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Street Dogs in Mongolia Captured by the Pictures in Travelogues from the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries : A Case Study of Finding Logic in the Photographs

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Street Dogs in Mongolia Captured by the Pictures in Travelogues from the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries: A Case Study of Finding Logic in the Photographs

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1. Introduction

Photography is a narrative produced from the perspective of a photographer. However, it is a nonverbal narrative which is not controlled by linguistic logic, and some elements are discovered by chance, so it has the characteristic that its contents always exceed its context. Therefore, photographic features can be used to reconstruct historical prejudice. This paper is based on our collaborative work of compiling an exhaustive collection of travel records and photographs from visits to Mongolia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As an example of a cross-sectional analysis of these photographic collections, I examine the dogs roaming the streets of the old capital city of Mongolia. Comparing the verbal narratives in the travelogues and the nonverbal narratives in the photographs, we can find the reasons behind unconscious prejudices through the merits of the nonverbal narratives.

It goes without saying that the histories of anthropology and photography are interrelated (Morton and Edwards 2009). Both were born in almost the same period, and both had the same purpose of figuring how 'others,' and collaborated to each other. In other words, in the colonies, both photography and anthropology projected the gaze of the ruler on the subject. As such, many studies of photography in the academic field of anthropology, particularly cultural anthropology, have focused on the perspectives of the photographer and have been deeply linked to its academic reflection (Edwards 1992). In other words, anthropological analysis of photography is usually influenced by the inherent context.

The classic work of Bateson and Mead (1942), on the other hand, uses photography as a method for people outside the community to portray the 'others.' This method is still used effectively today, especially in the analysis of rituals where verbal narratives are forbidden or limited (Safonova and Santha 2012). As it treats photography as a nonverbal narrative, it can be said to be a study of the contents of photography. Memory research using photography as a tool of memory within a community is still in use (Empson 2011).

Nowadays, photography has become a mainstream form of communication on Social Networking Services (SNS), and photography research is undergoing dramatic changes (Pinney 2011). The Royal Anthropology Institute has been publishing an online journal titled *Anthropology and Photography* since 2014, offering a forum beyond the academic sphere, and five of the 13 articles published by 2020 (Miller 2015; Walton 2016; Thorner 2016; Martínez 2018; Morewabone 2019) deal with SNS as means of communication. In these studies, two aspects of the contents are inextricably linked: 1) what is reflected and what is the context? 2) what is the point of view?

Among the 13 articles in this open journal, studies dealing with old photographs all point out the phenomena of old photographs becoming new cultural resources as historical evidence. For example, Israeli Bedouins use photography for genealogical claims (Le Febvre 2016), and aboriginal people use photography for land rights claims (Aird et al. 2020). In other words, people are turning the contexts of the past into the contents of the present. In addition, when photography is used in the performing arts to indicate the past (Favero 2017), the context or perspective of others is used implicitly. Furthermore, Morton attempts to describe photographs in detailing Nagaland's handwork due to the lack of linguistic descriptions (Morton 2018).

Thus, anthropological research on photography has developed in diverse ways, including the transformative way of academism. It is no exaggeration to say that the current state of the photographic frenzy is such that research is no longer catching up with it. In these circumstances, what kind of photographic research should anthropology be engaged in? Whether we are dealing with old photographs, with contemporary photographs, or with current photography as a tool for communication, the implicit assumption would be that photography has power that language does not. Sometimes, this power may even be stronger than language. Therefore, no matter how diverse they may appear, such research appears to be aimed at the clarification of the nonverbal narrative of photography.

This study focuses primarily on this aspect. I am now working with archivists and scholars around the world who are organising precious photographic records from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the art of photography was still in the hands of experts, in order to create a platform for photographs taken in Mongolia. This platform seeks to facilitate a cross-collection analysis of photographs. I have prepared another paper to introduce the entire photographic collection (Konagaya 2021). This paper presents a specific case study for comparative analysis.

In general, it is possible to describe temporal changes and regional deviations by comparing photographs. This paper, however, focuses on the nonverbal narrative of photography, which is different from verbal narratives. Specifically, by collecting and analysing photographs of dogs in travelogues and other similar resources, I attempt to clarify their differences from the linguistic narratives on dogs. Simultaneously, I would like to contribute to the literature on anthropological photographic analysis.

2. Narratives on Dogs in the Travelogues

Dogs appear to be a recurring topic among accounts of travellers to Mongolia. For instance, Harayama, through an examination of various travelogues, pointed out travellers' fears of dogs roaming the streets of cities in Mongolia (Harayama 2004). Thanks to his paper, I will concentrate on the dogs of Urga (now Ulaanbaatar) using travellers' own accounts of their experiences, treating them in chronological order of their trips, to grasp the development of our image and knowledge about Mongolian dogs.[1)]

First, there are the late 19th century travelogues of N. M. Przhevalsky (1839–1888), A. M. Pozdneev (1851–1920), G. J. Ramstedt (1873–1950), and C. W. Campbell (1861–1927).

Przhevalsky was a military officer of the Russian Empire and a prominent explorer. He visited Urga during 1870–1873 for a research trip from Kyakhta (a Russian border town) to Tibet. He wrote in detail in his travelogue, as follows:

> Outwardly the Mongol part of Urga is disgustingly dirty. All the filth is thrown into the streets, and the habits of the people are loathsome. To add to all this, crowds of starving beggars assemble on the market-place; sortie of them (mostly poor old women) make it their final resting place. It would be difficult to picture to oneself anything more revolting. The decrepit or crippled hag lies on the ground in the centre of the bazaar with a covering of old pieces of felt thrown to her by way of charity. Here she will remain, too weak to move, covered with vermin and filth, imploring alms from the passer-by. In winter the cold winds cover her den with the snowdrift, beneath which she drags out her miserable existence. Her very death is of an awful nature; eye-witnesses have told us how, when her last moments are approaching, a pack of dogs gather round and wait patiently for their victim to breathe her last, when they devour her corpse, and the vacant den soon finds another such occupant. In the cold winter nights, the stronger beggars drag the feeble old women out into the snow, where they are frozen to death, crawling themselves into their holes to avoid that fate.
>
> But these sights are not the only ones of the sacred city. More sickening scenes await the traveller if he resorts to the cemetery, which is situated close to Urga. Here the dead bodies, instead of being interred, are flung to the dogs and birds of prey. An awful impression is produced on the mind by such a place as this, littered with heaps of bones, through which packs of dog prowl, like ghosts, to seek their daily repast of human flesh.
>
> No sooner is a fresh corpse thrown in than the dogs tear it to pieces, and in a couple of hours nothing remains of the dead man. The Buddhists consider it a good sign if the body be quickly devoured; in the contrary event they believe that the departed led an ungodly life. The dogs are so accustomed to feed in this way that when a corpse is being carried through the streets of the town to the cemetery the relations of the deceased are in variably followed by dogs, sometimes belonging to his own encampment (yurta) (Przhevalsky 1875: 50; Prejevalsky 1876: 13–15).

This is one of the oldest narratives about the insanitary town and includes the motif

of ‘a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies (corpses)’ in the suburban equivalent of a ‘cemetery,’ starting with a rumour that the beggars lying on the street are eventually eaten by wild dogs. Not only did it highlight the city’s grimness, but it also added cultural commentary about the Mongol funeral.

