thirteenth or sixteenth century, but more the result of the studies of subsequent Khalkh historians (Bulag 1998: 70-81). Morozova, however, suggests that Khalkh-centrism was an unavoidable process for Mongolia as it endeavored to keep its independent status between neighboring Russia

and China by claiming to descend from Chinggis Khan. She claims that the Khalkh-centrism had already started by the time of feudal Mongolia in 1911.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Mongols, being at the very periphery of the world system, experienced only indirect influence from Western ideologies. It was the distraction of its powerful neighbors Russia and China that made it possible in 1911 for the Khalkh Mongols (who identified themselves as ‘the main body of Mongolian stock’) to establish a specific form of autonomous theocratic monarchy with the Bodgo Gegen at its head in Urga... (Morozova 2009: 9)

Kaplonski briefly mentions that between two famous religious figures in the late sixteenth century, Zanabazar (1635-1723) and Altan Khan (1507-1582), Zanabazar was more well-known. The reason was not only because Zanabazar had religious links with Buddhism and some cultural and artistic achievements, but also because he was Khalkh, while Altan Khan was a Tumet Mongolian from what is now Inner Mongolia (Kaplonski 2004: 159).

Whatever its origin, this Khalkh-centrism strengthened during the socialist period. As a result, the view that all of society has been united as one ethnic community has been extended, but the value of family and lineage has correspondingly receded. Thus, family names were dropped in favor of using a person’s father’s name as surname, or even something other than the father’s name, so that Mongolians could not trace their ancestors’ roots, even to Chinggis Khan. This, it was thought, could confuse their united national identity as Mongolians. Later on, during the late socialist period, Khalkh-centrism was not considered to be one local-ethnic centrism, but rather it developed into a Mongol centrism under the pursuit of a united, socialist Mongolia. Just as Khalkh had become the only ethnicity for Mongolians, Ulaanbaatar became the only modernized and central space for

Mongolians. At the same time, the Khalkh ethnic and regional style has been elevated to become the main style of long-song tradition, even a “national tradition,” particularly coming into post-socialist Mongolia. This status, in turn, brought changes of cultural value and aesthetics to music-making.

Khalkh-centrism continued to flow in post-socialist Mongolia, although governmental support toward the diversity of ethnic groups in Mongolia became stronger when legislation regarding the other ethnic groups was announced in the 1990s. The equation of Khalkh-ethnic consciousness with Mongolness has continued in post-socialist society, however, as part of the reconstruction of the nation, and it has influenced music in a way seen clearly in the long-song tradition, although it is less prominent there than it was during the socialist period, as explored below in Chapter Six.

#### POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIA (1991- )

By the end of the 1980s, Mongolia still heavily depended on the Soviet Union in terms of its economy and politics. However, the new generation of socialist Mongolians in late 1970s and 1980s had a new picture of a socialist Mongolia, while at the same time, the first generations of the turbulent socialist time in the 1930s and 40s had been in their positions for several decades, cooperating with Soviet Union.

Sabloff describes the society in the 1980s.

By the end of the 1980s, the Communist Party and administrative personnel had become a huge state bureaucracy whose inner circle carefully selected all representatives to local government and remained in their own positions for twenty-five to thirty years. Their children became part of the elite echelon in a supposedly classless society. Mongolia was totally dependent on the Soviet Union, mainly Russia,

which did not promote economic independence and freedom. Nor did it develop the expertise or infrastructure necessary to bring sustainable economic development for such a large territory. No one was responsible for property, and the monstrous industries were run with outdated, inefficient technology that destroyed the surrounding environment and wasted natural resources. And while government costs increased annually, personal income levels decreased. Thus the conflict between the negative and positive aspects of socialism continued. (Sabloff 2001: 55)

In 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became the new leader of the Soviet Union and launched a new campaign of political openness (*glasnost*) and economic reconstruction (*perestroika*) in the Soviet Union, Mongolia started preparing for another phase of the nation. In Mongolia, the influence of the Soviet Union was gradually dismantled, and economic support and social support from the Soviet Union toward Mongolia weakened. When the nation finally faced the end of the socialist system, the society started to look anew at their own government and market economy.

In 1990, the MPRP quickly separated the party and the state and agreed to remove the paragraphs about the party's vanguard role in society and Marxist-Leninist theory as a key paradigm for national development from the introduction to the Constitution of Mongolia. The subsequent elections won by the MPRP are now seen as the first democratic elections and the epochal turn away from socialism and a planned economy toward democracy and a market economy... (Morozova 2009: 137)

Like Russia, Mongolia was not prepared for the total collapse of communism. However, it could not avoid the predicament of the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. In 1989, Mongolians started being aware of the problems in their government, and in Ulaanbaatar, young Mongolians formed an activist group to move the society forward toward democracy. They clamored for a multi-party system, respect for human rights, and freedom of the media. In the early

stage of this transition, people were in difficulty, particularly in economic terms. Because the Soviet Union's economic aid had stopped, the factories slowed or halted production, trade was interrupted, and markets and stores became empty of goods. The sudden drop in economic performance, inflation, unemployment, foreign debt, and resulting poverty created social resentment. There was also resentment against any authority, as the Mongolians experienced freedom for the first time (Sabloff 2001: 59). Most of the economic system was privatized, with accompanying redistribution of power and social class.

The process of transition to market relations is inevitably followed by a social class transformation, particularly in urban areas, where people to a higher extent than in rural areas and small towns have cut their links to livestock herding. Most dramatic changes have occurred for urban state employees in factories and offices who have either been laid off, face staff cuts in the coming years, or have experienced that the purchasing power of their salaries is diminishing year by year. Large numbers of urban dwellers are now unable to live off their monthly salaries but have to supplement them with income from various jobs such as taxi-driving, petty trade, barter, brokering and whatever else is possible in the modern city. Among the educated, physicists and mathematicians may be seen to run computer business, engineers work as consultants, doctors work as interpreters, and some people with higher education even subsist as livestock herders on the steppes. Additionally a group of *nouveaux riches* has emerged, deriving its wealth mainly from domestic and international trade and brokering and engaging heavily in conspicuous consumption. (Bruun and Odgaard 1996: 27-28)

The change was not limited only to political or socio-economic aspects of society; it affected cultural and value aspects, as well. There was a tendency for society to start looking for various cultural values, elements of which came from pre-socialist Mongolia; this included such things as traditional clothing, traditional belief systems, and so on. According to Bruun and Odgaard:

During 1989 the party launched a number of initiatives in the cultural field. Efforts were made to change the negative evaluation of Chinggis Khan, whom Russia—as conquered nation—had described as a

bloodthirsty and aggressive feudal lord. Plans were made for the reintroduction of the Mongolian script and some schools and institutions of learning started using it. Also a return to grace and mass production of the Mongolian national gown, the *deel*, were set in motion, while the party called for a move to overcome indifference to the national cultural heritage in general. (Bruun and Odgaard 1996: 33-4)

Also the new year festival, Tsagaan sar, and the traditional summer festival, Naadam, were re-introduced. In addition, there were revivals of a number of Buddhist sites, which, with the new nationalist support that began in 1989, became a national symbol (Bruun and Odgaard 1996: 35).

The Mongols have begun to eulogize their traditions and culture. This ‘Mongolizing’ process has been rapid and wide-ranging, covering all aspects of Mongolian cultural, political, and economic life. Since 1990, the Mongols have re-evaluated the historical role of Chinggis Khan and accepted him as Mongolian hero, identity-giver, and nation-founder. Buddhism and the classical script, denounced previously have been revived and are now encouraged as major ingredients of the new Mongolian nationalism. Shamanism, which was once thought to have disappeared long ago as the most authentic Mongolian religion, began to be ‘performed’ in the theatres, very much like the theatrical new-shamanism in post-socialist Siberia. The collectivized pastoral economic system is not regarded as alien and not fitting to the Mongolian situation, and Mongols have started to return to traditional Mongolian herding practices. (Bulag 1998: 18)

Therefore the situation toward musicians, artists, and other culture-related people’s position was shifted as well. According to Rossabi, the situation of the musical and cultural environment in the early 1990s was economically difficult compared to that of musicians, artists, and writers in the socialist period. Usually, musical organizations and musicians had received some state support in that period, but in the 1990s when the economy collapsed, they had to face severe finance problems. He explains that under socialism, musicians and their activities of “throat

singing (*Khoomii* [*khöömii*]), long-song singing, and the horse-headed fiddle (*morin khuur*), which produced the traditional folk music of Mongolia, often received guaranteed subsidies during the socialist period. Also, *morin khuur* orchestras, with singers in tow, survived the 1930s radical onslaught on traditional culture. The early 1990s proved to be more difficult, as the government offered less funding for such ensembles. Foreign fans helped to preserve the throat singing and...yet...without state support, many of them may have to fold” (Rossabi 2005: 188).

Although the transitional situation brought economic difficulty, the later situation and perspective toward folk and traditional culture was apparently much boosted. According to Akinder:

The emergence of distinct folk and professional artistic currents is linked with the emergence of an urban class of flat-dwellers, increasingly remote from their origins in the steppe, and for the first time, owning objects, which are decorative rather than functional...The love and respect which are felt for the national folk art are officially promoted in every way. (Akiner 1991: 226)

Thus, traditional culture and folk culture in post-socialist Mongolia has returned as part of the process of building national identity, as once they were used for ideological propaganda under socialism. However, a revival of folk cultures does not imply a revival of their pre-revolutionary forms. Rather, for example, a representative figure in this folk revival, N. Jantsannorov, a famous composer, has brought the folk elements into his new Western-style compositions, using folk instruments and musical idioms. Nevertheless, the search for “folk” and “traditional” culture as symbolic images in Mongolia has become stronger in post-socialist Mongolia.

At the same time, ironically, there has been a decrease of interest in traditional music and culture, mainly among younger generations, for other reasons.

Not everyone is interested in the traditional arts today. The young people are more interested in the modern [i.e. pop-rock] styles than in the traditional arts, so the traditional things are being left behind. It's just professional people who are interested in these things now. Our traditional art is just something to show to foreigners. In our homeland, which is part of the central Khalkha, our people [traditionally] performed long songs, short songs, fiddle melodies and *biyelee* [dances]. [Since the communist era] the modern Mongolian art has been developing quickly, but the traditional things are being left in a place, which not every person can reach. (Gankhuyag, quoted in Marsh 2009: 151)

In the narrative of Gankhuyag above, it seems that the traditional folk culture was being left behind in post-socialist Mongolia. Just as a personal note, whenever I talked with young Mongolians about my research on long-songs they seemed to show pride as Mongolians in talking about long-song, even though they were more absorbed by contemporary pop culture. The position of traditional folk culture in Mongolian society is thus ambivalent, located at the forefront of defining a collective national identity, but not so much at the individual level.

The meaning of long-song tradition and its musical style, discussed as a folk genre in this dissertation, needs to be understood in the various possible definitions and contexts employed by different groups of long-song singers, from professionals to amateurs and from countryside to city. The boundary is not clear, but constantly fluid and sometimes hybrid. However, all of the singers' activities are conducted in an effort to boost the new country.

### Reinforced Nationalism: the New Mongolian National Identity

In my first visit to Mongolia in 2006, I often heard from people of the older generation their sense of loss of the Russian language, culture, and even sometimes the socialist system; they said that it was a more stable society back then. At the same time, mostly among the younger generation, there were excited expectations about the new society as a freer and more global world that they will experience. It was quite a contrast, and it seemed to me that this new Mongolia was in a transitional phase.

From the present day, the long-term consequences of this cultural policy appear contradictory: while many people up until now harbour a certain nostalgia about Russian language, literature, music and cinema, others reject Russian culture and socialist development as a way of socio-political protest and claiming national independence. (Morozova 2009: 130)

Reconstruction of a Mongolian identity, consequently, has come to the forefront. Mongolia had always had strong independence from other nations in its history, but these images of independence were reshaped by the socialist regime, so that Mongolians came to see themselves as second citizens among Soviet nations, or linked in a relationship with stronger foreign nations. Kaplonski has described the process of building Mongolia's new national identity.

In Mongolia, in the 1990s, the historical images reflected the key tendency to construct a concept of "being Mongol" in opposition to being Chinese or Russian. Although most immediately apparent after the collapse of socialism in 1990, the tendency was present, if less pronounced, in the later 1990s. In the early 1990s, the construction of this identity hinged in large part upon the exclusion of the socialist period from what was seen as legitimate Mongolian history. It was being brought back into the discussion by the late 1990s, as particular versions of the non-socialist past became more widely established and offered a platform on which to base new concepts of "being Mongol," and intellectuals and others could deal more directly with the legacy of socialism. (Kaplonski 2004: 7)

Kaplonski suggests, therefore, that Mongols developed Chinggis Khan as their national image from pre-revolutionary times. Here the author discusses two kinds of nationalism: “nationalism as an ideology motivated by ethnic/cultural concerns,” and “nationalism as a political (usually spatial) ideology” (Kaplonski 2004: 14). Based on these two sorts of nationalism, however, Kaplonski illustrates that the Mongolian case does not clearly fit in one or the other. Rather it is a more complicated combination or “collision” of those two. He suggests that Mongolian nationalism has been shaped by three views: first, Pan-Mongolia, which sees all Mongolians as one unified identity (even if they consist of different ethnic groups and regardless of their location); second, one central ethnic identity that can connect to the majority of the people, for example Khalkh centrism—looking at this small majority as core Mongolians; and third, a conception of the modern nation-state of Mongolia as having some unified identity based on a certain “vague sort of general nationalism or chauvinism, which [is] being based on history, tradition and national sentiment” (Kaplonski 2004: 15). The third type of nationalism that Kaplonski explains here is much closer to Humphrey’s explanation of how Mongols are connected to their “deep past,” based not on their real historiography but on their “historical mimicry” and imagination of the past (Humphrey 1992: 375-389). According to Humphrey, this “Renaissance” (*sergen mandal*) of the past in Mongolia was already being performed on the national level in the early 1990s.

Yet all political groups without exception, including the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (i.e. the communist party), are concerned with national identity, with creating a ‘truly Mongolian’ moral society. This double movement, of the rejection of Soviet type socialism by the very party which had implemented it and the welcoming of the traditional past, was exemplified at the 1991 celebration of the

seventieth anniversary of the revolution... Instead, a monument was founded to the victims of the purges of the 1930s, and there was a ceremony of raising the nine white standards, that is horse-hair battle-standards of a type said to have been used by Chinggis Khaan and to represent the spirit of the nation. An official account of the occasion stated that ‘the most important task today is to revive traditions.’ (Humphrey 1992: 377)

The nationalism represented through the traditional musical culture is closer to this third type of nationalism, based on history, tradition, and national sentiment that came particularly from pre-revolutionary times. This nationalism could appear in different degrees or different ways among different musicians, artists, or cultural personnel. For example, a person who works in the national theatre would be more focused on the national style that had been built during the socialist regime, or a newly promoted national style, while artists who reside in the countryside would engage in cultural activities at a more personal level. In Chapter Five, I investigate long-song singers’ perceptions of nationalism and what kind of nationalism they reflect in their music-making.

#### Redefining the Concepts in Post-Socialist Mongolia

While Mongolia went through its socialist period, the overall society had to experience not only the political transition, but also the social and cultural transition. During the fifty- to sixty-year socialist period, Mongolia formed a new education system, created the new social classes, and invented new cultural traditions, although it happened in close association with the Soviet Union and its socialist ideological transition. The modernization, Westernization, and urbanization are unavoidable steps for any developing country on the Asian continent (or any other corner of the world).

What was distinctive about Mongolia was the fact that here, these steps came along with a political ideology. Even if the modernization, urbanization, and Westernization of Mongolia were parts of a program of political propaganda, the basic infrastructure and social systems of Mongolia that the MPRP and the Soviet Union had built remained strongly present in post-socialist society, and if not active, still remain today in subtle ways.

Cultural aspects that emerged during the socialist era have also clearly remained, although people do not believe (or perhaps do not want to believe) that they have. For example, the intelligentsia that was created under the socialists has become a powerful agency in post-socialist Mongolia, mostly manifested in various intellectual groups or professional singers, for instance. The concept of folk has become even stronger, not only to represent the Mongol *arad*, the people, but to represent the whole nation. Cosmopolitanism that has linked Mongolians with places outside of Mongolia, particularly the Soviet Union, has continued to connect Mongolia to several other outside powers in post-socialist Mongolia.

We would be mistaken, therefore, to think that the end of the socialist ideology has brought with it the end of all the cultural, social, and environmental structures that were constructed under socialism. Instead, I have found that those are continued and maintain their impact in post-socialist Mongolia. Given this circumstance and its background, we can move to the next two chapters, which look into the long-song tradition specifically.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### LONG-SONG (*URTYN DUU*)

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LONG-SONG

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the overall characteristics of long-song. Long-song has now been increasingly introduced into the world outside Mongolia, but its specific characteristics have not yet been clearly presented or much studied. Much of the material I present in this chapter is learned and understood from interviews and, particularly in the case of the more localized knowledge, through conversation with singers. Knowledge about the characteristics of long-song has been transmitted mainly by oral tradition, including ideas on the origin of the genre, the categorization of long-songs, specific musical characteristics, the relationship between lyrics and musical elements, and so on.

Since long-song survived until recently as a purely oral tradition among Mongolians with a nomadic lifestyle, there is lack of written documents regarding its history. The origins of long-song, therefore, are not yet fully established or received sufficient scholarly attention. Nevertheless, from my interviews with singers, I found that most of them believed that long-song can be traced back to the time of Chinggis Khan (early thirteenth century), and that the long-song tradition itself has lived with Mongolians throughout their history.

Long-song is characterized by virtuosic vocality and wide range. Spectacular vocality is, however, not the only important characteristic of long-song. Some kinds of long-song, including some regional genres, feature a rather narrower range and

subtler manner of ornamenting. The more spectacular musical elements of long-song, especially as seen in the central Khalkh style<sup>1</sup> and the city-style of long-song, have, however, often been taken to be more typical long-song characteristics. These virtuosic features strongly emerged during the socialist period, and continued even after the collapse of socialism in Mongolia, when Mongolian culture was opened to outsiders. Having developed as a solo tradition from its original context as part of the countryside feasts, long-song has now proceeded as a city style, generally sung with the accompaniment of the horse head fiddle, the *morin khuur*.

In addition to changing musical styles, changes in the long-song repertory itself is also an important aspect of the transitional history of the long-song tradition. In this chapter I address the general classification of the song repertory and introduce the current archive collections in Ulaanbaatar that preserve numerous long-song recordings.

As briefly explained in the Introduction (Chapter One), the name of this genre, “long-song,” is not related to the duration of the songs. Rather, it is related to the elongation of vowel sounds. However, singers I interviewed have expressed several possible explanations as to the origin of the genre’s name, although they are not explicitly supported by solid evidence. I start, therefore, from a definition and brief history that I have developed based on the statements of singers during my fieldwork.

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<sup>1</sup> This term “central Khalkh” is direct translation from the Mongolian term “Töv Khalkh.” This is used these days as almost equivalent to several other terms, such as “urban style” and “city style.” However, with reference to long-song, it also indicates the style used (traditionally) in regionally central areas such as Övörkhangai, Arkhangai, Bayankhōngor, Dundgov’, Ömnögov’, Bulgan, and Töv *aimag*.

## DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF LONG-SONG

The definition and history of long-song have been transmitted orally in the context of a nomadic lifestyle. Since the characteristics of oral traditions, as we all understand, are developed in people's memories, and their knowledge transmitted verbally, the knowledge and memories in question are changeable and not dependable. Thus, I have to note that the definition and history of long-song described here are primarily an account of how the Mongolian people perceive the tradition's development and what kind of myths and stories they have constructed around it, with only limited information taken from written sources.

The literal translation of the term “*urtyn duu*” into English is “long (*urtyn*)-song (*duu*).” According to Carole Pegg, there have been several names for this genre, rather than only one. She explains that these terms were boiled down to one, the Khalkh term, long-song (*urtyn duu*) as a result of a socialist process.

When Mongol Script was put into Russian Cyrillic, the Khalkha [Khalkh] terms *urtyn duu* (long-song) and *bogin duu* (short-song) were chosen as another means of standardization (Badraa Inb, as cited in Pegg 2001: 259)

Further, Pegg mentions that the Khalkh ethnic groups in Övörkhangai, Arkhangai, and Bayankhongor provinces use the term *suman duu*, meaning “songs of the sum,” (Pegg 2001: 44) as I also learned in an interview with G.

Ryenchinsambuu,<sup>2</sup> who originally used the term (Interview with G. Ryenchinsambuu 1/22/2010). Also, some of the eastern, southern, and central provinces use the terms, *töriin duu*, meaning “state song,” and *tör hurimyn du*, which means “celebration song,” according to Pegg (Pegg 2001: 44).

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<sup>2</sup> Pegg romanizes his name as Rinchinensambuu.

The origin of long-song is sometimes mentioned in old Chinese writings. According to Kh. Samfildenedv and Kh. Yatskovskaya, in their introduction to one of the Mongolian long-song anthology books, *Mongolian Folk Long-song*, the description of music that appears to be “long-song” (*urtyn duu*) can be found in a historical Chinese work that describes Mongolians as an ethnic group called the *Khünnü* (Chinese *Xiongnu*) (Tserensodnom, D. ed. 1984: 7). These people are described in the book as singing songs, and the description of their singing is close to long-song. For this reason, some Mongolian scholars currently believe that long-song’s origin goes at least this far back.<sup>3</sup>

Along with this historical information, the answers I received from older singers were interesting. When I asked older interviewees in the field what they had learned or simply heard about the origin of the term for long-song, they always said their answers were just guesses, and that nobody really seemed to know. When I modified the question to ask why they thought it was called *urtyn duu*, they gave varying answers. For example, one informant answered that it was because the genre has been in Mongolia for a long time, another answered that it was because of its elongated vowel sounds, another because the songs were sung to communicate over a long distance, and so on. However, my inquiry yielded no compelling reasons or evidence for the origin of the name.

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<sup>3</sup> I have learned through my fieldwork that there are possibilities for historical research on long-song’s origin in Chinese sources, and there are some Chinese sources available that illustrate what may possibly be traces of Mongolian music, including long-song. Here, however, my discussion is based on findings during my field research. Historical inquiry into the origin of long-song would be a topic for separate future research.

Most of the assumptions offered by interviewees are understandable if we think about the characteristics of long-song. As I mentioned earlier, Mongols believe that the long-song tradition has survived for a long portion of their history, and this is reflected in the widespread idea that long-song got its name simply because it has been in Mongolia for a long time; this shows that Mongols have a strong symbolic association of the genre as a treasured tradition. The answer that the name derives from elongated vowel sounds refers to an absolutely clear characteristic of current Mongolian long-song style, which is a concert style derived from the Khalkh style. The answer that it is called long-song because it used to be sung to relay a person's words over a long distance clearly connected to the traditional nomadic life-style of the Mongolian people. In their nomadic lives, long-song is a constant presence while they herd and while they milk their cows. So, Mongolian sentiments and nostalgia toward their traditional lifestyle are conceptualized in the term. Whatever their reasons for calling the genre long-song, Mongols seem to connect it with what they think about their non-musical traditions and culture overall.

#### PERFORMANCE CONTEXT

Long-song is known as a genre that was closely associated with a type of feast called *naadam*. This feast could be held for weddings, certain family rituals, or any kind of social gathering. Based on my interviews with numerous singers, especially older singers, it seems that the feast was the best place for learning long-song. A certain procedure governed the performance of long-song at feasts, and it determined the specific songs to be sung and the specific techniques to use. Singers also learned

songs from listening to their mothers' singing in their daily activities and their fathers' singing when they herded.

In my interview with S. Bayantogtokh (61) from Dundgov' *aimag*, he discussed a term, *dugaraa bariarai* which refers to setting the order of singing, and alternating the order. In the feast, the reason for having a prescribed order was so that the singers will not get tired. Usually, after one singer sang one *badag* (verse)<sup>4</sup> of a song, the refrain, called *türleg*,<sup>5</sup> was sung by everyone together, so that the next singer could prepare the next song and the previous singer had a moment to take a rest and drink *airag*.<sup>6</sup> This *türleg*, however, is not commonly performed in contemporary Mongolia, apart from the use of long-song in increasingly rare feasts. Just as long-song itself has regional stylistic differences, *türleg* comes in various different styles depending on the region. The melody of the *türleg* is often improvised within the song's lyrics, but sometimes it is borrowed from some other song. For example, in Bulgan province, singers use the melody of "gingoo"<sup>7</sup> as a *türleg* melody.

In the context of the feast, there are always specific songs that need to be sung in a certain order. For example, at the beginning of the feast, people usually sing "The

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<sup>4</sup> The verse is called *badag* in Mongolian. This will be explained in more detail in the musical structure section later in this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> This word came from the verb *türekh* (*мырэх*), meaning "sing together," that is, a refrain.

<sup>6</sup> *Airag* is a traditional drink in Mongolia that is made of fermented horse milk. This is an important and essential part of the feast. Mongolians talk about an interesting relationship between *airag* and long-song. They say that in regions where *airag* is common, there have always been abundant long-song traditions, and these have survived. This is because *airag* makes for a great feast, and a great feast produces a lot of good singers as well.

<sup>7</sup> This is one of the songs that small children sing when they start riding a horse, as explained later in this chapter.

Best Among Many” (*Tümen ekh*), or “Celebration of Healthy Life” (*Enkh mendiin bayar*) in eastern *aimag*. In the western *aimag* (indicating central Töv *aimag*), “The *Morin Khuur* Leads the Way” (*Khuuryin magnai*) is sung at the beginning. When the feast is done, people sing songs such as “An Abundance of Joy [Summer]” (*Jargaltan delger*). According to S. Bayantogtokh, once the word *jargaya* appears, the feast is almost ending; people know this, and then they prepare for the end of the feast. There are several long-songs that include the word *jargaya* (meaning “let’s be happy”), but only in the song “Jargaltan delger” does *jargaya* come in the closing phrase. For this reason, this song is often used as a closing song. At the end, all singers at the feast sing this word together as the *türleg* and finish the feast. On the other hand, some songs are never sung at a feast; for instance, the song “Small Yellowish Flecked Horse” (*Shalzat baakhan sharga*) is prohibited because of the subject matter of the song. It is about two brothers, one of whom killed the other by accident. It is a sad and tragic story, so it is not allowed to be performed in a feast.

In contemporary Mongolia, the feast context for long-song has been disappearing rapidly, and the number of countryside singers who remember this context is diminishing. Formerly, most countryside singers used to learn the long-songs from the feasts, discovering their talent for singing through this opportunity. As Mongolia went through its socialist period, such feasts were not encouraged, either because they were social gatherings not sanctioned by the government, or because they did not fit with the prescribed ideology. Also contributing to the disappearance of the traditional context is that after 1990, when the socialist regime was gone, more

singers population moved to cities and pursued their singing education in the universities.

## MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

### Musical Structure and Form

The musical structure of long-songs is basically strophic; throughout the verses, the music repeats basically the same melody. However, depending on the song, there can be improvised differences among the verses, although most Mongolian singers consider that they remain the “same.” The musical form of long-song has apparently become quite stable since the early socialist period. Long-songs used to have many verse. However, when it was adapted for the stage during the socialist period, long-song became standardized as a one-verse form. Consequently, the songs have become much shorter than they had been when they were sung, for example, at feasts.

The musical form of long-song is closely related to the form of the lyrics.

According to Nicolas Poppe,

The characteristic features of Mongolian poetry are alliteration and parallelism. The typical Mongolian verse consists of a quatrain, i.e., a stanza of four lines, each of which consists of an equal number of syllables (usually seven or eight). Each line of a quatrain begins with the same syllable. The parallelism manifests itself in the repetition of the same idea, utilizing different expression. These two principles underline both the modern and the ancient poetry. (Poppe, quoted in Nakagawa 1980: 151)

In long-song, in my observation, it is not always the case that the same syllable opens each of the four lines in a verse, and there are many exceptions to this general

structure, in which we may also see more extended long-song forms. In those extended forms, there may be many more lines per verse, and sometimes the distinction between verses is not clear.

The following example shows a fairly typical structure of a single four-line verse (i.e., one *badag*) in the simple long-song form.

Example 1:

<i>Sevket borygoo unaarai</i>	Ride away on your freckled brown,
<i>Setgel-n bajval ireerei dee khö</i>	and come to me if you will
<i>Tolbot borygoo unaarai</i>	Ride away on your spotted brown,
<i>Tootoi khonogtoo ireerei dee khö</i>	and come to me in a few weeks <sup>8</sup>



Figure 1: “Freckled Brown [Horse]” (*Sevket bor*)  
(J. Dorjdagva 1970: 63)

The four lines of each verse comprise one textual verse, but singers think more in terms of two musical sections, where the music of the first two lines is repeated for the last two lines. Confusingly, the singers tend to refer to a pair of lines as a *badag*, so that the textual *badag* consists of four lines, but the musical *badag* consists of only two.

<sup>8</sup> For the translation of these lyrics I have consulted with Simon Wickham-Smith, and Narantsogt Baatarkhuu.

When the musical content of the first two lines is repeated in the third and fourth lines, most of the time, singers essentially just repeat the music. It sometimes happens, however, that certain different musical techniques are introduced in the last two lines. For example, there is one singing technique called *shurankhai*, which is a technique similar to falsetto, though rather shorter and lighter (more gentle and transparent, but still penetrating) than falsetto in Western music. The melody is still essentially the same, but performance techniques may be altered through improvisation or planned variants. Since this sort of thing sometimes happens, people often say that long-song should be listened to for at least one whole textual verse.

There are three main kinds of long-songs, often categorized by their length. The longest songs are called *aizam urtyn duu*, medium length songs *jiriin urtyn duu*, and the shortest songs are called *besreg urtyn duu*. Carole Pegg reports these terms in her book and translates them as “extended long-song” for *aizam urtyn duu* and “abbreviated long-song” for *besreg urtyn duu* (Pegg 2001: 44). However, instead of using the term *jiriin urtyn duu*, Pegg uses the term *tügeemel urtyn duu*, which she translates as “general long-song,” for the mid-length type of *urtyn duu*. Pegg also mentions two more terms for Mongolian folk song genres: *urtavtar bogin duu* (lengthened short-song) and *bogin duu* (short-song), for types of folk songs shorter than *besreg urtyn duu* (ibid.). *Bogin duu* (short-song) is a different genre of folk-song, not only because of its musical structures, but also because of its background and its lyrical content.<sup>9</sup> However, due to the contrasting features between long-song and

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<sup>9</sup> Short-song is a contrasting genre to long-song and would be worthwhile to research in its own right. While long-songs have free rhythm and more serious lyrical content,

short-song, short-song was also often played in performances in conjunction with long-songs. Categories of long-song and short-song are explored in more detail later in this chapter.

One interesting possible structure of long-song combines a short-song structure with a long-song structure, as in the song “Perfect Qualities” (*Ülemjiin chanar*). The distinction between the song’s two sections, and between its short- and long-song elements, is clearly seen from their differing metric character. Long-song has mainly free meter/free rhythm, while short-songs are much more strictly metrical. The following is a score of the song “Ülemjiin chanar.” (Figure 2)



Figure 2: “Perfect Qualities” (*Ülemjiin chanar*)  
(J. Dorjdagva 1970: 62)

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short-songs are musically much more strictly metrical and simpler. Under socialism, short-song was more encouraged than long-song.

This musical example is from the book *Long-song (Urtyn Duu)*, J. Dorjdagva 1970: 62). In this example, the first five lines are quite metric, while the last two lines are not. The first five lines have a short-song-like structure, but the last two lines have long-song-like characteristics. Regardless of its combination of the two, it is often considered a long-song, rather than a short-song. J. Dorjdagva's book, *Long-song*, has become a main long-song source collection in Mongolia and that to which long-song singers most frequently refer. The inclusion of this song seems easily to locate this song into the long-song category, though some have expressed the view that it is a short-song instead. One of my interviewees, Ü. Enkhjargal (36), a singer from Dundgov' *aimag*, says that it should be defined as a short-song because the long-song part was created relatively recently, being added to the song for concert performance. (Interview with Ü. Enkhjargal 07/24/2007)

Another interesting type of long-song is *khariltsaa duu* (dialogue song). The most popular example of this type is "The Old Man and the Bird" (*Övgön shuvuu*). In this song, the lyrical verses alternate between two characters, the old man and the bird. Unlike other long-songs, its lyrics are not descriptive or poetic, but rather consist of a dialogue between the man and the bird; the parts of the old man and of the bird are separated. Performance follows a remarkable procedure: some singers, such as D. Tuvshinjargal, sing both parts as a single song, but more frequently a singer sings only the man's part or the bird's part; that is, only half of the verses present in the lyrics.

### Melodic and Rhythmic Structure

The melodic structure of long-song is one of the special aspects of the genre. There are many different techniques and skills involved in the complicated melodic improvisation, ornamentation, and enunciation of vowels.

#### *Free rhythm*

A prominent feature of long-song's melodic structure is its free rhythm. This free rhythm is dictated not only by the singer's technical improvisation, but also by a manipulation of vowels that is related to the ornamentation and the function of the vowels. Singers often bring additional vowels into the lyrics as part of their improvisation, and that influences the lengths of the notes and the rhythmic pattern.

For a straightforward example, we take one of the most commonly performed songs, "Brown Brown Little Bird" (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*) (Example 2 and Figure 3). This is a *jiriin duu* (medium-length long-song) and there are various improvisational techniques used in it. It is interesting to see the contrast between the lyrics in the original text and the lyrics in the musical notation below. By adding several additional syllables into the lyrics, such as *ee*, *ekhii*, *shii*, *aa*, *gee* etc., the singer controls the rhythm and tempo in this song. In this example, as in many others, only the first half (two lines) of the textual verse is shown with the score, as the music is repeated for the second half of the verse; typically, the remaining text is given without music below the score (just as additional verses are often given in Western song scores).

Example 2: “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*)<sup>10</sup>

Verse (first half):

*Bor bor byalzuukhai*                      Brown Brown Little Bird  
*Boson suugaad jirgene.*                Stands there and sing

**БОР БОРЫН БЯЛЗУУХАЙ**  
*/төв халхын аялгуугаар/*

Зээ хүү бо бор бял-зуу-хай нь гээ аа бо-сон-хонсуу-гаа-гүй ээ ээ-хий ээ шүү ээ

Figure 3: “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*)  
 (Ts. Tuyatsetseg 2004: 15)

### *Phrasing*

Since this is a vocal genre with a free rhythmic structure, it is essential to understand the phrasing of the lyrics. Phrasing in *urtyn duu* is affected by a combination of breathing and vowel usage. The location of ornamentation and the kinds of ornamentation and techniques will vary according to how the melodic

<sup>10</sup> For the translation of these lyrics I have consulted with Simon Wickham-Smith, and Narantsogt Baatarkhuu.

phrasing is coordinated with the lyrics. For this reason, different phrasing is used by different singers. An example is the long-song called “Orphaned White Baby Camel” (*Önchin tsagaan botgo*), a common short-length long-song that is often learned by beginners. In their renditions of this song, two different singers, N. Norovbanzad and Sh. Chimedtseye, two of the most famous singers in Mongolia, sing what are considered by singers to be the “same” melodic lines, but their phrasing of lyrics is completely different. The following example shows the lyrics, which will allow more detailed explanation of the differences.

Example 3: Phrasing of “Orphaned White Baby Camel” (*Önchin tsagaan botgo*)<sup>11</sup>

Original text (half verse):

*Önchin tsagaan botgo n’  
Ölsökhiin erkheer builna*

The orphaned white camel  
Is bellowing with hunger.

In N. Norovbanzad’s version, the phrasing of the lyrics goes as follows:

*Önchin---tsa--gaa--n // bo--tgo--ni (e) //  
Ö--lsökhi---in erkhe--er// buil---na-- //*

In Sh. Chimedtseye’s version, the phrasing goes as follows:

*Önchin---- tsagaa--n bo---//t--go-- ni (ekhu)//  
Ölsökhi--(kh)in--- (//) erkhe-----er // buil-----na-- //*

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<sup>11</sup> For the translation of these lyrics I have consulted with Simon Wickham-Smith, and Narantsogt Baatarkhuu.

In the diagram above, “//” indicates a breath, and “-” shows improvised ornamentation. We can observe that N. Norovbanzad divided the second line in two, by taking two breaths, while Sh. Chimedtseye breathed three times in the second phrase, allowing for rather longer ornamentation. However, her first breath in the second line (marked as “(//)”) is rather subtle, while her other breath was longer and more obvious. Still more interestingly, Sh. Chimedtseye placed a breath within the word *botgo*, making this word three syllables (*bo-t(o)-go*) instead of two syllables (*bot-go*). Also within the word *tsagaan*, N. Norovbanzad sings this word as three syllables, while Sh. Chimedtseye sings it as two syllables (marked in bold above). As shown above, due to long-song’s characteristic free rhythm and individualistic phrasing, the relationship between the lyrics and the music itself is very close, and is an important aspect to be investigated.

#### Relations to the Lyrics

In long-song texts, usually within each *badag*, most of vowels are supposed to be in agreement. In the Mongolian language, vowels are considered to fall into two groups: *a*, *o*, and *u* are called back vowels and *ü*, *ö*, and *e*, are called front vowels, and *i* is a neutral vowel. The back vowels are usually considered male vowels and the front vowels are considered female vowels. Since the long-song lyrics are poetry, the vowels are supposed to be in harmony, meaning that once a verse begins with female vowels, most of the time it is supposed to stay with female vowels. So when singers improvise, they usually stick with same kind of vowels. This regulation is called *egshig tomokh*, meaning “vowel consistency.”

In addition to these vowel consistency rules, my observation reveals that certain particular vowels tend to be used in certain melodic locations. For example, *a*, *o*, and *i* vowels mostly appear when the melody rises, and with a strong sound, while *ü* (*y*) or *ü* (*y*) tend to appear during the technique called *shurankhai*, a falsetto-like technique. The kind of vowel chosen or emphasized depends on the singer's decision, but in the process of selecting the vowels for improvisation, singers seem to understand (or, perhaps, are supposed to understand) the *egshig tomokh* described above. It is a matter of habit or tendency, rather than requirement.

When actually listened for in performance of the songs, in fact, the vowels are difficult to distinguish or separate from each other. The reason for this is that one vowel moves into another vowel by means of extended ornamentation of the vowel sound, and the vowels naturally connect and become intertwined. The word *tomokh* in *egshig tomokh* literally means "the threads that are intertwined by hand." Thus, a preceding vowel may blend into the sound of the following vowel, rather than the vowels sounding independently.

Another technique is vowel dropping, *egshig yaltruulakh*. According to A. Alimaa, a long-song researcher, this technique has not only occurred with individual singers' choice of vowels, but also depended to some extent on the change of the Mongolian writing system from the classical Mongolian to the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. In this process, some of the vowels and syllables were dropped. If a vowel necessary for long-song performance was dropped, it made the song's performance more difficult. An example of this is a lyric like "*Alna saaxan unaa.*" The original form of this, in classical Mongolian, was "*Alnahan sazleen unnai.*" In the altered

version, the first word, “*Alna*,” can be sung as one syllable or two syllables. However, the original’s “*Alnahan*” can possibly be sung as two (*Alna-han*), three (*Al-na-han*), or even four (*Al-na-ha-n*) syllables. This can make a big difference. As another example, “*Jar-gal-tai*” comes from an original “*Ji-ru-gal-tai*,” which is four syllables as opposed to three. Thus, long-song singers have come to have fewer choices for improvisation in their singing due to this process.

### Melodic Modes

Mode has been already researched by some scholars (Nakagawa 1980 interview with G. Ryenchinsambuu 1/22/2009, Aalto 1962), who say that long-song is constructed from pentatonic scales. Nakagawa maintains that most long-songs are composed in anhemitonic pentatonic scales, and sometimes two different modes come together. I have observed this in long-songs such as “The Best Among Many” (*Tumen Ekh*) and “The Height” (*Asaryn öndör*). Figure 4 shows “The Height” (*Asaryn öndör*).



Figure 4: “The Height” (*Asaryn öndör*)  
(J. Dorjdagva 1970: 18)

As seen in Figure 4, there are two pentatonic modes: one consists of C, Eb, F, Ab, Bb, and the other consists of Bb, Db, Eb, Gb, and Ab.



In measures 14 through 16, the latter mode encroaches on the former mode, which creates a modulatory effect in these measures, caused by the appearance of Gb in measure 13 and 14, and Db in measure 16 (see the circled passages in Figure 3 above). The melody in these measures mainly moves in the first mode, but by using

the note Gb here, it effects a subtle modulation from one mode to another. This phenomenon is not common in the long-song tradition, but does sometimes occur. When it happens, it is easy to notice the deviation from the pentatonic modal patterns.

## LONG-SONG REPERTORY AND ITS CLASSIFICATION

Organizing and understanding the repertory of long-song has been one of the hardest, but most necessary, parts of my research. Many songs were forgotten during the socialist period, due to increasing preference for the Western classical music that came through Soviet influence and due also to subtle suppression of traditional music. What remains is quite limited, compared to what scholars in Mongolia estimate as about two thousand long-songs that existed before. The ways in which long-song has changed are described in more detail in Chapter Six, but here I explain briefly some classification systems and general features of the long-song repertory, together with an overview of archival materials.

### Classification I: Length, Contents, and Techniques

There are various ways of classifying long-song; by length, content of lyrics, region, or even individual style. The most common type of classification<sup>12</sup> is by the length of the long-song. There are three main kinds of long-songs, as classified by length. As I mentioned earlier, long-songs are categorized as *aizam urtyn duu*

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<sup>12</sup> The classification I present here is the one most people are talking about in contemporary Mongolia. However, this system has not simply been created by current scholars or singers. It has been known quite a long time, but the specific history is not yet studied or discussed.

(extended long-song), *jiriin urtyn duu* (medium-length long-song), *besreg urtyn duu* (abbreviated long-song), *urtavtar bogin duu* (lengthened short-song) and *bogin duu* (short-song). In Table I, I present two kinds of classifications, one by Pegg (2001: 44) and the other by A. Alimaa (personal interviews: 2007, 2009).

Table 1: Long-song Classification by Length, Contents, and Techniques

Length	Pegg		A. Alimaa	
Long	/		Long-song	<i>gür duu</i> (Tibetan Buddhist chant in long-song style)
	/			<i>shashdar duu</i> (Religious and philosophical long-song)
	Long-song	<i>aizam urtyn duu</i> (Extended long-song)		<i>aizam urtyn duu</i> (Extended long-song)
		<i>tügeemel urtyn duu</i> (Medium-length long-song)		<i>jiriin urtyn duu</i> (Medium-length long-song)
		<i>besreg urtyn duu</i> (Abbreviated long-song)	<i>besreg urtyn duu</i> (Abbreviated long-song)	
	Short	Short-song	<i>urtavtar bogin duu</i> (Lengthened short-song)	Closer to Long-song
<i>bogin duu</i> (Short-song)			Short-song	<i>bogin duu</i> (Short song)

*Urtavtar bogin duu* can be understood as “extended” short-songs according to Pegg, but can be also understood as a different kind of long-song, according to A. Alimaa. She argues that, *urtavtar bogin duu* (lengthened short-song), even if the name “*bogin duu*” means “short-song,” actually indicates a folk song genre that is closer to long-song. Alimaa explains that *urtavtar duu* (lengthened song) would be a

better term than *urtavtar bogin duu*, that is, an actual long-song in some ethnic groups. One well-known long-song researcher from Russia, D. Davaadjiya, went to several *aimag* and researched the Buryad and Darkhad ethnic groups who live mostly in the western part of Mongolia. He found that some *urtavtar duu* often appears among these ethnic groups. The common understanding among general long-song researchers, however, has been that these ethnic groups do not practice any long-song. Researchers have thought that folk songs among the Buryad or Darkhad were short and less ornamented. In his book, D. Davaadjiya illustrates the possibility that *urtavtar duu* can be classified as a kind of long-song. He distinguishes between *bogin duu* and *urtavtar duu* among the hundred songs he has collected. He explains that *urtavtar duu* is relatively longer than *bogin duu* among these ethnic groups, and it also has a great many long-song characteristics.

Due to the more extensive ornamentation characteristic of other long-song (as it appears within the Khalkh ethnic group), however, most long-song singers and researchers have not considered the Buryad or Darkhad songs to be long-songs. Despite this, musical decoration is present in *urtavtar duu* among the Buryad and Darkhad, but subtle. This way, classification becomes more a matter of how the song is performed, rather than its structure; the genre would become very flexible, defined in terms of length and decoration. If the singer sings a bit longer and extends the notes, then the songs become a short version of *urtyn duu*, which is *urtavtar duu*. Figure 5 is an example of Buryad *urtavtar duu*.

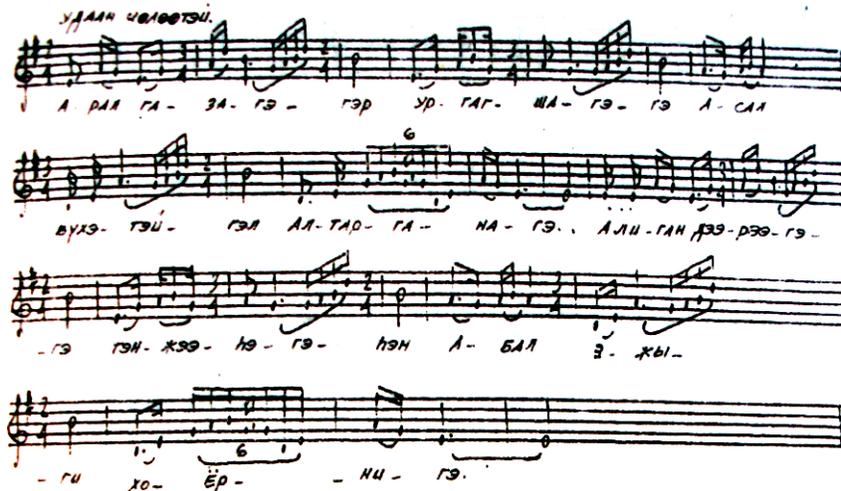


Figure 5: A Buryad *Urtavtar Duu*, “Altarna” (J. Badamdash 1998: 33)

As seen in the “Altarna” example above, these songs are rather simple and have short decorations. However, since most of folk songs in the Buryad, or Darkhad ethnic groups are short, some among these “short” folk songs stand out as being a bit longer, as is “Altarna.” For this reason, they belong to the *urtavtar duu* category. This means of categorization is very relative.

Some Buryad *urtavtar duu* are beautiful and rich in elements of the long-song genre, but the Khalkh tradition of long-song has been so dominant that Buryad *urtavtar duu* have usually been excluded from definitions of long-song. As Carole Pegg (2001: 7-8, 285-86) has emphasized, and as discussed in other Mongolian scholarship as well, ethnic diversity was suppressed during the socialist period, and as a result was forgotten until people started to be aware of it again in the 1990s.

