

CENTERING THE LOCAL

A Festschrift for Dr. Charles Kevin Stuart
on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday

Edited by

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COVER: A mountaintop lake in Henan Mongol Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. Photograph by Gerald Roche, 2011.

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INTRODUCTION

Benedict Copps

Once again, I'm nodding my head, and playing along, while silently disagreeing. Not much for confrontation, I'm smiling while Kevin tamps his corn cob pipe, preparing to hedge my agreement. This is, however, an uncomfortably familiar impasse, and he seems a little too comfortable for my liking as he chomps down on the stem of his pipe, strokes his beard, and then begins twiddling his thumbs. We have been here before, and it's never ended with me hanging on to my assumptions, has always ended with me learning, usually unwillingly, something new. Nothing with Kevin was ever simple. It was possible to get Kevin wrong. A lot of people did.

The first time I walked into Kevin Stuart's apartment, there was a wild party going on. It might have been easy to dismiss Kevin after that night of friendly chaos, had it not been for the cogent clarity of thought with which he had commented on his surroundings, and the encyclopedic knowledge with which he had answered all the Tibet-related questions I had brought with me. There was something more to this character than met the eye.

By the end of that first meeting I had begun to learn more about local drinking culture than I would have ever suspected there would be to learn. First, there was that business with the three cups at the door. Then there was the generous style of hosting that infused the entire event. I was surrounded by genuinely warm people: Monguor, Tibetan, and a young man who identified as Mongolian, but who spoke Tibetan. I couldn't have articulated what was so different about that party, but I felt like the most important person in the world for those few hours. This was no cocktail party. At one point, we took turns singing. Singing! And hooting and clapping for each other in humorous and vociferous appreciation! There was something more to this than my first dismissive assessment of it as quaint. There seemed, for instance, to be a great deal of meaningful gesturing going on by the singers – one hand set to an ear, the other slowly sweeping through space during a long held note... a well-practiced way of offering drinks during breaks in

the song. Something was... outside of my expectations and frames of reference. And whatever it was, it was local. I seemed to have stumbled into an authentic gathering of local people in a foreign man's apartment. Yet it was more than that too, because the young Tibetan I sat next to had published an English-Tibetan dictionary and spoke perfect English. And another, also with perfect English, was on holiday from his MA program in the US, where his dissertation was on 'Why NGO Projects Fail'. The intelligence quotient in the room was through the roof. And everyone there referred to Kevin as 'Teacher'.

The next morning, I received a horribly early phone call from Kevin, inviting me to visit his friend's village. Brutally hung-over though I was, I eagerly agreed. The friend, it turned out, was an elder gentleman who had been at the party the night before, and we now greeted each other with the warm familiarity that only comes to new acquaintances after a night of real celebration.

To my horror, I learned in the car that my role that day would be to play the part of a foreign donor in a village where a development project had been completed. The real donor had not been able to make the trip to see first-hand that running water now reached each home in the village and that each home now had a solar cooker in the courtyard. The donor would not personally receive the gratitude of local women who had always spent about four hours per day carrying water, and countless hours contributing to the area's desertification by pulling up grass roots to burn in their cook-fires. Kevin had facilitated the project, helping his friends write the English language proposal, so he had a legitimate place in the celebration. I had no place at all, but there I was. I wanted to get out of the car and walk back to Xining, but we had already covered so much ground that on foot it would have been beyond heroic to even attempt it. And anyway, I was hung over.

As our vehicles sped their way infinitesimally across what looked to me like the face of the moon, Kevin explained to me that it was actually good that the real donor wasn't visiting, but that the villagers still needed someone to thank. Local people, Kevin said, felt the need to display their gratitude, to fete their donors lavishly, even in the midst of extreme poverty. Then he told me a story about

an NGO that had visited a village site dozens of times in the name of 'relationship building' and repeatedly hosted by the local people at considerable expense before mysteriously pulling out, never to be heard of again. Kevin was not hiding his values. He was teaching them. Local lives were both fragile and important. I was along to help manage a delicate balance of dignity and poverty.

In the car that day, I listened. I heard story after story of misspent funds and good intentions that brought only disappointment. Of landrovers gliding through villages without running water. Of dogs being fed on IV drips while sick people were turned away. I heard about NGO workers so overwhelmed by the 'stench' of rural life they couldn't bring themselves to sleep in the village they were supposed to be 'developing'. I heard about shoddy school buildings that collapsed within weeks of their unveiling. I heard stories of poverty alleviation experts who earn 200,000 US dollars a year, and about hugely expensive personal toilets built to western standards in adobe-walled villages, and then locked to keep out the locals who received, in the end, little benefit from the foreign presence.

Although Kevin told those stories in a deadpan voice, the details he selected articulated a sense of moral outrage at the underlying cosmopolitan mindset that always managed to preserve its own presuppositions and, in doing so, maintained its own superiority. Story after story featured international visitors circularly rationalizing the pointlessness of listening to local people and the impossibility of learning anything new. A refugee of this mindset myself, I listened quietly without comment, not wanting to let him know that I had stumbled into the wrong car and had no right to any of this.

At that point, I may not have known enough to fully believe everything I was hearing. Further impeding my understanding of these stories was the fact that Kevin's old friend was getting very excited as he returned to his native place, so I was hearing these absurd and tragic stories between bouts of song and spontaneous car jostling. What's more, our car was no SUV, and the road hardly existed in more than theory, so we were bouncing and fishtailing. When we stopped to urinate, I listened to the intense quiet and

distant sounds of the wind as my eyes adjusted to the sheer size of the sparse geographic features and the vast distances between them. Kevin was at home here, as was his friend of course, but I was humbled in the face of something entirely unexpected, a feeling that has seemed to follow Kevin around for all the years that I have known him.

As we arrived, guns were fired in the air and windhorses thrown to the wind. The entire village had come out to greet us in their finest and most colorful clothing. A wind swept over us, threatening to lift the village children, yet seeming to have little oxygen in it. After being draped with white scarves, given three shots of local moonshine, and having made three circles around the village stupa, we were brought to see the solar cookers, the well and the pipes that now brought water to the homes. The older women cried as they thanked us and shoved forward their shy granddaughters, who they said were now freed from their most burdensome domestic task, and would thus be able to attend school. I shrank inside from actually receiving their misplaced gratitude, but tried to play the role by giving them someone to thank. I could see Kevin's rural upbringing in the courtesy with which he greeted the elder women, and I saw his large frame and long beard through their eyes: Everything about Kevin that made no sense in the city suddenly snapped into place. The meaning of his life was here. He could not fit in less, and yet the eyes of these old women brimmed and glistened with a gratitude and protective tenderness that could only be described as familial. I thought back over the past twenty-four hours and all the points where I had attempted to rely on a shared worldview in my utterances to Kevin, but had been rebuffed or misunderstood – here I was, standing in Kevin's worldview. These old women had him pegged. And he had their backs.

Then we were settled in for a feast. The village had literally killed the fatted calf. As we received hospitality of a warmth far surpassing anything I had ever experienced in any of the dozens of cities I had called home in my lifetime, we progressively abandoned our own hesitations regarding the local moonshine that was being repeatedly offered by our hosts with song and ceremonial scarves. As my consciousness gradually widened, dimmed, and softened, the

dancing and singing made perfect sense and I joined in, spending my turn when it came around by belting out Vagabond by Little Feat. Then the young girls of the village came out to take their turn, putting the sweet singing of the angels in my song to shame. After Kevin rocked us with "I know a girl from New Orleans," I started to wonder if his consciousness hadn't widened too far, but then he turned and said, with sober coherence, that it was time for us to leave. I looked around and saw that he was right – the villagers were entertained, and had seen with their own eyes that their hospitality had been well received and their debt paid, and thus our role was played, our time up. Kevin had been right after all.

But that was the problem with Kevin – he was always right about something. Here is a short list of some of the things he has been right about: Tibetans aren't the only people who live on the Tibetan Plateau. Tibetan villages sometimes have wars with each other. Muslims and Tibetans have cooperated to fight neighboring villages. Most Tibetans don't ride horses. Some of them sing dirty songs. You can't teach hygiene to people with no water. There's no reason to print flyers for people who can't read. You can't learn English by speaking in another language. Without education, development work creates beggars. And at times, Kevin even makes Socratic use of local knowledge structures: Dragons live inside tornadoes, and under the earth. Cigarettes cure toothaches. Prayers for school success are as important as studying.

And – the goat is a god.

Even when I was sure Kevin was wrong about something, it generally turned out to be a horizon of meaning he was intentionally shading from view, to focus on the path under his feet. A conscious choice. Kevin is determined to let local people speak, and to do so he must suspend non-local modes of perception and listen while people make their own sense out of things, setting aside his own voice to let local systems of meaning speak on their own terms. As a scholar, as a teacher, and as a human being, Kevin listens. Patiently. And he expects you to do the same.

Later, I'll tell you about the goat and you'll see what I mean.

Back in the present, we are sitting in Kevin's apartment, a bustling center of activity. He is twiddling his thumbs, chomping his

corncob pipe, waiting for me to raise my objections. He has put on his wide-brimmed black felt hat, looking like he's walked off the set of a pioneer movie. He has two apartments actually, across the hall from each other, one for him, the other for his live-in students. We have been colleagues now for half a dozen years or more, the two long-term teachers in the Xining English Training Program (ETP). I am by far the junior partner in this endeavor, the entire enterprise being predicated on Kevin's twenty years in China and the intensely close relationships that have accrued, the loyalty and camaraderie that have grown based on his ability to see things through local eyes.

Yet junior or not, I am part of something. Something important. Our students are the first large group of Tibetans to be educated in Tibetan, English, and Chinese. They are an exceptionally bright bunch of students selected from all over the Tibetan Plateau, an area bigger than Western Europe. As part of their English training, our students write proposals for foreign funds, implementing projects and writing final reports, nearly single-handedly bringing benefit to their home villages. But our students are not the only brilliant stars in this equation. All of this replicates and depends upon Kevin's first generation of students who have grown up, become professors, become senior in their departments and are, like their teacher, focused on local lives, on the people who have no power to bring outside benefits to themselves.

Infectiously genuine and electrified with the desire to use their positions to good ends, our local partners are the key to everything that is happening, and bear the brunt of the price that must be paid to keep it all going. The group that is gathered around Kevin is poised on the edge of collapse at all times, working under a more or less constant yet dire threat of closure, always eking out one more semester, surviving creatively in whatever ways they can.

Yet there is no overt ideology motivating what goes on here, unless it is a meta-critique of ideologies. Certainly Kevin has read his Marx and keeps a firm analytical eye on who benefits. Clearly, he has read his Foucault, and he carefully tracks whose discourse has currency and cachet. Yet I believe he never met an ideology he didn't critique mercilessly. Kevin has, instead, chosen a focus that excludes

theory-wrangling and ideological accounting, using only enough theory to maintain his awareness of the irrelevance of urbane politics or abstruse concepts to the actual lived lives of rural people. To express this choice and the value he places on rural life, Kevin likes to play the yokel – hence the corn cob pipe. But the lighthearted self-presentation is deceptive. He may not take himself too seriously, but his role is anything but trivial, and a well-considered critical stance informs everything Kevin does. Kevin once gave a speech during a monitoring visit to a village project that was exactly one sentence long – "You did a great job!" Such brevity was a kindness to local people standing in the sun, but also a commentary on the lengthy blathering that often accompanies such events. Kevin's modes of operation are sometimes cryptic, but never senseless.

The famous parties that took place at Kevin's house are an example of this. Though he clearly enjoyed those parties, they were also a critique of how the most intimate and significant aspects of a culture are so often missed by academics, and excluded from the stories we want to tell about our 'research subjects'. For Kevin, hosting local people and foreign Tibetological scholars in the same room brings out a bubble he enjoys bursting – Tibetans drink! Women drink! Old farmers know things, *even if they drink!* The cultural structures of drinking, singing, and joke-telling contain local knowledge, values, and insights that generally go unnoticed by people who have grown up with electric entertainments and forgotten how to creatively pass time in the company of others. Kevin's irreverence for academia expresses his awareness of how little salience its theories will ever have to rural life. In his little apartment, set at a juncture where powerful agendas – Western, Tibetan, and Chinese – intersect, Kevin eschews lofty analytical frames and keeps his focus squarely on the local, and its irreducibly multiple worlds.

Silence. Kevin may be comfortable in uncomfortable silences, but I am not. Still not sure how to voice my disagreement, I pour us each a shot of *baijiu*. A student comes in and sits next to me, taking my hand and addressing Kevin. He is very young, with little experience. Xining is the only city he's ever been to. Although he

came here to attend the ETP, he is now leaving without graduating to attend university abroad. Kevin identified him as a talent to be cultivated shortly after his arrival, gave him extra lessons, asked me to help him complete his application, and in a few weeks, he will be a student at Duke University. Understandably, he has a few doubts and concerns.

Sitting next to me, he grips my arm and peppers Kevin with questions about his possible majors. Kevin avoids answering his actual questions, but cuts through to the identity crisis at the core of his questions. Taking advantage of a gap in the dialogue, I speak up to address the question, clarifying the way US universities work, explaining that he will not need to choose a major right away. Kevin brings us back to what he sees as the matter at hand, with a discourse the student will remember for years, the general message of which is, "It is not important who you are, it is important what you do." At first, I think Kevin is missing the point, but then I see insight in the student's eyes and I see him relax and nod. The paradox of happiness is not lost on this man playing the rube; to be happy, we must turn from our own happiness and work for others. It's a simple fact and he keeps his grasp on it firm.

Kevin is not preoccupied with the nuances from which most academics make their living. He just wants to do something useful with his life. All his scholarship has been an attempt to save something worth saving, not an attempt to explain or interpret that value. He would rather ask local people what they see and think, and record their words. He would rather document as completely as possible with a 'show-not-tell' – nearly journalistic – attitude, exactly what happened and what the specific people involved said it meant. This is thick description and this is ethnography, but Kevin does not use either term, in the hope of sidestepping theoretical discussions that might distract him from getting on with his next project.

When I tune back in, Kevin is saying, "I can go to America and get a job. I will be grabbing iced beer from a big refrigerator and sitting under a tree on my lawn in front of my house on a summer afternoon. It will be fun for a few days. Then what? There is no meaning in that. Here, I don't have many material comforts, but my

life is meaningful. I can help some people. I don't have to wonder if it's meaningful or not when 50 households get water directly to their homes and don't have to carry water for four hours a day any more. It's not meaningful because I said it's meaningful. It just *is* meaningful. You will find a way to have a meaningful life. Just go and study what seems interesting to you at the time. Let's talk about it when the time comes. Just get the degree and come back. With that degree, you will be of use here. No one will ask what you studied. We muddle through life but then, if we are lucky, are able to be part of something that has great meaning." The student is nodding, much more relaxed now. Kevin is chuckling, and here endeth the lesson. If there are any contradictions in what he has said, he does not care to iron them out.

Kevin was born in California where his father worked as a logger, before leaving to work overseas. Moving back home with his mother to Pushmataha County Oklahoma, Kevin's childhood was spent in a sparsely populated area with a significant amount of rural poverty (7 people per square mile, 60% below the poverty line)¹ and a significant minority of Choctaw people.² While Kevin's own family were not considered impoverished in local terms, Kevin has nevertheless shown a strong appreciation throughout his career for the problems of rural isolation and poverty that must in some way have been prefigured in his youth.

Kevin's personal reflections on his childhood tend to settle on the eight-grade schoolhouse in Albion and on the library in Talihina where he roamed the stacks, in spite of its distance from his home. He is also fond of remembering the encouragement he received from his highly literate mother and grandmother and the support of excellent teachers he encountered both in Albion and in Talihina, where he attended high school. Not given to nostalgia and always willing to burst a bubble, Kevin also seems to enjoy relating surprising anecdotes and entertaining stories about the chiggers,

¹ <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

² Ethnic groups in the region also include the descendants of the Choctaw Freedmen who arrived with the Choctaw when they were displaced to the region by federal mandate a century earlier <http://www.african-nativeamerican.com/8-chocfreed.htm>.

ticks, and high humidity that made most seasons in southeast Oklahoma less than bucolic.

Life in Pushmataha County must have felt quite isolated from the ideological battles of the Cold War era in which he lived. There must have been a rural dismissiveness toward politics and urban cultural movements that would help explain Kevin Stuart. But Kevin is, finally, unprecedented. Searching for an explanation is useless. I think I learned that from Kevin, so it seems appropriate to apply it to his youth.

What we do know is that Kevin grew up in world where local lives were being reshaped by forces outside the community. Agricultural research was turning out better pesticides and better agricultural machinery that was steadily turning the economy against family farmers. In this setting, Kevin grabbed the reins by turning to agricultural science, earning a BS degree in Forest Management at Oklahoma State University and an MS in Forest Ecology at the University of Missouri.

In 1979, Kevin began a PhD in Soil Science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, but after a year of exposure to a wide range of ideas at the East-West Center, a brief correspondence and interview with Michel Foucault, and with wise counseling from advisors Donald Worster and David Bertelson, the interest in local cultural knowledge that would guide Kevin's career had come to the fore, and he switched to the American Studies department.

It is a matter of interpretation now to speculate whether Kevin's aversion to excessive theoretical debate and his commitment to staying close to the source material may have complicated his relationship to academia, but in 1984 he suddenly migrated to Asia at the suggestion of a Chinese friend. In Inner Mongolia, Kevin taught for three years, getting his first taste of empowering local people with the international resource of English language skills. Kindly, his academic advisor, Professor David Bertelson, corresponded regularly to give guidance that was essential to Kevin's eventual completion of his dissertation, later published as *Mongols in Western/American Consciousness*.

This work is both informative on its topic and revealing of its author. In an era when Foucault and Said were two of the most

celebrated and influential theorists in the academy, Kevin sat down to deconstruct the ways in which Westerners have represented Mongols, without mentioning either of these scholars, almost certainly on purpose, despite their obvious relevance to his project. "Barbarians, racial degenerates, mental defectives, generally repulsive physical attributes, ghastly history, grassland wanderers"³ – this first, fragmentary sentence prepares the reader for what is to follow: a litany of carefully compiled, egregiously derogatory tropes that have persisted across centuries, resurfacing with eerie consistency in the mouths of multiple authors, across various genres and discourses. The stability and repetitiveness of these absurd and heartbreaking stereotypes speaks for itself. Who needs Foucault or Said to make sense of this blatant pattern? Published over ten years after Kevin arrived in China, but built on understandings he had certainly begun to develop in Inner Mongolia, *Mongols in Western/American Consciousness* can be read as Kevin's reminder to himself, and warning to everyone else, on the vulnerability of local people when they are treated merely as a topic of discourse, rather than as active participants in their own narratives. A close reading of this book might help us understand, to some extent, why Kevin has chosen to continue engaging in conversation *with* local people, and empowering them to speak about themselves, rather than retreating to the ivory tower to talk *about* them.

Kevin first came to China in a time of transition. A new constitution had been minted and a tumultuous era of ideological struggles set aside by Deng's black-or-white cat. Foreigners were allowed in, but many areas were still closed, especially minority areas. Kevin would have been immediately under scrutiny, of course, but those charged with the task may not have been entirely sure of their marching orders in a time of loosening controls. The excesses of the previous decades must have been on everyone's minds, but on few lips. Local people knew what they knew, but the stories being told were the stories that needed to be told, 'real' only in the sense of serving a real purpose. Surely it was an era to tune out canned narratives and tune into local voices, and a time to get

³ Stuart (1997:1).

on with improving lives to the exclusion of political agendas.

Never one to sit on his hands, Kevin traveled widely in the autonomous region and worked with Mongolian friends to record a television and radio program teaching English in Mongolian, the first such program to teach English in a minority language in China, which was still being broadcast in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Kevin then went to Qinghai Province where he taught at several colleges and recorded two TV programs – *English in Tibetan* and *English in Mongghul*. Later, Kevin returned to Ulaanbaatar as a United Nations Volunteer (UNV) and worked as an English teacher for the better part of a year, finally returning to Qinghai where he continued to work as a UNV English teacher for several more years.

It was during this period that Kevin began to collaborate with local partners on writing projects. Over the next couple of years, Kevin produced over a dozen articles on topics ranging from traditional medicines, foods and household materials, to traditional gatherings, rituals and folk entomology, with partners from both Inner and Outer Mongolia, as well as Qinghai. Kevin's work as an independent scholar had begun.

Kevin's prolific career as an on-site independent scholar has spanned an era when Tibetanist scholars in the West first established their tenuous grasp on Tibetan textual scholarship, and then exceeded that grasp by branching out into cultural studies, portraying Tibetan life in ways that have meaning mainly as currency in academic departments thousands of kilometers away from any actual Tibetan village. Over the course of his career, Kevin has steadily worked to simply, directly, and lucidly document and record local lives, voices, and meanings for posterity. In recent years, he has worked together with a team of local and international collaborators to create the journal *Asian Highlands Perspectives* – a forum for others who share Kevin's commitment to rich documentation of local worlds.

Kevin's scholarly production never slowed down his career as an educator. In the same years that he produced his nearly 200 articles and monographs, he has worked full time in the classroom, striving unremittingly to perfect his classroom practice. His now well-known teaching style has always emphasized local texts,

student-centered learning, and authentic practical application. Practical application, for Kevin, has been expressed mainly in student-written proposals targeting international funding agencies, seeking funds for community development projects in students' home areas. But Kevin has also supported many of his students to publish, and their output is impressive: autobiographies, regionally contextualized language teaching materials, multilingual dictionaries, cultural preservation projects documenting endangered traditions... the list goes on (just see his bibliography, following the introduction). English teaching for Kevin Stuart has never been of merely academic interest.

The contrast with English teaching in the region could not be more dramatic. Minority areas often had no English teachers when Kevin was starting his teaching career. To this day, language textbooks, even in major universities, feature irrelevant content which adheres to east-coast Chinese norms and in many cases exceeds those norms with a noticeably heavy-handed agenda that is already out of date in coastal areas. These materials are used in non-student-centered, exam-driven teaching that leads to few meaningful learning outcomes. In a typical textbook, the great leader bends down to help a child in the field, a princess looks back tearfully from Sun-Moon Pass, and shiny military hardware is paraded through the streets of the capital, where all young boys daydream of patriotic service. At the front of an English class, the typical teacher lectures in Chinese, and when he pauses once or twice to mispronounce 'a, an, the' or some other set of function words, this may be the only English spoken in the entire 90-minute period. Outside the classroom, university students with thirteen or fourteen years of English under their belt are unable to communicate with foreigners they meet, communicating instead in the foreigners' three month's worth of Chinese. In this setting, it was not unusual for Kevin's students to be accused of showing off when seen reading full-length English novels, as this represented a level of English proficiency unimaginable in the regional context.

Clearly, part of the context for Kevin's devotion to teaching is the sense that without education, community development projects amount to little more than handouts. But, more than this, I also

believe the energy Kevin has brought to his teaching is simply a human response, the natural result of seeing both a problem and the means to improve it. Kevin listened and kept his eyes open and asked people, and the problems became plain: teachers with little or no training or knowledge of their subject area, poor school management, and a scarcity of textbooks, school supplies, and other teaching equipment.⁴ In 2005, fewer than 43% of Tibetans in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) had a primary school education and the literacy rate was only 55.16 percent. In Qinghai Province, the literacy rate was 75.93% in 2005, but lower among Tibetans than in the population as a whole.⁵ Early on in his teaching career, Kevin listened when friends and students explained the situation, and the result has been a decades-long daily effort to gather international funding for educational projects.

In the early 1990s, when Kevin began teaching in Qinghai, there were, to the best of anyone's knowledge, about five Tibetans in China who were trilingual in Chinese, English, and Tibetan. In the early days, he was unable to help on any large scale, but did his best by simply opening his home to Tibetan and Monguor students who sought him out. His home became a center of learning not available elsewhere to minority students. His early scholarship and community development efforts occurred there, and his students from those days became lifelong supporters in all that followed. It was during this period that Kevin co-wrote the proposal for the Xining English Training Program (ETP) that would bring minority students from all over the Plateau to Qinghai Normal University to study English with foreign English teachers, a program which turned out more than five hundred fully trilingual students during Kevin's twelve years with the program. The majority of Kevin's students from this period went back to their home villages to become teachers, including the many who had been abroad to get degrees from international universities.

The simple fact of Kevin's presence in Qinghai opened many doors for many people. NGOs seeking to open offices in Western China inevitably noticed one or another of his growing list of

⁴ Stuart (2004).

⁵ National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), cited in Wang (2007).

publications as they began to research the area. Frequently, Kevin found himself opening the door of his little apartment to people representing organizations and seeking informed counsel about the region. When they staffed their offices, Kevin was often in a position to point out the unique skills of his students. In these ways, Kevin played an instrumental role in the unusual number of local people hired by NGO offices in the area and helped lay the groundwork for the development of a high number of grassroots NGOs in the province.

Thus, the impact of Kevin Stuart's life and work is not fully visible only through the numbers of publications and projects in his own name, but must include an evaluation of the extensive good works of his students and friends. In a real sense, Kevin is the butterfly, calmly churning up a hurricane. His first generations of students created the English Training Program, which increased his reach tenfold. Students he taught how to do projects established their own NGOs or staffed foreign NGOs and brought benefits to thousands. The students he sent abroad returned to become teachers, displacing non-local teachers and teachers with little knowledge of their subject matter. Others of Kevin's students have started their own businesses, cutting out predatory non-local middlemen. Kevin's scholarship has informed many scholars and this volume is filled with essays by just a few of these. For many years, Kevin's humble apartment has been an intersection of multiple worlds and the site of many meetings, including one international conference, but, more significantly, also facilitating contact between disparate groups on a weekly informal basis for decades. When I first bumped in to meet Kevin and found myself crashing his party, there was indeed more to it than met the eye.

But what meets the eye is never immediately meaningful unless one takes the time to surpass assumptions by asking obvious questions and listening carefully to the answers. In the winter of 1985, Kevin decided that he wanted to spend some time with Mongolians and learn more about their lives. He decided to do a survey as an interested independent scholar to better understand how local people lived. With a Mongolian colleague from Inner Mongolia University, he developed a questionnaire that asked,

among other things, about family livestock. As he sat in a yurt and drank mare's milk, he progressed through his questions, asking about each animal in turn and the uses to which the family put them. Finally, when the family seemed to think they had told him about all their animals, he looked over at the goat that was standing menacingly in a corner of the yard. "What about the goat?" he asked, thinking perhaps they milked it or would slaughter it. What use do you have for it? None, they replied. It is a god.

Sitting across from Kevin as he chomps on his corn cob pipe, I have been trying to rephrase this story he has told me to say 'they thought' it was a god or that it was a god 'to them'. Kevin has been gently declining these evasions. In that moment, early in his career, he understood something that he has practiced assiduously ever since, something that defines him as a scholar and a person and that he is unwilling to relinquish now, just to make me more comfortable. He is trying, in fact, to communicate something to me that he sees as being of the utmost value: *One must ask, and then listen in a way that allows for real, often amazing, answers.* In that moment in the yurt, Kevin completed a path he had been on for years, learning to center the local.

Once again, I find myself giving in. Which is to say that once again I see how I have been insisting on a foreign frame of reference and refusing to recognize the very real difference between my outlook and that of local people.

"OK," I say. "You're right. That goat was a god."



The essays in this book are good examples of the kind of influence that Dr. Charles Kevin Stuart has had on people's lives both international and local.

Skal bzang Nor bu's essay introduces us to the tradition of *la gzhas*, a unique musical tradition from Amdo, performed by Tibetans, Salar, Mangghuer, and others in the region, but not shared by Tibetans of U-Tsang or Kham, thus highlighting the importance of locality as a dimension of cultural diversity above and beyond ethnic categories. In his contribution, Skal bzang Nor bu constructs an emic typological approach that provides insight into how these songs are viewed by their performers and audiences. He also gives

attention to the performance of *la gzhaz*, explaining how these songs are memorized in partially prefabricated chunks which are then selected in real time in response to the opposing singer's selection, artistically matching metaphors and ramping up or tamping down the mood and its intensity.

The next contribution is from Bianca Horrlemann, an historian whose recent work has traced the interface between the Gansu-Qinghai region and the West during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Horrlemann's essay shifts us from local perspectives with her reference work on eyewitness literature of early foreign travelers in the region. As visitors began to describe the Gansu-Qinghai region and classify its peoples, they set down an important snapshot of local life that still has value today, and Horrlemann's essay is an invaluable guide to that literature.

Limushishiden, a prolific scholar who has brought numerous aspects of his native Mongghul culture to light for international audiences, brings us back to a local perspective, by introducing us to the unique and powerful voice of Lamuzhaxi, a famous Mongghul singer. Lamuzhaxi discusses his long and illustrious career as singer: the songs he sang, how he learned them, and, perhaps most interestingly, the motives that drove him to his vocation.

The next contribution is from Mark Bender, a Sinologist and folklorist who has worked with both oral traditions and contemporary poetry of several ethnic minority populations in southwest China. Bender's contribution uncovers a narrative that weaves together local social and ecological realities. Hunting the local understanding of the musk deer, Bender constructs a vantage from which we are able to observe that for local Yi people of southern Sichuan and northern Yunnan, to meet the musk deer is to place local spaces within a broader cosmology, and to imbue actions with ethical and sacred significance.

In the next contribution, Professor Juha Janhunen, an expert on Mongolic languages, with extensive research experience in the Amdo region, examines the possibility of representing the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund with a pinyin Romanization system. In doing so, he explores these languages as a unit, thus

highlighting the convergence that has taken place among the region's numerous unrelated languages.

In the following chapter, with an incomparable attention to detail, Peter Knecht provides valuable insight into the practices of Mongolian folk healers of northeast Inner Mongolia. Following a rich and richly illustrated description of a healing ritual involving the use of a sheep's internal organs, Knecht delves into the possible origins of the practice, examining Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan sources for comparable practices. He concludes, like several of the contributions in this book, that although aspects of the ritual are traceable to the textual 'great traditions' that circulated in Inner Asia, there is also a significant, irreducible influence of individual agency and creativity.

In his contribution, Gerald Roche teases out ethnic, transethnic, and local contributions to cultural diversity, through the examination of rain beckoning and drought breaking rituals of the Sanchuan region, on the northeast Tibetan Plateau. Roche provides detailed accounts from informants of several instances when these increasingly rare rituals have been carried out within living memory. He then situates these rituals within a broad regional context, looking at similar practices throughout Northern China and Inner Asia. In doing so, he highlights both the shared transethnic aspects of cultural practices in Sanchuan and their local distinctions.

The next contribution comes from Daniel Miller, a rangeland ecologist and one of the first foreign researchers to valorize the traditional ecological knowledge and pastoral practices of Tibetan nomads. Miller places the practices of Tibetan nomads in a broad global context. Using a 'landscape' perspective that draws our attention away from political boundaries and towards holistic natural systems, Miller argues, firstly, that the Tibetan Plateau is a key environment in the global life support system. He follows this up by noting how the practices of Tibetan pastoralists are fundamental to maintaining this environment, and thus places the fate of the region's nomads at the center of humanity's struggle to live sustainably on the earth.

Taking up related issues of how we situate Tibet geographically and theoretically, Geoffrey Samuel, in his chapter, examines the ways in which studies of Tibet are situated within broader areal contexts. Extending his earlier work suggesting Southeast Asia as a meaningful context for Tibetan studies, Samuel here investigates the pitfalls and potentials involved with situating Tibet within a 'Zomian' framework. He explores the history and development of the concept of Zomia – a transnational upland area at the intersection of Southeast, South, East, and Inner Asia – and engages deftly with both the critical and sympathetic commentary the concept has received. Samuel concludes by arguing that a Zomian framework might potentially allow for useful insights into the Tibetan context, particularly regarding the role of geography on cultural and political forms, the nature of center-periphery relations, and the nature of religious diversity in Tibet.

