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Study of the cultural identity: use of Mongolian Calligraphy

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Abstract

Mongolian National Calligraphy is one of the Intangible Cultural Heritages in Need of Urgent Safeguarding of Mongolia that is registered in UNESCO and claimed as a valuable heritage in the project “Mongolian Values”. Therefore, increasing the use of calligraphy is very crucial for maintaining cultural immunity. The research was focused on determining the modern use of Mongolian Calligraphy based on the historical development and its contemporary situation. The data were collected from 300 respondents as general, casual and key informants through questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The questionnaire result has been analyzed both in the SPSS program and in MS Excel Formula Section and confirmed by the experts in linguistics. The final result was interpreted based on the descriptive method. The research result suggested that Mongolian National Calligraphy should be studied at the scientific level and disseminated in public. Therefore, there is a need to integrate multilateral cooperation into a common policy in order to surge the further use of Mongolian National Calligraphy.

Keywords: National values, cultural immunity, cultural heritage, Mongolian national script, applying calligraphy

Introduction

The Mongolians have been using the Mongolian national script in government affairs and in the creation of scientific works since the 13th century. It is not only an official script of Mongolians but also a precious literary and cultural heritage of the world. The Mongolian national script is the guarantee of the culture and mentality of

the Mongolian nation. Learning, investigating, spreading, conserving, inheriting, and improving the National Script is thus the magnificent responsibility of all Mongolian people to the World Literary and Cultural Heritage Fund. Article 5.1 of the Law on the Mongolian Language states that “Mongolian language and the national script is a guarantee of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Mongolian nation, the basics of national civilization, the unity of the country, national security and independence”.

According to UNESCO the viability of Mongolian calligraphy is at risk because of the limited number of tradition bearers who transmit their knowledge, the absence of appropriate safeguarding policies and the lack of interest by the young generation. (2017) Therefore, one of the leaders of Mongolian literature, journalist Tudev. L claimed that “A unique feature of Mongolian writing art has been laid out in a complex.” (Darm, 2015)

Some organizations such as the Mongolian National Museum of History, the Central Historical Archive, the Mongolian National Central Library, and the Mongolian Language and Culture School at the National University of Mongolia have assisted in the nomination of Mongolian calligraphy to the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding by showing and supporting the cultural memorial and scriptures. “The Mongolian Values” Project states that the Mongolian national script is a value to cherish.

Research methodology.

The research methodology of the study was developed in categories of research scope and research administration. In terms of the research scope, the primary purpose of this paper was dedicated to investigate how Mongolians use the Mongolian calligraphy. In order to achieve the research purpose, the research objectives were defined 1) to study historical background of the Mongolian calligraphy; 2) to investigate use of the Mongolian calligraphy at present. The research data, which were related to the historical background of the Mongolian calligraphy, were studied through literature and documentary reviews, such as “The Law of the Mongolian Language”, Law on Development Policy and Planning, and the Law on National Security in terms of the objective One. Questionnaire application, participant observation and interviews were used as data collection tools to explore objective Two. The research data were collected from three different groups. The first group was considered as key informants - 5 persons who were responsible for contributing to policy development in the preservation of the cultural heritage who are known scholars, government officials. The second group consists of casual informants -102 persons, who were the representatives of the ‘hot line’ in the educational and cultural fields, including calligraphers and Mongolian script teachers. The publics as general informants - 200 persons who were randomly selected through distance survey as the third group. Questionnaires were prepared for collecting data from the second and third groups of population in accordance with the research aim. The collected data were analyzed by the SPSS and a pivot-table in Microsoft Excel programs and the results were categorized to evaluate the research variables systematically. Interviews were conducted

with key informants who are researchers in calligraphy, authority of the Association of the Mongolian Calligraphy and the Mongolian script teachers in order to provide research validity. The interviews were focused on the matters of how Mongolian calligraphy tradition is kept and preserved; what situation of its use, and what actions can be taken furtherly. Similarly, the participant observations were carried out through field trips to exhibitions of the Mongolian calligraphy to gain the natural use of it. Structural functional theory was conducted to support the functionality of the Mongolian calligraphy and Mongolians' behaviors for inheriting the calligraphy tradition. As the theory assumes that society is a system, the concept related to the keeping the calligraphy tradition as it is the cultural element in the society, is one of the considerable issues in this study. Finally, the triangulation method was used to increase the credibility and validity of the research findings.