#### *Aizam (urtyн) duu*

*Aizam duu* (extended long-song) used to be mainly sung as part of a *naadam* (feast). *Aizam duu* usually consists of thirty-two or thirty-eight *badag*, while *jiriin duu*

or *besreg duu* usually have two to ten *badag*. It is well known that *aizam duu* used to be sung often in the central Khalkh area, where there were a lot of ceremonies and many singers. Some of the eastern *aimag*, such as Khentii, Sükhbaatar, and Dornod have seen frequent singing of *aizam duu* as well, particularly at feasts. However, some of the ethnic groups that settled in eastern areas, such as Dariganga and Üzemchin, have relatively few *aizam duu*. In places that have many feasts, it is because there is a lot of the *airag* drink in the area, and also *naadam* were there (Interview with Ch. Skarkhüükhuen 10/16/2009). *Aizam duu* is clearly defined by length, but the contents of the songs are also usually about the country, the people, and other larger themes, while *jiriin duu* and *besreg urtyn duu* tend to be about nature, love, animals, and so on.

#### *Jiriin duu and Besreg urtyn duu*

*Jiriin duu* and *besreg urtyn duu* are relatively short in length. For this reason, *besreg* is usually practiced among beginners, and it also has easier techniques than *aizam duu*: some singing techniques, such as *shurankhai* (falsetto), appear in *aizam duu* or *jiriin duu*, but not in *besreg urtyn duu*. The way to distinguish among *aizam duu*, *besreg*, and *jiriin*, therefore, is not only by observing a song's length, but also its musical content. Frequently, each *badag* in an *aizam duu* has a different textual meaning and a different kind of lyrics. Some scholars, particularly linguists, think that individual *badag* from this genre developed later into separate *urtyn duu*, which have become different kinds of *jiriin* or *besreg urtyn duu*.

This seems possible, considering that most *aizam duu* start or finish with the word “*zee* (зээ),” while usually *jiriin* and *besreg duu* do not start or finish with *zee*. Typical examples of the styles of *aizam duu* and *jiriin duu* are shown below. The first example below, Figure 6, “The Morin Khuur Leads the Way” (*Khuuryн magnai*), is a famous *aizam duu*, and each verse starts with the word “*zee*.” Figure 7 below is “Elegant Dark Horse” (*Nariin khökh mor*), a typical example of *jiriin duu*, which does not include the word “*zee*.”

**ХУУРЫН МАГНАЙ**

1. Зээ хуур магнайн эгшгэнд  
     Хурсан бүгд даяараа  
     Ая түрлэгээ өргөж  
     Амар жаргалтай найрлая

2. Зээ Хангай хааны царманд  
     Хамаг өнгийн цэцэг  
     Ишээ дүүрээд ганхах нь  
     Хавтай сонин байдаг вэ?

3. Зээ Эрэвгэр багахан тэр минь  
     Тунгалаг талимаа нүдтэй  
     Үнэн зангаа загнаж  
     Эрвэлзэж сууна вай  
     Эрх хонгор мину зээ

4. Зээ Өгөөмрийн өвөрт  
     Өнгө сайтай замбага  
     Ишээ дүүрээд ургадаг нь  
     Нээрэн зүйтэй байдаг лаа

Figure 6: An Example of *Aizam duu* Lyrics  
 “The Morin Khuur Leads the Way” (*Khuuryн magnai*)  
 (D. Tserensodnom ed. 1984:16)

### НАРИЙН ХӨХ МОРЬ

1. Нарийн хөх бор нь  
Нарныхаа талд сойгоостой  
Настай болсон ээжидээ  
Намрын сэрүүнд золгоё доо
2. Өрөөлтэй ганц моринд  
Өвс нь үгүй говь бэ  
Өнчин бага насанд  
Өргөмж муутай хань вэ
3. Хазаартай ганц моринд  
Хамуур муутай говь бэ  
Хар бага насанд  
Халамж муутай хань вэ
4. Ачаатайхан тэмээг  
Алхлуулсанхан говь бэ  
Аян жингийн хүнийг  
Зүдрүүлсэнхэн говь бэ

Figure 7: An Example of *Jiriin duu* Lyrics  
“Elegant Dark Horse” (*Nariin khökh mor’*)  
(D. Tserensodnom ed. 1984: 112)

#### *Gür duu* and *Shashdar duu*

Other types of *urtyn duu* that have not been mentioned above are religious long-songs called *gür duu* and philosophical songs called *shashdar duu*. These two kinds of songs are usually considered more respectful songs than even *aizam duu*, since their contents are very religious and philosophical. They are rare genres, and have rarely been studied.<sup>13</sup> According to a long-song researcher, L. Erdenchimeg, *gür duu* contains religious lyrics and has existed since long before socialist period (Erdenchimeg, L. public presentation 1/22/2011). Also interestingly, this song type is not generally accompanied by horse-head fiddle, *morin khuur*, but more usually by a string zither, the *yatгаа*.

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<sup>13</sup> One of the long-song researchers in Mongolia, L. Erdenchimeg, has intensively studied the religious long-songs, the *gür duu*.

The above discussion has shown that factors in the overall categorization of long-songs are not limited to length, but also involve the contents of the lyrics, as well as influence from musical techniques. One of the reasons that *aizam duu* songs have extended length is because they include more melismatic decorations and elaborate musical techniques. Consequently, it requires high skill and high technique. For example, one of the vocal techniques, *shurankhai* (falsetto), rarely appears in *besreg urtyn duu*, the abbreviated long-song, because *shurankhai* is generally considered to be the climax of a long-song, and it needs long decorations to lead into the one note of *shurankhai* from the previous phrase. Abbreviated long-songs cannot have long phrases that are full of decorations, as in *aizam duu*. For this reason, some urban professional singers took *aizam duu* as their concert repertory rather than *jiriin duu* or *besreg duu*. But more professional singers selected *aizam duu* in order to demonstrate their musical technique than because they desired to express the meaning in it; the initial meaning of *aizam duu* has been disappearing.

There have been different perspectives between music scholars (or singers) and linguists on the boundaries of the various classifications. For example, one long-song, “Sun of the Gentle Universe” (*Uyakhan zambuu tiviin nar*), is usually classified as *aizam duu* among singers (for example, interview with Dorj 1/18/2010). This song was one of the main pieces of the famous long-song singer N. Norovbanzad, who could improvise a great many techniques and decorations within the broad range of her vocality. The younger generations of long-song singers who have followed N. Norovbanzad today often adopt her improvisational styles, and they certainly consider it to be a rather “extended long-song,” due to the virtuosic skills that are

required for this song. In contrast, from the linguistic point of view, this song is not categorized as *aizam duu* (Tserensodnom, D. ed. 1984: 4-7); neither the contents nor the length would be considered representative of *aizam duu* (Interview with A. Alimaa 1/3/2010).

The classification of long-songs, therefore, is still a complicated issue, and there needs to be further study to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of both their musical and lyrical aspects. In addition, the discussion and its results should be understood within the transitional context of the musical culture in Mongolia overall, so as to develop an understanding of the perspectives of both the musical and lyrical sides.

#### Classification II: Regional (Musical Styles)

Another type of long-song classification that is common among Mongolians is regional classification. Different long-songs from different regions have diverse and dissimilar musical styles, different melodies, and different legends surrounding them, and distinct lyrics as well. Singers tend always to be aware of regional classification, and they often announce what regional version of a song they are about to sing. However, the various regional styles were blended together over the course of the socialist period, since the new urban style based on that of the central Khalkh was born in the process of urbanization as a result of sovietization. In consequence, there have historically been several different methods of classification according to regional distinction. Indeed, following a regional classification brings categorization more in line with classification from the musical perspective.

Depending on the region, long-song melodies and musical styles are divided into eastern styles (Bayanbaraat melody [*Baraatyn ayalguu*]), western styles, and central styles (Borjgin melody [*Borjgin ayalguu*]) (Samfildendev and Yatskovskaya 1984: 7). The eastern and central (Bayanbaraat, and Borjgin) region does not cover the western three *aimag*, Uvs, Khovd and Bayan-ölgii provinces (see the map in the beginning of this dissertation).<sup>14</sup>

In these three western *aimag*, some of the ethnic groups, such as Darkhad and Buryad, settled in the area, and the central Khalkh did not consider the songs of the Darkhad or Buryad people to be “long-song” by their definition. Rather, they called them *urtavtar duu*, which means extended short-song. Thus, generally the melodies were divided into two groups: eastern melodies and western melodies.

“Western” melody actually refers to the melodic style of the middle areas of Mongolia (and ethnically Khalkh dominant area), such as Bayankhongor, Arkhangai, Khövsgöl, Övörkhantai, Bulgan, Dundgov’, Töv *aimag*, and so on. (Refer to the map in the beginning of this dissertation). Particularly in one of these regions, Dundgov’ *aimag*, the home of several famous singers including N. Norovbanzad, songs are sub-

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<sup>14</sup> This regional classification of *aimag* is rather recent, and the division of *aimag* that is currently used in Mongolia does not have a long history. One long-song scholar, S. Bogdochir, claimed in an interview with me (Interview with S. Bogdochir 11/29/2009) that the long-song categories should be divided not by the current regional division of *aimag*, but rather by the regional divisions of the past, since that would reveal a more understandable way of classifying long-song styles. The earlier provinces consisted of four areas; Zasagt khan, Tüsheet khan, Sain noyo khan, and Tsetsen khan. Zasagt khan included the current provinces of Khovd, Uvs, and Gobi-altai; Tüsheet khan included Arkhangai, Zavkhan, Bayankhongor, and part of Övörkhantai; Sain noyo khan covered part of Övörkhantai, Khövsgöl, and Dundgov’ Dornogov’; and Tsetsen khan included the current provinces of Dornod, Sükhbaatar, Khentii.

categorized in two types by melodic and musical style—Borjgin and Bayanbaraat.<sup>15</sup> These two styles originated from different parts of Dundgov’ province. Borjgin is well-known as the area where the scenery of rocks and mountains is rather sophisticated and detailed, and which is well reflected in its music. Bayanbaraat style is rather more straightforward and rather less decorative, which makes it closer to central Khalkh style. This categorization is well described in the J. Dorjdagva’s book, *Urtyn duu (Long-song)*; J. Dorjdagva 1970).

Eastern provinces, for the purposes of long-song categorization, are the Dornod, Sükhbaatar, and Khentii *aimag*. Within the eastern *aimag* style of long-songs, there exist several subtle differences in musical style, depending on which regions and ethnic groups the song belongs to. For example, one of the songs commonly sung in the eastern *aimag* is “The Bright Steppe” (*Saruul tal*). Currently, this song is frequently sung in Ulaanbaatar in the central Khalkh style, although it was originally sung in the eastern *aimag* among members of the Üzemchin ethnicity.

A comparison of the two different styles shows differing melody and lyrical improvisations. The following examples are from two songs that I found during my fieldwork in 2007. The first example, “Saruul tal,” was performed by Kh. Erdentseteg, a city singer originally from the Dundgov’ area, where Bayanbaraat and Borjgin styles tend to dominate. The second example is from an Üzemchin singer, S. Hishgee (74) in Sükhbaatar. In a comparison between these two examples, although there are subtle musical differences, the lyrical differences are more distinct (bold text shows differences).

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<sup>15</sup> The terms can also indicate regional names and ethnic cultures as well as the musical styles.

Example 4: Kh. Erdentsetseg's Lyrics<sup>16</sup>

*Saruul talbig baikhad khöö* (Саруул талбайг байхад хөө)  
*Shavartai ch Namgiig medeeggüi* (Шавартай ч намгийг мэдээгүй)

Translation:

**When** there is bright steppe  
I did not know there were mud and marsh

Example 5: S. Hishgee's Lyrics

*Saruul tal baiv chig* (Саруул тал байв чиг)  
*Shavartai namgtaig ni güüreegüi* (Шавартай намагтайг нь гүүрээгүй)

Translation:

**Even** there is bright steppe  
I did not know there were mud and marsh

In these two lyrics, the only difference is between the word *medeeggüi* in the first and *güüreegüi* in the second, which mean “when” and “even,” respectively. Because of this difference, however, the lyrics are somewhat different in meaning. The first lyrics imply that there is something dangerous ahead even if it is masked by the appearance of a fine steppe, while the second lyrics say that even this beautiful field once had hard times.

Improvisation is not limited to the lyrics of the song; it occurs on the musical side as well. To illustrate the melodic variations between different regional styles, I will introduce one simple example here. Figure 8 shows two versions of a long-song,

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<sup>16</sup> For the translation of these lyrics I have consulted with M. Saruul-Erdene and A. Alimaa.

as demonstrated by Sh. Ölziibaat (55), a Borjgin singer, and they show the difference between Borjgin and Bayanbaraat style (Interview with Sh. Ölziibaat 01/09/2010).

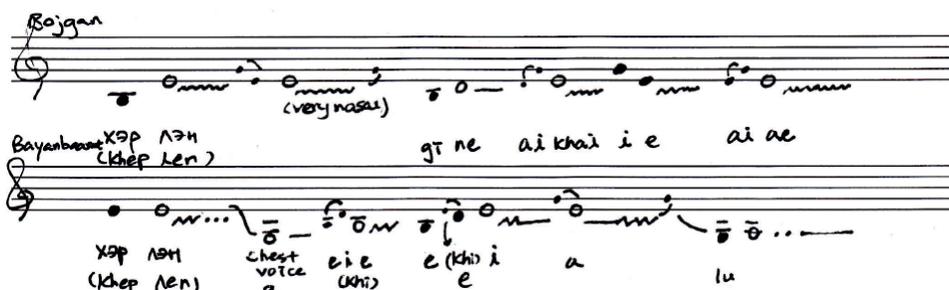


Figure 8: “The View of the Kherlen River”(Kherlengiin bar’ya); Partial Examples of Borjgin version and Bayanbaraat version

The upper staff in Figure 8 is the Borjgin melody, and the lower one the Bayanbaraat melody. In this transcription, we first notice that the melodies are somewhat different in starting tone, ending tone, and contour. Secondly, the two have different ornamentation. The Borjgin melody features smaller, more subtle ornamentation with nasal sound transcribed as the symbol *~~~~~*, while the Bayanbaraat version shows more straight-forwardly presented notes without much ornamentation (transcribed as *W...W* or *—W*). There are, of course, more such variations according to region and ethnic groups, but this must be left for future research.

Another reason to classify long-songs by regional style, apart from their relation to their environment as I explained above in the case of Borjgin and Bayanbaraat, has to do with the legends on which the long-song lyrics are based. In Mongolia, particular areas have characteristic legends that have endured for a long time, and the long-songs from those areas are often related to these legends. For

example, the song “Jaakhan sharga” is based on a legend of the Dariganga people who usually resided in Naran *sum* and Ongon *sum*; “Jaakhan sharga” is analyzed in relation to legend and its meaning in context in Chapter Six. Another example is a song called “Tooroi band,” also from an eastern part of Mongolia, Sükhbaatar *aimag*. The legends usually show a connection to certain places or certain people in the region with which they are associated, so that people really understand the song as coming from the town or the ethnic group involved.

Regional classification is important, because it shows how people understand and perceive their own songs. This classification reveals that different regions’ singers make different styles of music and lyrics. Different contents and structures of songs brings with them different musical techniques. As Mongolia has experienced the transitional time from the socialist period to contemporary capitalistic Mongolia, however, views on regional styles have also been modified. The regional styles had been in retreat during the socialist period, but they started a revival after 1990 and are now even encouraged.

## THE PROCESS OF MUSIC-MAKING

### Learning Context and Singing Ability

Most of the singers I have interviewed, especially in the countryside, learned singing from their mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, or uncle. They listened to songs at feasts and tried to follow and imitate what they heard; this is the traditional method of transmission for long-song, and it is not systematic. A singer from Bulgan *aimag* answered my questions about how he studies long-song:

“There are no specific learning methods. I’ve heard singing from my father singing in feasts, and I heard certain songs several times and remembered. Even when I was small, I was sitting on my grandfather’s knee and following his singing.” (Interview with Kh. Dalkhjav 12/15/2009)

Another way of learning and practicing long-song was to listen to animal sounds. E. Kurelbaatar (37) from Nalaikh area, who is a singing teacher for children in the Nalaikh theater, emphasized to me that the children who learn singing in the city do not know where the long-song actually came from. He then explained that in the countryside they used to follow the animals and sing along with the herding sounds of the animals, which made good practice for long-song. In his demonstration, there were four animals: lamb, goat, horse, and cow (Interview with E. Khurelbaatar 09/09/2009). In my interview with L. Ragchaa, a seventy-year-old female long-song singer in the Darkhan area, she showed me more musical details in the way of singing these animal sounds. She demonstrated how singers imitate the sound of several animals, as seen in the following chart (Interview with L. Ragchaa 12/15/2009).

Table 2: Imitations of the Sound of Animals

Animal	Sound
Sheep	<i>Tolgoo</i>
Cow	<i>Kurai</i>
Goat	<i>Jig</i> <i>Zuzu</i>
Horse	<i>Gurai</i> or <i>Khurai</i>
Herder's Sound	<i>Ju geo</i>

L. Ragchaa added some of the frequently-used glottal ornamentations into these animal-imitating sounds in her demonstration. From these imitations, it appears that most long-song vocal technique is closely related to animal sounds. In fact, a great deal of long-song content describes or contains stories about animals. It seems that the older generation of singers learned much about the techniques and emotions of long-song by imitating animals.

The long-song singers' vocal ranges are impressively broad, and their sound is full of strength and volume. Most people listening to long-song singing express their amazement at the singer's voice technique and vocality. In Mongolia, there are certain ways of selecting possible singers. Long-song singers are selected when they are young—about four to five years old—which also happens to be the time when they start riding a horse. When most Mongolian children start riding, they sing a chant called “*gingoo*”. If a child's voice is particularly excellent while he or she is singing the *gingoo*, then he or she is marked as a future singer. For this reason, most of the singers I met during my fieldwork knew the *gingoo*, and were very proud of themselves for knowing it.

The “*gingoo*” is sung in different regional styles and with different names. For example, some regions call this song “*um marzai*.” Ch. Sharkhüükhen, a professional long-song singer who used to be a theater singer in Khentii *aimag*, said that she used to sing *um marzai* instead of *gingoo*. According to her explanation, *um marzai* has more religious content (Interview with Ch. Sharkhüükhen 10/16/2009).

It seems that “*gingoo*” was not often sung during the socialist period, and now it is left only in certain areas. Pegg discusses the *gingoo* of N. Norovbanzad and Dad’surn in her book:

Two famous Borjigin [Borjgin] long-song performers, Norovbanzad and Dad’surn, used this to get started. Norovbanzad (IN) was noted for her performance of *gingoo* as a child. In line with the Mongolian belief that skills are inherited from the “second mother” who delivers the child, people say of Norovbanzad “Your second mother, Tavhai, was a good singer, therefore, it’s right that you are.” Tavhai was such a good singer, in fact, that people in Deren district, Middle Gobi, composed poetry about her. Dad’suren (IN) explained the most Mongolian children ride as soon as they can walk and that they was constantly horse back from the age of four years. When he reached seven, he began both to race and to perform *gingoo*. His parents were herders, and good long-song singers and when they heard how good he was at singing *gingoo*, they suggested that he begin to perform long-songs. (Pegg, 2002: 48-49)

In former times, once they were selected as possible future long-song singers, children learned some songs at the feast, and then were usually picked to sing in it as well. There was not formalized vocal practice, and young singers practiced by listening to others singing and imitating the animal sounds as described above. However, as time went on, during the socialist period and continuing afterward as the society was urbanized, singers began immigrating into urban contexts and started

being trained in an institutional system.<sup>17</sup> As part of the influence of this institutional system of education, one of the distinctive features of long-song—improvisation—has been weakened. Next follows a discussion of this feature of long-song in general.



Figure 9: Mongolian Children in Horse Racing in Naadam Festival, Dundgov' *aimag*, 2007.

### Individual Improvisation and Vocal Technique in Long-song

Improvisation, called *gütgeleg* in Mongolian, is illustrated in Mongolian context, according to N. Jantsannorov, as something unusual that is added beyond the skeletal musical structure, particularly among skillful singers (Jantsannorov, N. 2005: 22-25). This practice often appeared in traditional long-song contexts such as feasts, and it was more common in old times. As I showed earlier, improvisation happens on two levels, lyrics and music. Improvisation applied to lyrics is rather rare (it was by serendipity that I encountered the earlier example I provided about the song “Saruul Tal”). However, musical improvisation is more common. In the earlier

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<sup>17</sup> This is described in more detail in Chapter Five.

example, “Orphaned White Baby Camel” (*Önchin tsagaan botgo*) was performed with different ways of phrasing by two different singers, N. Norovbanzad and Sh. Chimedtseye. Most of the time, lyrics are fixed, but singers make their own improvisational style of singing the melody, which is commonly known to singers in its basic form. In other words, when they improvise the long-songs, they usually think about the *ayalguu* (melody) they have to be based on. They need to consider the regional style they are working with, and then invent their own individual ornamentations, which constitute the improvisation. In their individual improvisation, then, singers do not change the underlying melody, but ornament it according to their skills, imagination, and vocal ability. A singer who takes long-breaths can make more decoration of each note, for example.

The following transcription, Figure 8 from Nakagawa (1980: 313) shows different types of ornamentation, indicated by symbols such as  and . Although two symbols both indicate vibrato, there are subtle differences between them. The first symbol represents a vibrato with lesser, gentler movement, while the second symbol indicates a vibrato with rougher movement using a more glottal sound. Application to the singing of the many different existing techniques is the main means of improvisation in long-song.

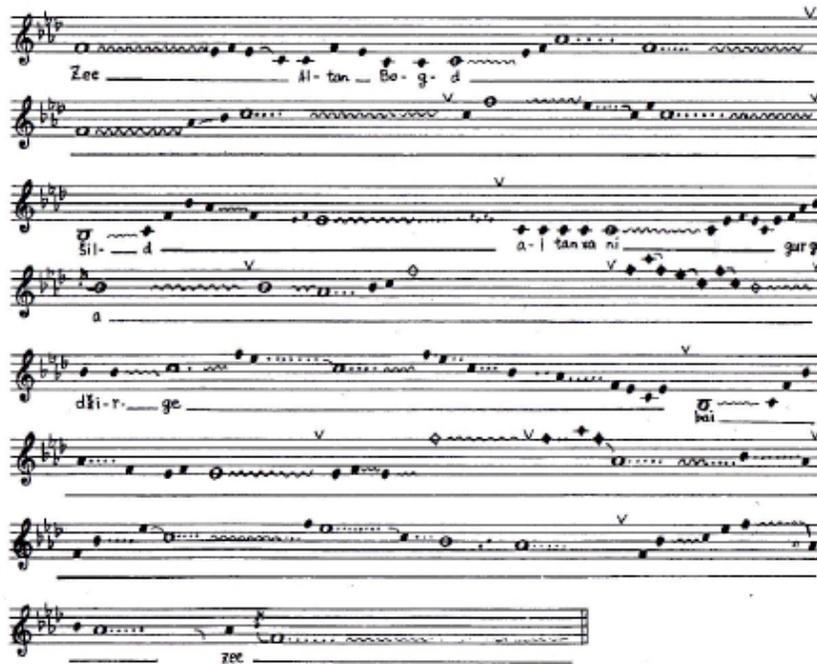


Figure 10: “The Crest of Altan Bogd” (*Altan bogdyn shil*)  
(Nakagawa 1980: 313)

The kinds of vocal techniques that relate to vowel improvisation are usually called *chimeglel*, meaning “decoration.” There are numerous techniques of *chimeglel*, and also various ways of using the techniques. Nevertheless, there seems to be quite a limited vocabulary for those.<sup>18</sup> The most frequently mentioned long-song techniques among current singers are *shurankhai*, *tsokhilt*, and *bönjignökh*.

*Shurankhai* is similar to the Western vocal technique of falsetto, but lighter and more transparent. *Shurankhai* will normally appear only once or twice in a long-song. Sometimes, though, *shurankhai* may repeat two or three times; especially, a double *shurankhai* is called *davkhar shurankhai*. This double or triple reiteration of

<sup>18</sup> Even singers themselves do not have accurate concepts of all *chimeglel* when they try to explain them. Sometimes these techniques come very naturally and seem to be hard to explain. One of the most comprehensive books about *chimeglel* is by N. Jantsannorov (2005).

*shurankhai* is considered a much more difficult technique than single *shurankhai*. *Shurankhai* often appears in *aizam duu* and sometimes in *jiriin duu*. It does not appear in *besreg duu* at all.

*Tsokhilt* and *bönjignökh* are both techniques of vibrato. *Tsokhilt* vibrato involves a larger movement of rolling notes, while *bönjignökh* uses a much smaller and lighter movement of rolling notes. *Tsokhilt* also uses roughness, like pounding the throat, while *bönjignökh* is more like a tremolo. In the case of Nakagawa Shin's transcription, the symbol  is *tsokhilt* and the symbol  is *bönjignökh*. If *tsokhilt* is done with a chest sound, it is called *tseejnii tsokhilt*, meaning “*tsokhilt* in chest voice,” while if it is done with a more glottal sound, it is called *tövönkhiin tsokhilt*. These techniques are used independently, but singers may use them in combination as well. For example, a singer might start with *tövönkhiin tsokhilt* first, then transform it into *tseejnii tsokhilt* or vice versa. Sometimes one note starts as *bönjignökh*, but then it stops and is held for a few seconds before moving on to another note. The opposite also happens; a note might begin as a straight note, but finish as *bönjignökh*.

While interviewing and learning from Sh. Chimedtseye, I found her working on several more interesting techniques and her way of notating these techniques. For example, she explained one of the techniques, called *davkhikh khödölgöön*, meaning “galloping movement,” for which she used the symbols . This is often found in notes that end one phrase and prepare the next. The *Bönjignökh* movement is explained and is written with the symbol  by Sh. Chimedtseye. She notated *Tsokhilt* in two ways, depending whether it is from the chest *tsokhilt* () or throat

*tsokhilt* ( ~~~ ). The transition from *tseejnii tsokhilt* to *tövönkhiin tsokhilt* explained above is indicated by the symbol , and the opposite transition is indicated by the symbol .<sup>19</sup>

I have described here only a selection of long-song techniques. Long-song singers combine and improvise with these and other techniques, forming their own varieties of improvisation, and there are many techniques that have not yet been studied and explained in scholarly studies.

#### LONG-SONG IN RELATION TO INSTRUMENTS

Current long-songs for concert use are always accompanied by the *morin khuur*, the horse head fiddle. However, most long-songs may also be sung solo, particularly in the countryside, where the stage tradition is not followed. Since the stage tradition started during the socialist period, it formalized the practice of accompanying the singing with the *morin khuur*. When singers play with a *morin khuur*, the *morin khuur* player basically follows the singer's melody and improvisation. However, if the singer is a beginner and needs to be guided, then the *morin khuur* may take the lead.

Some songs are accompanied by a flute called the *limbe*, and some of the *gür duu* are accompanied by a strong zither, the *yatga*. Under the socialist party guidance, some songs were accompanied by a Western orchestra. For example, some of the N.

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<sup>19</sup> All those symbols, and some of the terms, were created by Sh. Chimedtseye. I have only given a partial description of her work because it is from a book that she is expecting to publish soon. I would like to acknowledge here that she shared it with me through our interview. My further research in cooperation with her will be continued in the future.

Norovbanzad recordings that have been released on commercial CDs include those styles of accompaniment.

#### BOGIN DUU AS A CONTRAST TO LONG-SONG

The term *bogin duu*, as a reminder of the earlier description, is translated as short-song in English, and is a different genre from long-song. While *urtyn duu* is mostly characterized by creating, decorating, and manipulating vowels, *bogin duu* is more metric and has no drawn-out vowel sounds. Also, my interviews with singers indicated that the short-song is more for female singers than for male singers. *Bogin duu*, due to the metric nature of the singing, is accompanied by an ensemble rather than being sung by itself or with only the *morin khuur*.

Pegg shows that short-song, unlike long-song, was clearly included in performances and celebrations as a standard genre, along with modern composed songs, during the socialist period (Pegg 2001: 256). From my many interviewees, I gathered that the socialist party did not take a negative view of *bogin duu* as compared to long-song, since the themes are much lighter and not related to the religious or old Mongolian values. Also it was much easier to co-ordinate with Western musical elements. Most of all, *bogin duu* was not as emotionally or philosophically closely associated with older traditional culture in the Mongolians' imagination. As a result, *bogin duu* was able to merge more effectively into socialist society and thrive. *Bogin duu* lyrics are much more apt to reflect various aspects of the socialist transition and survived more easily.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> From this perspective, *bogin duu* would be a useful research topic by which to further investigate change and continuity, particularly under the socialist period.

## MUSICAL REMAINS AS IMPORTANT RESOURCES

The overall characteristics of long-song mentioned previously are the features that I collected and observed during my fieldwork in contemporary Mongolia. What was found in my research could be not only the continuation of earlier forms of Mongolian long-song, but also what has been already much transformed. However, there are a lack of studies and materials for comparing one long-song with another in terms of chronology, and it is difficult to study the historical path of long-song musical characteristics, since this has always been in oral tradition form. However, two good sources for researching musical traces of earlier long-songs are the archival sound recording collections and some printed sources extant in current Ulaanbaatar. The following description gives a basic, but essential preparation for the archival analysis of transformation of long-song musical style in Chapter Six.

### The Long-song Sound Recording Collections in Current Mongolia

Long-song was not notated formally until the first songbook, *Folk Long-song* (*Ardyn urtyn duunuud*, hereafter S. Tsoodol's book), compiled by S. Tsoodol and published in 1959, containing 49 long-songs transcribed in Western staff notation. Most long-song song books published during the socialist period, however, contained only lyrics, and not musical notation. Since it is an oral tradition, there was no notation system, especially for long-song, until people started to use the lyrical notation I introduced earlier in this chapter. Even then, this lyrical notation is used for the singers' own practice, not for preservation or transmission per se.

The recording process of long-songs for the intended purpose of preservation

started when Soviet power came to Mongolia. The Soviet Union brought several scholars, especially folklorists, into Mongolia to research Mongolian culture, mainly between the 1950s and the 1970s, but with some continuation later. In the process, they cooperated with native scholars and became the first people to explore and preserve Mongolia's oral traditions, including folksongs such as the long-songs. The Soviet Union's reasons for supporting this scholarship might have been political and ideological, but Mongolians today consider it to have been a good thing since it generated critically important research materials and cultural sources for contemporary Mongolia. This body of recordings and transcriptions includes most of the collections relevant to current long-song singers' studies. Currently, the two most biggest and most frequently used archival collections in Mongolia are located in the Mongolian Academy of Science Archive Collection and in the Mongolian National Broadcaster [Broadcasting] (*Mongolyn үндэсний олон нийтийн телевиз*) radio archive collection.

#### *Mongolian Academy of Science Archive collection*

The first collection to be introduced here is the body of recordings deposited in the Institute of Language and Literature (*Khel Zokhiolyn Khüüreelen*, hereafter ILL), as a part of the Mongolian Academy of Science (*Mongol Uls Shinjlekh Ukhaany Academy*, hereafter MAS). This collection consists of examples of all kinds of Mongolian oral traditions, such as *tuul'* (heroic epics), *magtaal* (praises), *yerööl* (wishes), *domog* (legends), *yaria* (talks), *ülger* (legendary epics), and folksongs, including long-song and short-song. These oral traditions were recorded on reel-to-

reel tape, with text transcriptions of their contents written on paper and deposited in separate containers.

This collection was gathered by Russian scholars in coordination with native scholars, mostly linguists and folklorists, between 1954 and 1992. The recordings stopped when the socialist government collapsed, and there was no further research support from the Soviet Union. The recordings were made during several “expeditions,”<sup>21</sup> in which the institution sent out research teams to all regions of Mongolia, twice a year, to collect all possible oral traditions. 571 folk songs<sup>22</sup> are included, counting both short-songs and long-songs. The materials were deposited, but never catalogued until 2004, when A. Alimaa completed the catalogues of this recording collection.

The long-songs in this collection were gathered from all regions of Mongolia, particularly focusing on the countryside. The catalogues as well as the recordings provide detailed information, recording year, song title, singer’s name, gender, age, and ethnicity, the region where the recording was made, and information on what kind of melody it is, if necessary. The singing, most of the time, is supplemented by verbal explanation of the related legends. Since the expedition teams went to a variety of regions—more to the countryside than to urban areas—the collection also features a variety of pieces and different regional styles that existed during the socialist period.

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<sup>21</sup> The term “expedition” is used here because the researchers in MAS used this word themselves to describe their research trips. Originally, they used the Russian word, “*ekhspidits*” (экспедиция).

<sup>22</sup> I included all other long-song collections found during the field research in the appendix to this dissertation. However, I could not include this ILL/MAS collection, simply because of the huge number of recordings in its long-song repertory.

This is the biggest archive of recorded long-song and related materials to have been established so far in Ulaanbaatar. In particular, this collection contains the long-songs of certain regional or ethnic styles that have since died out, the long-song collections of long-song singers in the countryside who are no longer living. I found out during my fieldtrips to the countryside that most of the singers appearing in the recordings have either passed away or moved away from the original region, and I was unable to locate and meet any singers from the catalogue when I went to their respective regions.

In addition, I found out during my fieldwork, particularly in the Sükhbaatar and Dundgov' areas, that certain long-songs that often appeared in the recordings are not sung quite as frequently today. For example, one of the long-songs in the MAS collection from Sükhbaatar *aimag* was called “Elegant Yellowish Horse” (*Nariin Sharga*), and it appears numerous times, sung by several singers from several *sum* districts within Sükhbaatar *aimag*. However, according to my interviews with singers in Sükhbaatar, no one sings the song “Elegant Yellowish Horse” anymore, and no one even mentioned this piece as being in their repertory. I have found this disappearance of songs to be a common phenomenon in my investigation; when most of the singers of a song have died, the song clearly has followed the fate of the singers.

I have identified several songs that did not often appear in the recording collections, but which are found very frequently among the current singers. For example, songs like “A Fine and Ancient Destiny” (*Ertnii saikhan*), “Sun of the Gentle Universe” (*Uyakhan zambutiviin naran*), “Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves” (*Tsombon tuuraitai khüren*), and “Small Yellowish Flecked Horse” (*Shalzat*

*Baakhan Sharga*) are frequently found among current Sükhbaatar singers' repertory. However, these songs are not performed by any of the Sükhbaatar *aimag* singers found in the recordings of the MAS collection. Rather, they are found in other regions: "A Fine and Ancient Destiny (*Ertnii saikhan*)" is found often in Dornod *aimag*, Dundgov' *aimag*, and Ömnögov' *aimag*; "Sun of the Gentle Universe" (*Uyakhan zambutiviin naran*) and "Small Yellowish Flecked Horse" (*Shalzat Baakhan Sharga*) are found mostly in Dundgov' and Töv *aimag*. "Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves (*Tsombon tuuraitai khüren*)" is now a very well-known long-song among city singers and thought to be an eastern (mainly Sükhbaatar) area song, although it only found in Zavkhan *aimag* (western area of Mongolia) in the MAS recording collection. This is another good example to show how the long-song pieces have moved around, from region to region, over the past several decades. The disappearance of certain songs and reappearance of certain songs are interesting and related aspects of change in the long-song tradition.

As shown above, the MAS collection has been an important resource for long-song research in terms of the amount that that it contains—571 different long-song titles with some being recorded multiple times, and exemplifying a variety of regional styles that are now almost gone. Also, it shows the same songs in different versions by different singers. The material, however, was poorly preserved in the past and has suffered damage.<sup>23</sup> The entire collection was made possible by strong socialist government financial support through the MAS, which stopped in 1990.

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<sup>23</sup> As of 2010, the materials were in a quite damaged condition, and they are now under lock and key, with the only possible access by permission from the MAS director's office.

Subsequently, a catalogue of the recordings was published in 2004 as two volumes. The first volume is titled *Registration of Written Materials Kept by Collection of Mongolian Folklore and Local Dialects* (compiler's translation; *Mongol aman zokhiol nutgiin ayalguuny khömrögiin бүртгөл*). The second volume is named *Registration of Magnetic Tape Records Kept by Collection of Mongolian Folklore and Local Dialects (Mongol aman zokhiol nutgiin ayalguuny khömrögiin бүртгөл)*. The first volume was catalogued by A. Alimaa and B. Katuu, the second by A. Alimaa alone. The collection has been divided into two types of materials, as shown by the two volumes of the catalogue; sound recordings and transcriptions. The collections of documents that come with each sound recording are mostly transcriptions of the texts of songs or other oral traditions.

In the introduction to the sound recording catalogue, A. Alimaa introduced the aims of the expeditions and recordings that were suggested when the collection was made:

1. ... to delegate researchers for collecting folk materials and informing about folk tellers [story tellers].
2. To organize scientific expeditions in [the] countryside and [various] regions.
3. To invite folk [story] tellers [to the] Institute of Language and Literature and record from them their folk heritage.
4. To concentrate social attention for surveys and collecting [of] folklore.
5. To buy [obtain] folk songs and written heritage from the people.  
(Translated by G. Gansükh, quoted in, A. Alimaa 2004: 9)

#### *Mongolian National Broadcaster (MNB) Radio Collection*

While MAS has been a very important collection of song materials from the countryside, there is another massive long-song collection deposited in another place

in Ulaanbaatar—Mongolian National Broadcaster [Broadcasting] (*Mongolyn үндэсний олон нийтийн телевиз*, hereafter MNB). In contrast to MAS, this collection was mainly recorded in Ulaanbaatar, from the 1960s to the 1990s. While the MAS collection has been a main source for researchers, the MNB collection has been a main source used by current Mongolian singers in their studying.

The MAS collection is more focused on regional singers, and the MNB collection consists of long-songs that have frequently appeared in current long-song performance venues such as song-competitions, concert, and also educational programs. The repertory of the MNB collection is also found more frequently among current professional singers in Ulaanbaatar or countryside singers who often listen to the radio or travel to Ulaanbaatar.

The MNB collection was compiled in two ways. First, the recording team, consisting of music scholars (mainly Mongolians but also Soviet scholars) and sound engineers, went to the countryside cultural centers in *sum* or *aimag* and called on the theatre singers or other talented singers in the area to come and record their singing. K. Khirvaa, who was the first sound engineer at MNB in the 1960s, but is now retired, described how the collecting took place. She said that “we went out to the countryside and recruited the singers from the countryside to record the songs” (Interview with K Khirvaa 1/8/2010). She also said that the process of collection was supported by the government.

The second way of the creating the collection was to record singers who came to Ulaanbaatar for performing in major concerts or for participating in competitions. When they came to Ulaanbaatar, then they were called to make recordings, which

were then deposited in the MNB collection. There was a big hall that was used to record the singers (see picture below, Figure 11). Most of the singers found in this collection either still survive, or have been actively involved in musical activities in Ulaanbaatar, or were one of the legendary singers I discussed in the previous chapter.



Figure 11. MNB Performing and Recording Hall

The MNB collection does not have a published catalogue, but there are logs where one can find for each recording the name of the song, singer, singer's title, when the recording was made, and the duration of the recording. Interestingly, the record of the singer's name was always written together with the singer's rank, while no records of rank are found in the MAS collection. There are two volumes of logs for the MNB collection, both of which are handwritten. The MNB collection contains not only long-songs, but other folksongs as well, such as short-songs, composed folk-types of songs (*zokhiolyn duu*), and so on. The recording deposit years run from the

earliest in 1958<sup>24</sup> to the last in 1997. There are not many recordings from the 1980s and 1990s. Rather, most of recordings are concentrated in the 1960s and 1970s.

Interesting for me in the logs was that different dates of recording and of deposit were listed for the recordings. I wondered why and was been told by several people who were working at the time for MNB that it was common that each recording had to go through certain personnel to be approved. It was deposited once it was approved. In short, it is very obvious that there was censorship.

In this collection, there are about 180 long-song titles with some being recorded multiple times and sung by numerous singers who came from many different regions at different times. However, there are significantly more repeated names here than in the MAS collection. There are names that appear frequently, such as S. Tsoodol, S. Sügljmaa, B. Lakhamjav, and, most frequently, J. Dorjdagva. A few of Norovbanzad's recordings are also found, but not frequently as the other singers just mentioned.<sup>25</sup> Among the singers who are still alive are S. Sum'ya, Ch. Sharkhüükhen, D. Battömör, and Sh. Chimedtseye. From the list of singers' names, it seems clear that most of this collection was recorded by singers who were defined as "professional." This clearly shows the different aims and processes of the MNB collection and the MAS collection.

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<sup>24</sup> There are only four recordings made in the 1950s in the MNB collection. The song names are "The Brownest of Amblers" (*Khüren khürengiin joroo*), recorded in 1958 and "The Height of Bogd Mountain" (*Bogdyn öndör*), "Small Yellowish Horse" (*Jaakhan sharga*), and "Mandal Juujaa" (a person's name), recorded in 1959.

<sup>25</sup> As I illustrate in Chapter Five, N. Norovbanzad is a legendary figure as long-song singer not only in Mongolia but also in the world at large. She became a very prominent singer in Mongolia because she participated in a singing competition in Russia and won. After that, she was famous for presenting Mongolian culture elsewhere, and she has numerous recordings in the UNESCO collection as well.

This collection repeats not only singers, but also songs. Pegg states that “Mongolian radio introduced a few songs considered not dangerous to sing such as ‘Alia Saaral’ (Playful Grey [The Lively Grey]) and ‘Er Bor Hartsaga’ (Light Brown Hawk [Brown Male Hawk])” (Pegg 2001: 259) More detail regarding the change of repertory visible in the MAS collection is given in Chapter Six.

### *Other Recordings*

Other than the sound recordings in the MAS and MNB collections, there are various sorts of long-song recordings—some have been released in Mongolia by current singers, and some recordings made by foreign companies (mainly collected by foreign scholars) have been released outside Mongolia. Among those scattered items are the recordings of Mongolian folksongs collected for the UNESCO collection. One example of UNESCO material is the set of recordings published (Desjacques 1991). The songs in this set were collected in Bulgan *aimag* by a French scholar, Alain Desjacques, who also wrote the liner notes. The collection includes four long-songs, but these do not seem stylistically close to any “current” long-song forms found in the eastern and central areas of Mongolia. They seem to represent a western regional style of long-song, which is quite distinct—simpler and less decorative.

Another UNESCO collection is that published by the Asian Cultural Center for UNESCO (ACCU) in Japan. This collection is called *Folk Songs of Asia and the Pacific* and was published in 1988. Some of the singers found in this collection also appear frequently in the MNB collection—well-known professional singers of the past such as B. Lakhamjav and J. Dorjdagva. The long-songs that appear here are

“Small Yellowish Horse” (*Jaakhan sharga*), “The Blue Silk Dress” (*Khökh torgon deel*), and “The Best among Many” (*Tümen ekh*), which are currently quite popular long-songs (ACCU 1988).

The third UNESCO collection was released in 1991 on a Hungarian record label. The folksongs in this recording were collected by Lajos Vargyas in 1967 in collaboration with UNESCO, but not released on CD until 1991 (Vargyas 1991). This recording contains a number of long-songs that are among the most often performed today, and the performances are by several famous professional long-song singers, including J. Dorjdagva, N. Norovbanzad, S. Sügljmaa, and B. Lakhmjav. The songs include, among others, “Sun of the Gentle Universe” (*Zambotiv naran [Uyakhan zambotiv naran]*), “The View of the Kherlen River” (*Kherlengiin bar’ya*), “Zergentiin Mountain” (*Zergentiin shil*), “Two Small Horses (*Khoyor bor*), and “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*) (see Index VI in the Appendix). These long-songs are still very commonly sung by current long-song singers.

In addition to these UNESCO collections, there are nowadays more and more CDs released by contemporary professional singers. These CDs, easily found in record stores in Ulaanbaatar, are also used by college long-song students as a source for studying. A list of songs I have often found in such commercial collections is included in the Appendix (Index XVII). The songs on these commercial recordings are targeted on an audience that wishes to listen to the most common repertory by mainstream of professional singers today.

More recent sound recordings show mostly city singers and their songs that are mostly listened to in Ulaanbaatar performances, while regional styles are rather

limited in recent collections. While both the MNB and MAS collections contain a great many sources, the MAS collection is focused more on countryside singers and their songs, while the MNB collection is more focused on professional singers in Ulaanbaatar, and the songs it features are also much often sung among current long-song singers. Thus, similar to the spectrum of singers' lives and environments described in Chapter Five, some songs have joined the urban, popular repertory, while others continue to circulate in the countryside or have been forgotten.

#### Printed Materials: Transcriptions and Books

In addition to sound recordings, there are some books that include long-song transcriptions and lyrics, some of which we have already encountered earlier in this chapter. The most commonly-used book among current long-song singers that contains only lyrics is the book called *Mongol ardyn urtyn duu* (*Mongolian Folk Long-song*), published in 1984 by Kh. Samfildendev in collaboration with a Russian scholar, K.Ch. Yatskovskaya. It includes a great many long-song lyrics, and remains a classic lyric book of long-song among current singers. Its introduction addresses overall long-song history and general characteristics. In a footnote to each song, this book gives information such as where the lyrics come from, whether there are the variations of the lyrics or not, and so on. However, it does not include any transcriptions.

Before *Mongol ardyn urtyn duu* (*Mongolian Folk Long-song*), a book called *Urtyn duu* (*Long-song*, hereafter J. Dorjdagva's book), published in Ulaanbaatar in 1970 by J. Dorjdagva. This book not only includes lyrics, but also transcriptions of

a hundred long-songs. An important feature of this book is that it indicates the regional style for each song. Also, it identifies, however, not the exact location (i.e., which *aimag* or *sum*) a song came from, but simply indicates which region it came from. The transcriptions in this book are relatively accurate. Among the sources published before the 1990s, this is one of the most frequently referred to among current singers, along with the MNB sound recording collection.

Another songbook is *Ardyn urtyn duunuud (Folk Long-song)*, published in 1959 in Ulaanbaatar, with transcriptions by a famous singer of that time, S. Tsoodol. This book includes about fifty long-songs, but the transcriptions are not quite accurate, particularly in terms of meter and rhythmic patterns: while long-song is free rhythmically, these transcriptions have been written in a very strict rhythmic way.

Recently, songbooks with quite detailed transcriptions have been published. *Talyn mor'tny duu (Songs of the Steppe Horsemen)* was prepared by N. Norovbanzad (2000). This song book includes mainly songs from the central area, with emphasis on Dundgov' *aimag*. The good characteristics of this book are that it has tried to show all different kinds of versions of long-songs, including individual singers' improvisational versions and sub-regional variants within the Dundgov' area. The transcriptions are quite detailed, including more improvisational *chimeglel* (decorations), than any anthology published before.

A recently published book is *Asar öndör: mongol ardyn urtyn duu (The Height: Mongolian Folk Long-song)* by Ts. Tuyatsetseg (2004), and it is the most current collection of long-songs typically sung by Ulaanbaatar singers. The transcriptions in this book also illustrate ornamentations more clearly and in more

detail than J. Dorjdagva's book. However, Tuyatsetseg does not include any variant versions of long-songs. Most of the included songs are given in the version that current Ulaanbaatar singers often sing and that are found in professional singers' performances and recordings.

There are also some books that are more regionally specific. One example is a book called *Jaakhan sharga* (*Small Yellowish Horse* 1995), written by Sh. Chimedtseye, which contains songs about the Dariganga ethnic group and the Üzemchin ethnic group's long-songs; these groups mostly reside in the eastern area, such as Sükhbaatar *aimag*. Sh. Chimedtseye is rich with information, including transcriptions, lyrics, some of the legends of the songs, and other cultural background.