Pozdneev was a prominent Mongolist scholar who stayed in Urga on an expedition to the western part of Mongolia in 1892−1893. In his travelogue, he referred to the same place described by Przhevalsky and supplemented the former narrative with some information on precise place names as follows:

> Of the environs of Urga which are associated with the city, the ravine of Khündüi should be mentioned. This ravine is noteworthy for the reason that it is here that the Mongols bring their dead. The Mongols do not have cemeteries and very seldom bury the bodies of their dead. Usually they take it out of the city and put it directly on top of the ground somewhere to the side of the road. The corpse, however, does not usually lie there long, nor does it infect the air with its decay; scarcely anyone ever sees it. As soon as the funeral party leaves the dogs come out of their holes in the ravine of Khündüi, tear the corpse to pieces and devour it, leaving absolutely nothing but the bare bones. This scene may often be witnessed from the windows of the second story of the Urga consulate, but walking around this cemetery is by no means safe by reason of the large number of which they have attacked living persons and dealt with them exactly as they do with corpses. The Russians in the Khüree, when describing the Mongol cemetery and its dogs, never fail to tell how a Buriat woman, a Russian subject, was eaten by these dogs in 1871. The dogs, attacking her, dragged her off the horse she was riding and devoured her. No one, of course, witnessed this and only the horse which came running to the consulate, and the bits of clothing found bore witness to the misfortune which had overtaken the Buriat woman (Pozdneev 1896: 148−149).

Thus, Pozdneev’s narrative goes further by adding the motif of ‘a pack of wild dogs attacking a (living) person.’

Meanwhile, the Finnish linguist G. J. Ramstedt, in the summary record of his seven trips, noted the barking of a pack of wild dogs as his impression of Urga in 1898 when he first visited it. He described it as follows:

> ……In the open spaces were larger or smaller heaps of rubbish, on and around which black dogs were moving about. They seemed to resemble Lapp dogs, but were somewhat taller and had thicker coats. Onto the trash heaps Mongols toss meat bones, worn-out felt scraps, pieces of skin that were good for nothing any more all kinds of other lacings. Since Urga has existed for some hundreds of years, many scrap piles were, relatively speaking, taller than the enclosures, and if you wanted to get a view of the streets and the centre of the city it was best to clamber up on a big trash heap and survey the “city” from there.
>
> Countless unowned dogs and their barking lent a special flavour to the city, The Russians used to say that Urga’s inhabitants could hardly sleep peacefully at night without this constant yelping which is very reminiscent of the roaring of a cataract (Ramstedt

1978: 31).

It is also mentioned that the missionary work had not been successful, and not only the bodies, but also the Bibles had been dumped to the 'cemetery.'

> The books were mostly used to light fires within their yurts. In the vicinity of the western monastery was a hill and large fields where the dead were brought and left to be eaten up by the hundreds of unowned dogs. The priests and the most pious believers even brought there the books they had gotten as present from the missionary (Ramstedt 1978: 42).

In addition, he described the funeral as follows:

> For them it is a completely natural thing to leave the dead to the dogs. Mongols maintain that the dead any place else are buried in the ground only because their flesh after death is so bitter and sour that even dogs wouldn't eat it. After a person's death the soul remains in the body for quite a while, if it is unscathed; therefore, it is best for the body to be torn to pieces so the soul can get free as soon as possible (Ramstedt 1978: 46).

These linguistic narratives suggest that in the former Ulaanbaatar, packs of wild dogs roamed the city to scavenge garbage dumps and roamed the suburbs to feast on corpses.

However, C. W. Campbell, who was the English consul in Beijing at the time, also visited Urga frequently. He wrote a travelogue of his 1902 trip but did not mention such an account. He wrote about the dogs that were kept around their accommodation as follows:

> The building I stayed at was protected by a stout palisade of larch poles 10 feet high, within which a few fierce Mongol watch-dogs were let loose nightly, much to my discomfort, for they made no distinction between mere guests and strangers, inside the stockade were the living rooms and offices, stores and stables, of the usual Chinese type, and a tiny vegetable garden in which onions, garlic, and Shantung cabbage were grown (Campbell 1902: 1362; 1509, Kindle version).

In addition, he also mentioned dogs accompanying the caravan of the ox-carts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the German Hermann Consten (1878–1957), under secret Russian orders, stayed in Mongolia from 1907–1913 and recorded detailed information. He had the chance to be present at the funeral of the living Buddha's doctor and took photographs of the rituals. The observational record, titled *Dogs as Gravediggers*, details the way dogs ate the corpses (Consten 1920: 50–51).

Consten described the special funeral of a high priest, but the way dogs ate the human corpse is likely to be similar to the funerals of ordinary people. His narrative seems to add credence to the motif of 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies,' and describes the main part of the Mongolian funeral.

After the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 which made Mongolia independent of the Qing dynasty, there was a ten-year period when Mongolia was under the rule of Bogd Khan, the supreme leader of Tibetan Buddhism. In addition to Consten, I. J. Korostovetz (1862–1933) of Russia, R. C. Andrews (1884–1960) of the United States, and I. M. Maisky (1884–1975) of Russia also came to Mongolia.

Korostovetz, the Russian ambassador to Beijing, visited Urga in 1912 and lived there in support of Mongolian independence from Chinese power. In his book, he produced a narrative similar to that of Consten, describing a funeral with the motif of 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies' (Korostvetz 1926: 95; 186).

Korostovetz's own experience was in the 1910s, but his work was published in 1926, referring to the books of Maisky and Andrews. This can provide a more comprehensive description. However, Korostovetz did not even include a commentary on the religious ideas surrounding the funeral, as Przhevalsky had already pointed out the advantages of letting human corpses be eaten by birds of prey.

These narratives consolidated the motif of 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies' as a cultural marker symbolic of the ritual disposal of human remains in Mongolia. In addition, Korostovetz also recorded carrying a pistol during his walks to avoid being attacked by dogs (Korostovets 1926: 186).

Moreover, when he walked on snowy roads, he observed many animal tracks. Wild dogs not only followed these animals but also approached the Russian embassy where they were shot by Russian Cossacks (Korostovets 1926: 232–233).

These personal experiences are versions of a common narrative that uses the motif of 'a pack of wild dogs attacking a person.' The reference to the Russians enjoying the shooting of stray dogs would have been in contrast to the narrative of Mongols' refusal to kill wild dogs, as will be discussed below.

Andrews visited Mongolia from the American Museum of Natural History to hunt animals. He practiced taxidermy between 1918–1919, before excavating dinosaur fossils in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. In his travelogue for the public, which recorded his experiences in 1918–1919, the three motifs of 'the disposal of human bodies by wild dogs at funerals,' 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies,' and 'a pack of wild dogs attacking a person' can be found:

> The corpse itself is considered unclean and the abode of evil spirits, and as such must be disposed of as quickly as possible. Sometimes the whole family will pack up their yurt and decamp at once, leaving the body where it lies. More usually the corpse is loaded upon a cart which is driven at high speed over a bit of rough ground. The body drops off at some time during the journey, but the driver does not dare look back until he is sure that the unwelcome burden is no longer with him; otherwise he might anger the spirit following the corpse and thereby cause himself and his family unending trouble. Unlike the Chinese, who treat their dead with the greatest respect and go to enormous expense in the burial, every Mongol knows that his coffin will be the stomachs of dogs, wolves, or birds. Indeed, the Chinese name for the raven is the "Mongol's coffin."
>
> The first day we camped in Urga, my wife, and Mrs. Mac Callie were walking beside

> the river. Only a short distance from our tent they discovered a dead Mongol who had just been dragged out of the city. A pack of dogs were in the midst of their feast and the sight was most unpleasant.
>
> The dogs of Mongolia are savage almost beyond belief. They are huge black fellows like the Tibetan mastiff, and their diet of dead human flesh seems to have given them a contempt for living men. Every Mongol family has one or more, and it is exceedingly dangerous for a man to approach a yurt or caravan unless he is on horseback or has a pistol ready. In Urga itself you will probably be attacked if you walk unarmed through the meat market at night.
>
> In the river valley, just below the Lama City, numbers of dogs can always be found, for the dead priests usually are thrown there to be devoured. Dozens of white skulls lie about in the grass, but it is a serious matter even to touch one. I very nearly got into trouble one day by targeting my rifle upon a skull which lay two or three hundred yards away from our tent (Andrews 1921: 75–76).