Historical background.

The significant immunity of a nation's existence is to respect and promote national culture and traditions. Even if scientists have defined cultural immunity from the perspective of their research, they implied a unified definition that "Culture is a response to other cultural influences in order to maintain its identity and form".

In the globalized world currently, it is culturally equivalent to equate national cultural immunity with the notion of health and physical protection. Cultural identity is a nation's tradition, united values (such as language and culture), mindset characteristics, the ability of a nation not to be easily influenced by other customs; the intention of the cultural identity is the possessing behavioral pattern, the orientation of value, standard consciously.

Humanity is globalizing, intercultural relations are expanding and learning from each other, but on the other hand, there is a phenomenon of cultural interaction, such as the loss of national values and unique cultural expressions, and the assimilation of cultures. Cultural immunity responds to cultural imitations, cultural exchanges, and cultural assertions. But the cultural immunity exists in social and cultural life specially, alters matching to the social variance and it has a function of saving tradition. In the world, issues of cultural immunity have been studied at many intersections of sciences such as anthropology, psychology, immunology, and mindset health. For instance: Flynn. B identifies that "Modern technological development has exerted pressure on people, it is one factor to weaken a nation's cultural immunity". James Pennebaker implies that "The prior core of the nation's cultural immunity is language culture and the nation's cultural immunity system needs to respond to the influence of other language cultures on the language". If the nation's cultural immunity is weak, there is a negative impact on national security (Munkhbadral.B, 2017) There are a few studies about cultural immunity in Mongolia.

The Mongolians consider that the Mongolian script is one of the tools to protect their cultural immunity, and they are a nation with values that have been inherited for centuries. Thus, the Mongolian script is a document that has preserved Mongolian history

and heritage and the State of Mongolia has been coordinating its legal environment. For instance: The Law of the Mongolian Language states that the Mongolian script is called the “National Script”, and article 4.1.4 states that the Mongolian language, Cyrillic, and the national script are called the “Mongolian script”. In 2015, the Parliament passed the Law on the State Official Language in 2003, which was first amended in 2015 as the Law of the Mongolian Language.

There are also specific enactments on the Mongolian language and script in the Constitution of Mongolia, the Law on Development Policy and planning, and the Law on National Security. Under the president of Mongolia, the National Council of Language Policy works for developing policies associated with the use, protection, and development of the Mongolian language and national script. From 2008 to 2024, the Mongolian government implemented a program called “National Mongolian Script Program I, II, III” focusing on the inheritance of native language, history, and culture.

Although researchers have different views on the origin and development of the Mongolian Script, the historical linguists admit that the Mongolian Script was derived from the Armenian and Sogdian scripts. For example, Luvsanbandan, Kh, and Shagdarsuren, Ts pointed out that the traditional Mongolian script which is written from top-down comes from the earlier Phoenician alphabet. Later, ancient Uighurs and Mongols eventually adopted scripts from the Sogdian alphabet, which was derived from Aramaic. (Luvsanvandan.Kh, Shagdarsuren.Ts, 1986) Linguists agree with the famous Russian-Mongolian scholar B.Ya.Vladimirtsov, divided the development of Mongolian script into three periods. (Nadmid.J, 1967) These include:

1. Ancient (the unknown era from the late 13th century to the early 14th century)
2. Middle-(from the beginning of the 14th century to the second half of the 16th century)
3. Modern-(from the latter half of the 16th century to the present)

