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QUIVERS IN MEDIEVAL MONGOL FUNERARY PRACTICE: MARTIAL IDENTITY, HONOR, AND THE AFTERLIFE

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Abstract

This paper examines the meaning and symbolism underlying the inclusion of quivers in the funerary practices of the medieval Mongols. Drawing upon archaeological evidence, written historical sources, visual materials, and linguistic data, the study seeks to clarify the rationale and symbolic significance of placing quivers alongside the deceased in burial contexts. The findings suggest that the quiver functioned not merely as a military object, but as a symbol of masculine martial identity, military honor, and personal dignity. Its inclusion in burials signified that the deceased had not been defeated in battle nor deprived of his weapons during life. The study further demonstrates that the consistent placement of quivers on the left side of the body reflected broader Mongol beliefs concerning the afterlife as an inverse continuation of earthly existence. More broadly, the research highlights that medieval Mongols perceived death not as an end, but as a continuation of life in another realm, where the deceased continued to require the objects associated with them during life. Consequently, the inclusion of quivers in funerary rites constituted a deeply symbolic practice embedded within Mongolian mortuary ideology and worldview.

Keywords: *Burial, Quiver, The Secret History of the Mongols, Miniature paintings, Afterlife*

Introduction

The funerary rites of the Mongols constitute an important field of study reflecting the nomadic way of life, social organization, worldview, and cultural traditions of medieval Mongolian society. In burial practices, the Mongols customarily interred the deceased together with objects they had used during their lifetime. Archaeological excavations of Mongolian graves and rock burials across the territory of Mongolia demonstrate that the inclusion of quivers in male burials was a widespread practice. Although previous scholarship has examined the placement, form, decoration, and construction of these quivers, comparatively little attention has been devoted to the reasons for their inclusion or to their broader symbolic significance.

This paper argues that the inclusion and placement of quivers in medieval Mongol burials were not merely practical funerary customs, but reflected deeply embedded ideas concerning martial honor, masculine identity, and the cosmological understanding of the afterlife as an inverted continuation of earthly existence. By drawing upon archaeological evidence, written historical sources, and miniature paintings, this study seeks to clarify the ritual rationale and symbolic meaning underlying the practice of burying the deceased together with a quiver.

1. Quivers as Symbols of Martial Identity And Honor

Until recently, the majority of research on quivers found within Mongol period graves have focused on their typology, construction, ornamentation, and placement, which has greatly contributed to overall scholarship on Mongol military and material culture. Comparatively little attention, however, has been devoted to the ritual rationale underlying their inclusion in funerary contexts or to the broader symbolic and afterlife belief meanings embedded within the practice itself. It is therefore necessary to examine the ritual logic and ideological meanings underlying the practice of accompanying the deceased with a quiver.

As the earliest and most important indigenous source concerning the political culture, social organization, worldview, and ritual practices of the Mongols, *The Secret History of the Mongols* provides valuable insight into medieval Mongolian conceptions of warfare, honor, death, and the afterlife. In addition to its historical and literary significance, the text preserves numerous references to martial equipment, funerary customs, and symbolic practices associated with the Chinggisid world. References to bows, arrows, quivers, and other weapons appear throughout the chronicle not merely as descriptions of military objects, but as markers of status, loyalty, masculine identity, and political legitimacy.

One such passage states:

“My watchful nightguards who, hearing the enemy’s
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood up without delay;
My swift-moving nightguards who, hearing the enemy’s
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up not a moment too late...”¹

Here, the text distinguishes quivers according to the materials from which they were produced, specifically referring to birch-bark and willow quivers. Beyond demonstrating the material diversity of Mongol military equipment, the passage also illustrates the degree to which quivers occupied a recognizable and symbolically charged place within the martial culture of the medieval Mongols.

The symbolic and emotional value attached to arrows is further reflected in the relationship between Temüjin and Jamukha. As childhood companions and sworn anda brothers, they exchanged symbolic gifts associated with archery and hunting. *The Secret History* records that Temüjin presented Jamukha with a whistling arrow made from the horn of a two-year-old calf, while Jamukha gave Temüjin an arrow tipped with cypress wood from the Khulja region. Such exchanges reveal that arrows could function not merely as instruments of war, but also as objects of political alliance, oath-making, and personal loyalty within steppe society. In this regard, bows, arrows, and quivers possessed meanings that extended well beyond their practical military function.