From the description above it is clear the narratives on street dogs in Mongolia differ. In other words, there are two types of narratives: one describes 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies' as representative of the 'disposal of human bodies by wild dogs'; meanwhile, the other motif of 'a pack of wild dogs attacking people' is usually imagined or hearsay. Andrews also mentioned several times that owned dogs (not wild) were brave gatekeepers.

I. M. Maisky (1884–1975), a Soviet diplomat who visited Mongolia in 1918 and conducted a census, wrote the following:

> A countless number of black dogs of all kinds and appearances — large and small, vicious and peaceful, shaggy and bald — roaming the streets in packs, gnawing at the bones, and sitting in the sun; dozens of dead canine bodies lying about, decaying at the [Page 253] fences, under the bridges, in the middle of public squares, everywhere heaps of all kinds of refuse, filth, dirt, unbearable stench …. (Maisky 1921: 104; Maiskii 1956: 252).

He described various wild dogs, but not as a 'pack of dogs.' He mentioned the numerous dead bodies of wild dogs, unlike the narratives previously mentioned. The situation that he experienced in 1918–1920 might have changed slightly because of several battles between the Russian invaders and the Chinese official forces.

On the other hand, Maisky's description of the Mongol funeral largely reflected the previous descriptions, and even used the word 'graveyard' (which the other travelogues had translated as 'cemetery'). Maisky's emphasis on graveyard indicates that the place was well-known. Maisky went to the place himself, but also added two incidents based on hearsay. He recounted a Transbaikal Cossack, who took part in Maisky's expedition, seeing a Chinese person being eaten by dogs. He also wrote about a Russian Buryat residing in Urga, who, on visiting the Mongolian 'graveyard' was fiercely attacked from all sides by a huge pack of dogs (Maisky 1921: 57; Maiskii 1956: 138).

He himself visited the 'graveyard,' describing it as follows:

> While in Urga, I too visited the Mongolian "graveyard." A horrible sight: an ordinary clearing on the hillside, and scattered all over this clearing are human skulls with grinning teeth, human bones, shreds of clothing, long braids, tufts of black hair, women's headdresses, amulets, prayer books in cracked bindings, small Mongolian pillows — pitiful remains of what once were humans. All the rest was destroyed by the man-eating dogs. Wandering around this "graveyard" one cannot help recalling the words of Hamlet: "Poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio…" (Maisky 1921: 57; Maiskii 1956: 138).

This is followed by the story of how the Mongols blamed the drought by burying the body of dead Cossack soldier who died while escorting the Russian mail service to Beijing. Maisky also recounted the story of a Russian child who died suddenly and had to be carried to a designated place far away in the harsh winter because the Mongols strongly opposed his burial. These narratives suggest that burying dead bodies in the ground was taboo for the Mongols (Maisky 1921: 58; Maiskii 1956: 140).

As is evident above, the narratives of the wild dogs of Urga have a lot in common, although there are some minor differences and some exaggerations. Generally, these narratives suggest that Mongolian dogs are large, black, and shaggy, and they form a pack and eat the dead bodies of abandoned people and sometimes attack people who are alive as well. This narrative was linked to the funeral and was spatially almost confined to the 'cemetery.'

In addition to the conventional or formatted narrative, Andrews further wrote about his own experiences, and interestingly enough, depicted scenes of lamas feeding dogs daily.

> Although the dogs live to a large extent upon human remains, they are also fed by lamas. Every day about four o'clock in the afternoon, you can see a cart being driven through the main street, followed by scores of yelping dogs. On it are two or more dirty lamas with a great barrel from which they ladle out refuse for the dogs, for according to their religious beliefs they accumulate great merit for themselves if they prolong the life of anything, be it bird, beast, or insect (Andrews 1921: 76).

It is natural for owners to feed their dogs. However, the significance of this narrative is that it depicted lamas feeding wild dogs. In other words, it presents us with the new motif of 'people feeding wild dogs.' It explains the religious view that the act of prolonging the life of a creature provides the feeder with virtue. Therefore, this can also be considered a religious narrative, similar to the funeral narrative.

F. A. Larson (1870–1957), an Inner Mongolian resident who assisted Campbell and Andrews in their travels mentioned above, made many references in his memoirs to hunting dogs and dogs guarding their campsites. The following is stated for wild dogs:

> …….During these three days the lamas feast in a yurta prepared for them by the deceased's relatives, reading prayers and holding services for the benefit of the spirit. No one goes near the place where the body has been left until the morning of the third day. Then, if the eagles and the wolves have devoured it, the Mongols are satisfied that the

> spirit has passed into Heaven. They consider that a human being was good or bad according to the quickness or slowness with which the remains of the earthly body disappear.
>
> This is a gruesome practice which made horrible the territory just outside the city of Urga. Urga is the only place in Mongolia where a multitude of Mongols live close together. But no encampment is safe from the possibility that one of the family dogs may come in dragging a human leg or arm. Thirty-five years in Mongolia has not inured me to this. I shudder with horror every time it happens. There are Mongols also who cannot bring themselves to lay their beloved dead out for the wolves to devour or dogs to tear to pieces. Some few families burn their corpses and send the ashes to repose in a holy place such as a niche in a Tibetan temple or the temple of Wu-Tai-Shan (Larson 1930: 122–123).

Although Larson, who stayed longer than any other traveller mentioned above, was known to be a lover of Mongol culture, he shows his disapproval by not only expressing his dislike of 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies' but also by noting that some Mongols did not appreciate it either.

In 1924, the Socialist era began with the death of Bogd Khan, and the name of the capital was changed to Ulaanbaatar (Red Hero). However, the situation of wild dogs did not change much, as recorded by H. Haslund-Christensen (1896–1948), Y. N. Roerich (1902–1960), and József Geleta (1895–1965).

Haslund-Christensen, before joining S. Hedin's (1865–1952) expeditions to Inner Mongolia (1927), was a member of pioneers led by the Danish physician C. I. Krebs (1889–1971) and lived in Bulgantal, on the shore of Lake Khövsgöl, from 1923 until his displacement in 1925. Given his experiences in the countryside, his travelogue expresses more familiarity with the dogs in the plains and not with the dogs in town (Haslund-Christensen 1934: 200).

Since dogs were guarding the gate, it was not easy to approach the house and get acquainted with the daughter without her father knowing it. However, it seems that the dog's habit of eating excrement was used by outsiders to get closer to the house. The true story of a lama (a Buddhist monk) is presented here. Although it is only hearsay, I have included it because this specific case clearly illustrates the relationship between a dog and a human.