Researcher Sambuudorj. O said that Mongols always practice symbolism in their writing just as they value symbolism in everything. (Sambuudorj.O, 2018) Letter components /in Mongolian-zurlaga/ of Mongolian script are consisted of crown /titem/, back or spine /nuruu/, tooth or bit /atsag, shud/ haulm or shin /shilbe/, tress /gezeg/, belly /gedes, arc or bow /num/, tail /suul/ and Mongolian script is written vertically from top to bottom, and flow from left to right in the spine line. /like the sun turns and nodding/. These are related to the symbolism of the Mongolian lifestyle. (Broadcasting, 2015)

Choimaa, Sh, a Doctor (Sc.D), professor mentioned in the interview that the Mongolian script covers all human features, such as head, crown, belly, shins, teeth, and spine and the only one proves the only Mongols around the world created it through their hearts. (Чоймаа, 2014) In addition to Mongolian script scratches less than 10, there are only a few auxiliary scratches such as crown /titem/, tooth or bit /atsag, shud/ haulm or shin /shilbe/, belly /gedes, arc or bow /num/, tail /suul/, which are called human limbs or

animal organs. Scientists consider it is related to the mental peculiarities of Mongolian people and intellectual culture as well as symbols and a work of philosophical thought of Mongols.

The Mongolian people have used the Mongolian script from ancient times to the present, and have a tradition and a beautiful secretary system. Mongolian calligraphy is unique to the Mongols as a wonderful brush art with a curve of the sun from top to bottom that expresses the culture, way of life, knowledge, intellectual and aesthetic education, and an inner expression of the spirit of the nomads. Calligraphy (from the Greek word *Kalligraphía*) is a visual art related to writing. (Mediaville, 1996) It is a popular art form in various cultures. However, practice and purpose vary by culture. In short, calligraphy means the art of beautiful writing, the art of drawing letters (Daily, 2020). In countries with their language, they write calligraphy with a pen or brush whereas, in Mongolia, they write the Mongolian script, which is an intangible cultural heritage of Mongols, from top to bottom. Therefore, it is great to be able to write Mongolian calligraphy with both a pen and a brush. (Болор, 2018) The Mongolian script was invented, and calligraphy evolved with it and became a major component of the art of the Genghis Khan Empire. “The stone monument of Emperor Genghis” was a prime example of oriental calligraphy, said Batbayar Jalea, one of the best Mongolian calligraphers. (Darm, 2015) Additionally, researcher Elbegzaya.B pointed out that Mongolian calligraphy is an ancient form of paintbrush art. Writing in Mongolian calligraphy involves a thinking process that is only limited by the skills of the calligrapher. An art that presents the mind, knowledge, thoughts and feelings on paper. Mongolian calligraphers to search for an identity that combines their cultural heritage with simultaneity.

Mongolian calligraphy is used for emblems, logos, coins and stamps in ‘folded’ forms. (Elbegzaya, 2022) Artist and teacher of calligraphy Ganbaatar.D expressed that “It is important for us to learn and develop the valuable cultural heritage through Mongolian calligraphy. Unfortunately, the National Program for Mongolian script is not implemented”. (Ganbaatar.D, 2022). Many people are talking about globalization and its negative impact on traditional culture and heritage. The Mongolian script is setting us apart from the other scripts are Mongolian calligraphy. (MNB World, 2018) The art of Mongolian calligraphy should not be understood only as a visual form of beautiful writing in a vertical script. To become a calligrapher, one needs to broaden his horizons and have very extensive knowledge of culture.

Mongolian calligraphy has well-defined lines and rigorously observed script symbols called *tig* (glyph). Its main forms are ancient glyphs /*ertnii tig*/, penmanship or diligent glyphs /*khicheengui tig*/, running glyphs /*guilgen tig*/, stenography glyphs /*tatalgan tig*/, and folded glyphs /*evkhmel tig*/ or couple melody poetry /*khos uyangin tig*/ which appeared on the seals and stamps. (Mongulai, 2017) There are some scratches on the structure of the letters, the letters are marked with three different symbols at the beginning, middle, and end of the word, and the lines are connected to one word. (Bolortuya.Ch, 2011) In other words, brush writing is a creative art, an intangible cultural heritage, and art that uses brushes, inks, paper, and palettes to express our daily lives in meaning,

content, and rhythm, and it contributes to the continuous development of art and aesthetic education.