Following, Nangchukja (Snying lcags rgyal, Niangjijia) provides a biographical account of Lha mtsho, a Tibetan pastoralist woman. Lha mtsho lived through what were, for Amdo Tibetans, the most momentous events of the 20th century, including the violence of 1958 and the famine that followed. Her story provides a rarely-heard perspective on events that are only now beginning to come to light.

In his contribution to the volume, art historian Rob Linrothe provides a detailed examination of two murals in Rebgong, and unpacks their unique historical significance. He begins his essay by discussing his first meeting with Kevin, and how this not only facilitated his own research, but also inspired him to facilitate opportunities for two of Kevin's students to study abroad – a perfect example of the broad impacts of Kevin's life and work. Linrothe then goes on to analyze two historically important murals from Amdo and discusses their significance in the development of local painting styles which demonstrate, as with other contributions to this volume, both local distinctions and individual creativity.

Mandula Borjigin, Narisu Narisu, and Chuluu Ujyediin, in their chapter, discuss the impact that Kevin Stuart, as educator, had on their lives, and on the lives of other Mongols in China in the 1980s. The authors describe how Kevin provided rare and valuable

opportunities, encouragement, and tools for Mongols to learn English. In this article, we see the emergence of a method that was to form the core of Kevin's educational and scholarly practices for the rest of this career: the empowerment of local people, and collaboration with them to share their perspectives and knowledge with broad international audiences.

The book ends with Bun khrang rgyal's Tibetan essay introducing Tibetan and English language teaching in the Domey (Mdo smad) Tibetan areas of China between 1997 and 2015. He focuses on the influence of the Xining English Training Program (ETP) on language teaching in the area. His discussion comments on teaching methods, students' academic performance, textbook design, curriculum, and students' participation in development work.

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For more than three decades, Kevin Stuart has quietly exerted considerable influence on scholarship on Tibet, China, and Mongolia, demonstrating a particular sensitivity to emic voices, facilitating collaborations between etic-emic viewpoints, but always striving to preserve and privilege the latter. It is possible when reading Kevin's writings, and the contributions gathered here, to 'center the local' by thinking within local horizons of meaning.

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CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES

On my teacher's 60th birthday,

May all the best things come to the greatest teacher, who made the impossible possible, and taught us what it really means to be a teacher!

From འབྲུག་མོ་སྦྱིན། (Monica)

...

Dear Dr. K,

Happy 60th Birthday!

This is Sunny, and I am sending you the sincerest wishes from Fujian Province. Looking back on my college life, I feel it was an amazing experience to have been one of your students. The way you presented our oral English class was really exciting, and I liked the short stories you recommended, as well as the activities you designed to increase our exposure to the English language. Inspired by your ideas, I have been trying to create a similar atmosphere in my own class now. Although it is harder than I thought to carry it out in a High School, I will keep trying.

On last Teachers' Day, one of my students sent me a message, which said, "A teacher exerts endless influence on their students." At this very moment, this message is just what I would like to say to you, too.

Thank you again for having been such a wonderful teacher and friend to me. You have been missed, are missed, and will be missed always.

Sunny Wang
Class 3 of the year 2008

...

Dear Kevin,

You are my hero! Happy birthday!

Namgyal Wangmol (Linda), o8 BA class.

...

Dear Teacher Kevin,

Happy birthday to you. I was happy to have been your student and an ETP member. When I studied in the 07 BA class, you were my first English teacher. Before that, I had never studied English, so my English was very poor. But, I never gave up, and now I have become an English teacher. I will work hard to teach my students and share what I have learned.

Good health to you!

From Ryan བཀྲ་ཤིས་དགོ་འཕེལ་ནས།

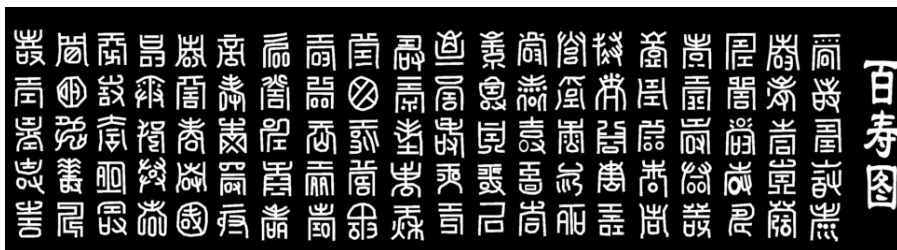
...

Dr. K,

I was very happy to learn that it will be your 60th birthday soon.

Today, I want to share a traditional Chinese congratulation with you.

In Chinese, there is a character called 寿 (*shou*), which means long life. What may surprise you is that *shou* can be written in 100 different ways. In fact, paintings called '100 *Shou*' have been painted by many artists. We often send such paintings to significant people for their important birthdays. So, here is a painting of 100 *shou* for your 60th birthday.



Happy birthday to you!

From MengMengDa

...

Kevin 老师您好

祝您六十岁生辰快乐!

我是一名 90 后的学生，来自青海藏区。从哥哥姐姐那里听过一些关于您的故事，很是敬佩，除了那份敬佩还有深深的感动！也很荣幸曾经是您学生的学生，从她们那儿我感受到英语的魅力，也是我真正喜欢上这个语言的初衷。

但很遗憾没能跟您有过真正的交流。感谢您培养出那么多图博特人才，她们都是我们的榜样。再次祝您六十岁生辰快乐！

Tashilhamo

...

Dear Kevin,

I will always remember your classes – I really enjoyed them very much. Happy birthday to you, and best wishes.

From Ivy (Cai Xinrui 蔡芯蕊)

...

Dear Teacher,

Happy birthday! I wish that everything will go well for you!

Nixijie

...

Dear Teacher Kevin,

I wish you all the best. Your efforts have changed many students' lives. You are a real Guru in my mind.

Chaksham Tsering (Nathan)

...

Dear Dr. K,

I know I can never pay you back for all your kindness and patience. You taught me how to study harder and better and gave me confidence.

There are thousands of words I would like to say to you, but today they turned into one sentence: "Happy birthday!"

All the best wishes to you.

Sincerely,
Mary (Huang Shan)

...

Dear Teacher,

All I want to say is, "Thanks." You have taught me so much. You always encouraged me, and gave me many suggestions via email. You always gave us guidance whenever we met you.

Sophie (Shaanxi Normal University, 2014 graduate)

...

Dear Teacher,

I am one of your students from Golok. My name is Kondro Tso (Joy). In 2003, I fortunately became one of your students. For me, that year is one of the luckiest in my life. Your wonderful teaching and your passion for education always inspired me. You not only taught us knowledge, but also taught us to believe that we can achieve whatever we want. What you have done for ETP students cannot be measured or expressed in words. This morning, I was fortunate to learn that your 60th birthday is coming soon. All I want to say is thank you and happy birthday. I hope that all your dreams will come true. Finally, I want to promise that I will try to make you proud.

Sincerely,
Joy

...

སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་ལ་རྟོན་འབྲེལ་ལྷ།

Alison, 07 BA

...

Happy birthday and congratulations! Thank you for the amazing and truly wonderful work you have done over these many years.

Emily Yeh

...

Dr. K,

You are the most wonderful professor. Although your classes often made me feel nervous, this pushed me to think before speaking, and in this way I have made progress in many ways. I learnt a lot from you – not only English, but also common sense. Happy birthday, my dear teacher.



Chen Yuyao (Kim)

...

Dear Kevin,

This is Lan Cuo. I would like to send you my very best wishes for your 60th birthday. Time flies! I still remember the days when you were in Xining teaching us English. I remember that I was introduced to you by my old friend Hua Dan, although I have lost track of him now. Since then, you have imprinted yourself in my life in a very positive way. In other words, you are one of the most important persons in my life that I will never forget. Happy birthday, dear Kevin.

Lan Cuo

...

Dear Kevin,

I really feel that I am very lucky to have been your student, an experience which will always stay in my memory. You are a great teacher, and much-respected because of your strictness, patience, and deep knowledge. I want to be a good student in your eyes, and I will try my best to be better and better. The most important thing that I want to say to you is, "Happy birthday." I hope every day will be wonderful for you.

Blanche (Zang Guoli), Shaanxi Normal University

...

Dear Professor Kevin,

First of all, I want to say, "Happy birthday to you!" I am so glad to send you this message for your 60th birthday. Thank you so much for the positive contribution that you have made to the overall success of the ETP. I was one of your ETP students seven years ago. Time flies! Since then, I haven't had a chance to see you, though we have exchanged emails. I hope that everything is going well for you. Besides teaching me English, you showed me the spirit of the times and the power of the spirit. Today, I can still feel those noteworthy times that I spent in your creative and student-centered classes. Again, I hope you stay healthy and have a long life.

Yours,
Namjal Tsering (David)

...

བརྗེད་ཐབས་བྲལ་བའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཁོ་མེན།

གཞན་སེམས་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་མཁས་དབང་ལ།།

མི་རིགས་སོ་སོའི་དགེ་ལུགས་སྐར་ཚོགས་བཞིན།།

བྱང་པར་པོད་ཀྱི་དེད་རབས་སློབ་གསོ་ལ།།

མངོན་རྗེས་རི་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་དེ་བརྗེད་མི་སྲིད།།

ཉག་སླད་ཚོད་བང་ཚོས་འཕེལ་ནས།

Kent (Tsewang Cheepel)

...

སློབ་དཔོན་དྲན་པ་ཚུང་ཙམ་བརྗེད་པ།

མགོན་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན།།

ཡིད་དད་པའི་གྲུས་ས།།

ལྷ་སློབ་དམན་བདག་གི།།

ལྷོ་རིག་སློའ་བྱེད་མཁན།།

འིན་སློབ་དཔོན་དམ་པའི།།

གསུང་བདུད་རྩི་ཟེགས་མ།།

ཆར་བཞིན་དུ་དབབ་པའི།།

འིན་ནམ་ཡང་དྲན་གི།།

དགོན་ཁོ་མེན་དམ་པ།།

ཡིད་རིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ།།

ལྷོ་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉི་འོད།།

རྒྱད་བལ་དཀར་ཁ་རྒྱ།།

དུས་འབྲུག་འགྲོས་ངན་པས།།

བདག་དགོ་སློབ་བྲལ་ཡང་།།

སེམས་བསམ་པའི་སྒོ་བ།
མཉམ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གནས་ཡོད།

༢༠༠༩ལོའི་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲུབ་སྒྲིབ་མ་ཉི་གཞོན་ནས་གྲུས་ཕུལ།
Ronnie from Luhuo

...

Dear Dr. K,

Happy birthday!

I'm so grateful for what you have done for us. You are an excellent oral English teacher. I not only acquired English knowledge in your class, but I also observed a lot about how you motivated students to think, to read, to study and so on. Now, when I teach, I use the methods I learned in your class, and I find that they work well. For example, I assign the students to ask each other, "What did you/he/she do?" to get the point of learning. Thanks a lot. :)

"Life is not the way it is supposed to be. It's the way it is. The way you cope with it is what makes the difference." I am very fond of this quotation, which came from an email you once sent us. Motivated by it, I do exercise, read books, volunteer for Chinaheart and study hard. My life is going better now. I do believe that life is the way I cope with it.

You helped me and then you made a big difference.

Best wishes,
Sadie (许丽凤) from (SNNU)

...

Congratulations and best wishes to Kevin Stuart on his 60th birthday! Though we've known each other a mere one-third of that time, your generosity, kindness, and wisdom have been a tremendous source of support and inspiration. Indeed, I would not be where I am today had it not been for your advice and assistance. Your passion for learning, drive to help others, and amazing capacity for work have improved the lives of those fortunate enough to work with you. May you enjoy many more years of success!

Keith Dede

Keith Dede (center), Kevin Stuart, and friends.



...



Tracy (LIU Hongru 刘红儒)

...

I came to study English in ETP with Dr. Kevin Stuart in 2000. The knowledge and skills I learnt from him enabled me to do something helpful for Tibetan communities, and I always feel lucky to have been one of his students. I have successfully implemented more than 60 development projects in rural Tibetan communities in Qinghai Province since 2004, and more than 20,000 people have directly benefitted from these projects. None of this could have happened without Dr. Kevin Stuart's kind, sincere, and generous help. I sincerely wish you a happy 60th birthday.

Caihua Dorji (Luke)

...

As a student and colleague of Dr. Kevin Stuart, I have come to understand what it means to be a strict, dedicated, and responsible teacher. Today, as a dean, I am practicing what I learned from Kevin, and the results are welcomed by our students. I am not sure when I will have the fortune to meet another person like you.

Gyamtso

Two pictures of the first Tibetan English class in Qinghai Education College (1990).





Picture with friends (1990).



To my dearest teacher Kevin Stuart,

Happy 60th birthday! Many thanks for your kindness and care.

What I own now and might own in the future, and what I am now and what I will be in the future, are all because of your endless support and cultivation.

Many thanks, and Tashi Delek.

Puhua Dondrup

...

Dear K,

This is Raylene. It is my great privilege to have met you in this life, and it was an honor to have been your student. I hope you keep your wonderful spirits. Have a wonderful life ahead, full of good health and happiness.

With many good wishes and much love,
Raylene

...

Dear Teacher Kevin,

Like the sunshine, you brightened my life. What I have now, and what I am doing now, are all related to your kindness in selecting me, and letting me become a member of ETP. I will always have so much indescribable appreciation for you. I hope that life will treat you well, and that you will be healthy and happy. This is what I always pray for.

Duo Jiecuo/ Alice

...

Dear Teacher Kevin,

I want to thank you, and I hope that you enjoy life wherever you go and whatever you do. I hope you will remain healthy for the rest of your life. I am proud to have been one of your students.

Dennis (Zhuo Ma Ben), 2001-2003 ETP Class

...

Dear Teacher,

Happy 60th birthday! It's hard to imagine you are already 60! In our village, children officially call you grandpa or grandma when you get to 60, and it's time to go to the *mani* hall to start chanting and gossiping, but I am sure you are busy with your students checking their essays and autobiographies. I still remember those old days in the women's school when I was so nervous every time before your classes. It felt like a nightmare to wait for you to appear at the door, but I can't deny the fact that I also really enjoyed every moment of your classes.

I also remember in 2010 when I was struggling to make the decision of whether or not to continue my education, and you told me that I am a special person and education is important for me. I am not sure whether I am a special person, but I was so lucky to have you there at that moment telling me that I am special, and helping me make the decision. I feel that "Thank you" is not enough to express how much we appreciate your dedication, so I want to say that we have inherited your spirit and will try in our own ways to make small changes as your student.

Sincerely yours,
Corrine (Lumo)

...

To my honorable Teacher Dr. Kevin Stuart,

As I look back to the past and glance over the present, I couldn't help but realize that you have played the role of both a teacher and a life guru for all ETPians. You have changed so many people's lives for the better, have provided so many wonderful and unprecedented opportunities, and made so many peoples' dreams come true.

Your kindness in heart, your enthusiasm for teaching, and just your unconditional love for helping people, are beyond and above what we can really thank you for. In spite of my poor self-expression, just your name, Dr. Kevin Stuart or Teacher Kevin, tells people everything, and the enormous contribution you have made to Tibetan students and their families and communities. Under the glory of your wisdom, I (we) have succeeded in planting and growing our love and passion stronger, for our ancestors and their descendants.

I have personally never celebrated and sent you any birthday wishes, which I am not really proud of. On this special day, however, I wish you nothing but health and happiness in life. From the bottom of my heart, allow me to offer you my most sincere gratitude for your dedication. Please have a wonderful life, and please spare some time for yourself to enjoy it! Happy Birthday, Teacher Kevin!!!

Kondro Tsering (Jerome)

...

དགོ་ཚུ་བཀའ་འདྲིན་ཅན་ཁོ་ལུ་མཉམ་སྲུང་བྱེད་མཁུ་སྤྱོད་ལྟུང་གྲངས་དུག་ཅུ་ལོན་པའི་སྐྱེས་སྐར་གྱི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་དུ།

མགོ་ལོག་རིག་གྲོལ། Mick/ Rigdrol

འདས་སོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཕྱིར་མིག་གཏོང་སྐབས།
ལོ་རྒྱུ་དེའི་ཉི་མ་དེར་ཁྱེད་ལ་འཕྲད་ཉིན་ནས་བཟུང་།
ང་ཡི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དེར།
ཚོངས་བའི་མུན་པ་མེལ་ཞིང་།
མདུན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལམ་པ་གསལ་སོང་།
ང་དང་ང་འབྲེལ་བ་སྐོར་ཞིག་
རེ་སྐུལ་གྱི་གདམས་ངག་དང་།
དོད་འཇམ་གྱི་ཕྱག་ཟུང་གིས།
འཕྲོག་ཕྱེ་དང་ཞིང་གོང་གི་རྩམ་པ་ནས་ཕྱུད་ཅིང་།
གངས་རིའི་རྒྱུར་རོལ་དང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་པ་རོལ།
གོ་ལ་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲིམ་རྒྱུད་དུ།
ངོ་མཚར་བའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་གང་མང་བསྐྱུལ།
སྤང་མེད་པའི་ས་དམར་གྱི་ཞིང་གོང་དག་ན།
ཨ་ཡེ་ཚོས་ཉིད་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་འབྲེན་རྒྱུ་ལ་རོལ་བཞིན།
ཉི་མ་རེའི་རྒྱུ་ལེན་གྱི་ན་རྒྱལ་མེལ་སོང་ཞེས་མཐེ་ཤོང་སྐྱེང་།
ད་དུང་རོང་འབྲོག་གི་སློབ་སྟོན་ལྟུང་མས།
ཀ་ཁའི་གདངས་དབྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེད་ལ་ངོ་སོལ་བསྟོད།
ད་དུང་འབྲི་མོའི་རྒྱ་ཚོལ་སེལ་ཁྱེད་ལ་མཚོད་ཁ་འཕེན།

གང་ལྟར།
 ཁ་བ་རི་པོའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དེར།
 ཟྱེད་གྱི་ཕེབས་ཐངས་དེས།
 འཚོ་ལ་མི་ཚེའི་དོན་སྤྱིང་དང་།
 འཚོ་བའི་དཔའ་སྤྱིང་ཅིག་བརྟུལ་བྱུང་།
 འཚོ་རིག་པ་རྣམས་ཞིང་།
 གཞན་ལས་འཛོན་པ་ར་སྤྱོད་བྱས།
 ད་དུང་།
 འཚོས་མི་ཤེས་པ་རིག་གཞུང་གིས་སེལ་ཅིང་།
 མི་སྲིད་པ་བཙོན་འགྲུས་གྱིས་གཏོར་བའི་གནས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་རྟོགས་སོང་།
 དེ་ལས་ཀྱང་།
 འཚོས་གཞན་དོན་སྦྱོང་བའི་སྤྱོད་བ་དང་།
 རང་དོན་སྦྱོག་པའི་སྤོབས་པ་སོགས་རྟེན་བྱུང་།
 འདི་ནི་ཁ་བ་རི་པོའི་བསམ་སློབ་འཚིང་གོལ་ཅིག་ཡིན་ལ།
 མི་རབས་གསར་བའི་འཚོ་བའི་སྦྱུལ་ལུགས་ཤིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་སོང་།
 གང་ལྟར།
 བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་བྱིས་གཞི་སོ་སོར།
 འཚོས་མཉམ་དུ་བསམ་སློབ་གསར་བ་དང་།
 རེ་བ་གདོང་ལེན་གྱི་འདུན་པ་བསྐྱེད་ཞིང་།
 ས་ཚེན་དེའི་བདག་པོར་ཞེད་སྐྱང་ཡང་བསྐྱངས་མྱོང་།
 འཚོའི་དཔུང་སྡེ་ནི་ཤེས་རིག་གི་དཔུང་སྡེ་ཡིན་ལ།
 འཚོའི་རེ་བ་ནི་གསར་གཏོང་དང་རྒྱུན་འབྲུངས་གྱི་རེ་བ་ཡིན།
 མདོར་ན།
 འབྲུང་བཞིས་ཀྱང་འཇིག་བར་དཀའ་ལ།
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱས་བརྗོད་པར་དཀའ་བའི
 ཤེས་རབ་དང་ཕོད་སྤྱང་གི་རེ་བ་ཞིག་གཏན་དུ་བརྗོད།
 ཡོད་ཚད་ཟྱེད་གྱི་བྱིར།

རི་རབ་བཞིན་བརྟན་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དམ་བཅའ་དེའི་ཕྱིར།
ཁ་བ་རི་མོའི་མེ་ཏོག་གི་དཔུང་ཚལ་དེའི།
བརྗེ་སེམས་དང་གཏོང་མོད་ཀྱི་དྲི་བསྐྱུང་ཞིག།
བརྗེན་སེམས་དང་མི་རྒྱུ་པའི་ཁ་དོག་ཅིག།
མདོ་དབྱས་མཚོ་གཞུང་དུ་བྱུང་ཅིང་།
གངས་དཀར་ཏི་སེ་བཞིན་འགྱུར་བ་མེད།
ཕོད་ཚད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར།
ཚུ་ཕོ་བཞིན་འཇོན་མཁའ་མེད་པའི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་བྱམས་བརྗེ་དེའི་ཕྱིར།
ང་ཚོས་གཤེག་རྩལ་བརྐྱངས་གིང་ནམ་འཕང་བཟང་།
ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མི་ལོ་དུག་ཅུ།
གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དང་རེ་བ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་གིས་གྲུབ་ཅིང་།
བྱམས་སྦྱོང་དང་འཇོན་མཁའ་དང་གིས་བསྐྱུལ་སོང་།
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།
རྒྱབས་ཆེ་བའི་མི་ལོ་དུག་ཅུའི་ཆེ་སློག་གི་དབུ་འཇུག་མཁའ་དེར།
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།
ངོ་མཚར་བའི་མི་ལོ་དུག་ཅུའི་རྒྱུན་སྦྱོང་མཁའ་དེར།
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།
སྦོད་པ་མེད་པའི་ཆེ་སློག་གི་འགྲུལ་བཞུད་དེར།
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།

...

Teacher Kevin,

You taught me to think about what I want to be in my life, and how to live independently. Not only did you give me knowledge, but you also gave me the courage and confidence to pursue my dream. I feel really lucky to have had you as a guide in my life. I wish you good health and a long life.

Drolmatso (Eva)

...

Dear Dr. K,

You were my oral English teacher when I was a second-year student at Shaanxi Normal University. You noticed me because I was the only student who came from China's Monguor (Tuzu) minority.

You were a great English teacher. You were also a mentor to me. During my second year at college, we discussed so much about Mangghuer (the Minhe Tu language). You encouraged and supported me to learn the language. I am very grateful to you.

Now I work at a school endowed by the Red Cross. Most of the students in this school are from Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu, and suffered from the landslide disaster in Zhouqu County (one of the counties in Gannan). About one third of the students are Tibetans. I hope to help these students as you once helped me.

Best wishes from Gansu!

Fang Suyuan (方素媛)

...



༄༅། །དུས་རབས་གསར་རྙིང་སྐྱེལ་མའི་དྲེན་མཚམས་སྟུ།
གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་ཞིང་གི་སར།
བོད་དབྱིན་སྐོབ་གསོའི་འབྲས་བུ་སྒྲིན་མངོན་པའི།
དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་ཁྱེད་ཚོ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཤོག།

བགྲང་བྱ་དུ་མའི་དཀའ་ལ་ཐུབ་སྐྱུར་བཞེས་ཏེ།
 འཛེམ་གླིང་ཤར་ཅུབ་རིག་པའི་ལུ་མཚོག་རྣམས།
 ཚོལ་གསུམ་དུ་སྒྲོབ་མང་པོའི་བཞེས་སྤྱད་ངས།
 བཞེས་གཉེན་ལུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་རྣམས་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་བཏན།

མཛེད་འབྲིན་དྲིན་གྲིས་བསྐྱངས་པའི་འབྲས་རྟགས་སྤྱ།
 རྒྱལ་ཁབས་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ལྷབ་པའི་ཤོད་དབྱིན་པ།
 ཤར་ཅུབ་རིག་སྐྱེ་བའི་སྤོངས་ཀར་རབ་འབྲིང་སྟེ།
 སྤྱད་མང་མོ་རྩ་བའི་ལས་དོན་སྐྱུར་འགྲུབ་ཤོག།

ཅེས་པ་འདི་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་མོ་ཚུར་ལོ་ཟེ་ཁྲི་ཟེ་ཟེ་ལོ་རོར་ཁྲི་ (Charles Kevin Stuart) མཚོག་གི་སྒྲོབ་
 མའི་གཤམ་མཐར་གནས་པ་ལོན་ལུགས་འབྲས་བུ་ལམ་ལ་བ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (Evan) ཅས་དགོ་བའི་བཞེས་གཉེན་གང་
 དེའི་དགྲུང་མོ་དུག་ཅུའི་འཁྱུངས་སྐར་བསྐྱུར་བར་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལྷུ་བ་དང་བཀའ་དྲིན་རྗེས་དཔོན་གྲིས་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་ཚོས་བཟང་
 ལ་སྐུལ་བ་དགོ་ཤོ།

...

བཤད་སྒོམ་ལ། འཛེམ་གླིང་གི་ཡང་ཅེར་འཕོད་པའི་མི་མཐོ་ཡུལ་གཙང་གི་གངས་རྒྱུད་སུ། མི་རིགས་འགོ་གི་རྒྱར་
 འཛིན་དུ་འཕོད་པའི་ན་གཞོན་སྤྱི་དོན་བས་ཅན་སྐྱོར་ཞིག་ཡོད་སྟེ། ཁོ་རང་ཚོའི་མིག་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་རིང་གི་ཚན་ཅུལ་
 ལ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་། ཡུགས་འདུན་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ལ་ཞེན་ནས་ཡོད་ལ། མཐའ་ན། རང་དང་རིག་གནས་མི་འདྲ་བ། སོམས་
 གཤམ་མི་གཅིག་པ། སྤྱད་རིགས་མི་མཐུན་པ། དད་ཡུལ་མི་མཚུངས་བའོད་ཚད་ལ་འགྲམ་རྒྱ་འཛིན་ནས། མིག་
 རྒྱུད་ཅེར་ནས། སེམས་པ་གང་དང་ནས་ཡོད་ཟེ།

ཏག་ཏག་གཅིག་དབྱེ་ཞིག་བརྒྱུད་ཞེ་དུག་མའི་ ༡༧༤༥ དབྱིད་ཀ་དེར། ཐར་མཐོང་མ་མཉུང་བའི་མི་ལུ་ལ་མཚན་
 པ་ཞིག་གིས་རྒྱག་སྟེ་རོ་བ་གཉིས་ལུར་ནས་ཐོན་ཅིང་། གཅིག་ལ་སྐྱག་བསམ་དང་། གཞན་དེ་ལ་བཟོད་སྒྲན་ཟེར་། དེ་
 ལྟ་བུའི་སྤོངས་ཕྱིས་དགངས་པའི་རྒྱག་སྟེ་རོ་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སྒྲོན་ལས། གངས་འདབས་ཀྱི་ན་གཞོན་དེ་
 ཚོར། སྤྱད་གཉིས་སྐྱུར་ལུགས་པའི་མཐིན་པ་ཞིག་གནད་ལུང་ཟེར། བསམ་སྒོ་གསར་བའོལ་བའི་རྟེན་ལུབ་ཅིག་

བསྐྱེལ་བྱུང་བེད། ད་དུང་། དམྱོད་ཤེས་ཀྱི་གཤོག་ཟུང་མཁའ་དབྱངས་ལ་སྐྱུག་ནས། ལྷག་མཚོང་གི་མིག་ཟུང་གིས་
འཛམ་གླིང་ལ་ལྟ་རུ་བཅུག་བེད།

གོ་ཚོས་སྐྱུ་མི་བུ་དེ། བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་དུག་རྒྱུ་མི་གཏོགས་པའི་རུས་ཤིག་ཤེད་བེད། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲག་རྒྱུད་མི་འདྲེས་
པའི་ཁྲག་ཅིག་ཡོད་བེད། འོ་ན། ཅིའི་ལྷིང་། མི་ལོ་དུག་ཅུའི་ཐེམ་སྐྱས་ཀྱི་འདྲེས་མཚམས་སྐྱུ་ ད་དུང་། བོད་མིའི་
དོད་དུ། བོད་མིའི་ལྷིང་རྒྱ། མཚོང་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱག་ལྷོ། ལྷག་བསམ་དང་བཟོད་པ་ཁུར་ནས་ཤོང་ཤེར་ལངས་དགོས་པ་
ཤེད།

ཤེད་དེ། དེ་ནི། རུས་གསར་མགྲིན་ཚབ་པ་ཅིག་གི་རྒྱུད་མེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིངས་སྟོབས་ཡོད་པས་ཤེད། ལྷན་མེད་ཀྱི་བྱམས་
མེམས་མངའ་བས་ཤེད། དེ་བས། ཁོང་གི་བླ་མེད་ཀྱི་མཚོང་རྗེས་མི་རིགས་ཤིག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་མཚམས་ན་
གསལ་སྐྱོང་ཤེར་ཡོད་ཤེས་ལ། ཡོད་ཅིང་དགོས་བས་ཡིན།

There is not a life in this book that you have not taught, and each of us is a better person because of you. We are your symphony Dr. K! We are the melodies and the notes of your opus. We are the music of your life. Your life goes over into others'.

By Charlton/ Pema Kyap

...

Best wishes for Teacher Kevin's birthday!

You, who have changed the lives of many Tibetans. You are the one who we will always remember. I am always very proud to say that I was your student. It is you who encouraged us to be brave, and it is you who made our life different from others'. I felt I would have a lot to say to you on this special day, but now when I get started it seems that no words can express my gratitude to you. Happy birthday, Teacher, and I hope you will have a wonderful life!

From Jenna/Rinchentso

...

Happy Birthday Teacher!

Whenever I reflect on my life's journey, you are always the brightest candle I had on my road. You have taught us a lot: how to be brave, how to be ourselves, and how to value the things we have, while also

participating in the mainstream culture. Wherever you are, please take care of yourself and be healthy. Your birthday this year is a very special day, and I hope you enjoy being at this age and that you take advantage of this age and enjoy all its privileges. HAPPY BIRTHDAY DEAR TEACHER.

From Judith/ Drolkhar Kyi

...

Dear Teacher,

Thank you for making learning English so fun and fruitful! Thank you for being patient, understanding, and supportive, yet caring in my life! May every day of your life be pleasant and joyful! May every second of your birthday be blessed with the fragrance of love and bliss!

Thank you! And Happy Birthday!

Libu Lakhi

...

Dear Dr. K,

All my classmates adore you. Most of them love your beard, but I prefer your little feet, that you stretch out while sitting.

I believe most of us, when asked which teacher impresses us most, will give the name of Dr. K without hesitation. You are, indeed, special. In your classes, I never feel bored. There is always something to do. And I love standing in a big circle and speaking. I am not good at interpersonal communication and usually shun big occasions. Most of the time, I am a listener. But your classes give me a chance to share something with others. I can tell that the articles you send have been carefully selected. Some of them are about loneliness and lostness, from which I find my own voice.