> Once he described to me how he went about his nocturnal amorous excursions. For one approaching a Mongol camp at night the savage Mongolian dogs constitute the greatest danger. The brutes have, however, the peculiarity of regarding human excrement as a delicacy. Therefore, so soon as one spreads out one's coat and crouches down on the ground, the dog forgets all its animosity and remains quietly in one's neighbourhood, eagerly awaiting the moment when one rises after a duty satisfactorily performed. Of this circumstance Dangsurong availed himself. Silently he approached the camp from the side on which the sheep-pen lay. As soon as the dogs got wind of him, he ran in the direction of the sheep-fold and when the dogs came threateningly near, he immediately adopted the natural crouching attitude. The dogs stopped short and waited. At a favourable moment Dangsurong sprang up and rushed again towards the enclosure. When the brutes had

> convinced themselves of their mistake and had again nearly caught him up, he once more adopted the same position, further encouraging the dogs by illusory noises. This manoeuvre was repeated as often as was necessary to let him, with his last rush, take refuge in the middle of the fenced-in flock of sheep (Haslund-Christensen 1934: 309–310).

This narrative conveys the motif of 'dogs eating excrement.' It has not received much attention being less mentioned compared to the narrative of 'dogs eating human bodies.'

Y. N. Roerich (who took the name George Roerich after emigrating to the U. S.) spent five years with his father, a well-known painter, depicting Tibet and travelling with his family through Inner Asia. They passed through Ulaanbaatar in 1926. In his travelogue, he wrote that the problem of roaming dogs in Ulaanbaatar was the same as in Lhasa, Tibet. Additionally, he wrote that even in the city of Ulaanbaatar, in Maimaachin (買賣城 Maimaicheng, walled trade town), Chinese people would not let their dogs eat dead bodies. He describes a photograph of a pack of dogs (see below) with the motif of 'people feed wild dogs' as follows:

> Great packs of homeless dogs, huge black animals with shaggy fur, roam in the streets, and often attack men. The municipality has endeavoured to fight these pests, but has been handicapped by the population which believes it is sinful to take life. The city elders had recourse to a wonderful measure. They ordered all the stray dogs to be collected in a huge wooden enclosure, and fed the animals at state expense. This has been an additional cost to the state and has failed to free the city of dogs, which still infest the squares and streets. They are exceedingly fierce and, in the evening, it is sometimes dangerous to pass the refuse heaps on which they are encamped. I have been obliged to fight a pack of dogs even on horseback, for they jump and try to bite the rider's feet. A story is related of a sentry who was overpowered by the dogs and devoured by night, despite his rifle and sword. The man tried his best to fight the hungry pack and even killed a number of the dogs, but the rest soon bore him to the ground and tore him to pieces. The only traces left of him were his rifle and sword and part of his coat, which were found the next morning. His cap, boots, and even ammunition belts -everything was torn to pieces (Roerich 1931: 141).

From this account, we can conclude that the city authorities suggested that people, unlike the lamas, should keep wild dogs in enclosures, although this did not happen.

At the same time, Roerich was in Ulaanbaatar, J. Geleta, a Hungarian, also lived there from 1920 to 1929. During World War I, fighting against the Russians, he was captured and sent to Minusinsk, Siberia. He escaped from there, married in Kyakhta, worked as an electrical engineer in Ulaanbaatar, helped greatly with the construction of the capital, and returned to Hungary in 1929. His narration was recorded by Forbath, whose book in Hungarian was published in 1934, with an English translation being published in 1936.

The description of dogs according to Bobrov, a Russian merchant living there, who assisted him in Uliastai during his journey, was recorded by Geleta:

> Bobrov then explained that there were many stray dogs in every Mongolian town. They act as scavengers and the Mongolians are glad to feed them on that account. There are no lavatories, and the dogs are the only means of keeping the streets clean from human and animal excreta.
>
> The dogs also perform another important function by 'policing.' The streets at night. They never attack a pedestrian carrying a lantern- and all honest people carry lanterns at night. It is only thieves who walk in the dark without a light and the dogs invariably attack them, thereby driving them into the arms of the law.
>
> 'You had no lantern,' remarked Bobrov, 'that was why the dogs went for you. You might have thought that these animals ought to be exterminated. If so, you would have been wrong. This is an entirely different world from yours, with different institutions, different points of view, and, as you see, it doesn't do to judge hastily' (Forbath 1936: 106).

This clearly presents the motif of 'wild dogs eating excrement.' Moreover, his commentary reflects the motif of 'feeding the wild dogs.' In other words, if we replace the subject and the object, the motif of 'wild dogs eating excrement,' would become the motif of 'people feeding wild dogs with (human) faeces' and the different motifs become a single narrative.

At the same time, it adds a new interpretation to the narrative of 'a pack of wild dogs attacking a person.' A reasonable explanation was added that only a suspicious person would be attacked in the dark.

Also, in chapter 29, titled 'feeding the dead to the dogs' he recorded the scene he witnessed as follows:[2)]

> ……all of a sudden, I heard the wild barking of dogs rising from the valley. Looking down, I saw a red-robed savagely tearing on the ground, with five or six large dogs savagely tearing at his flesh.
>
> 'Gnadenberg!' I exclaimed, sick with horror. 'Come along, we must save the man.' 'Steady, old man,' replied Gnadenberg with a smile. 'The fellow has been dead a long time.' Then, when he saw my puzzled frown, he hurriedly added: 'Didn't you know that it's the custom here to feed the dead to the dogs?'
>
> Gnadenberg was perfectly right. That I should not have heard of this gruesome Mongolian custom before is perhaps not surprising, in view of my many occupations and preoccupations during my stay in the country. Gnadenberg told me all he knew, but the following account is based mainly on my subsequent investigations and attendances at Mongolian funerals (Forbath 1936: 179).

This is a comment by Gnadenberg, a German who had a local forestry business. Through this story, it is understood that the motif of 'wild dogs attacking a person (alive)' was added only as an eyewitness story. It is actually the motif of 'wild dogs eating human bodies.' This description is followed by a comment that it was a funeral practice. In the case of high priests, special methods were used, such as mummification, but in the case of ordinary people, their bodies were given to wild dogs. This practice is described as follows:

> All the rest of the population is after death thrown to the dogs. These animals live in a wild state in the ‘cemeteries’ outside the towns, and sometimes even attack living persons who happen to pass their way, so that it is very dangerous to go near one of these ‘cemeteries’ unarmed (Forbath 1936: 180).

> The ceremony proper is now over. The body is placed on a terghe, or cart, and the procession starts for the valley of death. A few hundred yards from the haunt of the dogs the procession halts; only the terghe, accompanied by an armed man, goes on, right into the ‘cemetery,’ the side of which is clearly marked by the scattered bones of earlier arrivals. The body is lifted down from the terghe and within a quarter of an hour there is a fresh skeleton, and one more grinning skull in the valley of death,
>
> The procession, together with the terghe, returns to the ‘death-tent,’ where the vehicles is consigned to the flames, for it is believed that to use a funeral card for any other purpose would bring disaster upon the family (Forbath 1936: 182).

In addition, he mentioned that in the past, there was a ‘stone for curing the ill’ at the Choijin Lama Temple in Urga, where seriously ill patients were healed by prayers and left there for dogs to decide whether they were cured or not.

> ……While the sick man was fighting for his life the prayer-mills were kept going by the wind and the lamas knelt on the praying boards and prayed. Meanwhile, the ‘official’ dogs also gathered round, sniffing...If the sick man showed signs of recovery he was taken back to his home; if he died on the ‘sick man’s stone,’ the dogs immediately fell upon him and tore him to pieces.
>
> The National Government, immediately upon its coming into power, forbade this type of ‘medical treatment,’ and to-day the ‘sick man’s stone’ is only a relic of past (Forbath 1936: 258).