Research result.

The result of the study was described in the scope of the research aim as followed below. A note can be considered that it may not be possible to represent the entire nation because the number of participants is limited in this research.

A total of 200 respondents participated in the survey, including 67.3% for women and 32.7% for men. The majority of the participants are 73.5% UB and the other participants are 26.3% locals. Half of the respondents were in the younger generation in 17-25, with very few respondents, 6% over the age of 56. Regarding occupations, the majority of the participants (49.5%) are others. This means that these people are employed in the labor market, not in their academic disciplines.

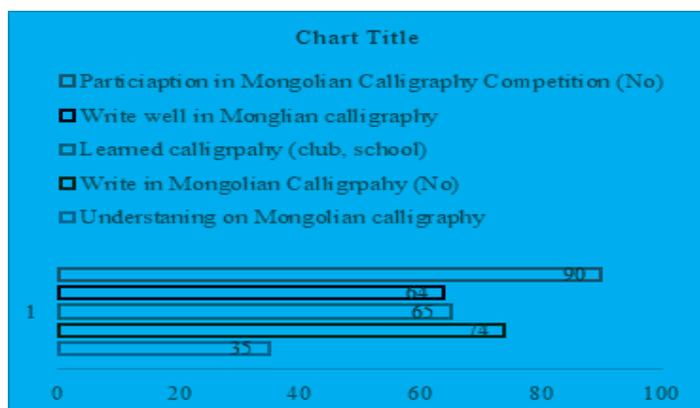


Figure 1. Informants' knowledge on Mongolian Calligraphy

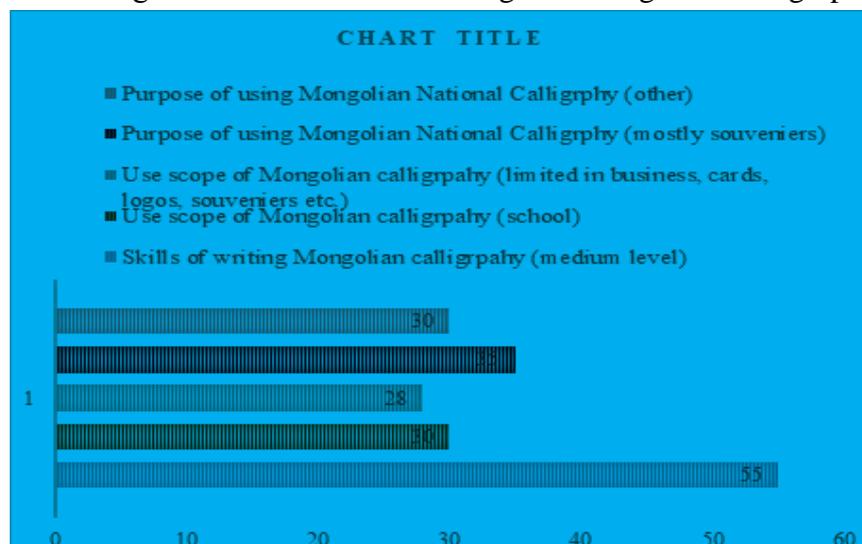


Figure 2. Informants' Calligraphy skills and scope of Mongolian calligraphy

As a result of the survey, UB informants are more familiar with Mongolian calligraphy than local participants. Neither local participants nor UB participants had experience writing Mongolian calligraphy but learned calligraphy through training. Calligraphers are amateurs and tend not to participate in calligraphy contests. Both local and UB amateurs have embraced their average level of calligraphy skills. Local respondents felt that calligraphy was used by high schools and amateurs, and UB informants reported that calligraphy was used in limited areas and high schools. Both local and UB respondents agreed to use calligraphy for souvenirs.

High schools and college students have an average knowledge of Mongolian calligraphy, while other participants have little knowledge. Other participants and college students have experience in calligraphy, but a limited number of high school students tend to write calligraphy because a small number of high school students tend to take calligraphy lessons and training.