## CONCLUSION

The music of *urtyn duu* (long-song) carries several distinctive features: a wide melodic range, diverse improvisational ornamentation, unique performance contexts, and unique and virtuosic vocal capacities characteristic of Mongolian long-song singers. These musical features are found among current long-song singers in both the city and the countryside, although it is more common among the city singers. At the same time, singing styles of singers of the past are also available for comparison in archival recording collections; while they may have been prepared for political reasons, they are still useful sources for long-song research.

The stylistic characteristics of *urtyn duu* became more technically complex and standardized during the socialist period, coalesced from diverse regional types, diverse individual improvisations, and also diverse ways of learning the tradition. The difference between long-song musical styles during the socialist period and the

current form of long-song in contemporary Mongolia is not immediately apparent, but careful examination shows that there have been some modifications.

In contrast, the singers' lives have changed drastically with the arrival of democratic capitalism. Long-song singers started to prefer to be in urban areas so that they could learn more virtuosic performance styles, and so they could become professionals and make more money. Since then, too, they have much more strongly determined to present long-song as a key element of Mongolian culture, constantly returning to rural areas for the purposes of reconnecting themselves to nostalgic musical sensibility. In Chapter Five, we investigate the story of some of these singers.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SINGERS IN TRANSITION

Singers are a main object of my observations in this dissertation. This is because many critical transitional aspects of Mongolian long-song culture can be traced through the dissimilar lives of individual singers in Mongolia, past and present. Their voices have been embodied in the transitional process, whether weak, strong, or hardly apparent. Another reason why the stories of singers are important in my research is that the musical elements of long-song, unlike those of other genres such as pop music, political songs, or Western music, have appeared to respond more clearly to the political transition of Mongolia, and the overall picture of the socio-political phenomenon of singers' lives has more closely interacted with that transition. My observations mainly focus on encounters with current long-song singers, along with stories about the older legendary singers I have learned from current singers.

In the confusing and turbulent transitional period after the socialist period, singers have had to affirm their identities as musicians, and they have had to locate their proper positions in society, either keeping their old boundaries or creating new ones. During the socialist period, singers brought their own ways of adjusting to their social environments and to their music-making. This also happened after 1990, in post-socialist Mongolia. With the economic and political elements of the socialist ideology gone, singers had to struggle again to sing, to survive, and also to create a new space in which to be a long-song singer in a new national folk cultural context,

as well as a modern/global context, constantly moving between countryside and city, between present and past. Thus, making music has become for them a means, not only of sounding out, but also of struggling and negotiating their lives within the context of their musical aesthetical values and musicality.

These broader observations raise some questions for this chapter. What aims did the singers pursue in the socialist period, and which aims did they not pursue as singers in the socialist society? What do they attempt to accomplish now, as singers in the post-socialist period? What is the most urgent predicament for them? What continuities and changes are there in the transition between socialist Mongolia and post-socialist Mongolia? How have the singers traveled between them, presenting nostalgic Mongolia, socialist Mongolia, and current democratic capitalistic Mongolia in their music, thought, and narratives?

To answer these questions, I discuss and analyze the stories of several of the singers whom I have met or heard about in my field trips between 2007 and 2010. This will show how they fit with or go against the theoretical frames I have suggested in Chapter Two and how the long-song tradition is located in the transitional context of modern Mongolian cultural history.

#### DEFINING THE SINGER IN CONTEMPORARY MONGOLIA, 2007 TO 2010

Singers during the pre-socialist period of Mongolia were not considered special people who lived for their music, though certainly they were considered musically talented people. Singers were common people such as herders, and long-song lived among their everyday lives. As a personal note, whenever I said to

Mongolians, particularly ones in Ulaanbaatar, that I was researching long-song, everyone responded that “oh, my mother sings long-song” or “oh, my grandmother is a really good singer.” So I raised questions such as “Who exactly should I consider to be a singer?” “Should I consider only someone who has good technique to be a singer?” “Should I consider someone who knows about the context of the singing and understands the meaning of the tradition?” or “Should I only consider someone who has been accepted by the majority of people to be a singer?”

In my attempt to define the category of long-song singer, I observe that in contemporary Mongolia there are some groups that are clearly defined as singers. However, it is also clear that a spectrum of different kinds of long-song singers exist, from legendary singers of past generations to the younger singers of today who still discuss and respect them. Among the former were people who were once very famous and influential in their contemporary long-song tradition. The schools and networks among today’s professional long-song singers started with them. The current younger generations of long-song singers who are college students in Ulaanbaatar are mostly students of the students of the legendary singers. Singers from the countryside, in contrast, have had very different experiences of being singers from those of the legendary singers or those in Ulaanbaatar. They have lived rather as herders who sometimes never have left their local hometowns.

Thus, the current singers in Mongolia whom I met or learned about in my fieldwork between 2007 and 2010 comprise a broad spectrum of singers, from the legendary past singers, today’s rural singers (who both carry a nostalgic past and an understanding of pastoral locality), singers who carry stories of socialist Mongolia,

having been professionals during that era, to younger generations who claim the cultural advocacy of nationalism but also struggled with the country's transition to a free market.

#### THE RISE OF LONG-SONG SINGERS AS PROFESSIONAL MUSICAL ELITES

In the 1950s and 60s, as Mongolia was intensively transformed into a socialist country, a space emerged for singers who had been trained in the public education system, and who had traveled to other countries, providing them with cosmopolitan experience. As described in Chapter Three, the public education system had developed under Soviet influence. The younger generation, intelligentsia who had studied in the public education system, appeared as a new social group of singers. Along with sovietization, cultural organizations had been created and encouraged. Regional and ethnic styles were weakened while the central Khalkh style was raised to the national level of a standard style (Pegg 2001: 259). After the socialist system collapsed in 1990 and a free market emerged, reinforcement of nationalism was needed, but since cultural assets have become more capitalistic products, they have been re-evaluated in the process. In this socio-economic transitional process, long-song singers have slowly recreated the concept of “musical elites”—*mergejliin* (professional) singer—and incorporated it into the long-song tradition.

In current Mongolia there are clear boundaries, at least conceptual ones, between professional and amateur singers, but this situation has not emerged suddenly. Rather, it started during socialist times, when the government generated several cultural polices as part of its ideological program. In this system, some

singers were empowered in the society by distinguishing themselves from others in accepting their part in socialist modernity, by their distinctive musical skills, or by distancing themselves from local musicians, and also by having cosmopolitan international tours with government funding. These kinds of activities under the socialist regime initialized the concept and position of the professional singer, and produced some of the legendary long-song singers in current Mongolian society.

The two singers that I heard most frequently named as legendary singers by current long-song singers were J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad. These two names were introduced to me primarily by well-established current singing teachers in Ulaanbaatar or by some of the countryside theatre singers, who had studied with one of the legendary singers. J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad were actively engaged in teaching and performing long-song with governmental support during the socialist period. J. Dorjdagva taught numerous students, and N. Norovbanzad worked at the Mongolian State University of Culture and Arts, also training many talented students. J. Dorjdagva was actively involved in publishing books—one of which, *Urtyn Duu* (1970), is still broadly used—and in recording activities for Mongolian National Broadcasting (MNB). They both are still quite respected among younger singers in current Ulaanbaatar, who even try to imitate their lives.

#### *The Legendary Singer I: J. Dorjdagva*

Jigzav Dorjdagva (1904-1991) was born in Dundgov' *aimag*, Saikhan-övöö *sum*. He was famous for establishing long-song schools during the early socialist period and for creating method singing methods. According to T. Dojsüren in his

book, *Urtyn duuchdyn taniltsuulga (Introduction of [to] Long-song Singers* T. Dojsüren 2007: 4-6), Dorjdagva went to the Ongi River monastery to study in 1912, and he became a lama at Gadantegchilen monastery in 1927. He left the monastery in 1932, auditioned for the Public Entertainment Academy (*Ardyn Tsengeldekh Khüreelen*), and was admitted. There, he started studying with several teachers from various regions. These experiences were important, in that he learned a wide range of local singing styles, although he was from Dundgov' and mainly sang in the central Khalkh style. Subsequently, he worked as a singer and a choir teacher in the State Theatre in Ulaanbaatar. Later, he even composed some long-songs, according to T. Dojsüren (2007: 4-6), which is significant because in doing this he created long-song as a compositional tradition. His composed long-songs are performed in current Mongolia, although there are not many. J. Dorjdagva was also famous for having a deep and broad knowledge of singing methods, knowledge that is carried on by college long-song training students in current Mongolia.<sup>1</sup>

Through his activities, J. Dorjdagva concentrated on the Khalkh singing style, as it was close to his own background, but since he studied with a range of teachers at the academy, he was able to combine various different styles into his personal singing style. In his book *Urtyn duu (Long-song, 1970)*, he was able to compile a comprehensive song repertory from not only the central area, but also from the

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<sup>1</sup> He talked about these singing methods in an interview with a journalist, J. Badraa, which was recorded and published with a book, *Ikh duuchny yaria (Talk with the Great Singer)*, by N. Jantsannorov (2006). During my fieldwork at the Music and Dance College, the long-song class had a regular get-together time to listen to the recording of his talk so that they could learn the techniques. It was interesting to observe how much J. Dorjdagva's singing method was still considered really important to current singers.

eastern area. According to T. Dojsüren (2007), Dorjdagva collaborated with his teachers M. Dugarjav and B. Pechnikova to publish notation of twenty folk songs, and separately published another book with notation of 102 songs and articles on long-song. He was also an active singer who was involved in the activities of Mongolian National Broadcasting (MNB) later in his career. He left about 200 recordings of long-song, mostly made for MNB as described in Chapter Four.

*The Legendary Singer II: N. Norovbanzad*

N. Norovbanzad (1931-2006), who was born in Deren *sum*, Dundgov' *aimag* in 1931, is another well-known legendary singer, even among the general populace, because she has become a symbolic figure who represents Mongolia to such neighboring nations as Russia, Japan, China. According to T. Dojsüren (2007), she started her career by winning the State Competition of Revolutionary Anniversary when she was fifteen, and she worked as an actor from 1949 to 1957 in the Dundgov' *aimag* cultural center. After she began working as a singer, she was able to make many international tours and was able to amass fame at an international level.

The most important international music competition in her life was the Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957. It was by winning a gold medal here that she became a well-known professional singer. Soon after, in 1961, she became a "State-honored artist" (*Gav'yat jüjigchin*), and later she gained the most prestigious rank among artists, "People's artist" (*Ardyn jüjigchin*). She continually broadened her activities on an international level, participating in a lot of international festivals and tours. Her recordings are not only available within Mongolia; there were several made in

Japan.<sup>2</sup> From interviews with several long-song singers, including T. Narantuya (Interview with Narantuya 1/6/2009), her last student, I learned that she was a very dedicated teacher. In fact, she had numerous students who now teach and actively perform around the world.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, some of the older singers, her contemporaries, felt that Norovbanzad was born and became a singer at just the right time, when the party needed a singer like her, who could represent the country to the outside world. One long-song singer I interviewed said (in fact, I have heard similar stories from several singers) that “being a famous female professional singer like Norovbanzad requires also a helpful husband who could support her and that becoming a professional singer after having lived as a herder was not all a matter of talent.” And she added that “when we toured a lot during the socialist period, we could leave when husbands were willing to take care of our children and support our tour; otherwise, it was very hard...” (Interview with S. Sum’ya 10/10/2009).

It is clear, therefore, that singers became successful and even famous not just because of their talent, but also by meeting the conditions and needs of their society. To become a professional singer in the socialist period, it was essential that one participate in international and domestic tours, competitions, and festivals. This implies that to become a professional singer at that time, singers had to meet certain criteria that the party defined not only in terms of musical talent but also in terms of

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<sup>2</sup> Most of the Japanese recordings of Mongolian music were released as part of the UNESCO collection.

<sup>3</sup> Her legacy has been well appraised in the master’s thesis of Gabrielle Giron (2007), which describes the life history and multidimensional activities of Norovbanzad.

what society considered to be important. In other words, from many singers' narratives, it seems that support and success were based more on who the singers were and what they were willing or able to do, than on their musical talents alone.<sup>4</sup>

The legacy of past professional singers such as N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva shows how the phenomenon of professional long-song singers was started. For example, J. Dorjdagva was the first one who brought a lot of countryside singers into Ulaanbaatar and brought a very systematic teaching and learning method into the long-song tradition. N. Norovbanzad was important because of her international tours and resulting status as a national icon over other several countries, which planted the seeds of the younger generations' concepts of cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

#### *Other Legendary Singers*

N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva were major cultural figures in the socialist period of Mongolia. However, they were not the only professional singers of that time. S. Yundenbat at the Center for Cultural Heritage (Interview with S. Yundenbat 10/04/2009) emphasized the need to be aware of other legendary singers, as well as singers who have been forgotten.

Through this interview, I found that there were several other singers active at

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<sup>4</sup> One of the criteria, I have heard as a side story in the field, is that the singer's appearance also may have been important. One singer, A. Namkhajjav (83), a female singer from Bulgan *aimag*, who sang beautifully, mentioned that she could not be on stage because her figure was not good enough (Interview with Namkhajjav 12/18/2009). Another singer named Zevgee Namjil also said that he could not be on stage because of the figure he had. According to T. Dorjsüren, there is some gossip to the effect that he had "cloud in his eyes" (which means that he had a darker spot in his eyes) so he was called "*uulen*" (meaning "of cloud"), and with this combined with his less than ideal appearance, he could not be invited onto the stage (Dorjsüren, T. 2007: 13).

the time, who also were good at singing songs different from those of N.

Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva. For example, S. Damchaa (1899-1981) was famous for the piece “Small Yellowish Horse” (*Jaakhan sharga*), which is known now in Mongolia as one of the most popular songs in the repertory of the famous long-song singer Sh. Chimedtseye. Especially among the older generation of singers, it is known that S. Damchaa was good at this song before Sh. Chimedtseye, although S. Damchaa is not generally well known. Other cases similar to that of S. Damchaa reveal that there were many excellent singers during the socialist period, such as S. Gonchig (1905-1966), B. Densmaa (1917-1990), D. Doljinsuren (1919-1991), and L. Baatar (b. 1925, current whereabouts unknown).

One might ask why only two, N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva, were so lionized that they are still well known among long-song singers and even by average people in contemporary Mongolia? Was the process of becoming (or being made into) a professional singer driven by sovietization, with party support a prerequisite? According to Pegg, it seems that only limited permission to perform in *aimag* center theaters was granted for singers to perform, due to socialist party regulations:

Only a limited number of singers, such as Dorjdagva, Yanjiin Lham, Dolgorjav, Süglegmaa, Norovbanzad, and Lhamjav were allowed to perform. One of the famous musicians of the Autonomous Period (1911-19), D. Ishdulam (1871-1947), became an organizer of the new era song and musical circles in Ulaanbaatar and gained renewed fame as a teacher and educator, as did another active member of these classes O. Dashdeleg (1896-1979). (Enebish interview, quoted in Pegg 2001: 259)

This could explain the status of N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva as legendary singers from those days, and their situations were influenced by previous cases. Whether N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva were purposely elevated as

representative singers or not, it is certain that they experienced the socialist mechanisms of cultural policy by competing, being awarded titles, touring as representatives of the Mongol nation to the outside world, and being involved in constructing the public education system. The two were actively involved in all these processes. At the same time, the lives of these two figures have been codified as ideal templates to be followed by most contemporary long-song singers. For this reason, the singing techniques that they used in their singing have not only been followed by numerous current singers but also have settled in as something of a standard “urban professional style,” which has become the dominant musical style among current Mongolian singers. In addition, the long-songs they used to sing have served as an important collection of long-songs for later generations.

Their singing styles—J. Dorjdagva’s central Khalkh style and N. Norovbanzad’s Borjgin style—and also, particularly, a combination of their styles, influenced the process formation of the “urban professional style.” J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad both came from the central region’s Dundgov’ *aimag*, but J. Dorjdagva came from Saikhan-övöö *sum*, which is closer to Övörkhantai *aimag*, where there was considered to be more influence from the central Khalkh-dominated musical style than in the rest of the Dundgov’ *aimag*. In contrast, N. Norovbanzad was from Deren *sum*, where the dominant musical style was that called Borjgin style. These two musical styles that characterized the two singers have been integrated in the main urban style, although many Borjgin singers said that their style has not been quite as popular compared to the style of central Khalkh. Somehow, central Khalkh style has exerted the more dominant influence on the “urban professional style.”

However, these two styles are still practiced actively, compared to other regional styles.<sup>5</sup>

Understanding the legendary singers is important and also interesting not only in terms of who they were and what they did as professional singers, but also in terms of understanding the historical context surrounding them and its influence on their careers. J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad were surely phenomenal singers, but at the same time, widespread recognition of these singers was critical to the formation of the concept of singers an occupational position in society as professionals, from which one could make a living. By implication, the concept of amateur has appeared as well.

There were several social mechanisms that provided the basis for singers' social movement and formation of professionalism—ranking system, radio station, competition.

#### The Ranking of Singers From the Party

Singers' rankings, as shown in the cases of J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad, influenced the formation of a class structure for singers. As explained in Chapters Two and Three, in the general Mongolian society under the socialists, new kinds of social class were actively created. During that period, communal factory and agricultural workers were officially exalted, and some of the good workers (from the party's point of view) were pointed out for favor by the party. The new group of

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<sup>5</sup> In her book, Pegg clearly illustrates that the long-song style performed at all theatres in Ulaanbaatar was the central Khalkh style (Pegg 2001: 259). A detailed musical analysis that compares these regional styles is also found in Chapter Four and Chapter Six.

intelligentsia was empowered and was often given certain ranks or titles for reasons other than their lineage. This practice became quite common in the society during the socialist period, imitating the soviet system of that time.<sup>6</sup>

Current long-song singers have received different salaries and different social position, based upon different ranks. There are four main ranks among singers:

1) *Khödölmöriin baatar*, meaning literally “a hero of labor,” which could be an honorary title given to the most hard-working laborer; 2) *Ardyn jüjigchin*, literally meaning “people’s artist”; 3) *Gav’yat jüjigchin*, meaning “honored artist,” or more precisely “state-honored artist”; and 4) *Soyolyn tergüünii ajiltan*, meaning “cultural leading worker.” For musicians, these ranks have been important markers that could elevate their lives. Sometimes, they have become the standard for people’s aesthetic judgment. People think that a singer who becomes a *gav’yat jüjigchin* should be able to represent the highest skill for the genre in which he or she works. Some singers, although having no formal training background, such as attending singing schools in Ulaanbaatar, have entered into professional careers by means only of ranks or titles.<sup>7</sup>

Ts. Chuluntsetseg, one of the current long-song singers who is also teaching at

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<sup>6</sup> In a conversation with A. Alimaa, a long-song researcher from the Academy of Science, I raised the question of why people are so keen on having these titles and she answered that this actually has been adopted from the Soviet Union. Later, in a conversation with Olga Haldey, a musicologist who grew up in Russia and whose works focuses on Russian musicians, revealed that this is true. According to her, in the Soviet system there were titles like “the people’s artists” and “honored artists.” The title of people’s artist was more prestigious than that of honored artist, apparently the same as in Mongolia. In terms of who would be awarded these titles, “classical” performers and composers were typical awardees, with some of the popular performers of “folk” music (but folk in a way more urbanized and stylized) honored as well. My communication with Haldey supports the idea that the Mongolian case was adapted from the Soviet Union’s system (personal communication 08/19/2010).

<sup>7</sup> See the story below about the singer, E. Khurelbaatar.

the Mongolian State University of Culture and Arts in Ulaanbaatar, talked about an interesting shift in attitudes toward these titles.

Question: “The elder singers got the title “*ardyn* artist” after singing experience of twenty years, at least, but the younger generations are getting it in just four to five years. It seems like the value of the “*ardyn*” and “*gav’yat*” are deteriorating, don’t you think?”

Chuluntsetseg: “Things have changed. In the early times, they didn’t just give the honorary title for singing. Singers were also considered by their occupation, family stability, and whether they were exemplary. The candidates were analyzed from all angles; they had to sing many songs and only the exceptionally superior singers were awarded. But now it has no value. These honors are now used as a promotion for high-level officials, and whoever has the money or networking can receive the honor, don’t you think? While the singers who have been singing for many years and protecting the culture are dying without any honor, those youngsters who are excellent on stage for two years are getting the honor and devaluing it. I feel sorry about it.” (*M.M. Purev* [Newspaper], 11/19/2009)

In this interview, it is clear that the titles were stepping stones for promotion to a circle of professional singers during the socialist period and remain that way today. The difference between the socialist period and contemporary Mongolia was that the titles were much more respected in the former. Also, it seems that the values of the ranks have changed, in the sense that to become a professional singer during the socialist period, when the concept was initiated, required tougher qualifications such as, in Ts. Chuluntsetseg’s words, “[the singer’s] occupation, family stability, and whether they were exemplary.” This clearly implies the class of “intelligentsia,” members of which had received higher education in Mongolia or abroad and who created their own circle as elites in socialist Mongolia.

### Empowering Certain Singers Through the Radio Station<sup>8</sup>

Most of the songs broadcast since Mongolian National Broadcasting (MNB) was founded in 1930 have been stored as the archive collection of the radio station, which has become one of the most important and essential accumulations of long-song source materials for current long-song singers. In the process of amassing the collection, MNB made recordings either by inviting singers into the radio station or by going out to the countryside to collect the songs, mostly from so-called “theater singers” in the cultural centers of *sum* or *aimag*. When I interviewed Kh. Khirvaa, who was a sound engineer in MNB beginning in 1968 and is now retired, she recalled her trips to the countryside for recording. She said that MNB usually called theater singers to the *aimag* or *sum* cultural center to have them record for their radio programs (Interview with Kh. Khirvaa 1/12/2010).

The main singers who were on call for these radio programs, particularly in Ulaanbaatar, were mostly professional singers (*mergejliin duuch*), a term referring either to professional singers who had moved to Ulaanbaatar and settled there or singers who worked as theater singers in cultural centers of the countryside. This idea of considering certain singers “professional” was not yet clearly conceptualized when the radio station was initially built in the 1930s. However, the progression of recording work aided in forming the idea of professional singer as an occupational possibility, as well as setting a boundary between professional and amateur.

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<sup>8</sup> Surprisingly, the MNB radio station has come to the center of singers’ learning methods. Whenever I asked countryside singers how they learned a song, their answers were either that they had learned from a family member or by listening to the radio program. For this reason, it is clear how much radio has been a powerful mechanism to long-song singers.

For example, due to the repeated appearance of certain singers on recordings, along with the MPRP support for certain singers and presentation of those singers with ranking titles such as state-honored artist and people's artist, listeners who were mostly out in the countryside started conceptualizing certain singers as comprising a special group, perhaps a higher group, each member of which became conceived of as a professional singer in Mongolian society, a status that had not existed before. Consequently, among herder singers and other countryside singers who listened to the *mergejliin*, ranked singers' songs through radio programs, the concept of professional gradually clarified and became powerful, being equated also with the concepts of "city singers," "theater singers," and "titled singers"—those with higher positions in musical society.

Some of the surviving older professional singers I have met are D. Battömör, S. Sum'ya, and Ch. Sharkhükhen. They were once very famous and successful singers who worked in the countryside as theater singers throughout the socialist period and even after the political transformation in the 1990s. Also, they often made the recordings in the MNB radio station during the socialist period. Currently, they are still actively performing in the Ulaanbaatar area, since they were designated with honorary titles after the socialist government collapsed in 1990. Most of them earned their honorary titles, such as "state-honored artist" or "cultural leading worker," after the regime change. For this reason, they have strong countryside backgrounds and still maintain their connections to the countryside.

*Professionals of the Older Generation I: D. Battömör (b. 1949)*

Where Battömör lives is a suburb of Ulaanbaatar, and it took about forty minutes driving from downtown Ulaanbaatar to get to his house. It was not easy to find the exact location because of all the smoke ahead of me: in Mongolia, smoke in the winter is notorious because of all the *ger* houses that burn charcoal to prepare their breakfast or dinner. This is more serious around the suburb area called the *ger* district, where more low-income people live, although this is not always the case.

D. Battömör has the *gav'yat jüjigchin* honorary title, actively and widely performs, and has released a CD. Unlike other teachers, however, he was not teaching at any of the universities in Ulaanbaatar. In our interview, he showed me a lot of pictures and many medals he had won in competition. It was obvious that he was a great singer in the past.

He was born in Khujirt *sum* of Övörkhangai *aimag*. Like other singers his age, he grew up as a herder and sang long-songs on horseback. In November 1967, when he was eighteen, he participated in the National Long-song singers' competition and won the special prize out of about a hundred singers from countryside and city taken together. Since then, he has worked in the Övörkhangai cultural center and has also made several international tours. In 1992, he received the honor of STA (cultural leading artist), and in 1993, he was awarded *gav'yat jüjigchin* (state honored artist) status. Particularly, he has been famous for a long-song called "The Old Man and the Bird" (*Övgön shuvuu khoyor*).<sup>9</sup> His voice does not reflect his age and was still beautiful in the song he sang during the interview (Interview with D. Battömör

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter Four for details on the structure of this song.

1/15/2009). He did not have many private students at that point. Rather he seemed to perform around the area for a living, and he seemed to be in a different economic situation from the other singers of the same generation with his *gav'yat jüjigchin* title and his musicality, who were teaching at the universities. However, it was certain that he was considered a professional singer by others in the circle of singers in contemporary Ulaanbaatar.

*Professionals of the Older Generation II: Ch. Sharkhüükhen (b. 1939)*

Ch. Sharkhüükhen also lives in Ulaanbaatar, but she said that she sometimes travels to her countryside house. When I met her, she lived in the suburbs of Ulaanbaatar, but not in the same area as D. Battömör. She was born in 1939 and is considered a contemporary singer of N. Norovbanzad. Although she was born in Khalzan *sum* in Sükhbaatar *aimag*, she has worked as a theatre singer elsewhere, such as Dornod *aimag* and Khentii *aimag*. She started her career as a professional singer when she was nineteen. She became a *gav'yat jüjigchin* (state-honored artist) in 1973 and in 1978, much earlier than D. Battömör. She became an *ardyn jüjigchin* later, then she came to Ulaanbaatar in 1994. She still performs on occasion, but not very often. While she worked as a theater singer from 1958 to 1961 in Dornod *aimag* and from 1962 to 1990 in Khentii *aimag*, she also had an international tour that included Russia. The emphasis on touring to other areas has been particularly distinct in her life. In our interview, she mentioned that she has traveled and performed not only in most of the *aimag*, but also in about sixty cities and over thirty countries around the world (Interview with Ch. Sharkhüükhen 10/16/2009). Similarly to N. Norovbanzad,

Ch. Sharkhüükhen has been actively involved in teaching students.

Like N. Norobvanzad, Ch. Sharkhüükhen has run several *kurs* (course) to teach students, as part of the system that most singers used to talk about as a rite of passage necessary for becoming professional.<sup>10</sup> According to her biographical document in UNESCO's Mongolian office (2009, unpublished), she has been running long-song *kurs* constantly, and has attracted intrigued youth to the long-song genre. Many of her students have won medals in various contests. She proudly mentioned that one of her students, S. Nansalmaa (currently a singer in the Khan Khentii ensemble), had recently been designated a *gav'yat jüjigchin*, a state-honored artist.

In the interview, I asked if there was a concept of *mergejliin* (professional) in the singing tradition. She answered regarding the situation in the theatre in the 1960s and how the category of professional came into that arena. According to her, to become *mergejliin*, some of the talented singers at the time used to take an exam in the theatre so they could work there as singers. She said that in the 1960s there were a lot of talented people who did not go to school for singing or to Russia to study, but there were no standards by which their talent could be measured. She continued that competitions or granting of titles were ways of establishing such standards, and being a theater singer used to be a fast way of becoming a *mergejliin* singer. Most of the time, once singers were awarded first position or second position in competitions, they could work as singers in the provincial theatres. Also, some singers, particularly men, joined military ensembles and thus worked as government singers (Interview with Ch. Sharkhüükhen 10/16/2009).

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapter Three for the general concept of “course,” which will also be explained in more detailed way in the following pages.

Although she can clearly be placed in the category of professional singers, most of her career has been built in the countryside, in Khentii *aimag*. She only moved to Ulaanbaatar recently, because of her children and her health concerns, and she still performs, though rarely, in all parts of Mongolia. It seems that while most professional singers are now focused on the Ulaanbaatar area, the concept of professional grew out of the countryside as well as the city during the socialist period. Another singer, S. Sum'ya, who will be introduced in stories below, is a very good example of a professional singer in the countryside; she started her singing career in the countryside and is still based there. However, she is also a big name among professional singers in current Mongolia and recently has been designated a *gav'yat jüjigchin* state-honored artist.

### Competitions

Competitions are considered an important mechanism for getting one or more steps into the circle of professional singers. In every interview I conducted, both amateur singers and professional singers talked about the competitions they had participated in and which ones they had won, even if only once, and always very proudly.<sup>11</sup> They also gave the impression that competitions are considered a very important step for becoming a better musician.

Competitions were systematically organized as part of the socialist party's support to the people, as Ch. Dashdavaa described in his article (1983) about the policies on competitions. He states that the government introduced competitions for

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<sup>11</sup> Most of the singers who won the medals displayed their medals in their rooms and showed them to me whenever I visited them.

the purpose of developing amateur musicians. Although the article gives no definitions of professional or amateur, it employs two terms to indicate a distinction. Professional was indicated as *mergejliin urlag* (professional art), and amateur as *mergejliin bus urlag* (non-professional art). The word meaning “voluntary” (*sain duryn uran saikhanch*) is also used, indicating basically an amateur artist who actively tries to participate in or organize competitions or concert activities. In this article, Ch. Dashdavaa described competitions run according to the party’s intentions; however, it was more powerfully run by these voluntary artists, who became professional artists in the end (Dashdavaa, Ch. 1983).

Competitions developed particularly after WWII as the result of planning by the MPRP and MPR, meaning that the contents had to be very ideological and political. The first competition was in 1945. The competitions were mainly aimed at training people for teamwork and leading them to be interested in voluntary work. So, the competitions made a particular point of trying to cover as many as artists as possible in most genres. They took place both in the countryside and city. However, they mainly focused on “developing” the countryside, and also connecting rural areas to the city. According to Ch. Dashdavaa (1987), competition was seen as a way of forming connections between rural and urban areas. To have countryside artists participate in the competition, the party would send a representative of *urlagiin khereg erkhlekh gazryn biye toloologch* (agency of art) from Ulaanbaatar to the countryside. This representative went to each *aimag* with professional artists in an effort to teach the people in countryside. At the same time, an *aimag* team, composed of skillful artists that produced a good quality of artistic work, had a chance to go to

Ulaanbaatar to participate in seven- to ten-day festivals, which were considered major events.

In the early type of competition during the socialist period, the competitions were not primarily between individuals. Rather, each individual competitor represented a certain organization such as an administrative district (*sum* and *aimag* for example), or among small cultural units such as clubs, Red corners, and Red *ger* army cultural groups. Usually the individual competition was held only during the last stage of the competition.<sup>12</sup> In general, the artists who won in the competitions were chosen to perform in the national *naadam* festival, and also to participate in national competitions or international competitions.

There were competitions not only for folksong genres but also other genres such as dance, *magtaal* (praises), *yerööl* (wishes), puppet theater, and circus. Long-song was part of the folksong competition, with competitions solely for the long-song genre never held until the late 1960s. There was a folk song competition in 1947, but it included all kinds of folksong. The first exclusively long-song competition was not held until 1968, in Dundgov' *aimag*. In 1974 and 1975, the second long-song competition was held, and from this time onward, the best singer in the competition started to be sent to other countries' festivals.

Through these competitions, Mongolian musical culture has been systematically managed according to the party's political control. Interestingly, the competitions, as they developed along with sovietization, were frequently studied; articles or reports consistently appeared, with names like "How to organize the

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<sup>12</sup> The competition started from the smallest region and the each region's winner continued to compete until the provincial or national competition.

Competition,” “How to Organize the Olympics (competition) in City and Countryside,” “Good tips for Voluntary Artists,” “Report on Voluntary Art Week for Four *Aimag*,” and “Report on Ten Days of Khovd *Aimag* Art” (Dashdavaa, Ch. 1987: 108-9). Later, teams that participated in the competition were not only from the cultural sectors, but also from the working sectors such as Ulaanbaatar railway unions, workers unions, herders unions, and students’ organizations. Over the history of the competitions, the party raised, by a great deal, the number and variety of cultural teams who participated in the competitions, so that when the competition system had been stabilized, most sectors of Mongolian culture were under control from the socialist perspective.

Through these cultural competitions and festivals during the socialist period, culture became an important element of society, bringing the people into the project of a new “Mongol” identity—a socialist Mongolian modern identity—particularly the younger generations from the 1960s to the 1980s. Because becoming an artist during this period seems to have been voluntary, people became performing artists because they happened to fit into the role when they were needed. The story of a currently famous Western music composer, G. Birvaa, is a good illustration of how one might become an artist during this time.

According to a book of interviews with M. Saruul-Erdene and G. Birvaa, he was a driver before 1942. After the war, he started a job in a Khovd *aimag* club as a helper. While he was working there, he started learning some mandolin and another instrument called the *bayan* (accordion). During this time, he learned how to read and write Western notation from Russian teachers. With this experience, he moved to

an Ulaanbaatar theater in 1945 and started helping “direct” (not teach) folk-song singers. The song teachers were Russian, and they were very satisfied that G. Birvaa could read Western notation. In fall of 1948, when the Russian teacher was on break, Birvaa was asked (more likely “forced,” in his words) to substitute for the teacher, even though he did not have much experience with directing, and he did. That was the beginning of his career as a musician. Later, he also worked as a director of the cultural center in Khovd and studied further in Russia (Saruul-Erdene, M. 2009: 83).

This interview reveals that around the time when the competitions started strongly growing up and some of the cultural organizations in the countryside were developed, the people who worked for this process and became artists were not artists who had actually been selected by their talent, their artistic skill, or their choice of artistic taste. Rather it seems that they were the people who were most willing to be part of this kind of organization and most willing to be the part of the nation building, and they saw their artistic roles as labor or work, more than as the fulfillment of natural talent.

Since the 1970s the number of competitions has grown and a greater diversity of genres has appeared in them. For example, a youth festival was started, and a popular music and rock band competition appeared. Most interesting is that in the late 1970s and early 1980s, most of the voluntary artists who had emerged from among the amateurs had become professional artists. Thus, again, through the picture of competition, it is possible to see the way in which the amateur (starting as a voluntary artist) could become a professional artist, particularly in the countryside. The phenomenon of competitions has continued until now, and it is still an important

gateway through which amateur singers can become more professional singers. The following singer, S. Sum'ya, is one whom I met in one of the competitions in Övörkhängai *aimag*.



Figure 1. Long-song Competition 2009 in Övörkhängai *aimag*

*Countryside Professionals: S. Sum'ya (b.1941)*

My first encounter with S. Sum'ya was at a conference of UNESCO,<sup>13</sup> where a lot of countryside singers attended, held in Ulaanbaatar, September 2009. She was one of the numerous countryside singers there. I remember her coming up to give a talk, but she did not say much; she seemed rather shy. Nevertheless, everyone much admired the fact that she came from the countryside.

Two months later I met her again at the Övörkhängai long-song competition.

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<sup>13</sup> Recently, the cultural heritage program from UNESCO has been actively involved in Mongolian culture. By the year 2009, when the conference was held, the long-song genre was already designated as World Cultural Intangible Heritage, and Mongolians were preparing for another genre, *Khöömi*, throat singing. This conference was aiming for a better way of preservation and developing the traditional culture of disappearing Mongolian oral tradition, and it was in conjunction with the Korean UNESCO branch.

She was diligently teaching her several students, who were going to participate in the competition, when I found her in the central theater of Övörkhongai *aimag*. Her students seemed to range from very young—twelve years old—to seventy years old. Seeing her in this setting was quite different from meeting her in Ulaanbaatar. I could see that she is a major teacher in the area, and still quite active, though she said she had retired from the theatre already.

S. Sum'ya was born in 1941 in Sant *sum*, Övörkhongai *aimag*. Like other singers, she became a herder right after she finished her elementary school in 1954. Four years later, in 1958, she became a singer at the Övörkhongai *aimag* cultural place and worked for thirty-eight years. She also participated in World Youth and Students' Festivals and won medals. She became a *gav'yat jüjigchin* in 1996.

In her hometown, Övörkhongai *aimag*, she is famous as a teacher. One of her good pupils, S. Monktuya, who will also be discussed later in this chapter, has followed S. Sum'ya and moved to Ulaanbaatar. The current phenomenon among singers in the countryside, especially younger ones, is that they begin their singing lessons from the local teacher in the beginning, but if they are trying to pursue singing as a profession, they move to Ulaanbaatar.

While I was staying in countryside with S. Sum'ya, one morning, all of a sudden, she put buckets on her back to get ready to go out to the field to collect animal dung. I followed her, and she started talking about her experience with touring, as others also did during the socialist period. It seems that being selected as a tour singer and going around the nation would have been the best thing in a singer's life at the time, but Sum'ya could not be as active as other singers because her family

environment did not allow for her go on the performance tours. She talks about how lucky singers are when they have supportive environments.

My conversation with her revealed again that touring and being a part of the party's activities clearly was the best route for professional singers. In addition, she talked about what it was like to work in the theatre. I asked if there was any suppression of the long-song genre during the socialist period. She answered that nobody really liked singing traditional long-song, although this would not be called "suppression." She said that it was just not quite welcomed by the audience. In concerts, she used to be asked to sing only two verses instead of eight verses. Also, she said that people did not pay much attention to long-song singers, being more eager to listen to ensembles and Western tunes.

While I was walking with her, she started singing something, and I asked what kind of song it was. She answered that it was a *nutgiin duu* (local song or hometown song) that is also related to the specific area that she was pointing toward from the place where she was standing. She particularly emphasized the importance of locality. As a local teacher, she was quite aware of several local songs that were not common in urban areas. She emphasized that there were many more long-song singers out in the countryside who knew about local songs, not just those songs prominent in Ulaanbaatar.

As I indicated above, she does have several pupils in Ulaanbaatar, one of whom has been quite a good student, S. Monkuya. I asked Sum'ya about her teaching philosophy as a local teacher;

Me: “What is your way of approach in your teaching?”

S. Sum’ya: “I just respect who they are and learn what they have in their style, and then just add something...” (Interview with S. Sum’ya 10/10/2009)

Some of Sum’ya’s students whom I met in Övörkhongai *aimag* talked to me very proudly about studying with Sum’ya. Some of them are clearly amateurs and look almost the same age as Sum’ya. So I wondered how they studied together. Most of them mentioned the short-term education system called *kurs* (course, Kypc).



Figure 2: A Singer S. Sum’ya in Övörkhongai, October 2009, Walking Out to Collect the Livestock’s Droppings for Winter Fuel

### Transmission I: Kurs (Course)

Before long-song singers learned from public educational institutions such as universities or conservatories, learning from their mothers or fathers or other family members was the typical way of learning. However, another important and frequently

conducted method was going through a *kurs* (course).<sup>14</sup> The word “course” comes from the Russian “Курс,” for which there is no Mongolian equivalent. Thus, Mongolians just used the Russian word and wrote it as *kurs*. It refers to a short-term course in which they can learn something from a teacher who is most likely famous, professional, and coming from Ulaanbaatar, in a short time. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this short-term education system started with the sending of teachers to rural areas for the purpose of “educating” people where they could be found. However, it became a more systematic way of educating, and it spread to every educational discipline in socialist Mongolia.

The musicians I met from 2007 to 2009 considered this system of *kurs* to be still alive. In other words, they still considered this system an important way to get into the network or circle of professional singers. For example, singers in the countryside would mention something like, “Oh, I studied with N. Norovbanzad,” and when I asked “how and when,” they answered that they had studied with famous singers such as N. Norovbanzad, Sh. Chimedtseye, or D. Tuvshinjargal for only two or three weeks. They called themselves students of these famous singers because of the two- or three-week connection. This has been very common among the musicians, who in this way maintain the lineages of certain singers.

The initiation of the long-song *kurs* program involved the legendary singers, J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad. There was support from the party (MPR), since the program could provide a connection between rural singers and urban singers. Based on my research, almost all of the singers of the older generation who had ever

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<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Three for a more detailed description of *kurs*.

participated in competitions and been chosen to become theatre singers in a cultural center, had studied with J. Dorjdagva and N. Norovbanzad through a *kurs* during the socialist period.

The shortest long-song *kurs* ran from two to four weeks, and the longest for three months. At the beginning of this system, it was most common for those from the countryside to come into the city, and most of the singers from the countryside came to Ulaanbaatar or to an *aimag* cultural palace (or center) and spent some time with the teacher, learning the long-songs, and then going back home after the *kurs*.

The *kurs* method has two interesting implications: first, although singers, particularly countryside singers, carry a lot of knowledge through their experience, it still seems important for them to have some connection to urban musical circles. Second, as a result, the more systematic way of learning presented in the *kurs* has been brought in by the singers, particularly during the socialist period. The technique of long-song had been understood as something that should be influenced by the natural environment and by animals, but through the emergence of this *kurs* system, people started looking at the technique of long-song as something that needed to be trained and practiced. Consequently singers started emphasizing musical technique over musicality.

### Transmission II: Studying Long-song at Universities

During the socialist period, though the *kurs* was an informal long-song certification system that focused particularly on countryside singers, the formal higher education system that started in Ulaanbaatar was based on the *kurs* system. It

is known that the legendary singers N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva started the program at the Mongolian State University of Culture in Ulaanbaatar as the first long-song school. Currently, most teachers in the formal higher education system in Ulaanbaatar are the students of N. Norovbanzad or J. Dorjdagva, either studying with them through *kurs* or through the longer-term education system that N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva initiated.

Currently, long-song is taught and learned in two music schools in Ulaanbaatar, the Music and Dance College and the Mongolian State University of Culture and Arts (hereafter Cultural University). Both schools have active professional long-song singers as teachers. In the Music and Dance College, there is a long-song class established and taught by D. Tuvshinjargal and Sh. Chimedtseye. In the Cultural University, singers such as Ts. Chuluntsetseg and A. Nergui, who were pupils of N. Norovbanzad, teach. Interestingly, A. Nergui studied with N. Norovbanzad through a three-month *kurs*, and Ts. Chuluntsetseg studied with N. Norovbanzad at the Cultural University. The Music and Dance College has the oldest, most prestigious conservatory in Mongolia, to which numerous Russian teachers have come and taught, while the Cultural University has a comparatively short history, though its long-song program was initiated by N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva.

The singing lessons in the Music and Dance College go on almost all day long, every day, from freshman to senior year, provided that the teachers are not away for concert tours. Students in these long-song schools follow a four-year system—freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior—and members of each year's class have their lesson together. In addition to their lessons, students take several classes, such

as a Western music class, and even a class where they learn stage presence. The curriculum provides a diversity of subjects.<sup>15</sup>

The way in which this kind of higher education long-song schools most contrasts with the traditional way of learning is how the techniques are taught. Specific songs and ways of practicing vocal techniques are used systematically—focusing on the development of skills and terminology for the skills. To practice the ornamentations and breathing that supports long phrases, and to negotiate the wide ranges of the songs, this systematic way of their practice seems to be necessary. For example, in the long-song class at the Music and Dance College three kinds of vocal practice, called *dasgal*, are used for long-song, along with three main practice songs: *ukhai*, *khurai* and *zee*.<sup>16</sup> These practice songs were adapted from some of the songs used in games at big *naadam* (traditional feast and festival). For example, *ukhai* originates from an archery song. When the target was successfully hit, the archer used to sing this *ukhai* song. This has been selected and become one of the practice songs of current long-song singers. Interestingly, these songs were practiced on piano (see the transcription below, Figures 3 and 4)

Each of these three songs has become a practice song for different reasons.

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<sup>15</sup> My observation of the higher education system for long-song focused most closely on the Music and Dance College. My information about the Cultural University comes from students of the school whom I met outside of the school setting, and also students from the Music and Dance College who compared those experiences to those of their friends from the Cultural University.

<sup>16</sup> I have used the term “song” here to define these practice pieces, but they are not songs in the sense of completed pieces. Rather, they are more along the lines of short phrases, as I explained above, and singers will repeat the same phrase in each scale, one after another. The names of the songs are the syllables that are used as their lyrics.

The first song, *ukhai*, has become a practice song for improving breathing. This song has long phrases and requires long breaths,<sup>17</sup> and is considered the hardest of these practice songs. *Khurai* is an exercise for low-range voice and for improving the improvisation of small *chimeglel* (ornamentations; see Chapter Four). *Zee* has several sustained notes, so it is good for decorating with *chimeglel* technique and also for practicing dynamics, according to E. Bolormaa, a senior student in the Music and Dance College (Interview with E. Bolormaa, 12/11/2009). From my observation, these songs are usually practiced with piano accompaniment and also, as in Western vocal practice, in each scale between a low-pitched C to a C two octaves higher (the exact range depends on the individual's musical capacity). The following are examples of *ukhai* (Figure 3) and *zee* (Figure 4).



Figure 3: *Ukhai*

<sup>17</sup> There are two methods of practicing breathing that I heard from Sh. Chimedtseye, D. Tuvshinjargal, and other singers: the first is called thirty-two *tsagaan lonkh* practice. In this practice, they repeat the word, *tsagaan lonkh* with numbers. For example, one *tsagaan lonkh*, two *tsagaan lonkh* and so on until they can count thirty-two as one breath. The second method is blowing out a candle (this method was particularly described by Chimedtseye). The first method seems quite standardized among all long-song singers who have experienced a public education long-song class.

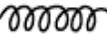
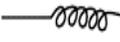


Figure 4: *Zee*

In Figure 3, *ukhai*, the singer can choose the note on which they will practice the *chimeglel*. For example, in Figure 3, a singer can choose either C (option 1 above) or D (option 2 above) as the note on which to place the *chimeglel*. Also, at the end of the Eb, the singer can use either a stronger glottal vibrato (*tsokhilt*), or a smoother vibrato-like tremolo (*bönjignökh*). During practice, the students usually sing the songs all together. Although they sing together, I could hear a lot of different individuals' variations of *chimeglel*, the possibility of which I illustrate above.

In my observation of students in the Music and Dance College, they worked with these three practice songs before starting their lessons with the teachers. The first comers start the piano and practiced each song within a range of about two octaves. Interestingly, the piano was always used for this kind of practice rather than the *morin khuur*, the horse-head fiddle. However, in the lesson, or even in each individual singer's singing lesson, there was always *morin khuur* accompaniment.

In addition to this method of vocal practice, the way of learning of long-songs in the singers' lessons was very technique-oriented and showed meticulousness and sensitivity regarding all the *chimeglel* (decorations). For example, in Sh. Chimedtseye's class, I could tell that she was a very good teacher, in terms of her sharp and explicit explanation of how to articulate these techniques. In one of the lessons, when a student was struggling to improvise a *chimeglel*, she suggested that,

first “you have to decide what kind of *chimeglel* you would like to use. For example, would you like to use a more glottal sound of vibrato [  , she writes], or more smooth vibrato [  ]?” Second, she asked “where would you put this, would you put this at the ending of the note (  ) or at the beginning of the note (  )?” In this teaching, she recommended that her students decide on their own *chimeglel* improvisations and write down what they decided, so that they can have certain consistent ways of improvising of their own.