Furthermore, Goelta also recorded the following episode as a kind of motif of ‘wild dogs eating excrement.’ In this story, the ‘he’ was one of the prisones and made public his opinion that it was not hygienic.

> ……He was commissioned to build the conveniences and was given the required finance, and shortly afterwards fourteen conveniences stood ready in various parts of the city. The inhabitants of Urga at first stood round these new sights and gazed at them with admiration, but after a few days they made a point of giving them a wide berth. Finally a deputation was sent to the Government to ask for the removal of the new ‘public buildings,’ as the people of Urga considered it ‘far better to have human excreta consumed by dogs than to have it stored in the middle of the town.’ The Government lost no time in complying with the citizens’ request, and soon the public conveniences disappeared from the streets in Urga.
>
> So that, too, went on as before. Men and women continued to crouch down on the edge of the pavement, in main roads as well as in side streets, and calmly proceeded to satisfy

> the claims of nature. What made this custom still more remarkable, was the fact that solo performances were rare; groups of five or six people used to forgather on the pavement and carry on a conversation lasting for many minutes. Then came the dogs and cleared away all traces of the social gathering (Forbath 1936: 233).

We can understand that local people respected the traditional role of wild dogs, despite the modern concept of hygiene and the widespread use of new sanitation facilities. This is evidence that the narrative of 'a pack of wild dogs eating excrement' was grounded in reality.

The twelve travelogues discussed above, provide a layered perception of the wild dogs roaming the streets, including silent mode of Campbell and refusal mode of Larson. Generally speaking, worldwide, it is common for dogs in cities to roam the streets. In the case of Mongolia, the system of feeding the deceased to wild dogs has been maintained as funeral ritual. It was ethically meritorious for Mongolians to feed the wild dogs taking charge of such important roles, and killing them was strongly discouraged.

In 1930, M. K. Rozenfeld, a reporter from Komsomol Pravda, went to Ulaanbaatar and mentioned in his travelogue that members of the Revolutionary Youth League chased the dogs with cars and ran them over. He also mentioned a legal prohibition[3)] on the dumping of dead bodies (Rozenfeld 1931). After this regulation, Ulaanbaatar would have changed rapidly.

3. Dogs in the Photographs

The extent to which photographs are used in the aforementioned travelogues varies.

First, there were no photographs from the time of Przhevalsky's expedition. Instead of photographs, the English and French translation contain illustrations of Urga, where dogs are shown to be roaming (Figure 1).

Pozdneev was accompanied by a professional photographer, and 128 photos were included in his travelogue. Three of them were about the human bodies left in the grassland, but there were no photos of dogs eating them.

Ramstead initially carried two cameras, but the photos taken by him were lost during transportation. The photographs taken by Pälsi, who accompanied him, are available online in his photo archives, and there is one photo of a pack of dogs in the capital titled 'dogs roaming the outskirts of Urga' (Photo 1). However, if one closely examines Andrews' description above, one can understand that in the photograph below, the person is not being attacked by dogs, but is instead feeding them.

In Consten's book, a special funeral is illustrated by a series of six photographs, five of which are photos of dogs (Photo 2 and Figure 2).[4)] A dog also accidently appears in the photo of the Maidari Temple (Photo 3).

Korostovets' book includes interesting photos of sites such as post offices, but it does not include photos of dogs. Maisky is known for his statistics, but weak photos. Campbell's photos are kept in the Royal Geographical Society in London, but there are no photos of dogs, which corresponds with his limited mention of dogs.

Figure 1 Illustrated imaginary Urga (Prejevalsky 1876: 14)

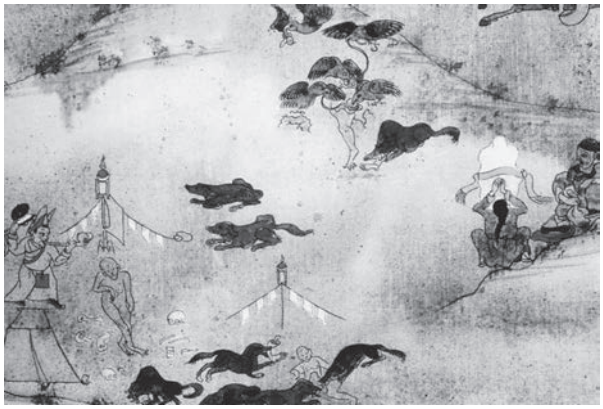

Figure 2 One day in Mongolia, the part of a funeral with dogs and raptors (Sharav, M. 1912(?))

Figure 3 One day in Mongolia; the part of dogs waiting for excreta (Sharav, M. 1912(?))

As for Andrews' works, his travelogue contains 38 photos but does not include any photos of dogs. However, there are two photos that correspond exactly to his description of lamas feeding a pack of dogs (Photo 4). They are available online, courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History. Some of the photos in the books (albums) published about Ulaanbaatar are not available online, and a few of them show dogs. These photos, however, do not depict dogs in packs. There is a photo that shows a large number of dogs, but they do not appear to be in a pack (Photo 5). The photo in question can be found online, and shows wild dogs prowling around Gandan Temple. These photos were taken by Andrews' wife.

Although Larson's memoirs include photos, there are no photos of dogs.

Roehrich's travelogue contains 60 photographs, one of which is of a pack of dogs (Photo 6), about 100 of them, and they look like a grazing herd of livestock.

Forbath's book, based on Geleta's narration, includes over 80 photos in the Hungarian version and over 40 photos in the English translation. Photos of human bodies left in the grassland are included in both editions, but a photograph of a sated dog sleeping beside a half-eaten corpse is only included in the Hungarian version (Photo 7).

As evident from the discussion above, we have identified 11 travelogues from the 1880s to the 1920s with descriptions of dogs roaming the city, but only three of them contain photographs that actually show these dogs, namely, the travelogues of Constan, Roerich, and the Hungarian version of Forbath's book. Two travellers, namely, Pälsi (Ramsted) and Andrews, had photographic materials preserved but not printed in their own books. We can find photos of dogs corresponding to these narratives in other photo collections as follows.

Photo 8 is one of several photographs taken in the 1890s by the A. A. Lushinikov brothers, merchants from Kyakhta, who worked at the market in Urga (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015: 228). Nowadays, nomads living in the Mongolian grasslands use simple toilets near their campsites. They dig a hole and relieve themselves. The excrement accumulates in the hole, and when it is full, they dig another hole. This hole is usually enclosed by a cloth or a board. However, there are many cases in which such simple toilets are not available. In such cases, wild dogs eat the excrement, as shown in the photo. In this sense, this is still a common sight today. However, it is difficult to capture the exact moment in a photograph. A rare example of a dog involved in the disposal of excrement can be seen in Figure 3.[5)]

Photo 9 was taken by D. von Monteton (??–??) in the 1920s. He visited Mongolia to introduce tractors from Germany and stayed there in the 1920s. The image shows dogs quietly waiting for their share of food in front of a butcher's stall at the market in Urga. Photo 10 is one of several photographs taken by the Danish physician C. I. Krebs (1889–1971) mentioned above in relation to Haslund-Christensen. This is a rare sight of a dog involved in the disposal of a corpse. There are many pictures of abandoned corpses in the grasslands, but photos of dogs eating them are rare, except for the photos of Consten.

None of the aforementioned photos provide credence to the narrative of a 'pack of wild dogs attacking a person.' In fact, this motif arises from hearsay and is not based on experience.