The calligraphy ability of other participants to write calligraphy is more amateurish. In addition, students and high school students tend not to compete in calligraphy. Other participants are not good at learning calligraphy skills, but college students and high school students rated their calligraphy skills as average. Other participants evaluated the use of calligraphy in high schools, and students evaluated the use of calligraphy in high schools, but high school students accepted calligraphy to a limited extent. The purpose of calligraphy was defined as a gift for other participants and college students, an organization logo for high school students.

In order to validate the results of the general informants there was a survey among calligraphers and Mongolian script teachers as casual informants. They consisted of 102 persons who were the representatives of the 'hot line' in the educational and cultural fields.

Table 1. General Information of Casual Informants

Gender	Frequency	Percent	Residential location	Frequency	Percent	Age	Frequency	Percent
Female	93	91.2	UB	56	54.9	12-16	1	1.0
Male	9	8.8	Local	46	45.1	17-25	23	22.5
Total	102	100.0	Total	102	100.0	26-35	38	37.3
						36-45	23	22.5
						46-55	16	15.7
						56 and up	1	1.0
						Total	102	100.0

As seen in Table 1, the total number of people surveyed was 93 women and 9 men. The participation rate from both the local and capital city was almost the same as accounted for 45.1% and 54.9% respectively. This result showed that the Mongolian calligraphy is developed on the basis of the Mongolian script knowledge, which is occupied in high school, without any dependence on the residential location. 59.8% of 102 participants were aged between 17 and 35. This means that most young people were active and ready to be involved in distance surveys.

Table 2. Information about the Mongolian Calligraphers

Way of learning calligraphy	Frequency	Percent	Do you participate in calligraphy competition?	Frequency	Percent	Types of calligraphy	Frequency	Percent
Independently	19	31.7	Yes	46	76.7	Ancient glyph	2	3.3
By training	41	68.3	No	14	23.3	Penmanship glyph	35	58.3
Total	60	100.0	Total	60	100.0	Stenography	6	10.0
How well do you write calligraphy?	Frequency	Percent	Aim of your art work	Frequency	Percent	Running glyph	4	6.7
In the level of interests	45	75.0	For souvenirs	14	23.3	Folded glyph	3	5.0
At the professional level	6	10.0	For exhibition	6	10.0	Others	10	16.7
I don't know	9	15.0	For competition	6	10.0	Total	60	100.0
Total	60	100.0	For dissemination	31	51.7			
			For other purposes	3	5.0			
			Total	60	100.0			

The table above shows that 75% of respondents were interested in calligraphy and enthusiastically learned diligent or penmanship glyphs through training. From this result, calligraphers are dominantly inheriting the penmanship style of calligraphy, as we see back to the historical period. It also shows that calligraphers participate in competitions actively, which was accounted for at 76.7% even though they see themselves as amateurs in calligraphy. This has implied that there are some competitive activities to support both the prosperity of the Mongolian calligraphy and artists who contribute to the sophistication of calligraphy. Looking at the purpose of the calligraphy use, they appear to be trying to spread calligraphy among the general public and their students, as they are educators of the Mongolian language which resulted in 51.7% and followed by souvenirs needs at 23.3%. The percentages as maximum have expressed that the Mongolian calligraphers have been

contributing to safeguard and disseminate the national cultural heritage with a variety of purposes.

Table 3. Use of the Mongolian Calligraphy

Are you a calligrapher?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	60	58.8
No	42	41.2
Total	102	100.0
Use of calligraphy	Frequency	Percent
Individual's name card	5	4.9
Logo	9	8.8
Souvenirs	50	49.0
Product tag, label	6	5.9
Others	32	31.4
Total	102	100.0
Nature of calligraphy style (Open-ended question)	Frequency	Percent
Total	60	100.0
Express emotional feelings	11	18.3
Penmanship glyph	8	13.3
Artistic conceptualization	7	11.7
Imply national identity	6	10.0
Folded glyph	5	8.3
Very clear	4	6.7
Precious	3	5.0
It is same as others. Nothing special.	3	5.0
Combine running and folded glyph	3	5.0
Non-repeated	2	3.3
Attractiveness	2	3.3
Using common glyphs	2	3.3
With diverse stamp	1	1.7
Combined with paintings	1	1.7
Clear script components	1	1.7