The symbolic rationale underlying the custom of burying the deceased together with their bow and quiver may likewise be understood through further references preserved in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Throughout the chronicle, the confiscation of an enemy’s quiver frequently appears as an

¹ Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to The Secret History of the Mongols*, Indiana University Publications, Ural and Altaic Series (Indiana University, 1972), 121:133.

expression of military defeat, humiliation, and the loss of honor. This symbolic significance is most clearly articulated in Verse 190, where Jebe declares:

“If, while still alive, one allows an enemy to seize one’s quiver, what advantage is there in living? Is it not proper for a man, when he dies, to lie with his bow and quiver beside his bones?”²

This statement demonstrates that the quiver was understood as far more than a practical military object. Within the martial culture of the medieval Mongols, the loss of one’s quiver symbolized defeat, dishonor, and the collapse of masculine prestige. Conversely, to retain one’s quiver until death represented the preservation of personal dignity, military reputation, and warrior identity. Read in this context, the funerary practice of burying the deceased together with their bow and quiver symbolized that the individual had maintained his honor in life, had not been conquered in battle, and had not surrendered his weapons to an enemy.

2. Archaeological Evidence and Burial Placement

Archaeological excavations conducted at Mongol-period burial sites across Mongolia provide substantial evidence for the funerary inclusion of quivers. According to the research of B. Batdalai, approximately 220 Mongol-period stone-mound burials have been excavated and studied to date, among which 31 graves contained quivers deposited alongside the deceased.³

Examples of such burials have been identified across a wide geographical area, including sites in present-day Sukhbaatar, Dornogovi, Dundgovi, Umnugovi, and Tuv provinces. Particularly significant sites include Tavan Tolgoi, Chandmani Khar Uul, Oyut Ovoo, Zangat Uul, Baruun Naran, Kharmagtai, and Maaniin Enger, among numerous others. The broad distribution of these burials demonstrates that the inclusion of quivers formed part of a widespread and relatively standardized funerary practice within the Mongol world.

The placement of quivers within the graves likewise reveals a striking degree of consistency. Of the 31 identified burials containing quivers, 23 positioned the quiver on the left side of the deceased, while only 3 examples placed it on the right side. In the remaining cases, the original placement could not be determined due to looting, disturbance, or poor preservation conditions.

This pattern is particularly significant because visual and textual evidence indicates that Mongol warriors ordinarily wore their quivers on the right side during life. The deliberate placement of the quiver on the opposite side in burial contexts therefore appears to reflect a broader symbolic or cosmological logic associated with death and the afterlife, rather than mere practical deposition.

3. Quiver Placement, Inversion, and the Afterlife

3.1. Visual and Linguistic Evidence for Quiver Placement

There exist numerous portraits, miniature paintings, and illuminated manuscript illustrations relating to the history of the medieval Mongols. Among the most important visual sources are the illustrated manuscripts of Rashid al-Din’s *Jami‘ al-Tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), produced within the Ilkhanid cultural sphere during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These paintings preserve valuable visual evidence concerning Mongol military equipment, dress, and mounted warfare.

² Rachewiltz, *Index to The Secret History of the Mongols*, 121:190.

³ B. Batdalai, “X-XVII зууны монгол булш, оршуулгын судалгаа (монгол улсад малтсан хэрэглэгдэхүүнээр) [Study of Mongolian Burials and Funerary Practices of the 10th–17th Centuries (Based on Materials Excavated in Mongolia)]” (Ulaanbaatar, 2022).



Figure 1. Battle scene from the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), illustrating Mongol cavalrymen equipped with quivers attached at the right hip, while the bow case is carried on the opposite side in accordance with customary Mongol mounted archery practice.



Figure 2. Courtly scene from the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*) depicting the Khan seated with his Khatun, while armed mounted attendants surrounding the royal encampment are shown carrying quivers and bow cases in the customary arrangement associated with Mongol archery equipment.



Figure 3. Battle miniature from the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*) portraying Mongol mounted archers engaged in combat, with quivers visibly suspended at the right side of the body in accordance with established Mongol military practice.



Figure 4. Scene from the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*) depicting Mongol horsemen escorting captives, with mounted warriors shown carrying quivers attached to the right side of the body alongside the bow case suspended on the left.