You do not talk much in your classes, and only give brief instructions. All goes well with your excellent time management and classroom management. You are strict, but everybody feels your tremendous kindness. It seems that two completely incompatible things are perfectly integrated in you. Maybe that is why you are so charming.

Lin Kang

...

ཕྱིར་དྲན་སྐོར་གི་དགོ་ཚུན་ཁོ་ལྟོན།



ངའི་དྲན་པའི་མེ་མོང་དོས་སུ་ཉམས་ཡང་བསུ་བ་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྟན་གྱི་རིམ་ཞིག་དང་། ངའི་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ལུ་
ལུང་ནང་དུ་ཉམས་ཡང་གཞིམས་པ་མེད་པའི་སྐྱོན་མེ་སེར་པོ་ཞིག་ལྟེ། དེད་ཅག་བོད་རིགས་སློབ་མ་བརྒྱ་སྟོང་མང་པོར་
བཀའ་བྲིན་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བའི་དགོ་ཚུན་དམ་པ་ཁོ་ལྟོན་སི་སྐོར་ཨར་ཐི། (Kevin Stuart) མཚོན་ཡིན།

ང་ཚོ་འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་འདི་དང་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་སྣང་རྒྱུ་ལ་གང་མང་ཞིག་ཡོད་པར་ངེས།
གལ་ཏེ་མི་རིགས་གཞན་པ་ཞིག་དང་ཡང་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཞན་པ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་མི་རྒྱུ་མེད་དག་དང་འཕྲད་སྐབས།
དེ་ལ་ཡིད་འཛོག་དེ་འདྲ་མི་བྱེད་པའམ་ཡང་ན་གཏན་ནས་མཐོང་མ་མཚོར་པ་དང་མཚུངས། ཡིན་ནའང་། ལྷོད་རང་མི་
དེ་དག་དང་རྒྱུ་ས་ཡོད་དུ་གྱུར་རྗེས་གནས་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཁ་ཤས་ཤིག་མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་དེ་ཡི་ལྷོག་ལྷ་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ཡང་གི་དུ།

ང་རང་ཚུན་ལགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མར་མ་གྱུར་པའི་ཡར་སྐྱོན་དུ་ངས་ཁོང་གི་དངས་གཉིས་གསུམ་ལ་མཐོང་མཚོར་
མོད། ཁོང་གི་འགྲོ་འདུག་སྟོད་གསུམ་མོགས་ལ་ཡིད་འཛོག་གཏན་ནས་བྱས་མ་མཚོར་ལ། ཁོང་ཉིད་མི་ག་འདྲ་ཞིག་
ཡིན་པ་དེ་བས་ཀྱང་མི་ཤེས། དེ་ཕྱིར་རང་ཁོང་དང་འཕྲད་སྐབས་ཁ་ཡ་ཅོམ་ཡང་བྱས་མ་མཚོར་།

དགོ་ཚུན་ཁོ་ལྟོན་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ང་ཚོར་ལོ་གཉིས་ལ་སློབ་བྲིད་གནང་བས། ངས་ཁོ་རང་དོ་ཤེས་པར་མ་
ཟད་རྒྱུ་མངའ་ཡང་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟར་པར་གྱུར། ཁོང་གི་ཨ་རི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནས་བོད་དུ་ཕྱི་བས་མཐར་ཐུང་སྲ་ཤོས་ཀྱི་གས་
ཡིན་པ་དང་། ད་རག་བར་དུ་པལ་ཆེར་མི་ལོ་སུམ་བཅུ་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་བོད་སྐད་ཚོར་སློབ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་བྲིད་
གནང་གི་ཡོད།

དགེ་ལོན་ལོ་སྤྱོད་མཚོན་ཅི་གཟུགས་པོ་ལྟེ་ཞིང་ཤུགས་པ་དང་། གོད་གི་དབྱིབས་སྟོང་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་ས་ཤིང་གསལ་བའི་ཤེལ་མིག་གི་ལོག་ཏུ་རྩལ་རྟེན་གསལ་ཁེངས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལུང་གཉིས་ལས་སྤོབས་ཤུགས་དང་སྟོབས་པ་ཞིག་དང་གིས་མཛོད་ཡོད། དུས་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཁོང་གིས་ལཱ་ལོང་ཅག་པོ་ཞིག་སྟོན་ཞིང་། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་སོ་བའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་གཟུ་རལ་བ་ཁམས་སེར་ཡུག་སྟེང་ལ་ཐུག་གི་བར་དུ་ཤེས་ཡོད། མཛེས་པའི་ཨག་ཚོས་དཀར་པོ་ཡུང་ཁར་ཤམ་པ་དེ་ལྟོ་ཁོང་གི་གཞན་པོ་དང་སྤྱོད་པས་ཕྱི་ལོ་མཚོ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་རྟགས་སུ་འགྲུབས་པར་འཇུགས། ཡུབ་ཚེན་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཙོ་འབྲི་བའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དཀར་པོ་དེས་ཁོང་ལ་ཐུན་མེད་ལྟེ་གཟི་བཞིན་ཅིག་བསྐྱབ་འདུག་སྟོང་ལོ་གསལ་སྤུ་ཡིན་དུ་ཁོང་མཛོང་བ་ཙོ་མ་ལྱིས་འཇིགས་ཡིར་བ་ཞིག་དང་བསྟན་ལྱིན་བསྟན་ལྱིན་མེས་དགའ་བ་ཞིག་འདུག། ཁོང་གི་ཞལ་གསུང་ནི་སངས་ལོ་མཚོ་གཟུགས་པ་དང་མཚུངས་ལ་ཁོང་གི་སོ་མ་སྤོབས་ནི་དབྱར་ཟླ་དུག་པའི་རྩོད་ཅིག་ལ་ལོ་མ་བའི་འཕྲོང་གཡག་དར་མ་ཞིག་དང་ཨ་ཙ་མ་ལོང་།

ད་སྐབས་ཀོན་ལགས་དགའ་བྱུང་བྱུང་ལུང་སོན་ཞིང་ན་ཚོད་ཡོལ་བའི་དུས་སུ་སྟོབས་ཡོད་ནའང་ལུ་བསྐྱབ་དུས་ཏུ་ཅང་སྟོབས་ཤུགས་ལྱིས་ཁེངས་ཏེ་ཡར་ཚོའི་གསོན་ཤུགས་རྒྱས་བཞིན་པའི་ན་གཞོན་ཞིག་དང་འདྲ་པོ་འདུག། ཁོང་རང་སྟོན་ཐོན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལྱི་མི་ཡིན་པའི་དབང་གིས་ཡིན་ཅན་ཡང་ན་སོ་མས་གསལ་སྤུ་ལུང་ཡོད་པ་གང་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས་མོད། ལུ་བསྐྱབ་དུས་ལས་ཀའི་འགན་འཁུན་འབྲི་དང་དུས་ཚོད་ལྱི་འདུ་ཤེས་ནི་རེ་ཚོའི་སྟོབས་དཔོན་ཚོན་མོར་སྟོམ་པ་དག་ལས་ཚེས་ཚེར་རིང་དུ་བརྟམ་འདུག། སང་དུང་དུང་དུང་ལ་ཁ་རྒྱུར་དུར་ལུག་འཁྲུབ་པའི་དགུན་དུང་དང་། ཡང་ན་ཚོ་གདུང་འཁེབ་ཏུ་ཚེ་ཞིང་ཚར་རྒྱ་ཚོ་ཁས་ལུང་ཡོད་པའི་དབྱར་སྟོན་ལྱི་དུས་གང་ཡིན་དུང་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ཡོད་པའི་ཉེན་རིམ་ཞོགས་པར་སྤྱོད་ཅན་སྟོབས་ཁབ་གི་སྟོར་ཚེས་ཐོག་མར་ཤེབས་མཐུན་ནི་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཡིན་པ་མི་སོ་སྤུལ་ཏུ་སྤྱོད་པ་དེ་སྟར་རྒྱུན་འབྲོངས་མཛོད།

ཁོང་གིས་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་ནན་ཏན་དང་རྩོལ་མེད་ཡིན་པར་མ་ཟད་སྟོབས་རིས་མེད་ལ་སོ་མཚོན་མོ་དམན་ལྱི་དེའི་ཡོ་སྟོན་ནས་ཡོད་མེད་མེད། ཁོང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ནི་ནམ་ཡང་རང་དབང་གི་ཁོར་ལུག་ལྷན་པར་མ་ཟད་འདྲ་མཉམ་དང་དབྱེལ་ཡངས་ལྱི་ཁ་དུགས་མཐུག་པོ་ཞིག་གུང་ལྷན་པས་སྟོབས་ཤིགས་ཚང་མ་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་ཞིང་ལུས་པ་ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚན་མེད་པ་ཞིག་གལ་ཡིན། ཁོང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་ནི་“ཁ་སྤེལ་བྱེད་དང་ལྷོད་པ་དར་བ” ཡི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་དང་གཏན་ནས་མི་འདྲ་བར་“སྟོ་སྟོད་དང་དགའ་སྟངས་སྟོར་ལུས་པའི” སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་གསར་བ་རྒྱུར་རྒྱུར་མེད། ཡང་གཅིག་བཤད་ན་ཁོང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་ནི་“སྟོབས” དང་“ཤིང”གཉིས་པོ་ཚུན་ལུས་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། དགེ་སྟོབས་བར་ལྱི་བསམ་ལོ་འཇེ་རིས་ལྷན་ཏེ་འཐར་གཏུགས་ན་སྟོབས་སྟོབས་དང་ལག་ལོན་གཉིས་ལྷུང་དུ་སྟོབས་པའི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་གསར་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་ཁོང་ལ་གསལ་མཚོ་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ལོད་སྟོབས་གསོ་མཐུན་ཅན་ཁག་དང་སྟོབས་ལྷན་མོའི་དགེ་སྟོབས་རྩམས་ལྱིས་ཁོང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་ལ་ཚེད་དུ་རྩ་འཇུགས་དགོས་ཉན་དུ་ཡོད་ནས་སྟོབས་སྟོབས་དང་ཞིག་འཇུག་ལྱེད་ཅིང་། གུན་ལྱིས་ཁོང་གི་སྟོབས་ཤིང་ལྱེད་སྐབས་ལ་བསྐྱབས་བརྗོད་མི་ལྱེད་མཐུན་གཅིག་གུང་མི་འདུག།

དེད་འཛིན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀོ་ལོ་སྤུང་མཚོག་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་ཉན་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ། དེ་ཅི་
ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལྟེན་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཆ་དང་རྣམས་ལྟུང་དགོད་ལོ་བ་དང་། དེ་མིན་འོ་མཚར་བའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་
མང་པོ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིན་པར། སྐབས་མེར་ཁོང་གིས་ངའོ་མཚར་དགོད་ཁ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་ཁ་ཡང་སྐྱེམ་མི་ལྟུང་པའི་
གནས་སྐབས་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་། དེ་བས་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་ཉན་འདོད་ཀྱི་འདུན་པ་ཅི་ཉིན་རེ་ནས་ཉིན་རེར་རྗེ་ཚེར་གྱུར་པ་
ཡིན།

ཁོང་གིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ལས་དང་པོ་བ་དག་ལ་སློབ་བྱིད་གནང་བའི་སྐབས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་མར་ཚུ་
ཚོད་སྐར་མ་གསུམ་བཞི་ཅུ་མ་འདྲེན་སྤྱད་ནས་སློབ་ལོགས་ཚོར་གོ་བའི་བའི་དབྱིན་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེད་བྱུངས་ལྟར་དུ་འདྲི་
པ་དང་། ཡང་སྐབས་མེར་སློབ་ལོགས་མེ་གཉིས་ལ་སྤྱད་བྱུངས་མེ་ལེན་ཏུ་འཇུག་སྟེ། དེ་ཉམས་ལྟེན་དོན་ཅི་སློབ་མ་
ཚོ་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་སློབ་མེ་གཅིག་རྒྱུ་ལྟེན་དུ་འཇུག་རྒྱུའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ། ཐེངས་ཤིག་ཁོང་གིས་ངའོ་མཚར་
《དེ་ཅི་རྗེ་འོ་མཚར་ཚུད་ཞིག་ཡིན》 ཞེས་པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་སྐྱེད་བྱུངས་ཤིག་བསྐྱབས་པ་དང་། དེ་ཅི་ཁོང་ཉིད་
ཚེས་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱད་བྱུངས་ཡིན་ཞེས་གསུང་ལྟུང་ལ་དེ་ལ་ནང་དོན་ཟབ་མོ་ཞིག་གྱུར་སྤུང་ཡོད་པ་རེད། སྤྱི་
དབྱུངས་དེའི་ནང་དུ་དགོ་ཀོ་ཀོ་དང་རྗེ་མ་གཉིས་ཕན་ཚུན་དཔེ་དང་དཔེ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྤོན་བཞེས་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ།
ཁོང་གིས་སྤྱད་བྱུངས་དེ་ལེན་སྐབས་སྤྱི་གསལ་གཅིག་ནས་དགོ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དགའ་བ་བྱུང་གསོད་
དང་ངས་བ་འཛིན་མེད་དགོས་རེད་གི་དུ་སློབ་ཚོར་ཤེས་བྱའི་བདུན་ཅི་ལྟུང་པ་གང་ལྟོ་འོ་ཚུལ་དུ་སྤྱི་གསལ་བཞེས་པའི་
རྣམས་ལ་མའོ་མཚར་ལྟུང་པ་དང་། སྤོགས་གཞན་ཞིག་ནས་བྱིད་སྤྱད་ཏེ་རྗེ་མ་ནང་ནས་རྗེ་སྤྱི་གསལ་འདྲེན་པའི་རྣམས་ལ་
འཇུག་སྤོན་ལྟེན་བཞེས་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལས་ནས་སྤྱི་གསལ་སྤྱད་བཞེས་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་
བཞེས་པ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱོར་འོད། ལྟུང་པར་ཁོང་གིས་སྤྱད་བྱུངས་དེ་ལེན་སྐབས་མགོ་པོ་ཡང་མཚོར་པོར་བཀྲུགས་ཏེ་
ལག་ལ་ཡ་གཅིག་རྗེ་མའོ་མཚར་ལུང་གི་ཚུལ་དུ་མཚན་ལ་བརྒྱུད་ཅིང་། ཡ་གཅིག་རྗེ་མའོ་མཚར་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་
འཇུགས་པར་པར་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ལུས་པོ་ཅུང་དམའ་དམའ་དང་རྒྱུད་བཤེས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་ཏེ་ཁ་གཤོན་ཚུར་
གཤོན་དགོས་རྗེས་བཞེས་པའི་རྣམས་ལ་སྤོན། སློབ་ལོགས་ཚོས་གྱུར་ཁོང་གི་རྗེས་སྤྱི་གསལ་ལྟུང་ནས་འཇུག་སྤོན་ལ་ལང་
སློབ་བྱིས་ཤིང་དགོད་ལོ་བའི་འཇུག་སྤོན་གྱི་རྣམས་ལ་དེས་ཀུན་ལ་དགོད་ཁ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་ཤིག་སློབ་ཁང་ཅི་ལ་པོ་
དགོད་སྤྱི་གསལ་ལེད་སོང་། དེ་དང་དེ་ཉམས་ལྟེན་དགོད་སྤོན་ཤིང་དའོ་མཚར་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་པའི་འདུན་པ་ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཚེར་
གྱུར་པར་མ་ཟད། སློབ་ལྟུང་མེར་སློབ་མེ་གཅིག་རྒྱུ་དགོས་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་ཉན་ཞིང་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་ལྟར་
ལས་སྤྱི་གསལ་ཤིག་དང་སྤོན་ལས་སྤྱི་གསལ་ལྟུང་པར་མ་ཟད། ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིད་ལེད་ཚོར་ཚོར་རྣམས་ལྟུང་སེམས་སྤོད་
སྤོད་པར་གྱུར་འགོ་བའི་ཚོར་བ་ཞིག་སློབ་ལོགས་ཚོར་མར་སྤོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

དགོ་ཀོ་ལ་གསལ་གྱིས་དུས་རྒྱུན་སློབ་སྤྱིད་ལས་གཞན་དུང་འཚོ་བ་དང་བའི་ཐང་། ལྟུང་ཤེས་ལོགས་
སྤོགས་གང་ཅིའི་ཐང་ལ་སྤྱི་གསལ་ལྟུང་དང་རྒྱུད་སྤོད་ཚེན་པོ་བྱས། དེད་འཛིན་གྱི་སློབ་ལོགས་ཚོར་མ་དབྱིན་ཅིའི་
གསལ་ལྟེན་ནས་འགོ་བཅུ་མས་པ་ཡིན་པས་དང་ཤོག་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་མང་གཞི་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཞན་པོ་ཡོད། ཡིན་ནའང་ཁོང་

གིས་སྐོབ་བྱིང་བྱས་པ་ནས་བཟུང་ངའོ་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལྷོད་ཐབས་སྐོར་ལ་སྐོབ་བྱིང་མི་དམན་པ་སོང་
པར་མ་ཟད་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ཡང་མི་དམན་པ་ཞིག་མོན་པོད་པ་ནས་ལངས་ཉི་ཤར་ཡིན་པ་རེད། ཁོང་གིས་ཐབས་ཅུ་
ཚོགས་པ་སོ་སོར་འབྲེལ་བ་བརྟུན་ནས་ནས་ང་ཚོའི་སློབ་ཡོན་ཆ་ཚད་དང་ཟུང་ཡོད། སྐོང་ཁང་གི་རིན་པོ་སློབ་གྲུར་
ཡོང་བའི་ལམ་གྱི་སྐོབ་སྐོར་འཕྲོད་པ་དག་ཁོང་གི་བཤོད་སྟོན་ལོག་མཐུན་ལྟར་སྐྱུར་བ་ཡིན། སློབ་བྱིང་གི་ཕན་
ཚད་ནས་སོ་སྐབས་ཡོད་ཚད་དམ་འཛིན་དགོས་ཟེ་མིང་ལ་ཡོང་བའི་ཁོང་གི་སྐོབ་སྐོར་པོ་དང་ཡང་དུ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ།
སློབ་མ་སོགས་སྤྱི་སྲིད་བའི་མི་གང་ཡོད་དག་ང་ཚོའི་འཛིན་གྲུབ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་མཉམ་སྦྲེལ་གྱིང་ཡོང་ནས་ཀྱི་བ་འདོན་དུ་
འཇུག་པ་དང་། ཁ་བརྟུང་གྱི་དུ་འཇུག་པ་སོགས་སྤྱི་སྲིད་བར་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་ཀྱི་སྐོབ་སྐོར་བསྐྱུར་ཅི་ཐུབ་བྱས། དེ་མིན་
ང་ཚོ་གས་སོ་སོར་སྐྱེ་བྱིང་གསར་འཛུགས་དང་དུས་བབས་ཤེས་བྱའི་སྐོར་གྲུང་པའ་མེན་དགོས་སློབ་མ་ཚོར་
འདོན་སྐོང་གྱིང་པ་སོགས་མདོར་ན་རྒྱུར་སྤྱད་དང་པལ་དུབ་གང་ལ་ཡང་མི་འཛོམས་པར་ང་ཚོར་མཛུབ་རྟོན་གང་
ཤེས་པ་བྱས་ཤིང་། སློབ་མ་ཚོའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་ཚུ་ཚད་ལོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་སྐོབ་ཡིང་ལས་འགོ་དང་བའི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཚེད་
པོ་སྤྱིན།

ཀུན་ལགས་ཀྱི་མཛུབ་རྟོན་དང་རོགས་རམ་ལ་བརྟེན། སློབ་མ་ཚོས་དབྱུར་དུ་གཏུག་གནང་གི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་
ཞིང་ཚེན་སོ་སོའི་གཞི་རིམ་སྐྱེ་བྱུ་གསལ་སྤྱོད་དག་ཀུན་ལ་མངགས་པ་བཅུ། ཡང་ན་ཐབས་ཅུ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་
ཡུལ་སྐོར་གྲུང་གི་སོགས་ནས་དུས་ལྷུང་ལས་ཀ་ལོས་འཚམ་མེ་བཤོད་སྟོན་བྱས་ཏེ། སློབ་མ་ཚོ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འཚོ་བ་
དངོས་ཀྱི་སྐོང་གསལ་ཞུགས་ལྷོད་དུ་བརྟུག་པར་མ་ཟད། རང་རང་གི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁ་སྐྱོན་ལོས་འཚམ་མེ་ཤེས་ཏུ་
བརྟུག་པ་སོགས་ཅི་ཀུན་དམ་པ་ཁོང་གི་སྤྱི་རིན་འབའ་ཞིག་ལས་ལྷུང་བ་ཡིན།

མིག་ལྱར་ཁོང་གིས་སྐོང་བ་སྤོང་བྱས་པའི་ཤོད་རིགས་སློབ་མ་བཟང་ལས་འདས་པ་ཞིག་ཨ་མེ་མི་ཁ་
དང་། དབྱིང་བྱི་ཐེ་མ་ལ་གྱི་སྤེལ་ལུ་ཡིན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱི་ལྷོ་ལས་ཁག་ཏུ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་ལ་མངགས་ཡོད་ལ་འདི་ལོ་ང་ཚོར་
མཚོན་ན་དག་འཕོས་པའི་དོན་ཚེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་མ་ཟད། ང་ཚོ་བོད་པ་དག་གི་དོས་ནས་བཤད་ན་འད་དུས་རབས་
ལ་ཁ་སྐོབ་པ་ལ། འཛོམ་སྤོང་ལ་ཁ་སྐོབ་པ་ལ། མ་འོང་བར་ཁ་སྐོབ་པའི་དམ་འཛིན་ལས་འབའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་གསོན་མི་
ཟ་ལ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དོན་སྤོང་གསལ་ཚེན་ཞིག་གྲང་སྤྱད་ཡོད་པར་འདོད་དོ།

དག་ཀུན་ལོ་སྤྱད་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ནམ་ཡང་མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལས་མ་སྐོབ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་རང་ལྷོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་བྱིང་
ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་གསལ་ཚེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་བརྗེ་བཞིན་ཡོད་ལ། སློབ་སྐོབ་སྐོར་གྲུང་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བྱིང་གི་བསམ་བློའི་སློབ་གསོ་
ཞིག་དང་། ལག་མེན་གྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཞིག། དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཞིག་རེད་ཅེས་ཁས་ལེན་དང་གྲུང་བུར་གྱིང་
བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ཁོང་གིས་སློབ་བྱིང་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་དེ་དངོས་ཡོད་འཚོ་བ་དང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ནས་དུས་རྒྱུས་སློབ་མ་ཚོ་སྤྱི་
ཚོགས་འཚོ་བར་གསལ་ཞུགས་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གྱིང་དུ་བརྟུག་དང་འཇུག་བཞིན་པས། མི་རྒྱུས་ཀྱིས་རྟོག་པར་
འདི་རྟུར་སྐོང་གི་ཡོད་ཏེ། “མཚོ་སྐོན་དག་གི་སློབ་གྲུབ་ཤོད་པོད་དབྱིན་ཚེད་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་གྲུབ་སློབ་སྐོབ་སྐོར་གྲུང་
རྒྱུ་བསྐོང་མཐུན་ཅམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ལག་ཞིག་གྲུང་རེད།” ཅེས་བསྟན་པ་བཤོད་བྱས།

ཡོད་པ་དོན་དང་རྣམ་པར་སྣམ། གན་ལགས་མི་སྲིད་པར་དག་གི་ “སྐྱེ་མེད་སྐྱེ་བུ་རིགས་” དང་སྐོན་ནས་འདྲ་བོ་མ་ཡིན་
ཏེ། ཁོང་གིས་སེམས་ལྷགས་དང་དོན་ལྷགས་གང་ཡོད་བཏོན་ནས་རྩོམ་མི་རིམ་ལྷན་ཞིག་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དང་།
རང་གི་མི་རིགས་མི་རིགས་དང་མེས་རྒྱལ་ལ་དགའ་བཞིན་བྱེད་དགོས་པ། རང་གི་སྤྱན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོབ་རྒྱུན་
རིག་གནས་དང་ཡ་རབས་སྲིད་བཟང་རྒྱུན་འབྲེལ་བྱ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་སྐོར་ནས་སྐོབ་གསོ་དང་ཁ་ཏུ་རྒྱུན་པར་མཛད་
གྱི་ཡོད།

རེད་ལགས། ཁོང་གིས་དེ་ཚོར་མི་ཚོ་དོན་སྤྱི་དཀོན་གས་སུ་བརྟུན་པ་དང་། སེལ་དཀའ་བའི་གནད་དོན་
དང་དོན་དཀའ་བའི་གསང་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གསལ་བར་བྱས་ལ། འཛམ་གླིང་གོ་ལ་རྩིས་པོའི་འགྲུང་རྟོག་ཡང་ཤེས་
སུ་བརྟུན།

སྐོན་ཚད་དེ་ལ་འགན་བབས་སྐོབ་གསོ་ཚ་ཚད་ཅམ་ཡང་སྲིད་པའི་སྐལ་བ་མ་ལྡན་མོད། སྐོབ་སྐྱོད་ལ་ལྷ་
རྒྱལ་མཐར་སྐྱེལ་བྱས་པས། རིན་གྲིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དགོ་ཀན་དམ་པ་གང་མང་ལ་འཕྲད་སྲིད་ཡོད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་
ཀུན་སྲིད་སྐྱེ་བ་ལས་གས་ཤིང་སྤྲུག་བསམ་གྱིས་ཀུན་ནས་སྤྱུག་པའི་ཀན་ཁེ་སྤྱན་རྟེན་བྱ་ཞིག་ལ་འཕྲད་མ་སྲིད་ལ། ཁོང་
རྟེན་པའི་འགན་འཁུའི་འདུ་ཤེས་ཆེ་བ། དུས་ཚོད་དམ་འཛིན་བྱེད་པ། རང་ཉིད་གྱི་ཡོད་ཚད་སྐོབ་མའི་སྤྱི་དུས་
མཐའ་གྱི་དགོ་ཀན་ཞིག་དང་པག་བར་དུ་མཐོང་ཚོས་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་མ་གྱུར། ཁོང་གི་ནམ་ཡང་དེ་ཚོའི་སེམས་ཁོང་གི་ཉེ་མ་
ཡིན་ན་བདག་གི་འཚོ་བའི་མིག་དཔེ་ཡང་ཡིན། ཁོང་གི་སྐྱེ་བུ་མི་དེ་ཚོས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མཐའ་དུ་ཡང་གཞུགས་བར་མི་
རུས་སོ།

མཇུག་མཐར་ཀན་ལགས་ནས་དགྲུང་གྲངས་དུག་ཅུ་བཞེས་པར་སེམས་ཁོངས་དུས་པའི་གཏིང་ནས་
རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལྷ་བ་དང་། སྤྱད་སྤྱིན་ཚད་ཀྱང་བདག་དང་བདག་རྟེན་པའི་སྐོབ་མ་མང་པོ་ལྷགས་ནས་མི་འདོད་བར་
མཁུན་མཁུན་ཞེས་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལ། མི་མཇུག་དུ་སྐྱེ་ཉིད་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་རིང་ཞིང་མཛད་འཕྲིན་མཐའ་དག་དཔྱིད་གྱི་དཔལ་
མོ་བཞིན་དུ། དབྱར་གྱི་མཚོ་མོ་བཞིན་དུ། ཡར་དོའི་རྩེ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡར་ནས་ཡར་འགོ་དང་། གོང་ནས་གོང་འཕེལ་
འགྲུང་བའི་བཀའ་ཤིས་སྐོན་འདུན་ལྷ།

ཞེས་ཀན་དམ་པ་ཁེ་སྤྱན་མཚོག་དགྲུང་གྲངས་དུག་ཅུར་སོན་པས་ཁོང་གི་སྐོབ་མའི་གཤམ་མཐའ་བཅོར་མགོའི་སྐལ་
བརྟན་དུ་འཕྲོད་པས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༥ ལོའི་སྤྱི་ཟླ་ ༩ པའི་ཚེས་ ༡༥ ཉིན་ས་ཆེ་གཞུང་སྲིད་པའི་སྤྱན་རྟོན་སྐོབ་ལྷན་གྱིས་
སོ།

Gaden Tsedan (Ronald)

...

Dear Teacher,

I waited until the last minute because I didn't know what to say besides saying "Thank you," and, "I appreciate everything you have done to help me and many other students." But I can imagine that probably every single student who wrote to you on this occasion said the same thing. So, I want to make my message special and different. I will write in my native tongue to express my sincerest gratitude for what you have done for me, my community, and the Tibetan community.

ni ʁo kə və sə tɛ wkæ dzɪŋ ke cʰɛ me ŋo
ni və ta lə ʁa tɕʰə vsəm den tə ʁdzəm ɕæ

Herbert/ Lhundrop

...

Dear Teacher K,

You are the one who proved that learning can be a fun and pleasant experience. All your hard work and deep concerns are highly appreciated. Wishing you a very happy birthday and long life.

བུ་ལྷོ་ལོ་སྐྱོ་བའི་ལོ་གསལ་

Rinchen Tso (Ava)

...

Dear Kevin,

Congratulations on your birthday! I am very grateful for your help during my two trips to Sanchuan to research Mangghuer embroidery, and for your help with the ensuing research paper.

Best,
Aila Pullinen

...

Dear Teacher Kevin,

I am writing this letter to sincerely thank you for everything you have done for me. I will always remember how lucky I have been to have a teacher like you. You have changed my life fundamentally. I can't imagine what my life would have been like if I didn't meet you and if I

didn't get help from you. Actually, you are the only one in the world who just wanted to help me and knew how to help me. How can I forget the things you have done for me?

I would like to express my great appreciation for your kindness, patience, generous hospitality, and enthusiasm, not only for me, but also for others. You taught me not only English, but also, there are so many things that I couldn't learn without you. And, I have spent such memorable and meaningful times with you. The way you taught me is more than the way a grandfather teaches his grandson.

I learned from you how important it is to be kind to others and have the courage to help others who need our help. I am sure you want each of your students to help and be kind to others, and that's why you empowered them. I will try my best to not disappoint you.

Thanks again for the things you have done for me. My true gratitude is beyond any words. I find an ordinary "Thank you" entirely inadequate to tell you how much I sincerely appreciate the things you have done for me.

Sincerely,
Sangs rgyas bkra shis (Darius)

...

Dear Kevin,

Thank you for all that you have been and done over these past decades in China and elsewhere. Your courage, creativity, insatiable desire to learn and your outsized sense of enjoyment of life have been, and are, an inspiration to me and, I'm certain, to many many others. Live long, and live well.

Much love,
Marielle

...

Challenge authorities
Keep alive ideals
Be true to yourself

You have inspired many with your example!

Almaz Haan

...

Dear Teacher,

Dear Teacher, happy 60th birthday! You are one of the most significant people in my life, who has literally changed and shaped my life, and the lives of many young Tibetans. Your passion and dedication not only showed us the possibilities, but also brought in hope and excitement for contemporary Tibetan education. I wish I could be there to share the cake and laughter with you at the party, but you are always in my heart with gratitude and love!

Joel (DrikJa Khar)

...

གངས་ཅིའི་ལྗོངས་ནས་ཆས་པའི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་སེང་གྲུ།
རྒྱས་པའི་ལ་རྒྱའི་གཡུ་རལ་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་ནས་རམ་སོང་།།
ཡོད་ཚད་ཀླུན་གྱི་ཅ་བ་ལྷག་བསམ་གྱི་དགོ་རྒྱ།
སུ་ཡིས་མ་བསྐྱལ་དང་བླངས་བྱ་བཞག་འདི་མཚོག་གཅིག།

Karma (Isaac)

...