This table shows the usage of the Mongolian calligraphy. 60 calligraphers out of 102 respondents those are accounted 58.8% replied that they write in calligraphy. It can be concluded that the most of the Mongolian national script teachers develop their skills to be a calligrapher with the heart of disseminating national cultural heritages to the young generations. Respondents answered that their writing features that distinguish them from

other calligraphers was they try to express their emotional feelings persistently, their writing styles generally were penmanship or diligent glyphs, and demonstrate artistic conceptualization. 49% of respondents said that Mongolians use calligraphy primarily for souvenir purposes. It tells that souvenir calligraphy is contributing to the development and prosperity of the Mongolian cultural heritage, as the national identity.

At the final stage of the research, interviews were conducted with key informants who are experts in calligraphy, authority of the Association of the Mongolian Calligraphy and the Mongolian script teachers in order to provide research validity. The interviews were focused on the matters of how Mongolian calligraphy tradition is kept and preserved; what situation of its use, and what actions have been taken recently. The summary of the interviews has been mentioned in the tables 4 and 5 as follows.

Table 4. Summary of interview with Ganbaatar.D (*Head, Association of Mongolian Calligraphy*)

Questions	Interviewees' responses
1) What is the effect of calligraphy on Mongolian lifestyle?	Therefore, there is an urgent need to enable children to systematically learn Mongolian scripts . Everyone learns to read and write while using scripts. It is important for children to understand national scripts as the art of calligraphy and write using letters .
2) What contribution does Mongolian Calligraphy make to maintain cultural immunity?	The native language and cultural heritage have brought Mongolian intelligence and national identification for many centuries . This allows us to maintain the national language and our own culture . Immunity and safeguarding of the language depend on all citizens learning the script of the Mongolian people and using the calligraphy of the Mongolian people .
3) How far has the dissemination of Mongolian calligraphy progressed?	The "Writing and Culture" exhibition has been held annually at the Mongolian Artists Association since 2009 . Also, with the support of President Elbegdorj, the first exhibition "Writing the Blue Sky" was held . We have established the International Calligraphy Union and organized many activities , but people seem to believe that domestic calligraphy will develop. We will do our best to help children and adolescents take pride in the traditional heritage of Mongolia , including national calligraphy.
4) How about the preservation of Mongolian calligraphy from generation to generation today?	If there are Mongolians, there is a script for the Mongolian people. Universities do not have an official syllabus, as the spread of Mongolian calligraphy depends only on individual demand . The Mongolian government has no policy on the national program of the Mongolian Script . However, Mongolian calligraphy is our only legacy. Teachers tend to learn calligraphy on their own and teach it to their students .
5) What is the significance of Mongolian calligraphy to the general public?	Art is to allow others and foreigners to understand it without explanation. Even people who cannot read or write can understand Mongolian calligraphy as a traditional art . By communicating the language and culture to foreigners in globalization, we can protect the language and culture .

6) What legal action should policymakers take to make **Mongolian calligraphy as cultural immunity and to disseminate it to the younger generation** in the future?

The Chairman of the State Great Khural (Parliament) and the President of Mongolia support the **dissemination activities related to Mongolian calligraphy**. However, people need to implement general guidelines. Non-governmental organizations supported by the Ministry of Culture have extensive experience in running the “Training 100 Teachers” project. A good foundation can lead to advances in education, and **teachers can prepare their students with a little help**.

According to the results of the questionnaire, a limited number of high school students tend to write calligraphy and rated their calligraphy skills on average. Interviews confirmed that “There is an urgent need to enable children to systematically learn Mongolian scripts”.