In these miniature depictions, Mongol warriors are consistently shown wearing their quivers on the right side of the body, suspended at the right hip while the bow case is positioned on the left. This arrangement appears repeatedly in scenes of battle, hunting, mounted procession, and courtly representation, suggesting that it reflected an established convention of Mongol martial equipment rather than artistic coincidence.

Additional visual evidence may also be observed in the well-known Yuan dynasty painting *Kublai Khan on a Hunting Expedition* by the Chinese court artist Liu Guandao (c. 1280), now preserved in the National Palace Museum. The painting is particularly significant for its remarkable attention to

ethnographic and military detail, depicting Mongol riders, horses, clothing, archery equipment, and even Bactrian camels accompanying the imperial hunting retinue across the steppe landscape.



Figure 5. *Kublai Khan on a Hunting Expedition* by the Chinese court artist Liu Guandao (c. 1280), now preserved in the National Palace Museum.

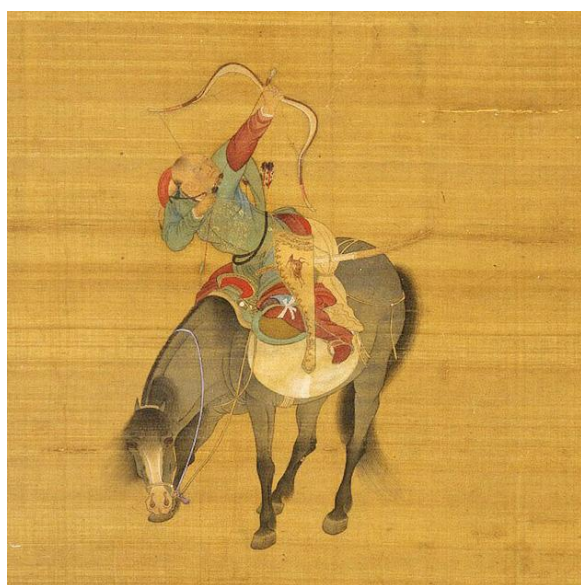


Figure 6. Detail from *Kublai Khan on a Hunting Expedition* by Liu Guandao (c. 1280), showing mounted Mongol riders wearing the quiver on the right side of the body and the bow case on the left, reflecting the standard arrangement of Mongol archery equipment.

The work is especially valuable because it was produced during the Yuan dynasty itself, at a time when Khubilai Khan continued to embody the dual identity of Mongol steppe ruler and Chinese emperor. Several mounted figures in the painting clearly display quivers suspended on the right side of the body, corresponding closely with the evidence preserved in the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* miniatures. Together, these visual materials strongly indicate that the right-sided placement of the quiver represented a stable and recognizable convention within Mongol martial culture across different regions of the Mongol world.

Additional linguistic evidence further supports this interpretation. In the Manchu language, the left side is termed ᡩᠠᡵᡳᡨᡤᡠᡵᡅ (*dashūwan*), literally referring to the side associated with the bow case, while the right side is called ᡪᡅᡵᡅᡯᡅ (*jebile*), meaning the side of the quiver. Significantly, these terms do not function merely as directional designations but preserve a semantic association between bodily orientation and mounted archery equipment. The terminology reflects a broader Inner Asian linguistic tendency in which spatial directions were conceptualized relationally through habitual practices of riding, warfare, and equipment placement.

From a philological perspective, such terminology is particularly important because it preserves traces of martial customs embedded within language itself. Rather than describing abstract “left” and “right” orientations alone, the Manchu expressions encode culturally specific knowledge concerning the arrangement of weapons on the mounted body. This suggests that the positioning of the bow case and quiver had become sufficiently standardized within Inner Asian military culture to shape directional vocabulary and embodied spatial perception. The linguistic evidence therefore provides an additional layer of support for the archaeological and visual data concerning the customary placement of archery equipment among the Mongols and related steppe traditions.

Taken together, the visual and linguistic evidence clearly demonstrates that Mongol warriors ordinarily wore their quivers on the right-side during life. Consequently, the archaeological pattern of placing quivers on the left side of the deceased in burial contexts cannot be regarded as accidental. Rather, the inversion appears to reflect a deliberate symbolic logic connected to Mongol conceptions of death and the afterlife.