Congratulations, Kevin, on your 60th birthday, and on many years of learning, educating, and helping those around you. Like so many others, I became inspired by your example to be a useful person, and this has changed my life's trajectory immeasurably. Thank you for this and so much more.

I wish you a fantastic birthday and celebration, as well as many more healthy and meaningful years ahead!

Warm wishes,
Elena McKinlay

...

There are very few people who can change so many people's lives so profoundly, and you are one of them. You are the role model I want to follow. Thank you so much for giving me and my fellow classmates so much by using your PhD to teach ABCs.

Washu Tsehua



Picture by Washu Tsehua.

In the summer of 2006 I met Kevin in Xining. As always, his flat was full of Tibetan students following his English-language programme. Like youths everywhere, they combined nonchalance with the self-conscious pursuit of modernity. Kevin picked a small group to talk about the subject of my research and one by one they carefully explained the traditional forms of conflict resolution that took place in their homelands. Through their words, we were transported from this modern Chinese city to the villages and grasslands of Amdo, where traditional ways of life are still followed. They told me about patterns of feuding and mediation, the influence of the local spirits, a world of tent-dwelling and livestock-rearing, where nomads regularly raid each other's livestock, and even the monks pursue old enmities. It was Kevin's skill to take these young Tibetans and to foster in them new language skills, to enable them to prosper in a changing world, while also ensuring they retain respect for their own customs and histories. At the same time, numerous researchers have benefitted from his wisdom and the opportunities to interact with his conscientious, linguistically-accomplished students. His legacy will remain for years to come.

Fernanda Pirie

...

To Dr. Kevin Stuart

My first encounter with Dr. Kevin Stuart was in summer 2002. As a young undergraduate student of East Asian Studies, I took part in a summer course on Amdo Tibetan in Qinghai Normal University. One of the many joys of the summer course included the inspiring lectures by Dr. Kevin Stuart, parties at his home in Xining, and discussions with his Tibetan students. The summer in Qinghai was an unforgettable experience and I decided to specialize on languages and cultures of the region. Since the beginning of my career as a field linguist, I have always found Dr. Stuart as a continuous source of inspiration and support. He has not only offered indispensable practical help by introducing language consultants to me and sharing his knowledge of local cultures gained through a long experience of living and working in Tibetan areas of northwest China; he has also encouraged me and many other students and scholars from the University of Helsinki to undertake their research projects. Dr. Stuart was one of the main international collaborators in a research project 'Ethnic Interaction and Adaptation in Amdo Qinghai', which was conducted in the University of Helsinki and funded by Academy of Finland in between 2005 and 2008. In December 2008 he visited

Helsinki as an invited speaker to give a talk at a conference on languages and cultures of Amdo Qinghai. I have many wonderful memories of Dr. Stuart's visit, the conference, and an excursion to Tampere to see an exhibition on Tibet in a local museum. In addition to being involved in joint research projects, I have also had a pleasure to get to know Dr. Stuart's work as an English teacher and observe his classes during my field trips to China. Dr. Stuart is an exceptional teacher who has the ability to help his students to build up confidence and discover their strengths. The mutual trust and respect between him and his students is touching. It is with great joy and thanks that I would like to congratulate Dr. Stuart on his 60th birthday. I wish all his future projects will be successful and he will live a long, happy life.

Erika Sandman
University of Helsinki

Erika and Kevin.



...

Dr. K, you are THE TEACHER. Thank you! May health and happiness always be with you. The picture was taken on June 13th, 2012. It show Dr. K and Yang Mei.

Amy (Yang Mei 杨梅) (Graduated in July, 2013)

Kevin and Amy



...

Dear Dr. K,

I was very lucky to meet you at Qinghai Normal University in 1998, when I was sixteen years old. Since then you have become my hero, because you really cared for us and taught us skills, techniques, and

knowledge that we could easily build upon to address issues of our own and of our communities! Most importantly, your endless care, support, help and guidance for us really moved me! Therefore, I'd like to say many thanks to you and happy birthday to you!

Your student Dj (Justin)

...

Ya! On this auspicious day
At this moment when good things arise
In a year, one month is regarded thus;
In a month, one day is regarded thus;
In a day, one morning is regarded thus;
It should be said that today is the
auspicious minute, the perfect time
that is the beginning of Teacher Kevin's 60th year!

Congratulations Kevin: mentor, friend, and co-editor. Titles like these, however, cannot begin to express the impact you have had on so many lives. I count the day I met you as one of the more memorable evenings I can't remember, and the starting point of some of the most important experiences and relationships in my life.

Congratulations! Happy Birthday and many returns!
Tim Thurston

...

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMDO TIBETAN LOVE SONGS, OR LA GZHAS

Skal bzang nor bu (Independent Scholar)

THE TERMS

La gzhas, or Amdo Tibetan love songs, are sung between young men and women to express their love to each other. Several terms are available for this type of love song in Amdo Tibetan. *La gzhas* is the most common term for such songs in written Tibetan, *la* meaning 'mountain pass' and *gzhas* 'song'. In oral Amdo Tibetan, it is *la-ye*, a homophone of the literary term. *Ri glu* literally means mountain song, and this term matches the Chinese term for love songs, *shan'ge*. These two terms indicate where this song is often sung, in the mountains, far away from houses, villages and tents, in places where there are few people around. *Rogs 'then* has a more romantic connotation, *rogs* meaning friend or lover, and *'then* meaning to pull, or hookup.

The lyrics of *la gzhas* express feelings between men and women. Typically, love songs can be divided into the following categories, resembling the progress of love between a young man and woman (Mtsho sngon zhing chen mang tshogs sgyu rtsal khang 1981):

- 1) *Tse mgo rtsom pa'i skor* 'Starting'
- 2) *Rogs 'grogs pa'i skor* 'Getting to know each other'
- 3) *Zhe mthun pa'i skor* 'Falling in love'
- 4) *Rogs dran pa'i skor* 'Longing for each other'
- 5) *Kha 'bral ba'i skor* 'Parting'
- 6) *Rogs 'gal ba'i skor* 'Breaking up'
- 7) *Bde mo 'jog pa'i skor* 'Farewell'

Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang (2002) categorize the songs into more types, adding detail to the stages: 1) Starting; 2) Uncertainty or ordeal; 3) Promising to each other; 4) Getting to know

each other; 5) Falling in love; 6) Parting; 7) Longing for each other; 8) Sadness; 9) Breaking up; 10) Competing for a lover; 11) Ending the singing party. Some collections, such as Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub (1993), include 'others' or 'new collections' in the list, which obviously means that categories other than those listed above are available. It is also common to find other divisions.

The love songs are in even-syllable poetic formats. Each song usually consists of two parallel stanzas, the first being metaphorical and the second containing the literal meaning. Each stanza has between two and sixteen lines, but most commonly features four to six lines, with mostly seven syllables in each line.

In 2006, the government of Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture nominated *la gzhas* to be included among the first group of items listed in the national level intangible cultural heritage register by the State Council of China, and Chos skyid sgrol ma, a woman born in a rural village in Khri ka (Guide) County, was nominated as the genre's exemplary tradition-bearer.

SOCIAL NORMS OF *LA GZHAS*

La gzhas are sung in most Amdo Tibetan areas. Amdo roughly means the northeast part of the Tibet Plateau according to traditional Tibetan geography, which, in today's administrative division of China, includes Qinghai Province, except Yul shul (Yushu) Autonomous Prefecture; Kan lho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and Dpa' ris (Tianzhu) Tibetan Autonomous County in Gansu Province; and Rnga ba (Aba) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province.

In daily life, *la gzhas* are mostly sung in the mountains or grasslands, by young male and female herders, alone or to each other. In farming areas, these songs are often heard when young women are weeding in the barley or wheat fields. They may also be sung in gatherings of young men and women during festivals. Individuals also commonly sing *la gzhas* alone, while herding yaks and sheep on the grassland, or on mountain slopes. It is also not uncommon that herding men and women sing to each other from a distance during

herding, regardless of whether they know each other or not.

However, there are delicate norms relating to the situations in which it is appropriate to sing love songs. One basic taboo is that one should not sing *la gzhas* in the presence of close relatives of the opposite sex, that is, for a girl to sing in the presence of grandfather, father, uncles or brothers, or for a boy to sing in the presence of a grandmother, mother, aunts, or sisters. It is even inappropriate for these two sides to be at a singing party at the same time. Even listening to and talking about love songs and other 'delicate matters' is inappropriate between father and daughters, mother and sons, or brothers and sisters. Therefore, the right circumstances are important for singing *la gzhas*.

Nonetheless, the norms vary slightly from region to region. During the Glu rol festival in Reb gong Tibetan villages, there is one occasion on which singing love songs is a part of a performance by young men and women, in front of an audience of villagers, including these performers' close relatives. Also, during the summer *lab tse* festival, a ritual offering for the mountain deities, in Khri ka (Guide) County, singing *la gzhas* is an essential part of the ceremony.

What are the appropriate situations for singing these love songs, then? The most obvious answer would be that they are sung between men and women who are not close biological relatives. This could be between individuals or groups, with the latter being more common, as they are often sung during gatherings as a form of entertainment or competition.

Singing Amdo love songs, therefore, is appropriate when a young man and women 'fall in love with each other' and express feelings. We do not need to doubt the primary function of love songs, which is to express true feelings between men and women, but there are also romantic cases in which a man and a woman get to know each other through singing *la gzhas* and fall in love with each other afterwards. In practice, the singing can also be a form of entertainment or competition, in which cases one should not take the meaning of the songs too seriously. It occasionally happens that a Tibetan sings *la gzhas* to a non-Tibetan during a party, and the latter is astonished to learn the meaning of the song through translation – which might be "You're the only one for me in this life and I want to

marry you" – and does not know how to deal with such a sudden 'crush'. If one has a little knowledge about this particular culture, he or she could avoid such embarrassment with ease; the latter can even sing back, expressing their own 'true love'.

Love song competitions between men and women are popular during festivals and other gatherings. For instance, in Rdo sbis Township, Xunhua County, Qinghai Province, on the fifth day of the fifth month according to Chinese lunar calendar, the Lnga ba'i dbyar ston summer festival is held. During the festival, young men and women go on a 'pilgrimage' to a *stupa* in the area. In the afternoon, they gradually gather in a willow forest about one kilometer from the stupa, in order to realize the real purpose of this 'pilgrimage' day. Men from the same village form a group and send messengers to invite a group of women from another village as singing partners. The men and women then sit in two circles near each other and start the singing party. For a good singer, it is common to sing hundreds of love songs, not only without repetition, but also in direct reply to their partners' songs. It is said that some can sing for a few days.

Consequently, the art of Amdo *la gzhas* is not only in the beauty and richness of the lyrics, but also lies in the competitive element between the singing and response. Singers need a comprehensive repertoire in order to be able to make a well-judged response to a challenging song, one which might not only conquer one's counterpart, but also attract praise from the audience. Success in *la gzhas* singing competitions does not depend so much on the number of songs one can sing, as on the talent, sharpness, and creativity of one's singing. And of course, voice is always an essential quality for a singer of any type.

While talent, sharpness, and creativity are some qualities for good *la gzhas* singers, they should also be able to memorize a large number, usually hundreds, of songs. There are already hundreds of common *la gzhas* lyrics, passed down for generations, which form a foundation for this singing practice. Yet there are no fixed answers to any song and thus the singer chooses the most appropriate lyrics as the singing evolves. With a rich database of memorized lyrics, it is not difficult for a singer to improvise for a given situation by modifying the lyrics, using similar patterns or elements. Therefore, although the

practice of memorizing songs might seem to hinder creativity, it has never actually stopped singers from creating new lyrics and melodies. I will present some new love songs at the end of this paper.

Diplomacy is an important aspect of singing love songs. In Rdo sbis, for instance, it might be a delicate matter for a group of men from a village to invite a group of women from another village to sing love songs with them. While such invitations might be common practice during festivals, they may lead to conflict if a group of men from outside visit another village at night, as sometimes happens, to organize its young women to sing love songs. In this male-dominated society, male villagers' permission is essential for such gatherings. While the young women informing their male villagers about such party is one way to solve the problem, seeking a 'diplomatic' solution by the visiting men's side and asking for permission for the activity from the men of the host village may be a more effective way. In this way, the visitors not only get permission, but also, most probably, receive logistic assistance from the men of the host village.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Few studies are available on *la gzhas*,¹ as those who have conducted research on this topic have mentioned (Lha lung tshe ring 2008:3, Me tog skyid (2012:1). While there may be various reasons for this, one must be that few 'respectable' Tibetan writers are willing to touch this 'pornographic' topic – it is almost like discussing sex in public – particularly in a very conservative society. Another reason may be that in the past, most Tibetan scholars had strong religious backgrounds and thus were not interested in such secular topics.

However, some writers have made efforts to study this elusive topic. Several papers are available on this topic. Mtsho sngon zhing chen mang tshoks sgyu rtsal khang (1981) was probably the first publication of a *la gzhas* collection in Tibetan history. After this, more collections became available: Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub (1993); Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang (2002); Sha bo tshe ring (2011); and Bka' ma mkha 'bum and Tshe rgyal (2012). Among these,

¹ My study deals only with the Tibetan literature on the topic.

Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub (1993) includes a section of newly created songs, which represents the evolution and enrichment of the *la gzhas* genre. G.yang mo skyid's (2013) substantial volume on Tibetan folk culture gives a very brief introduction to *la gzhas*. Lha lung tshe ring (2008) and Me tog skyid (2012), both graduate theses, are the most detailed studies so far on the topic. Both studies provide detailed backgrounds and information on the social norms for singing these songs, and give examples of each stage of the singing process. However, neither of them has studied the art of singing and responding.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

This study is based on my familiarity with Amdo love songs as well as many years of participation in *la gzhas* singing. While I am rather familiar with the social norms of this singing practice, I am not myself a singer of this tradition and know very few songs. The aim is not only to provide a basic introduction to the social practice of this singing tradition, but also, more importantly, to illustrate the artful communication between two singers – the skills used in expressing feelings in antiphonal singing. For this reason, I am specifically required to have a good collection of songs in mind and obtain certain knowledge of the logic of singing, i.e., how to respond to a song appropriately. However, this is exactly the challenge I face, although I do have a certain 'common sense' about it. In order to overcome this limitation, I consulted some singers in my rural home place,² and also listened to recorded singing competitions. Most examples of songs in this paper are chosen from published love song books.

This paper focuses on the lyrics of *la gzhas* and does not compare *la gzhas* with similar songs in other Tibetan regions, such as Kham and Central Tibet, nor with similar singing traditions of other ethnic groups in the region, such as *hua'er* in northwest China.

² I consulted Skal bzang rin chen, Rdo rje rgyal, and Rig 'dzin in 'Dod rtse Village, Rdo sbis Township, Xunhua County, Qinghai Province in 2014.

THE LOVE SONGS

Now I turn to the songs, themselves, following the order mentioned above.

Rtse mgo rtsom pa'i skor 'Starting'

These stanzas allow singers to introduce themselves to each other, as well as greet the audience. Singers who have not sung to each other in the past will get to know each other and those who already know each other will greet each other by singing. When only young men and women gather together, singing *la gzhas* can start directly.³

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:1)

- 1 ངས་རྩེ་མགོ་ལེན་ན་རྩེ་མགོ་ལེན།
- 2 རྩེ་མགོ་དགོངས་སྒྲོན་གནམ་ལ་ལེན།
- 3 དབྱུང་ཨ་སྒྲོན་ཆེན་པོ་གུར་ལ་དབྱུང།
- 4 ས་པད་མ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་གདན་ལ་འདོང།
- 5 དབྱུང་ཉི་ཟླ་གཉིས་ཀ་མགོན་ལ་འབོད།
- 6 དེའི་ཞོར་གི་སྐར་ཚོགས་འབྲུམ་ལ་རྩེ།

- 7 ངས་རྩེ་མགོ་ལེན་ན་རྩེ་མགོ་ལེན།
- 8 རྩེ་མགོ་སྤེ་ཆེན་མོང་ལ་ལེན།
- 9 སྐྱ་མཐིང་སྐུག་གུ་གཞི་གུར་ལ་དབྱུང།
- 10 ལྗོད་དབྱུས་གཙང་སྤུག་ཕྱ་གདན་ལ་འདོང།
- 11 ཅད་རང་སྤེ་གཞན་སྤེ་མགོན་ལ་འབོད།
- 12 དེའི་ཞོར་གི་རོགས་བརྒྱ་འབྲུམ་ལ་རྩེ།

- 1 Let me sing the starting song,
- 2 Sing the starting song to the sky.
- 3 Let me pitch the blue sky as a pavilion,

3 To make the lyrics easier to read, I use a reading pronunciation of Tibetan terms based on Amdo Tibetan, rather than transliterating the terms in Wylie. For example, I write Atse Datse instead of *a rtsed da rtsed*.

- 4 Stretch out the ground as a carpet,
- 5 And invite the sun and moon as guests,
- 6 While also entertaining the numerous stars.

- 7 Let me sing the starting song,
- 8 Sing the starting song to the great village.
- 9 Let me pitch the black tent as a pavilion,
- 10 Stretch out the rugs from Upper U-Tsang as carpets,
- 11 And invite both our own villagers and others as guests,
- 12 While also entertaining the numerous friends.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:1-2)

- 1 ངས་རྩེ་མཐོ་ལེན་ན་རྩེ་མཐོ་ལེན།
- 2 རྩེ་མཐོ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་གངས་ལ་ལེན།
- 3 གངས་དཀར་པོར་དར་དཀར་འབྲེན་ན་ལེན།

- 4 ངས་རྩེ་མཐོ་ལེན་ན་རྩེ་མཐོ་ལེན།
- 5 རྩེ་མཐོ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་གྲོང་ལ་ལེན།
- 6 ཁ་ལ་གཞས་གུར་ཞིག་ཕྱུང་ལ་ལེན།

- 1 Let me sing the starting song,
- 2 Sing it to the snowy mountains,
- 3 Sing it to offer a white scarf to the white snow.

- 4 Let me sing the starting song,
- 5 Sing the starting song to the great village,
- 6 Sing it to pitch a love song pavilion.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:5-6)

- 1 ས་ཨ་རྩེ་དྲ་རྩེ་གོང་མ་ན།
- 2 མཚོ་མཚོ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རྩེ་བྱེད།
- 3 མཚོ་རྒྱ་ལ་འགྲན་དགོས་ཟེར་ནི་མིན།
- 4 དཔེ་དེ་ལ་འཛོག་གུ་ལྷུ་གཉིས་རྩེ།

5 ས་ཨ་ཚེ་ད་ཚེ་ཞོལ་མ་ན།
 6 འུ་འུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཚིག་ཅེ་བྱེད།
 7 རོགས་ཚིག་ཅེ་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར་ནི་མིན།
 8 དཔེ་དེ་ལ་འཛོག་ག་འུ་གཉིས་ཅེ།

1 In the place named Upper Atse Datse,
 2 A dzo and dzomo⁴ are playing with their horns,
 3 It is not that they want to compete with each other,
 4 We two play, following that example.

5 In a place named Lower Atse Tatse,
 6 A boy and a girl are playing with words,
 7 It is not that they are really quarrelling,
 8 We two play, following that example.

Female (Stag 'bum thar an Skal bzang 2002:6)

1 རྫོད་དུས་གཙང་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ་རེད།
 2 མཐོ་གསེར་ཉི་ག་ལྷ་བ་ཚེས་འདྲ་རེད།
 3 ལྷ་མཇལ་རྒྱུའི་བསམ་པ་འཛིན་ན་འགྲོ།
 4 ལྷ་ཚེན་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལངས་འདྲ་རེད།
 5 རོགས་རྒྱང་ལོ་ནམ་མཁའི་སྐར་མ་རེད།
 6 རོགས་ཅེ་རྒྱུའི་བསམ་པ་འཛིན་ན་འགྲོ།

1 The (monastery in) Upper U-Tsang is like the sun,
 2 The golden roof ornament is like the shining moon,
 3 I will go there with the expectation of glimpsing the gods.
 4 The great village is the like the sky,
 5 And the young lovers are like stars,
 6 I will go there with the expectation of playing with them.

4 Dzo (*mdzo*) is the general term for a crossbreed of a cow and a yak, and dzomo (*mdzomo*) is the term for its female.

There is another situation for commencing love songs, but it is trickier. For instance, during a village wedding, at which individuals of all ages are in attendance, it is common to sing folk songs as part of the celebration. As the night goes on, young adults may want to switch to sing love songs instead of folk songs, but uncles and aunts, or other relatives, still remain in the audience. Then, young men might quietly ask a senior man for permission to sing love songs, which is usually granted. Then a young male singer will stand up to sing the following 'ice-breaking' song:

1 རི་མཐོན་སོ་ཡོད་ན་དམའ་མོ་བྱོས།

2 ང་བླ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་འཕུར་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

3 རོ་སྤང་ས་ཡོད་ན་སེམས་ཚུང་བྱོས།

4 ངས་སྲིད་པའི་སྤྲུལ་རྣམས་ལེན་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

¹ If there are high mountains, please be lowered,

² I, the Garuda, the king of birds, will take off.

³ If there are individuals who should 'respect' each other, please be cautious,

⁴ As I am going to sing great secular songs.

With this obvious warning song, seniors, and those whose close relatives of the opposite gender are among the youths, will depart, leaving the space open for young adults. Having secured this safe ground, young men and women can start singing love songs.

Rogs 'grogs pa'i skor 'Getting to Know Each Other'

After greeting each other, the two sides begin to test each other by expressing their uncertainties about and interest in each other.

Male (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:43)

1 ས་ཀ་མདོ་སེལ་ར་ནང་ན།
 2 སེལ་གང་ཞེས་མེད་ཅི་མེན་རུང་།
 3 དེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་འདོད་ཚུགས་ཤིག་ལ།
 4 སེལ་རྒྱན་འབྲུམ་ཟོས་ན་འདོད་གི།

5 ས་ལྗེ་ཆེན་ཚེད་ར་ནང་ན།
 6 རོགས་གང་ཡག་མེད་ཅི་མེན་རུང་།
 7 དེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་འདོད་ཚུགས་ཤིག་ལ།
 8 མ་ཁྱོད་ལ་འགྲོགས་ན་འདོད་གི།

1 In the orchard of Kamdo,
 2 It's not that there are no tasty fruits,
 3 But according to my particular interest,
 4 I'd prefer to eat the grapes.

5 In the great village's singing party,
 6 It is not that no attractive ones are present,
 7 But according to my particular interest,
 8 I'd prefer to befriend you.

Female (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:46-47)

1 ཁྱོད་བྱང་ཚུགས་སྐར་མ་སྟེ་བདུན།
 2 ཁྱོད་འཆར་གི་འཆར་ལམ་ཨེ་བྱང་།
 3 ཁྱོད་འཆར་གི་འཆར་ལམ་བྱང་ན།
 4 དམ་བཅོ་ལྡེ་རྒྱ་བ་སྟོས་གཏོང་།
 5 སྟོས་བཏང་ནས་སྟོ་ཚེ་ཁྱོད་གཏོང་།

6 ཁྱོད་ལྗེ་ཆེན་བུ་མོ་གཤམ་ཆེན།
 7 ཁྱོད་འགྲོགས་ན་སྣང་བ་ཨེ་མཐུན།
 8 ཁྱོད་འགྲོགས་ན་སྣང་བ་མཐུན་ན།
 9 དམ་ཁ་མཐུན་རོགས་ལོ་སྟོས་གཏོང་།
 10 སྟོས་བཏང་ནས་སྟོ་ཚེ་ཁྱོད་གཏོང་།

1 You, the big dipper in the North,
 2 Is your beam of light straightforward?
 3 If your beam of light is straightforward,
 4 I shall abandon the moon from my heart,
 5 Abandon it, and shall fall in love with you.

6 You, the popular girl in the great village,
 7 Will you have feelings for me if we are together?
 8 If you will have feelings for me once we are together
 9 I shall abandon my duplicitous lover,
 10 Abandon her, and give my heart to you.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:106)

1 ཏྲ་དཀར་དཀར་སྒོ་ང་འདྲ་བོ།
 2 བྱོད་རིག་དུས་ཞོན་ན་འདོད་གི།
 3 ལམ་སྐྱུ་མོ་འཕྲང་ལམ་དོག་གི།
 4 རྩོག་ཡལ་མའི་རྩུར་ཁ་རྩོག་གི།
 5 དེ་བསམས་ན་ཞོན་རྒྱ་སྐྱག་གི།

6 རོགས་རྒྱང་ལོ་སྤྱིང་ལ་རྗེ་བོ།
 7 བྱོད་རིག་དུས་འགྲོགས་ན་འདོད་གི།
 8 རྩེ་ཚེན་པོ་མི་ཁ་རྩོད་གི།
 9 ཡུལ་པ་མ་བཅོན་དབང་ཚེ་གི།
 10 དེ་བསམས་ན་འགྲོགས་རྒྱ་སྐྱག་གི།

1 Oh horse, white as an egg,
 2 As soon as I saw you, I wished to ride you.
 3 But the path is long and narrow,
 4 And stones on the way are sharp and angular,
 5 Thinking of that, I fear to ride you.

6 Oh darling, dear to my heart,
 7 As soon as I saw you, I wished to be with you.
 8 But the rumors in the village are vicious.
 9 And the parents are ruthless,
 10 Thinking of that, I fear to fall in love with you.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:108)

1 བྱ་ཁུ་ལོ་སྣོད་ལ་རྗེ་བོ།
2 རྒྱུད་ནགས་རི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཤོག་དང་།
3 ཤིང་ཡལ་ག་གཉིས་ནོ་བདེན་མོད།
4 བྱ་སྣོད་མཐོའི་སྣོད་བའི་དཔེ་མེད།

5 རོགས་རྒྱུད་ལོ་སྣོད་ལ་རྗེ་བོ།
6 རྒྱུད་ལྗེ་རི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཤོག་དང་།
7 ཡུལ་པ་མ་བཅོན་ནོ་བདེན་མོད།
8 རོགས་སྒོ་ཁའི་བསྐྱར་བའི་དཔེ་མེད།

1 Oh cuckoo, dear to my heart,
2 Please pass the forested mountains and come over.
3 Although it is true that my branches are weak,
4 I guarantee that you'll never fall down to the ground.

5 Oh darling, dear to my heart,
6 Please pass the villages and come over.
7 Although it is true that the parents are ruthless,
8 It's impossible to keep you outside the door.

Zhe mthun pa'i skor 'Falling in Love'

If the relationship between the man and woman further develops, they may 'fall in love' with each other. In this session, the couple expresses their deep love to each other.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:129)

1 མོད་ཐང་དཀར་པ་ས་སྤྱིང་དཀར་སྣོད།
2 སྤྱིར་འཁོར་ནས་འབབ་ས་བྲག་དམར་ཐེམ།
3 འདི་འབབ་སའི་བྲག་དམར་སྤྱིད་ཅི་གི།
4 དས་པ་ས་སྤྱིང་དཀར་བརྗེད་ནས་ཐལ།
5 ལྷག་ཤར་བ་སྤྱེ་ས་རང་ལྗེ་དཀྱིལ།

6 སྤྱིར་འཁོར་ནས་རྩེ་ས་གཞན་སྤྱི་མཐའ།
 7 འདི་གཞན་སྤྱི་བྱ་མོ་མཐུན་ནི་གོ།
 8 ངས་རང་སྤྱི་ཕྱུག་མོ་བརྗེད་ནས་ཐའ།

1 The vulture's homeland is Upper Lingkar,
 2 But it has alighted on the red, rocky cliff.
 3 The red cliff where it has alighted is so comfortable that
 4 I forgot my homeland in Upper Lingkar.

5 The birthplace of the young man is his own village,
 6 But I am now playing in another's village.
 7 The girl from the other village is so sweet that,
 8 I have forgotten my own village.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:135)

1 བྱ་ལྷ་ལོ་འཛོལ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ
 2 ཆབས་གཅིག་ནས་སྤྱིས་ནི་མིན་བྲ།
 3 རྟགས་གཅིག་ལ་འཁོར་སྤྱོགས་འཁོག་གིས།
 4 བྱ་སྤྱོད་མཐོ་གཅིག་ནས་མཐུན་ཐའ།

5 རོགས་ཞི་ལི་ཞི་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ
 6 ཆབས་གཅིག་ནས་སྤྱིས་ནི་མིན་བྲ།
 7 སྤྱི་གཅིག་ལ་འཁོར་སྤྱོགས་འཁོག་གིས།
 8 རོགས་རྩེ་ས་ཞིག་ནས་མཐུན་ཐའ།

1 Although the cuckoo and lark,
 2 Were not born together,
 3 They have gathered in the same forest,
 4 And fallen in love atop the same tree.

5 Although both the young man and woman,
 6 Were born in different places,
 7 They have gathered in one village,
 8 And fallen in love with each other at the party.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002: 144)

1 ས་ཡར་བཟླས་སྟོང་ལྷན་ཁྲུགས་གི།
 2 ཡག་མེ་རྟོག་སྟོང་གི་ནང་ནས།
 3 དས་བཟླ་ས་མེ་རྟོག་སྟོང་ཡིན།
 4 རྟོང་མེ་རྟོག་བཀའ་ནས་ཨེ་འདུག
 5 རྟོང་མེ་རྟོག་བཀའ་ནས་འདུག་ན།
 6 དག་མེར་སྤྱང་བྱུང་བ་ཟེར་ནོ།
 7 དགུན་འཁྲུག་གིས་བཟུང་རུང་བསྐྱུག་ཀྱང།

8 དས་མར་བཟླས་ཚེད་ར་ནང་གི།
 9 རོགས་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་སྟོང་ཡོད་ནང་ནས།
 10 དས་བཟླ་ས་རོགས་ལོ་རྟོང་ཡིན།
 11 རྟོང་རོགས་ལོ་ཁ་མས་ཨེ་འདུག
 12 རྟོང་རོགས་ལོ་ཁ་མས་འདུག་ན།
 13 ད་པ་བཟང་ཞི་ལི་ཟེར་ནོ།
 14 ལོ་སྟུམ་ཅུར་ཐོན་རུང་བསྐྱུག་ཀྱང།

1 Glancing up the Tongdan Valley,
 2 Among the thousands of beautiful flowers,
 3 You are the flower I focus on.
 4 Will you continue blooming?
 5 If you continue blooming,
 6 I, the golden bee,
 7 Shall wait for you, even in the frozen winter.

8 Glancing down at the singing party,
 9 Among the hundreds and thousands of friends,
 10 You are the one I focus on.
 11 Will you, my lover, remain unchanged?
 12 If you remain changed,
 13 I, a boy of good lineage,
 14 Shall wait for you, until the age of thirty.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002: 147)

- 1 ང་ཙན་དན་སྟོང་པོ་ཟེར་ནོ།
- 2 དབྱར་གསུམ་ལ་ཙང་གྱིས་མི་བསྐྱམ།
- 3 དགུན་གསུམ་ལ་སྟགས་པས་མི་ཤི།
- 4 ང་རྩོ་གཙོད་སྟེ་རེ་མེད་ན།
- 5 གནའ་བསྐལ་བ་སྟོང་གི་ཤིང་ཡིན།

- 6 ང་ཆུང་འདྲིས་རོགས་ལོ་ཟེར་ནོ།
- 7 ལྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་མི་ཁར་མི་སྐྱབ།
- 8 དུལ་པ་མས་བཀག་རྟུང་མི་འོགས།
- 9 ང་ག་ཤིན་རྗེ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མེད་ན།
- 10 ཚོ་བསྐལ་བ་སྟོང་གི་རོགས་ཡིན།

- 1 I, the sandalwood tree,
- 2 Shall not wither in summer's heat,
- 3 Nor die in the winter's icy winds.
- 4 In the absence of a steel axe, I
- 5 Shall be a tree that lives a century.