The scene I observed clearly illustrates the contrast between the urban method of transmission and that of the countryside singers. Countryside singers learn (or singers in the past learned) only by listening to their families singing and singing in the open steppe while herding, placing more emphasis on how much they can express and understand the lyrical meaning of their singing, while the urban teaching methods are more precise and detail-oriented toward musical techniques. The urban singers also, in the process of choosing what kind of songs they would like to sing, carefully consulted with their teachers regarding their vocal timbre and range.

Another aspect of the transmission of the songs in the urban schools is that it uses notation, but not Western musical staff notation. The students all had notebooks in which they wrote their lyrics before they memorized each song. Along with the lyrics were no pitch marks or rhythm marks, but notations for the *chimeglel* were inserted among the lyrics as shown in Figure 5.

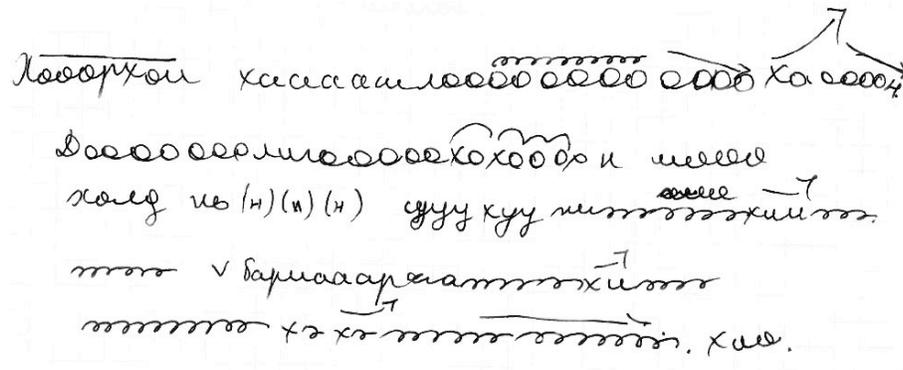


Figure 5: Long-song Notation Used Often Among Current Ulaanbaatar Singers.  
(Written by E. Bolormaa, 12/19/2009)

Use of this method in urban schools seems to have resulted from the strong influence of Russian musical training that was absorbed by the culture during the socialist period, along with the Western custom of vocal practice with the piano, a more precise way of describing vocal techniques with terms from music theory, and a tendency to use notation (though not Western staff notation) instead of purely oral transmission.

With their ability to perform with virtuosic techniques and also their ability to teach them, it has become a common belief among Mongolians that music teachers in universities are now the most prestigious singers in Mongolia. Most of them grew up in the countryside, just like the countryside singers, but moved to Ulaanbaatar (usually because they won a competition or were promoted by famous critics or musicians) and got professional singing training through a *kurs*, usually with N. Norovbanzad or J. Dorjdagva, then worked at a professional music theatre for some time. There are few such people compared to the population of long-song singers in Mongolia, but their fame is relatively great in the society overall, through *naadam* festivals, concerts, or even television programs.

This group of people is important in the respect that they brought a whole different concept of being a long-song singer to amateur singers. Due to their “successful” images as singers, they have become role models for younger long-song singers as well as for other modern long-song singers. Most of the recordings by long-song singers that can be found for sale are recorded by these university teachers.<sup>18</sup>

*Teacher in the University in Ulaanbaatar: Sh. Chimedtseye (b.1956-)*

Sh. Chimedtseye is widely thought to be one of the most successful long-song singers in contemporary Mongolia after Norovbanzad. She was born in 1956 in Uulbayan *sum* of Sūkhbaatar *aimag*. She started singing when she was sixteen, and she was also a herder. Then she went into competitions and met one of the famous critics at that time, J. Badraa, who recommended that she come to Ulaanbaatar and have a *kurs* with Norovbanzad. After that, she worked as a singer in the theater of Sūkhbaatar *aimag* from 1975 to 1993. Since 1994, she has lived in Ulaanbaatar and worked as a singer in the Mongolian Morin Khuur Ensemble in addition to teaching in the Music and Dance College. She was awarded the title of “Cultural leading artist” in 1988, and became a *gav’yat jūjigchin* (state honored artist) in 1991. She became an *ardyn jūjigchin* (people’s artist) in 2001. Recently her performance of “Jaakhan sharga” has been recorded for a UNESCO cultural heritage program.

If N. Norovbanzad and J. Dorjdagva were famous as singers who brought the

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<sup>18</sup> Teachers I met hinted that their actual salaries are very small at their schools, but because of all the side activities resulting from their fame, such as commercial recordings and performances, they could maintain their economic status.

central and Dugov' style of singing to Ulaanbaatar, then Sh. Chimedtseye has become known for bringing the style of the eastern *aimag*, especially the Dariganga area. In my interview with Sh. Chimedtseye, she mostly talked about her life in the countryside. She said she had been a herder once and had learned most of her songs at feasts and from her mother. Even if she has built her fame among Ulaanbaatar singers, she still emphasizes life and thought in her *nutag* (hometown or locality; explained in more detail later in this chapter). She demonstrated to me several songs from her hometown area, Sükhbaatar, and was particularly keen on the ethnic songs of Üzemchin and Dariganga<sup>19</sup> (Interview with Sh. Chimedtseye between October 2009 and January 2010). For this reason, she tried to bring some long-songs that are relatively rare, and versions of songs that are more common in the countryside, to her students.

With her precise knowledge of singing technique, the most intriguing part of meeting with her was sitting right next to her and observing her teaching and singing. Her teaching was very detail-oriented, and she herself ardently kept up with reading and studying from books about long-song technique. In her teaching and also when I was spending time with her for the interviews, I found that she is very specific about how singers can express the numerous techniques in their singing. She was not only clearly aware of what she was doing, but also able to verbalize it effectively to her students.

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<sup>19</sup> She published a book called *Jaakhan sharga*, which is a collection of songs from Sükhbaatar *aimag* focused on the Üzemchin and Dariganga people (1995).



Figure 6: A Singer, Sh. Chimedtseye with Her Student, Kang-Erdene

Younger generation long-song singers, who are largely being educated as college students, are another growing population of long-song singers, aiming toward becoming professional singers like their teachers. However, they have taken a different path from the older generation of professional singers. Some of them had a little bit of experience of long-song when they were young, learning songs from their families or from local teachers. Most young long-song singers who studied in the colleges in Ulaanbaatar, however, did not have much background of long-song. Most of the students I met at the Music and Dance College are from the countryside, most of them recruited by the teachers on their trips to the countryside for performances or to judge competitions (not long-song competitions, but other folk song competitions). Thus, some were not quite serious about being professionals, although people in general would consider them professional singers once they graduated, while some were quite serious about their singing and were hoping to become professionals. S. Monkтуяа was one of the latter group, who was talented and very committed to what

she was doing.

*College Student Long-song Singer in Ulaanbaatar: S. Monkтуya*

While the legendary singers and the older generation of professional singers both in the countryside and Ulaanbaatar, including teachers in universities in Ulaanbaatar, are clearly professional long-song singers who had grown up during the socialist period, there is a group of younger long-song singers who are pursuing their lives as a professional singers and musical elites in contemporary Mongolia, mostly through their higher education. S. Monkтуya (Tuya hereafter), a twenty-year-old college student in the Music and Dance College in Ulaanbaatar, is one of them.

When I met Tuya in 2009, she was in her second year of college. She has a talented voice, and as a sophomore already had a clear goal of becoming a professional singer. She said that she started singing when she was thirteen, learning a song from her father. Her father is a herder who never studied singing intensively but knows how to sing, so he could teach Tuya singing when she was young. Tuya has a sister who is also good at singing, but no one else in their family was a singer. Tuya said she always liked to sing, so she started to learn singing seriously from the local teacher, S. Sum'ya from Övörkhangai *aimag*, whom I profiled earlier. She came to Ulaanbaatar when she was sixteen to study long-song and now lives with her relatives there, while the rest of her family lives in the countryside, in Övörkhangai *aimag*.

At one point we were sitting together, and I asked S. Tuya why she wanted to come to Ulaanbaatar. She answered, “to become *mergejiliin* (professional) singer!” Then, I asked what she felt were the differences between learning in the countryside

and in the city, and the respective benefits of each situation, since she has experienced both. She gave me a very interesting answer: she thought that she could gain a better knowledge of how to perform on stage, and also that the school would teach her a more systematic way of thinking about long-song techniques.

Tuya's desire to be a professional singer is not limited to her. Most of the students in urban universities, especially seniors preparing for graduation, were hoping to get jobs as theater singers. Currently, positions in the theater are becoming more limited, as more singers are graduating from college and permanently moving from the countryside to Ulaanbaatar. Since they are getting college educations, they already dream about life as "professional" singers, but in reality, they are farther away from becoming professionals.



Figure 7: S. Monktuya

Unlike those college students, there is another group of long-song singers on the other end of the spectrum of current long-song singers. These are people who didn't leave the countryside until they had already learned all the necessary

techniques and basic long-songs. They had lived by some other occupation, not as singers, in the countryside. For them, the connection between countryside and city is stronger. It seems that for them, the city is the place where they would form their careers, but the country is a place with a genuine image for their singing. The stories of the following singers, E. Khurelbaatar and Kh. Erderntsetseg, are examples of this.

#### JUGGLING BETWEEN PROFESSIONALS AND AMATEURS: MOVING BETWEEN COUNTRYSIDE AND CITY

##### *New Professionals I: E. Khurelbaatar*

E. Khurelbaatar is one of the more interesting singers I met in the field. Like S. Sum'ya and many other singers from the countryside, he participated in the UNESCO conference. At the conference he seemed quite young, but he talked about how much the government should continue to provide support for the long-song genre, especially for countryside singers. He also has a somewhat different way of singing from the younger Ulaanbaatar singers I met—with not quite as much improvised ornamentation, but a very natural way of decorating the notes and a uniquely beautiful voice. I thought he was not a city singer, but when I asked him where he came from, he answered “Nalaikh,” which is part of Ulaanbaatar.

When I met him for a second time, I found out that Nalaikh was not his hometown, but where he is living and teaching, especially to young children. Thirty-three years old when I talked to him, E. Khurelbaatar was born in Sharga *sum*, Gobi Altai *aimag*. He came to Nalaikh, Ulaanbaatar for economic reasons when the economy opened into a free-market in 1990. Interestingly, he said that he did not

come to Ulaanbaatar to teach long-song. Rather, he said that he moved Ulaanbaatar to get a new job that would make him a living. However, after arriving, he started teaching in the Nalaikh cultural center and singing professionally, having already been a singer in countryside.

E. Khurelbaatar started singing when he was five, learning from his grandmother. He rode a horse and sang the horse-riding song *gingoo*. According to him, his family seems to be generally very musical. His mother's side had produced a famous singer, as had his father's side. He particularly talked about his fourth great grandfather on his mother side, Sambu, who was a very good singer. His grandparents on his father's side are still alive in Gobi Altai and still very good singers.

Interestingly, most Mongolian long-song singers say fathers or mother were great singers. Most singers believe that singing ability is genetic, and particularly on the mother's side. Along with the importance he attached to genetic inheritance, E. Kurelbaatar also emphasized the importance of having the "original context of the learning environment," such as singing while herding animals and so on.

Like other, older, singers from the countryside, he was quite being aware of how long-song singers are helped by listening to and imitating the sounds of animals, a technique he actually uses in his teaching. He regrets that most of the younger city singers do not know the traditional context of the long-song. In our conversation, he made a connection between long-song tradition and the countryside, like the concept of locality that was discussed as *nutag* in my conversation with Sh. Chimedtseye. He expounded on the idea of locality, describing his hometown and the relation between this environment and his singing's musical characteristics. He explained that singers

from his home area, Gobi-altai *aimag*, usually have a wider vocal range and also differ in small stylistic details, depending on their native *sum*.

Interestingly, although he seemed to have all the techniques needed to be a “professional” singer already, he informed me that he had taken lessons from D. Tuvshinjargal, one of the teachers at the Music and Dance College, and also was at the time of our interview pursuing his degree at the Cultural University (Interview with E. Khurelbaatar 11/24/2009). I could see that some of the teaching and singing methods he was using were clearly adapted from these schools. I asked why he still needed to pursue his degree and take lessons with D. Tuvshinjargal when he had all the perfect techniques and was also teaching in the cultural center, and he introduced the concepts of *ulamjlalt* (tradition) and *mergejiliin* (professional). He defined *ulamjlalt* as the way that knowledge could be obtained naturally, but *mergejiliin* as something that needed to be obtained actively from schools. It shows that he sees being a professional singer as part of his active will and something possible to achieve by his effort.

Following his explanation of these concepts, E. Khurelbaatar illustrated it with a discussion of several competitions in which he had participated, showing photos of them. Still more interestingly, not only has he participated in competitions, he has now started to actively organize competitions. The third time I met him was when he invited me to the Nalaikh competition for amateurs.<sup>20</sup> He organized and sent several

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<sup>20</sup> Nasanbaat, another student, a senior from the Music and Dance College, could not win this competition because his was already counted as a “professional” – one more example of how much the people in the society try to be aware of the boundary between “professional” and “amateur.”

of his students to this competition as well. This illustrates that E. Khurelbaatar brought a perspective toward competition that has remained from the socialist period, which saw competition as an active agent of cultural enlargement. For this competition, thus, he not only invited the judges but also invited several famous cultural administrative committees and broadcasters, to make it a big event.

The last time I met with him, he gave me his name card. On his name card, is written *soyolyn tergüünii ajiltan* (cultural leading artist), which is the beginning ranking among Mongolian musicians. His story provides a very clear case study of where Mongolian singers start singing, where they go to become professional singers, and why they feel they need to become professional singers.

#### The Meaning of *Nutag*

Through the case studies of several singers above, it has been clear that their idea of hometown or home implies more than a simple physical location, similar to the way Williams (1977) defines the idea of countryside. Although the concept of countryside as backward might make it a contrasting concept to the urbanization supported by the party during the socialist period, the new concept of countryside as embodying a more nostalgic and authentic Mongol image has gained strength, especially in post-socialist Mongolia. Probably for this reason, the Mongolian word *nutag* is frequently brought up in conversations and in the teachings of the singers.

Basically, *nutag* in Mongolian means “home,” “hometown,” “homeland,” or “local.” According to Kaplonski, it is used further to refer to “birthplace” and “can also mean ‘pasture-land’ in a more physical, material sense” (Kaplonski 2004: 19).

Besides, *nutag* has been translated into “motherland” or “native land” from Natsagdorj’s famous poem on Mongolia (ibid: 19). Whenever singers and teachers of long-song explain *nutag*, they talk about it as a space where they can imagine their homes and their mothers, conjuring an authentic longing emotion, rather than a physical space. To singers, thus, *nutag* is the space they should put in their minds in order to create expressiveness in singing, since the countryside, mothers, horses, land and the landscape, and endless longing for somebody are basic themes of long-songs. Thus, singers always employ the concept of *nutag* as a metaphor to express their musicality.

However, although Kaplonski explains that *nutag* can indicate “pasture-land” in a more material sense, the word itself does not indicate the location, countryside. It can be an implication of conceptual birthplace, such as life styles in the countryside or even a nomadic life style. Given this, the word *nutag* can apply to either the countryside or the city. A person who was born in Ulaanbaatar and has his/her primary emotional attachment to it can in this case consider Ulaanbaatar, the city, as his or her *nutag*. Nevertheless, Mongolians often consider and understand *nutag* to indicate a pastoral, countryside image, since they have originally lived as nomads, and the countryside has been always where they originate. Thus, they often use the word *khödöö* (countryside) *nutag* for the basic concept of *nutag*

As revealed in the stories of Sh. Chimedtseye and E. Khurelbaatar, a sense of connection to the countryside has been quite important to singers, especially to urban singers, even if that appears counter-intuitive. Though pursuing their lives as professional singers, it was clear that they have not given up their connection to the

countryside, for several reasons. The concept of *nutag* seems possibly more important to some of the city long-song singers because they no longer have the direct connection, or because it can be used to differentiate traditional/folk singers from other musicians. Also, it is because of the new nationalistic influence on the society overall, especially since the long-song genre is now a traditional genre that can be conceived as presenting the image of “the Mongol” in post-socialist Mongolia. Thus, this concept of *nutag* has been important and actively discussed among current long-song singers.



Figure 8: Mongolian Summer *khödöö nutag*;  
A Herder in Sükhbaatar *aimag* July 2007



Figure 9: Mongolian Winter *Khödöö nutag*;  
A Line of Cows, Walking Back Home in Darkhan in December 2009

*New Professionals II: Kh. Erdentsetseg*

Another singer from the countryside who has very clearly established her name in urban long-song circles is Kh. Erdentsetseg. Born in Delgertsogt *sum*, Dungov' *aimag*, she worked as a music teacher in Tsagaandelger *sum*, Dungov' *aimag* from 1995 to 2000. Then she participated in one of the National competitions in 2000 and won first prize, afterward moving to Ulaanbaatar in 2001 to work as a singer in the National Song and Dance Ensemble, which has been one of the prestigious ensembles in Ulaanbaatar.<sup>21</sup> She was designated as a *soyolyn tergüünii ajiltan* (cultural leading artist; STA) in 2006. While she was building her career as a

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<sup>21</sup> She told me quite an interesting side story. When she took the exam in the theatre, she was right at the edge of the age limit. So, the year she was taking the exam was going to be the last chance for her. Fortunately, she passed the exam and became a theater singer.

professional stage singer, she also pursued a degree in long-song at the Cultural University from 2000 to 2005. When I met her again in 2009, she was pursuing a master's degree in the same school.

Kh. Erdentsetseg moved from the countryside to Ulaanbaatar after she grew up, and although she had already learned how to sing in the countryside, she started her career as a professional long-song singer from Ulaanbaatar, not from her hometown. Like E. Khurelbaatar, she had practiced in the countryside by imitating the sounds of animals. Kh. Erdentsetseg did not have many long-songs in her repertory, and only once did she take a lesson with Dad'süren (who is described below), before a competition. However, being in the countryside seemed to have helped her understand the spirit of long-song. She also showed a very strong bond to the countryside and her hometown, and she still travels back and forth to the countryside even though she has moved to Ulaanbaatar permanently.

Another interesting part of Kh. Erdentsetseg's story was that she also worked with a rock band, Altan Urag. Altan Urag is a folk-rock band that exists along with numerous other pop groups. However, Altan Urag is a rather pioneering group—almost the first folk-rock group in Mongolia. As a member of this ensemble, Kh. Erdentsetseg had a chance to go on tour outside Mongolia, to places such as Japan, Russia, and Switzerland. With this group, she could release her voice everywhere in Mongolia on compact disc, even though it was impossible at the time for her to release her own CD. This sort of activity has opened up a new possibility for professional activity for the current younger generation of long-song singers in Ulaanbaatar, and her story reveals how younger long-song singers in post-socialist

Mongolia have merged into a new musical phase in Mongolia as a capitalistic society, which is the music market.

### Countryside Amateur Singers

The long-song tradition and culture in urban areas, as illustrated before, has been a musical tradition in which professional singers have created their musical lives and musical activities. The concept of the professional singer was coined during the socialist period, and the way of becoming and living as professional singers created then is still followed in current Ulaanbaatar. However, not all the long-song singers have moved to the city or settled into the professional tradition. There are still numerous amateur singers in the countryside, although I would have to say that most of the singers are older than the average age of singers in Ulaanbaatar. At the same time, singers in countryside are not all amateur singers, either. There are still singers there who have been defined as professional, such as S. Sum'ya.

When it comes to rural locations, the boundaries of singers' positions are defined simply. Singers who are working in the theater are considered professional singers, while most of the other singers, who are not employed as singers in theaters, have other jobs, and singing is for them a secondary activity. I have found numerous singers who are earning their livings as medical doctors, librarians, office workers in the government sector, herders, or other professions. Among these countryside amateur singers, there are many ways of preserving the singing tradition, and the countryside styles have undergone development, either in ways similar to the urban professional singers or in dissimilar ways.

They still sing when they herd and when they milk. However, they do not have as many feasts as in the old days. Instead, they are trying to participate in small local competitions and take lessons with local teachers. Interestingly, countryside singers are very aware of what is going on among urban long-song singers—who are the famous singers, who sings what, and so on—sometimes even more than Ulaanbaatar’s younger singers. In this situation, it is clear that the influence between the city and countryside has constantly existed. This is not only because of the constant traveling between countryside and city, but also because a great number of the singers I met in the countryside had studied by listening to the radio. Thus, the connection between countryside and city has been made not only by people’s immigration between the two sites, but also by their radios and by the information they have heard at competitions.

I briefly explained earlier how the MNB radio station has played a role to empower certain singers. The influence of radio was not only empowering certain singers, but also it has planted back to the countryside ideas regarding the thinking and attitudes that have grown out from urban, professional singers. Thus, countryside singers were keeping how they can learn and practice in countryside, and at the same time, they were forming a mental image of professional singers.

*Countryside Singers I: The Doctor Singer, M. Tshevegbat in  
Övörkhongai*

M. Tshevegbat, aged seventy-eight, is a singer from Targar *sum* in Övörkhongai *aimag*. I met him at a long-song competition in Övörkhongai *aimag*, but

he did not seem to be participating in the competition—he was quite relaxed and careless, and seemed somewhat tired as well. While he was waiting for the competition rehearsal, he told me that he sings as a hobby—an amateur as he defined it—but he was a professional medical doctor in his hometown. Nevertheless, he became carried away with the history of long-song, and shared his memories with me. He started singing at eighteen, and like other people he learned long-song singing as part of feasts from his father, grandfather, and great grandfather. Under socialism, he became a medical doctor after studying at the socialist party’s university. Since then, he has worked as a good medical doctor in the *sum*, while he has also studied singing long-song as a hobby for a long-time.

He gave me a very vivid description of what happened under the socialist regime. During that time, he said, there were not many *urtyn duu* singers in the theatres. Most of the long-song singers then were amateurs and lived as herders or with other occupations. He thought that even though there is not much musical difference between long-song as sung then and now, there had been censorship in the lyrics during the socialist period, in order to suppress Buddhism-related texts. He felt that long-song was suppressed under the socialism government for that reason and also because of the influence from Russian culture and ideology, which caused “tradition” to be looked down upon, especially after 1966. According to Tshevegbat, there was a cultural revolution from 1964 to 1966. Around this time, people were trying to change their lifestyle from Mongolian to Western, and they changed buildings, furniture, and clothing to Western styles. The number of traditional feasts was reduced. People were more reluctant to talk about Chinggis Khan and religion.

He also remembered that the current type of *morin khuur* has been factory-produced since 1971, and that he had bought one in 1979 in Ulaanbaatar.

M. Tshevegbat's interview reveals that long-song was alive during the socialist period, even if not as a professional tradition. Most people said that long-song had been suppressed and was gone in the countryside. The observation of how these amateurs kept practicing the long-song tradition shows that long-song survived somehow during the socialist period, although Mongolians themselves say, and even M. Tshevegbat said, that it was much suppressed and practice of it had decreased. In the conversation with him, it was clear that during the time of socialism, the concepts of "urban" and "professional" were already conceptualized and distinguished by countryside singers. As a consequence, competitions and festivals in *aimag* or *sum*, rather than feasts, have been accepted by countryside singers as a desirable context for long-song. Furthermore, through this process, countryside singers, even though they themselves lived in the countryside, have viewed themselves as more backward and less skillful, while at the same time city singers have imagined the countryside as a nostalgic space.

M. Tshevegbat noted that he had studied long-song by listening to the radio a lot. Indeed, he said he studied mostly from the radio, particularly by listening to professional singers like N. Norovbanzad, B. Lkhamjav, and S. Süglemaa, the legendary names I discussed before. Interestingly, he said he also used to take a lesson from time to time, and thus he learned from local singers, including professional singers like S. Sum'ya.

*Countryside Singers II: Dad'süren and S. Bayantogtokh in Dundgov' aimag*

Dad'süren, from Tsagaandelger *sum* in Dundgov' *aimag*, is one of the most impressive countryside long-song singers I have met. This is not only because he is such a good singer, but also because he carries tremendous knowledge. He knew where the long-song tradition came from and talked about a variety of subjects regarding the background of long-song.

Finding his *ger* (house) was particularly difficult during the summer of 2007, since he was moving from his winter *ger* to his summer *ger*, which was in quite a remote place. When I woke up the next morning, he was already ready for our interview. He was wearing a light brown *del*,<sup>22</sup> and he was sitting with some of his notebooks. When we started the interview, he talked about all the legends of the songs, which he read from his notebook. Also in the notebook, he kept a log of musical techniques and song collections that are rare and disappearing. From the notebook and also from memory, he told me, almost in lecture form, about the overall long-song tradition.<sup>23</sup> When I asked where he learned all his knowledge about singing, he said that he had learned the songs and knowledge about the songs at the same time from the feast and that the radio had also helped him. He said “I got up every morning to listen to the long-song radio program” (Interview with Dad'süren 7/22/2007).

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<sup>22</sup> Mongolian traditional clothing.

<sup>23</sup> He described what used to be the content of the long-songs, who the famous singers were, the important song collections, and legends surrounding the songs, any gender separation depending on the pieces, the individual improvisational techniques and their regional variations, and so on.

Even with all his knowledge, he did not seem to have a lot of students. When I asked him about this, he said that he did not have regular students, but that people came for lessons from time to time. Kh. Erdentsetseg, who I mentioned earlier, was one of them. He said that she was one of his students who has a fine voice. He also simply says, “I’m just a herder, moving around here and there. I cannot afford to have students” (Interview with Dad’süren 7/22/2007). However, to me, with the knowledge he possesses, he was certainly not just a herder or an amateur singer—he would fit perfectly into the category of professional singers.



Figure 10: Dad’süren, A Singer from Dundgov’ *aimag*

Not far from where Dad’süren’s *ger* was, I encountered another singer named S. Bayantogtokh. Dad’süren spoke more about the history and background of long-song, but S. Bayantogtokh brought a great deal of further musical knowledge and performance background to our discussion. He started our interview by talking about *gingoo* and *um marzai*, the horse race song that children usually sing, and he was able

to be quite specific about regional styles. He was particularly good at distinguishing between Bayanbaraat style and Borjgin style, since he lives around the edge of both regions and their styles. He particularly also shared his broad and deep knowledge of the song-selections and ordering for feasts: what kind of song was to be sung at the beginning, what would be the last song, and so on. In addition, he gave a very specific description of how make a good vocal sound when singing long-song. He said that if a voice would reflect back from a big bowl made out of iron, then it was making a good sound for singing long-song, and he demonstrated this good singing himself.



Figure 11: S. Bayantogtokh, A Singer from Dundgov' *aimag*

### Local Knowledge

My interviews with these two countryside amateur<sup>24</sup> singers, Dad'süren and S. Bayantogtokh, revealed their very rich knowledge of long-song. This type of knowledge is not unique to these two singers, either. In my fieldwork, I have encountered numerous countryside singers who have rich knowledge of the long-song

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<sup>24</sup> In the sense that they clearly had occupations other than singing and were not pursuing singing as a career.

tradition, and who can clearly explain things about histories, legends of the songs, and even musical techniques. Once, during my interview with Sh. Chimedtseye, I asked her who made up the terms for long-song techniques such as *tsokhilt* (glottal vibrato), *bönjignökh* (smoother, tremolo-like vibrato),<sup>25</sup> and she answered simply “the Mongolian public” (Interview with Sh. Chimedtseye 10/04/2009). At the countryside feasts, particularly long ago when feasts were popular, people did not just talk about random things; they also talked about how to sing and about these terms. Among countryside singers, having such knowledge considered as important for becoming a good singer as having a good voice and techniques. Having the knowledge and ability to explain these techniques seems also to be quite valuable—as much as participating in competitions.

During the socialist period, having knowledge was another powerful way to be elevated in society. In fact, the intelligentsias were not only the group who held degrees of higher education, but also the group who most often discussed culture and art, and who created the discourse of knowledge in doing so. The short-term training program, the *kurs*, was also intended to impart certain specified knowledge of singing as well as singing techniques. In this kind of *kurs* program, teachers like J. Dorjdagva, N. Norovbanzad, and S. Sum’ya had created a culture of passing on verbally the great knowledge they embodied.

As oral tradition has been prevalent in Mongolian history, particularly in the countryside where people still live as nomads, people have been used to learning important things by heart. Therefore, due to this lifestyle, having and transmitting

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<sup>25</sup> See Chapter Four for more details.

specific knowledge orally seems to have been a strong means for the empowerment of singers in Mongolian society during the socialist period, when there was no economic concept of the professional. It seems to still be this way in the countryside—being able to be part of the discourse about long-song and to be able to talk about the knowledge one possesses still seems to be a tool that can empower a singer, not necessarily in an economic way, but certainly as part of the musical elite, a sort of intelligentsia.

### *Many More Stories of Other Countryside Singers*

Singers like N. Dalkhjav and L. Ragchaa, from Darkhan area, Northwest of Ulaanbaatar, retained the melodic style of their native Khovd *aimag*, the far west *aimag*, characteristic of western Mongolia, when they moved away—a style that has now almost disappeared in Khovd *aimag*. In Arkhangai *aimag*, there was a singer, Ö. Tuvshinbayar, who alone knew a rare religious long-song; he was sick, and the song was about to be buried with him. There was S. Hishgee, from Erdentsagaan *sum* in Sūkhbaatar *aimag*, who demonstrated the lyrical improvisation style of the Üzemchin ethnic group. There is also a singer, Sūkhbaatar, who is an airport bus driver but has tried to revive the disappearing long-songs. In short, regional styles from the pre-socialist context were alive among these singers, although they had not been at the forefront of the long-song cultural picture, as the professional singers were. However, the images and the presentations of these styles have shifted from being only amateur and countryside singers—which could be considered backward during the socialist period—to being included in the more “authentic” and “nostalgic” long-song tradition

that now exists within the new, modern, global Mongolia.

## SHIFTING MUSICAL ELITES FROM KNOWLEDGE AND HONOR TO THE MARKET

When Mongolia became a capitalist society, it did not mean total collapse for professional singers' economic situation, although it was a time of struggle, since they had survived on government salaries during the socialist period. Nevertheless, the class of professional singers that had grown up in the socialist period continued to grow, and more singers than ever wanted to be professional singers, especially the younger long-song singers who had just graduated from college and universities and aimed to become professional musicians in Ulaanbaatar, but who had not quite yet established their positions in society as professional singers. These singers started struggling at the outset of the post-socialist period. They had started training to be professional musicians, but ended up with degrees that had not put them in any position to make a living. As Mongolian society turned into as a free market society, most professionals started to release CDs and perform more concerts to have a better social position, so that consequently they could have a good living situation.

These members of the younger generation who studied at colleges, thus, have shifted their definition of professional singer away from the one that was understood by older generations as having education, participating in competitions, and acquiring virtuosic techniques. Some younger singers have started to give up the idea of becoming professional singers, or they have started working more closely with the current music industry market. The next two young singers I introduce are very good singers, but they claim that they are amateurs and that they prefer not to be considered

professional singers.

*Amateur Long-song Singers in Ulaanbaatar: D. Mandukhai and E. Enkhjargal*

D. Mandukhai and E. Enkhjargal are singers I met in Ulaanbaatar at a singing competition limited to amateurs. In that competition, there was a varied range of singers, aged from about eleven years old to thirty years old. D. Mandukhai and E. Enkhjargal were singers who won prizes in this competition, and I noticed that they had good singing voices and technique. They were, interestingly, college students in Ulaanbaatar, but they said they were not attending long-song singing school.

D. Mandukhai is studying at the National University of Mongolia to become a Mongolian language teacher. She was born in Tsetserleg *sum* in Arkhangai *aimag*. Her father was not a singer, but her mother was. Her mother was from Dundgov', and a feast singer. D. Mandukhai started singing when she was around eight, but she started singing long-song when she started to learn some of the repertory from a teacher at the Cultural University. E. Enkhjargal, is in her second year of college, and she is attending a Teacher's College. She dreams of becoming a music teacher. She has sung since she was very young. After graduating from high school, she went to college; she also took some lessons from Ts. Chuluntsetseg, but not on a regular basis.

They both sing at a professional level, with nice voices and well elaborated *chimeglel* in their performances, and they obviously love singing long-song. I wondered why they did not want to pursue careers as professional singers. D. Mandukhai had even studied closely for some time with the one of the most

prestigious singers. Even with her talent, and with her family background of singing, she told me as we sat at the dinner table that she would not have enough money to survive as a singer. E. Enkjargal also says that she will continue singing, but as an amateur rather than as a professional singer; she says that she will enjoy singing more this way.

*Neo-Traditional Singers in the New Market: Long-song Folk-pop Group, Shurankhai*

One of the phenomena that have emerged in current Mongolian society among younger college-educated long-song singers, and common among Mongolia's younger generations, is that while long-song is the tradition, it is not a musical activity that reliably brings them economic value. It seems that to be a professional in post-socialist Mongolia not only means that a singer has to gain fame through the route of competitions or with highly virtuosity that have been the method for professional singers during the socialist period. Rather, the condition of being a professional singer in contemporary Mongolia has seemed to require something more.

Some of the students from the long-song programs of universities and colleges have begun to navigate possible directions toward which to put their musical talent that might possibly appeal to the young audience present in Mongolia's mass market, while at the same time carrying on the long-song folk tradition. Some of them have started targeting the mass-market media market as a possible direction, but not in such a way as to present only folk tradition. They are trying to present folk traditions to a younger generation that has been much exposed to Western pop-culture. Kh. Erdentsetseg has provided a good example for other younger generation long-song

singers. By working with the folk rock band Altan Urag, Kh. Erdentsetseg could spread her name out to the world very well, not only within the circle of singers, but also to the broader audience of average younger Mongolians, who listen to rock frequently.

The group called Shurankhai is another example of this. Shurankhai consists of three female long-song singers. I asked one of its members, B. Nomin-erdene (23), how they came to create an ensemble group for a solo singing tradition. She simply answered, with a laugh, “Because we did not have money! ... many professional singers make CDs these days, but it was expensive to do so as a student and individually. We three are very good, close friends, and we have always talked about what we wanted to do in the future. Also, sometimes we have sung together, too. One day, we just come up with the idea to sing together and release a CD together” (Interview with B. Nomin-erdene 11/17/2009).

Their musical style is quite an interesting combination of heterophony among the three voices with harmonic synthesizer although the group was, in B. Nomin-erdene’s account, initiated for reasons of “money.” Later in our conversation, she said that they had learned to become long-song singers but also liked other kinds of music, such as pop music, world music, and so on, just like other youngsters in Ulaanbaatar. Besides, she indicated that, like other long-song singers, they would like to travel outside Mongolia as part of their professional experience. At the same time, she was careful to tell me that the group always goes to the countryside for better inspiration and practice when they are preparing for a performance, emphasizing that they all came from the countryside and had long-song singers as family members. B. Nomin-

erdene herself comes from Bayankhongor *aimag*, G. Erdenechimeg from Arkhangai *aimag*, and D. Üüriintuya from Dundgov' *aimag*.

My conversation with B. Nomin-erdene illustrates the continuity with the socialist period regarding what it is to become a professional singer. The members of Shurankhai have moved away from their countryside homes, where they lived with the long-song tradition, to Ulaanbaatar in order to attend professional long-song programs in institutions of higher education. Just as N. Norovbanzad became a well-known professional singer through international tours, the members of Shurankhai share the same sense of cosmopolitanism, hoping to travel outside of Mongolia someday. Additionally they have harnessed the power of media by making a CD, just as radio was an important tool for spreading the professional long-song tradition around the whole nation during the socialist period.

Along with these continuities is an interesting change, a sign of the adaptation by the new generation of long-song singers to the free market of post-socialist society. Although they have studied the long-song as a folk/traditional genre, they have crossed over to other genres, that is, fusion, in order to put themselves into the media marketplace, which they see as important to their survival in contemporary Mongolian society. At the same time, they continue to insist on their connection to their *nutag*, which, it seems to me, is considered by the younger generation to be part of their “duty” in presenting a new Mongolian identity.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter, based on the stories of singers I encountered in the fieldwork, I have followed the threads of some social and cultural elements that have had an impact on change and continuity in Mongolian long-song. I have shown how professionalism/amateurism have been defined and redefined among singers, along with the political and social transitions they have experienced.

The rise of a new professional class of singers, along with the first conceptualization of professionalism and amateurism during the early socialist period, was an interesting phenomenon. Socialist theory emphasizes the equal distribution of capital among social actors and more empowerment of the proletariat, while bourgeois and hierarchic feudalistic practices are seen as things that should be eliminated. But the conceptualization of class and hierarchy, paradoxically, did in fact exist among singers in socialist Mongolia society. Long-song singers' formation of a boundary between professionalism and amateurism clearly did occur, and has had a considerable impact on long-song history. This boundary had a connection with the rise of the social class of which they were members, the intelligentsia, which emerged as a revolutionary new generation, the *arad* (common people), but came to form a power base of elites in socialist society.

Professionalism during the socialist period was based not on economic capital, but rather on knowledge, social acceptance, and social networks. From the stories of singers such as N. Norovbanzad, J. Dorjdagva, Ch. Sharkhüükhen, and S. Sum'ya, we see that they became professional by means of social acceptance, through competitions, the honorary ranks bestowed on them, and radio broadcasting. J.

Dorjdagva carried a great deal of knowledge about long-song techniques and was accepted as teacher. Interestingly, the concept of *mergejliin* singer in post-socialist Mongolia is no longer limited to one based on social acceptance through these mechanisms. Elements such as social acceptance and the power of knowledge has been added the power of economic capital, changing the concept of professional singers in the long-song tradition. Furthermore, in post-socialist Mongolia, due to the new nation-building movement that has tried to bring about a new Mongolian national identity through the long-song tradition, countryside singers have started to perceive a different concept of rural singers as simply being amateur singers, as opposed to the image of backwardness they had sensed during the socialist period.

Through these observations, it has become clear that the experiences of singers in socialist Mongolia form a continuum with those of singers in post-socialist Mongolia. The remains of what was initiated and developed in the long-song tradition during the socialist era have continued to the present, processed in diverse ways to fit into the new society of democratic, free-market Mongolia. For example, the story of Shurankhai shows continuation of a pursuit of criteria for professionalism that had been defined during the socialist period, such as social acceptance (by media), pursuit of higher education, and a sense of cosmopolitanism, but at the same time, their CD recording represents an attempt to tune into the market and target the younger audience, while their connection to the image of the countryside marks them as an “authentic” Mongolian group that connects to their “deep past” (Humphrey 1992: 375).

The descriptions of the long-song singers in this chapter not only shows the different layers among current long-song singers, but also brings an understanding of the social elements of change and continuity in the long-song tradition. The social elements of change and continuity in the long-song tradition, in turn, raise some important questions themselves—how have singers defined and ranked the things they have valued in the various contexts of Mongolian history? Would musical and aesthetic value, represented by musicality and musical technique, be more important than social values represented by positions, fame (social acceptance), and money (economy)? Which would current professionals consider more important? Then, has this aesthetic value, or conceptions of it, been changed by the transitions in the long-song tradition, particularly by the process of creating professional musicians? Is it possible to distinguish a good singer through the mechanism of the professional/amateur dichotomy?

If one contrasts the definition of professionalism in Mongolia today—the pursuit of singing as an occupation—as contrasted with the definition of a singer in the Mongolia of earlier times—that of being a more natural singer in pre-revolutionary times—the idea of professionalism does not provide a simple standard for only musically distinguished singers in Mongolia. Rather, the idea of professionalism is more concerned with how singers meet all the expected social and (probably more importantly) political norms, and it depends on how those norms and qualifications are embodied and represented by the singers, in ways that matter not only to the singers themselves, but also to Mongolian society overall. In other words, who is considered a good long-singer or more valuable long-song singer in modern

Mongolia is governed not only by the condition of who has the necessary musical technique, but also, maybe more importantly, who best reflects the attributes of the professional singer that were accrued along Mongolia's path through the socialist period and into the post-socialist period.

The image of professional singers, as a more cosmopolitan image with virtuosic techniques that has been constantly built from socialist Mongolia, has added one more image into social acceptance in the post-socialist period—a more authentic image that connects to the pre-socialist period of Mongolia. It is an image of more folk (actually it could be folklorist) and traditional elements of culture; it is for the image of Mongolia as a new nation in post-socialist period. The amount of scattered local knowledge of long-song that the countryside singers possess, thus, has become an important part of the value of the tradition, and so they have gained importance and significance. Rural singers, such as Dad'süren and S. Bayantogtokh, who carry only local, but extensive knowledge regarding long-song musical technique, repertory, and context, are naturally viewed with the prestige accorded singers who retained important musical and aesthetic values.

How, then, do the actual musical elements of long-song respond to the flux of aesthetic values in the singers' positioning process? This question takes us to our last task, which is to investigate the musical aspects of transitional long-song history: how musical style itself has responded to the singers' musical activities, lives, and musical values?" The next chapter investigates this question.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SONGS IN TRANSITION

#### CHANGED OR CONTINUED?

This chapter investigates the music itself in relation to the singers' lives that has been changed along with the history of Mongolia throughout the socialist and post-socialist times. When I asked whether there have been changes in the long-song genre along with the historical and social changes that have occurred, most of the singers I interviewed in the field could not pin down exact elements of change in the music itself. Most singers said that there were changes in the lyrics during the socialist period, but other than that, they could not answer confidently whether the music itself had responded to change or not. Does this mean that the music retained its characteristics just as they were before, even in the changing environment and context?

Nettl argues that "if there is anything really stable in the musics of the world, it is the constant existence of change" (Nettl 2005: 275). "If change is the norm, more than continuity" as Nettl further argues (2005: 279), for what reason did most of the Mongolian long-song singers tell me in their interviews that there has been no change in musical style?

I have concluded that, particularly in the Mongolian musical context, musical change is a very relative concept, depending on how we think about it and what amount of change we are talking about. Between insiders and outsiders, the concept

of change can be quite different.<sup>1</sup> To Mongolians, change on the musical side of long-song is not something that has obviously occurred. Despite this, change is always occurring in the culture, and the Mongolians, the insiders, do not always recognize it, because it has not happened overnight or in drastic fashion. However, change can be observed when the culture is viewed from a somewhat different angle, by more objective investigations, looking with a comparative approach among the several evidences remaining from the transitional period, and considering what is going on in contemporary Mongolian long-song.

My investigation here is based on transitional aspects of two musical areas: the long-song repertory and the musical styles of the long-songs. The study includes an examination of song-collections I found in the current Mongolian archives in addition to my own field recordings that I collected between 2007 and 2010 in my quest to understand the current soundscape.

## LONG-SONG REPERTORY IN TRANSITION<sup>2</sup>

Interviews with the singers revealed that only certain songs were chosen for performance, and that some songs were not allowed to be performed during the socialist period. It was because of the contents of the lyrics of certain songs—religious, or not proper to what the socialist party pursued. For example, stories

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<sup>1</sup> In this matter, Nettl noted that insiders would have a different concept of music change, saying that “... we’re obliged to neglect the individual cultures’ insiders, who may have quite different ideas of how much their music has changed” (Nettl 2005: 279-280).

<sup>2</sup> In the Appendix, there are seventeen indexes related to this section. Please refer to the Appendix for a list of the songs in each long-song collection mentioned here.

about Chinggis Khan were not permitted. Not only due to the contents, but also because of the social mechanisms that were established and impacted long-song singers' lives, such as the MNB radio station, education systems, and immigration between city and countryside, the long-song pieces were selectively transformed. Some songs faded away, and some songs survived.

Recently, when the nation has been going through its post-socialist period, a few old pieces that had disappeared earlier have been “re-found” by some contemporary singers.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, singers themselves were not clearly aware of what kinds of songs have disappeared or what kinds of songs have re-appeared. Also, when I asked about that, they were not clearly conscious of why this had happened in terms of change and continuity.

Long-songs, as shown in Chapter Four, are each felt to have a birthplace and regions in which they were often sung. Besides, long-songs have travelled around geographically when the singers traveled, especially from the countryside to Ulaanbaatar. Sometimes songs travelled from one countryside region to another countryside region; for example, songs moved from Khovd *aimag*, which is a very western *aimag*, to Bulgan *aimag*, which is a central *aimag*. Singers like L. Ragchaa and N. Dalkhjav moved from Khovd *aimag* and settled in the Darkhan area, which is close to Bulgan *aimag*. They kept the songs from Khovd that they learned when they were young, but this did not stop them from singing songs from the Darkhan area as

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<sup>3</sup> The issues discussed here in relation to change have been lingering themes of ethnomusicological scholarship, and there are already quite a few works on them (Harris 2008, Rice 1994, Goertzen 1997, Schimmelpenninck 1997, Vargyas 2005 etc). For example, Goertzen studies the selective survival of tune repertoires in a Norwegian folk genre through music contests and music clubs.

well. Through the singers' travel, songs have traveled and met other songs, influenced each other, and also created variant styles of the same songs.

Thus, the concept of a "regional piece" has become much less clear among younger generations of singers and also professional singers in Ulaanbaatar these days. Paradoxically, however, because of the regional uncertainty, singers have instead a clearer concept of each song's origin and whose version of a song they are singing, particularly in Ulaanbaatar. In other words, the individuality of each singer has become much clearer, while regional distinction has been rather more obscured.

In this section, I first look into song titles in long-song collections, emphasizing those that appeared before 1990: the MNB collection, the MAS collection, and the long-songs in the published books, *Urtyn Duu (Long-song)* by J. Dorjdagva (1970) and *Ardyn urtyn duunuud (Folk Long-songs)* by S. Tsoodol (1959). I then compare those song titles to what I have found in current long-song singers' repertoires as well. This gives an idea how the songs migrated around during the socialist period up until now, and in turn it connects to the singers' trail of changes. Secondly, I compare the sources mainly published after 1990 to see what is happening in long-song repertory and to understand the reasons for any changes. Altogether, this makes it possible to describe the big picture of the long-song tradition's transitional phenomena.

### Analysis of Song Collections Before 1990

As explained in Chapter Four, the MNB collection includes about 180 songs (Index I) and the MAS collection carries about 571 long-songs (no index compiled in this dissertation; refer to A. Alimaa 2004). I have compared lists of songs from several collections (Indices II-XVII in the Appendix) to that of the MNB collection (Index I) because, firstly, the MNB collection is the one of most comprehensive long-song collections, along with the MAS collection,<sup>4</sup> and secondly, the MNB collection shows which songs were more frequently sung and recorded within the time frame between about 1960 and the early 1990s.

The first comparison for the long-song repertory I make here is between *Urtyn Duu (Long-song)*, the printed book of transcriptions by J. Dorjdagva (Index II), with the MNB collection (Index I). Both the MNB collection and Dorjdagva's book (1970) were collected and assembled during a similar time period, mainly the 1960s and 1970s (Index I-1, I-2), though the MNB collection was still being assembled in the 1980s and was not completely finished until the 1990s. Additionally, both sources are actively used by current long-song singers, J. Dorjdagva's book as a basic repertory, and the MNB collection as an important archive of materials. Another reason why I compare these two sets of materials is that I have learned that J. Dorjdagva was one of the people most actively involved in the process of recording singers for the MNB collection in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, these two groups of

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<sup>4</sup> The MAS collection, as explained in Chapter Four, is too broad to compare to other sources, since it includes 570 long-songs and was collected from all over the country, particularly from the countryside. However, when a song encountered elsewhere also appeared in the MAS collection, the version there was always used as a point of comparison.

material show several points of overlap in terms of the circumstances when they were created, the people they involved, and the songs that appear in them.