The oldest of these photographs is probably Pälsi's photograph from 1909, and the most recent one is Roerich's photograph from 1926. During those 27 years the political environment in Mongolia changed drastically: the declaration of independence from the Qing dynasty after the Xinhai Revolution, the abolition of autonomy by the Republic of China and the occupation by Xu Shuzheng (徐樹錚), the massacres by the Russian White Army and the notorious 'Mad Baron' Ungern, the intervention of the Red Army, and the advent of socialism just after the death of Bogd Khan (*Khutugtu*, living Buddha). This period of political turmoil and war would have provided plenty of food for wild dogs in the form of corpses. However, with the establishment of socialism, as Rozenfeld pointed out, leaving corpses for dogs was prohibited. Therefore, dogs used to wander and roam the capital in search for food as a large pack, as shown in Photo 6.

As for now we would ignore these differences (time of the shooting) and focus only on the number of dogs in the photos. They can be classified into three categories: 'flocks or packs' (Photo 1, Photo 4, and Photo 6), 'several' (Photo 2, Photo 5, Photo 9, and Photo 10), and 'one or alone' (Photo 3, Photo 7, and Photo 8). Of course, perceptions matter, and while one dog can be terrifying for a person, a pack of dogs might not even intimidate another. However, the reality shown in the photographs differs significantly from the typical narrative, it shows that wild dogs were not always in packs.

Photos 1, 4, and 6 clearly show packs of dogs feeding, while Photos 3 and 5 show lonesome dogs. This suggests that wild dogs roam on their own and gather in packs when they are being fed. There is one dog that eats human faeces (Photo 8). When eating bodies there is only one dog (Photo 2 and Photo 7) or five at the most (Photo 10). These photos suggest that the narrative of black wild dogs attacking people in packs might have been rather exaggerated.

In the early 20th century, people would not kill their dogs because they believed in Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, not killing them was also seen as a virtue. It was a way to avoid going to hell. This concept of religious merit is based on the idea of reincarnation, according to which, a person can turn into any kind of animal in their next life. For this reason, people not only fed their own dogs, but the lamas also fed packs of wild dogs. Ordinary people, meanwhile, fed their own excrement to the wild dogs. Both lamas and lay people provided their own bodies as food for dogs at the end of their lives. Reincarnation was clarified by determining whether the dead were consumed by animals. Therefore, it was considered wrong to bury the dead instead of letting them be eaten. Eventually, with the spread of the concept of civic hygiene, dead bodies were no longer left outside or given to animals. However, feeding human excrement to dogs continued for some time and was even perceived as more hygienic than the public toilets accumulating excreta.

Thus, the narratives of 'wild dogs eating human excrement' and 'wild dogs eating human corpses' are not contradictory to the narrative of 'humans feeding wild dogs.' Instead, when one considers the context, they appear to be phenomena arising out of the same understanding.

Some dogs were accidentally captured in photographs of the capital, as shown in Photos 5 and 9 above. At the end, I will add more examples (Photo 11). What is

Photo 1 Street dogs on the outskirts of Urga, taken by Pälsi in 1909 (Pälsi 1949: 37) (Finish Heritage Agency, Resource ID 1074686)

Photo 2 Funeral with dogs, taken by Consten before 1913 (Consten 1920: 48)

Photo 3 Maidari temple in Urga taken by Consten before by 1913 (Consten 1920: 64)

Photo 4 Lamas feeding dogs on the street of Urga, Mongolia, taken by Andrews Yvette Borup in September 1909 (Image#241820, American Museum of Natural History Library)

Photo 5 Gandan Monastery, Big Temple, Lama City, Urga, Mongolia, taken by Andrews and Yvette Borup in 1919 (Image#241783, American Museum of Natural History Library)

PACKS OF DOGS IN THE STREETS OF URGA

Photo 6 The government's failure to feed dogs in the enclosure in Urga, taken by Roerich in 1926 (Roerich 1931: 138)

A halottevő kutya pihenője a lakoma után a félig szétmarcangolt ember-holttest mellett.

Photo 7 A dog resting after feasting on the half-eaten human corpse, taken by Geleta in the 1920s (Forbáth 1934: 136)

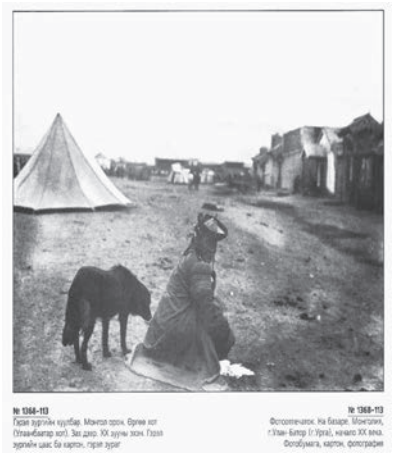

Photo 8 Woman at the Urga market, with a dog waiting for her excrement, taken by Lushinkov, A. A. in the 1890s (Chuluun and Ivanov 2015: 228)

Photo 9 Market meat counter, taken by Monteton in the 1920s (courtesy of Dr. Hans Roth)

Photo 10 Dogs eating a corpse, taken by Krebs, between 1920 and 1925 (Braae and Chuluun 2020: 119)

Photo 11 Chinese shop in Urga, taken by Pälsi 1909 (Pälsi 1911: 17) (Finish Heritage Agency, Resource ID 1073772)

noteworthy is that the dogs were not intended to be the subjects of these photos, but they proved their lonely wandering, showing a different reality from the 'exotic narratives' by foreigners.[6)]

4. Conclusion

Recently the meaning of *anthropo* in anthropology has grown and shrunk simultaneously. On the one hand, the concept of the '*anthropocene*' is a framework that recognises the seriousness of human impact on the natural environment. On the other hand, the concept of '*multi-species*' is a framework to comprehensively situate humans as just one of the many species inhabiting the planet. Both concepts relativise the existence of human beings and have become the two wheels of contemporary philosophy.

The latter has had a particularly significant impact on human-animal studies. Theoretically, much more attention to the subtle creatures is needed than the major plants and animals that have traditionally received attention, such as livestock and cultivated plants (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010). The concept of 'tamed' has replaced the concept of domestication for livestock and cultivated species, which have been the mainstream targets in the past, and emphasises that the qualitative characteristics of the target plants and animals have brought themselves closer to humans (Roberts 2017). Among others, dogs are especially highlighted as a textbook example of a 'companion species' (Haraway 2003).

However, in mythology and rituals associated with animal-human history, it is suggested that wolves approached humans and evolved into dogs, and that dogs became companions of humans in both life and death. For example, in Egyptian mythology, Anubis is a god with the head of a canine who is said to be an expert in mummification and guides the dead to the underworld as a friend. In Zoroastrianism, a funeral ritual called *sag-did* (the sight of a dog) is performed (Modi 1922: 58). The name of the ritual shows that the dogs are considered to be able to see into the next world (Foltz 2010: 370). Further, in Zoroastrianism, a four-eyed dog is believed to drive off demons and prevent infection of the corpse (Boyce 1996: 303). The dog sniffs to see if a person is dead, receives the soul released from the mouth, and protects the body from demons until

it is eaten by raptors, birds of prey. In Iran, dogs were considered both useful and sacred as they would eat away the rotting flesh of corpses, thereby stopping the potential spread of diseases in urban centres (Modi 1922: 136). In the tombs of the Sogdians, traders from Central Asia, there are reliefs of a canine approaching a corpse. A famous example is the tomb of Wirkak, built in the 6th century in Xi'an City. We can find two watchdogs sitting near the Chinwad bridge to the next world in the scene on death (Figure 4). A little later, Buddhists also drew pictures of a dog eating a corpse in the rock-cut cave no. 220 in Qizil (Figure 5). Therefore historical evidence suggests that canines have played a variety of roles as companions of dead humans.