- 6 I, the childhood lover,
- 7 Shall not fear village gossip,
- 8 Nor be stopped by parents,
- 9 In the absence of the lord of death, I
- 10 Shall be a lover for a century.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:148)

- 1 སྟོང་དབྱས་གཙང་ཚོས་གྱི་གངན་ས།
- 2 གསུང་རང་བྱོན་གྲུ་མུ་མེ།
- 3 སྟོང་རེས་རེས་མཇལ་འདོད་ཨེ་ཡོད།
- 4 སྟོང་རེས་རེས་མཇལ་འདོད་མེད་ན།
- 5 དུག་འཚལ་ནས་ཉེ་མ་མ་གཏོང་།
- 6 རྩལ་རྩལ་ནས་ཉེས་པ་མ་བསགས།
- 7 ལྟ་ང་ཚོ་ཚེད་སྟུང་མ་བྱེད།

8 ལྷོ་ཚོ་རྒྱལ་རོགས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་ས།
 9 རོགས་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ཞེ་མཛད་ས་རང་མཐུན།
 10 ལྷོད་དེས་དེས་རྩེ་འདོད་ཨོ་ཡོད།
 11 ལྷོད་དེས་དེས་རྩེ་འདོད་མཛད་ན།
 12 ཚེག་བཤད་དེ་ཉི་མ་གཏོང་།
 13 མནལ་བསྐྱལ་ནས་ཉེས་པ་མ་བསགས།
 14 རོགས་ང་ཚོ་རྩེ་རྒྱུད་མ་བྱེད།

1 Upper U-Tsang, the place of Dharma, is the place
 2 Where the blessing-possessor Shakyamuni abodes.
 3 Do you sincerely wish to worship there?
 4 If you do not sincerely wish to do so,
 5 Please do not waste your time with prostrations,
 6 Which kick up dust while you accumulate sin,
 7 And do not fool we gods.

8 Tsotruk, the village where friends gather to party,
 9 And young couples fall in love freely.
 10 Do you sincerely wish to play with us?
 11 If you do not wish to play with us,
 12 Please do not waste time with meaningless talk,
 13 Do not make yourself guilty with promises,
 14 And do not fool we friends.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:148-9)

1 བོ་ས་འབྲུག་རིས་མ་པོར་ཤོད་ལ།
 2 ངས་མི་ལོ་ཞེ་རྩེ་མི་ན་ད།
 3 བོ་ན་བཏང་གི་ནང་མོ་ཞིག་ལ།
 4 དབྱུང་གསུམ་གྱི་ཆར་བ་ཁོགས་དཔོས།
 5 དབྱུང་གསུམ་གྱི་བསེར་བྱ་འགོག་དཔོས།
 6 ལྷོས་མི་ཁོགས་ཟེར་ན་མི་ཚོག

7 ས་ལྷོ་ཚོན་རོགས་ལོར་ཤོད་ལ།
 8 ངས་མི་རྩེ་ཟེར་ནི་མི་ན་ད།

9 ཚེས་བཏང་གི་ནང་མོ་ཞིག་ལ།
 10 ལྷི་ལྷེ་བའི་མི་ཁ་འཁྱར་དགོས།
 11 ཇི་ན་ཕ་མ་ཡིན་ཏུང་བསྐྱར་དགོས།
 12 ལྷོས་མི་བསྐྱར་ཟེར་ན་མོ་ཚོབ།

1 Please tell the garment with dragon patterns,
 2 It is not that I do not wish to wear you,
 3 From the time I put you on,
 4 You ought to protect me from rain in the summer months,
 5 And cold winds in the winter months.
 6 You should never say that you can't do it.

7 Please tell the lover in the village,
 8 It is not that I do not wish to play,
 9 From the time I begin playing,
 10 You should tolerate the villagers' rumors,
 11 And leave the parents, dear to you.
 12 You should never say no to it.

Kha 'bral ba'i skor 'Parting'

Lovers must part ways at the end of the party. Before departure, the two sides express their sadness about leaving their lover. Meanwhile, they also express their wishes and promises to each other.

Male (Sha bo thse ring 2011:208)

1 ཡར་རྩོས་དགྲུང་སྒོན་གནམ་ནས།
 2 འབྲུག་ལྗང་ཁས་སྤྱིན་མཐའ་བརྒྱད་དུས།
 3 འབྲུག་བུད་མེད་འདོད་ལས་མ་སྤྱོད།
 4 སྤྱིན་དཀར་ནག་བར་ནས་སྐྱུག་ས་དང།
 5 ཅང་མི་འགོར་ལྷིང་ར་འཛོན་ན།

6 ལྷེ་ཚེན་པོ་མར་ཁྱའི་གོང་ནས།
 7 དས་ལྷེ་པོ་བརྒྱད་ལས་འགོ་དུས།

8 རོགས་བྱང་གལ་འདོད་ལས་མ་སྐྱོད།
 9 མྱོ་སྤྱི་ནང་བར་ནས་སྐྱགས་དང་།
 10 ཅང་མི་འགོར་སྤྱིར་ར་འགོན་ན།

1 Looking up in the sky to see
 2 The green dragon leaving the clouds,
 3 Please don't feel sad for its departure,
 4 And wait between the white and black clouds,
 5 I shall return without delay.

6 From the solemn village,
 7 When I depart from here,
 8 Please don't feel sad for my departure,
 9 Wait for me at the gate,
 10 And I shall return without delay.

Female (Sha bo thse ring 2011:212)

1 མཚོ་ཆེན་མཚོ་རྒྱང་བརྒྱད་དུས།
 2 འདི་མཚོ་སྤྱིར་བརྗེད་ཀྱི་མ་འཇུག
 3 དས་མ་འཇུག་ཟེར་ནི་མིན་ད།
 4 མཚོ་རིག་འདྲ་རིག་ན་བརྗེད་འགོ།

5 སྤྱི་ཆེན་སྤྱི་རྒྱང་བརྒྱད་དུས།
 6 ད་ཞེན་མཐུན་བརྗེད་ཀྱི་མ་འཇུག
 7 དས་མ་འཇུག་ཟེར་ནི་མིན་ད།
 8 རོགས་རིག་འདྲ་རིག་ན་བརྗེད་འགོ།

1 When you go through large and small lakes,
 2 Please do not forget the central island.
 3 Although I am not saying that you will,
 4 You may forget when you see similar lakes.

5 When you go through large and small villages,
 6 Please do not forget your intimate lover,
 7 Although I am not saying that you will,
 8 You may forget when you meet similar friends.

Male (Sha bo thse ring 2011:213)

- 1 བྱ་ཁྱུ་ལོས་ནགས་རི་བརྒྱུད་འགྲོ་གི
- 2 འདི་ལས་སྣོན་ཁྱུ་ལོ་ང་རེད།
- 3 བྱ་ང་ཚོ་འཕུར་གི་སྤྱི་ཉིན་ནས།
- 4 བྱ་ག་ཤོག་མཐུན་ཁམས་མས་སྤོད་དང་།
- 5 ང་སྤྱིར་ར་ནགས་ལ་ལོས་ཡོང་།
- 6 ང་ཡོང་ན་འབབ་ས་སྤོད་ཡིན།

- 7 རོགས་རྒྱུང་ལོས་རང་ཡུལ་བརྒྱུད་འགྲོ་གི
- 8 འདི་ལས་སྣོན་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ང་རེད།
- 9 རོགས་ང་ཚོ་སོང་གི་སྤྱི་ཉིན་ནས།
- 10 སྤོད་ཞེ་མཐུན་ཁམས་མས་སྤོད་དང་།
- 11 ང་སྤྱིར་ར་སྤྱེ་ལ་ལོས་ཡོང་།
- 12 གཅིག་ཡོང་ན་རྩེ་ས་སྤོད་ཡིན།

- 1 The cuckoo leaves the forest
- 2 It is the karma of the bird.
- 3 From the day we, the birds, depart,
- 4 You, the bird with similar wings, remain unchanged,
- 5 I shall definitely return to the forest,
- 6 And you will be the only one I look for.

- 7 The lover shall leave for his home,
- 8 This is my karma.
- 9 From the day we leave,
- 10 You, the loved one, please stay unchanged,
- 11 I shall definitely return to the village
- 12 And you will be the only one I look for.

Female (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:167-168)

- 1 རོད་ཐང་དཀར་ནགས་རི་བརྒྱུད་དུས།
- 2 སྤྱིར་འཁོར་རེ་ནགས་ལ་མ་བཟུ།
- 3 རགས་རྒྱ་རྫོང་མིག་གི་ལམ་རེད།
- 4 འཕུར་མི་ཐུབ་སྤྱད་གི་གཞི་རེད།

5 རོགས་རྒྱུད་ལོ་གཞན་ལ་འགོ་དྲུས།
 6 ལྷིང་འཁོར་རེ་སྡེ་ལ་མ་བརྟ།
 7 ལྡོ་ཆེན་པོ་མིག་གི་ལམ་རེད།
 8 འགོ་མི་ལྷུང་སྤྱད་གི་གཞི་རེད།

1 When the vulture leaves the forest,
 2 Do not turn back to look at the forest,
 3 If you see the forest,
 4 It will make you reluctant to depart.

5 When you, the beloved, go elsewhere,
 6 Please do not turn back to look at the village.
 7 If you see the village,
 8 It will make you reluctant to leave.

Rogs dran pa'i skor 'Longing for Each Other'

Due to their deep love for each other, the young couple may miss each other during temporary separations, and expresses their sadness and longing for each other. In practice, they sing to each other face-to-face as if they were separated.

Male

1 ར་རྗ་རི་བརྒྱུད་དེ་འགོ་དྲུས།
 2 ར་རྗ་ལྷུང་མཐའ་ནས་སྤྱུག་གཞིག
 3 རྒྱ་རྒྱ་མེད་ཅི་མ་རེད།
 4 རྒྱ་མ་རྒྱ་སྡོམ་མོ་མེད་ན།
 5 རས་རྗ་རྒྱ་འཁྲུང་རྒྱུ་སྡོམ་གི

6 ར་སྡེ་རི་བརྒྱུད་དེ་འགོ་དྲུས།
 7 ར་སྡེ་ལྷུང་མཐའ་ནས་སྤྱུག་གཞིག
 8 རད་ན་རྒྱ་མེད་ཅི་མ་རེད།
 9 རའི་ཞེ་མཁུན་རོགས་རོ་མེད་ན།
 10 རད་ན་རྒྱ་མཐའ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱུག་གི

- 1 When I travel in the rocky mountains,
- 2 I feel thirsty at the edge of the mountains.
- 3 It is not that there are no mountain springs,
- 4 But if there is no blue water from the Yellow River,
- 5 I cannot quench my thirst at mountain springs.

- 6 When I travel through the village,
- 7 I feel sad at the village entrance.
- 8 It is not that I have no friends there,
- 9 But if I do not see my loved one,
- 10 I cannot control my sadness, even though there are many friends.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:223)

1 བྱ་ལྷོ་ཆེན་དཀྱིལ་གྱི་ཁུ་ལོ།
 2 ལྷོད་ནྱགས་རི་བརྒྱད་ནས་སོང་རུང་།
 3 ང་འཛོལ་མོ་ནྱགས་ནས་ལྷུས་རུང་།
 4 བྱ་མི་བརྗེས་སེམས་ལ་བརྟུང་ཡོད།

5 ས་སྤེ་ཆེན་དཀྱིལ་གྱི་རོགས་ལོ།
 6 ལྷོད་སྤེ་རི་བརྒྱད་ནས་སོང་རུང་།
 7 ང་སྤེ་ཆེན་མཐའ་ནས་ལྷུས་རུང་།
 8 རོགས་མི་བརྗེད་སེམས་ལ་བརྟུང་ཡོད།

- 1 Dear cuckoo in the middle of the forest,
- 2 Although you are gone from the forest,
- 3 And I, the lark, remain behind in the forest,
- 4 You are my unforgettable bird.

- 5 Dear darling from the great village,
- 6 Although you have left the village,
- 7 And I remain outside the village,
- 8 You are my unforgettable beloved.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:202-3)

1 བྱ་ཁུ་ལོ་ནྱགས་རི་བརྒྱད་དུས།
 2 ཞེ་གྱི་ར་ནྱགས་ལ་ཆགས་ཡོད།

3 རྟགས་ཆ་མེད་རྒྱས་མེད་ཅིག་ལ།
 4 ཞེ་སྤྱི་ར་ཆགས་དོན་མེད་རུང་།
 5 སྤྱེའུ་བརྗོལ་མོ་གསུང་སྟུན་ཅན་པོ།
 6 ཤིང་བྲ་མའི་བར་ན་ལྟུས་ཡོད།
 7 ཞེ་སྤྱི་ར་ཆགས་དོན་ཏེ་ཡིན།

8 རོགས་རྒྱུང་ལོ་སྤེ་རི་བརྒྱུད་དུས།
 9 ཞེ་སྤྱི་ར་སྤེ་ལ་ཆགས་ཡོད།
 10 སྤེ་ཆ་མེད་རྒྱས་མེད་ཅིག་ལ།
 11 ཞེ་སྤྱི་ར་ཆགས་དོན་མེད་རུང་།
 12 ལོ་བཅོམ་ལྡེའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚེད་རོགས།
 13 གཏམ་མི་ཁའི་བར་ན་ལྟུས་ཡོད།
 14 ཞེ་སྤྱི་ར་ཆགས་དོན་ཏེ་ཡིན།

1 When the cuckoo departs the forest,
 2 Its heart is still attached to the trees.
 3 If it is an unfamiliar forest,
 4 There is no reason to miss it.
 5 But the lark with the great singing voice,
 6 Remains behind in the bushes,
 7 This is why the cuckoo is reluctant to leave.

8 When the lover leaves the village,
 9 His heart is still attached to the village.
 10 If it is an unfamiliar village,
 11 There is no reason to miss it
 12 But the beloved one, since the age of fifteen,
 13 Remains behind with rumors around.
 14 This is why I am reluctant to leave.

Female (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:46-47)

1 རྟགས་ཅ་ལ་འདྲ་བོའི་མགོ་གི།
 2 སྤྱེ་གསུམ་རྟོག་འདྲ་བོར་ཤོད་ལ།
 3 རྟགས་རྒྱ་རྗོང་ལ་ཞེང་ཆེ་གི།

4 བྱ་ལུ་གཉིས་ལྷག་རག་ཅིག་ལ།
 5 ངའི་ནགས་མགོ་ཉི་མས་མི་བསྐྱམ།
 6 ངའི་ནགས་སིལ་གཞན་ལ་མི་གཏོར།
 7 ལྷོད་ལྷོད་བྱ་ལུ་བྱུག་ཕྱིན་མོས།
 8 ནགས་དེད་ཚོ་ཡིད་ནས་མ་བརྗེད།

9 ལྷོ་མར་ལུ་འདྲ་བོའི་དཀྱིལ་གོ།
 10 རོགས་ལྷ་སྐུ་འདྲ་བོར་ཤོད་ལ།
 11 ལྷོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཞེང་ཆེ་གོ།
 12 རོགས་ལུ་གཉིས་ལྷག་རག་ཅིག་ལ།
 13 རོགས་ཁ་མཐུན་གཞན་ནས་མི་འཚོལ།
 14 ཁ་ཆོག་གསུམ་གཞན་ལ་མི་འཆད།
 15 ལྷོད་ཞེ་མཐུན་ལ་བཟང་ཞེ་ལེས།
 16 མ་དེད་ཚོ་ཡིད་ནས་མ་བརྗེད།

1 Please tell the bird with the turquoise head
 2 On the tree in the dense forest:
 3 The forest is wide and dense,
 4 Until the next time we meet each other,
 5 The tops of the trees shall not dry due to sunlight,
 6 And I will not toss the fruits to others.
 7 Oh, blue cuckoo,
 8 Please do not forget us, the forest.

9 In the middle of the solemn village,
 10 Please tell my angelic darling:
 11 The village is wide and large,
 12 Until the next time we meet each other,
 13 I will not seek fair-weather friends elsewhere,
 14 And will not speak even three words to others,
 15 Oh my bosom friend, a boy of good lineage,
 16 Please do not forget us girls.

Rogs 'gal ba'iskor 'Breaking up'

Just as two lovers can break up in real life, two singers break up in singing competitions as well. In this section, the two sides find shortcomings with each other and reproach each other with sarcastic words.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skäl bzang 2002:269)

- 1 ཕྱི་བྱ་བརྒྱ་དགུང་ལ་འཛོམས་དུས།
- 2 ང་ཐང་ནག་གཞན་ལ་དགར་གི།
- 3 དགར་དགོས་པའི་དོན་ཞིག་ང་མེད།
- 4 ཐབས་མེད་ལ་དགར་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ན།
- 5 ང་ཐང་ནག་མི་འདུག་བྱང་འགྲོ།
- 6 ངའི་ལྷལ་ནས་བྱ་བརྒྱ་མཐུན་དགོས།
- 7 རང་མ་མཐུན་བཏང་ན་དོ་ཚོ།

- 8 ཕྱི་རོགས་བརྒྱ་ཕྱེ་ལ་འཛོམས་དུས།
- 9 མོ་ང་ཚོ་གཞན་ལ་དགར་གི།
- 10 དགར་དགོས་པའི་དོན་ཞིག་ང་མེད།
- 11 ཐབས་མེད་ལ་དགར་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ན།
- 12 ང་ཞེ་མཐུན་མི་འདུག་བྱང་འགྲོ།
- 13 ངའི་ལྷལ་ནས་རོགས་བརྒྱ་མཐུན་དགོས།
- 14 རང་མ་མཐུན་བཏང་ན་དོ་ཚོ།

- 1 When hundreds of birds gathered in the sky,
- 2 I, the vulture, was excluded.
- 3 I do not see why I should have been excluded,
- 4 But if I have to be kept out of the group,
- 5 I shall not stay, but will leave.
- 6 After I am gone, the hundreds of birds should be in harmony,
- 7 It would be shameful if you were not.

- 8 When hundreds of friends gather in the village,
- 9 We, the boys, were excluded,
- 10 I do not see why we should have been excluded,

- 11 But if we have to be kept out of the group,
- 12 I, the intimate friend, shall not stay, but will leave.
- 13 After I am gone, the friends should be in harmony,
- 14 It would be shameful if you were not.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skäl bzangs 2002:275)

- 1 ལྷ་མེ་ལྷ་དྲུང་ས་ཤེན་པོ།
- 2 ལྷོད་ལྷོན་ཆད་བཞུར་འདོད་ཡོད་དུས།
- 3 ལྷོད་བདུད་རྩི་བསེལ་མའི་དྲུང་ས་རེད།
- 4 དུས་དེང་སང་བཞུར་འདོད་མེད་དུས།
- 5 ཉ་གསེར་ཉ་དཔལ་ཉར་ཁག་བཞག།
- 6 ཁག་འཛོག་གི་འདུག་ཀྱང་མི་དགོས།
- 7 ལྷ་མེ་བཞུར་ཟེར་ན་ལོས་ཚོག།
- 8 ཐབས་མེད་ལ་བཞུར་དགོས་མི་ཟེར།

- 9 རོགས་ལྷང་ལོ་ཁ་ཚོག་ཅན་པོ།
- 10 ལྷོད་ལྷོན་ཆད་རྩད་འདོད་ཡོད་དུས།
- 11 ལྷོད་དྲིན་ཚོན་པ་མའི་ཡན་རེད།
- 12 དུས་དེང་སང་རྩད་འདོད་མེད་དུས།
- 13 ལྷི་ལྷེ་བའི་མི་ཁར་ཁག་བཞག།
- 14 ཁག་འཛོག་གི་འདུག་ཀྱང་མི་དགོས།
- 15 རོགས་མི་རྩེ་ཟེར་ན་ལོས་ཚོག།
- 16 ཐབས་མེད་ལ་རྩེ་དགོས་མི་ཟེར།

- 1 Oh, the clear Yellow River,
- 2 In the past, when you wanted to flow,
- 3 You were as clear as nectary dew,
- 4 But now, when you do not want to flow,
- 5 You use golden fish and silver fish as excuses.
- 6 You do not need to find excuses,
- 7 Why don't you just say that you no longer want to flow?

- 8 I shall not say that you must flow.
- 9 Oh, friend with sweet words!
- 10 In the past, when you wanted to play,

- 11 You were dearer than parents.
- 12 But now, when you don't want to play,
- 13 You use rumors as excuses.
- 14 You do not need to find excuses,
- 15 Why don't you just say that you no longer want to play?
- 16 I shall not say that you must play.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:287)

1 ས་གསེར་ལུང་ཐང་གི་དགེའུ་ན།
 2 ཏྲ་འདོ་བ་བརྒྱ་དང་སྟོང་ཡོད།
 3 དེའི་ནང་ནས་རང་གི་བཞོན་ཏུས།
 4 རྒྱ་མཚོ་གཡུགས་ནི་མེད་མོད།
 5 དུས་དང་སང་གཡུགས་ཚོ་བཏུས་ན།
 6 ཞོ་རྒྱ་བདག་ངན་པར་སྤད་ཡོད།
 7 མགོ་ཁ་ལོ་སྤྲེའི་སྤྲེའི་བསྐྱར་ཡོད།

8 རྩེ་མར་ཁུ་འདྲ་བའི་ནང་ན།
 9 རྒྱ་མཚོ་བརྒྱ་དང་སྟོང་ཡོད།
 10 དེའི་ནང་ནས་རང་གི་རྩེ་གསེའོས།
 11 གཏམ་རྩོག་བཤད་བརྒྱབ་ནི་མེད་མོད།
 12 དུས་དང་སང་བཤད་ཚོ་བཏུས་ན།
 13 མོ་ཞི་ལི་ངན་པར་སྤད་ཡོད།
 14 མགོ་ཁ་ལོ་ཚིག་གིས་བསྐྱར་ཡོད།

- 1 In the center of the place named Golden Valley,
- 2 There are hundreds of thousands of horses.
- 3 Among them is my own stallion,
- 4 Which has never kicked its legs at me.
- 5 But now he does, so it is obvious that,
- 6 He has met a bad master,
- 7 And is controlled by his bridle.

- 8 In the solemn village,
 9 There are hundreds and thousands of friends.
 10 Among them is my own lover,
 11 Who has never told me any nonsense.
 12 But now she does, so it is obvious that,
 13 She has met a bad boy,
 14 And is controlled by his words.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:271-2)

1 ཇུ་ལག་པོ་འཛོལ་མོ་རྒྱ་ལག
 2 རྒྱ་ལག་ལོ་གོ་རྩོམ་མཚམས་ན།
 3 ཡུན་ཞིག་ལ་བརྟེན་རྒྱ་མེད་གི།
 4 འཛོལ་རྩོམ་ལ་འཁོར་ན།
 5 རྩོམ་མོ་འཕངས་ན་འདོད་གི།
 6 འདད་བརྒྱབ་ན་འཕེན་དོན་མེད་གི།
 7 འཛོལ་སྒོ་ཟླ་ཉན་ནི་མ་རེད།

8 རྒྱ་ལག་པོ་འཛོལ་མོ་ཞིག་ལག
 9 རོགས་རྩོམ་ལོ་མཚམས་ན།
 10 ཡུན་ཞིག་ལ་བརྟེན་རྒྱ་མེད་གི།
 11 ལྷོད་ཁ་མཚམས་ལ་ལྷུགས་ན།
 12 ཞིག་ལྷོད་མོ་བཤད་ན་འདོད་གི།
 13 འདད་བརྒྱབ་ན་བཤད་དོན་མེད་གི།
 14 ལྷིམ་བཟའ་ཚང་ཉན་ནི་མ་རེད།

- 1 The beautifully horned female wild yak in the beautiful mountains,
 2 Thinking about its round beautiful horns,
 3 It is hard to forget her for a while.
 4 When she turns to the mountain springs,
 5 I wish to throw stones to her.
 6 But thinking carefully, there is no reason to do so,
 7 Because it is impossible for a wild yak to turn into livestock. .

- 8 The friend with sweet words in the village,
- 9 When thinking about entertainment and good relationships,
- 10 It is hard to forget her for a while.
- 11 When you go with the fair-weather friends,
- 12 I want to say some harsh words,
- 13 But thinking carefully, there is no reason to do so,
- 14 Because it is impossible for you to become my spouse.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:290)

1 ལྷོད་ཅི་གྲུ་ར་མས་ཅི་ཞིག་འདོད།
 2 ངས་སྐྱུང་ཞིག་བཏགས་ཐལ་ཨེ་འདོད།
 3 ངས་གཡང་དཀར་འཚོར་མོ་བསྐྱུར་ནས།
 4 ལྷོད་ར་མར་སྐྱུང་བག་མི་འདོག

5 ལྷོད་ཁ་མཐུན་ཞི་མོས་ཅི་འདོད།
 6 རོགས་ད་ཐེངས་བཙལ་བལ་ཨེ་འདོད།
 7 ངས་ཞེ་མཐུན་རོགས་ལོ་བསྐྱུར་ནས།
 8 ལྷོད་ཁ་མཐུན་ཅིག་མགོར་མི་དགྲི།

- 1 Oh the mouse-like goat, what do you think?
- 2 Do you think that I have put a blessed cord on your neck?
- 3 I will never leave the white sheep,
- 4 And put the cord on a goat's neck.

- 5 Oh, fair-weather friend, what do you think?
- 6 Do you think that I've chosen you this time?
- 7 I shall never leave my intimate darling,
- 8 And exchange words with a fair-weather friend.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:306)

1 ཤིང་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་སྐྱ་ར་སྐྱ་རེ་རེ།
 2 མགོ་སེལ་དོག་སྐྱ་ར་སྐྱ་རེ་རེ།
 3 ངས་ན་ཟིང་མ་ཤེས་འཚོས་བཏང་གཟིག
 4 སང་སྐྱིན་ཚད་འཆའ་ན་མ་ཅི་གན།

5 རོགས་འགྲོགས་འགྲོགས་སྐྱ་ན་ལྷོན་ནི་རེད།
 6 ཚིག་བཤད་ནོ་ལྷ་ད་ལྷིང་དེ་རེད།
 7 དས་ན་ཅིང་མ་ཤེས་འགྲོགས་བཏང་གཟིག
 8 སང་ཕྱིན་ཆད་འགྲོགས་ན་དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ།

1 The growing trees twist and bend,
 2 And their fruits taste sour and bitter.
 3 I tasted them last year by mistake,
 4 And I swear that I will never have them again.

5 The friends I have played with are senseless and thoughtless,
 6 And their words are stumbling and mumbling.
 7 I played with you last year by mistake.
 8 And I swear that I will never play with you again.

Bde mo 'jog pa'i skor 'Farewell'

In this section, the two sides say goodbye to each other.

Male (Stag 'bum thar and Skäl bzang 2002:317)

1 ལྷ་མ་ལྷ་མི་འདུག་བཟུར་ནོ་རེད།
 2 རྫོག་མོ་གཞུག་ནས་འདུག་ནོ་རེད།
 3 ལྷ་མ་ལྷ་བཟུར་ཐག་རིང་འགོ་གི།
 4 རྫོག་མ་པའི་སྐུ་ལུས་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།

5 པོ་ང་ཚོ་མི་འདུག་འགོ་དགོས་གི།
 6 མ་ལྷོད་ཚོ་གཞུག་ནས་བསྐྱར་དགོས་གི།
 7 པོ་ང་ཚོ་འགོ་ཐག་རིང་འགོ་གི།
 8 མ་ལྷོད་ཚོ་འི་སྐུ་ལུས་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།

1 The water in the Yellow River shall not stay, but leave,
 2 And the round pebble will not leave, but stay.
 3 I, the water in the Yellow River, shall flow far away,
 4 And you, the pebbles, please remain peacefully on the river bed.

- 5 We, the boys, shall not stay, but leave,
- 6 And leave you ladies behind.
- 7 We shall go far away,
- 8 And you ladies please remain.

Female (Stag 'bum thar and Skal bzang 2002:315)

1 བདེ་མོ་གཅིག་ལ་བདེ་མོ་གཉིས།
 2 དགུང་ཉི་མ་སེར་པོ་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།
 3 དགུང་ཉི་མ་གཅིག་ཕུ་ཟེར་ནི་མིན།
 4 དེའི་ཞོར་གི་ནླ་བ་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།

5 བདེ་མོ་གཅིག་ལ་བདེ་མོ་གཉིས།
 6 བྱོད་ཚུང་དུས་རོགས་ལོ་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།
 7 བྱོད་རོགས་ལོ་གཅིག་ཕུ་ཟེར་ནི་མིན།
 8 དེའི་ཞོར་གི་ནླ་བ་བདེ་མོ་བྱོས།

- 1 I shall say goodbye once and again,
- 2 Oh golden sun, please be well.
- 3 My farewell goes not only to the sun,
- 4 But also to the moon.

- 5 I shall say goodbye once and again,
- 6 My childhood sweetheart, please be well.
- 7 My farewell goes not only to you, my sweetheart,
- 8 But also to our peers.

NEWLY CREATED *LA GZHAS*

As mentioned in the introduction, the lyrics of *la gzhas* are evolving as time passes. Although I have no access to some of the newest songs, I present some examples of novel love songs below. In terms of their meaning, they can be categorized under the above-mentioned headings.

Song 1. (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:288-9)

1 བྱོད་སྲུང་ལའོ་(ཚུ་ཤོག)པདྨ་ཟེར་བ།
 2 ཕྱི་བརྟམས་ན་མིག་ལ་ཡག་གི
 3 ཉང་དྲི་བསྟང་འཇུག་ཚུ་ཨོ་ཡིད།
 4 ཉང་དྲི་བསྟང་འཇུག་ཚུ་ཡོད་ན།
 5 ལྷ་བྱམས་པའི་མདུན་ལ་ངས་བཤམ།

6 བྱོད་བཅོ་ལྔ་འཛོགས་ལོ་ཟེར་ནོ།
 7 ཕྱི་བརྟམས་ན་མིག་ལ་ཡག་གི
 8 ཉང་ཡིད་སེམས་དྲང་མོ་ཨོ་ཡིད།
 9 ཉང་ཡིད་སེམས་དྲང་མོ་ཡིན་ན།
 10 རོགས་མི་འགལ་མནའ་ཞིག་ངས་བསྐྱུལ།

1 Oh, the plastic lotus
 2 Appears superficially attractive.
 3 But can you send forth the fragrance of flowers?
 4 If you can send forth such fragrance,
 5 I shall offer you to the Maitreya Buddha.

6 Oh, my fifteen-year-old lover,
 7 Appears superficially attractive.
 8 But are you reliable?
 9 If you are reliable,
 10 I promise not to break up with you.