Comparing the two sources, we find that several songs included in J.

Dorjdagva’s book are not found in the MNB collection. Those songs are shown in the following table:

Table 1: Songs in J. Dorjdagva’s book but not in MNB Collection

English Title	Romanized Titles	Mongolian Titles
Small Brown Horse	<i>Jaalkhan bor</i>	Жаалхан бор
Small Fiery Yellowish Horse	<i>Ardag baakhan sharga</i>	Ардаг Баахан Шарга
The Powerful Wish	<i>Bat ikh örөөл</i>	Бат их ерөөл
Born at Kherlengen	<i>Kherlengid n’ törtsön</i>	Хэрлэгэнд нь төрцөн
Water of Kharuul Khangai	<i>Kharuul khangain us</i>	Харуул хангайн ус
This Side of the Sky	<i>Tengeriin naaguur</i>	Тэнгэрийн нааруур
Iigiimaa (person’s name)	<i>Iigiimaa</i>	Ийгиймаа
Restless Running	<i>Tüdee n’ ügüi güidei</i>	Түдээ нь үгүй гүйдэй
Widespread Clouds	<i>Örgön үүл</i>	өргөн үүл
High Grasses	<i>Öndrin övs</i>	өндрийн өвс
Khüzüü is Pied Magpie	<i>Khüzüü ni alag yaazgai</i>	Хүзүү нь алаг яазгай
Willow in the Wild Apple Orchard	<i>Aliman shygyin burgas</i>	Алиман шугуйн бургас
High Mountain in the West	<i>Baruun öндөр uul</i>	Баруун өндөр уул
Small Fine Yellowish Horse	<i>Baytskhan saivar zeerd</i>	Бяцхан саивар зээрд
Tsagaan Khushuu (name of a place)	<i>Khushuu tsagaan nutag</i>	Хушш цагаан нутаг
Free Melodies	<i>Sul ayalguunuud</i>	Сул аялгуунууд

Among those songs above, five songs—“Small Brown Horse” (*Jaalkhan bor*), “The Powerful Wish” (*Bat ikh örөөл*), “Widespread Clouds” (*Örgön үүл*), “High Grasses,” (*Öndrin övs*), and “Willow in the Wild Apple Orchard” (*Aliman shugin burgas*)—appear also in the MAS collection. According to the MAS collection, the song “Small Brown Horse” (*Jaalkhan bor*) was recorded in Bayankhongor *aimag* in 1969, “The Powerful Wish” (*Bat ikh örөөл*) was collected from Zavkhan *aimag* in 1969 and Dundgov’ *aimag* in 1979, “Widespread Clouds” (*Örgön үүл*) was recorded

from Zasagt khan *aimag*<sup>5</sup> in 1969, “High Grasses” (*Öndrin övs*) was collected from Ömnögov’ *aimag* in 1958 and 1961, and “Willow in the Wild Apple Orchard” (*Aliman shuguin burgas*) was collected from Zavkhan *aimag* in 1970.

Why are these songs absent from the recordings by MNB, but included in J. Dorjdagva’s book, and what does that mean? Both sources, after all, purport to reflect the common and important long-song repertory of the 1960s, mainly in Ulaanbaatar, since J. Dorjdagva was one of the main long-song figures who wrote the songs that were most popular around the time, and MNB collected the most frequently performed songs around the time.

As an example, “Small Brown Horse” (*Jaalkhan bor*) is a song appearing in J. Dorjdagva’s book and not in the MNB collection, but it is included in the MAS collection, as recorded in Bayankhongor *aimag* in 1969. This means that the song did exist in the 1960s, and was sung then, both in Ulaanbaatar and countryside, Bayankhongor *aimag*, but somehow did not make it into the MNB collection as a popular piece of long-song. Later, it is also missing from one of the most comprehensive long-song lyric books, *Mongoling ardyn urtyn duu (Mongolian Folk Long-song 1984)*, which is used widely among current singers, and I could not find any recording of this song among any other Ulaanbaatar singers. Thus, it would seem that this song has disappeared completely from the active repertory. I have found it, however, in A. Alimaa’s list of long-songs from her Övörkhongai area expedition,<sup>6</sup> in

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<sup>5</sup> This is an old name for what is now several *aimag* in Western Mongolia: Khovd, Gobi-Altai, Uvs, and Bayan-ülgii.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the lists of long-song pieces, particularly from the countryside, except those from the MAS collection, are from my personal fieldwork, such as the lists for Sükhbaatar, Dundgov’, Töv, some of Arkhangai, Bulgan, Selene, and part of

2008 (Index XIV-2). This is almost thirty years after it appeared in J. Dorjdagva's 1970 book. In other words, this song existed in the 1960s, but then disappeared or was hidden until discovered in the 2008 expedition.

This song probably survived between the 1960s and now, but was not popular in Ulaanbaatar or had not travelled to Ulaanbaatar as other songs recorded in the MNB collection did. The fact that this song was included in J. Dorjdagva's book would mean that it was one of the more important or common pieces from J. Dorjdagva's perspective, but its exclusion from the MNB radio collection suggests that it was not a popular piece around the time singers recorded for MNB or not allowed to air on MNB because of censorship. Interestingly, the MAS collection (1969), Dorjdagva's book (1970), and A. Alimaa's expedition (2008) all indicate that this song was found in the central area of Mongolia. This means that the song "Small Brown Horse" (*Jaalkhan bor*) stayed in one area for a long time (from the 1960s to present), but it has not been actively presented and sung.

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Övörkhangai. However, some of the lists are from the field research collection of A. Alimaa, particularly from areas such as parts of Övörkhangai, Khentti, and Arkhangai.



Figure 1. “Jaalkhan bor” (Small Brown Horse)  
(J. Dorjdagva’s book 1970: 34)

Another song mentioned above, “High Grasses” (*Öndrin övs*), is found in J. Dorjdagva’s book but not in the MNB collection. However, recordings of this song from both 1958 and 1961 are found, again, in the MAS collection. While the sound recording is missing, according to the catalogue of the MAS collection, the song’s lyrics appear in the MAS written collection. Both recordings were made in *Ömnögov’ aimag*, in the far south of Mongolia. The song subsequently did not appear in recorded materials or current Ulaanbaatar singers’ performances since J. Dorjdagva’s book in 1970, until I discovered it in 2009.

I met a singer who actually knows this song and sang it for me in *Bulgan aimag* during my field trip in 2009. This raises the question of why this song from *Ömnögov’ aimag*, in the very south of Mongolia according to the MAS collection (1958 and 1961), appeared in J. Dorjdagva’s book (1970), but then disappeared and is now found in *Bulgan aimag*, which is north of Ulaanbaatar. In other words, this song has traveled from the far south to the far north for uncertain reasons.<sup>7</sup> According to

<sup>7</sup> There are several possible reasons for this migration. One is that during the socialist period, the Soviets had built several cities in the northern part of Mongolia and moved a large population into some of the smaller cities in *Bulgan* and *Selenge*

the book *Mongoling ardyn urtyn duu* (*Mongolian Folk Long-song* 1984) which shows seven verses of lyrics (not the music) for “High Grasses” (*Öndrin övs*), only the fifth verse was obtained from Zavkhan *aimag* (in the western area of Mongolia) singer G. Baldan in 1971 (see the map at the beginning of the dissertation). According to my analysis, this song has traveled from the far southern area of Mongolia to the far north of Mongolia between the late 1950s and now. However, this song could not have traveled by means of radio, since it was not included in the radio MNB collection. This song would rather have traveled with singers when they migrated, or possibly transplanted when singers heard from other singers.

There is another source that might be helpful for this kind of comparison among songs before 1990. It is S. Tsoodol’s book (1959), published by the government’s cultural ministry in Ulaanbaatar. In this book there are 49 songs, including some that are not found in the MNB collection. In Index III, the titles in boldface indicate the songs that are not found in the MNB collection. (Appendix, Index III).

Some songs that were included in J. Dorjdagva’s book and in the MAS collection, but excluded from the MNB collection, such as “Jaalkan bor,” “Bat ikh yerööl,” “Kherlegend ni törtsön,” and “Baruun Öndör uul,” appear in S. Tsoodol’s book (Table 2 below). They could be songs that frequently existed and were performed during the socialist period, probably in the countryside, but somehow were not popular in the city, Ulaanbaatar, since the most common collection in

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*aimags*, such as Erdene city or Darkhan city. As part of this undertaking, numerous singers moved to these areas. I plan in the future to further investigate this sequence of events.

Ulaanbaatar, the MNB collection, does not include them. Furthermore, perhaps for the same reason, these long-songs are also not frequently heard in Mongolia today.

Table 2: Songs in S. Tsoodol’s book and J. Dorjdagva’s book, but not in the MNB Collection

Songs that do not appear in MNB [Concordances in bold]	
S. Tsoodol’s book	J. Dorjdagva’s book
<b>The Powerful Wish (<i>Bat ikh yerööl</i>) –in MAS</b>	<b>“Small Brown Bird” (<i>Jaalkhan bor</i>)—in MAS</b>
“A Single Yellow Horse” ( <i>Gants shar mor</i> )	“Small Fiery Yellowish Horse” ( <i>Ardag baakhan sharga</i> )
<b>“High Mountain in the West” (<i>Baruuny öndör uul</i>) – Baruun Uul in MAS</b>	<b>“The Powerful Wish” (<i>Bat ikh yerööl</i>) – in MAS</b>
“Brown Surnagtai Taiga” ( <i>Surnagtai khüren taiga</i> )	<b>“Born at Kherlengen” (Kherlegend n’ törsön)</b>
“Golden Winged Wheatear” ( <i>Altan jigüürtei choguukhai</i> )	“This Side of the Sky” (Tengeriin Naaguur)
“The Perfect Kindness” ( <i>Ach tögs</i> )	“Igiimaa”
<b>“Small Brown Horse” (<i>Jaalkhan bor</i>)—in MAS</b>	“Restless Running” ( <i>Tüdeen’ ügüi güidelteei</i> )
“Mirage of the Distant Land” ( <i>Als gazryn zegrlee</i> )	<b>“Widespread Clouds” (Örgön üül)</b>
<b>“Born at Kherlengend” (Kherlengend n’ törsön)</b>	<b>“High Grasses” (Öndriin övs)</b>
“Calm Darkish Chestnut Horse ” ( <i>Nalgar kheer</i> )	“ <i>Khüzüü</i> is Pied Magpie” (Khüzüü n’ alag shaazai)
“High Northern Mountain ” ( <i>Seeriin öndör</i> )	“Willow in the Wild Apple Orchard” (Aliman shuguin burgas)
“Sixty White Sheep ”( <i>Jaran tsagaan khon</i> )	<b>“High Mountain in the West” Baruun Öngör uul—Баруун уул in MAS</b>
	“Small Fine Yellowish Horse” (Byatskhan saivar zeerd)
	“Tsagaan Khushuu” (Khushsh tsagaan nutag)
	“Free Melodies” (Sul ayalguunuud)

The song “Small Brown Horse” (*Jaalkhan bor*) appeared in both S. Tsoodol’s in 1959 book and J. Dorjdagva’s 1970 book. This confirms that even if it disappeared

for a while and was not considered an important Ulaanbaatar song in the 1980s and 90s, it was certainly an important song in the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition to the MAS collection, the MNB collection, J. Dorjdagva's book, and S. Tsoodol's book, I introduced in Chapter Four the UNESCO recordings, which were collected mostly between the 1960s and 1980s. These collections do not include a large number of songs, but a list of them still would show the songs that Mongolia was interested in presenting to the "outer" world of the time, to represent Mongolian culture, particularly during the socialist period. As shown in Index VI, songs included in the UNESCO collections are;

- "Small Yellowish Horse" (*Jaakhan Sharga*)
- "The Best among Many" (*Tumen ekh*)
- "Sun of the Universe" (*Zambotiv Naran [Uyakhan Zambotiv Naran]*)
- "The View of the Kherlen River" (*Kherlrngiin Bar'ya*)
- "Zergentiin Mountain" (*Zergentiin Shil*)
- "Two Brown Horses" (*Khoyor bor*)
- "Brown Brown Little Bird" (*Bor Bor Byalzuukhai*).

Even now, they are among the most frequently appearing long-songs in Mongolia. Furthermore, these songs are repeated numerous times in the recordings in the MNB, compared to other songs in the collection. For example, "Small Yellowish Horse" (*Jaakhan sharga*) appears in thirteen recordings, "The View of Kerlen River" (*Kherlengiin bar'ya*) in twenty-four recordings, and "Zergentiin Mountain" (*Zergentiin shil*) in sixteen recordings. "Sun of the Gentle Universe" (*Zambotiv naran [Uyakhan zambotiv naran]*) appeared no fewer than thirty-three times in the MNB recordings, sung by a different singer each time. From this observation, it seems clear that songs have not just traveled from one place to another place over time, but also have become more popular, moving to the center of the long-song repertory, while

others have been slowly disappearing.

In short, songs have moved around from place to place, and also grown more or less popular through time, and there can be various reasons why they do or do not appear in a certain source. Also, some songs have existed, but then disappeared for a while before re-appearing recently. The MAS collection is a source that includes many songs from countryside singers, most intensively collected between the 1960s and the 1980s. The MNB collection, however, is more censored, and was recorded by professional singers rather than amateurs. Since the MNB collection has been, and still is, circulated among singers, the songs it contains have had a greater possibility of remaining “popular” long-songs, not only in the late socialist period, but also in current Mongolian society.

Nevertheless, S. Tsoodol’s book and J. Dorjdagva’s book, from the 1960s and 1970s, include some long-songs left out of from MNB collection. They also appear in the MAS collection that was gathered from countryside, and now are not sung much anywhere anymore. Meanwhile, the songs appearing in Lajos Vargyas’s song collection, associated with UNESCO, certainly shows what long-songs Mongolians in the 1980s wanted to bring to the world to represent the Mongolians’ voice. The singers who sung the songs were very much professional singers and the songs have certainly been located as among the most popular songs in contemporary Mongolia. Throughout, musical improvisation has been quite virtuosic and much ornamented, regardless of the regional style.

## Analysis of Long-song Repertory in Mongolia after 1990

### *Diminished Number of Songs*

Compared to the long-song repertory during the socialist period before 1990, the number of long-songs commonly performed currently, particularly among Ulaanbaatar singers, and even among professional countryside long-song singers, has diminished rapidly, especially when compared to the number of songs in collections created during the socialist period, such as the MAS and MNB collections. For example, the list of long-songs I compiled among students at the Music and Dance College, comprising repertory that they usually learn over four years, includes only about forty songs (Index VII). The students usually chose the songs they would learn in consultation with their teachers, but also they often chose what their friends had studied, because they were already familiar with them. For this reason, most students studied similar lists of songs. The list in the index is of the songs that the students studied in the four years from their freshman through senior years. All of the songs are found in the MNB collection as well as easily available in other songbooks.<sup>8</sup>

To see a clearer picture of what current singers are mostly singing these days (not limited only to the younger generation of college long-song singers), it is necessary to look at the song lists from some of the books that are in current widespread use. For example, Ts. Tuyatsetseg's book (See index IV) and N. Norovbanzad's book (See index V), introduced in Chapter Four, are often used by current long-song singers. Although a lot of current singers are using J. Dorjdagva's

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<sup>8</sup> Even so, I had the impression that teachers were trying to give their students as diverse of a selection of possible long-songs to study as they could. However, it was not easy to access rarer songs.

book, which contains more songs to study, Ts. Tuyatsetseg's songbook features more updated transcriptions, even though it contains only fifty songs that are common in Ulaanbaatar. In this songbook, the improvisations and ornamentations are transcribed in the forms most commonly used among professional singers, and it is also clearly written.

The several indices in the Appendix are of song title lists that I collected in my fieldwork, mostly in the countryside, not only among professional singers but also among numerous amateur singers between 2007 and 2010. There are lists from Nalaikh (Index VIII), Dundgov' (Index IX), Sükhbaatar (Index X), Darkhan (Index XI), Bulgan (Index XII), Erdene (Index XIII), Övörkhantai (Index XIV), Byangkhongor (Index XV), and Arkhantai (Index XVI). By observing these lists we see that in the countryside more songs are still alive in the common repertory than in urban areas. However, I found that a number of long-songs I collected in my fieldwork appeared in more than one *aimag*, which was not common in the MAS collection. This gives further evidence that songs have moved around significantly, and that the sense of locality of songs (or regional repertories) has been fading away since sometime in the socialist period.

For example, certain long-songs, especially most of ones that found in Ulaanbaatar, are now very commonly sung among singers in the countryside as part of the main popular repertory of current long-song singers. For example, "Orphaned White Baby Camel" (*Önchin chagaan botgo*) was known to most of the singers in every region when I asked them about it. According to J. Dorjdagva's book, it came from the eastern area of Mongolia and is believed to have a long history. However,

the song these days has already become one of the *Besreg duu*, the abbreviated long-song, as a significant beginner's song because it is short and rather easy, but very popular and common in contemporary Mongolia. Another song, called "Tooroi Bandi" (a person's name), is representative of eastern regional long-songs such as found in Sükhaabatar *aimag* or Dornod *aimag*, but currently is widely found among singers in Dundgov' *aimag*, Bulgan *aimag*, and Bayankhongor *aimag*. As singers' lives move more into Ulaanbaatar, the city, and as formed professional singers, consequently certain songs were standardized in the process of transition of singers' lives. For this reason, the overall number of long-songs appears to have been much reduced, and that process that is still ongoing.

#### *Some Newly Rediscovered Songs*

Another trend found in the contemporary long-song repertory is that some songs that disappeared during the socialist period have re-appeared in current Mongolian society. An example of this from my fieldwork was the song "High Grasses" (*Öndrin övs*). This song appeared in 1958 and 1961 in Ömnögov' *aimag*, but soon after, it was no longer sung, and it has almost disappeared among current singers. In 2009, I heard it in my fieldwork, as sung by one local amateur singer in Bulgan *aimag*. Sometimes, the disappearance is of a certain variant style rather than an entire song, since sometimes different versions of a song can present clearly different melodic improvisations. Regional/ethnic versions of the existing songs also re-appear after having disappeared. This phenomenon is frequent in the countryside singers' long-song repertory, but not among professional singers. There are several

reasons for this— recent encouragement from the government or the cultural sector to find “new” regional/ethnic styles for competitions and festivals has resulted from the atmosphere surrounding the search for a new “authentic” Mongolian identity.<sup>9</sup>

For example, S. Yundenbat, from Center for Cultural Heritage, repeatedly emphasized the idea of locality and a constant search for disappearing long-songs in his talks at the Övörkhongai long-song competition in 2009. He said that he was happy to see the some rare songs in the competition. He concluded that since so many songs were lost during the socialist period, revival of forgotten songs was a very good thing, particularly to be encouraged among contemporary singers, although it would not be easy (Interview with S. Yundenbat 10/04/2009). This has been pretty much a new concept among singers, and singers have started looking at the songs that are rare and more *nutgiin duu* (local songs).

The newly discovered songs are found in the case of being geographically relocated by more recent immigration: One of the singers I introduced in the previous Chapter, E. Khurelbaatar, who moved from Gobi-Altai *aimag* for a job in the Nalaikh area, close to Ulaanbaatar, sang in my interview a song that has not been found anywhere else (Interview with E. Khurelbaatar 11/29/2009). This song is called “Very Ancient Yellowish Horse” (*Ertanii baakhan sharga*). It is not to be found in the

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<sup>9</sup> These situations have been described clearly by Humphrey and Pegg. Humphrey addresses the idea that the acceptance and promotion of the traditional past or anything related, such as ethnic diversity, was part of the nation’s attempts around that time to establish its identity (1992: 377). Pegg vividly illustrates her own experience that arose from this situation: “Many times, as I traveled in remote areas in 1993, I was asked to pressure the authorities in Ulaanbaatar to stop the constant dissemination of ‘national’ long-song and music by the media. ‘Why can’t we listen to our own music?’ asked ordinary herders from many different ethnic groups” (2001: 286).

MNB collection, the MAS collection, or any other sources of which I am aware. He said he learned it from a cassette made by a singer named Terbish and also from a *morin khuur* player named Tserendorji. This song has not been found anywhere else, but now it can be expected to be heard in Ulaanbaatar, since E. Khurelbaatar has been actively performing as one of the up-and-coming professional singers there, one who carries a lot of memories from the countryside and these kinds of forgotten songs.

In addition to the influence by location exchanges or travels among singers, significant influence on the reappearance of long-songs has come from the MNB radio station, an interesting counter to the fact that MNB could be held responsible for much of the disappearance. The influence of MNB on long-song singers' lives was certainly strong, as shown in Chapter Five, as the MNB radio station has been the solitary nationwide radio station in Mongolia from the 1930s until now. This longevity shows that it has had influence on the empowering of certain musicians as professionals, as well as having an impact on the promotion or forbidding of certain songs.

#### *MNB and Transition of Long-song Repertory*

As I stated before, the MNB long-song recording collections contain about 180 songs. Among those, only fifty to sixty songs are normally performed these days. The rest of the songs in the collection are rarely, if ever, performed in contemporary Mongolia. The MNB collection was accumulated with the intention of nationwide broadcast during the socialist period, and indeed the collection was broadcast on a regular basis. In connection with the selection process for songs in the collection, the

producers of the folk and traditional programs were not specifically trained in music and did not have detailed knowledge of the long-song genre overall. Thus, they played the same songs again and again. As a result, this made certain songs popular among the singers, while other songs were left out and lost from the active repertory, particularly during the socialist period.

There are also some songs, however, that have re-emerged through the radio station. For example, one of the songs that has recently been sung often among contemporary long-song singers is “Foggy Mountain Slope” (*Manarch baigaa shil*). Although a recording of this song was stored in the MNB archive in the 1970s, the station did not choose to play it, and the song was almost forgotten. However, almost two decades later, it was broadcast several times, and now it has become quite popular among current listeners, especially in the younger generation of long-song singers. I asked the singers who like the song, why they now try to sing it. They answered with no hesitation, “The melody is pretty.” To the current singers who answered the question, it might not be quite as important anymore, in this case, what the legend of the song is, what kind of other regional version might exist, or where the song originally came from. Although the song’s meaning and context might have been changed from the original, it has been at the center of the people’s interest.

In conclusion, the clearest and most important finding of this investigation of long-song repertory in transition is that the mapping of the songs has been influenced and changed by singers’ lives, their music-making, and their musical philosophies, all factors that, in turn, have also continued to change. On the overall map of long-songs, we can see two extreme movements in the philosophy of singers’ choice of long-song

repertory in contemporary Mongolia. First, most “professional” singers in Ulaanbaatar make CDs with songs that people know, and the popular long-song collection is a way to gain economic capital, which is absolutely essential for current traditional folksingers. Second, at the same time, among countryside singers, countryside professional singers, or singers such as Sh. Chimedtseye and D. Tuvshinjargal who teach at schools and educate young long-song singers, there is a pursuit of long-song that has once disappeared and is thus “new” to the current Ulaanbaatar audience, in order to be in line with the trends emerging in the new post-socialist culture. Also, cultural sectors have encouraged it in diverse ways. Thus, the practices now ongoing in contemporary Mongolia of looking for the old long-songs that were alive in the past and finding different versions of songs and improvisational techniques are changes that have become more visible in the current picture of long-song activity as “reinforcement” of the tradition.

#### LONG-SONG’S MUSICAL STYLES IN TRANSITION

Analysis of the long-song repertory clearly shows that songs are travelling from place to place, disappearing and reappearing along with the social phenomena outlined in the previous section. Here again arises the simple question of whether, along with the travel of the songs, the musical style itself has remained the same or has changed in some ways. One could answer that there absolutely is change; as Nettl argues, “it is change that is really continuous” (Nettl 2005: 272). However, most of the long-song singers I interviewed said that they had noticed no change in musical style, although to me, the long-song has clearly been modified in greater or lesser

degree.

For this reason, I investigate several songs in terms of music and lyrics in the following that would be related to the transition among different groups of long-song singers. The analysis of the song styles here, thus, investigates differences between professional singers and amateur singers, between city and countryside singers, and between younger and older generation singers, as classified in Chapter Five. Furthermore, I investigate in the following the stories of songs and their musical styles that have been also strongly affected by some of the social mechanisms, such as the MNB radio station and the appearance of a free market system in the post-socialist period.

#### MNB and the Transition of Musical Style

The impact of MNB on long-song musical style came into my mind when I met one of the countryside singers, S. Khüreltogo, a male singer about sixty-seven years old in 2007. He is ethnically from the Dariganga group, and was born in Ongon *sum* in Sükhbaatar *aimag*. He grew up and lived all his life in his hometown, Ongon *sum*, never moving around. In the interview, after he answered my usual questions, he started singing when I asked him to. He chose two songs; one was a famous eastern province long-song, “Jaakhan sharga,” and the second was an old, mostly forgotten song (according to what people believe) “Orphaned White Baby Camel” (*Önchin tsagaan botgo*). Once he started, I recognized that his improvisation on the tunes was quite close to the central Khalkh style which is found in central part of Mongolia, rather than that of Dariganga, which is his hometown style, in the far east

area of Mongolia; it was straightforward rather than having detailed ornamentation, and it had a very gentle and delicate sensibility.

One question came to my mind: how had he learned this style of singing, since he had never had left his hometown in his life? He answered, very simply, “through radio.” During my research, I encountered similar answers from most of the singers, particularly in countryside; they had learned songs by listening to the radio. In the example of “Önchin tsagaan botgo,” most of the singers knew this song, and almost all knew the same regional version or even same certain individual version of it, although they were saying that it was an old and forgotten song, and that it used to have various versions. As in the case of the singer S. Khüreltogoos from Sükhbaatar *aimag*, the song styles that were broadcast often influenced countryside singers who listened to the songs on the radio. Long-song singers who mostly learned by listening the radio, particularly in countryside, would imitate the ways of improvisation that they heard repeatedly on the radio and sing in similar ways.

Most of the long-song musical styles in the MNB collection have been, as illustrated previously, much collected by professional singers, particularly those active singers in Ulaanbaatar. The repertory that was broadcast was much inclined toward the central Khalkh style of songs that has become the standard urban concert long-song style. Besides, the legendary J. Dorjdagva was rather closely involved in the process of selecting and recording the MNB collection. Even though it is true that J. Dorjdagva knew a variety of regional styles of long-song, he himself came from Dugov’ *aimag*, and his hometown was very close to Övörkhängai *aimag*. For this reason, he himself was good at singing in the central Khalkh style.

Similarly, N. Norovbanzad was originally from Dungov' province. However, Norovbanzad sang both in the Khalkh style and the Borjgin style, in which she was reputed to be even better, because her hometown was Deren *sum*, close to Töv *aimag* and in which the Borjgin ethnic group was concentrated. According to my interview with the Borjgin singer Sh. Ölzibat (54), J. Dorjdagva taught and sang in the Khalkh style when he worked in cooperation with the recording work of MNB (Interview with Sh. Ölzibat, 1/9/2009), and this style later became the main one that city singers sang in concert performance.

Consequently, by being broadcast to nation-wide audiences repeatedly, this central Khalkh style of singing was conveyed to the whole nation through the radio and came to be a sort of standardized style. Countryside singers such as S. Khüreltogoos, thus, could study this Khalkh style through the radio station, even though he was born and raised only in his hometown region, and did not travel to other parts of the country at all. This has also been the case with numerous other countryside singers.

In addition to its influence on musical style, the MNB had an influence on the lyrics of long-song through censorship. Most religious and *aizam* long-songs had religious texts, praised the earlier feudalistic system, or referred to the story of Chinggis Khan, and therefore tended to be censored.<sup>10</sup> Also, those abandoned texts

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<sup>10</sup> According to B. Hulgu, a radio producer at MNB, under the socialist party, any recordings that they were planning to put on the air had to be approved. A. Alimaa also mentioned that MNB used to have a storage area in the building where there were a lot of "red" taped recordings that were confined; these were of Buddhist religious long-songs or some of the long-songs about Chinggis Khan that could not be broadcast. Several singers whom I met indicated that changes to lyrics were also very frequent.

could be more philosophical and considered as very sacred. It seems that these songs were strictly censored, and it was obvious that MNB was reluctant to put them on the air.<sup>11</sup> One of the *aizam duu*, “Tumen ekh,” is a good example of the phenomenon of lyrical changes.

“The Best Among Many” (*Tümen ekh*) is one of the great and respectful long-songs that used to be sung at big feasts. It is now still performed, often in festivals such as the national *naadam* festival. It seems that “Tümen ekh” could have survived through the socialist period, because the lyrics do not seem to lean on religious ideas or feudalistic philosophy. Rather, the nation is the central theme of the lyrics. However, there was a subtle and interesting change in the lyrics.

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<sup>11</sup> In Mongolian National Broadcasting, I learned that there are tapes that are still censored and have never been released for broadcasting.

The current lyrics of “Tümen ekh”:

*Ze khüi erdenet khünii biyeiig olj*  
*Etgeed buruu üilees zailj*  
*Etses ba edügeegiin khoyor khergiig büteekhed*  
*Büren sedeltei zee. Ze Khi ee*

Zee khui,  
(We) found body (life) of precious human  
So, to escape doing bad things and  
To fulfill ancient and nowadays deeds  
(We are) ready with full motivation.

*Sain üilsiin tuld*  
*Amin zürneeseen*  
*Saikhan töriin told*  
*Akhui chineegeereen*  
*Saitar Shamdan zügreltei*  
*Zee Khüi ee, olon olon tümni ekh*  
*Ene Boloi zee*

For good deeds  
(We have) to achieve from our heart  
For good Government  
We have to achieve hard.  
Zee khui, this is the best among many.

The last line, “Zee khui, this is the best among many,” describes a horse, while the other parts of the lyrics are all about the Mongolian people.<sup>12</sup> Certainly the context is not consistent. A. Alimaa explained that there could have been lyrical manipulation here, but she cannot clearly work out, at this point, what the original lyrics were.

Furthermore, the musical changes by this MNB in this song “Tümen ekh” are more complicated. The most common style (almost the only style) of “Tümen ekh” that is currently performed is the style that is heard in the MNB archival recording,

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<sup>12</sup> For the translation and lyrics here, I consulted with M. Saruul-Erdene.

sung by J. Dorjdagva, which has been understood among current long-song singers as the central Khalkh style. However, according to several books and transcriptions I found, this long-song seems to have originally been sung in the eastern style. Over time and through various influences, it has become attributed to the central Khalkh style, combining the Borjgin style of ornamentation with the styles of some individuals, like N. Norovbanzad and S. Damchaa. In short, the original version of the song is no longer clear at this point, but people believe that what they hear from the radio station is the authentic “Tümen ekh.”

Another example of confusion in terms of musical style caused by influence from the MNB radio station is a song named “Black Two-Year-Old Colt” (*Daagan daagan khar*). From my research in the MNB archive, I ascertained that the lyrics indeed come from the song “Daagan daagan khar,” but the melody is from another song, called “Shadow of the Brown Hill” (*Khüren tolgoin süüder*). Sometimes, songs have similar or different titles, despite having the same tunes. However, in this situation, we have two completely different songs, with the lyrics of “Küren tolgoin süüder” having been replaced with those of “Daagan daagan khar.” The “Daagan daagan har” melody is not much sung anymore in current Mongolia, but the “Khüren tolgoin süüder” melody is fairly common among contemporary long-song singers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The reason for the exchange of lyrics was not revealed by my research and is in need of further investigation. However this kind of exchange is frequently found among long-songs. Another example would be the songs “The Old Man and the Bird” (*Övön shuvuu*) and “An Abundance of Joy [Summer]” (*Jargaltain delger*), which share same melody. More interestingly, this song is only recorded as “Jargaltain delger” in both the MAB and MNB collections.

“Black Two-Year-Old Colt” (*Daagan daagan khar*)

*Daagan Daagan Kharyгаа*  
*Dangaar Unaj Boldoggüi*  
*Damai Amrag Baivch*  
*Daguulaad Mordoj Boldoggüi*

My Young Black Horse  
I cannot ride it alone.  
Even I have a lover  
I cannot take her and run.<sup>14</sup>

“Shadow of the Brown Hill” (*Khüren tolgoин sүүder*)

*Küren tolgoин sүүder*  
*Khöndijgөө дүүshlene dee*  
*Khüniü бага chamtaigaa*  
*Setgel yundaa daslaa daa*

Shadow of the Brown Hill  
Goes through the valley  
My young lover  
Why did I fall for you?

The intervention of the MNB radio station undoubtedly influenced both musical styles and lyrics. Some of the influences took much longer, such as the rise and decline of regional styles, but some happened quickly, such as the lyrical changes implemented according to censorship. However, the involvement in the change of musical style came not only from MNB radio station. It also resulted from social elements such as the socialist government, and popular political ideology that supported the situation of MNB’s intervention. The following section shows more radical factors related to the transitions of long-song styles. It investigates one particular song, “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*) from several

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<sup>14</sup> For this translation, I consulted with M. Saruul-Erdene.

different sources to illustrate more possible paths of change to long-song musical styles.

A Comparative Example of a Song Appearing in All Different Sources of Different Times: An Analysis of the Song “Bor bor byalzuukhai”

“Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*) is widely sung in Mongolia today, as it was in the past. It is found in the MAS archive collection, the MNB archive collection, the UNESCO collection, my own recordings, and in several printed sources. These examples come from different kinds of singer—professional, amateur, younger amateur, and older countryside singers. For example, Kh. Erdentsetseg, a young professional who has recently joined the circle of professionals in contemporary Mongolia; J. Dorjdagva, obviously professional but from the socialist period; young professional contemporary singers in Ulaanbaatar who have been influenced by “N. Norovbanzad style”; several more regional styles from the MAS collection by countryside amateur singers. In consequence, this comparative analysis of musical styles from different sources will show that different long-song styles have been followed by different kinds of singers as well as in various time periods.

*“Bor bor byalzuukhai” Demonstrated by Kh. Erdentsetseg*

Kh. Erdentsetseg particularly called this song by a different title, “Zee khu,” explaining that for long-songs, sometimes people refer to a song by the first few syllables of the lyrics as a title. In the demonstration, she explains that there are two different versions of the song—central Khalkh and Borjgin, according to her—which are not very different based on my observation. Her Borjgin style is not similar to the

one found in J. Dorjdagva’s book. It is rather similar to the central Khalkh tune but with somewhat different variations. Also, she seemed to feel much more comfortable with the central Khalkh style when she demonstrated for me (Figure 2). The central Khalkh tune she sings here is obviously less ornamented than the Borjgin version, but it has more of a straight sound for the notes, using chest voice in lower passages. The Borjgin style she demonstrated has more sliding tones and a nasal sound. For example, at the beginning of the Borjgin style, Kh. Erdentsetseg made more sliding tones from D to A, from B to D, and connecting to G (Figure 3). Also in the end of the song, the sound of G that had *shurankhai* (falsetto) came down to A (Figure 3) with a sliding technique, also used when the note moved from A to E and finished on E.

zee khüü / a - e ie i bu - r bor bil - zukhai ie - ya

a - e ie i eya - bo son khon -a sugangüi ya -

a i e i i ya - jirgene e shu kku

a - ie ie ya -

Figure 2: Kh. Erdentsetseg’s “Bor bor byalzuukhai” in “Central Khalkh Style” (2007)

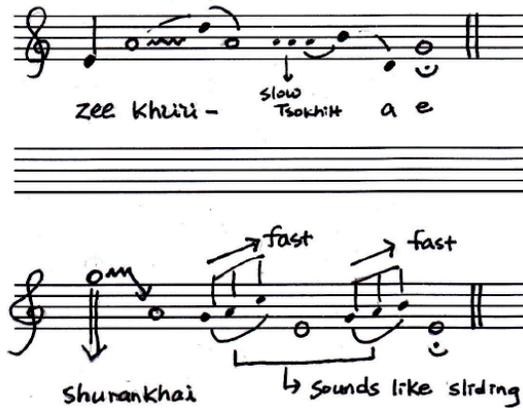


Figure 3: Parts of Kh. Erdentseteg’s “Bor bor byalzuukhai” in “Borjgin Style” (2007)

This song seems to be one of her best, in which she can sing comfortably and show her best skills. Other female long-song singers currently in Ulaanbaatar often take this song into their concert repertory. Most singers from the Dundgov’ area seem comfortable with “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*) for the reason that it has been frequently sung in the Dundgov’ area. This song, thus, has not only the Borjgin style but also a Bayanbaraat style<sup>15</sup> in addition to the central Khalkh style. The Borjgin style and the Bayanbaraat style both belong to the Dundgov’ area. Also central Khalkh style, which is considered an urban professional style, is often found and sung in the Dundgov’ aimag area as well. The reason is that the Dundgov’ aimag is geographically very close to Ulaanbaatar, and this part of Dundgov’ aimag is even categorized as central Khalkh in the broad concept.

Kh. Erdentseteg is from Dundgov’ area, and she was thirty years old when she won a competition and got a job in the National Folk Ensemble in Ulaanbaatar. She said that when she was in her hometown, she did not learn many songs, but that

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter Four for more details.

she learned many songs after she moved to Ulaanbaatar when she got the job as a theater singer. Probably because of this background, she has the elements of a Borjgin voice, but seems nevertheless to be very comfortable with central Khalkh style. My main observation of her singing was that she seemed very well to understand and sing the central Khalkh style, as compared to Borjgin style. Also, while she only sang the Borjgin style for me, it does not seem that she does this often in concert.

*“Bor bor byalzuukhai” in Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s Book*

Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s book is one of the books that many college students use these days in Ulaanbaatar, and methods of improvisation of ornamentation are transcribed in great detail therein. In the transcribed score, the improvisatory ornamentation has been already written out, and most college students sing it as written. In Figure 4 most of the sixteenth notes and thirty-second notes are ornamentations. The notes that appear continually on the same pitch represent a technique very close to *tsokhilt*, which sometimes uses more chest voice as well. The vibrato between two notes—which alternates between the notes E and F in the third line and the notes A and B in the fourth line, for example—is a smooth vibrato called *bönjignökh*.<sup>16</sup> In Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s transcription (Figure 4), these *bönjignökh* appear twice, but Kh. Erdentsetseg did not use quite as much *bönjignökh*, but used more *tsokhilt* with chest voice. This vibrato called *tsokhilt* appears more frequently in central Khalkh style, while the more detailed, smoother vibrato, *bönjignökh*, and also a nasal sound appears often in Borjgin style. Although Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s book

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<sup>16</sup> See Chapter Four for a detailed explanation of *tsokhilt* and *bönjignökh*.

indicates that it is in central Khalkh style, it still shows a characteristically Borjgin style of detailed ornamentation, compared to its transcription by Kh. Erdentsetseg.

**БОР БОРЫН БЯЛЗУУХАЙ**  
/төв халхын аялгуугаар/

Figure 4: “Bor bor byalzuukhai” in “Central Khalkh Style”  
(Ts. Tuyatsetseg 2004: 15)

*“Bor bor byalzuukhai” in N. Norovbanzad collection*

The N. Norovbanzad collection also includes three different styles of “Bor bor byalzuukhai”: a Borjgin style, a central Khalkh style, and N. Norovbanzad’s own style (Figure 5). N. Norovbanzad includes the transcriptions of two kinds of Borjgin styles here. One is very close to the Borjgin style that Kh. Erdentsetseg sang, and the other one is very close to a recording from the MAS collection that I will introduce later. Another interesting part of her collection is that it includes a central Khalkh style of the melody (indicated here also as *barrun aimgiin ayalguu*)<sup>17</sup> which is very

<sup>17</sup> As I explained before in this chapter, although *barrun aimgiin ayalguu* literally means the western area melody, it indicates a central Khalkh melody. The same definition of this terminology appeared in J. Dorjdagva’s book.

different from the other central Khalkh melody styles I introduced above, such as the styles of Kh. Erdentsetseg and the one in Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s book. Rather, in this book, “N. Norovbanzad’s personal style” is much closer to the central Khalkh style of the melody from Kh. Erdentsetseg’s demonstration and the one in Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s book, although N. Norovbanzad’s melody is a bit more ornamented. In other words, most singers, including Kh. Erdentsetseg and younger long-song singers in Ulaanbaatar who studied using Ts. Tuyatsetseg’s book, believe that the “Norovbanzad version” (Figure 5) represents central Khalkh style, though it is actually more a combination of Khalkh style and Borjgin improvisation.



Figure 5: “Bor bor byalzuukhai” in “Norovbanzad Style”  
(N. Norovbanzad 2000: 49)

This could be an example of a case where one individual singer's improvisational style of a song can become the mainstream long-song style, with its origin being misunderstood as central Khalkh style. Also, it demonstrates how regional styles can be misunderstood in the process of the formation of an "urban" style of long-song. For this reason, at this point, it is worthwhile to compare N. Norovbanzad's style (2000) to J. Dorjdagva's central Khalkh style (1964), since J. Dorjdagva is also famous for central Khalkh style and has actively performed in Ulaanbaatar area.

*"Bor bor byalzuukhai" in J. Dorjdagva Style*

One of the recordings of "Bor bor byalzuukhai" in the MNB collection that was recorded in 1964 is sung by J. Dorjdagva. This is obviously a central Khalkh melody. The musical style is somewhat similar to Kh. Erdentsetseg's central Khalkh style in terms of the melodic improvisation; however, its ornamentation is quite different from the styles of Kh. Erdentsetseg, Ts. Tuyatsetseg, or N. Norovbanzad. J. Dorjdagva's way of ornamenting is much more direct, featuring bigger movements of vibration in his chest voice, and also there are more sliding tones. Whenever he moves from one note to another he typically uses a sliding tone to connect the notes.

Although J. Dorjdagva's style and Kh. Erdentsetseg's style show some similarity, both Kh. Erdentsetseg's (2007) and Ts. Tuyatsetseg's styles (2004) of "Bor bor byalzuukhai" in central Khalkh style are much closer to N. Norovbanzad's personal style (2000), than to J. Dorjdagva's central Khalkh style (1964, Figure 6).

zee khiiü                      khu bu - r bor - bil zuukhai ieya  
a ae te i e ya                      bo son-khon su ga güi ya

a i e i                                      jir ge ne e

a ie ie ya

Figure 6: J. Dorjdagva’s “Bor bor baylzuukhai” in Central Khalkh Style (MNB Collection 1964)

Based on all the comparisons here, my conclusion is that the contemporary style of “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor baylzuukhai*) that is often sung in Ulaanbaatar and which singers believe is the central Khalkh style, is more likely derived from N. Norovbanzad’s improvisatory personal style (though she does have much influence from Borjgin style) rather than from a real central Khalkh style as found in the 1960s. Tracing this phenomenon shows how Norovbanzad’s particular style has come to occupy a central position in current singers’ main repertory and its style, and by extension, this investigation speaks to the possibility that the development of professional long-song singers around the Ulaanbaatar urban area has a great influence on that very musical change, even though insiders may believe that has not occurred.

The style of “Bor bor baylzuukhai” in J. Dorjdagva’s songbook (Figure 7) is

different from J. Dorjdagva’s style found in his recording in the MNB collection that I transcribed. Instead of a central Khalkh style, this “Bor bor baylzuukhai” in his book (1970) is presented as being a Borjgin style. Nevertheless, this still seems close to the central Khalkh style, with simply a little bit of different improvisation. This even seems to have some similarity to N. Norovbanzad’s style of the song as well. Thus, looking at the transcription, it seems clearer that the current style of what singers believe is the central Khalkh style of the song is more actually a combination of the central Khalkh style as sung by Dorjdagva with the Borjgin style of improvisation represented in Dorjdagva’s book and N. Norovbanzad’s individual style of improvisation, which integrates elements of all three. This, after all, exemplifies the “urban” style of “national” long-song that Pegg described (Pegg 2001: 256-59).

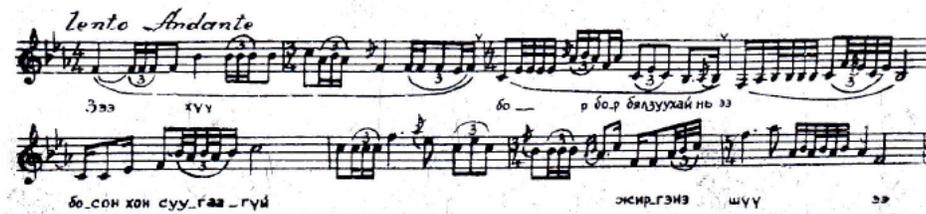


Figure 7: “Bor bor baylzuukhai” in “Borjgin Style”  
(J. Dorjdagva 1970: 44)

*“Bor Bor Baylzuukhai” in the MAS archive collection*

The sound recordings of the song “Brown Brown Little Bird” (Bor Bor Baylzuukhai) in the MAS archive collection were collected from most parts of the countryside, and they show a great diversity. The same Borjgin style appears at times in what should be very different styles, depending on which specific area it was

recorded in, or who sang it. Besides this, these recordings represent diverse contexts of performance. One of the examples, from Dundgov’ *aimag*, is not only accompanied by the *morin khuur*, but also by the flute, the *limbe*. This recording also includes a *türleg*, the refrain that people sing all together, which is a mostly vanished tradition. This is because the recording was made at a festival in 1969. The melody is interestingly very similar to the Borjgin style of one of the two versions appearing in N. Norovbanzad’s book (Figure 8).



Figure 8: “Bor bor byalzuukhai” in “Borjgin Style” (N. Norovbanzad 2000: 49); This transcription is similar to an example of a recording from the MAS collection (Dundgov’ *aimag*, 1969; Recording number 155-A-6)

There is another example that is rather peculiar. The “Bor bor byalzuukhai” that was found in Khövsgöl *aimag* (Recording 24-B-1, 1968, Darkhat ethnic group singer) showed a totally different melody. Usually, the styles of this song occupy a continuum between central Khalkh style and Borjgin style, although there are some different degrees of improvisation, and most of them have similar melodies or similar melodies in part. However, the Khövsgöl style sounds totally different. Khövsgöl is

generally noted for not having a long-song tradition, but this style was collected from there as a long-song. Clearly, this example would not be considered a long-song by any current urban (or central and eastern regional) singers because of the musical elements in it. Each phrase is very repetitive and metrically strict.

In addition to these examples, there is much diversity among styles of songs as found in the MAS collection. Another interesting aspect of all the musical examples from the MAS is that they are not particularly close to any of the melodies and styles that are performed in contemporary Mongolia. The long-song styles in these recording collections came from mostly the countryside, and they were frequently sung during the socialist period in the locations where they were collected. However, these kinds of styles of “Bor bor byalzuukhai” no longer appear often among the diverse regional styles in contemporary Mongolia.

The socialist period was the time that lost regional styles and formed more centralized professional and urban long-song singers’ boundaries, and those in turn influenced the repertory and musical style. The post-socialist period has formed not only further professionalism but also has put forward the long-song genres as vehicles for more nostalgic and traditional folk culture of the new and “genuine” Mongolia. In this process, there is not only an attempt to preserve folk culture as it is, but also an effort by younger generations of long-song singers to develop long-song as a neo-traditional genre.