The survey revealed that UB informants were more familiar with Mongolian calligraphy than local participants and learned calligraphy through training. The interview emphasized that “Immunity and safeguarding of the language depends on all citizens learning Mongolian scripts and using Mongolian calligraphy”.

The number of high school students who write calligraphy is limited because few high school students take calligraphy classes and training. Calligraphers work well to help children and adolescents take pride in the traditional heritage of Mongolia, including Mongolian calligraphy.

The Mongolian government has no policy on the national program of Mongolian Script. Therefore, the purpose of calligraphy was defined as a gift for other participants and college students, an organization logo for high school students. The majority of people are not familiar with “Mongolian language law-2015”.

Other participants evaluated the use of calligraphy in high school, and students evaluated the use of calligraphy in high school, but high school students accepted calligraphy to a limited extent. It shows that even people who cannot read and write can understand Mongolian calligraphy as a traditional art.

High school and college students have an average level of proficiency in Mongolian calligraphy, while other participants have a low level of proficiency. The Chairman of the State Great Khural (Parliament) and the President of Mongolia support the dissemination activities related to Mongolian calligraphy. It is believed that a good foundation will lead to advances in education, and teachers can prepare their students with a little help.

Table 5. Summary of interview with Elbegzaya.B (*Editor-in-Chief of Khumuun Bichig Mongolian Script Newspaper and MONTSAME News Agency*)

Questions	Interviewees' responses
<p>1). Why do calligraphers stamp after writing something in calligraphy? Do you have a standard for your stamp?</p>	<p>Calligraphy stamps come from the east, especially China. Every calligrapher can choose his or her own stamp, so there is no specific standard for stamps.</p>
<p>2). Please tell us about the history of calligraphy.</p>	<p>Mongolian calligraphy has a history of Mongolian script because it was popular for 30 years in 1990 and it is impossible for calligraphers to share the history of Mongolian calligraphy except for Mongolian script.</p>
<p>3). How much research do you have on calligraphy?</p>	<p>There are no theories, studies or definitions related to calligraphy. We also need to start practicing calligraphy.</p>
<p>4). Professional Calligraphers must pass it on to future generations. How is this job?</p>	<p>UNESCO arranged for the Mongolian government in 2013, including the timing of registering calligraphy as an intangible cultural heritage of Mongolia in urgent need of protection. In other words, Mongolia's responsibility for calligraphy is to report on the process of disseminating intangible cultural heritage. However, few calligraphers are working on their own to expand their cultural heritage, and no one has inherited it from them.</p>
<p>5). What is the largest group of participants in the exhibitions and competitions by age group?</p>	<p>The public competition has been held since 1988. It is currently held every two years and is named after the 2011 President of Mongolia, and there is no age limit for participants. Today, many young people are competing in the contest because they are divided into different age groups.</p>

The interview summarized that there is a need to develop calligraphy for dissemination under the scope of "Calligraphy Studies". The reason is that the Mongolian young generations have been starting to practice calligraphy and compete in it with pride in Mongolian cultural identity. Similarly, everybody from individuals, educators to government authorities should be responsible for promoting, and preserving calligraphy to support the national identity.

Conclusion

The final conclusion of the study has been established on the basis of the findings of analyzing the use of the Mongolian calligraphy, as bellowed.

Majority of participants have learnt calligraphy with the help of professionals through their training and they self-evaluated their writing skills in calligraphy were average. However, the process of educating youth and the public on calligraphy heritage is disseminating it as cultural heritage through formal and informal training.

Calligraphers and professionals are contributing to the development of calligraphy as a valuable cultural heritage through exhibitions and various types of competitions. Thanks to their determined eagerness, Mongolian Calligraphy is now gaining attention from both national and international ground. The result of the study was reported to the key informants of this study with the recommendation as bellowed.

Even though Mongolian calligraphy is actively used for souvenirs as emblems, logos, coins and stamps, its usage in other fields is quite infrequent. Therefore, there is a need to integrate multilateral cooperation into a common policy in order to surge the further use of Mongolian Calligraphy. From this view, the further research on calligraphy would be conducted as a tourism product to attract foreign money.

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