Song 2. (Skal bzang and Skal bzang don grub 1993:290)

1 མ་བྱོད་ཚོ་ས་ཡི་ཆེ་བྱེ་(རྗེ་ངས་འཁོར)བྱོས།
 2 སོ་ང་ཚོ་ནམ་མཁའི་བྱ་གྲུ་བྱེད།
 3 ཞེ་སྦྱང་བ་བར་གྱི་ཉེན་སྲུང་(ཁ་པར)བྱེད།
 4 ཞེ་མཇུན་ན་ཉེན་སྲུང་ཚུ་བྱེད།
 5 ཞེ་མ་མཇུན་གྲ་ཉེན་(འགས་རྗེས)འཕེན་ཚུ་ཡིན།

- ¹ You, the women, should be vehicles on ground,
- ² And we, the men, should be airplanes in the sky,
- ³ And our relationship should be the phone between us.
- ⁴ If we find our soul mates, I will phone you.
- ⁵ If we don't get along, bombs shall be dropped on you.

These newly created songs use Chinese words, *suliao* 'plastic', *qiche* 'vehicle', *dianhua* 'telephone', and *zhadan* 'bomb' that are commonly used in daily Amdo Tibetan dialect. These new songs were collected in the early 1990s, and so are not very new. More recently, a new format of *la gzhas* known as *dgu tshig*, meaning nine syllables, has become popular among singers, but I shall leave it to other researchers to describe it in more detail (Lha lung tshe ring 2008:53).

With the above examples of Amdo Tibetan love songs, I believe that readers have a preliminary understanding of this aspect of Amdo Tibetan culture. Yet again, there are related topics that I was unable to include in this paper – love songs from Khams or Central Tibet, comparisons of Amdo love song with other forms of Tibetan folk songs or with love songs of other ethnic groups. All of these remain topics for further research.

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 [Qinghai Nationalities Press].

NON-ENGLISH TERMS

- 'Dod rtse འདོད་རྩེ
 Aba འ་ཕ་
 Amdo ཨ་མདོ་
 Bka' ma mkha 'bum བཀའ་མ་མཁའ་འབྲུམ
 Chos skyid sgrol ma ཚོས་སྦྱིད་སྐྱོལ་མ
 Dgu tshig དགུ་ཚིག་
 dianhua ཇི་ཇི་
 Dpa' ris དཔའ་རིས་
 G.yang mo skyid གཡམ་མོ་སྦྱིད་
 Gannan གན་ལྷོ་
 Glu rol ལུ་རོལ་
 Guide ལུ་ཇེ་
 Hainan ལཱ་ལོ་
 Hua'er ལཱ་ལོ་
 Kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ་

Khams ཁམས
 Khri ka ཁྲི་ཀ
 La gzhas ལ་གཞས
 La-ye ལ་ཡེ
 Lab tse ལབ་ཙེ
 Lha lung tshe ring ལྷ་ལུང་ཚེ་རིང
 Lnga ba'i dbyar ston ལྷ་བའི་དབྱར་སྟོན
 Me tog skyid མེ་ཏོག་སྡིད
 Mtsho lho མཚོ་ལྗོན
 qiche 汽车
 Qinghai 青海
 Rdo rje rgyal རོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ
 Rdosbis རོ་སྤིས
 Reb gong རེབ་གོང
 riglu རི་ལུ
 Rig 'dzin རིག་འཛིན
 Rnga ba ར་བ
 rogs 'then རོགས་འབྲེན
 Sha bo tshe ring སཤ་བོ་ཚེ་རིང
 shan'ge 山歌
 Sichuan 四川
 Skal bzang སྐལ་བཟང
 Skal bzang don grub སྐལ་བཟང་དོན་གྲུབ
 Skal bzang nor bu སྐལ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ
 Skal bzang rin chen སྐལ་བཟང་རིན་ཚེན
 Stag 'bum thar སྟག་འབུམ་ཐར
 suliao 塑料
 Tianzhu 天祝
 Tshe rgyal ཚེ་རྒྱལ
 Xunhua 循化
 Yul shul ཡུལ་ཤུལ
 Yushu 玉树
 zhadan 炸弹

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE AND TABLE ON MID-19TH TO MID-20TH CENTURY WESTERN TRAVELOGUES AND RESEARCH REPORTS ON GANSU AND QINGHAI

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Starting from the late nineteenth century, northwest China, Eastern Turkestan (modern Xinjiang), and eastern Tibet became increasingly attractive destinations for foreign travelers and explorers. There was a veritable 'run' on the region, which was deemed one of the last blank spots on world maps. In addition, northwest China, Tibet, and Eastern Turkestan received special attention because of competition between the British and Russian empires as part of what is known as the Great Game in Central Asia. This caused other European countries such as France, Belgium, and Germany to fear that they would miss out on new geographic and scientific discoveries. Apart from geo-political, economic, and archeological incentives, Tibetan Buddhism also attracted considerable interest, although mostly on a 'touristic', rather than an academic, level.

Gansu (which formerly also included parts of modern Qinghai¹ and Ningxia provinces) was considered to be the gate to both Eastern Turkestan and the 'Closed Land of Tibet'. It was therefore frequently traversed by travelers coming either from Russia and Mongolia or from Beijing, although sometimes also from India and Sichuan.² Furthermore, from the beginning of the twentieth century, Gansu played a growing role as wool producer in the international wool trade and was also suspected of containing a

¹ In pre-1930 travelogues, the area of modern Qinghai Province is often referred to as Kokonor, deriving from the Mongol designation for the landmark lake, Kokonor, Tsongön (*mtsho sngon*) in Tibetan and Qinghaihu in Chinese.

² Since Tibet was usually closed for foreigners travelling from India, Western explorers often attempted to reach Lhasa from Qinghai and Gansu. However, they usually failed because Chinese and Tibetan authorities refused to issue the necessary travel permits. Such travelers therefore often changed their plans and started to explore the Sino-Tibetan borderlands instead.

wealth of natural resources, and thus attracted foreign (and Chinese) wool trading companies and prospecting teams.

As a literary genre, travel writing is defined as bringing news of the wider world and as disseminating information about strange lands and unfamiliar peoples.³ Therefore, travelogues can present a welcome addition to our sources for the local history of Amdo and northwest China, especially when written by explorers who adhere to the more scientific forms of travel writing, emphasizing the presentation of quantitative data. In some cases, however, the travelogues say more about their authors – their prejudices and attitudes – than the territory crossed and the peoples encountered. Some accounts are purely anecdotal while others provide valuable socio-economic, political, ethnographic, and geographic information. Most travelogues, however, offer a mix, and are usually not free of mistakes and misunderstandings, such as wrong dates, misspelled names, and so on; some of these are obvious, others not. Another aspect of travel writing is the not-so-rare mingling of 'fact' and 'fiction', especially in publications meant for a wider audience, such as popular 'adventure books' (Thompson 2011:28).

Some travelers only spent a few days in Gansu and Qinghai and quickly passed through the area, while several of the more serious explorers traveled for months or even years, and repeatedly revisited the region, for example, Sven Hedin and the Russian explorers Przheval'skij and Kozlov. While some expeditions – such as the Russians – were usually well-equipped with funds and staff, and even with military escorts for protection, several explorers traveled more or less alone, sometimes even running out of funds. Scientific interests covered geology, topography, botany, ethnology, linguistics, and several other academic disciplines. Among the travelers, we find professional and amateur explorers as well as journalists, diplomats, officials, military officers, and several 'adventurers'. The travelogues therefore differ considerably in format (book, diary, articles published in a journal or newspaper), literary style (scientific report, adventure book), and last but not least in veracity and

³ Travel writing has generated interest in a number of disciplines, foremost in (post)colonial and literary studies, but also in geography, ethnography, and sociology. For a general introduction see Thompson (2011).

trustworthiness. Some travelogues are well known and frequently consulted, like those of Joseph Rock, Sven Hedin, WW Rockhill, and NM Przheval'skij. Others, however, are rarely mentioned as sources, although they certainly deserve more academic attention as, for example, the accounts of Carl Mannerheim, Albert Tafel, Reginald Farrer, Karl Josef Futterer, and Charles Eudes Bonin. Non-English travelogues like those of the Russian and German explorers are often only available in their original languages or in abridged translations.⁴

Among the explorers and travelers was a considerable number of Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. These, however, are not included in the following table, with only few exceptions.⁵ Furthermore, the table does not list the many accounts of Chinese explorers and travelers of the early twentieth century.⁶

This paper is a work in progress and does not claim comprehensiveness. It is meant to provide the reader with quick orientation of who traveled where and when and published what kind of account.

The following table is arranged chronologically according to travel dates. Travel routes are only roughly indicated. Information on published travel accounts is provided if available. An index of place names and names of travelers closes this article.

⁴ A recurrent problem in identifying relevant translations from Russian into European languages is posed by the many different romanization systems for Russian. For example, transcriptions of Николай Михайлович Пржевальский include Nikolaj Mikhajlovich Przheval'skij, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Przhevalsky or Prjevalsky, Nicholas Michailovitch Prejevalsky and Nikolai Michailowitsch Prschewalski. There exists a large quantity of Russian secondary literature on the Russian expeditions and explorers. For more information see, for example, the English language website of the Russian Academy of Science at www.orientalstudies.ru (accessed 8 March 2015) and Andreyev (2013).

⁵ For an overview of missionary writings on Gansu and Qinghai see Horlemann (2013). For a recent Chinese publication on western travelers and missionaries in Amdo see Tuo Chaoqun (2012).

⁶ For a general overview of existing Chinese travelogues see the series *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu* 中国西北文献丛书, 203 volumes, published by the Guji shudian yingxiang chubanshe 古籍书店影像出版社 [Collection of Documents on China's Northwest] in Lanzhou and the *Xibei xingji congcu* 西北行记丛萃 [Anthology of Travel Accounts about (China's) Northwest] published by the Gansu renmin chubanshe 甘肃人民出版社.

Mid-19th to mid-20th Century Travelogues on Gansu and Qinghai

	Travel Dates ⁷	Traveler(s)	Destination/Route	Travel Account(s) ⁸	Supplementary Information
1	1844-6; early 1845- Oct. 1845	Evariste-Régis Huc and Joseph Gabet, French Catholic missionaries (Lazarists)	From Mongolia via Amdo to Lhasa; passed through Zhuanglang, Datong, Xining, stayed in Dan'gaer, Kumbum	Ibid. Reprint. 1987. <i>Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846.</i> New York: Dover Publ.	Traveled disguised as Mongols; note the critical introduction to the travelogue by Paul Pelliot.
2	1866	(Abbé) Armand David, French Catholic missionary (Lazarist), zoologist and botanist	Inner Mongolia and Ningxia	Helen M Fox. 1949. <i>Abbé David's Diary: Being an Account of the French Naturalist's Journeys and Observations in China in the Years 1866 to 1869.</i> Cambridge: Harvard University Press.	Stationed in China 1862-74; also traveled in Sichuan 1868-70 and Shanxi and Shaanxi 1872-74.

⁷ The first set of travel dates refers to the time spent on the complete journey, the second to the time spent in Gansu and Qinghai.

⁸ If available, reference to an English edition is provided.

3	1870-3	Nikolaj Mikhaĭlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	Gansu, Kokonor area, and Upper Yangtze	Ibid. 1875/76. <i>Mongolija i strana Tangutov [Mongolia and the Land of the Tanguts]</i> . St. Petersburg: Izd. Imp. Russkago geograficheskago obshchestva. Nicholas Michailovitch Prejevalsky. 1876. <i>Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet</i> . 2 vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. NM Prschewalski. 1877. <i>Reisen in der</i>	1 st Central Asia expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (of four; 2 nd expedition to Eastern Turkestan 1876-77).
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				<p><i>Mongolei, im Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets in den Jahren 1870 bis 1873 [Travels in Mongolia, in the Tangut Country and in the Deserts of Northern Tibet in the Years 1870 to 1873].</i> Jena: Hermann Costenoble.</p> <p>Nikolai Michailowitsch Prschewalski. Reprint. 2004. <i>Auf Schleichwegen nach Tibet, 1870-1873 [On Secret Routes to Tibet, 1870-1873].</i> Lenningen: Erdmann.</p>	
4	1877-80; 1879	Earl Béla Széchenyi, Hungarian explorer, Accompanied by	From Xian to Lanzhou, Liangzhou, Suzhou,	Gustav Kreitner. 1881. <i>Im fernen Osten [In the Far East].</i> Wien:	Privately funded tour through India, Japan, and China.

Gustav Kreitner, Austrian officer and geographer	Xining to Chengdu and Kham ⁹	Alfred Hölder. Graf Béla Széchenyi. 1893. <i>Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien 1877-1880. Nach dem im Jahre 1890 erschiedenen ungarischen Original [Scientific Results of the Journey of Earl Béla Széchenyi in East Asia 1877-1880. Based on the Hungarian Original of 1890].</i> 3 vols. Wien: Ed. Hölzer.	

⁹ Travelogues, which deal exclusively with the area of modern Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces, are not included in the table.

5	1879-80	Nikolaj Mikhaĭlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	From Eastern Turkestan to Tsaidam and further south to Nagchu; Upper Yellow River, Kokonor area, Xining, Guide, Nanshan	Ibid. Reprint. 1948. <i>Iz Zajsana cherez Khami v Tibet i na verkhovi'ya zhyoltoj reki [From Zajsana through Hami to Tibet and the Upper Yellow River]</i> . Moscow: Gos. izd-vo geograf. literatury. N von Prschewalski (sic). 1884. <i>Reisen in Tibet und am oberen Lauf des Gelben Flusses in den Jahren 1879 bis 1880 [Travels in Tibet and along the Upper Yellow River from 1879 to 1880]</i> . Jena: Hermann Costenoble.	3 rd expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society.
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6	1883-5	Nikolaj Mikhaĭlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	Eastern Turkestan and northern Tibet; to Yellow River sources	Ibid. 1888. <i>Ot Kiyakhty na istoki zhyoltoj reki [From Kiyakhta to the Sources of the Yellow River]</i> . St. Petersburg: VS Balashova. NM Prshewalski. 1954. <i>In das Land der wilden Kamele [To the Land of the Wild Camels]</i> . Leipzig: Brockhaus.	4 th expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; accompanied by VI Robotovskij and PK Kozlov.
7	1884-7; 1885	Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (Григорий Николаевич Потанин), Russian explorer and natural historian, accompanied by AI Scassi (А. И. Скасси), Russian topographer	From Beijing through Mongolia to Amdo; Lanzhou, Xining, Guide, Baoan, Xunhua, Minzhou, Labrang, Kumbum, Choni, Songpan	Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obschestva (ed.). 1893. <i>Tangutsko-Tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya: Puteshestvie GN Potanina 1884-1886 [The Tangut-Tibetan</i>	Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society. For articles in Russian journals, see http://oblastnichestvo.lib.tomsk.ru/files2/71.pdf His letters have been re-printed in <i>Pis'ma GN</i>

		<p>and Potanin's wife Aleksandra Viktorovna Potanina (Александра Викторовна Потанина), Russian ethnographer</p>		<p><i>Borderlands of China and Central Mongolia. The Journey of GN Potanin 1884-1886</i>]. 2 vols. Saint Petersburg: Tip. AS Suvorina. Anonymous. 1887. Potanin's Journey in North-Western China and Eastern Tibet. <i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography</i> 9(4):233-235.</p>	<p><i>Potanina</i>. 5 vols. (1977-). Irkutsk: Izdat. Irkut. Univ.</p>
8	1889-90	<p>M V Pevtsov (МВ Певцов), Russian officer and explorer</p>	<p>From Tarim Basin to Altyn-tagh and northern Tibet</p>	<p>Ibid. Reprint. 1951. <i>Puteshestviya po Kitayu i Mongolii [Journey to China and Mongolia]</i>. Moscow.</p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; Pevtsov took over after Przheval'skiy passed away in 1888; accompanied by VI Roborovskij and PK Kozlov</p>

9	1888-9	William W Rockhill, Orientalist and staff member of the American Embassy in Beijing	Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, Tsaidam	Ibid. 1891. <i>The Land of the Lamas</i> . London: Longmans, Green and Co.	1 st expedition
10	1891-2	William W Rockhill, Orientalist and staff member of the American Embassy in Beijing	From Alashan to Xincheng, Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Xunhua area, Guide via Tsaidam Basin to northern Tibet and Kham	Ibid. 1894. <i>Diary of a Journey Through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892</i> . Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.	2 nd expedition See also <i>ibid.</i> Reprint. 1977. <i>Notes on Tibet</i> . New Delhi: Asian Publication Services.
11	1891-3; 1891-2	Annie Royle Taylor, British missionary	From Taozhou in southern Gansu through Kham towards Lhasa	Ibid. 1895. <i>Pioneering in Tibet</i> . London: Morgan and Scott. William Carey. 1902. <i>Travel and Adventure in Tibet</i> . London: Hodder and Stoughton.	Taylor spent almost one year in the Taozhou area to prepare for a trip to Lhasa. Unfortunately, the accounts contain little about Taozhou.

12	1893-4	JL Dutreuil de Rhins and Fernand Grenard, French orientalist	From Cherchen/ Eastern Turkestan to northern Tibet and Amdo	Fernand Grenard. 1898. <i>Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie, 1890-1895. Deuxième partie: Le Turkestan et le Tibet</i> . Paris: Ernest Leroux. Ibid. 1904. <i>Tibet, the Country and its Inhabitants</i> . London: Hutchinson. Ibid. 1929. <i>Le Tibet, Géographie universelle</i> , vol. VIII, Paris: Armand Colin.	Dutreuil de Rhins killed during the expedition in July 1894.
13	1893-4	George R Littledale, and wife Teresa, British explorers	Through Eastern Turkestan, Tsaidam and Kokonor to Xining and	Ibid. 1894. A Journey across Central Asia. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 3(6):445-472.	Privately funded journey. Big game hunter and collector for the Natural History Museum in London.

	14	1893-4	Lanzhou; traveled down the Yellow River on a raft to Ningxia	<p>Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (Григорий Николаевич Потанин), Russian explorer and ethnographer, accompanied by his wife Aleksandra Viktorovna Potanina (Александра Викторовна Потанина), Russian ethnographer</p>	<p>Amdo? and Kham</p>	<p>Ibid. 1898. <i>Puteshestviya GN Potanina po Kitayu, Tibetu i Mongolii</i> [G.N. Potanin's <i>Journey to China, Tibet and Mongolia</i>]. Saint Petersburg: Izd. AF Devriena. V.A. Obrutchev. 1953. <i>Puteshestviya Potanina [Potanin's Journeys]</i>. Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya. Aleksandra V Potanina. 1895. <i>Is'</i></p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; AV Potanina fell ill during the expedition and passed away in 1893. Her book is a collection of essays on different topics, e.g. Tibet, Mongolia, Kumbum, Wutaishan, Chinese Theater.</p>
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15	Aug. 1893- Dec. 95	Vsevolod Ivanovich Roborovskij (Всеволод Иванович Роборовский) and Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officers and explorers	From Eastern Turkestan to Nanshan and Upper Yellow River	<p><i>puteshestvii po voctochnoj Sibiri, Mongolii, Tibetu i Kitayu [Journey to Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet and China].</i> Moscow: n.p.</p> <p>PK Kozlov. 1897. <i>Predvaritel'nyj otchyot o trechletnem puteshestvii po Tsentral'noj Azii [Preliminary report on the three years trip (of VI Roborovskij and PK Kozlov) to Central Asia]</i>, Saint Petersburg: Suvorin.</p> <p>Anonymous. 1896. <i>The Central Asia Expedition of Captain</i></p>	<p><i>puteshestvii po voctochnoj Sibiri, Mongolii, Tibetu i Kitayu [Journey to Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet and China].</i> Moscow: n.p.</p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; Kozlov's 3rd expedition. See also Kozlov's letters printed in the Saint Petersburg military paper <i>Russkij Invalid</i> and later in <i>Izvestiya</i>.</p>
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16	1894-5	Vladimir A Obrutchev (Владимир А Обручев), Russian explorer and geologist	From Inner Mongolia to Gansu; Lanzhou, Liangzhou, Suzhou, Nanshan and Tsaidam area	Roborovsky and Lieut. Kozloff. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 8(2):161-173. Ibid. 1940. <i>Ot Kyakhty do Kul'dzhi: Puteshestvie v Tsentral'nyu Aziyu i Kitaj [From Kyachta to Kuldja: Journey to Central Asia and China]</i> . Moscow: n.p. Wladimir A Obrutschew. 1896. <i>Aus China. Reiseerlebnisse, Natur- und Völkerbilder [From China. Travel adventures and impressions of nature</i>	Originally part of Potanin's expedition.
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17	1894-7	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	Eastern Turkestan, northern Tibet	<i>and peoples</i>]. Leipzig: von Duncker and Humblot. Ibid. 1898. <i>Through Asia</i> . Vol. 2. London: Methuen and Co.	1 st expedition (of four); 3 rd expedition (1905-1908) to Eastern Turkestan and Western Tibet
18	1895-6	Charles Eudes Bonin, French explorer and paleographer	From Yunnan through Sichuan, Gansu and Mongolia to Beijing	Ibid. 1898. Note sur les résultats géographiques de la mission accomplie au Tibet et au Mongolie en 1895-1896. <i>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie</i> XIX:389- 403.	
19	1896	Montagu Sinclair Wellby, and Lieut. Malcolm, British officers	From India through northern Tibet and Amdo to Beijing	MS Wellby. Reprint. 1996. <i>Through Unknown Tibet</i> . New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.	

20	1898-9	<p>Julius Holderer, German explorer, and Karl Josef X Futterer, German geologist</p>	<p>Xining, Dan'gaer, Taozhou, Choni, Guide etc.</p>	<p>Karl JX Futterer. 1909. <i>Durch Asien. Band II. Geologische Charakterbilder. Zweiter Teil [Through Asia. Vol. II. Geological Impressions. 2nd Part].</i> Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, vol. 2 of 4.</p> <p>Ibid. 1903. <i>Geographische Skizze von Nordost-Tibet. Begleitworte [Geographical Sketches of Northeastern Tibet. Explanations].</i> Gotha: Justus Perthes.</p>	<p>Expedition funded by Holderer; scientific research by Futterer</p>
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21	Dec. 1899- May 1900	Arthur Wittamer, Belgian officer	Along Gansu Corridor and from Lanzhou to southern Gansu; by raft from Lanzhou to Ningxia	André Lederer. 1984. <i>La mission du Commandant A. Wittamer en Chine (1898-1901)</i> . Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Memoires in-8°, Nouvelle Série, XLVIII/3, Bruxelles.	Explorations/ prospecting for Belgian king, Leopold II.
22	1899- 1900	Charles Eudes Bonin, French explorer and paleogeographer	From Beijing through Mongolia, Gansu, the Kokonor region and Eastern Turkestan	Ibid. 1901. Voyage de Pékin au Turkestan russe par la Mongolie, le Koukou-Nor, le Lob- Nor et la Dzoungarie. <i>La Géographie</i> , 115- 122, 169-180. Ibid. 1910. Les Mahométans du Kansou et leur dernière révolte. <i>Revue</i>	See also <i>ibid.</i> 1911. <i>Le Royaume des neiges. États himalayens</i> . Paris: Colin.

				<p><i>du monde musulman</i>, vol. X, reprint. 1974, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus.</p>	
23	July 1899-1901	Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officer and explorer	From Tsaidam via Yellow River source to Jekundo and Derge	<p>PK Kozloff. 1902. The Russian Tibet Expedition, 1899-1901. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 19(5):576-598.</p> <p>Ibid. 1908. Through Eastern Tibet and Kam. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 31(4-6):402-415, 522-534, 649-661.</p> <p>Ibid. 1903. <i>Central Asia and Tibet</i>. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett.</p>	4 th expedition, but 1 st expedition led by Kozlov himself; funded by the Russian Geographical Society and the czar.
24	1899-1902	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	From Eastern Turkestan through northern Tibet to Ladakh		2 nd expedition

25	1900	Gaspard E Fivé, Belgian officer	Gansu: from Anxi to Lanzhou	Reports in Belgian archives?	Explorations/prospecting for the Belgian king, Leopold II; for background and references see Koen de Ridder. 2000. Congo in Gansu (1898-1906). Missionary versus Explorer/Exploiter in Koen de Ridder (ed.) <i>Footsteps in Deserted Valleys. Missionary Cases, Strategies and Practice in Qing China</i> . Leuven: Leuven University Press, 111-160.
26	1900-2; 1900	Gomboshab Tsebekovich Tsybikov (Гомбожаб цэбекович Цыбиков), Russian Buryat Buddhist monk	From Amdo to Lhasa; stayed in Labrang and Kumbum	G Tsybikoff. 1904. <i>Journey to Lhasa. The Geographical Journal</i> 13(1):92-97. Gonbojab Tsebekovitch	He is better known for his reports and photographs of central Tibet.

				<p>Tsybikov. Reprint. 1992. <i>Un pelerin bouddhiste dans les sanctuaires du Tibet.</i> Paris: Peuples du Monde.</p> <p>?</p>	<p>Attached to Tibet Mission</p>
27	1903	<p>Lieutenant W Campell, Scottish officer in India</p>	<p>from Beijing to India, passed through Gansu Corridor</p>	<p>?</p>	<p>Attached to Tibet Mission</p>
28	1903-5	<p>Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist, accompanied by his wife and Albert Tafel, German geologist and medical doctor</p>	<p>Xining, Kokonor and Upper Yellow River area, Kumbum Monastery</p>	<p>Ibid. 1906. <i>Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte [The Kumbum Monastery in Tibet. A Contribution to its History]</i>. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler and Sohn.</p> <p>Ibid. 1911. <i>Das Rätsel</i></p>	<p>1st expedition</p>

	29	1904-5	J Bouly de Lesdain and wife; French explorer	From Beijing via Ordos to Lanzhou, Gansu Corridor, Tsaidam and through Tibet to India; passed Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Liangzhou, Ganzhou, Anxi	<p><i>des Matschu. Meine Tibet-Expedition [The Riddle of the Matschu. My Tibet Expedition].</i> Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 3rd ed.</p> <p>Comte de Lesdain. 1908. <i>Voyage au Thibet par la Mongolie de Pékin aux Indes.</i> 2nd ed. Paris: Plon.</p>	Privately funded journey.
30	1905-6	Clarence Dalrymple Bruce, British major	From India via Eastern Turkestan along the Gansu Corridor and Lanzhou to Beijing	<p>Ibid. 1907. <i>In the Footsteps of Marco Polo.</i> London: William Blackwood and Sons.</p>	Traveled on official business.	

31	1905-8	Albert Tafel, German geologist and doctor	through Inner Mongolia and Gansu to Kokonor and Tsaidam region; northern Kham	Ibid. 1914. <i>Meine Tibetreise [My Tibet Journey]</i> . 2 vols. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft.	Expedition led by Tafel. Sharp observer; very informative report.
32	1906-7	John Weston Brooke, British lieutenant and explorer	via Lanzhou and Xining towards central Tibet	WN Fergusson. 1911. <i>Adventure, Sports and Travel on the Tibetan Steppes</i> . London: Constable and Co.	Met 13 th Dalai Lama. Second journey from Chengdu towards Yunnan with CH Meares and WN Fergusson who edited Brooke's diaries posthumously. Brooke was killed in Yunnan in 1908.
33	1906-8; Dec. 1907- Jan. 1908	Carl Gustav von Mannerheim, Finnish officer and explorer	Ganzhou, Liangzhou, Lanzhou, and Labrang	Ibid. Reprint. 1969. <i>Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908</i> . 2 vols. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications. Petteri Koskikallio/ Asko Lehmuskallio.	Central Asia expedition funded by Russian government. See also the bilingual publication by Peter Sandberg (ed.). 1990. <i>C.G. Mannerheim Valokuvia Aasian-Matkalta 1906- 1908. Photographs by CG</i>

				<p>1999. C.G. <i>Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908</i>. Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities.</p> <p>Ibid. 1911. <i>Les derniers barbares. Chine, Tibet, Mongolie. Mission d'Ollone, 1906-1909</i>. Paris: Lafitte.</p> <p>Ibid. 1912. <i>In Forbidden China: the d'Ollone Mission 1906-1909, China-Mongolia-Tibet</i>. London: T. Fisher Unwin.</p> <p>Ibid. 1911. <i>Recherches sur les musulmans</i></p>	<p><i>Mannerheim from his Journey across Asia 1906-1908</i>. Keuruu: Otava.</p>
34	1906-1909; 1908	Henri Marie Gustave d'Ollone, French officer and explorer	through Yunnan, Sichuan/ Kham and Amdo; from Chengdu via Songpan and Yellow River bend to Labrang, Hezhou and Lanzhou	<p>Travelled with three other French officers; expedition supported by the Society of Geography and other French institutions.</p>	

	35	1907-10; July 1908- March 1909	Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officer and explorer	Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, Lake Kokonor, Guide, Labrang area, Lanzhou	<p><i>chinois</i>. Paris: Ernest Leroux.</p> <p>PK Kozloff. 1909-10. The Mongolia-Szechuan Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 34(4): 384-408 and 36(3):288-310.</p> <p>Pjotr Kuzmitsch Kozlov. 1925. <i>Zur toten Stadt Chara-Choto</i>. Berlin: Neufeld and Henius.</p> <p>Pjotr Kusmitsch Koslow. 1955. <i>Die Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-</i></p>	<p>2nd expedition led by Kozlov; discovered ruins of Khara Khoto before moving on to Amdo; met with the 13th Dalai Lama in Kumbum Monastery.</p> <p>See also Martin Slobodnik. 2014. Labrang Monastery in the Eyes of Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov and other Foreign Visitors in <i>The Russian Exploration of Central Asia in Historical Perspective and its Contemporary Aspects (In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Petr K Kozlov)</i>. Saint Petersburg.</p> <p>(For Kozlov's last expedition in 1923-26 he had planned</p>
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				to travel through Tibet to Lhasa, but he had to give up this plan and continued explorations in Mongolia instead.)
36	1915-6	Eric Teichman, British consular officer	from Xian to Lanzhou, Taozhou, Labrang, Hezhou, Zhenfan, Ebao, Xining	<p><i>photo</i>. Leipzig: Brockhaus.</p> <p>Ibid. 1921. <i>Travels of a Consular Officer in North-West China</i>. Cambridge: University Press.</p> <p>In China since 1907; traveled to Kham in 1918-9; see also <i>ibid.</i> 1922. <i>Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet</i>. Cambridge: University Press.</p>
37	1914-5	Reginald Farrer, British explorer and amateur botanist, accompanied by William Purdom, British trained horticulturalist	1 st from Lanzhou to southern Gansu: Minzhou, Taozhou, Choni, and to Sichuan border; 2 nd Lanzhou, Xining, Nanshan area	<p>1st plant hunting trip in southern Gansu and on the border to Sichuan; 2nd trip to the Nanshan area.</p> <p>Reginal Farrer. 1926. <i>On the Eaves of the World</i>. 2 vols. London: Edward Arnold and Co.</p> <p>Ibid. 1926. <i>The Rainbow Bridge</i>. London: Edward Arnold and Co.</p>

38	May 1918- May 1921	Alexandra David-Neel, French explorer and esoteric	First in Amdo (mainly Kumbum), later in Kham	Ibid. 1933. <i>Au pays des brigands gentilshommes</i> . Paris: Librairie Plon. Ibid. 1933. <i>Mönche und Strauchritter. Eine Tibetfahrt auf Schleichwegen</i> . Leipzig: Brockhaus.	See also her letters: Ibid. 1976. <i>Journal de voyage. Lettres à son mari (14 janvier 1918 – 31 décembre 1940) de la Chine à l'Inde en passant par le Tibet</i> . Paris: Plon.
39	1921-2	George Edward Pereira, British brigadier- general and explorer	From Kham via Taozhou and Choni to Lanzhou, Xining, Dan'gaer, and back to Kham	H Gordon Thompson. 1926. <i>From Yunnan-fu to Peking along the Tibetan and Mongolian Borders</i> . London: Edward Stanford. Francis Younghusband, ed. 1925. <i>Peking to Lhasa</i> , London: Constable.	Pereira passed away in Kham in 1923. See also Gordon Thompson. 1926. From Yunnan-fu to Peking along the Tibetan and Mongolian Borders, Including the Last Journey of Brig.-Gen. George E. Pereira. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 67(1):2-23.