3.2. The Afterlife as an Inverse Reflection of the Living World

Medieval travelers and envoys who journeyed through the Mongol Empire recorded valuable observations concerning Mongolian conceptions of death and the afterlife. Their accounts consistently suggest that the Mongols did not understand death as a final cessation of existence, but rather as a transition into another realm in which earthly life continued in altered form. Such beliefs formed an important ideological foundation for funerary practices and the deposition of personal belongings within the grave.

Among the earliest and most significant testimonies is that of the Franciscan envoy Giovanni da Plano Carpini, who wrote that the Mongols “know nothing of eternal life or perpetual damnation, but believe that after death they go to another world, where they multiply their herds, eat, drink, and do all the things that people do in this world.”⁴ Carpini’s observation indicates that the medieval Mongols conceived of the afterlife not as an abstract spiritual realm detached from earthly existence, but rather as a parallel continuation of worldly life itself. Activities central to nomadic existence — herding, riding, eating, drinking, and maintaining social relations — were expected to persist beyond death.

Marco Polo likewise recorded beliefs concerning the continuation of social and political life after death among the Mongols. Describing the funeral procession of a Great Khan, he states that during the transport of the ruler's body to the imperial burial place, individuals encountered along the route were killed during the *khoilgo* sacrificial rite with the command: "Go and serve your lord in the next world."⁵ Polo further notes that the Mongols believed these individuals would continue serving the deceased ruler after death. He additionally records that valuable horses belonging to the deceased were slaughtered and sent to accompany their master into the next world.

This account demonstrates that Mongol funerary practices extended beyond the symbolic deposition of objects alone. Human attendants, horses, and other valuable possessions could also be

⁴ John of Plano Carpini, *Монголчуудын түүх [History of the Mongols]*, ed. Ts Shagdarsuren, trans. S. Tuya and S. Tsolmon (Ulaanbaatar, 1988), 18.

⁵ Marco Polo, *Орчлонгийн элдэв сонин: Аяны тэмдэглэл* [*The Wonders of the World: Travel Notes*], ed. A. Ochir et al. (Ulaanbaatar, 1987), 69.

sacrificed in order to accompany the deceased into the afterlife. Such practices reveal that the next world was imagined as a continuation of existing social and political relations, in which rulers retained their authority, servants continued their duties, and mounted warriors required horses and equipment just as they had during life.

Similar beliefs are also reflected in the observations of William of Rubruck concerning Mongol marriage and kinship practices. Rubruck notes that widows generally did not remarry outside the family because the Mongols believed that husband and wife would reunite in the next world after death. He further describes the levirate custom whereby a son, particularly the youngest son who inherited the household, could take the wives of his deceased father, excluding only his biological mother. According to Rubruck, this practice was considered acceptable because those women were ultimately believed to return to the deceased patriarch in the afterlife.⁶

Rubruck's account is particularly important because it demonstrates that Mongol conceptions of continuity after death extended beyond material possessions and military equipment into the sphere of kinship and social relations. Familial structures, marital bonds, and household organization were understood to persist beyond earthly existence. Death therefore did not sever social relationships but temporarily interrupted them until reunion in the next world. Within such a worldview, funerary rites functioned not merely as acts of disposal or memorialization, but as preparations for the continuation of life, authority, and social identity beyond death.

Drawing upon historical accounts and ethnographic materials, later scholars likewise observed that Mongolian conceptions of the afterlife were fundamentally shaped by the belief that individuals continued the same activities and occupations they had practiced during life. Uno Harva, discussing religious beliefs among Mongolian and Siberian peoples, noted that the dead were understood to preserve both their social identities and practical skills in the next world. Referring to Buryat traditions, he observed that “even craftsmen do not forget their skills after death,” explaining that scribes continued to write, tailors continued to sew, and artisans retained the abilities they possessed during life. Harva further records the belief that virtuous individuals sometimes died prematurely because the ruler of the underworld required their services in the realm of the dead.⁷

Archaeologist U. Erdenebat similarly argues that medieval Mongols understood the soul of the deceased to journey into another world where life continued together with one's family, livestock, and social environment. According to this interpretation, the afterlife was conceived not as a radically separate spiritual realm, but as an extension of earthly existence in which the dead continued to eat, drink, travel, herd animals, and maintain their accustomed way of life. This belief was materially expressed through funerary practices that provided the deceased with food, clothing, weapons, horses, and other personal belongings considered necessary for continued existence beyond death.