In the case of Mongolia, it was customary to leave corpses on the grasslands, so even in towns, wild dogs played the role of disposing dead bodies. In the grasslands, birds of prey and wolves were involved in the disposal of corpses, but in the towns, only wild dogs were in charge of the disposal. Through travelogues and photographs, it is clear that wild dogs acted as agents in this kind of ecological recycling. They were considered more than just scavengers eating leftover food; they were responsible for the disposal of human remains.

A detailed reading of the travelogues on Mongolia from the era in question clarifies the role that dogs played, despite rather negative narratives. Furthermore, two conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the photographs presented above.

First, wild dogs did not necessarily roam in packs. With the development of the capital, at least till the mid-1920s, the wild dog population appeared to be rather large. The most important feature of the nonverbal narrative of photographs is the reflection of something that was not intended to be the subject. By analysing the features that were not intended to be photographed, new aspects can be brought to light.

Second, through the nonverbal narrative of photographs, it is possible to get a holistic picture of the context and understand that the narratives of 'wild dogs attacking a person,' 'wild dogs eating human bodies,' and 'people feeding wild dogs' all arose from the same understanding.

Relying on linguistic commentary, the narratives of 'wild dogs attacking a person' and 'wild dogs eating a human bodies' can be considered to be congruent with each other. That is, attacks on humans by wild dogs can be explained by the fact that wild dogs ate human bodies. On the other hand, for outsiders, the narratives of 'wild dogs eating human bodies' and 'humans feeding wild dogs' may seem completely opposed to each other. It would be better to think of those narratives as a way to acknowledge the favor that dogs bestowed upon them.

However, the reality depicted by the photographs substantially modifies and even challenges such linguistic representations. The fact is, as far as we can observe from the photos, it is a feeding scene that was interpreted as an assault by dogs. On the other hand, dogs do not gather in a pack when it comes to eating dead bodies. The narrative of 'assault by wild dogs' might come from the experiences of travellers who met brave dogs that usually fought off wolves from camp sites in the countryside.

In Mongolia, street dogs have long been a part of a recycling process, and have contributed through the consumption of waste food, human faeces, and human remains.

Figure 4 The tomb of Wirkak (Xi'an Institute of Cultural Heritage Protection and Archaeology 2004: 44)

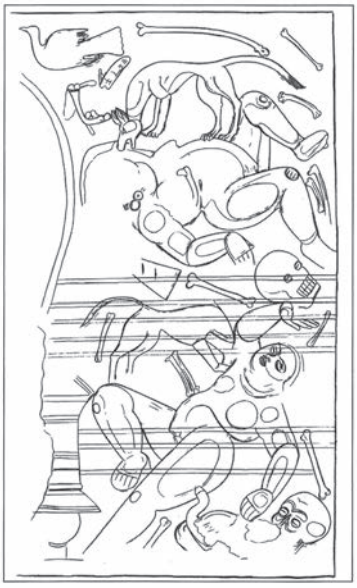

Figure 5 Qizil, Cave no. 220, Fragment of memento mori scene, drawing by Guo Feng (Howard and Vignato 2014: 109)

However, foreign visitors were easily swayed by the supposed exoticism of such practices, and even though the cultural context of funeral was explained, the photos of packs of dogs were described as an assault and no efforts were made to correct the distortion. In this paper, by arranging photos into a collection without their verbal

contents, it becomes clear that a 'pack of wild dogs' cannot be linked to assaults on people or eating dead bodies.

In this way, photography as a nonverbal narrative opens up the possibility of interpreting reality without distortions created by subjective, verbal narratives.

Notes

1) This paper relies extensively on Harayama's work and reviews the original travelogues to examine more thoroughly and exhaustively the descriptions of dogs, including travelogues that have not been translated into Japanese. It should be noted that most of the descriptions of the dogs in Urga found in Japanese travelogues are hearsay. That is in itself interesting, so these descriptions in Japanese are collected separately in an appendix at the end of this paper.
2) In the Hungarian version, it is chapter 33, titled '*Ahol a halottakat a kutyáknak adják eledelül* (=*where the dead are fed to dogs*),' whereas in the Japanese translation it becomes 'Hello!,' totally changed to remove the feeling of dread for the readers.
3) In 1929, the health department was instructed to take measures for taking dead bodies to a designated location if possible, burning them, or placing them in a coffin (Jigmeddorj 2018: 159).
4) Exactly such a funeral is depicted in M. Sharav's (1869–1939) painting 'One Day in Mongolia' (Enkhjargal2018: 243). See Figure 2. Note that the photos in Enkhjargal's paper were taken by Consten mentioned above. Also note that Sharav drew dogs, differentiating them from wolves.
5) The aforementioned Sharav painting also depicts the dogs around a lady waiting for her excrement. See Figure 3.
6) A pet dog with short legs was also roaming the streets.

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Appendix

Roaming Street Dogs' References in Japanese Travelogues

In Japan, the former name of Ulaanbaatar city was known as Kūron (庫倫) from Khüree; it was not known as Urga (Örgöö).

Fukushima Yasumasa (1852–1919)

Fukushima was in the military, and he passed through the capital city of Khüree in 1892 on horseback alone, on his way across Siberia from Berlin. He was later interviewed by a newspaper reporter, Nishimura Tokihiko, who compiled and published this material in 1894. There are no photographs in the book, but under the heading of 'dogs,' the book says the following:

> There is always a dog outside the tent. The dog's appearance is similar to that of a dog native to Japan in that it is all black in colour and has brown eyebrows. I saw countless dogs all over Mongolia, but only 3–4 white dogs. The dogs are slow and sleepy, but when they see an unfamiliar person entering the village or approaching their master's tent, they are ferocious, curling their tails and barking high and trying to bite, almost more so than a panther or wolf. There's a reason they try to bite people. In Mongolia, when an ordinary person dies, the body is brought to the mountain and when the ceremony is over, the body is thrown away and never looked back, and countless dogs are crowded in to eat the human flesh. It was because of this that the lieutenant colonel (Fukushima himself) saw a scattering of corpses and human remains every time he climbed the mountain. So, when a dog looks at a person and barks, it is not only suspicious, but also because a dog knows the taste of human flesh, drools, and immediately wants to eat that flesh. Lieutenant Colonel heard that a Russian merchant living in Khüree was on his way with a gun to go hunting one day when he encountered dozens of dogs. The pack of dogs did not stop barking, and the Russian merchant, fearfully, went up to a tree on the river, fired his gun and killed some of them, but the pack of dogs still did not retreat, but surrounded the tree and barked high with their poisonous fangs. He was at a loss to do anything, unable to escape, unable to call for help, unable to escape all day and night. A group of Mongols came across a riverbank for a funeral, and a pack of dogs wanted to eat it, and chased them up the mountain, so he could manage to escape. The ferocity of the dogs was roughly all this, so it was only a benefit to the master, and it was strange that the dog barks to even those who lived in the same settlement would always be barked and defend the tents if they saw any others, making our trip even more dangerous (Nishimura 1894: 199–200).

Takenaka Kiyoshi (? –?)

Takenaka was a reporter of the *Osaka Mainichi Newspaper*, and by order of the company, he travelled from Kōbe to Nanjing by ship in 1908, and after visiting the Iron Mountain in present-day Wuhan, he travelled from Zhangjiakou (Kaalgan) across the Gobi Desert to Khüree. He sent articles daily by telegram and later published those

articles in a book. A few photos are included in the book but are not preserved in the Mainichi Newspaper Photo Archive.