Such neo-traditional phenomena that co-exist between traditional and newly created music are now often found in folk-pop genres of Mongolian music, and long-song musical styles, particularly, are often employed in these kinds of cross-over

genres. The song, “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*), as shown above, has been alive in the history of long-songs, and now it has also been adopted into one of these neo-traditional genres. The folk-rock group called Altan urag is an instrumental folk-ensemble group, using all the Mongolian traditional music instruments (Altan Urag 2006). Among their pieces on their first CD, released in 2006, there is one song called “The Best Mongol” (*Ikh Mongol*) which incorporates this long-song “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*). The process of modification of the song into the music “The Best Mongol” (*Ikh Mongol*) is interesting. Even though the instrumental parts create a very pop- and rock-like sound, the long-song itself, “Brown Brown Little Bird” (*Bor bor byalzuukhai*), is not modified at all in the combining process. The song is simply sung by the long-song singer Kh. Erdentsetseg in the midst of the ensemble’s playing of “Ikh Mongol.” The lyrics do not fit into those of the band’s song, “The Best Mongol” (*Ikh Mongol*), at all; it seems that they brought the long-song into this song only to represent their “long-song tradition,” because the song is simply “The Best Mongol” (*Ikh Mongol*).

This is an example of music-making by young cross-cultural long-song singers who have struggled to find new directions in the new market and globalized media world as traditional singers. Shurankhai is another neo-traditional group that consists of all long-song singers. They also bring a particular way of music-making to carry their nationalistic and nostalgic folk tradition into marketable traditional music industry.

### Shurankhai: Modified Long-song Style in Contemporary Mongolia

Shurankhai's music creates quite a distinctive style. They synthesize long-song with other elements of music—mainly Western orchestra and the pop sounds of the electronic synthesizer—but still stay with traditional long-song pieces, rather than creating new songs, and they continue to use a many of the vocal techniques from long-song. This contrast has been the most obvious one that was mentioned in my interviews and also very noticeable in my observation. What was more interesting to me is the continuity still alive in this substantial modification of long-song. Or perhaps I should say that the continuity has been emphasized. The group writes on the cover of their album (in broken English), “one of main characteristic of my CD is it include[s] Mongolian famous long-song and morin khuur ansamble [ensemble] of Mongolia performance and khumi” (Shurankhai CD cover).

Their first album, released in 2008, was a big hit in Mongolia. It includes two CDs, with twenty songs altogether, a mixture of short-songs and long-songs. Not all of the songs are performed together by all three singers or as arranged pieces. Often, an individual member of the group sings one song solo. However, the more interesting pieces in the album are the songs that they sing together, particularly the long-songs.

The first track of the first CD, “Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves” (*Tsombon tuuraitai khuren*), is worth close investigation here. It is a traditional long-song, but the three singers try to sing together, with their different ranges of voices and different improvisational *chimeglel*, to a Western orchestral and piano accompaniment. Long-song is a solo tradition, and it is always features the elongation

of vowels with various improvisational ornamentation, which is hard to imagine in combination with Western harmony and with several singers singing together as an ensemble. However, each instrument here, including the voices, negotiates its role in a way that works, resulting in a song that can appeal to a new audience with a taste for the Western pop sound.

The song begins with an orchestral introduction, and then the piano solo enters until the voices actually come in. As shown in the transcription, the voices have much reduced ornamentation (*chimeglel*), to allow the three voices to cooperate effectively; sometimes they make harmonies, sometimes unison, and sometimes a complex heterophony. The chord progression in this song also negotiates between a traditional long-song mode and Western harmony. For example, where the piano accompaniment plays an arpeggiated E major chord, the vocal parts are actually, at the same time, proceeding with a c minor chord within the c minor pentatonic scale. Because the accompaniment is arpeggiated (instead of only a chord progression), the texture creates an interestingly intermingled combination of E Major harmony and c minor pentatonic scale. In this way, there is integration of a Western musical device (the E Major arpeggiated piano accompaniment) with the typical traditional mode of long-song (the c minor pentatonic scale), which makes the group's music-making intercultural and neo-traditional.

In the vocal part, it is interesting how the second and third voice proceed. They move mostly in unison but sometimes (see below Figure 9) are divided. The middle voice moves with the lower voice sometimes and at other times with the upper voice. Although the voices move based on the chord progression, they do not move

quite exactly as the harmonic progression leads. Rather, they follow their own heterophony, keeping some of the ornamentation but harmonizing with the other voices.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the song "Tsombon tuuraitai khüren." It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The first system is marked "begin with orchestra introduction + piano solo" and "Tsokhilt". The second system is marked "Bijnignokh". The third system has no specific markings. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The piano accompaniment includes chord progressions written below the bass line. The score is annotated with various musical notations such as accents, slurs, and dynamic markings like "fast".

begin with orchestra introduction + piano solo    Tsokhilt    Bijnignokh

Additional voices →

ts o - m bon    tuu rab    i    i    tai    i -

EM BM Cm    fm (ii6)    EM/cm

e e nw khüren    a -    nec -    tso khil    so -    ie -

AM Cm EM    fm    cm    EM

a -    a -    ai    khaa    tai

EM BM Cm    EM/cm    fm AM    EM/cm

Figure 9: Shurankhai's "Tsombon tuuraitai khüren."  
(Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves 2008)

This negotiation between styles also happens in terms of meter. After they play two musical *badag* (verses),<sup>18</sup> the synthesizer accompaniment starts with a light drumbeat, giving a sense of regular beat. It can be counted as 4/4; the melody is still quite flexible, but within the regular beat (see figure 10). The rhythmically irregular long-song is presented as it was originally, but combined with a regular rhythmic sense. Thus, overall, this musical example of Shurankhai shows another possible way of bringing the modern together with the past, or the Mongolian together with the

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter Four for further explanation.

Western, while maintaining their distinct identities rather than forcing total synthesis. The elements of modified long-song are, thus, not at all subtle here, but are very clear. The group used a traditional piece and kept its melody, but they arranged it in a completely different way. However, the modification is accomplished by constant negotiation, just like Mongol’s traditional philosophy—patience and acceptance.



Figure 10: Shurankhai’s “*Tsombon tuuraitai khüren Shurankhai*” (Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves 2008); In Rhythmic Modification

In contrast, there is a track on their second CD called “Sun of Gentle Universe” (*Uyakhan zamva tiviin naran*), which is quite a traditional song. They sing this long-song together in its traditional form, different from what they did in the song “Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves” (*Tsombon tuuraitai khuren*), and therefore this song does not illustrate a method of cross-cultural coordination. Rather, it shows how difficult it is to sing this traditional solo genre together. It was especially hard to arrange, because of the ornamentations such as *tsokhilt* and *bönjigökh*. Thus, it seems the musical negotiation between new and old elements does not always come across easily or successfully from the investigation of this case.

The musical techniques of neo-tradition shown in the case of the Shurankhai group, as well as Altan Urug, seem to fit well with the spectrum of present Mongolia;

there is very much an urban lifestyle in Ulaanbaatar, but by driving only ten minutes, one can reach a completely nostalgic, pastoral, Mongolian countryside way of life. People constantly talk about the countryside as their traditional hometown and as their Mongolian identity in post-socialist Mongolia. That is the fact of current Mongolia, and the music seems to fit it well.

Then, would “Bor bor byalzuukhai” and “Tsombon tuuraitai khüren,” performed by Altan urag or Shurankhai respectively, represent the Mongolian folk tradition and its identity in their “neo-traditional” music? The authenticity of Mongolian identity through these folk traditions is always debatable, particularly when it comes to the question about the musical material itself. However, what if the current “authentic” Mongolia and Mongolian identity is in fact constructed by what they believe and by what the Mongols would like to believe? The investigation of one of the famous long-song “Jaakhan sharga” provides material for further thoughts on this question.

#### THE ROLE OF LONG-SONG IN TRANSITION: NOSTALGIA AND NATIONALISM IN NEW NATION BUILDING

“Jaakhan sharga” (Small Yellowish [Horse]) is one of the long-songs in Ulaanbaatar. It is especially famous because it was a main song in the repertory of the famous professional singer, Sh. Chimedtseye, who, as already explained, is from Sūkhbaatar *aimag*, one of the eastern *aimag*, where the Dariganga and Üzemchin ethnic groups have settled. There are still a great many songs and singers of Dariganga and Üzemchin in this region. The earliest “Jaakhan sharga” recording found in the MNB collection was made in 1959 by a singer named Zagdsüren, and it

was broadcast in the 1960s and 1970s, but when Sh. Chimedtseye moved to Ulaanbaatar, she brought with her many long-songs from her hometown region. “Jaakhan sharga” was one of these songs, and it has become more popular through her singing.

In my participant observation at the Music and Dance College, amongst other students, I still remember that one of the students named Kang-Erdne was taking a lesson with Sh. Chimedtseye, learning this song. In the lesson, Sh. Chimedtseye diligently conveyed her knowledge to him, reminding him that he is from Sūkhbaatar *aimag*, Dariganga *sum*. It seemed clear to me that how he ended up studying the song “Jaakan sharga” was not just random. During the fieldwork in Sūkhbaatar *aimag*, I found “Jaakhan sharga” is a popular piece not only in Ulaanbaatar, but also as *nutgiin duu* (hometown songs) among singers in Sūkhbaatar *aimag*. When I had interviews with singers (about fifteen singers throughout Sūkhbaatar *aimag*), “Jaakhan sharga” was always mentioned as part of their long-song repertoires, particularly in the Dariganga *sum*.

Dariganga is the name of an ethnic group, but also is the name of one of the *sum* in the southeast part of Sūkhbaatar *aimag*, which is located in the far eastern part of Mongolia, close to the Chinese border. Due to the history and the location of the Dariganga people, they were greatly influenced by Chinese traditions and show close cultural connections to Inner Mongolia as well. The Dariganga have, thus, their own dialects and sometimes different vocabularies. B. Badma-Oyu, in her book, *The Ethnography of Dariganga*, strongly claims that in their history, the Dariganga people

are famous for their unique crafts and performing arts, and most of all, they are famous for having a strong, self-confidence in their culture (2007).



Figure 11: A View of Dariganga *Sum* Center

Y. Borkhu (55), husband of the cultural manager of the Dariganga *sum*, Uulan (47), said that only two main long-songs originated in Sükhbaatar *aimag* around the Dariganga area. Other long-songs have been brought to Sükhbaatar by nomads. One of the two main long-songs was “Jaakhan sharga,” and another one is the long-song called “Tooroi bandi.” (Interview with Y. Borkhu 7/12/2009). The musical style of “Jaakhan sharga” contains a great many characteristics of eastern long-song styles—a simpler line with a smoother contour (less melismatic and less ornamented), since it was born and survived in this eastern area and shows the relatively clear presentation of text with less ornamentation, which emphasizes the meaning of the text.

As *nutgiin duu* of Dariganga, the text of “Jaakhan sharga” is rooted in the legend of a couple who lived in the Sükhbaatar *aimag*. There are several versions of

this legend, but Y. Borkhu talked about one particular version in my interview. Several versions do not mean “very different stories.” They are, rather, different variants of one story, which always reaches the same conclusion. The story is about a monk named Injenorb who fell in love with a woman named Jimezan. To make a long story short, the woman’s parents were against their love, and so Jimezan was forced to get married to another man who was in a much higher social position and was wealthy. When Injenorb found this out, and realized that she already left for her forced wedding, he left for the place Naran *sum*, where the wedding festival was going on and also where numerous Dariganga people live. During his travel, he started singing a song, and this is the origin of the song “Jaakhan sharga.” Finally, when he arrived at the place, he put a message to Jimezan in his song, saying that he would wait for her in the night on the hill of Naran *sum*. When Jimezan heard the song, she escaped and met him and they ran away together to the place where Ongon *sum* now is, in Sūkhbaatar, and they started their life together there.

Text examples: “Jaakhan sharga”

*Jaakhan sharyn shogshoond*  
*Tomoo n' muukhai tasarlaa*  
*Jaakhan tūiinii aashiid*  
*Setgel muukhi gunirkhalaa*

For the galloping of the little yellow horse  
 Twined rope was cut  
 For the character of my little lover  
 My soul has saddened badly.<sup>19</sup>

“Jaakhan sharga” literally means “Small Yellowish [Horse],” and it is the name of the horse that Injenorb rode. The song is, however, not about the horse. It is

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<sup>19</sup> For this translation, I consulted with M. Saruul-Erdene.

about the two lovers' story; nevertheless, the horse Jaakhan sharga provides an important connection between the long-song "Jaakhan sharga" and another Sūkhbaatar long-song, "Tooroi bandi," because according to the "Tooroi bandi" legend, the horse Jaakhan sharga originally belonged to this main character of this song, named Torooi bandi, and Torooi bandi gave this horse to Injenorb because his singing was so good.

While Y. Borkhu was telling me this story, he also talked about some of the existing local figures who are the descendants of Injenorb and Zimezen. Then, with conviction, he said that from this fact, it is certain that these two songs are very "original" and "real" (*jinkhene*) Sūkhbaatar and Dariganga long-songs, and certainly represent their cultural and local identity. Besides this, while he was telling the story of "Jaakhan sharga," he pointed out one painting, saying that it was painted by his daughter B. Enkhma (27), who was currently studying art at the Cultural University in Ulaanbaatar. The painting was based on the story of the "Jaakhan sharga" legend. He had collected all the information on the "Jaakhan sharga" legends so that it could be painted.

Considering the legendary background and story of the song, it seems that "Jaakhan sharga" originated in Sūkhbaatar and reflects Dariganga history with its eastern musical style. However, "Jaakhan sharga" is no longer a song of only eastern Sūkhbaatar, or only of the Dariganga. As I mentioned earlier, owing to Sh. Chimedtseye's singing it, as well as to the recent immigration of rural populations to urban areas and the impact of mass media, this song has also moved to the urban area of Ulaanbaatar. It has started to be sung by urban singers, who mainly came from

central areas too, such as the Dundgov' area, and have a style of vocality different from that of eastern *aimag* singers. Besides this, the musical characteristics of “Jaakhan sharga” have been modified somewhat by various singers. For example, N. Norovbanzad's style of singing the song shows much longer sustained vowels, but with fewer falling tones.

Regardless of the changes in musical style after the song became famous in urban areas, it came back even more strongly to its hometown, Dariganga,<sup>20</sup> when the nation stepped into the post-socialist period and needed its new nation-building project to confirm the new national identity. In this process, rural Mongolians started look at themselves as vanguards of a much richer cultural space, from which they could help build the national identity by promoting their local culture as cultural representatives of their localities. The impact of the new cultural politics in post-socialist Mongolia is clearly evident in Dariganga, and the countryside people there perceive a new image of themselves within the overall picture of Mongolia. The long-song “Jaakhan sharga” has given them economic possibilities in new, free market post-socialist society, since the government has recently supported them in preserving this tradition.

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<sup>20</sup> Most of the recordings of “Jaakhan sharga” in MAS were made in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were few recordings of it.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSIONS

#### POST-SOCIALIST MONGOLIA: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Against the background of socialist Mongolia, post-socialist Mongolian modernity has encountered the issue of new identity reformation—taking elements of the socialist identity and combining them with new elements, and also sometimes breaking with their past socialist identity entirely. The crisis of Mongolian self-identity that happened during late socialism was as confused about the crisis—and emergence—of national identity as was in the post-socialist political shift. In this process, the agency of power to run the Mongolian society shifted from knowledge and political networking to economic value and informational streams. As a result, urban space has been reinforced in a free market image, to connect to a global world, and Mongolians have consequently faced the need to present of their Mongolness in a global world as “new Mongols”—with unique characteristics more “authentic” to Mongolia.

In some case studies of folk traditions in post-socialist studies, there is frequent presentation of folk material as a symbol of nationalism (Olson 2004; Buchanan 2005; Ivy 1996), or the elements of folk have been used as part of a nationalistic movement (Turino 2000). In the case of Mongolia, people have brought back the long-song tradition not only as a symbol of the new Mongol identity, but also as something “authentically” Mongol that has connections to Mongolia’s “deep past.” As Humphrey argues, it is “not only because this is for once their own, but

because historical origin in Mongolian culture is the source of moral authority in the present. Thus the ‘deep past’ is being called upon to provide inspiration for a discontinuity with the immediate past” (Humphrey 1992: 375). The immediate past, of course, is socialist Mongolia. Since the long-song tradition was suppressed in socialist Mongolia, people can now utilize long-song to create or reconstruct connections with their more distant past.

As a result, long-song has been advanced in cultural events, festivals, and discourse on the new Mongolian identity, and long-song singers themselves search for some long-song pieces that were once lost and that are something from pre-socialist period, rather than what is sung today in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. Singers are constantly looking for regional styles that have been forgotten, and now the urban and professional singers are going back to seek their *khödöö nutag* (locality/home) as revealed in the story of the long-song “Jaakhan sharga” in Chapter Six. For contemporary long-song singers, the Mongolian countryside is not only a physical place, but a space of people’s perception (Williams 1977) that connects to their “nations’ imagination” (Kennedy 1994: 7), that is, their new, but genuine Mongolia. Furthermore, the countryside connects to the pre-revolutionary past once they were united by Chinggis Khan, and it becomes the space that carries nostalgic emotion and the sense of Mongolians’ new authentic Mongolia, and what Frederik calls the “the pura cepa (pure roots or stock)” (Frederik 2009: 90). Thus, the image of the countryside and long-song (and particularly the image held by amateur countryside long-song singers) has shifted from that of backwardness to that of something valuable.

Nevertheless, the long-song tradition has not always survived as “authentic” or pure Mongolian culture, as widely believed in post-socialist Mongolia as shown in previous chapters. Throughout the socialist period, the songs and their musical elements were transformed. Long-song repertory was much reduced, and some songs disappeared. At the same time, some songs were rediscovered. Long-songs that used to have differing regional styles, and that carried different individual improvisational styles in the old context, had become much simplified by urban theater professionals during the socialist period, mainly for reasons of socialist ideology and modernization/urbanization, following the political movement. Despite these demonstrable changes to the elements of musical styles and repertory, as well as to singers’ lives during the socialist period, Mongolians in the current post-socialist society feel that the long-song tradition has still been continued as a pure Mongolian tradition, and also that it is suitable as a symbolic image for their continued social and political identity in contemporary Mongolia.

As Hann, Humphrey, and Verdery have said, post-socialist countries are in continuity with their socialist past (Hann ed. 2002). Kennedy also claims that post-socialist society is actually a reproduction of the identity, ideology, and discourse from the socialist time, but filtered through a different “nation’s imagination” (Kennedy 1994: 7-10). Professional long-song singers emerged as a new social class during the socialist period, yet the class never went away after that era. Rather, their professionalism has reinforced itself by modifying the way of valuing (or the ideology or national imagination of, according to Kennedy) the tradition itself. During the socialist period, long-song singers might have placed more aesthetic and

social value on performance technique or social acceptance from the party than on lyrical or philosophical value or musicality.

In contrast, in contemporary Mongolian society, the musical, aesthetic, and social value would not only be placed largely on musical techniques, but even more on the musicality that singers believe comes from connection to the *nutag*, or even on pursuing economical values that are related to money-making. Nevertheless, Long-song singers still pursue continually their values through the social mechanisms that were built in the past socialist times, such as professionalism, competition, receiving titles, and the media.

No matter how the musical material itself has been changed and whether at a subtle or obvious degree, current Mongolians constantly look for continuity through their culture, rather than change, to have their Mongolian identity survive. It is a consequence that current long-song singers look to a disappearing repertory of long-songs and performing by emphasizing the idea of *nutag* in their song expression, which is more a matter of homeland and traditional nomadic life styles. At the same time, younger long-song singers, such as the group Shurankhai, even if they are pursuing survival in global and free market post-socialist Mongolia, attempt to stay within their traditional culture by staying within the traditional repertory, yet bring the song into a Western style of music in neo-traditional music-making. In short, as Nettl pointed out (Nettl 2005: 272-290), change is constant, and the continuity between the time of socialist Mongolia and post-socialist Mongolia is still present. There are changes, but in the Mongolian case, continuity is still followed as much as change has come.

## CONTRIBUTION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

A full study of long-song is beyond the scope of this single dissertation. While long-song is a cultural heritage of Mongolia and its musical features have amazed many audiences in performance, scholarship on this genre has been rare,<sup>1</sup> and, in particular, there is a shortage of in-depth research on the long-song genre in English. Two situations have arisen from this lack of previous long-song scholarship. First of all, when I started my work, it was difficult to decide on the direction of my research and how to narrow the materials to a specific focus, since there existed little previous scholarship providing a fundamental body of knowledge on this genre. Second, this dissertation shows the way toward much future research and study in the long-song genre. Each small aspect that has been discussed here could well be developed into more detailed research, which I plan to be my future work. For example, there is much to be researched in such areas as 1) the musical technique, regional styles, and the terminology in relation to the soundscape of long-song, 2) the relations between the lyrics and the music-making, 3) the regional musical styles in relation to geographical environment and legends, 4) the extended research on the migration of the long-song repertory (especially along with singers' immigration during the socialist period), 5) the more specific investigation of the function of media (specifically, the MNB radio station) and censorship, and 6) deeper investigation of

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<sup>1</sup> As I revise my dissertation after the dissertation defense, I have just learned that another dissertation on Mongolian long-song was completed in 2010 by David Chao: "Urtin duu: The Mongolian Long Song in Mongolia and China" (UCLA). He brings interesting research and observation on comparisons between Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolian (i.e., Mongolian) long-song.

the socialist political influence on folk songs. Thus, there are many threads in this dissertation that can be followed further.

As a Mongolian case study, and one of a country that was part of the Soviet bloc, this dissertation has implications for possible further post-socialist studies, particularly in music. Post-socialist studies have been a rich field, and have already examined many interesting topics (Hann 2002; Verdery 1996, 2004, 1999; Humphrey 2002; Ching and Creed 1997; Gal 2000 etc). Recently a great portion of scholarship on Mongolian studies has turned to post-socialist studies as well (Kaplonski 2004; Humphrey 1992; Burn and Narangoa 2006; Morris 2005 etc). However, ethnomusicological scholarship about the post-socialist bloc is still less developed than in other regions. Even though there are a few works (Buchanan 2005; Rice 1994; Szemere 2001; Olson 2004), detailed discussions of issues that need to be elaborated through ethnomusicological examination of the current post-socialist music scene remain rare, compared to those of other issues within on-going ethnomusicological discourse. For this reason, I hope my work will add a useful case study to the body of ethnomusicological scholarship, providing an addition to the discourse on themes such as professionalism/amateurism, countryside vs. city, and nationalism in the process of new nation building.

The theoretical discussion of change and continuity in music has been an on-going theme in ethnomusicology since Alan Merriam (1964: 303-319) brought it up. Indeed, since ethnomusicology has been interested in music not only as sound but also as part of human culture, change and continuity cannot but be enduring themes. My dissertation develops one culture-specific and time-specific discourse on

continuity and change. In this way, it provides something more to think about in the discourse on those concepts as they present themselves in a specifically post-socialist situation and in relation to political transition. Particularly I have discussed in this work the divergent development of change and continuity simultaneously.

In outlining the transition of the long-song tradition, I have argued that musical change was much slower than social change, illustrating that the changes of long-song musical features were not clearly recognized by the singers, while they have been strongly aware of the transitions in their lives and have responded to political changes. Different speeds and ways of changing are apparent in the different locations examined here; the countryside has remained largely continuous, while change has been much faster in the city. However, the slowness of change in the Mongolian countryside made it less a part of the transitional process during the socialist period and in the procedure of new nation building. With the countryside retaining more of the old and the city pushing toward the new, post-socialist Mongolians tend to choose a city as their reality for living, but the countryside as the image for maintaining their identity. Thus, their relationship and their roles in the process of change are complicated and hybrid. There is still much to add to the ongoing discourse of change and continuity, and this work will be an addition to ethnomusicology scholarship in this respect as well.

Lastly, this project featured much cooperation with historical research. Shelemay once emphasized that “an ethnomusicological study of a living music culture provides a multi-faceted and unique data base, which in its totality may well illuminate important aspects of a culture’s history” (Shelemay 1980: 235). In other

words, to know the history, it was necessary to conduct interviews in an effort to gather remaining stories and to make recordings of individual surviving musicians in contemporary Mongolia to supplement the archival materials. It was important to approach the Mongolian situation with a combination of historical research and fieldwork; this was necessary to overcome the lack of sources in Mongolian musical scholarship. Furthermore, through this dissertation's combination of archival work and contemporary interviews, I have added an example of the possibility of combining methodology between anthropological and historical research. While this has been an on-going approach in ethnomusicology, the specific context of Mongolia will provide another necessary example of a case study using combined methodology.

#### CHASING THE SINGERS

I would like to end this journey with a discussion of the current predicament of the long-song genre. Folk traditions have already been much museumized in this modern world, becoming an unavoidable situation in the twenty-first century. Many academic sectors and cultural sectors, such as UNESCO, have tried to preserve things as they are, but at the same time, this activity has had significant influence on change and authenticity. For this reason, “authenticity,” “preservation,” and “tradition” are now often thought to be useless words for any of those folk and oral cultures.

Nevertheless, the Mongolian folk traditions, including the long-song tradition, have still been surviving in the countryside as they have in the past, because of the remote and isolated lifestyle in the countryside. This is one of the reasons why Mongolian culture has so attracted people like me who grew up where there was a great deal of traditional culture, but in an absence of its prior context. Rapid change

has touched Mongolia during the past few of years. Certainly musics change, and nothing can stop that. Therefore, it will be important to take a moment to listen to what remains of traditional music, so we can broaden our view toward humanity's musical nature, and so we can understand this music in its own context, before it is gone, even in Mongolia. I am still planning to chase the singers as I have done in this work and to collect the wonderful stories that they have shared, and will share, not only with me, but also as the story of their Mongolian heritage to an audience of all the world.

APPENDIX:  
INDICES TO LONG-SONG COLLECTIONS

Explanatory Notes

This Appendix includes seventeen index tables that are comprised of the long-song pieces collected and researched during my fieldwork, from 2007 to 2010; most of the lists were cited and explained in the body of this dissertation. Each list is drawn from a distinct research source (printed documents or recordings), different regions, people, and dates. In each list, the song titles are presented in Mongolian, romanized Mongolian, and English translation.

In the process of translating each long-song title, I have encountered the problem that song titles are not always consistent, even when naming the same song. For example, a song, “Sun of Gentle Universe” can be found called by either of two titles in Mongolian, “Uyakhan Zambutiviin Naran” or the simpler “Zambutiviin Naran.” The former would be translated as “Sun of Gentle Universe,” but the latter would be “Universe’s Sun,” which is subtly different. In this dissertation, I have normalized my translations of titles, so that, for example, in the case of this particular song, I translated all instances into “Sun of Gentle Universe,” regardless of the Mongolian title.

Numerous long-song titles contain potentially ambiguous phrases, since they have to be taken from the first several words of the lyrics. For example, in the title of “Asaryn öndör,” “Asar” can mean “tent,” as a noun, and also mean “very,” as an adjective. For this reason, this title can be translated as “The height of the tent” or “The very height.” In such cases, I needed to consult to the lyrics and make a decision, with help from my background knowledge about the songs. In addition, many of the song titles describe only color. An example is “Nariin sharga,” which means “Elegant Yellowish.” However, most of the titles refer to a horse. In these cases, I supply the missing word in square brackets, e.g. “Elegant Yellowish [Horse].” \*

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\* Translations here were developed in consultation with M. Saruul-Erdene, Simon Wickham-Smith, and Narantsogt Baatarkhuu.

Index I: MNB Long-song Collection

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Alag shaazgai	1. Алаг шаазгай	1. Pied Magpie
2. Alia saaral	2. Алиа саарал	2. The Lively Grey [Horse]
3. Altai jüügiin burgas	3. Алтай жүүгийн бургас	3. The Willow at Altai Juu
4. Altan bogdyn shil	4. Алтан богдын шил	4. The Crest of Altan Bogd
5. Amar түвшин	5. Амар түвшин	5. Serenity
6. Arigun oron	6. Аригун орон	6. The Sacred Land
7. Aryn altai nutag	7. Арын Алтай нутаг	7. The Northern Altai
8. Ar khövchiin unaga (ar khövch)	8. Ар хөвчийн унага (Ар хөвч)	8. The Foal of the Northern Taiga
9. Aryn öndör mod	9. Арын өндөр мод	9. The Tall Tree in the North
10. Asaryn öndör	10. Асарын өндөр	10. The Height
11. Asaryn öndör mod	11. Асарын өндөр мод	11. The Height of the Tree
12. Ayan züitei nutag	12. Аян зүйтэй нутаг	12. The Lovely Homeland
13. Baakhan chechgiin unaga	13. Баахан чэчгийн унага	13. Foal of the Flowers
14. Baatar beiliin unaga	14. Баатар бэйлийн унага	14. Baatar Beil's (regional name) Foal
15. Bayalag khangain unaga	15. Баялаг хангайн унага	15. Foal of the Rich Khangai
16. Bayan chagaan nutag	16. Баян чагаан нутаг	16. Rich White Land
17. Bogd uulyн сүндэл	17. Богд уулын сүндэл	17. Top of the Bogd Mountain
18. Bogdyn öndör	18. Богдын өндөр	18. The Height of Bogd Mountain
19. Bor boryн byalzuukhai	19. Бор борын бялзуухай	19. Brown Brown Little Bird
20. Bor toirmyn byalzuukhai	20. Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	20. Little Birds around the Saltmarsh
21. Budal tsolmon	21. Будал цолмон	21. The Misty Morning Star
22. Budal kharagdakh	22. Будал харагдах	22. Foggy Scene
23. Bulgan khangai	23. Булган хангай	23. Bulgan Khangai (area name)
24. Byachkhan kheer	24. Бячхан хээр	24. Tiny Chestnut [Horse]
25. Gavalmaa	25. Гавалмаа	25. Gavalmaa (personal name)
26. Gazryn kholoos güisen gants sharga mor' (Gazryn kholoos güigch altan sharga, gazryn kholoos güisen moriny yavdal)	26. Газрын холоос гүйсэн ганц шарга морь (Газрын холоос гүйгч алтан шарга, газрын холоос гүйсэн морины явдал )	26. The Yellowish-colored Horse which Ran [Back Home] from Far Away
27. Gandan uulyн tsetseg	27. Гандан уулын цэцэг	27. Flower of Gandan Mountain
28. Ganga nuuryн galuu	28. Ганга нуурын галуу	28. The Geese of Ganga Lake
29. Gishgedel сайт үрээ	29. Гишгэдэл сайт үрээ	29. A Fine Walking [Horse]
30. Goviin öndör [mod]	30. Говийн өндөр [mod]	30. Tall [Tree] of the Gobi
31. Gurvan kheeriin chikhtei	31. Гурван хээрийн чихтэй	31. The Three Dark Horses' Ears

32. Daagan daagan khar	32. Дааган дааган хар	32. Black Two Year Old [Colt]
33. Dömön	33. Дөмөн	33. A Sprightly Pace
34. Dörvön nastai khaliun	34. Дөрвөн настай халиун	34. Four Year Old Dun [Horse]
35. Dörvön tsag	35. Дөрвөн цаг	35. The Four Seasons
36. Durtmal saikhan	36. Дуртмал сайхан	36. Nice Clean [Sun]
37. Dүүjii khuar	37. Дүүжий хуар	37. Forty patterned ornament
38. Dүүren delger khangai	38. Дүүрэн дэлгэр хангай	38. The Rich and Wide Khangai
39. Dүүren bulag	39. Дүүрэн булаг	39. The Deep Spring
40. Jaakhan sharga	40. Жаахан шарга	40. Small Yellowish [Horse]
41. Javkhlant süreg	41. Жавхлант сүрэг	41. A Mangificent Herd
42. Jargaltain delger (üvgün shuvuu khoyor)	42. Жаргалтайн дэлгэр (Өвгөн шувуу хоёр)	42. An Abundance of Joy [Summer], (The Old Man and the Bird)
43. Joroo baakhan ulaan	43. Жороо баахан улаан	43. A Small Red Ambler
44. Joroony joroo	44. Жорооны жороо	44. The Ambler's Gait
45. Joroo saivar zeerd	45. Жороо сайвар зээрд	45. The Chestnut Ambler
46. Zakh jargalantyn nutag	46. Зах жаргалантын нутаг	46. The Happy Borderland
47. Zun tsag	47. Зун цаг	47. Summertime
48. Zergiin shar khuls	48. Зэргийн шар хулс	48. Shar Khuls in Zereg sum
49. Zee zekhüin saikhan zeerd	49. Зээ зэхүүн сайхан зээрд	49. Hey, Nice Eager Chestnut [Horse]
50. Zeergenetiin shil	50. Зээргэнэтийн шил	50. Zeergenets Mountain
51. Zee bichkhen kheer	51. Зээ бичхэн хээр	51. Hey, Small Yellowish [Horse]
52. Ider jinchin	52. Идэр жинчин	52. Young Caravanner
53. Ikh saikhan khaliun	53. Их сайхан халиун	53. Very Nice Dun [Horse]
54. Magnai түргэн	54. Магнай түргэн	54. Swift Leader
55. Manarch baigaa shil	55. Манарч байгаа шил	55. Foggy Mountain Slope
56. Mandal juujaa	56. Мандал жуужаа	56. Mandal Juujaa (Person's name)
57. Mantyn khöndii	57. Мантын хөндий	57. The Hollow at Mant
58. Minii borlog	58. Миний борлог	58. My Brownish [Horse]
59. Menget baakhan	59. Мэнгэт баахан	59. Small Spotted [Horse]
60. Naran zul khul	60. Наран зул хул	60. Sunny Light Brown [Horse]
61. Nariin goviin zeerd	61. Нарийн говийн зээрд	61. Elegant Chestnut [Horse] of the Gobi
62. Nariin saaral mor'	62. Нарийн саарал морь	62. Elegant Grey Horse
63. Nariin saikhan kheer	63. Нарийн сайхан хээр	63. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
64. Nariin kheer	64. Нарийн хээр	64. Elegant Chestnut [Horse]
65. Nariin khökh bor (övörkhangai nutgiin duu)	65. Нарийн хөх бор (өвөрхангай нутгийн дуу)	65. Elegant Dark Brown [Horse] (song of Övörhangai)
66. Nariin khökh bor	66. Нарийн хөх бор	66. Elegant Dark Brown [Horse]
67. Nariin sharga	67. Нарийн шарга	67. Elegant Yellowish [Horse]
68. Nakhiugiin khargai	68. Нахиугийн харгай	68. The Larch of Nakhiu

69. Noyolon kharagdakh	69. Ноёлон харагдах	69. Seems Dominant
70. Nomin dalai	70. Номин далай	70. Ocean of Dharma
71. Nutgiin baraa	71. Нутгийн бараа	71. The Outline of my Homeland
72. Olomgüi dalai	72. Оломгүй далай	72. Fathomless Ocean
73. Oroin chimeg	73. Оройн чимэг	73. Head Ornament
74. Oroo saikhan kheer	74. Ороо сайхан хээр	74. A Fine and Nervy [Horse]
75. Otgontengeriin tukhai duu	75. Отгонтэнгэрийн тухай дуу	75. A Song of Otgontenger Mountain
76. Öliin davaa	76. Өлийн даваа	76. The Low Mountain Pass
77. Öndör altain nutag	77. Өндөр Алтай нутаг	77. High Land of the Altai
78. Öndör khaan	78. Өндөр хаан	78. Öndör Khaan (a place in Kentii aimag)
79. Öndör khangain buga	79. Өндөр хангайн буга	79. Stag of the Khangai
80. Öndör saikhan bor	80. Өндөр сайхан бор	80. Fine Tall Brown [Horse]
81. Önchin tsagaan botgo	81. Өнчин цагаан ботго	81. Orphaned White Baby Camel
82. Saikhan khangain buga	82. Сайхан хангайн буга	82. Stag of the Lovely Khangai
83. Saruul tal (talbai)	83. Саруул тал (талбай)	83. The Bright Steppe.
84. Songinotyn shil	84. Сонгинотын шил	84. Flat Topped Hill of Songinot
85. Soyog bor	85. Соёг бор	85. Brown Ambler [Horse]
86. Sümberleed kharagdakh uul	86. Сүмбэрлээд харагдах уул	86. Imposing Mountain
87. Sünder uul	87. Сүндэр уул	87. High Mountain
88. Sevket bor	88. Сэвхэт бор	88. Freckled Brown [Horse]
89. Sergelen sharga	89. Сэргэлэн шарга	89. Lively Yellow [Horse]
90. Sergelengiin uul	90. Сэргэлэнгийн уул	90. Mountains of Sergelen Sum
91. Seruun saikhan khangai	91. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай	91. The Lovely, Cool Khangai
92. Setert baakhan sharga	92. Сэтэрт баахан шарга	93. Small Yellow Sacred [Horse]
93. Seeriin khargui	93. Сээрийн харгуй	93. The Path behind the Mountain
94. Tavan tolgoi	94. Таван толгой	94. Five Hills
95. Too zasgiin joroo	95. Тоо засгийн жороо	95. Ambler of Too Zasag
96. Tooroi bandi	96. Тоорой банди	96. Tooroi Bandi
97. Torgon ulaan tug	97. Торгон улаан туг	97. Red Silken Flag
98. Tögrög nuur	98. Төгрөг нуур	98. Tögrög [Money] Lake
99. Tөрүүлж өсгөсөн гөргөс еej	99. Төрүүлж өсгөсөн гөрөөс ээж	99. The Mother Gazelle Who Bore and Raised Me
100. Tunamal öngöt ulaan	100. Тунамал өнгөт улаан	100. A Calm Red [Horse]
101. Tungalag tamir	101. Тунгалат тамир	101. Clear Tamir River
102. Tүмний манлай	102. Түмний манлай	102. The Best Among Many
103. Tegsh tavan khüsel	103. Тэгш таван хүсэл	103. Five Equal Wishes
104. Tengeriin agar	104. Тэнгэрийн агаар	104. The Air of the Sky
105. Ulaan bor mor'	105. Улаан бор морь	105. A Reddish-Brown Horse
106. Ulaakhan mörnii us	106. Улаакхан мөрний ус	106. The Water of the Red

107. Ulaan torgot uut	107. Улаан торгон уут	River
108. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	108. Урьхан хонгор салхи	107. A Red Silken Bag
109. Urt süült ulaan	109. Урт сүүлт улаан	108. The Lovely Gentle Wind
110. Urt(yn) saikhan khuren	110. Урт(ын) сайхан хүрэн	109. A Long-tailed Red [Horse]
111. Usny chin' ekhend khonkholzuur khar	111. Усны чинь эхэнд хонхолзуур хар	110. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
112. Ukhaa zeerd	112. Ухаа зээрд	111. A Very Thin Black [Horse] at the Head of the River
113. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran	113. Уяхан замбутивийн наран	112. A Reddish Chestnut Horse
114. Üzüür jirgee	114. Үзүүр жиргээ	113. Sun of the Gentle Universe
115. Ülemjiin chanar	115. Үлэмжийн чанар	114. A Strident Twittering
116. Khazaar zuuzai	116. Хазаар зуузай	115. Perfect Qualities
117. Khangain buural	117. Хангайн буурал	116. Bridle and Bit
118. Khan uul	118. Хан уул	117. Grey [Horse] of the Khangai
119. Khargai dungeon alim	119. Харгай дүнгээн алим	118. Khan mountain
120. Khargalaa saikhan kheer	120. Харгалаа сайхан хээр	119. The Apple of the Khargai Dūngee (a place name)
121. Kharuul khangai	121. Харуул хангай	120. A Fine Darkish Horse
122. Khoyor altai nutag	122. Хоёр Алтай нутаг	121. Kharuul Khangai
123. Khoyor baakhan	123. Хоёр баакхан	122. Two Places in the Altai.
124. Khoyor bor	124. Хоёр бор	123. Two Small [Horses]
125. Khoyor khangai (nutag)	125. Хоёр хангай (нутаг)	124. Two Brown [Horses]
126. Kholch mor'	126. Холч морь	125. Two Places in the Khangai
127. Khoo khalzan mor'	127. Хоо халзан морь	126. The Long-Distance Horse
128. Khongor sharga	128. Хонгор шарга	127. The Horse with a Reddish Forehead
129. Khoshuu chagaan nutag	129. Хошуу чагаан нутаг	128. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
130. Khövlög khangain baraa	130. Хөвлөг хангайн бараа	129. Tsagaan Khushuu
131. Khövlög altain baraa	131. Хөвлөг Алтайн бараа	130. A View of the Cotton-soft Khangai
132. Khögjiliin talbai	132. Хөгжлийн талбай	131. A View of the Cotton-soft Altai
133. Khöörkhön	133. Хөөрхөн	132. The Land of Joy
134. Khöörkhön khökh (mor')	134. Хөөрхөн хөх (морь)	133. A Dear [Horse]
135. Khöörkhön khaliun	135. Хөөрхөн халиун	134. A Dear Dark-colored Horse
136. Khökhöo shuvuu	136. Хөхөө шувуу	135. A Dear Dun [Horse]
137. Khökh bor	137. Хөх бор	136. The Cuckoo
138. Khulst nuur	138. Хулст нуур	137. A Dark Brown [Horse]
139. Khurmast tener	139. Хурмаст тэнгэр	138. Khulst Nuur
		139. The God of Rain and

140. Khuur magnai	140. Хуур магнай	Thunder 140. The Morin Khuur Leads the Way
141. Khurdan saikhan	141. Хурдан сайхан	141. A Nice Fast [Horse]
142. Khüdrén garakh үүл	142. Хүдрэн гарах үүл	142. Clouds Scudding Out
143. Khüder baakhan khüren	143. Хүдэр баахан хүрэн	143. Small, Brown and Strong [Horses]
144. Khüder khüzüüt khüren	144. Хүдэр хүзүүт хүрэн	144. The Strong-necked Brown [Horse]
145. Khüren khürenгийн joroo	145. Хүрэн хүрэнгийн жороо	145. The Brownest of Amblers
146. Khüren joroo mor'	146. Хүрэн жороо морь	146. The Brown Ambler
147. Khüren толгойн süüder	147. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	147. Shadow of the Brown Hill
148. Kheldeen gурvan khedree	148. Хэлдээн гурван хэдрээ	148. Khldeen gурvan khedree (Western Mongolian dialect)
149. Kherlengiin bar"ya	149. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	149. The View of the Kherlen River
150. Kheer khaltar	150. Хээр халтар	150. The Blackish [Horse]
151. Tsagaan delt khaliun	151. Цагаан дэлт халиун	151. Dun [Horse] with White Mane (horse hair)
152. Tsagaan mor'	152. Цагаан морь	152. A White Horse
153. Tsagaan chookhor mor'	153. Цагаан чоохор морь	153. A White Spotted Horse
154. Tsagaan shargal mor'	154. Цагаан шаргал морь	154. A Yellowish White Horse
155. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	155. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	155. Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves
156. Tsevtsger khurdan sharga	156. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга	156. Fast Snowy-white [Horse]
157. Tsevtsger torniun kheer	157. Цэвцгэр торниун хээр	157. Well-developed Snowy-white [Horse]
158. Tsengeg туул	158. Цэнгэг туул	158. The Clean Tuul
159. Tsetsen khaany unaga	159. Цэцэн хааны унага	159. The Foal from Tsetsen Khan [Aimag]
160. Shalzat baakhan sharga	160. Шалзат баахан шарга	160. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
161. Shanjuu deel	161. Шанжуу дээл	161. Shanjuu Deel
162. Shand bulag	162. Шанд булаг	162. A Spring in the Gobi
163. Shar talyn tsetseg	163. Шар талын цэцэг	163. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
164. Shargyn shargyn joroo	164. Шаргын шаргын жороо	164. Yellowest of Yellow Amblers
165. Shiree nuur	165. Ширээ нуур	165. Shiree Nuur
166. Ene khöndiin balgad	166. Энэ хөндийн балгад	166. Valley Ruins
167. Er bor khartsaga	167. Эр бор харцага (bird name)	167. Brown Male Hawk
168. Ereglengiin deegüür	168. Эрэглэнгийн дээгүүр	168. Above Ereglen
169. Erdeniin galbarvaasan mod	169. Эрдэнийн галбарваасан мод	169. Precious Wish-fulfilling Tree
170. Erdene zasgiin	170. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	170. Foal from Erden Zasag

unaga		
171. Erdene uul	171. Эрдэнэ уул	171. Erdene Mountain
172. Erkh zeerd	172. Эрх зээрд	172. Powerful Chestnut [Horse]
173. Erkh baakhan khüren	173. Эрх баахан хүрэн	173. Small Powerful Brown [Horse]
174. Erkh zeerd	174. Эрх зээрд	174. Powerful Chestnut [Horse]
175. Enkh mendiin bayar	175. Энх мэндийн баяр	175. Celebration of a Healthy Life
176. Erkhem tör	176. Эрхэм төр	176. Revered Government
177. Ertii mongol nutag	177. Эртний монгол нутаг	177. The Ancient Mongol Land
178. Ertii saikhan	178. Эртний сайхан	178. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
179. Ekh oron	179. Эх орон	179. Motherland
180. Yanzgan zeerd	180. Янзган зээрд	180. Chestnut Foal

Index I-1: MNB Long-songs Collection, Recorded in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s (songs in boldface appeared in the 1980s).