Erdenebat further notes that conditions in the afterlife were believed to correspond closely to an individual's social and economic position during life. Whether the deceased traveled on foot, rode horseback, or journeyed in a cart was thought to depend upon the status and wealth they had possessed while alive. In this sense, social hierarchy and material conditions were projected into afterlife beliefs, and funerary rites functioned not merely as acts of mourning, but as preparations intended to secure the well-being and proper status of the deceased in the next world. Such beliefs reveal the extent to which Mongol mortuary ideology was grounded in concepts of continuity between earthly and posthumous existence.⁸

⁶ Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Дорно этгээдэд зорчсон минь* [*The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke*], ed. U. Nyamdorj (Улаанбаатар, 1988), 115.

⁷ Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker* [*The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples*] (Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1938), 344.

⁸ U. Erdenebat, “Сүнс ба нөгөө ертөнцийн тухай дундад эртний монголчуудын ойлголт төсөөлөл [Conceptions and Representations of the Soul and the Afterlife among Medieval Mongolians],” *Mongolian Journal of Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnology*, 2025, 137–49.

Jean-Paul Roux likewise emphasized that ancient Mongol conceptions of the afterlife were grounded in the continuation of earthly social and material existence. According to Roux, the dead were believed to require in the next world the same animals, servants, and resources that had sustained them during life. He notes that horses and other animals sacrificed during funerary rites were thought to accompany the deceased into the afterlife, where they could continue to be used, bred, and possessed by their owners. Roux further observes that warfare itself was imagined to persist beyond death, to the extent that a person could “die a second time” in the other world.⁹ This observation is particularly revealing because it demonstrates that the Mongol conception of the afterlife was not static or purely symbolic, but dynamic and socially continuous. The next world was envisioned as an active realm structured according to many of the same political, economic, and military realities that governed earthly existence.

An additional and particularly revealing interpretation of these funerary practices was offered by the Mongolian scholar B. Rinchen during an interview with French journalists in 1965. Discussing Mongolian shamanic conceptions of the soul, Rinchen explained that not only humans and animals, but also objects themselves were understood to possess a spiritual essence. According to this belief, when a person died, the soul of the objects associated with them likewise had to be transferred into the next world. For this reason, items deposited in graves were often intentionally broken, damaged, or rendered unusable before burial.

Rinchen emphasized that this practice should not be understood as accidental destruction, but as a deliberate ritual act intended to separate the “soul” of the object from its material form. Thus, the deceased did not use the physical bowl, weapon, or tool itself in the afterlife, but rather its spiritual counterpart. He notes that household objects such as scissors, needles, or jewelry might accompany deceased women, while warriors were buried with damaged weapons such as swords or spears. Similarly, horses, dogs, and even human attendants could be sacrificed in order to continue serving the deceased in the next world. In this interview he further stated: “It is said that after the Great Khan dies, he must have his horses and dogs to use, and his good servants to serve him. Therefore, there was a custom of killing horses, dogs, and even people to place in the tomb.”¹⁰

This interpretation is especially important because it clarifies the ritual logic underlying the deposition and deliberate alteration of grave goods in Mongol funerary practice. Objects placed within the tomb were not conceived merely as symbolic offerings or commemorative possessions, but as spiritually transformed items intended for continued use beyond death. Within this conceptual framework, the inclusion of bows and quivers in burials represented not simply the preservation of martial identity, but the transfer of the warrior’s equipment into the cosmological sphere of the afterlife.¹¹

In the study of religion and mortuary belief systems, this phenomenon is often associated with the concept of the “image soul” or “shadow soul,” namely the belief that the spiritual essence of both the deceased and their possessions must accompany one another into the next world. Ethnographic materials collected among the Buryats during the nineteenth century demonstrate that objects deposited in graves were intentionally broken because it was not their physical form, but rather their spiritual “image” or “shadow,” that was believed to enter the afterlife. The same logic governed the ritual slaughter of animals placed within funerary contexts: the animal’s spiritual counterpart, rather than its material body, was understood to continue serving its master beyond death.¹²

⁹ Jean-Paul Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d’après les documents écrits [Death among the Ancient and Medieval Altaic Peoples according to Written Sources]* (Maisonneuve, 1963), 107.