He recorded his experience with dogs as follows:

> On ‘Wolfpack Out’
>
> ...Even wolves can’t fight against Mongolian dogs, so ranchers are raising a lot of Mongolian dogs as a weapon to prevent any harm (Takenaka 1909: 73).

> (In the grazing land of the Qing dynasty horse herd in Chahar, Inner Mongolia)
>
> ...There were five or six Mongolian dogs sleeping near the tent, but as soon as they saw us in our western clothes, they got up furiously, roared like tigers and surrounded us, preparing to bite us if we approached them. We had known about the danger of Mongolian dogs for a long time, but we didn’t carry anything to defend ourselves against them, so we had no way to protect from them (Takenaka 1909: 75–76).

> (The explanation by Lama at the Khüld temple, north of Pangjiang 滂江, Inner Mongolia.)
>
> ...After the lama recites the sutra, the corpse is carried away from the tents to the fields and thrown away. This is to feed the birds and animals. Three or four days after dumping the corpse, a relative goes to check it out, and either a wolf or a wild dog is devouring it. If you are devoured by exhaustion, there is a good root laden in your lifetime. If there are any bones left, they are burned with dung of cow and horse (Takenaka 1909: 87–88).

On the way back to Kyakhta, he also wrote about a barking dog (omitted here).

Regarding Urga, the following is stated:

> ‘lodging without latrines’
>
> ...All the guests had finished their excreting in a corner of the garden, and behind them, a bear-like Mongolian dog was waiting with a tiger’s eye, so that the timid lady guests could not do anything about it (Takenaka 1909: 138).

Takenaka’s aforementioned narratives are based on his own experiences. However, as for ‘Valley of White Bones’ in Ugra, the narrative seems to be based on a description from the Japanese translation of Pozdneev’s book. Pozdneev heard about this story in 1892, but the Japanese translation was published in 1908. For Takenaka, who visited the site in 1909, it seemed that it had happened ‘only recently.’

> There is a deep valley called ‘Khündüi’ near Khüree. The trees are dense and dark even in the daytime, and it’s a terrible place. Whenever Mongolian die in Khüree, a lama is present to recite the sutra, as in the funeral in the Gobi Desert, and then the body is thrown into the valley by relatives and acquaintances from an ox cart. Then the wolves or wild dogs flocked to the corpse after the mourners had fled and devoured it, leaving only the white bones. Not only are there hundreds of white bones from hundreds of years ago

> lying in the valley, but there are also fossilised skulls dotted around the area, making for a gruesome sight. Because the wild dogs near this valley are used to eating human flesh, the living humans passing through here are often attacked by packs of dogs. In fact, recently, one lady of Buryat was surrounded by numerous wild dogs and fell off her horse and was fed to death. No one knew it, but as the horses rushed to the Russians' consulate, the people learned of the devastation and sent out a search party, which found the body. That's why Mongolian dogs are so dangerous. It is said that there are always two to three people who are bitten to death by vicious Mongolian dogs every year in the area of Khüree (Takenaka 1909: 164–165).

'Night is a Dog's World'

> Many shops in the city of Khüree open around 8–9 a.m. and close around 6 p.m. Russian shops in West Khüree do not sell things at all at night. So, it's a hustle and bustle during the day. West Khüree's wide road is also devoid of traffic at night, and from about 8–9 p.m. it's that horrible dog world. One day, when we went out for a walk after dinner, we found the Mongolian dogs in the street, eating the corpse of a sheep in packs. Since there are many dead dogs and cats in the city, both domestic dogs and wild dogs roam the city at night and scavenge for food. If you are unfortunate enough to be surrounded by this pack of fierce dogs in the middle of the night, even a human being's life is in danger. In fact, not a few Chinese and Mongolians have been fed to death by dogs. That's why Khüree's women and children don't go out at night. We didn't know that rule and went out without anxiety, but we were warned by a Mongolian on the way, so we went back to the inn (Takenaka 1909: 174–175).

The narrative goes further, saying that both domestic dogs and wild dogs eat the corpses of domestic animals, including dogs, cats, and humans.

Nakahira Ryo (?–?)

Nakahira was a reporter of the *Osaka Asahi Newspaper* and went to Moscow on the Siberian Railway to undertake research in the Soviet Union at the request of the company. The travelogue contains photographs of Moscow, but in the Asahi Newspaper Photo Archive, only the author's photo and visa used in his book are preserved.

On the way back home, when he passed through Khüree in the middle of July 1920, he described his impressions of the city through the following two remarks.

> The special feature of Khüree is the smell of shit. Mongolians do not have toilets. Therefore, in the city, the streets are latrines as they are. What's more, it's hard because it's not only recently that the streets have been turned into latrines. Especially when I see beautiful young women squatting down in the street in broad daylight to excrete, my 100-year love for them is instantly wiped out. However, it is brave to see a Mongolian woman galloping briskly with her dauntless horse whipped. If she came to Japan, she would be hailed as a new-age type of woman.
>
> Another characteristic of Khüree is that there are many wild dogs. No matter how much

> feces pile up on the streets later and later, it's not enough to fill the bellies of these numerous dogs. In addition, it is a Mongolian custom to dump dead people in the field, so dogs remember eating people. It is said that it is impossible to pass without a walking stick. As I stepped outside the city, I saw human skulls and ribs lying in layers, and here and there, wild dogs were crowding the corpses, it was like stepping into a cannibalism. There's no point in not respecting for the dead. Where on earth will these people be rewarded? I would like to ask the Living Buddha (Nakahira 1921: 287−288).

Suzuki Shizaburo (1893–1970)

Suzuki was a politician and a journalist. He participated in the first Far Eastern National Congress in Moscow with Katayama Sen and Tokuda Kiichi, and stayed in Khüree for several days on his way back. He witnessed a Mongolian dog's bravery when fighting with wolves. He was also surprised to see young women defaecating in the streets (Suzuki 1923: 309).

He wrote the following about his experience of being surrounded by dogs during his accidental walk at night.

> ...Just as a group of black masses seemed to move in our direction, a pack of wild Mongolian dogs barked at once, ringing fangs and claws barking, as if a mine fire had exploded through the earth's crust...Behind us, there were still five or six wild dogs from earlier, with their eyes gazing into the darkness. Shrivelling up with a wild dog foe on my belly and back, I found barely the path in my right hand and ran out like a bullet, not knowing, in the darkness, that there was a river in the street, and finally I got stuck in the river. And when I finally crawled to the other shore without minding of bitten by a wild dog, I was fallen in another difficulty. There was a night guard post of red army, and a soldier drew me to come up there (Suzuki 1923: 312).

As we have seen above, Fukushima saw a dog barking, but his narratives about 'a pack of wild dogs attacking a person' and 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies (corpses)' are nothing more than hearsay. It sounds like folklore. Because of the lack of realistic descriptions of Urga or Khüree in Japanese writings, it is presumed that the narratives of Fukushima must have been read by all subsequent travellers and had a significant impact.

Takenaka's description is based on the Japanese translation of Pozdoneev's book, and contains narratives about 'a pack of wild dogs eating human bodies' and 'a pack of wild dogs attacking a person.'

Nakahira saw and wrote the story of '(many) wild dogs eating human excrement' and '(a pack of) wild dogs eating human bodies.'

Suzuki's record is valuable as an account of his own experiences. Since Mongolia and Mongols were not the subjects of his study, he did not refer to previous records of Mongolia.

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