40	1923-8; 1927	Nicholas and George Roerich (Николай and Юрий Перих), Russo-American artist, explorer and esoteric (father Nicholas) and orientalist (son George)	From Mongolia via Gansu Corridor (Anxi) and Tsaidam towards Tibet	Nicholas Roerich. 1929. <i>Altai-Himalaya. A Travel Diary</i> . New York: Frederick A. Stokes. George N Roerich. 1931. <i>Trails to Inmost Asia</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press.	Plentiful secondary literature on the Roerichs and their expedition.
41	1925-7	Joseph Francis Rock, Austrian-American botanist	Based in Choni; excursions to Labrang, Raja, Golok; tried to reach Amnye Machen in 1926	Ibid. 1956. <i>The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions</i> . Rom: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.	See also his various articles published in <i>The National Geographic Magazine</i> and his unpublished manuscripts held at the Archive of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. See also his diaries and letters (in English) in Hartmut Walravens, (ed.) 2003. <i>Joseph Franz Rock Expedition zum Amnye</i>

42	1926-8	Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist	From Eastern Turkestan to Xining, Kumbum, Lanzhou, Dan 'gaer, Kokonor, Tsaidam	Ibid. 1942. <i>Om mani padme hum. Meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925/28</i> . 21 st ed. Leipzig: Brockhaus.	<i>Machten in Südwest-China im Jahre 1926</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2 nd expedition
43	1927-35	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan and Gansu	1937-. <i>Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. The Sino-Swedish Expedition</i> . Ca. 50 vols. Various publishers.	4 th expedition; international Chinese-Swedish scientific expedition under the leadership of Hedin.

				<p>Ibid. 1936. <i>Big Horse's Flight. The Trail of War in Central Asia.</i> London: EP Dutton.</p>	
44	1931-2	<p><i>Croisière jaune</i>, led by Georges-Marie Haardt and Louis Audouin-Dubreuil</p>	<p>Through Eastern Turkestan, Gansu and Mongolia to Beijing; passing Urumqi, Turfan, Hami, Suzhou and Liangzhou</p>	<p>Louis Audouin-Dubreuil. 1935. <i>Sur la Route de la Soie.</i> Paris: Plon.</p> <p>Georges Le Fèvre. 1933. <i>La Croisière jaune.</i> Paris: Plon.</p> <p>Ariane Audouin-Dubreuil. 2002. <i>La Croisière jaune.</i> Grenoble: Ed. Glénat.</p> <p>Maynard Owen Williams. 1932. From the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea by</p>	<p>French scientific expedition financed by André Citroën; among the twenty-four members were Joseph Hackin, Teilhard de Chardin, Maynard Owen Williams and painter Alexander Yakovlev.</p>

45	1932-3	Harrison Forman, American adventurer/journalist and photographer	Labrang area	<p><i>Motor. National Geographic Magazine</i> 62(Nov.):513-580.</p> <p>Ibid. 1935. <i>Through Forbidden Tibet</i>. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.</p> <p>Ibid. 1936. <i>Through Forbidden Tibet. An Adventure into the Unknown</i>. London: Jarrolds.</p>	Apparently befriended family of the 5 th Jamyang Zhepa.
46	1935; early 1935	Peter Fleming and Ella Maillart, British and Swiss journalists/ travel writers	From Beijing via Xian to Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, and Tsaidam to Kashgar	<p>Peter Fleming. 1936. <i>News from Tartary</i>. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.</p> <p>Ibid. 1936. A Journey through Central Asia. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 88(2):128–</p>	Private journey of two adventurous journalists.

				144. Ella Maillart. 1937. <i>Oasis interdites. De Pékin au Cachemire.</i> Reprint. 2002. Paris: Payot and Rivages.	
47	1934-5	Brooke Dolan, American zoologist	Mainly Kham, but Dolan traveled from Jekundo to Xining for permits	Ibid. 1938. Zoological Results of the Second Dolan Expedition to Western China and Eastern Tibet, 1934-1936. Part I: Introduction. <i>Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia</i> , 90:159-184.	2 nd Dolan expedition sponsored by the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia; accompanied by Ernst Schäfer, German zoologist, and missionary Marion Duncan; 1 st expedition to Kham in 1931.
48	1935-6	Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist	From Lanzhou via Xining, Dan'gær, Dulan and Tsaidam	Ibid. 1938. <i>Bismillah! Vom Huang-ho zum Indus.</i> Leipzig:	3 rd expedition

			through Eastern Turkestan to India	Brockhaus. 2 nd ed.	
49	July 1936	Edmund Fürholzer, German journalist	From Shanghai to Lanzhou, Hezhou, Labrang	Ibid. 1951. <i>Arro! Arro! So sah ich Tibet.</i> Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert.	Editor at Transocean Press Agency in Shanghai since 1933. Privately funded journey as a 'tourist'. Met 9 th Panchen Lama in Labrang.
50	Summer and autumn 1936	Hans Stubel, German-American ethnologist	Southern Gansu, Labrang area	Hans Stubel. 1958. <i>The Mewu Fantzu. A Tibetan Tribe of Kansu.</i> New Haven: HRAF Press.	
51	1937-8	Marvin J Weller, American geologist	From Shanghai to Gansu and along the Gansu Corridor	Ibid and Harriet Weller. 1984. <i>Caravan across China. An American Geologist Explores the Northwest, 1937-1938.</i> San Francisco: March Hare Pub.	Prospecting for oil.

52	spring 1938	Violet Cressy-Marcks, British adventurer and journalist, self-trained archaeologist and ethnographer	From Beijing via Xian to Xining, Kumbum and Lake Kokonor	Ibid. 1940. <i>Journey into China</i> . London: Hodder and Stoughton.	Privately funded journey. Interviewed Mao Zedong in Yan'an.
53	1940	André Guibaut and Louis Victor Liotard	From Kham via Golok area to Xining	André Guibaut. 1947. <i>Ngolo-Setas. Deuxième Expédition Guibaut-Liotard au Tibet (1940)</i> . Paris: J. Susse. Ibid. 1947. <i>Tibetan Venture</i> . London: John Murray.	Liotard was killed during the expedition by Tibetans.
54	1942-3	Ilia Tolstoy and Brooke Dolan, American OSS officers	From India via Lhasa to Lanzhou	Ilia Tolstoy. 1946. <i>Across Tibet from India to China. National Geographic Magazine XC(2):169– 222.</i>	Traveled on official business; Dolan had already traveled to Tibet twice. See also the Russian version: I. A. Tolstoj. 2008. <i>Iz Indii v Kitaj cherez Tibet [Across Tibet from India to China]</i> .

				Rosemary Jones Tung. 1980. <i>A Portrait of Lost Tibet</i> . New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.	Tula: Izdatel'skij Dom "Yasnaya Polyana."
55	1946-8; 1947	André Migot, French explorer, medical doctor and orientalist	From Chengdu through northern Kham to Kokonor; Dan'gaer, Xining, Kumbum, Lanzhou	Ibid. 1956. <i>Tibetan Marches</i> , London: Readers Union Rupert Hart-Davis.	Traveled on behalf of the École Française d'Extrême- Orient at Hanoi.
56	Early 1949	Leonard Clark, American adventurer	From Xining to Amnye Machen Mountain Range	Ibid. 1955. <i>The Marching Wind</i> . London: Hutchinson.	Expedition supported by regional warlord Ma Bufang.

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THE LAST OUTSTANDING MONGGHUL FOLKSONG SINGER

(Limusishiden/ Li Dechun 李得春,
Qinghai University Affiliated Hospital)

He has swept aside all other Mongghul and Tibetan folksong singers in his hometown.

He has memorized many Tibetan Buddhist scriptures and chanted them proudly throughout his life.

He is the last outstanding Mongghul folksong singer among the Mongghul folksong singers.

He is a high-ranking Mongghul folksong singer who has taken part in a number of Mongghul and Tibetan weddings, as well as other rituals and folksong competitions in the Huzhu area.

He has taught his Mongghul knowledge to many Mongghul youths. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) many young Mongghul continued to secretly visit his home, bringing gifts and asking him to teach them Mongghul folksongs and oral literature. Once, he was punished by local officials for continuing to teach such 'outdated feudal culture.'

Though he may look 'common', he is quite humorous, eloquent, and knowledgeable.

Lamuzhaxi, Mongghul, is from Guangma Village, Danma Town, Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County, in Haidong Municipality. He speaks Mongghul, Tibetan, and the local variety of Chinese. He was ninety-two years old when my wife, Jugui, and I visited him in his home on 1 March 2014. In the following, Lamuzhaxi retells his life story, especially his experience as a folksinger. Jugui and I first recorded his voice,¹ and later wrote down what he had said.

¹ The recording was made using a SONY IC RECORDER ICD-UX543F.

•••

My name is Lamuzhaxi. I was born in Guangma Village on the twentieth day of the ninth lunar month in 1923. I have a younger brother and a younger sister. I had an older sister, but she died soon after birth – nobody knew why. My younger sister married into a man's home in our village. My mother, Lamutari, died at the age of ninety-two. Her natal home was in Shdangja Village, Danma Town. She got her name from Shdangja Nengneng, a female goddess. Father's name was Nengnengbog (1897-1963). My grandfather, Zhumaxja, was born in Jughuari Village, Wushi Town. He married into my grandmother's family, because at that time, their family had no son. My grandparents cared for me very affectionately until I was four or five years old, when I was old enough to take care of myself while playing with other children in village lanes. When I was ten, I became responsible for looking after my younger brother and sister while other family members went out working in the fields.

When I was about fourteen, I heard there was a school in Eastern Danma Village, about five kilometers south of my village. One day, I asked Father if I could go study there, because it was the only school in our area. My sudden question surprised Father. Why did his son want to study Chinese? At that time, no one in my village had ever studied Chinese. Nobody went to school. After I repeatedly asked him, Father finally agreed, led me to the school, and enrolled me. It was an elementary school and was built at a site where Eastern Danma Village's temple had formerly been located. I could still see a painted *purghan*² on the wall of our classroom when I went to study in the school.

² The *purghan* [*pram*] is a deity represented in the form of a seated image carried in a sedan chair by four men, or a cloth-covered pole held by a single man. The *purghan* permeates Mongghul village life. It is available for consultation and represents the possibility that supplicants' distresses may be alleviated. It is consulted to identify a suitable spouse, treat illness, exorcise evil, ensure well-being and good harvests, and alleviate droughts. In the case of a seated *purghan*, moving forward is affirmative while moving backwards is negative. Pole *purghan* move up and down to signify a positive answer. *Purghan* communicate through interaction between an elder who asks the *purghan* questions and a man who holds the sedan poles and, in the case of a pole *purghan*, the man who holds the pole.

There was only one teacher in the school. He was a local Chinese, from somewhere to the south, maybe from today's Halazhigou Township, Huzhu County. During the three years I studied in the school, a herder from Lasizikoori Village often bullied me as I was passing his village on the way to and from school every day. This made me very angry, and we often fought. Once, he even injured me, and when Father heard this, he took me out of school. He was extremely angry when I told him the details of the situation, and he was determined to solve the problem. At that time, Father was a government administrator³ for the three villages of Guangma, Warima, and Xiuma, which meant he was powerful in those three villages. He wanted to build a new school for those three villages, so the boys from Lasikoori Village would no longer bully our students. In addition, our village was too far from the school in Eastern Danma.

At that time, Father had a close relationship with Zhuashidi Nangsuu,⁴ who was a very powerful person locally – even the local governors in Danma Township could not control him. Father said to Zhuashidi Nangsuu, "Our children need to learn knowledge. There is not one single knowledgeable person in the three villages of Zhuashidi, Guangma, and Warima. We will withdraw our students from Danma School, and build a new school in our village for them to study in." Zhuashidi Nangsuu supported Father's new plan, and a

³ A *baozhang*, a low level administrator in the *baojia* system during the Republic of China. Usually, a *baozhang* was set up for every dozen to one hundred households. The position of *baozhang* rotated among the households within the *bao*, however, powerful landlords sometimes monopolized the position. Their primary responsibilities were local policing duties and carrying out government dictates (Yan and Wang:195).

⁴ Angsuo, one of Tughuans, or internal affairs officers. During the period of 1573-1619 under the Ming Dynasty, it was granted by Tibetan religious elites to Mongghuls. There were three *angsuo* in Huzhu: Tuhun Angsuo (also called Tuguan Angsuo), Xawaai Angsuo (also called Shibadonggou Angsuo) and Zhade Angsuo (also called Zhuashitu or Baizhade Angsuo). The position was hereditary. They governed the local people in present day Hongyazigou and Halazhigou townships and Wushi Town. The *angsuo* system was abolished in 1930 after Huzhu was established as a county (Yan and Wang:864).

new school was built in Warima Village, which is the most central of the three villages, and was thus the most convenient place for the three villages' students to attend school. The school's courtyard wall was built from rammed earth, and there were six rooms inside the courtyard. The money to build the school was collected from all the households, and part was also donated from the Nangsuu himself.

After the school was built, a local Chinese teacher was invited there to teach in Chinese. He taught from three books: *The Disciple Rules*, *The Three Character Primer* and *The Book of Family Names*. At that time, there were only a few students in the school. The teacher's salary was paid in the paper money of the Republic of China. It was collected from all the villages, and each village paid a different amount according to how much land it had.

Once the school was built in Warima Village my educational career reached a turning point. Late one afternoon, several village children and I were playing in a patch of wild roses⁵ on a high slope below my village. Suddenly, one of the children found an arrow on the ground. We were all surprised to see the sharp-headed arrow, and decided to make a bow to test it. We chopped at the wild rose bush, but, unfortunately, a twig flicked into my right eye. I immediately felt excruciating pain. Blood and other liquid flowed from my eye. In the following days it became swollen, and then gradually it shriveled up and I became blind in my right eye. That year, I was sixteen years old. Fortunately, my family invited a local deity to treat my injured eye. We also invited more than ten monks to my home to chant Buddhist scriptures, otherwise I would have lost my life from the infection. Afterwards, I continued going to school, but did not do very well because of the problem with my eye.

My family had a shortage of men to do labor – only my mother worked in the fields. Father was afraid of work. I never once saw him work in the field – he was afraid his clothes would get dirty. He always dressed well and neatly, and went out to do his administrative business daily. Because of this, I finally dropped out school and began working with my mother in the family fields. At that time my younger brother and sister were too young to work.

⁵ *Rosa xanthina* Lindl. (M. xralijin).

Apart from working in the fields, I used my knowledge of Chinese to assist Father in writing, recording, and accounting various village affairs as part of his administrative position. Many villagers also came to ask me for help when they needed to write or read Chinese, or to do some simple accounting. From this work, I continued to expand my knowledge and skills, even though I had stopped studying in school. I became known as a 'knowledgeable' man in the three villages.

I married when I was sixteen years old. My wife's name was Niiga (1923-1986) and she was from Gurija Village, Danma Town. She died from pleurisy. My mother and her mother were sisters, and they were both from Shdangja Village, Danma Town. My mother was the elder sister. It was said that once, my mother and my wife's mother were going to Rgulang Monastery.⁶ At that time, they were both pregnant. They were walking and chanting pleasantly on the road to the monastery, and my mother said to her younger sister, "Little Aunt,⁷ if the child in my belly is a boy, and yours is a girl, please give your daughter to become my son's wife. On the other hand, if you have a son and I have a daughter, I promise to give my daughter to become your son's wife when they grow up. If both of them are sons, they will become sworn brothers, and if they are daughters, they will become sworn sisters. Is that OK for you?"

"It's a great idea! Today we are on the way to a sacred place. Our important decision will be supported by Rgulang Monastery!" her younger sister applauded. They had reached this agreement.

Later, my mother gave birth to me, a son, and my mother's younger sister gave birth to a girl. When my mother's younger sister's girl and I grew up, we were married without hesitation, just as my mother and her younger sister had previously agreed.

I have two sons. My first son's name is Sishidendanzhuu (b. 1941), and my second son's name is Gindindarijii (b. 1950). I have four daughters. The first daughter's name is Zhuaxi (b. 1940), and she married into a Tibetan family in Gantan Village, Wushi Town. The

⁶ Rgulang (Youningsi); Dgon lung dgon pa, a large Tibetan Buddhist monastery in Huzhu County.

⁷ Mongghul women moved into their husbands' homes once they married. Sisters call each other 'Aunt', especially after they have children.

second daughter, named Zhuuxji (b. 1957), married into a Mongghul family in Mula Smeen Village, Weiyuan Town. The third one is called Chuangwa (b. 1959), and she married into Maja Raxi Village, Weiyuan Town. The fourth one is called Linxjin (b. 1962), and she married into Ziiri Tang Village, Danma Town. They all married into Mongghul families. Now all my daughters take care of me nicely. If they learn that I have a cold or am feeling unwell, they immediately come to visit me. They are very filial to me, and often invite me to stay in their home. But, I mostly decline, because I like staying in my own home.

Currently, I live together with my second son, one of my grandsons, the grandson's wife, and two great-grandchildren.

This year I'm ninety-two years old. I get up at seven o'clock every morning. I no longer offer incense and make prostrations on the roof every morning, like I used to. My son does it instead, because I'm old, and it's difficult for me to climb up the ladder to the roof. After washing my face, I sit down on the bed and chant Buddhist scriptures while I drink my morning tea. After I eat bread for my breakfast, I continue chanting Buddhist scriptures while other family members go to work in the fields. If it's sunny, I boil a pot of tea and take it to them in the fields at about lunchtime. I'm unable to go to pray in my local temple, which is located in Zhuashidi Village, about three kilometers away, because my knees get painful if I walk too much. After lunch, I chant Buddhist scriptures until I go to bed at about nine clock in the evening. The main scripture I chant every day is *Zhualima*. Chanting it is related to all kinds of daily things; for example, if you had an evil dream the night before, it indicates that some misfortune will befall the family, so I chant to avoid it. In addition, chanting *Zhualima* protects family members and keeps them safe from disease and disaster, avoid quarrels and fights both in and outside the family, gives longevity, and also brings more children and grandchildren. From early morning to late night, I can chant *Zhualima* more than twenty times. In a word, my daily work is to chant Buddhist scripture.

Mongghul, Tibetan, and Chinese people live mixed together in my village. When I was young, Tibetans still spoke their language, but nowadays they no longer do – they speak the local Chinese language

instead. In my childhood, I spoke Mongghul with Mongghul children and Tibetan with Tibetan children when we played together in the village lanes or herded on the high slopes. By doing this, I learned Tibetan. I rarely played with Chinese children, so my Chinese language, including reading and writing, was mostly learned in school, where teachers only allowed us to speak Chinese.

When I started learning Tibetan songs, I asked the singers to tell me the lyrics in Tibetan. Then, I wrote down the sound of the Tibetan in Chinese characters, using a brush and ink. Because I could speak Tibetan and learned Chinese characters, it was easy for me to learn Tibetan songs in this way. I never learned to read Tibetan.

When I was young, I always enjoyed the folksongs whenever there were drinking parties or weddings and gradually, I became more and more interested in listening to and singing folksongs. When I was in my twenties, I realized that I would have to learn Tibetan songs, otherwise I would be defeated by others in singing competitions, and I felt it would be a great shame if I were defeated by them. Later, after I had learned some folksongs, and had gained some fame in our area, some people would say to each other, "Be careful of this great singer!" if they encountered me at drinking parties or other occasions when folksongs were sung. Then I would tell them, "Yes, you should be careful of me, but I don't need to worry about any of you." Meanwhile, I always told myself secretly that I should be wary of everyone.

I exerted a lot of effort to learn Tibetan folksongs, with the sole aim of never being defeated. At that time, I promised myself that I would win every folksong competition, whenever or wherever they were carried out. With this motivation, I learned folksongs and competed with numerous singers on numerous occasions. In the end, I really did achieve my goal – I never once lost face in a singing competition in my whole life.

My grandfather did not know any songs. Father learned some, but not many. So I once told Father, "Father, your songs are so limited that you are unable to take part in formal celebrations and compete with other singers." I learned more than Father. I started learning folksongs formally when I was in my twenties... almost thirty. At the beginning, I just listened while others were singing. The more I

listened, the more interested I became, and I found out the rules of singing Tibetan songs. I realized that to sing Tibetan songs, you need to play tricks on each other. This pushed me to not only learn more songs, but also to study them each in great detail. If I found a man who knew a lot of great songs, I tried my best to ask him to teach me. "You know so many songs. Please instruct me. You are getting old. Instruct me, and I will keep your songs in the future." I mostly learned songs from singers in my village, and from Zhuashidi Village.

My best teacher was a Tibetan monk, named Losiza, from Zhuashidi Village, Danma Town. At that time he was a monk in Mantuu Monastery.⁸ He was so knowledgeable in Tibetan Buddhist scriptures that no one in the surrounding area could compete with him, not even monks from Rgulang, the largest and most prestigious monastery in the area. Losiza Monk's magic Buddhist scriptures were so efficacious that he was often invited to protect villages from hailstones during the summer and autumn. Once he was invited, he went atop a hill, made prostrations to Heaven and then began chanting Buddhist scriptures. His chanting made the black rolling clouds immediately split apart and change direction. Local villagers appreciated his assistance and paid him generously in paper money and grain.

I studied *Szii* (divination) and *Rdang*⁹ from Losiza Monk. At that time, only Losiza Monk had really mastered these two long philosophical scriptures. No other monks had grasped them as well as him. Whenever I was free, I visited him at his home to learn from him. Once, Losiza Monk made fun of me and asked, "I can teach you, but I'm worried that you will murder somebody if you learn them too well." He was suggesting that I was learning Buddhist scriptures just to defeat other people in song competitions. I listened to him chant, and then I wrote down the scriptures in Chinese characters. When I was back home, I reviewed what Losiza Monk had taught. I visited

⁸ A monastery located in Danma Town.

⁹ Here *rdang*, a Tibetan word, means to mix, blend and mingle. It refers to the mixing of the three religious scriptures (*Sanjiaojing*) from Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenism. They summon each of the multitudinous gods by name in Tibetan. We are sure the three religions are Buddhism, Daoism, and Shenism, and do not include Confucianism. Reported by Monk Gen Deng (b. 1968), from Rgulang Monastery.

him whenever I had free time, including early mornings, lunchtime, and even deep in the night. In addition, I began singing the two scriptures on some drinking and singing occasions.

In addition to studying with the Losiza Monk, I studied some other songs from other singers. I always studied in the same way as with Losiza Monk.

My first daughter married into Gantan Tibetan Village in Wushi Town. In the past, everyone in the village spoke Tibetan. In 2014, only those over the age of fifty still spoke it. My daughters' marriage created an opportunity for to me to go there and learn Tibetan folksongs from Tibetan singers. At that time, there were many singers in the village – in particular, there were many Tibetan *hguandii*.¹⁰ Every time I visited the village, I would use up a thick stack of paper transcribing lyrics, which I brought home and quickly reviewed again and again until finally, I completely grasped them.

During this intense time of folksong study, I often carried a notebook, brush, and a bottle of ink in my pockets all day long. Even if I met a singer on the road, I would ask them to stop their walking, and we would sit together, and beseech them to sing with me. After parting, I would think back and remember as I walked and wrote down any new things they had sung to me. Truly, I was infatuated with learning folksongs.

In all, I know *Szii*, *Qarog* (Formation of the Earth),¹¹

¹⁰ A *hguandii* begins his study of Buddhist scriptures inside 108 tents in an uninhabited place, encapsulated in such expressions as '*qulangshidari so*' 'sit by a well and learn scriptures in tents'. The *hguandii* sits crossed-leg for long periods in the course of learning scripture and his master's magic arts. *Hguandii* are capable of both good and evil; they summon and command evil. In certain circumstances, a *hguandii* might expel evil from an ailing person's body. They also can send illness to a certain person. A female body part strengthens their magic power. Consequently, *hguandii* fasten the hair of a young dead woman to their own hair. An eighteen-year-old girl's foot-bone is regarded as a potent weapon in expelling evils, while a girl's flesh is considered a *hguandii*'s delicious food. They polish their bone weapons on the bones of dead young girls.

¹¹ This song is about how the Earth formed in the past. Initially, Heaven and Earth were in darkness; later the great deities created all living beings. It is sung antiphonally with questions and answers. It is said that certain high-ranking singers needed several days and nights to conclude this folksong.

*Zhualima, Rdang, Huni*¹² and *Xog* (cross talk). These are all sung in Tibetan, not Mongghul. I can't sing any songs in Mongghul. Historically, our area was Tibetan, as can be seen from the names of village: Guangma (Upper Village), Warima (Middle Village), and Xuuma (Lower Village, also known as Zhuashidi,). People here only sing Tibetan songs. Mongghul songs, for example, Tangdarihgiima,¹³ are mostly sung in remote mountainous areas.¹⁴ Historically, all famous Mongghul singers sang in Tibetan, not Mongghul.

I thought it was disgraceful or shameful to be defeated by rivals during folksong matches. One learns folksongs in order to show one's ability in public gatherings, such as weddings, family affairs, or village or household celebrations. If a family held a wedding in a village, I always went there and sat in an inconspicuous place or in a corner so that other guests would not pay attention to me. I listened and listened and waited for a chance to sing. Then I (sometimes with my partners) started to sing. At first, our songs just praised the hosts. For example, if it was at a wedding in a groom's home, we might sing:

How venerable the hosts are!
The hosts ought to be offered phoenix feathers,
The hosts ought to be offered *qilin* horns.

The hosts ought to be offered lion's milk,
From head to toe and from toe to head,
The hosts ought to be covered with silk and satin.

I would praise them with songs like this until eventually, I would ask them to sing a certain song, which I would pretend to not know well. "Could you please just teach me?" I would say. "I would appreciate it very much if you taught me." This would put them in a bind if they didn't know the song I asked for. Actually, I would just be

¹² It is a traditional Mongghul folksong historically recorded in Tibetan because Mongghul had no written system. The folksong was composed by a Mongghul leader named Shba who was eventually imprisoned. During his incarceration he felt sad and alone and composed this folksong to reflect Mongghul history from the standpoint of his personal experience.

¹³ A popular Mongghul song.

¹⁴ Such as in Dongshan Township.

tricking them, because in fact, I would know the song well, and also knew that they didn't know it, and wouldn't be able to respond. The result is that they would be disgraced.

"We understand that you're asking for a certain song, but we are all sorry that we don't know this song very well," one of the guests would answer, their face showing embarrassment and helplessness.

Hearing their apologies, I would secretly celebrate to myself.

In other cases, I would sing at weddings to praise the bride's escorts:

The brightest star is Venus,
The highest quality wood is sandalwood,
The best relatives are those of the married woman's parents
home,
The most wondrous mountain is snow-covered,
The largest lake is Qinghai Lake,
The most beautiful flower is the lotus.

The songs would continue, and the maternal uncles and all the guests would happily be paying attention to my songs. At this juncture, I would suddenly ask them, "Dear guests, do you know what zodiac signs the bride and groom are? Do you know if the bride and groom's zodiac signs fit together smoothly and harmoniously? Do their zodiacs have metal, wood, water, fire, and earth – the five elements in ancient Chinese philosophy and fortune-telling?"

When my voice faded, they would blush, because they didn't know the answers to my questions. I would follow up my victory and continue to ask further, "If you aren't clear about such an important thing, how and why did you come to have a party here in the groom's home?" This would always make them more embarrassed and ashamed.

Actually, this was just a game. My only intention was to embarrass them.

At that time, guests were not entertained inside the house during weddings, but in the courtyard, or inside the family's sheep shed or cowshed. People were constantly filling guests' tea bowls and some people were offering liquor to guests. At this time, I would just

silently walk close to those singers who were singing with great gusto. Then, I would seize a chance to begin singing a song, or to ask those dear guests to teach me this or that song, which I knew of but didn't know well. They would teach me if they knew or I was told they didn't know the song. Actually, I often asked people to teach me songs that I already knew. My only intention in asking was to embarrass them by singing their songs better than they could.

My singing ability reached its peak during my fifties. I was the best singer not only in the three villages, but also in the surrounding areas. I was often invited to sing in other areas. For example, if there was a wedding in a village nearby, it sometimes happened that guests from the bride's side were great singers. Then, the groom's family would be embarrassed, so they might send for someone like me to avenge them during the wedding. I would agree and ask two or three other singers to accompany me to the party.

I needed those companions to sing with me, but also in case there was a fight. During the singing, if guests had difficulty answering my questions, they often felt embarrassed and ashamed. If they were drunk, they sometimes lost their temper and scolded us, "Where did you, stray dog, come from to bite us?" In this way, they would insult us and try to pick a fight. So it was always good to have someone to help, in case a fight broke out.

Once, a man named Darijii was holding his wedding in Gamogou Village in Danma Town. The bride's natal family was from Gantan Tibetan Village, Wushi Town. More than forty people had come with the bride to the groom's home. They were entertained in a sheep shed, and there were several *hguandii* among them. *Hguandii* always knew a lot of folksongs and Buddhist scriptures. They were almost always great singers. After some time competing, the groom's side was easily defeated by the bride's side. They felt ashamed, disgraced, and helpless. At this juncture, someone sent two people to my home, and invited me with a *kadog*¹⁵ to request me to help avenge them. I graciously their invitation, and then set off quickly with my two close singing partners.

When we arrived in Darijii's home, we saw a number of

¹⁵ A blue or yellow strip of silk, offering to respected persons.

people in front of his courtyard gate. Folksongs were rising up from inside the courtyard. We entered Darijii's sheep shed and saw all the bride's escorts singing, drinking, and laughing. They were self-satisfied and arrogant. They didn't even notice us arriving. When I saw my chance, I began singing, and soon they found that I was an extraordinary singer, and not just any ordinary Gamogou villager.

I easily found that the several *hguandii* did not know much more than my teacher, Losiza Monk. What's more, their ability to recall those scriptures was imperfect, unlike my knowledge, which was complete. Although they could read all the Buddhist scriptures, they only remembered some. So, that made it easy for me to quickly defeat them. Finally, one of the *hguandii* stood up from his seat and took a white *kadog* out of his robe. He walked to me and put the *kadog* on my shoulders. I immediately understood that they had conceded defeat and were surrendering. People from the groom's side started clapping their hands, roaring for a long time in great excitement, signifying I had regained their honor.

Then, we stopped the song competition for that day. My two partners and I were invited into a guestroom by the groom's side, and were treated as guests of honor. They offered us liquor, milk tea, butter, *taligha*,¹⁶ boiled meat, and *kadog*.

At that time, inviting someone with a gift of a *kadog* was the greatest honor that could be shown to someone. If guests offered me a *kadog*, it meant they were surrendering because they didn't know enough songs to compete with me. We competed *Szii*, The Sheep Song (*Yangka Luu* in Tibetan), *Qarog*, and The Horse Song (*Shdan Duwa* in Tibetan).

When a full roasted sheep was offered to the escorts from the groom's side in a wedding, the groom's side should sing the sheep song in Tibetan before escorts began eating the sheep meat. If they could not sing the song, it was a great disgrace. For example, someone might ask, "The sheep's body has a pagoda. What is it?" and they should answer that it is the sheep's tail.