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Alag shaazgai	1. Алаг шаазгай	1. Pied Magpie
<b>3. Altai jüügiin burgas</b>	<b>3. Алтай жүүгийн бургас</b>	<b>3. The Willow at Altai Juu</b>
<b>5. Amar түвшин</b>	<b>5. Амар түвшин</b>	<b>5. Serenity</b>
6. Arigun oron	6. Аригун орон	6. The Sacred Land
<b>7. Aryn altai nutag</b>	<b>7. Арын Алтай нутаг</b>	<b>7. The Northern Altai</b>
9. Aryn öndör mod	9. Арын өндөр мод	9. The Tall Tree in the North
11. Asaryn öndör mod	11. Асарын өндөр мод	11. The Height of the Tree
12. Ayan züitei nutag	12. Аян зүйтэй нутаг	12. The Lovely Homeland
13. Baakhan chechgiin unaga	13. Баахан чэчгийн унага	13. Foal of the Flowers
<b>14. Baatar beiliin unaga</b>	<b>14. Баатар бэйлийн унага</b>	<b>14. Baatar Beil's (regional name) Foal</b>
15. Bayalag khangain unaga	15. Баялаг хангайн унага	15. Foal of the Rich Khangai
<b>16. Bayan chagaan nutag</b>	<b>16. Баян чагаан нутаг</b>	<b>16. Rich White Land</b>
17. Bogd uulyn сүндэл	17. Богд уулын сүндэл	17. Top of the Bogd Mountain
18. Bogdyn öndör	18. Богдын өндөр	18. The Height of Bogd Mountain
19. Bor boryn byalzuukhai	19. Бор борын бялзуухай	19. Brown Brown Little Bird
<b>21. Budal tsolmon</b>	<b>21. Будал цолмон</b>	<b>21. The Misty Morning Star</b>
22. Budal kharagdakh	22. Будал харагдах	22. Foggy Scene
23. Bulgan khangai	23. Булган хангай	23. Bulgan Khangai (area name)
24. Byachkhan kheer	24. Бячхан хээр	24. Tiny Chestnut Horse
25. Gavalmaa	25. Гавалмаа	25. Gavalmaa (personal name)
26. Gazryn kholoos güisen gants sharga mor' ( <b>Gazryn kholoos güigch altan sharga, gazryn kholoos güisen moriny yavdal</b> )	26. Газрын холоос гүйсэн ганц шарга морь ( <b>Газрын холоос гүйгч алтан шарга, газрын холоос гүйсэн морины явдал</b> )	<b>26. The Yellowish-colored Horse which Ran [Back Home] from Far Away</b>
27. Gandan uulyn tsetseg	27. Гандан уулын цэцэг	27. Flower of Gandan Mountain
<b>28. Ganga nuuryn galuu</b>	<b>28. Ганга нуурын галуу</b>	<b>28. The Geese of Ganga Lake</b>
<b>29. Gishgedel sait üree</b>	<b>29. Гишгэдэл сайт үрээ</b>	<b>29. A Fine Walking Horse</b>
<b>30. Goviin öndör [mod]</b>	<b>30. Говийн өндөр [mod]</b>	<b>30. Tall Tree of the Gobi</b>
<b>31. Gurvan kheeriin chikhtei</b>	<b>31. Гурван хээрийн чихтэй</b>	<b>31. The Three Dark Horses's Ears</b>
33. Dömön	33. Дөмөн	33. A Sprightly Pace
37. Dүүjii khuar	37. Дүүжий хуар	37. Forty Patattered ornament
<b>38. Dүүren delger khangai</b>	<b>38. Дүүрэн дэлгэр хангай</b>	<b>38. The Rich and Wide Khangai</b>
<b>39. Dүүren bulag</b>	<b>39. Дүүрэн булаг</b>	<b>39. The Deep Spring</b>
40. Jaakhan sharga	40. Жаахан шарга	40. Small Yellowish Horse
41. Javkhlant süрег	41. Жавхланта сүрэг	41. A Mangificent Herd

42. Jargaltain delger (üvgün shuvuu khoyor)	42. Жаргалтайн дэлгэр (Өвгөн шувуу хоёр)	42. An Abundance of Joy [Summer], (The Old Man and the Bird)
<b>44. Joroony joroo</b>	<b>44. Жорооны жороо</b>	<b>44. The Ambler's Gait</b>
45. Joroo saivar zeerd	45. Жороо сайвар зээрд	45. The Chestnut Ambler
46. Zakh jargalantyn nutag	46. Зах жаргалантын нутаг	46. The Happy Borderland
<b>47. Zun tsag</b>	<b>47. Зун цаг</b>	<b>47. Summertime</b>
48. Zergiin shar khuls	48. Зэргийн шар хулс	48. Shar Khuls in Zereg sum
49. Zee zekhüin saikhan zeerd	49. Зээ зэхүүн сайхан зээрд	49. (Hey), Nice Eager Chestnut [Horse]
50. Zeergenetiin shil	50. Зээргэнэтийн шил	50. Zeergenet's Mountain
51. Zee bichkhen kheer	51. Зээ бичхэн хээр	51. (Hey), Small Yellowish Horse
<b>52. Ider jinchin</b>	<b>52. Идэр жинчин</b>	<b>52. Young Caravanner</b>
53. Ikh saikhan khaliun	53. Их сайхан халиун	53. Very Nice Dun Horse
<b>54. Magnai түргэн</b>	<b>54. Магнай түргэн</b>	<b>54. Swift Leader</b>
<b>57. Mantyn khöndii</b>	<b>57. Мантын хөндий</b>	<b>57. The Hollow at Mant</b>
58. Minii borlog	58. Миний борлог	58. My Brownish Horse
59. Menget baakhan	59. Мэнгэт баакхан	59. Small Spotted Horse
<b>60. Naran zul khul</b>	<b>60. Наран зул хул</b>	<b>60. Sunny Light Brown Horse</b>
<b>61. Nariin goviin zeerd</b>	<b>61. Нарийн говийн зээрд</b>	<b>61. Elegant Chestnut of the Gobi</b>
<b>62. Nariin saaral mor'</b>	<b>62. Нарийн саарал морь</b>	<b>62. Elegant Grey Horse</b>
<b>64. Nariin kheer</b>	<b>64. Нарийн хээр</b>	<b>64. Elegant Chestnut</b>
<b>65. Nariin khökh bor</b> (övörkhangai nutgiin duu)	<b>65. Нарийн хөх бор</b> (өвөрхангай нутгийн дуу)	<b>65. Elegant Dark Brown Horse (song of Övörhangai)</b>
<b>66. Nariin khökh bor</b>	<b>66. Нарийн хөх бор</b>	<b>66. Elegant Dark Brown [Horse]</b>
<b>67. Nariin sharga</b>	<b>67. Нарийн шарга</b>	<b>67. Elegant Yellowish Horse</b>
69. Noyolon kharagdakh	69. Ноёлон харагдах	69. Seems Dominant
<b>70. Nomin dalai</b>	<b>70. Номин далай</b>	<b>70. Ocean of Dharma</b>
71. Nutgiin baraa	71. Нутгийн бараа	71. The Outline of my Homeland
72. Olomgüi dalai	72. Оломгүй далай	72. Fathomless Ocean
<b>73. Oroin chimeg</b>	<b>73. Оройн чимэг</b>	<b>73. Head Ornament</b>
74. Oroo saikhan kheer	74. Ороо сайхан хээр	74. A Fine and Nervy Horse
75. Otgontengeriin tukhai duu	75. Отгонтэнгэрийн тухай дуу	75. A Song of Otgontenger Mountain
<b>76. Öliin davaa</b>	<b>76. Өлийн даваа</b>	<b>76. The Low Mountain Pass</b>
<b>77. Öндөр altain nutag</b>	<b>77. Өндөр Алтай нутаг</b>	<b>77. High Land of the Altai</b>
78. Öндөр khaan	78. Өндөр хаан	78. Öндөр Khaan (a place in Kentii aimag)
79. Öндөр khangain buga	79. Өндөр хангайн буга	79. Stag of the Khangai
<b>80. Öндөр saikhan bor</b>	<b>80. Өндөр сайхан бор</b>	<b>80. Fine Tall Brown Horse</b>
81. Önchin tsagaan botgo	81. Өнчин цагаан ботго	81. Orphaned White Baby Camel
82. Saikhan khangain buga	82. Сайхан хангайн буга	82. Stag of the Lovely Khangai
<b>84. Songinotyn shil</b>	<b>84. Сонгинотын шил</b>	<b>84. Flat Topped Hill of</b>

<p><b>87. Sünder uul</b> 88. Sevket bor 89. Sergelen sharga 92. Setert baakhan sharga 93. Seeriin khargui</p> <p>94. Tavan tolgoi 95. Too zasgiin joroo <b>97. Torgon ulaan tug</b> 98. Tögrög nuur 99. Törüülj ösgösön göröös eej <b>100. Tunamal öngöt ulaan</b> 101. Tungalag tamir <b>103. Tegsh tavan khüsel</b> <b>104. Tengeriin agar</b> 105. Ulaan bor mor' <b>106. Ulaakhan mörnii us</b> 107. Ulaan torgot uut 108. Ur'khan khongor salkhi <b>109. Urt süült ulaan</b> <b>110. Urt(yn) saikhan khuren</b> 112. Ukhaa zeerd</p> <p><b>114. Üzüür jirgee</b> <b>115. Ülemjiin chanar</b> <b>116. Khazaar zuuzai</b> 117. Khangain buural</p> <p><b>118. Khan uul</b> <b>119. Khargai dungeon alim</b></p> <p><b>120. Khargalaa saikhan kheer</b> <b>121. Kharuul khangai</b> <b>122. Khoyor altai nutag</b> 123. Khoyor baakhan <b>125. Khoyor khangai (nutag)</b> 126. Kholch mor' <b>127. Khoo khalzan mor'</b></p> <p>128. Khongor sharga</p>	<p><b>87. Сүндэр уул</b> 88. Сэвхэт бор 89. Сэргэлэн шарга 92. Сэтэрт баахан шарга 93. Сээрийн харгуй</p> <p>94. Таван толгой 95. Тоо засгийн жороо <b>97. Торгон улаан туг</b> 98. Төгрөг нуур 99. Төрүүлж өсгөсөн гөрөөс ээж <b>100. Тунамал өнгөт улаан</b> 101. Тунгалат тамир <b>103. Тэгш таван хүсэл</b></p> <p><b>104. Тэнгэрийн агаар</b> 105. Улаан бор морь <b>106. Улаакхан мөрний ус</b></p> <p>107. Улаан торгон уут 108. Урьхан хонгор салхи</p> <p><b>109. Урт сүүлт улаан</b> <b>110. Урт(ын) сайхан хүрэн</b> 112. Ухаа зээрд</p> <p><b>114. Үзүүр жиргээ</b> <b>115. Үлэмжийн чанар</b> <b>116. Хазаар зуузай</b> 117. Хангайн буурал</p> <p><b>118. Хан уул</b> <b>119. Харгай дүнгээн алим</b></p> <p><b>120. Харгалаа сайхан хээр</b> <b>121. Харуул хангай</b> <b>122. Хоёр Алтай нутаг</b> 123. Хоёр баахан <b>125. Хоёр хангай (нутаг)</b></p> <p>126. Холч морь <b>127. Хоо халзан морь</b></p> <p>128. Хонгор шарга</p>	<p><b>Songinot</b> <b>87. High Mountain</b> 88. Freckled Brown [Horse] 89. Lively Yellow [Horse] 93. Small Yellow Sacred Horse 93. The Path behind the Mountain 94. Five Hills 95. Ambler of Too Zasag <b>97. Red Silken Flag</b> 98. Tögrög [Money] Lake 99. The Mother Gazelle Who Bore and Raised Me <b>100. A Calm Red Horse</b></p> <p>101. Clear Tamir River <b>103. Five Equal Wishes</b></p> <p><b>104. The Air of the Sky</b> 105. A Reddish-Brown Horse <b>106. The Water of the Red River</b> 107. A Red Silken Bag 108. The Lovely Gentle Wind</p> <p><b>109. A Long-tailed Red Horse</b> <b>110. A Nice Leggy Brown</b></p> <p>112. A Reddish Chestnut Horse <b>114. A Strident Twittering</b> <b>115. Perfect Qualities</b> <b>116. Bridle and Bit</b> 117. Grey [Horse] of the Khangai <b>118. Khan mountain</b> <b>119. The Apple of the Khargai Düngee (a place name)</b> <b>120. A Fine Darkish Horse</b></p> <p><b>121. Kharuul Khangai</b> <b>122. Two Places in the Altai.</b> 123. Two Small Horses <b>125. Two Places in the Khangai</b> 126. The Long-Distance Horse <b>127. The Horse with a Reddish Forehead</b> 128. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]</p>
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<p>129. Khoshuu chagaan nutag  <b>130. Khövlög khangain baraa</b>  131. Khövlög altain baraa</p> <p>132. Khögjiliin talbai  133. Khöörkhön  <b>134. Khöörkhön khökh (mor‘)</b>  <b>136. Khökhöö shuvuu</b>  <b>137. Khökh bor</b>  139. Khurmast tener</p> <p><b>140. Khuur magnai</b></p> <p>141. Khurдан saikhan  142. Khüdrен garakh үүл  143. Khüder baakhan khüren  144. Khüder khüzüüt khüren  <b>146. Khüren joroo mor’</b>  <b>148. Kheldeen gурvan khedree</b>  149. Kherlengiin bar’ya</p> <p>150. Kheer khaltar  <b>152. Tsagaan mor’</b>  153. Tsagaan chookhor mor’  <b>154. Tsagaan shargal mor’</b>  156. Tsevtсger khurдан sharga  157. Tsevtсger torniun kheer  <b>158. Tsengeg tuul</b>  <b>162. Shand bulag</b>  164. Shargyn shargyn joroo  166. Ene khöndiin balgad  168. Ereglengiin deegüür  169. Erdeniin galbarvaasan mod  <b>171. Erdene uul</b>  <b>172. Erkh zeerd</b></p> <p>173. Erkh baakhan khüren  174. Erkh zeerd</p>	<p>129. Хошуу чагаан нутаг  <b>130. Хөвлөг хангайн бараа</b>  131. Хөвлөг Алтайн бараа</p> <p>132. Хөгжлийн талбай  133. Хөөрхөн  <b>134. Хөөрхөн хөх (морь)</b>  <b>136. Хөхөө шувуу</b>  <b>137. Хөх бор</b>  139. Хурмаст тэнгэр</p> <p><b>140. Хуур магнай</b></p> <p>141. Хурдан сайхан  142. Хүдрэн гарах үүл  143. Хүдэр баахан хүрэн  144. Хүдэр хүзүүт хүрэн</p> <p><b>146. Хүрэн жороо морь</b>  <b>148. Хэлдээн гурван хэдрээ</b>  149. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа</p> <p>150. Хээр халтар  <b>152. Цагаан морь</b>  153. Цагаан чоохор морь</p> <p><b>154. Цагаан шаргал морь</b>  156. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга  157. Цэвцгэр торниун хээр  <b>158. Цэнгэг туул</b>  <b>162. Шанд булаг</b>  164. Шаргын шаргын жороо  166. Энэ хөндийн балгад  168. Эрэглэнгийн дээгүүр  169. Эрдэнийн галбарваасан мод  <b>171. Эрдэнэ уул</b>  <b>172. Эрх зээрд</b></p> <p>173. Эрх баахан хүрэн  174. Эрх зээрд</p>	<p>129. Tsagaan Khushuu  <b>130. A View of the Cotton-soft Khangai</b>  131. A View of the Cotton-soft Altai  132. The Land of Joy  133. A Dear Horse  <b>134. A Dear Dark-colored Horse</b>  <b>136. The Cuckoo</b>  <b>137. A Dark Brown Horse</b>  139. The God of Rain and Thunder  <b>140. The Morin Khuur Leads the Way</b>  141. A Nice Fast Horse  142. Clouds Scudding Out  143. Small, Brown and Strong [Horses]  144. The Strong-necked Brown</p> <p><b>146. The Brown Ambler</b>  <b>148. Khldeen gурvan khedree (Western Mongolian dialect)</b>  149. The View of the Kherlen River  150. The Blackish Horse  <b>152. A White Horse</b>  153. A White Spotted Horse</p> <p><b>154. A Yellowish White Horse</b></p> <p>156. Fast Snowy-white Horse</p> <p>157. Well-developed Snowy-white Horse  <b>158. The Clean Tuul</b>  <b>162. A Spring in the Gobi</b>  164. Yellowest of Yellow Amblers  166. Valley Ruins  168. Above Ereglen  169. Precious Wish-fulfilling Tree  <b>171. Erdene Mountain</b>  <b>172. Powerful Chestnut [Horse]</b>  173. Small Powerful Brown</p> <p>174. Powerful Chestnut [Horse]</p>
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<b>175. Enkh mendiin bayar</b>	<b>175. Энх мэндийн баяр</b>	<b>175. Celebration of a Healthy Life</b>
<b>176. Erkhem tör</b>	<b>176. Эрхэм төр</b>	<b>176. Revered Government</b>
178. Ertanii saikhan	178. Эртний сайхан	178. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
179. Ekh oron	179. Эх орон	179. Motherland
180. Yanzgan zeerd	180. Янзган зээрд	180. Chestnut Foal

INDEX I-2: MNB Long-songs Collection, Recorded in the 1990s (Boldface: songs that were only recorded in the 1990s, others also appeared in 1960s, 70s, and 80s)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
4. Altan bogdyn shil	4. Алтан богдын шил	4. The Crest of Altan Bogd
8. Ar khövchiin unaga (ar khövch)	8. Ар хөвчийн унага (Ар хөвч)	8. The Foal of the Northern Taiga
10. Asaryn öndör	10. Асарын өндөр	10. The Height
20. Bor toirmyn byalzuukhai	20. Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	20. Little Birds around the Saltmarsh
32. Daagan daagan khar	32. Дааган дааган хар	32. Black Two Year Old Colt
34. Dörvön nastai khaliun	34. Дөрвөн настай халиун (bor?)	34. Four Year Old Dun Horse
35. Dörvön tsag	35. Дөрвөн цаг	35. The Four Seasons
36. Durtmal saikhan	36. Дуртмал сайхан	36. Nice Clean [Sun]
37. Dүүjii khuar	37. Дүүжий хуар	37. Forty patterned ornament
38. Dүүren delger khangai	38. Дүүрэн дэлгэр хангай	38. The Rich and Wide Khangai
39. Dүүren bulag	39. Дүүрэн булаг	39. The Deep Spring
40. Jaakhan sharga	40. Жаахан шарга	40. Small Yellowish Horse
41. Javkhlant süreg	41. Жавхлант сүрэг	41. A Magnificent Herd
43. Joroo baakhan ulaan	43. Жороо баахан улаан	43. A Small Red Ambler
50. Zeergenetiin shil	50. Зээргэнэтийн шил	50. Zeergenets Mountain
51. Zee bichkhen kheer	51. Зээ бичхэн хээр	51. Hey, Small Yellowish Horse
55. Manarch baigaa shil	55. Манарч байгаа шил	55. Foggy Mountain Slope
56. Mandal juujaa	56. Мандал жуужаа	56. Mandal Juujaa (Person's name)
63. Nariin saikhan kheer	63. Нарийн сайхан хээр	63. Elegant Fine Chestnut
64. Nariin kheer	64. Нарийн хээр	64. Elegant Chestnut
68. Nakhiugiin khangai	68. Нахиугийн харгай	68. The Larch of Nakhiu
72. Olomgüi dalai	72. Оломгүй далай	72. Fathomless Ocean
78. Öndör khaan	78. Өндөр хаан	78. Öndör Khaan (a place in Kentii aimag)
83. Saruul tal (talbai)	83. Саруул тал (талбай)	83. The Bright Steppe.
85. Soyog bor	85. Соёг бор	85. Brown Ambler [Horse]
<b>86. Sümberleed kharagdakh uul</b>	<b>86. Сүмбэрлээд харагдах уул</b>	<b>86. Imposing Mountain</b>
87. Sünder uul	87. Сүндэр уул	87. High Mountain
88. Sevkhet bor	88. Сэвхэт бор	88. Freckled Brown [Horse]
89. Sergelen sharga	89. Сэргэлэн шарга	89. Lively Yellow Horse
<b>90. Sergelengiin uul</b>	<b>90. Сэргэлэнгийн уул</b>	<b>90. Mountains of Sergelen</b>

<p>91. Seruun saikhan khangai  96. Tooroi bandi  <b>99. Törüülj ösgösön görööс eej</b>  102. Tümnii manlai  <b>107. Ulaan torgot uut</b>  <b>111. Usny chin' ekhend khonkholzuur khar</b></p> <p>113. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran  124. Khoyor bor  135. Khöörkhön khaliun  145. Khüren khürengiin joroo  147. Khüren tolgoин sүүдэр  151. Tsagaan delt khaliun</p> <p>152. Tsagaan mor'  155. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren  159. Tsetsen khaany unaga  160. Shalzat baakhan sharga  163. Shar talyn tsetseg</p> <p>165. Shiree nuur  167. Er bor khartsaga</p> <p>170. Erdene zasgiin unaga  <b>177. Ertнii mongol nutag</b></p>	<p>91. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай  96. Тоорой банди  <b>99. Төрүүлж өсгөсөн гөрөөс ээж</b>  102. Түмний манлай  <b>107. Улаан торгон уут</b>  <b>111. Усны чинь эхэнд хонхолзуур хар</b></p> <p>113. Уяхан замбутивийн наран  124. Хоёр бор  135. Хөөрхөн халиун  145. Хүрэн хүрэнгийн жороо  147. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр  151. Цагаан дэлт халиун</p> <p>152. Цагаан морь  155. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн  159. Цэцэн хааны унага</p> <p>160. Шалзат баахан шарга</p> <p>163. Шар талын цэцэг</p> <p>165. Ширээ нуур  167. Эр бор харцага (bird name)  170. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага</p> <p><b>177. Эртний монгол нутаг</b></p>	<p><b>Sum</b>  91. The Lovely, Cool Khangai  96. Tooroi Bandi  <b>99. The Mother Gazelle Who Bore and Raised Me</b>  102. The Best Among Many  <b>107. A Red Silken Bag</b>  <b>111. A Very Thin Black Horse at the Head of the River</b>  113. Sun of the Gentle Universe</p> <p>124. Two Brown Horses  135. A Dear Dun Horse  145. The Brownest of Amblers</p> <p>147. Shadow of the Brown Hill</p> <p>151. Dun [Horse] with White Mane (horse hair)  152. A White Horse  155. Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves  159. The Foal from Tsetsen Khan [Aimag]  160. Small Yellowish Flecked Horse  163. Flower of the Yellow Steppe  165. Shiree Nuur  167. Brown Male Hawk</p> <p>170. Foal from Erden Zasag</p> <p><b>177. The Ancient Mongol Land</b></p>
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Index II: Long-songs Appearing in J. Dorjdavga's Book, *Urtyn duu* (Long-song, 1970)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Khuurn magnai	1. Хуурын Магнай	1. The Morin Kheer Leads the Way
2. Tümnii ekh	2. Түмний эх	2. The Best among Many
3. Dömön	3. Дөмөн	3. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
4. Altan bogdyn shil	4. Алтан богдын шил	4. The Crest of Altan Bogd
5. Övgön shuvuu	5. Өвгөн шувуу	5. Old Man and the Bird
6. Kherlengiin bar'ya	6. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	6. The View of Kherlen River
7. Noyolon kharagdakh	7. Ноёлон харагдах	7. Seems Dominant
8. Erkhem ger	8. Эрхэм гэр	8. Revered Home
9. Asaryn öndör	9. Асрын өндөр	9. The Height of the Tent
10. Öndör saikhan borlog	10. Өндөр сайхан борлог	10. Fine Tall Brown [Horse]
11. Tögrög nuur	11. Төгрөг нуур	11. Tögrög [Money] Lake
12. Zambuu tiviin nar	12. Замбуу тивийн нар	12. Sun of the Gentle Universe
13. Javkhlant süreg	13. Жавхланта сүрэг	13. A Magnificent Herd
14. Khongor sharga	14. Хонгор шарга	14. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
15. Kheer khaltar	15. Хээр халтар	15. The Blackish Horse
16. Tavan tolgoi	16. Таван толгой	16. Five Hills
17. Ikh saikhan khaliun	17. Их сайхан халиун	17. Very Nice Dun Horse
18. Olomgui dalai	18. Оломгүй далай	18. Fathomless Ocean
19. Khoyor khangain nutag	19. Хоёр хангайн нутаг	19. Two Places in Khangai
20. Urt saikhan khüren	20. Урт сайхан хүрэн	20. A Nice Leggy Brown Horse
21. Khüren tolgoin süüder	21. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	21. Shadow of the Brown Hill
22. Serüün saikhan khangai	22. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай	22. The Lovely, Cool Khangai
23. Jaalkhan bor	23. Жаалхан бор	23. Small Brown Horse
24. Ar khövch	24. Ар хөвч	24. The Foal of the Northern Taiga
25. Ardag baakhan sharga	25. Ардаг баахан шарга	25. Small, Fiery Yellowish Horse
26. Er bor khartsaga	26. Эр бор харцага	26. Brown Male Hawk
27. Bat ikh yerööl	27. Бат их ерөөл	27. A Powerful Wish
28. Enkh mend	28. Энх мэнд	28. Healthy Serenity
29. Joroo baakhan ulaan	29. Жороо баахан улаан	29. A Small Red Ambler
30. Setert sharga	30. Сэтэрт шарга	30. Small Yellow Sacred Horse
31. Kherlengend n' törsön	31. Хэрлэнгэнд нь төрсөн	31. Born in Kherlengen
32. Dörvön tsag	32. Дөрвөн цаг	32. The Four Seasons
33. Nariin saikhan kheer	33. Нарийн сайхан хээр	33. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
34. Bor bor byalzuukhai	34. Бор бор бялзуухай	34. Brown Brown Little Bird

35. Ene khöndiin balgas	35. Энэ хөндийн балгас	35. Valley Ruins
36. Khöörkhön khökh mor'	36. Хөөрхөн хөх морь	36. A Dear Dark-colored Horse
37. Kharuul khangain us	37. Харуул хангайн ус	37. Water of Kharuul Khangai
38. Jaalkhan sharga	38. Жаалхан шарга	38. Small Yellowish Horse
39. Ur'khan khongor	39. Урьхан хонгор	39. The Lovely Gentle [Wind]
40. Gazryn kholoos	40. Газрын холоос	40. Yellowish-colored [Horse which Ran Back Home]
41. Durtmal saikhan	41. Дуртмал сайхан	41. Nice Clean [Sun]
42. Zeergeniin shil	42. Зээргэнийн шил	42. Zeergenets Mountain
43. Tsertsger khurdan sharga	43. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга	43. Fast Snowy-white Horse
44. Shar taliin tsetseg	44. Шар талын цэцэг	44. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
45. Tungalag tamir	45. Тунгалаг тамир	45. Clear Tamir River
46. Bogdyn öndör	46. Богдын өндөр	46. The Height of Bogd Mountain
47. Bulgan khangai	47. Булган хангай	47. Bulgan Khangai
48. Shalzat baakhan sharga	48. Шалзат баахан шарга	48. Small Yellowish Flecked
49. Soyog bor mor'	49. Соёг бор морь	49. Brown Ambler
50. Ider jinchin	50. Идэр жинчин	50. Young Caravanner
51. Daaran daaran khar	51. Дааган Дааган хар	51. Black Two Year Old Colt
52. Sürengiin joroo	52. Сүрэнгийн жороо	52. Sürens Ambler [Horse]
53. Shanjuu deel	53. Шанжуу дээл	53. Shanjuu Deel
54. Ertanii saikhan	54. Эртний сайхан	54. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
55. Khurmast tenger	55. Хурмаст тэнгэр	55. The God of Rain and Thunder
56. Ülemjiin chanar	56. Үлэмжийн чанар	56. Perfect Qualities
57. Sevket bor	57. Сэвхэт бор	57. Freckled Brown Horse
58. Tengeriin naaguur	58. Тэнгэрийн наагуур	58. This Side of the Sky
59. Igiimaa	59. Ийгиймаа	59. Igiimaa (a persons name)
60. Budal tsolmon khüren	60. Будал цолмон хүрэн	60. White Spotted Brown [Horse] in Fog
61. Khoyor bor	61. Хоёр бор	61. Two Small Horse
62. Tüdee n' alag shaazgai	62. Түдээ нь алаг шаазгай	62. Tüdee is Pied Magpie
63. Aliman shuguin burgas	63. Алиман шугуйн бургас	63. Willow in the Wild Apple Orchard
64. Gishigdel sait üreen zeerd	64. Гишигдэл сайт үрээн зээрд	64. A Fine Walking Young Horse
65. Mandal juujaa	65. Мандал жуужаа	65. Mandal Juujaa (Person's Name)
66. Dörvön nastai bor	66. Дөрвөн настай бор	66. Four Year Old Brown Dun Horse
67. Alia saaral	67. Алиа саарал	67. The Lively Grey [Horse]
68. Khöörkhön khaliun	68. Хөөрхөн халиун	68. A Dear Dun Hourse

69. Tegsh tavan khüsel	69. Тэгш таван хүсэл	[Horse] 69. Five Equal Wishes
70. Baruun öndör uul	70. Баруун өндөр уул	70. High Mountain in the West
71. Nariin khökh bor	71. Нарийн хөх бор	71. Elegant Dark Brown Horse
72. Öndör khangain buga	72. Өндөр хангайн буга	72. Stag of the Khangai
73. Joroony joroo	73. Жорооны жороо	73. Ambling of Gait [Horse]
74. Byatskhan saivar zeerd	74. Бяцхан сайвар зээрд	74. Small Fine Yellowish [Horse]
75. Erdene zasgiin unaga	75. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	75. Foal from Erdene Zasag
76. Khushuu tsagaan nutag	76. Хушуу цагаан нутаг	76. Tsagaan Khushuu
77. Baatar beiliin unaga	77. Баатар бэйлийн унага	77. Baatar Beil's Foal
78. Oroo saikhan kheer	78. Ороо сайхан хээр	78. A Fine Nervy Horse
79. Khulst nuur	79. Хулст нуур	79. Khulst Nuur
80. Khüdren garakh үүл	80. Хүдрэн гарах үүл	80. Clouds Scudding Out
81. Ulaan torgot uut	81. Улаан торгон уут	81. Red Silken Bag
82. Sul ayalguunuud	82. Сул аялгуунууд	82. Loose Melodies
83. Örgön үүл	83. Өргөн үүл	83. Widespread Clouds
84. Öndriin övs	84. Өндрийн өвс	84. High Grasses

Index III. Long-songs Appearing in S. Tsoodol's Book, *Ardyn urtyn duunuud* (*Folk Long-song*, 1959)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Olomgüi dalai	1.Оломгүй далай	1. Fathomless Ocean
2. Bor toirmiin byalzuukhai	2.Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	2. Little Birds around the Saltmarsh
3. Alia saaral	3.Алиа саарал	3. The Lively Grey [Horse]
4. Too zasgiin joroo	4.Тоо засгийн жороо	4. Ambler of Too Zasag
5. Öнчин tsagaan botgo	5.Өнчин цагаан ботго	5. Orphaned White Baby Camel
6. Dүүжii khuar	6.Дүүжий хуар	6. Duujii Ornament
7. Öндөр khangain buga	7. Өндөр хангайн буга	7. Stag of the Khangai
8. Khulst nuur	8.Хулст нуур	8. Khulst Nuur (The Bamboo Lake)
9. Ülemjiin chanar	9.Үлэмжийн чанар	9. Perfect Qualities
10.Soyog bor mor'	10.Соёг бор морь	10. Brown Amber [Horse]
11.Khüren tolgoin süüder	11.Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	11. Shadow of Brown Hill
12.Shiree nuur	12. Ширээ нуур	12. Shiree Nuur
13.Khoyor khangain nutag	13. Хоёр хангай нутаг	13. Two Places in the Khangai
14.Altan bogdyn shil	14. Алтан богдын шил	14. The Crest of Altan Bogd
15.Kharuul khangai us	15. Харуул хангай ус	15. Water of Kharuul Khangai
16.Ar khövch	16. Ар хөвч	16. Northen Taiga
17.Bat ikh yerööl	17. Бат их ерөөл	17. Great Solid Wish
18.Shalzat baakhan sharga	18. Шалзат баахан шарга	18. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
19.Tögrög nuur	19. Төгрөг нуур	19. Tögrög Nuur (Lake)
20.Gants shar mor'	20. Ганц шар морь	20. A Singer Yellow Horse
21.Amar түвшin	21. Амар түвшин	21. Serenity
22.Baruuny öндөр uul	22. Барууны өндөр уул	22. High Mountain in the West
23.Yanzgan zeerd	23. Янзган зээрд	23. Chestnut Foal
24.Zeergenetiin shil	24. Зээргэнэтийн шил	24. Zeergenets Mountain
25.Suriagtai khüren taiga	25. Сурнагтай хүрэн тайга	25. Brown Surnag Taiga
26.Altan jiguurtei chogchuukhai	26. Алтан жигүүртэй чогчуухай	26. Golden-Winged Wheatear
27.Ach tögs	27. Ач төгс	27. Perfect Kindness
28.Jaalkhan bor	28. Жаалхан бор	28. Small, Brown [Horse]
29.Als gazryn zereglee	29. Алс газрын зэрэглээ	29. Mirage of the Distant Land
30.Saruul talbai	30. Саруул талбай	30. The Bright Steppe
31.Kherlegend n' törsön	31. Хэрлэгэнд нь төрсөн	31. Born in Kherlegen
32.Zee khüü	32. Зээ хүү	32. Zee khuu
33.Dörvön tsag	33. Дөрвөн цаг	33. The Four Seasons
34.Shar talyn tsetseg	34. Шар талын цэцэг	34. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
35.Gazryn kholoos	35. Газрын холоос	35. Ran [Back Home] From Far Away (The Yellowish-colored Horse which Ran

36.Nalgar kheer	36. Налгар хээр	Back Home from Far Away)
37.Seeriin öndör	37. Сээрийн өндөр	36. Calm Dark Chestnut [Horse]
38.Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	38. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	37. High Northen Mountain
39.Kherlengiin bar”ya	39. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	38. Brown [Horse] with Bud-shpaed Hooves
40.Khongor sharga	40. Хонгор шарга	39. The View of Kherlen River
41.Shanjuu deel	41. Шанжуу дээл	40. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
42.Khurmast tenger	42. Хурмаст тэнгэр	41. Shanjuu Deel (Clothing)
43.Jarantsagaan tsagaan khon’	43. Жаран цагаан хонь	42. The God of Rain and Thunder
44.Sevkhet bor	44. Сэвхэт бор	43. Sixty White Sheep
45.Gandan uulyн tsetseg	45. Гандан уулын цэцэг	44. Frexkled Brown [Horse]
46.Budal tsolmon	46. Будал цолмон	45. Flower of Gandan Mountain
47.Khökhöo shuvuu	47. Хөхөө шувуу – in MAS (Dundgovi and Knovsgol)	46. The Mistry Morning Star
48.Tsagaan delt khaliun	48. Цагаан дэлт халиун	47. The Cuckoo
49.Khöörkhön khökh mor’	49. Хөөрхөн хөх морь	48. The Blackish Horse
		49. A Dear Dark-Colored Horse

IV. Ts. Long-songs Appearing in Ts. Tuyatsetseg's Book, *Asaryn öndör: Mongolian ardy urtyн duu* ("The Height": Mongolian Folk Long-song, 2004)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Asaryn öndör	1. Асарын өндөр	1. The Height
2. Altan bogdyn shil	2. Алтан богдын шил	2. The Crest of Altan Bogd
3. Altan goviin unaga	3. Алтан говийн унага	3. Foal of the Golden Gobi
4. Ar khövchiin unaga	4. Ар хөвчийн унага	4. Foal of the Northern Taiga
5. Bor bor byalzuukhai	5. Бор бор бялзуухай	5. Brown Brown Little Bird
6. Bor toirmyn byalzuukhai	6. Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	6. Little Bird around Saltmarsh
7. Budal tsolmon khüren	7. Будал цолмон хүрэн	7. The Misty Mornig Star
8. Budarch kharagdakh khangai	8. Бударч харагдах хангай	8. Snowy View of Khangai
9. Ganga nuuryн galuu	9. Ганга нуурын галуу	9. The Geese of Ganga Lake
10. Dömön	10. Дөмөн	10. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
11. Dörvön tsag	11. Дөрвөн цаг	11. The Four Seasons
12. Durtmal saikhan	12. Дуртмал сайхан	12. Nice Clean [Sun]
13. Jaakhan sharga	13. Жаахан шарга	13. Small Yellowish [Horse]
14. Javkhlant süрег	14. Жавхланта сүрег	14. A Magnificent Herd
15. Joroo baakhan ulaan	15. Жороо баахан улаан	15. A Small Red Ambler
16. Zeergenetiin shil	16. Зээргэнэтийн шил	16. Zeergenets Mountain
17. Ider jinchin	17. Идэр жинчин	17. Young Caravanner
18. Magnai түргэн	18. Магнай түргэн	18. Swift Leader
19. Manarch baigaa shil	19. Манарч байгаа шил	19. Foggy Mountain Slope
20. Mandaa толгой	20. Мандаа толгой	20. Mandaa Hill
21. Naran zul khul	21. Наран зул хул	21. Sunny Light Brown [Horse]
22. Nariin saikhan kheer	22. Нарийн сайхан хээр	22. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
23. Nariin khökh mor'	23. Нарийн хөх морь	23. Elegant Dark Brown Horse
24. Nariin sharga	24. Нарийн шарга	24. Elegant Yellowish [Horse]
25. Olomgüi dalai	25. Оломгүй далай	25. Fathomless Ocean
26. Övgön shuvuu khoyor	26. Өвгөн шувуу хоёр	26. The Old Man and the Bird
27. Önchin tsagaan botgo	27. Өнчин чагаан ботго	27. Orphaned White Baby Camel
28. Saruul talbai	28. Саруул талбай	28. The Bright Steppe
29. Sünder uul	29. Сүндэр уул	29. High Mountain
30. Serüün saikhan khangai	30. Сэрүүн саихан хангай	30. The Lovely, Cool Khangai
31. Tooroi bandi	31. Тоорой банди	31. Tooroi Bandi (a person's name)
32. Törüülj ösgösön göröös eej	32. Төрүүлж өсгөсөн гөрөөс ээж	32. The Mother [Gazelle] Who Bore and Raised Me
33. Urtyn saikhan khüren	33. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	33. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
34. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	34. Урьхан хонгор салхи	34. The Lovely Gentle Wind
35. Uyakhan zambuu tивиin naran	35. Уяхан замбуу тивийн наран	35. Sun of the Gentle Universe
36. Ülemjiin chanar	36. Үлэмжийн чанар	36. Perfect Qualities
37. Khoyor bor	37. Хоёр бор	37. Two Brown [Horse]

38. Khongor sharga	38. Хонгор шарга	38. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
39. Khöörkhön khaliun	39. Хөөрхөн халиун	39. A Dear Dun [Horse]
40. Khulst nuur	40. Хулст нуур	40. Khulst Nurr (The Bamboo Lake)
41. Khüren tolgoин süüder	41. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	41. Shadow of the Brown Hill
42. Kherlengiin bar”ya	42. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	42. The View of the Kherlen River
43. Kherlen	43. Хэрлэн	43. Kherlen
44. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	44. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	44. Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves
45. Tsenkher үүл	45. Цэнхэр үүл	45. Blue Clouds
46. Shar talyn tsetseg	46. Шар талын цэцэг	46. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
47. Enkh mendiin bayar	47. Энх Мэндийн баяр	47. Celebration of Healthy Life
48. Er bor khartsaga	48. Эр бор харцага	48. Brown Male Hawk
49. Erdene zasgiin unaga	49. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	49. Foal from Erdene Zasag
50. Erkhem tör	50. Эрхэм төр	50. Revered Government

Index V. Long-songs Appearing in N. Norovbanzad's Book, *Talyn mor'thy duu*  
(*Songs of the Steppe Horsemen*, 2000)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English Translation
1. Avralyn deed	1. Авралын дээд	1. Supreme Salvation
2. Alia Saaral	2. Алиа саарал	2. The Lively Grey [Horse]
3. Altan Bogyn shil	3. Алтан богдын шил	3. The Crest of Altan Bogd
4. Altan goviin unaga	4. Алтан говийн унага	4. The Foal of the Golden Gobi
5. Ar khövch	5. Ар хөвч	5. The Foal of Northern Taiga
6. Asaryn öndör	6. Асарын өндөр	6. The Height
7. Bogdyn öndör	7. Богдын өндөр	7. The Height of the Bogd Mountain
8. Bor bor byalzuukhai	8. Бор бор бялзуухай	8. Brown Brown Little Bird
9. Budal tsolmon khüren	9. Будал цолмон хүрэн	9. The Misty Morning Star
10. Budarch kharagdakh khangai	10. Бударч харагдах хангай	10. Khangai in Snowy View
11. Gaikhamshigt bodg lam	11. Гайхамшигт богд лам	11. Marvellous Bogd Lama
12. Gurvan ach tögöldör	12. Гурван ач төгөлдөр	12. Three Ideal Compassion
13. Dömön	13. Дөмөн	13. The Sprightly Pace [Horse]
14. Jargaltai delger	14. Жаргалтай дэлгэр	14. An Abundance of Joy [Summer]
15. Naran zul khul	15. Наран зул хул	15. Sunny Light Brown [Horse]
16. Naiman arslant	16. Найман арслант	16. Eight Lion [Ornament]
17. Ochirdar' lamdaa zalbirc	17. Очирдарь ламдаа залбирч	17. Worshipping Ochirdar' Lama
18. Öliin davaa	18. Өлийн даваа	18. The Low Mountain Pass
19. Serüün saikhan khangai	19. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай	19. The Lovely, Cool Khangai
20. Setert sharga	20. Сэтэрт шарга	20. Sacred Yellowish [Horse]
21. Tümen ekh	21. Түмэн эх	21. The Best Among Many
22. Türgen tuul	22. Түргэн туул	22. Türgen River (Speedy River)
23. Tegsh tavan khüsel	23. Тэгш таван хүсэл	23. Five Equal Wishes
24. Ur'khan khongor	24. Урьхан хонгор	24. Lovely Gentle [Wind]
25. Uyakhan khongor	25. Уяхан хонгор	25. Soft Gentle
26. Khurmast tener	26. Хурмаст тэнгэр	26. The God of Rain and Thunder
27. Khurдан moriny giingoo	27. Хурдан морины гийнгоо	27. Fast Gingo (Horse Race Song)
28. Khökh öndriin övgön shuvuu	28. Хөх өндрийн өвгөн шувуу	28. Old Bird of the Blue Height
29. Kheer khaltar	29. Хээр халтар	29. The Blackish [Horse]
30. Kherlengiin bar'ya	30. Хэрлэнгийн барья	30. The View of Kherlen River
31. Tsevtsger khurдан sharga	31. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга	31. Fast Snow-whitish [Horse]
32. Tsetsen khaanii khüleg	32. Цэцэн хааны хүлэг	32. Race Horse of Tsetsen khan

33. Shargal talyn tsetse	33. Шаргал талын цэцэг	33. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
34. Erdene met	34. Эрдэнэ мэт	34. Like a Treasure
35. Erdeniin galbirvaas mod	35. Эрдэнийн галбирваас мод	35. Precious Galbirvaas Tree (Wish-fulfilling Tree)
36. Ertnei tsagaan buyan	36. Эртнй цагаан буян	36. Ancient White Virtue
37. Erkhem tör	37. Эрхэм төр	37. Revered Government
38. Enkh mendiin bayar	38. Энх мэндийн баяр	38. Celebration of Healthy Life
39. Yalguusan erkht	39. Ялгуусан эрхт	39. Gloriously Privileged

Index VI: Selections by Lajos Vargyas for UNESCO Recording (Collected in 1967 in coordination with UNESCO, published in 1990)

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Zamba tiv [Zambuu tiviin naran] *	1. Замбуу тивийн наран	1. Sun of the Gentle Universe
2. Hergen [Kherlengiin bar"ya]	2. Хэрлэнтийн барьяа	2. The View of the Kherlen River
3. Zergen tiyn sil [Zeergenetiin shil]	3. Зээргэнтийн шил	3. Zeergenets Mountain
4. Urt sajam huren [Urtyn saikhan khüren]	4. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	4. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
5. Hoyer bor [Khoiyor bor]	5. Хоёр бор	5. Two Brown [Horses]
6. Ondor-sayhan bor [Öndör saikhan bor]	6. Өндөр сайхан бор	6. Fine Tall Brown [Horse]
7. Bor bor baylzuhay [Bor bor byalzuukhai]	7. Бор бор бялзуухай	7. Brown Brown Little Bird
8. Durtmal sayham [Durtmal saikhan]	8. Дуртмал сайхан	8. Nice Clean [Sun]
9. Onchin cagan batcho [Önchin tsagaan botgo]	9. Өнчин цагаан ботго	9. Orphaned White Baby Camel
10. Urhan hongor [Ur'khan khongor (salkhi)]	10. Урьхан хонгор (салхи)	10. The Lovely Gentle (Wind)
11. Setert [Setert baakhan sharga]	11. Сэтэрт баахан шарга	11. Small Yellow Sacred [Horse]
12. Hojer bor [khujiir bor]	12. Хужир бор	12. Brown [Horse] in Salt Marsh

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\* In this CD, the titles are romanized differently from the system used in this dissertation. The titles in square brackets are full titles and romanized in the same system as the remainder of this dissertation.