¹⁰ P. Noirot and A. P. Lentin, “Sur la première épopée mongole: entretien avec le professeur B. Rintchen [On the First Mongol Epic: A Conversation with Professor B. Rintchen],” *Démocratie nouvelle [New Democracy]*, no. numéro spécial (1965): 10–15.

¹¹ Noirot and Lentin, “Sur la première épopée mongole: entretien avec le professeur B. Rintchen [On the First Mongol Epic: A Conversation with Professor B. Rintchen],” 10–15.

¹² Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples]*, (Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1938), 256.

Discussing comparable funerary practices among the Turkic peoples of Siberia, N. A. Alekseev likewise observed that grave goods were selected according to the age, gender, and profession of the deceased. Women were buried with domestic implements, children with toys, hunters with spears, blacksmiths with tools, and craftsmen with specialized equipment associated with their trade. Significantly, these objects were intentionally damaged before burial, though usually only to a limited extent. For example, by cutting, chipping, or slightly breaking them rather than completely destroying them.

According to Alekseev, such ritual alteration was understood as a necessary condition allowing the objects to pass into the next world together with the deceased. The practice therefore reflects a broader Inner Asian mortuary logic in which grave goods underwent symbolic transformation prior to entering the realm of the dead. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the selection of burial objects corresponded closely to the social identity and occupation of the deceased during life. In this respect, the inclusion of bows, quivers, and other martial equipment within Mongol burials may likewise be understood as part of a wider steppe tradition in which the tools, weapons, and possessions most closely associated with an individual's earthly identity continued to accompany them after death.¹³

A further indication of symbolic inversion within Mongol mortuary practice may be observed in the spatial arrangement of the deceased inside the ger. Among various Mongol ethnic groups, the customary positions associated with men and women during life were reversed after death. As noted by Tangad, deceased women were placed on the right side of the yurt, while deceased men were positioned on the left.¹⁴ This inversion of ordinary spatial order suggests that death was understood to involve a transition into a reversed or mirrored cosmological state distinct from the world of the living.

Within this broader symbolic framework, the placement of the quiver on the left side of the deceased acquires additional significance. Since visual and linguistic evidence demonstrates that the quiver was ordinarily worn on the right side during life, its reversed placement in burial contexts appears to have constituted a deliberate ritual act reflecting Mongol conceptions of the afterlife as an inverted continuation of earthly existence.

Conclusion

The funerary inclusion of quivers among the medieval Mongols was deeply connected to the military culture, social values, and cosmological worldview of Mongol society. Historical accounts, archaeological evidence, visual materials, and linguistic data collectively demonstrate that the quiver functioned not merely as a practical military object, but as a symbol of masculine martial identity, personal honor, and military dignity. As reflected in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, to lose one's quiver in battle signified humiliation and defeat; consequently, burying the deceased together with his bow and quiver affirmed that he had preserved his honor and had not surrendered his weapons to an enemy during life.

The study further demonstrates that medieval Mongol conceptions of the afterlife were grounded in the belief that death represented not the end of existence, but the continuation of life. Within this cosmological framework, grave goods were deposited not merely as commemorative objects, but as items intended for continued use beyond death. The ritual breaking or transformation of such objects reflected the belief that their spiritual or "shadow" forms accompanied the deceased into the next world.

In this context, the consistent placement of quivers on the left side of the deceased acquires particular significance. Visual evidence from the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* and Yuan dynasty paintings, together with linguistic evidence preserved in Inner Asian terminology, clearly demonstrates that Mongol warriors ordinarily wore the quiver on the right-side during life. Its reversed placement in burial

¹³ Nikolai Alekseevich Alekseev, *Ранние формы религии тюркоязычных народов Сибири [Early Forms of Religion among the Turkic-Speaking Peoples of Siberia]* (Новосибирск, 1980), 182.

¹⁴ D. Tangad, *Монголын угсаатны зүйн судалгаа [Studies in Mongolian Ethnology]* (Ulaanbaatar, 2014), 4:247.

contexts therefore appears to reflect a deliberate cosmological principle in which the afterlife was conceived as a mirrored or inverse continuation of the living world. Consequently, the inclusion and placement of quivers in Mongol burials constituted a symbolically charged funerary practice deeply embedded within Mongolian mortuary ideology and beliefs concerning death and the afterlife.

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