Index VII: Long-songs Known/Studied by Music and Dance College Students in 2009

Romanized	Mongolian	English
1. Khöörkhön khaliun	1. Хөөрхөн халиун	1. A Dear Dun [Horse]
2. Önchin tsagaan botgo	2. Өичин цагаан ботго	2. Orphaned White Baby Camel
3. Erdene zasgiin unaga	3. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	3. Foal of the Erdene Zasag
4. Saruul tal	4. Саруул тал	4. The Bright Steppe
5. Nariin saikhan kheer	5. Нарийн сайхан хээр	5. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
6. Khökh mor‘	6. Хөх морь	6. Blue Horse
7. Manarch baigaa shil	7. Манарч байгаа шил	7. Foggy Mountain Slope
8. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	8. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	8. Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves
9. Jaakhan sharga	9. Жаахан шарга	9. Small Yellowish Horse
10. Joroo baakhan ulaan	10. Жороо баахан улаан	10. A Small Red Ambler
11. Khoyor bor	11. Хоёр бор	11. Two Brown [Horses]
12. Shalzat baakhan sharga	12. Шалзат баахан шарга	12. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
13. Khulst nuur	13. Хулст нуур	13. Khulst nuur (The Bamboo Lake)
14. Ülemjiin chanar	14. Үлэмжийн чанар	14. Perfect Qualities
15. Khüren tolgoин sүүder	15. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	15. Shadow of the Brown Hill
16. Gangan khar	16. Ганган хар	16. Fancy Black [Horse]
17. Khongor sharga	17. Хонгор шарга	17. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
18. Dörvön tsag	18. Дөрвөн цаг	18. The Four Seasons
19. Urtyn saikhan khuren	19. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	19. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
20. Budal tsolmon khüren	20. Будал цолмон хүрэн	20. The Misty Morning Star
21. Zeergenetiin shil	21. Зээргэнэтийн шил	21. Zeergenets Mountain
22. Olomgüi dalai	22. Оломгүй далай	22. Fathomless Ocean
23. Magnai түргэн	23. Магнай түргэн	23. Swift Leader
24. Asaryn öндөр	24. Асарын өндөр	24. The Height
25. Ertний saikhan	25. Эртний сайхан	25. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
26. Erkhem tör	26. Эрхэм төр	26. Revered Government
27. Kherlengiin bar”ya	27. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	27. The View of Kherlen River
28. Enkh mendiin bayar	28. Энх мэндийн баяр	28. Celebration of Healthy Life
29. Ar khövchiin unaga	29. Ар хөвчийн унага	29. The Foal of Northern Taiga
30. Khurmast tenger	30. Хурмаст тэнгэр	30. The God of Rain and Thunder
31. Ur’khan khongor salkhi	31. Урьхан хонгор салхи	31. The Lovely Gentle Wind

32. Jargaltain delger	32. Жаргалтайн дэлгэр	32. An Abundance of Joy [Summer]
33. Tungalag tamir	33. Тунгалаг тамир	33. Clear Tamir River
34. Shanjuu deel	34. Шанжуу дээл	34. Shanjuu Deel (Clothing)
35. Dömön	35. Дөмөн	35. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
36. Shar talyn tsetseg	36. Шар талын цэцэг	36. Flower of the Yellow Steppe

Index VIII: Long-songs Appearing from Nalaikh Competition

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Erdene zasgiin unaga	1. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	1. Foal of Erdene Zasag
2. Khöörkhön khaliun	2. Хөөрхөн халиун	2. A Dear Dun [Horse]
3. Shiree nuur	3. Ширээ нуур	3. Shiree Hurr (Plain Table-like Lake)
4. Kherlengiin bar’ya	4. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	4. The View of Kherlen River
5. Önchin tsagaan botgo	5. Өнчин цагаан ботго	5. Orphaned White Baby Camel
6. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	6. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	6. Brown Horse with Bud-shaped Hooves
7. Ider jinchin	7. Идэр жинчин	7. Young Caravanner
8. Tooroi bandi	8. Торой банди	8. Tooroi Bandi
9. Budarch kharagdakh khangai	9. Бударч харагдах хангай	9. Khangai in Snowy View
10. Enkh mendiin bayar	10. Энх мэндийн баяр	10. Celebration of Healthy Life
11. Er bor khartsaga	11. Эр бор харцага	11. Brown Male Hawk
12. Nariin saikhan kheer	12. Нарийн сайхан хээр	12. Thin Nice Darkish [Horse]
13. Ar khövchiin unaga	13. Ар хөвчийн унага	13. Foal of Northern Taiga
14. Ülemjiin chanar	14. Үлэмжийн чанар	14. Perfect Qualities
15. Als gazryn zereglee	15. Алс газрын зэрэглээ	15. Mirage of the Distant Land
16. Nariin saikhan kheer	16. Нарийн сайхан хээр	16. Elegend Fine Chestnut [Horse]
17. Tsagaan sharga mor’	17. Цагаан шарга морь	17. A Yellowish White Horse
18. Khoyor bor	18. Хоёр бор	18. Two Brown [Horses]
19. Baatar beiliin unaga	19. Баатар бэйлийн унага	19. Baatar Beil (regional name)’s Foal
20. Khuls nuur	20. Хулс нуур	20. Khuls Nuur (The Bamboo Lake)
21. Uyakhan zambuu tiviin naran	21. Уяхан замбуу тивийн наран	21. Sun of the Gentle Universe
22. Budal tsolmon khüren	22. Будал цолмон хүрэн	22. The Misty Morning Star
23. Sevkhet bor	23. Сэвхэт бор	23. Brown Flecked [Horse]
24. Shar talyn tsetse	24. Шар талын цэцэг	24. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
25. Soyog bor	25. Соёг бор	25. Brown Ambler
26. Olomgui dalai	26. Оломгүй далай	26. Fathomless Ocean
27. Uyakhan khongor salkhi	27. Уяхан хонгор салхи	27. Nice Gentle Wind
28. Jaakhan sharga	28. Жаахан шарга	28. Small Yellowish [Horse]
29. Davkhar үүл	29. Давхар үүл	29. Twofold Cloud
30. Durtmal saikhan	30. Дуртмал сайхан	30. Nice Clean [Sun]
31. Khoyor khaliun mor’	31. Хоёр халиун морь	31. Two Dun Horses

32. Asaryn öndör	32. Асарын өндөр	32. The Height of the Destiny
33. Tegsh tavan khüsel	33. Тэгш таван хүсэл	33. Five Equal Wishes
34. Oroin saikhan otgontenger	34. Оройн сайхан Отгонтэнгэр	34. Nice Evening of Otgontenger
35. Khüren tolgoin süüder	35. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	35. Shadow of the Brown Hill
36. Tsetsen khaany khüleg	36. Цэцэн хааны хүлэг	36. Race Horse of Tsetsen Khan
37. Shar talyn tsetse	37. Шар талын цэцэг	37. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
38. Ur'khan khongor	38. Урьхан хонгор	38. Nice Gentle [Sun]
39. Urtyn saikhan khüren	39. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	39. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]

IX. Long-songs Collected from Dundgov' *aimag*, 2007

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Kholch mor'	1. Холч морь	1. The Long-Distance Horse
2. Naiman takhil	2. Найман тахил	2. Eight Relics
3. Tegsh tavan	3. Тэгш таван	3. Five Equal [Wishes]
4. Gishgedel sait	4. Гишгэдэл сайт	4. Fine Walking [Horse]
5. Yalguusan erkht	5. Ялгуусан эрхт	5. Gloriously Privileged
6. Ochirdar'ya	6. Очирдарьяа	6. Ochirdariya
7. Töriin товч	7. Төрийн товч	7. State Button
8. Ertanii tsagaan buyan	8. Эртний цагаан буян	8. Ancient White Virtue
9. Ar khövch	9. Ар хөвч	9. [The Foal of] Northern Taiga
10. Tümen ekh	10. Түмэн эх	10. The Best Among Many
11. Kheer khaltar	11. Хээр халтар	11. The Blackish [Horse]
12. Bor bor byalzuukhai	12. Бор бор бялзуухай	12. Brown Brown Little Bird
13. Ülemjiin chanar	13. Үлэмжийн чанар	13. Perfect Qualities
14. Üvgün shuvuu khoyor (Jargaltain delger)	14. Өвгөн шувуу (жаргалтайн дэлгэр)	14. The Old Man and the Bird (An Abundance of Joy)
15. Naran zul khul	15. Наран зул хул	15. Sunny Light Brown [Horse]
16. Budal tsolmon	16. Будал цолмон	16. The Misty Morning Star
17. Khan uul	17. Хан уул	17. Khan Mountain
18. Bosoo chikhtei bor	18. Босоо чихтэй бор	18. Brown [Horse] with Perky Ears
19. Avralyn deed	19. Авралын дээд	19. Supreme Salvation
20. Urtyn saikhan khüren	20. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	20. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
21. Khuur magnai	21. Хуур магнай	21. The Morin Khuur Leads the Way
22. Jonon güünii unaga	22. Жонон гүүний унага	22. Foal of Jonon Duke
23. Ur'khan khongor	23. Урьхан хонгор	23. The Lovely Gentle Wind
24. Asaryn öndör	24. Асарын өндөр	24. The Height of the Destiny
25. Erdeniin galbirvaasan mod	25. Эрдэнийн галбирваасан мод	25. Precious Galbirvaasan Tree (Wish-fulfilling Tree)
26. Erkhem tör	26. Эрхэм төр	26. Revered Government
27. Tavan takhil	27. Таван тахил	27. Five Relics
28. Amban tsetsen khaany khüleg	28. Амбан цэцэн хааны хүлэг	28. Ride of Amban Tsetsen khan
29. Bogd lam	29. Богд лам	29. Bogd Lama
30. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran	30. Уяхан замбутивийн наран	30. Sun of the Gentle Universe

31. Bogdyn uulyн sündel	31. Богдын уулын сүндэл	31. The Height of the Bogd Mountain
32. Enkh mendiin bayar	32. Энх мэндийн баяр	32. Celebration of Healthy Life
33. Altan bogdyn shil	33. Алтан богдын шил	33. The Crest of Altan Bogd
34. Erdenet sharga	34. Эрдэнэт шарга	34. Precious Yellowish [Horse]
35. Erten(ees)	35. Эртэн(ээс)	35. (Since) Ancient
36. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	36. Урьхан хонгор салхи	36. The Lovely Gentle Wind
37. Er bor khartsaga	37. Эр бор харцага	37. Brown Male Hawk
38. Khöörkhön khökh	38. Хөөрхөн хөх	38. A Dear Dun [Horse]
39. Erdene met ezen bogd	39. Эрдэнэ мэт эзэн богд	39. Treasure Like Lord Bogd
40. Bogdyn öндөр	40. Богдын өндөр	40. The Height of Bogd Mountain
41. Durtmal saikhan	41. Дуртмал сайхан	41. Nice Clean [Sun]
42. Nariin sharga	42. Нарийн шарга	42. Elegant Yellowish [Horse]
43. Argamag zandan khüren	43. Аргамаг зандан хүрэн	43. Fast, Virgin, Brown [Horse]
44. Altan gurgaldai jiguurten	44. Алтан гургалдай жигүүртэн	44. Nightingale Bird
45. Alia saaral	45. Алиа саарал	45. The Lively Grey [Horse]
46. Tooroi bandi	46. Тоорой банди	46. Tooroi Bandi
47. Shalzat baakhan sharga	47. Шалзат баахан шарга	47. Small Yellowish Flcked [Horse]
48. Khökhөө shuvuu	48. Хөхөө шувуу	48. The Cuckoo
49. Kherlengiin bar“ya	49. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	49. The View of Kherlen River

X. Long-songs Collected from Sükhbaatar *aimag*, 2007

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Jaakhan sharga	1. Жаахан шарга	1. Small Yellowish [Horse]
2. Magnai түргэн	2. Магнай түргэн	2. Swift Leader
3. Tүmen ekh	3. Түмэн эх	3. The Best Among Many
4. Ertнii saikhan	4. Эртний сайхан	4. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
5. Durtmal saikhan	5. Дуртмал сайхан	5. Nice Clean [Sun]
6. Ar khövch	6. Ар хөвч	6. [The Foal of] Northern Taiga
7. Khүren tolgoин sүүдэр	7. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	7. Shadow of the Brown Hill
8. Üvgүн shuvuu khoyor	8. Өвгөн шувуу	8. The Old Man and the Bird
9. Shalзад baакhan sharga	9. Шалзат баахан шарга	9. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
10. Khoyor bor	10. Хоёр бор	10. Two Brown [Horses]
11. Ur'khan khongor	11. Урьхан хонгор	11. The Lovely Gentle Wind
12. Joroony joroo	12. Жорооны жороо	12. The Ambler's Gait
13. Erdene zasgiin unaga	13. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	13. Foal from Erdene Zasag
14. Tooroi bandi	14. Тоорой банди	14. Tooroi Bandi
15. Saruul tal	15. Саруул тал	15. The Bright Steppe
16. Tsombon tuuraitai khүren	16. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	16. Brown [Horse] with Bud-shaped Hooves
17. Enkh mendiin bayar	17. Энх мэндийн баяр	17. Celebration of Healthy Life
18. Uyакhan zambuu tiviin naran	18. Уяхан замбуу тивийн наран	18. Sun of the Gentle Universe
19. Ider jinchin	19. Идэр жинчин	19. Young Caravanner
20. Javkhlant sүрег	20. Жавхлант сүрэг	20. A Magnificent Herd
21. Er bor khartsaga	21. Эр бор харцага	21. Brown Male Hawk
22. Bor bor byalzuukhai	22. Бор бор бялзуухай	22. Brown Brown Little Bird
23. Kheer khaliun	23. Хээр халиун	23. The Blackish [Horse]
24. Tsevtsger torniun kheer	24. Цэвцгэр торниун хээр	24. Well-developed Snowy-white [Horse]
25. Nariin khökh	25. Нарийн хөх	25. Elegant Dark Brown [Horse]
26. Üür sүült	26. Үүр сүүлт	26. A long-Tailed [Horse]
27. Altan jigүürtei jigjүükhei	27. Алтан жигүүртэй жигжүүхэй	27. Little Bird with Golden Wing
28. Khökh boryn targan	28. Хөх борын тарган	28. Blue, Brown and Fat [Horse]
29. Saruul tal	29. Саруул тал	29. The Bright Steppe
30. Dörvön nastai khaliun	30. Дөрвөн настай халиун	30. Four Years Old Dun [Horse]
31. Manarch baigaa shil	31. Манарч байгаа шил	31. Foggy Mountain

32. Khökhörch baigaa shil	32. Хөхөрч баигaa шил	Sloppe
33. Ülemjiin chanar	33. Үлэмжийн чанар	32. Mountain in Blue Hue
34. Önchin tsagaan botgo	34. Өнчин цагаан ботго	33. Perfect Qualities
35. Khulst nuur	35. Хулст нуур	34. Orphaned White Baby Camel
36. Ganga nuurn galuu	36. Ганга нуурын галуу	35. Khlust Nuur (The Bamboo Lake)
37. Öliin davaa	37. Өлийн даваа	36. The Geese of the Ganga Lake
38. Gangan khar	38. Ганган хар	37. The Low Mountain Pass
39. Uyakhаn zambutiv	39. Уяхан замбутив	38. Classy Black [Horse]
40. Dömön	40. Дөмөн	39. Sun of the Gentle Universe
41. Kherlengiin bar“ya	41. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	40. A Sprightly Pace
42. Altan goviiin unaga	42. Алтан говийн унага	41. The View of Kherlen River
		42. The Foal of the Golden Gobi

Index XI. Long-songs Collected from Darkhan, 2009

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Khöörkhön khaltar	1. Хөөрхөн халтар	1. A Dear Blackish [Horse]
2. Altan bogdyn shil	2. Алтан богдын шил	2. The Crest of of Altan Bogd
3. Enkh mendiin bayar	3. Энх мэндийн баяр	3. Celebration of Healthy Life
4. Sogoon chikhtei khaliun	4. Согоон чихтэй халиун	4. Dun [Horse] with Doe's Ears
5. Shalzat baakhan sharga	5. Шалзат баахан шарга	5. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
6. Önchin tsagaan botgo	6. Өнчин цагаан ботго	6. Orphaned White Baby Camel

Index XII. Long-songs Collected from Bulgan *aimag*, 2009

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Ulaan bor	1. Улаан бор	1. Red Brown [Horse]
2. Daagan khar	2. Дааган хар	2. Two Year Old Black [Horse]
3. Öндөр khangain buga	3. Өндөр хангайн буга	3. Stag of the Khangai
4. Er bor khartsaga	4. Эр бор харцага	4. Brown Male Hawk
5. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	5. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	5. Brown [Horse] with Bud-shaped Hooves
6. Giingoo ayalguu	6. Гийнгоо аялгуу	6. Giingoo (Horse race song)
7. Ar khövchiin unaga	7. Ар хөвчийн унага	7. The Foal of Northern Taiga
8. Öнчин tsagaan botgo	8. Өнчин цагаан ботго	8. Orphaned White Baby Camel
9. Tooroi bandi	9. Тоорой банди	9. Tooroi Bandi
10. Khurdan saikhan	10. Хурдан сайхан	10. A Nice Fast [Horse]
11. Öндрийн övs	11. Өндрийн өвс	11. High Grasses
12. Öнчин tsagaan botgo	12. Өнчин цагаан ботго	12. Orphaned White Baby Camel
13. Tүmen ekh	13. Түмэн эх	13. The Best Among Many
14. Ochirdar'ya	14. Очирдарьяа	14. Ochirdariya
15. Soyog bor	15. Соёг бор	15. Brown Ambler
16. Shar talyn tsetseg	16. Шар талын цэцэг	16. Flower of the Yellow Steppe

XIII. Long-song Collected from Erdene, 2009

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Sevkhēt bor	1. Сэвхэт бор	1. Brown Freckled [Horse]
2. Olongūi dalai	2. Оломгүй далай	2. Fatholness Ocean
3. Shanjuu deel	3. Шанжуу дээл	3. Shanjuu Deel (Clothing)
4. Kherlengiin bar”ya	4. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	4. The View of Kherlen River
5. Saruul talbai	5. Саруул талбай	5. The Bright Steppe
6. Joroo baakhan ulaan	6. Жороо баахан улаан	6. A Small Red Ambler
7. Gazryn kholoos güigch altan sharga	7. Газрын холоос гүйдэлтэй алтан шарга морь	7. The Yellowish Horse that Ran [Back Home] from Far Away
8. Ulaan torgon uut	8. Улаан торгон уут	8. A Red Silken Bag
9. Oroin chimeg otgontenger	9. Оройн чимэг отгонтэнгэр	9. Head Decoration of Otgontenger

XIV-1. Long-songs Collected from Övörkhangai *aimag*, 2009\*

	Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
Among age 25-30 singers	1. Saruul talbai 2. Tungalag tamiр 3. Erdene zasgiin unaga 4. Enkh mendiin bayar  5. Durtmal saikhan 6. Zeergenetiin shil 7. Ikh bogd 8. Erkhem tör 9. Tsenkher үүл	1. Саруул талбай 2. Тунгалаг тамир 3. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага 4. Энх мэндийн баяр  5. Дуртмал сайхан 6. Зээргэнэтийн шил 7. Их богд 8. Эрхэм төр 9. Цэнхэр үүл	1. The Bright Steppe 2. Clear Tamir River 3. Foal from Erdene Zasag 4. Celebration of Healthy Life 5. Nice Clean [Sun] 6. Zeergenets Mountain 7. Great Bogd 8. Revered Government 9. Blue Clouds
Among age 36-50 singers	10. Ulaan torgon uut 11. Khüren tolgoин sүүder 12. Khoyor bor 13. Ar khövch  14. Tsagaan deelt khaliun  15. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren 16. Tsevtсger khurdan sharga 17. Khulst nuur	10. Улаан торгон уут 11. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр 12. Хоёр бор 13. Ар хөвч  14. Цагаан дээлт халиун  15. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн 16. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга 17. Хулст нуур	10. A Red Silken Bag 11. Shadow of the Brown Hill 12. Two Brown [Horses] 13. The Foal of the Northern Taiga 14. Dun [Horse] with White 15. Mane (Horse hair) Brown [Horse] with Bud-shaped Hooves 16. Fast Snowy-white [Horse] 17. Khulst Nuur (The Bamboo Lake)
Among age 51-65 singers	18. Ar khövch 19. Oroin chimeg 20. Gurvan ach 21. Khüren tolgoин sүүder 22. Shalzat baakhan sharga 23. Zeergenetiin shil  24. Nariin saikhan kheer 25. Ider jinchin 26. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran	18. Ар хөвч 19. Оройн чимэг 20. Гурван ач 21. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр 22. Шалзат баахан шарга 23. Зээргэнэтийн шил  24. Нарийн сайхан хээр 25. Идэр жинчин 26. Уяхан замбутивийн наран	18. Northern Taiga 19. Head Decoration 20. Three Compassion 21. Shadow of the Brown Hill 22. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse] 23. Zeergenets Mountain 24. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse] 25. Young Caravanner 26. Sun of the Gentle Universe

\* The competition was held in Övörkhangai *aimag*. However, this competition was meant for singers from most of the central area, such as Bayankhongor *aimag*, Erdenet (Orkhon *aimag*), Arkhanagai *aimag*, Bulgan *aimag*. Thus, the range of repertory here is not only limited in Övörkhangai *aimag* but also from the area of the aimags addressed above.

	27. Joroo baakhan ulaan	27. Жороо баахан улаан	27. A Small Red Ambler
Among age over 66 singers	28. Dömön	28. ДӨМӨН	28. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
	29. Alia saaral	29. Алиа саарал	29. The Lively Grey [Horse]
	30. Joroo khul	30. Жороо хул	30. A Chestnut Ambler
	31. Sevkhet bor	31. СЭВХЭТ бор	31. Flecked Brown [Horse]
	32. Soyog bor	32. Соёг бор	32. Brown Ambler [Horse]
	33. Altan bogd	33. Алтан богд	33. Golden Bogd
	34. Baraatyn tümen ekh	34. Бараатын түмэн эх	34. Baraat's The Best Among Many
	35. Khongor sharga	35. Хонгор шарга	35. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
	36. Aryn öndör	36. Арын өндөр	36. The Tall [Tree] in the North

XIV-2. Long-songs Collected from Övörkhangai *aimag*, (Collector: A.Alimaa) 2008\*

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Altan bogdyn shil	1.Алтан богдын шил	1. The Crest of Altan Bogd Mountain
2. Alia saaral	2.Алиа саарал	2. The Lively Grey [Horse]
3. Amar түвшин	3.Амар түвшин	3. Serenity
4. Ar khövchiin unaga	4.Ар хөвчийн унага	4. The Foal of Northern Taiga
5. Bayarlakh jargal	5.Баярлах жаргал	5. Happiness of Celebration
6. Baatar beiliin unaga	6.Баатар бэйлийн унага	6. Baatar Beil(Regional name)'s Foal
7. Bogdyn öндөр	7.Богдын өндөр	7. The Height of Bogd Mountain
8. Bor boryn byalzuukhai	8. Бор борын бялзуухай	8. Brown Brown Little Bird
9. Bөөн tsagaan үүл	9. Бөөн цагаан үүл	9. Many White Clouds
10. Bayan khangain baraa	10. Баян хангайн бараа	10. View of Rich Khangai
11. Gazryn kholoos güideltei	11. Газрын холоос гүйдэлтэй	11. [Ran Home] from Far Away
12. Goviin öндөр	12. Говийн өндөр	12. Tall [Tree] of the Gobi
13. Dörvön настai khaliun	13. Дөрвөн настай халиун	13. Four Year Old Dun [Horse]
14. Dömön	14. Дөмөн	14. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
15. Dörvön tsag	15. Дөрвөн цаг	15. The Four Seasons
16. Durtmal	16. Дуртмал сайхан	16. Nice Clean [Sun]
17. Zeergenetiin shil	17. Зээргэнэийн шил	17. Zeergenets Mountain
18. Zavsrin tsagaan үүл	18. Завсрын цагаан үүл	18. White Cloud in the Middle
19. Jaakhan bor	19. Жаахан бор	19. Small Brown [Horse]
20. Jaakhan sharga	20. Жаахан шарга	20. Small Yellowish [Horse]
21. Joroo baakhan ulaan	21. Жороо баахан улаан	21. A Small Red Ambler
22. Ikh dalai	22. Их далай	22. Great Ocean
23. Nariin saikhan kheer	23. Нарийн сайхан хээр	23. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
24. Nariin khökh bor mor <sup>с</sup>	24. Нарийн хөх бор морь	24. Elegant Dark Brown [Horse]
25. Olomgüi dalai	25. Оломгүй далай	25. Fathomless Ocean
26. Övgön shuvuu khoyor	26. Өвгөн шувуу хоёр	26. Old Man and the Bird

\* This Övörkhangai *aimag* list, the list of Bayankhongor *aimag* which follows, and part of the Arkhangai *aimag* list were collected by long-song researcher A. Alimaa from the Academy of Science as part of an Academy of Expedition conducted in 2008.

27. Öliin davaa	27. Өлийн даваа	27. The Low Mountain Pass
28. Öндөр khangain buga	28. Өндөр хангайн буга	28. Stag of Lovely Khangai
29. Urt saikhan khüren	29. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	29. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
30. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	30. Урьхан хонгор салхи	30. The Lovely Gentle Wind
31. Ulaan trogon deel	31. Улаан торгон дээл	31. A Red Silken Deel (Traditional Clothing)
32. Ülemjiin chanar	32. Үлэмжийн чанар	32. Perfect Qualities
33. Khurmast tener	33. Хурмаст тэнгэр	33. The God of Rain and Thunder
34. Khoyor bor	34. Хоёр бор	34. Two Brown [Horses]
35. Khoyor khangain nutag	35. Хоёр хангайн нутаг	35. Two Places in the Khangai
36. Khüren tolgoин sүүder	36. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	36. Shadow of the Brown Hill
37. Khar deliin manaa	37. Хар дэлийн манаа	37. White Clad Khaliun
38. Tsagaan delt khaliun	38. Цагаан дэлт халиун	38. Dun with White Mane
39. Shanjuu deel	39. Шанжуу дээл	39. Shanjuu Deel
40. Shalzat baakhan sharga	40. Шалзат баахан шарга	40. Small yellowish Flecked [Horse]
41. Shar talyn tsetseg	41. Шар талын цэцэг	41. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
42. Shiree nuur	42. Ширээ нуур	42. Shiree Nuur
43. Soyog bor	43. Соёг бор	43. Brown Ambler
44. Sevkhет bor	44. Сэвхэт бор	44. Freckled Brown
45. Tүmen ekh	45. Түмэн эх	45. The Best Among Many
46. Tengeriin agar	46. Тэнгэрийн агаар	46. The Air of the Sky
47. Er bor khartsaga	47. Эр бор харцага	47. Brown Male Hawk
48. Gandan uulyn tsetseg	48. Гандан уулын цэцэг	48. Flower of the Gandan Mountain
49. Kherlengiin bar'ya	49. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	49. The View of Kherlen River
50. Serüün saikhan khangai	50. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай	50. The Lovely, Cool Khangai

XV. Long-songs from Bayankhongor *aimag*, (Collector: A.Alimaa) 2008

Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
1. Khüren tolgoин sүүдэр	1. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	1. Shadow of the Brown Hill
2. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren	2. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн	2. Brown [Horse] with Budshpaed Hooves
3. Tooroi bandi	3. Тоорой банди	3. Tooroi Bandi
4. Zeergenetiin shil	4. Зээргэнэтийн шил	4. Zeergenets Mountain
5. Enkh mendiin bayar	5. Энх мэндийн баяр	5. Celebration of Healthy Life
6. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	6. Урьхан хонгор салхи	6. The Lovely Gentle Wind
7. Joroo baakhan ulaan	7. Жороо баахан улаан	7. A Small Red Ambler
8. Khünii mös	8. Хүний мөс	8. Conscience
9. Shargalkhan talyn tsetseg	9. Шаргалхан талын цэцэг	9. Flower of the Yellow Steppe
10. Ikh bogd uul	10. Их богд уул	10. Great Bogd Mountain
11. Ertanii saikhan	11. Эртний сайхан	11. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
12. Joroo baakhan ulaan	12. Жороо баахан улаан	12. A Small Red Ambler
13. Ar khövch	13. Ар хөвч	13. Northern Taiga
14. Khöglög khangai	14. Хөвлөг хангай	14. The Cotton-soft Khangai
15. Erdene zasgiin unaga	15. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	15. Foal from Erdene Zasag
16. Ikh bogd	16. Их богд	16. Great Bogd
17. Menget baakhan khüren	17. Мэнгэт баахан хүрэн	17. Small Spotted [Horse]
18. Oroo saikhan kheer	18. Ороо сайхан хээр	18. A Fine and Nervy [Horse]
19. Baatar beeliin unaga	19. Баатар бээлийн унага	19. Baatar Beil's Foal
20. Aliakhan saaral	20. Алиахан саарал	20. The Lively Grey [Horse]
21. Khökhöө shuvuu	21. Хөхөө шувуу	21. The Cuckoo
22. Nariin saikhan kheer	22. Нарийн сайхан хээр	22. Elegant Fine Chestnut [Horse]
23. Dörvön tsag	23. Дөрвөн цаг	23. The Four Seasons
24. Budal tsolmon	24. Будал цолмон	24. The Misty Morning Start
25. Jaakhan sharga	25. Жаахан шарга	25. Small Yellowish [Horse]
26. Shalzat baakhan sharga	26. Шалзат баахан шарга	26. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
27. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran	27. Уяхан замбутивийн наран	27. Sun of the Gentle Universe
28. Kherlengiin bar"ya	28. Хэрлэнгийн баръяа	28. The View of the Kherlen River
29. Khöglög khangain baraa	29. Хөглөг хангайн бараа	29. A View of the Cotton-soft Khangai
30. Urtyn saikhan khüren	30. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	30. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
31. Övgön shuvuu khoiyor	31. Өвгөн шувуу хоёр	31. Old Man and the Bird
32. Er bor khartsaga	32. Эр бор харцага	32. Brown Male Hawk
33. Tsagaany tsookhor	33. Цагааны цоохор	33. Dotted [Horse] of White
34. Menget baakhan kheer	34. Мэнгэт баахан хээр	34. Small Spotted Darkish [Horse]

XVI. Long-songs from Arkhangai *aimag*, 2008 (Collector: A.Alimaa) and 2009 (Myself)

	Romanized Mongolian	Mongolian	English
[2008]	1. Urtyn saikhan khüren	1. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	1. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
	2. Altan bogdyn shil	2. Алтан богдын шил	2. The Crest of Altan Bogd
	3. Arkhangai nutag	3. Архангай нутаг	3. The Land of Arkhangai
	4. Joroo baakhan ulaan	4. Жороо баахан улаан	4. A Small Red Ambler
	5. Khoyor khangai nutag	5. Хоёр хангай нутаг	5. Two Places in the Khangai
	6. Tengeriin agaар	6. Тэнгэрийн агаар	6. The Air of the Sky
	7. Khökhөө shuvuu	7. Хөхөө шувуу	7. The Cuckoo
	8. Khongor shartga	8. Хонгор шарга	8. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
	9. Menget kheer	9. Мэнгэт хээр	9. Spotted Darkish [Horse]
	10. Er bor khartsaga	10. Эр бор харцага	10. Brown Male Hawk
	11. Geriin yerööl	11. Гэрийн ерөөл	11. House-warming Wishes
	12. Khüren tolgoин sүүder	12. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр	12. Shadow of the Brown Hill
	13. Erdene zasgiин unaga	13. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	13. Foal of Erdene Zasag
	14. Öндөр altai	14. Өндөр алтай	14. The Height of Altai
	15. Zeergenetiин shil	15. Зээргэнэтийн шил	15. Zeergenets Mountain
	16. Saruul tal	16. Саруул тал	16. The Bright Steppe
	17. Enkh mendiин bayar	17. Энх мэндийн баяр	17. Celebration of Healthy Life
	18. Bor toirmiин byalzuukhai	18. Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	18. Little Birds around the Saltmarsh
	19. Shalzat baakhan sharga	19. Шалзат баахан шарга	19. Small Yellowish Flecked [Horse]
	20. Öндөр saikhan bor	20. Өндөр сайхан бор	20. Fine Tall Brown [Horse]
	21. Khantargan baakhan khar	21. Хантарган баахан хар	21. Stout [Horse]
	22. Tsevtsger khurdan sharga	22. Цэвцгэр хурдан шарга	22. Fast Snowy-white [Horse]
	23. Baruukhan öндөр	23. Баруухан өндөр	23. Tall in the West
	24. Khurdan moriny tsol	24. Хурдан морины цол	24. A Nice Fast Horse
	25. Toglo talyn baraa	25. Тогло талын бараа	25. Sight of Toglo Steppe
	26. Magnai түргэн	26. Магнай түргэн	26. Swift Leader
	27. Sogoon chikhteи sharga	27. Согоон чихтэй шарга	27. Yellowish [Horse] with Doe's Ears

	<p>28. Öndör saikhan bor</p> <p>29. Er bor khartsaga</p> <p>30. Erdene zasgiin unaga</p> <p>31. Uyakhan zambutiviin naran</p> <p>32. Joroo baakhan ulaan</p> <p>33. Tsombon tuuraitai khüren</p> <p>34. Talyn tavan baraa</p>	<p>28. Өндөр сайхан бор</p> <p>29. Эр бор харцага</p> <p>30. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага</p> <p>31. Уяхан замбутивийн наран</p> <p>32. Жороо баахан улаан</p> <p>33. Цомбон туурайтай хүрэн</p> <p>34. Талын таван бараа</p>	<p>28. Fine Tall Brown [Horse]</p> <p>29. Brown Male Hawk</p> <p>30. Foal from Erdene Zasag</p> <p>31. Sun of the Gentle Universe</p> <p>32. A Small Red Ambler</p> <p>33. Brown [Horse] with Bud-shaped Hooves</p> <p>34. Five Views of the Steppe</p>
	<p>35. Erdene met sharga</p> <p>36. Kheer khaltar</p> <p>37. Daagan daagan khar</p> <p>38. Khüren tolgoин sүүder</p>	<p>35. Эрдэнэ мэт шарга</p> <p>36. Хээр халтар</p> <p>37. Дааган дааган хар</p> <p>38. Хүрэн толгойн сүүдэр</p>	<p>35. Precious Yellowish [Horse]</p> <p>36. The Blackish [Horse]</p> <p>37. Black Year Old Colt</p> <p>38. Shadow of the Brown Hill</p>
<p>Songs that were not found in 2008, but were in 2009</p>	<p>39. Khongor sharga</p> <p>40. Ikh бага sharga</p>	<p>39. Хонгор шарга</p> <p>40. Их бага шарга</p>	<p>39. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]</p> <p>40. The Best Petite Yellowish [Horses]</p>

XVII. Long-songs Commonly Appearing on CDs Found in Stores, Ulaanbaatar, 2007 to 2010

Romanized Titles	Mongolian Titles	English Translated Titles
1. Zeergenetiin shil	1. Зээргэнэтийн шил	1. Zeergenet's Mountain
2. Jargaltain delger	2. Жаргалтайн дэлгэр	2. An Abundance of Joy
3. Tümen ekh	3. Түмэн эх	3. The Best Among Many
4. Erkhem tör	4. Эрхэм төр	4. Revered Government
5. Khongor sharga	5. Хонгор шарга	5. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
6. Dömön	6. Дөмөн	6. A Sprightly Pace [Horse]
7. Uyakhan zambuu tiviin naran	7. Уяхан замбуу тивийн наран	7. Sun of the Gentle Universe
8. Altan bogdyn shil	8. Алтан богдын шил	8. The Crest of Altan Bogd
9. Jaakhan sharga	9. Жаахан шарга	9. Small Yellowish [Horse]
10. Asaryn öndör	10. Асарын өндөр	10. The Height of the Destiny
11. Bor boryn byalzuukhai	11. Бор борын бялзуухай	11. Brown Brown Little Bird
12. Tungalag tamir	12. Тунгалат тамир	12. Clear Tamir River
13. Joroo baakhan ulaan	13. Жороо баахан улаан	13. A Small Red Ambler
14. Önchin tsagaan botgo	14. Өнчин цагаан ботго	14. Orphaned White Baby Camel
15. Kherlengiin bar“ya	15. Хэрлэнгийн барьяа	15. Sight of Kherlen River
16. Ertanii saikhan	16. Эртний сайхан	16. A Fine and Ancient Destiny
17. Yalguusan erkht	17. Ялгуусан эрхт	17. Gloriously Privileged
18. Khoyor bor	18. Хоёр бор	18. Two Brown [Horses]
19. Erdene zasgiin unaga	19. Эрдэнэ засгийн унага	19. Foal from Erdene Zasag
20. Altain magtaal	20. Алтайн магтаал	20. Altai's Magtaal
21. Övgön shuvuu khoyor (Övgönii duu, Shuvuunii duu)	21. Өвгөн шувуу хоёр (Өвгөний дуу, Шувууны дуу)	21. The Old Man and the Bird (Old Man's Song, Bird's Song)
22. Budal tsolmon khüren	22. Будал цолмон хүрэн	22. The Misty Morning Star
23. Durtmal saikhan	23. Дуртмал сайхан	23. Nice Clean [Sun]
24. Er bor khartsaga	24. Эр бор харцага	24. Brown Male Hawk
25. Bogdyn öndör	25. Богдын өндөр	25. The Height of Bogd Mountain
26. Serüün saikhan khangai	26. Сэрүүн сайхан хангай	26. The Lovely, Cool Khangai
27. Ar khövch	27. Ар хөвч	27. The Northern Taiga
28. Urtyn saikhan khüren	28. Уртын сайхан хүрэн	28. A Nice Leggy Brown [Horse]
29. Kheer khaltar	29. Хээр халтар	29. The Blackish [Horse]
30. Bor toirmyn byalzuukhai	30. Бор тойрмын бялзуухай	30. Little Birds around the Saltmarsh

31. Ülemjiin chanar	31. Үлэмжийн чанар	31. Perfect Qualities
32. Ider jinchin	32. Идэр жинчин	34. Yougn Cravanner
33. Gandan uulyн tsetseg	33. Гандан уулын цэцэг	32. Flower of Gandan Mountain
34. Khürengiin joroo	34. Хүрэнгийн жороо	35. The Brown Ambler Feast's Song
35. Nairiin duu	35. Найрийн дуу	36. Three Years Old Black [Horse]
36. Gunan khar	36. Гунан хар	37. Celebration of Healthy Life
37. Enkh mendiin bayar	37. Энх Мэндийн баяр	38. Two Feelings
38. Khoyor setgel	38. Хоёр сэтгэл	39. Uliastai's River
39. Uliastain gol	39. Улиастайн гол	40. Khan Mountain
40. Khan uul	40. Хан уул	41. The Lovely Gentle Wind
41. Ur'khan khongor salkhi	41. Урьхан хонгор салхи	42. White Beak Land
42. Khoshuu tsagaan nutag	42. Хошуу цагаан нутаг	43. The Foal of the Northern Taiga
43. Ar khövchiin unaga	43. Ар хөвчийн унага	44. Dear Yellowish Red [Horse]
44. Khongor sharga	44. Хонгор шарга	45. The Bright Steppe
45. Saruul tal	45. Саруул тал	46. Ten Fingers of the Hands
46. Garyn arvan khuruu	46. Гарын арван хуруу	47. Two Feelings
47. Khoyor setgel	47. Хоёр сэтгэл	48. Land of Four Seasons
48. Dörvön tsagiin tal	48. Дөрвөн цагийн тал	49. The Lively Grey [Horse]
49. Alia saaral	49. Алиа саарал	50. Reddish Chestnut [Horse]
50. Ukhaa zeerd	50. Ухаа зээрд	

## GLOSSARY

### A

#### Aimag

Translatable as “province.” The geographically largest type of administrative subdivision in Mongolia. There are twenty-one *aimag* in Mongolia today. Each *aimag* consists of several smaller units, called *sum*.

#### Aizam duu

Among categories of long-songs, *Aizam duu* is considered the most extensive in terms of length, performance techniques, and content. It features a variety of singing and improvisation techniques, with syllables often highly elongated. The lyrics are often highly philosophical, and deal with the country, people, and so on, rather than love, nature, horses, and other such topics. This term is translated as “extended” long-song by Carole Pegg.

#### Altan Urag

One of the very first folk-pop groups in Mongolia. Formed in 2002, it had released seven albums at the date of this dissertation.

#### Arad (ard)

*Arad* is a Mongolian term that indicates common people. Rather than refer simply to “people” as a whole, it came to imply middle class and lower class people who were the opposite of the *noyon* (noble) and privileged class. It is romanized sometimes as “ard.”

#### Arдын дуу

The literal translation of this term is “the people’s song,” and it often translates as “folksong.” However, in the socialist context, *ардын дуу* often covers songs from the traditional long-song (*уртын дуу*) and short-song (*богин дуу*) to recent composed song (*зөххиолын дуу*).

#### Ардн жүжигчин (Mongol улсын ардын жүжигчин)

One of the titles awarded by the government to artists. It means “People’s Artist.” The full title is Mongolian National People’s Artist, but people often simply say “People’s Artist” (“Ардн жүжигчин”).

#### Аялгуу

The literal meaning of this term is “melody.” However, people often use it when they indicate certain versions (or styles) of long-song. For example, *Borjgin аялгуу* would refer to Borjgin regional style.

## B

### Badag

Verse. The term can be applied to both lyrical *badag* and musical *badag*. Usually there are two musical *badag* for each lyrical *badag*.

### D. Battömör (b. 1949, male)

A contemporary professional long-song singer, residing in Ulaanbaatar. He is particularly known for his performance of the long-song, “The Old Man and the Bird”

### S. Bayantogtokh (61, male)

A singer from the countryside in Dundgov’ *aimag* who has a strong knowledge of long-song techniques.

### Bayanbaraat

One of the regional versions of long-song. It is usually defined by comparison with the Borjgin version, because both originated from Dundgov’ *aimag*. The style is described as falling in between central Khalkh style and Borjgin style; it is less decorated than Borjgin style.

### Besreg urtyn duu

The shortest type of long-song. Beginners usually start by learning this kind of Besreg long-song. It does not require the more advanced techniques of long-song, such as *shurankhai*.

### Bogin duu

This term is translated as “short-song.” It is often musically compared to long-song style.

### Bönjignökh

A tremolo-like, light vibrato. Comparable to *toskhilt* technique.

### Borjgin

A regional version of long-song that developed in an area of Dundgov’ province.

### Buryat

A Mongolian ethnic group. The Buryat have often been considered not to have long-song.

## C

### Central Khalkh Style

A main style of long-song, even a dominant style, that has also been developed into an “urban” long-song style.

### Sh. Chimedtseye (b. 1956, female)

One of the most successful urban professional long-song singers in contemporary Mongolia. She is currently teaching at the Music and Dance College. She is from Sükhbaatar *aimag*.

### Chimeglel

This term literally means “decoration.” Most musical ornamentations in long-song are called *chimeglel*.

### Cultural Center (*soyolyn töv*)

The place in each *sum* or *aimag* where cultural events are held.

### Cultural Palace (*soyolyn ordon*)

A higher level of Cultural Center, usually located in the center of each *aimag*.

## D

### Dad’suren (Age, Male)

A countryside singer from Dundgov’ *aimag* who has kept extensive notes on long-song and also possesses a fine knowledge of the genre’s overall background.

### Dariganga

A Mongolian ethnic group, and also the name of a place in Sükhbaatar *aimag*. Some versions of long-songs that are performed among this ethnic group and in the eponymous region are said to have Dariganga melody.

### Darkhad

A Mongolian ethnic group, mostly located in the west of Mongolia.

### Dundgov’ *aimag*

A Mongolian province. It is located in central Mongolia, close to Ulaanbaatar.

## E

### Egshig tomokh

Vowel harmonization. This is a set of rules for elongating the vowels. Vowels of the same kind (back vowels, or front vowels) are required to remain consistent.

Egshig yaltruulakh

Vowel dropping. In this technique, unnecessary vowels are dropped while singers improvise other vowels.

Kh. Erdentsetseg (b. 1972, female)

One of the younger professional singers in Ulaanbaatar. She is from Dundgov' *aimag*. She is a member of the folk-pop band Altan Urag.

## G

Gav'yat jüjigchin (Mongol ulsyn gav'yat jüjigchin )

The second highest ranking title for singers in Mongolia.

Ger

Mongolian nomadic movable house. It also called a yurt.

Gingoo

A ceremonial song that usually played when small children ride a horse in the horse-race festival. Often it is decided by this song whether they can become a long-song singer.

Gür duu

Religious long-song.

## I

Institute of Language and Literature (Khel Zokhiolyn Khüüreelen)

A subdivision of the Mongolian Academy of Science.

## J

J. Badraa

A Mongolian writer. One of the figures that Mongolians consider part of their "intelligentia."

J. Dorjdagva (1904-1991)

One of the legendary long-song singers. He taught many students, most of whom are now active singers in Mongolia.

Jaakhan sharga

The title of a song and also the title of a book by Sh. Chemedtseye.

### Jiriin duu

A middle length variety of long-song. It is simpler and shorter than *aizam duu* but more complex and longer than *besreg urtyn duu*.

## K

### Khalkh

A Mongolian ethnic group. Eighty percent of the population belongs to the Khalkh ethnic group.

### Khariltaa duu (dialogue song)

This term literally means “dialogue song.” If a song’s lyrics are a conversation between two characters, it is called *khariltaa duu*. “The Old man and the bird” (*Övgön shuvuu*) is the good example of this.

### Khödölmöriin baatar (Mongol ulsyn khödölmöriin baatar)

This term literally means “a hero of labor.” It was given to the most honored persons in Mongolia, including artists and musicians.

### Khödöö nutag

This term literally means “countryside land.” It is usually equivalent to the concept of the symbolic image of *nutag*.

### Khöömii

A Mongolian vocal genre. It is often called "overtone singing" or "throat singing" because one person effectively sings in two voices by using his or her throat, with the lower part as a drone and with an overtone melody.

### Khövsgöl

A Mongolian province where many shamans live.

### Khurai

One of the practice songs among current Mongolian singers. The song is one of the ritual songs of the Naadam festival games.

### E. Khurelbaatar (b. 1976, male)

One of the younger long-song singers in Ulaanbaatar. He moved there from Gov’-Altai *aimag*. He currently teaches at the cultural center in the Nalaikh district.

### Kurs

The term originated from Russian word *Kyrus*. An education method consisting of a short-term course outside the school system.

## L

Limbe  
Flute

## M

Magtaal  
Praising. Chant style of vocal genre. It is used in feasts or festivals.

Mergejiliin  
Professional

MNB (Mongolian National Broadcaster [Broadcasting])  
Started in the early 1930s, it has been the only Mongolian national radio and television supported by the government.

Mongolian Academy of Science (*Mongol uls shinjlekh ukhany academy*)  
First established in 1921 as the Institute of Language and Literature. The name Mongolian Academy of Science was given it in 1961. It has been the main active research institute in Mongolia and currently consists of 17 subdivisions and centers.

S. Monktuya (b. 1989, female)  
A young long-song singer who is studying at the Music and Dance College in Ulaanbaatar. Tuya came from Övörkhangai *aimag*.

Morin khuur  
The horse-head fiddle. It is often used to accompany long-song in a concert style.

MPR  
Mongolian People's Republic; Socialist Mongolia.

MPRP  
Mongolian People's Republic Party

Music and Dance Collge of Mongolia  
A conservatory type of music and dance school in Ulaanbaatar. It has intensively trained both Western and traditional musicians, particularly during the socialist period. The long-song program was recently established by J. Tuvshinjargal and Sh. Chimedtseye.

## N

N. Norovbanzad (1931-2006)

One of the legendary long-song singers.

Naadam

A Mongolian traditional festival held on July 11th through 13th. The festival consists of three events: wrestling, archery, and horse racing.

Nairyn duu

Songs that are sung at feasts. Some long-songs have also been called *nairyn duu*.

Negdel

Occupational unions, usually formed during the socialist period, e.g. the agricultural union.

Noyon

A term for the noble/high class in the feudal system.

Nutag

Homeland, hometown, locale, or birthplace

Nutgiin duu

Local song

## O

Ömnögovi aimag

One of the provinces that is located in the southern area of Mongolia.

Övörkhongai aimag

One of the provinces that is located in the central area of Mongolia

## R

Red Corner (Ulaan bulan)/Red Ger (Ulaan ger)

One of the cultural organizations that was initiated during the socialist period. It was called Red Ger at first, later changed to Red Corner.

## S

Ch. Sharkhüükhen (b. 1930, female)

A professional singer. She has mainly worked in Khentii *aimag* as a theater singer and recently moved to Ulaanbaatar.

Shashdar duu

Religious and philosophical long-song

Shurankhai

A long-song singing technique. The term is often translated as “Falsetto.” This is also the name of a long-song folk-pop band appearing in this dissertation.

Soyolyn Tergüünii Ajiltan (STA)

One of the titles that was bestowed by the socialist government. It literally means “Cultural Leading Worker.”

SUIS (Mongolian State University Culture and Arts, or Cultural University)

One of two schools in Ulaanbaatar that offer long-song programs. N. Norovobanzad taught in this school.

Sükhbaatar

One of the far eastern provinces of Mongolia.

Sum (Cym)

Subdivisional geographical administrative unit of Mongolia. Each *aimag* consists of several *sum*.

S. Sum’ya (b. 1941, female)

A professional singer who has spent most of her life as an Övörkhongai *aimag* theater singer.

Süütei-tsai

Milk-tea

## T

Torin duu (tör hurimin duu)

State-song. One kind of long-song.

M. Tshevegbat (78, male)

An amateur singer from Övörkhongi *aimag*. He is also a medical doctor.

Tsokhilt (Tseejinii tsokhilt, Tövönkhiin tsokhilt)

A long-song singing technique consisting of a rather rough-sounding vibrato. The verb “Tsokhilt” means to hit or to strike.

Tügeemel urtyn duu

This term appears in Carole Pegg’s book (2001) as an equivalent meaning to *jiriin duu*. Medium length of long-song.

Türleg

The refrain of a Mongolian long-song. This part is always sung by all singers together in a feast.

Tuul’

A Mongolian epic

## U

Ukhai

A long-song practice song. It originated as the archery ritual song in the Naadam festival.

Um-marzai

A children’s horse riding song; a *gingoo*. It used to have a religious text.

Urtavtar duu

A short length variety of long-song or an extended type of *bogin duu*.

Üzemchin

A Mongolian ethnic group that is mostly found in eastern areas, such as Sükhbaatar province.

## Y

Yatga

A type of string zither. It is similar to the Korean *kayagŭm* and the Chinese *zheng*.

Yerööl

This term means “wishes,” and refers to a Mongolian chant-like musical vocal genre.

## Z

### Zee

There are two meanings of “Zee”: 1) a long-song practice song, and 2) a syllable that starts a long-song, usually an *aizam duu*.

### Zokhiolyn duu

Composed song. This term is used in broad ways, but often indicates a more popular-style composed folk song.

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