After the groom's side finished the songs for offering meat to the guests, the escorts then sang about each part of the sheep's body

¹⁶ Roasted highland barley flour.

as they cut off and offered meat to each other.

I mostly went to sing in this area including, Dughuari, Guangma, Warima, Zhuashidi and Ziiri villages, in Danma Town, and Gantan and Kuilog villages in Wushi Town. I never went to the Wuuzin side¹⁷ because Mongghul people there sing the song *Qijia Yanxi*¹⁸ and in Dongshan Township they sing *Tangdarihgiima*.¹⁹ They mostly sing songs in Mongghul or local Chinese. Since folksong competitions are a Tibetan tradition, they didn't have any such competitions, even though they sing some songs in Tibetan, mostly drinking songs, which are short and simple. Folksong competitions were popular in areas where both Tibetan and Mongghul reside together.

Tibetans aren't like Mongghul people. They make fewer jokes, and practice folksong contests very seriously. So, I rarely made jokes at weddings or other drinking parties. Our purpose was just to sing and to defeat our rivals and to accept liquor and *kadogs* from them as signs of defeat.

Tibetans from Gantan and Kuilog villages, Wushi Town, had a custom that if they defeated their rivals in a folksong competition, they would threaten to cut the front lower part of their rival's robes with a knife. However, they only said such things as a threat – it never really happened. The two sides in a folk song competition rarely fought with each other, because if they fought, it would spoil the wedding and be unlucky for the groom's family.

A Mongghul singer from Rgulang Village, Wushi Town, named Xoshidosirang, was once famous in the Wushi area. He was my student. He came to study from me when he was in his fifties. He

¹⁷ Mainly today's Weiyuan Town, Taizi and Dongghe townships.

¹⁸ The song describes the eighth-generation Qi Tusi (*tusi* = native chief) who, at over eighty years of age, was sent by the emperor to modern Luoyang City, Henan Province to suppress a rebellion. He was murdered on his way home after successfully defending Luoyang. The song is sung in the local Han dialect during gatherings when liquor is consumed. A version of this song is available at <https://archive.org/details/QijiaYanxiAMongghulNarrativePoemSungInQinghaiChineseDialect>, accessed 2 June 2015.

¹⁹ This refers to a melody used to sing many songs, particularly wedding songs. The meaning of the word 'Tangdarihgiima' is unknown to people we asked over the years.

was not a high-ranking singer. He only sang some parts of *Qarog* during his life. There was once a high-ranking singer in Pudang Village, Sughuasirang (~1892 - ~1984). He was an illiterate farmer, and a well-known Mongghul singer and orator. Guiliin, from Gurija Village, was also a well-known singer in the Danma area. He was my student too. He learned some part of The Sheep Song from me. There was a singer in Huarin Village, Danma Town, who only sang The Sheep Song. As I remember, in the Fulaan Nara²⁰ area, there were no high-ranking Mongghul singers. There was one singer in Qulang Village, Danma Town, but he only sang The Sheep Song. If he met me at a party, he was not courageous enough to sing in front of me. When I was young there was a high-ranking singer in Lawa Village, Danma Town, however, he was unable to sing *Szii*.

Later, by singing in many areas numerous times, I was gradually recognized by many people in our area. What's more, people could always recognize me because of my blind eye. Once they recognized me, important guests immediately invited me to sit on the heated adobe platform or in an important seat if the party was in the courtyard. I always quickly replied, "Please don't treat me this way! I'm not worthy to sit here!" But they understood that my powerful songs would defeat everyone quickly. Of course, they knew I was a high-ranking singer in our area. I always tried my best to decline their invitation to sit with the honored guests. But, they would often continue to insist.

My dear teacher, Losiza Monk, was a greatly knowledgeable monk when it came to Buddhist scriptures. He chanted all of them completely and I sung them after learning them from him. For Tibetan songs, you can use whichever melody you want. There are several melodies to choose from. At that time, if someone could sing *Szii* and *Qarog* they were regarded as an above average singer, and were regarded as being eligible to attend a folksong party. It took several days and nights to sing *Szii* if it was done fully and strictly. It's the equivalent to finishing a thick book of lyrics. Few people were determined enough to learn folksongs by spending countless hours and working tirelessly until they became a qualified singer.

²⁰ Includes modern Wushi Town, Hongyazigou and Songduo townships, Huzhu County and Dala Mongghul Township, Ledu Region, Haidong City.

Now the Mongghul language is vanishing. When the language dies it will signify that the Mongghul people have disappeared forever. Young Mongghul children in our village neither speak nor hear the Mongghul language. In my home, only my son and I speak Mongghul daily, while my grandson and his wife, and my great grandchildren all speak the local Han dialect. We are helplessly facing the extinction of the Mongghul language. Once we die, no one will talk to you in Mongghul, even if you speak to them in Mongghul. Jasiriisang²¹ once came to Huzhu and said, "Mongghul should speak their language and wear their Mongghul clothes." He said this, but people do not do what Jasiriisang instructed. Nowadays, just a little more than ten old people in my village speak Mongghul, and they only speak it when they meet together. I guess that after forty years the Mongghul language will have vanished from our village. If someone sings the sort of traditional folksongs that I used to sing, young people will no longer want to listen to them. They think such songs are outdated and treat them as noise. Instead, they enjoy drinking much more than singing.

Now everything is great; we are free. We don't need to worry about being seized to become a conscript laborer like before, when I was a young man during the Republic of China. Also now, we can believe and practice religion as we like. When I was about sixteen years old I was seized from my village to become a conscript laborer, and taken to Weiyuan Town. When all the conscripts were lined up in a square, some military officers checked us one by one. They examined me and asked, "What's wrong with your eye?"

"It was hurt by a prick when I was walking inside of a black thorn wood," I answered.

"Do you know Chinese characters?" the officer asked again.

"Yes, I do," I answered.

I was confident that I would not be asked to become a soldier because I cannot aim a gun because I was blind in my eye.

Soon, I was freed and returned home again, thanks to Father's effort – he bribed some officers. Anyway, my eye was the key reason that I was saved from conscription, otherwise I would have had to

²¹ Jiase (Jiaseduanyuequjiejiacuo, Rgyal sras don chos kyi rgya mtsho), the founder of the Rgulang Monastery and first abbot of the monastery.

become a soldier for the Ma Family.²² On the one hand, there were two sons in my family, on the other hand I reached my age for soldier service. This meant I would have needed to become a soldier if I hadn't been blind in one eye, and if Father hadn't intervened.

I haven't been to any other areas, except I spent some time in Minhe County to cart lumber, and I also went on pilgrimage to Labrang²³ and Hgunbin monasteries.

Figure 1. Lamuzhaxi is on the right . Photo by Jugui in August, 1997 in Pudang Village, Danma Town, Huzhu County.



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²² A warlord (1903-1975) and member of the Ma Dynasty that controlled much of northwestern China, from the 1860s to 1949.

²³ (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil; Labuleng si) Monastery, Gansu Province.

NON-ENGLISH TERMS

baozhang 保长, a low level administrator in the *baojia* system during the Republic of China

Chuangwa, a person's name

Danma 丹麻 Town

Darijii, a person's name

Donghe 东合 Township

Dongshan 东山 Township

Dughuari (huashixia 花石峡) Village

Fulaan Nara, a place name, a place name in Huzhu and Ledu areas

Gamogou (Xiaomaogou 小磨沟) Village

Gansu 甘肃 Province

Gantan 甘滩 Village

Gindindarijii, a person's name

Guangma 广麻 Village

Guiliin, a person's name

Gurija (Qiaojigou 乔吉沟) Village

Haidong 海东 Municipality

Halazhigou 哈拉直沟 Township

Henan 河南 Province

Hquandii, 笨笨子 *benbenzi*, *dpon*

Hgunbin, 塔尔寺 Ta'ersi, Sku 'bum bya mas pa gling

Hongyazigou 红崖子沟 Township

Huarin (hualin 桦林) Village

Huni (yang 羊)

Huzhu 互助 County

Jasiriisang, (Jiaseduanyuequjiejiacuo 嘉色端悦却吉嘉措, Rgyal sras don chos kyi rgya mtsho), the founder of the Rgulang Monastery; the first abbot of the monastery

Jughuari (zhuoke 卓科) Village

Jugui (Lu Wanfang 鲁万芳), a person's name

Kadog, a blue or yellow silk cloth, offering to respectful persons

Kuilog (Kuילang 奎浪) Village

Labrang, (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil; Labuleng si 拉卜楞寺)
Monastery, Gansu Province

Lamutari, a person's name

Lamuzhaxi, a person's name

Lasizikoori (Lazhuang 拉庄) Village

Lawa (Lawa 拉哇) Village

Limusishiden (Li Dechun 李得春), a person's name

Losiza, a person's name

Luoyang 洛阳 City

Maja Raxi (Maji 麻吉)Village

Mantuu (Mantou 馒头) Monastery, located in Danma Town

Minhe 民和 County

Mongghul (Tuzu 土族), Monguor, Mangghuer

Mula Smeen (Xiaosi 小寺) Village

Nangsuu (Angsuo (昂锁), one of *Tughuans*, or internal affairs officers.

During the period of 1573-1619 in Ming dynasty it was granted
by Tibet religious upper level class to Mongghuls.

Nengneng (Niangniang 娘娘), a female deity's name

Nengnengbog (Niangniangbao 娘娘保), a person's name

Niiga, a person's name

Pudang (Pudonggou 普洞沟) Village

purghan (*fala* 法拉), a deity represented in the form of a sedaned
image or a cloth-covered pole held by four men or a man,
respectively

qarog (Earth Formation), A traditional fairy tale, sung in Tibetan

Qi Tusi 祁土司, (*tusi* = native chief)

Qijia Yanxi (Qijia Yanxi 祁家宴席), a traditional folksong

Qulang (qulonggou 曲龙沟) Village

Rdang (*Sanjiaojing* 三教经). Three religious scriptures: Buddhist, Daoist, and Shenism.

Rgulang (Youningsi 佑宁寺); Dgon lung dgon pa, a large Tibetan Buddhist monastery in Huzhu County.

Shba, a person's name

Shdan Duwa, horse song

Shdangja (Dongjia 东家) Village

Sishidendanzhuu, a person's name

Sughuasirang, a person's name

Szii (divination), a Tibetan Buddhist scripture

Taizi 台子 Township

Taligha, roasted highland barley flour

Tangdarihgima, a popular Mongghul song

The Book of Family Names (Baijiaxing 百家姓)

The Disciple Rules (Dizigui 弟子规)

Three Character Primer (Sanjijing 三字经)

Tuhun (Tuguan 土官) Village

Warima (Wama 哇麻) Village

Wushi 五十 Town

Wuuzin (Weiyuan 威远) Town

Xewarishidi (Shibadonggou 十八洞沟; Xiawaer 夏哇尔)

Xog, cross talk

Xoshidosirang, a person's name

Xralijing, *Rosa xanthina* Lindi

Zhualim, a Tibetan Buddhist scripture name

Zhuashidi (Xiuma, Zhuashitu 抓什图, Baizhade 白扎德, Zhade 扎德
or Baizhuazi 白抓子)

Zhuaxi, a person's name

Zhumaxja, a person's name

Zhuuxji, a person's name

Ziiri Tang (Zelintan 泽林滩) Village

SLINKING BETWEEN REALMS: MUSK DEER AS PREY IN YI ORAL LITERATURE*

Mark Bender (The Ohio State University)

¹ 地球的人民，啊，
² 依靠五谷居住；
³ 獐子和麂子，啊，
⁴ 在森林之内居住

¹ The people of the earth, ah,
² Depend on grains to live;
³ Water deer and muntjac, ah,
⁴ Live within the forests.

From an Azhe narrative poem (Shi 2006:128).

INTRODUCTION

This paper concerns the representation of various species of musk deer in the folk literature and lore of the Yi ethnic group of southwest China. The Yi are one of the largest of China's fifty-five ethnic minority groups, numbering close to seven million. Most Yi live in mountain environments of Yunnan Province, southern Sichuan and western Guizhou provinces, with a few small communities in the western part of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Prefecture. There are around eighty sub-groups of the Yi, ranging in size from over a million, to only a few thousand. While the dominant group in Southern Sichuan province is the Nuosu (numbering around two million), many sub-groups live within the broken uplands of Yunnan, including the Nisupo, Lipo, Lolopo, and Azhe of the central and southern regions of the province.

The languages of the Yi are categorized into six major groupings with limited or little mutual intelligibility. The traditional written texts, from which I derive some of the material for this paper, are written in a script with at least four major and many minor

variant forms. There is also great variety in the local folk traditions of song, dance, stories, clothing, and customs. Thus, when speaking of the 'Yi' it is necessary to state clearly what cultural area of the Yi regions one is talking about. Indeed, one of the most persistent issues in Yi studies is the problem of *rentong* or 'ethnic commonalities', which is understood as those cultural components that tie the diverse Yi sub-groups together as a state-recognized ethnic minority group. As I have discussed in an article in *Chinoperl Papers*, Wang Jichao, Wu Ga, Bamo Qubumo, and others have suggested that study of oral tradition and folklore, especially as found in traditional creation myths, can serve to better understand those elements of culture and identity that rationalize grouping so many disparate groups under the rubric of 'Yi' (Harrell 2001:7-9; Bender 2007:209-210).

One factor that the Yi increasingly share is the effects of rapid development on the natural environment. Forest, water tables, wildlife, and other natural resources have been increasingly exploited by local and non-local enterprises over the last few decades in various periods of economic and social change. In response, in recent years, a number of Yi researchers have become interested in questions of the environment and traditional culture, as witnessed by the theme of the fourth International Yi Studies Conference held in 2005 in Meigu, Sichuan (Bender 2006). The title, '*Bimo* Practice, Traditional Knowledge, and Ecosystem Sustainability in the Twenty-first Century,' emphasizes the role of knowledge of the environment held by the traditional ritual specialists known as *bimo*. Images of the natural environment are deeply embedded in most of Yi traditional literature, especially in the longer narrative poems transmitted by the *bimo*, which narrate the creation of the cosmos, the earth, and its living beings and their ecological niches. This combination of current ecological concerns and the traditional nature-related elements in the oral and oral-connected literature encourage the use of eco-critical approaches to the Yi material.¹

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¹ 'Ecocriticism' has been described as the "study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment" (Glotfelty 1996:xix). Richard

While researching how animals, plants, and the natural environment are depicted in Yi traditional folk literature, I discovered that cervids, deer and their relatives, specifically species of musk deer, are widely and prominently represented. These deer seem to figure in the folk literature and lore of Yi everywhere – from the Liangshan Mountains of southern Sichuan, all across Yunnan, to western Guizhou Province. In this paper I will look at images of musk deer in several local traditions of Yi oral and oral-connected literature, rituals, and customs that in various ways help construct relationships between the realms of wild, domestic, and supernatural in the poetic worlds of the texts. Thus, the paper will not only explore how the Yi imagine the musk deer in both poetic and natural worlds, but also suggest how an ecological perspective that engenders local responses to the natural environment as expressed in folklore can contribute to the concept of Yi *rentong*. Before engaging in the discussion of musk deer in Yi folk traditions, I will briefly introduce the natural presence of cervids in environments in the Yi regions.

CERVIDS IN THE YI REGIONS

Southern Sichuan and northern Yunnan provinces are located in what has been described as a biodiversity hotspot on the eastern margins of the Tibetan Plateau (Conservation International 2007; Coggins 2003:34-5). Southwest China was once rich in species of larger mammals, among which were several species of Asian deer. A number of deer are found in China, including varieties of sika, roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus* or *pao* in Chinese), water deer (also called *he lu* or 'river deer' in Chinese), muntjac, and red deer (wapiti) that once had ranges throughout much of the country, but which are today

Kerridge, as quoted in Garrard (2004:4) has further noted that, "Most of all ecocriticism seeks to evaluate texts and ideas in terms of their coherence and usefulness as responses to environmental crisis." See Bender (2008) for a more extensive discussion of ecocriticism and the representation of animals and plants in the *Nuosu Book of Origins (Hnewo teyy)*. The terms 'oral literature' and 'oral-connected literature' refer, respectively, to the oral tradition and to written texts with a clear or assumed relation to an oral performance tradition (see Foley 2003).

either extinct in many of their former ranges or confined to nature reserves in Southeast, Southwest, and Northeast China (Coggins 2003). Other deer, such as the Tibetan white-lipped deer, sambar deer (*Cervus unicolor*, *shui lu*, 'water deer,' in Chinese), the hog deer of the South or Southwest, and more eastern-ranging Pere-David's deer (saved from extinction by transplanted herds to England in the nineteenth century) had more restricted ranges.

The compound term *qy le* in the Northern Yi dialect suggests a folk taxonomy of musk deer.² The term refers to what could be at least two species of muntjac (*Muntiacus*) or *qyx* and the water deer (*Hydropotes inermis*) or *le* (Geist 1998:44-8; 26-8). In the Yi areas, a common Chinese translation of *qy le* is *jizi zhangzi*, which is a compound term of the names for the muntjac (*jizi*) and water deer (*zhangzi*). However, care must be taken in using these Chinese terms, as in some local dialects, they are interchangeable or used with some modification to refer to musk deer or other cervids. An example is the use of the term *shanzhang* 'mountain water deer' for both Reeve's muntjac and another the so-called 'tufted deer' (*Elaphodus*) in the mountains of Fujian province (Coggins 2003:286-87). The small tufted deer, a 'derived' or more modern species of muntjac, does range in areas above 3,000 meters in Sichuan and, along with the hog deer (*Axis procinus*), may at times be lumped in with the lower-dwelling species of muntjac and the water deer (Geist 1998:46-7).

Both muntjac and water deer are relatively 'primitive' deer, with fangs. The Reeves (*reevesi*), or Chinese muntjac, is considered to be the most ancient of the several muntjac species in China and Southeast Asia. Muntjacs vary in morphology, but tend to have short antlers, sometimes with pronounced antler pedicles, which, as we will see, sometimes figure in the folklore. The water deer is considered to be morphologically regressed, as neither gender has antlers. Rather, male water deer have long canine tusks that measure up to fifty-two millimeters in males. The average male water deer stands about fifty-two centimeters at the shoulder, with the female somewhat smaller. The color is predominantly grayish-brown, with a somewhat lighter rump. Water deer hair may measure as long as forty millimeters in its

² See Harrison (2007:35-42) for a discussion of folk taxonomies and native knowledge of the environment.

winter coat, which, along with its short tail, suggest adaptation to colder climates than small deer in Southeast Asia (Geist 1998:27). Muntjac range in size from slightly smaller to somewhat larger than water deer. Both deer also have glands located in the pre-orbital eye sockets. The water deer also features glands between the toes, and a unique pair of inguinal glands on the lower belly which produce much sought after musk (Geist 1998:27). When mating, both deer make a variety of calls (buzzes and whines, among them) that Yi hunters have learned to emulate. Like water deer, muntjacs subsist on easily digestible plant life (shoots of grasses, fruits and seeds, soft types of bark, etc.) and occasionally bird's eggs or small creatures. Although it is presently illegal to hunt both deer, in recent times hunters would trail them with dogs, and sometimes employed nets or snares to capture them.

Among deer biologists, the gracile water deer, like the muntjac, is classified as a 'slinker,' suggesting the manner in which it maneuvers through its environment, which includes riparian realms featuring dense marsh reeds along river beds (often mentioned in Nuosu creation narratives) and thick shrubbery on mountain slopes. They move somewhat like rabbits and are very good at hiding (Geist 1998:22-8). These slinking traits, along with their color, nimbleness, and grace may attribute to the image in Yi folklore of these deer as magical beings that can appear and disappear in the wink of an eye.³

Many folk beliefs surround musk deer, and the water deer in particular. Many products were once made of its parts. For example, Nuosu children once wore charms made out of the thin, sharp tusks, and used the feet as toys. Men used the leather to make hunting or smoking pouches, in which they stored fire-making tools and tobacco. Last summer in a small Yi craft shop in Xide County, Liangshan, a middle-aged woman had a tanned muntjac skin as a kind of thin mattress on a cot in her shop. When I asked my companion, the contemporary Nuosu poet Aku Wuwu, what muntjac and water deer mean to the Yi, he replied that, "The deer are very kind, sensitive, and auspicious; they have souls and are possibly the creatures Yi hunters

³ In the spring of 2007 I observed two small groups of water deer in the Beijing Zoo. Even in a captive environment they displayed many of the traits in descriptions based on wild behavior.

like to hunt the most. Moreover, the musk of the water deer is regarded as medicine and at times can ward off negative forces – its teeth can be used as weapons against demons and other negative supernatural forces."

Another deer that makes its way into Yi folklore is the sika (*Cervus Nippon*), called *cie* in Northern Yi and *meihua lu* 'plum blossom deer' in Chinese. This deer, which retains fawn-like white spots into adulthood, is distributed widely throughout East Asia. What appear to be references to red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) – known as *ma lu* 'horse deer' in Chinese – occur occasionally in Yunnan Yi texts, though the deer are rare, if not extinct, in most of the province. Very occasionally, other wild ungulates are mentioned in some Yi texts; these creatures seem to be either the mountain-dwelling serow (*Capricornis*) or goral (*Nemohaedus*).

REPRESENTATIONS OF MUSK DEER IN YI TEXTS FROM YUNNAN

Images of musk deer often appear in oral and oral-connected literature of the major sub-groups of the four million Yi in Yunnan province. In a collection of Yi origin poems collected in the late 1950s and later published under the title *Meige*, the section entitled 'Hunting and Raising Livestock' begins with the declaration that hunting dogs, hemp thread, and hunting nets are needed to pursue muntjac. Dogs are transformed from yellow rocks from the mountains around the ancient city of Dali, the capital of an ancient kingdom in the ninth to twelfth centuries. Domesticated hemp is obtained from farmers of the neighboring Lisu people, but nobody can make the string or nets. The sky god Gezi advises the hunters to seek out a woman named Telema, who, in the course of three days, makes the thread and weaves the nets. It is discovered that male muntjac live in the tea mountains, while female muntjac live on the cliffs along the great eastern sea. Finally, Adu, the eldest of the five rather lazy sons of the sky god, who helped create the sky (while their four industrious sisters created the earth), is called to lead the hunting dogs into the mountains. They soon scare up three muntjac which take off across the landscape (Chuxiong 2001b:62):

1 麂子跑出来，
2 阿赌拼命追，
3 从山头到山脚，
4 从河头到河尾，
5 追过一山又一山，
6 追过一林又一林，
7 追到大河边。

1 The muntjac ran off,
2 With Adu in hot pursuit;
3 From mountain top to mountain foot,
4 From the headwaters to the tailwaters,
5 Chasing from mountain to mountain,
6 Chasing from forest to forest.
7 Chasing them to the side of a great river.

After the muntjac run along the twisting bank of the clear, deep water, they escape into a mass of thick vines, where they become entangled. The hunters cannot get to them, so they dig up some rocks from a lakebed and make their way into the tangle, where they beat the muntjacs to death. Once in hand, "The muntjac skins were used for clothing/ And the meat divided for all to eat" (Chuxiong 2001b:64). It is soon discovered, however, that hunting cannot produce enough food So, it is decided that cultivated grains are a more stable food resource, but cows are needed to plow and other domesticated stock are needed for meat, textiles, and leather. As did wild plants and animals in the early phases of the creation, domestic creatures descended from the sky. Red, yellow, and black cows transformed from the dews on the mountains above Dali and were first raised by the woman Telema. Pigs resulted from heavenly dew changing to white and black rocks, which were broken open on earth by the sky god, releasing the first pigs. Then sheep and goats were transformed from the white and black grubs, respectively, that grow inside pine trees. Subsequently, pigs were raised by the Han people, while the sheep and goats were raised by the Yi. And by implication, muntjac and other musk deer were thereafter not the protein staples.

Chamu is another creation epic, collected in the 1950s by scholars and students in Kunming. It is associated with the Nisupo sub-group in the Shuangbai region of Chuxiong prefecture. The published version is based on an oral-connected text written in Yi characters. The development of life and humans unfolds in a series of eras in a dynamic of creation and destruction. Humans gradually differentiate themselves from apes and other wild creatures in an evolutionary process that begins with the one-eyed people, followed by the protruding-eyed people, and culminating in the appearance of people with horizontally aligned eyes. In the first of these stages, a daughter of the Dragon King delegates the creation of the one-eyed proto-humans, who gradually come to know the characteristics of their fellow creatures. The passage provides a catalogue of prominent creatures in the mythic landscape, including two species of deer (Chuxiong 2001a:246-47):

- ¹ 独眼睛这代人啊,
- ² 漫漫认识野兽习性:
- ³ 力大不过野猪,
- ⁴ 凶猛不过老虎,
- ⁵ 但小不过麂子,
- ⁶ 善良不过马鹿,

- ¹ This age of the one-eyed people, ah,
- ² Gradually came to know the habits of the wild beasts:
- ³ Nothing was stronger than the wild boars,
- ⁴ Nothing was fiercer than the tigers,
- ⁵ Nothing more timid than the muntjac,
- ⁶ Nothing more gentle than the red deer

Once the age of contemporary humans begins, the epics recount the origins of many technologies and items of material culture, including hemp, cotton, and weaving. Echoing similar passages in *Meige*, one scene depicts sons of the 'White Yi' cutting the forests and planting crops, then families engaged in processing hemp. Soon after, the three sons of the family set hempen snares on the hillsides, but the next day they find that musk deer and pheasants have tripped or

broken them all. The young men then decided to bait the snares with seeds of vegetables, sesame, and hemp. Two days later they return to check the sets, only to find (Chuxiong 2001b:308):

- 1 山顶那一扣，
- 2 没有扣着麂子；
- 3 山腰那一扣，
- 4 没扣着香獐；
- 5 山腰那一扣，
- 6 扣着只大孔雀

- 1 The snare on the mountaintop,
- 2 Didn't hold a muntjac;
- 3 The snare on the mountainside,
- 4 Didn't hold a musky water deer;
- 5 But the snare at the foot of the mountain,
- 6 Held a huge peacock.

They cut open the bird's body and find bolls of cotton inside – thus the origin of the fabric among the local Yi. Aside from indicating that seeds are not good deer bait, the passage illustrates the importance of musk deer as desirable prey – for meat and musk – and the use of hempen set snares as a hunting technique. Coggins (2003:225) has documented the use of snares and set bows for capturing a variety game in southern China, and Yi hunters have told me of using hempen nets and snares in capturing musk deer and other prey. In another respect, musk deer are implicated in a process that bridges the realm of wild and domestic, with a supernatural dimension, as well.

This pattern of the deer hunt repeats itself in ensuing passages entitled 'The Origin of Paper and Writing Brushes.' The passage begins with questions about what was to be used to make paper and writing brushes. The short answer is: tree bark for paper and bamboo and the hair of the scented water deer for the brushes. A father, Xie Awu, leads his three sons to ask the dragons of the four directions for aid in finding the bark and bamboo, but the green (East), white (South), black (North), and red (West) dragons cannot

help. So the young men are dispatched on a hunt into the copses, leading dogs and carrying golden bows, silver crossbows, and a hunting horn. They first flush a pair of leopards and tigers, but their arrows miss. They next drive out a pair of red deer and wild boar, with the same result. Next they pursue a pair of *shanlu* and *yanyang* (seemingly serow and or goral), and still their arrows fly off the mark. Finally, a single water deer (*xiang zhang* 'fragrant water deer') is found, though the sons' arrows all miss. Xie Awu raises his silver crossbow and releases a dart that kills the small deer. Next (Chuxiong 2001a:334-35):

1 歇索三个儿子,
2 把香獐抬回家里,
3 歇阿乌剖开香獐,
4 香獐头没有脑浆,
5 却有三颗竹子种,
6 有三颗纸数籽,
7 挖开香獐心,
8 香獐心中没有血,
9 却有三颗竹子种,
10 有三颗纸数籽.
11 敲开香獐骨头,
12 不见骨髓,
13 却有三颗竹子种,
14 有三颗纸数籽.

1 The three sons of Xiesuo Mountain,
2 Carried the musk deer back home,
3 Xie Awu split open the deer's head,
4 But there were no brains inside the head,
5 There were only three bamboo shoots,
6 And three paper tree seedlings.
7 [He] ripped open the musk deer's heart,
8 But there was no blood inside the heart,
9 There were only three bamboo shoots,
10 And three paper tree seedlings.
11 [He] broke apart the musk deer's bones,

¹² But there was no marrow to be seen,

¹³ There were only three bamboo shoots,

¹⁴ And three paper tree seedlings.

The family then burned off the hillsides and planted the seedlings and shoots. The final lines of the section remind listeners that this was the origin of paper and brushes, which allowed Yi books to be written and handed down to their descendants. Thus, the water deer is linked in the myth world with the origin of paper and writing brushes – the requirements of literacy are provided by ritual and genealogy.

Yi scholar Shi Youfu, who became a *bimo* in order to better study the ancient Yi writings, recovered a fascinating text from among the Azhe sub-group near Mile, in the Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture in southern Yunnan (Shi 2006:124-26). The text, entitled *Shidi Tianzi* (the name of the main character), includes several references to muntjac and water deer, and dates from the late nineteenth century, though the story it tells is likely older. By way of a folk narrative, the text conveys teachings of what is locally called *bimo jiao* or *bujiao*, a local synthesis of what appear to be Daoist, Buddhist, and native *bimo* beliefs. Its plot and values are also quite similar to the syncretic beliefs of the *Luojiao* local religion of the lower-Yangzi (Bender 2001). As such, the text departs greatly from *bimo* origin texts characteristic of other Yi regions in tone, language, and worldview. In the story, a local ruler (or 'emperor') named Geliwan, of vast wealth and military might, goes one day with a retinue of servants, dogs, and horses, to hunt in the mountains. His beaters scare up a golden muntjac, which hides in the deep bamboo copses. When the emperor enters in pursuit, he finds a white-haired immortal. Thinking he is a kind-hearted person, the emperor asks him if he has seen 'his' muntjac (*jizi*) or water deer (*zhangzi*). The immortal replies that (Shi 2006:126):

¹ 麂住大岩头，

² 獐住大岩上。

³ 我说戈力挽，

⁴ 举首看青天

5 未见你麋子，
6 俯视箐林内，
7 不遇你獐子。

1 Muntjac live on top of the great cliffs,
2 Water deer dwell upon the great cliffs.
3 I say that Geliwan
4 When looking up into the blue skies
5 Will not see your muntjac,
6 When peering down upon the forests and copses
7 Will not find your water deer.

The immortal continues with a rebuke of the ruler's obsession with material wealth, and scolds him for hunting, saying that the wild creatures were, "sent by Heaven." Enraged, the emperor chops the immortal into small pieces. On the way home, the ruler meets a talking snake, and summons his diviners to interpret this omen. They reveal that the ruler has erred in killing the immortal. The emperor quickly returns to the mountains and manages to piece the immortal back together. The re-incorporated immortal reveals that he is the Bu God from the ninth level of the heavens, and in a forgiving tone reveals that he is kind-hearted (*shan*) towards upright humans. He then proceeds to relate the truths of the Bu beliefs to the ruler, and then sets him off on a quest in search of a magical flowering tree, which results in the birth of a son named Shidi Tianzi. The child is cast into the wilds and is, for a time, raised by wild creatures. However, he eventually re-engages with human culture and devotes himself to spiritual self-cultivation, later becoming an embodiment of the Bu precepts. The early stages of this hero's life are in ways comparable to that of the mythic Yi hero, Zhyge Alu, a more martial myth figure popular in many northern Yi areas. In terms of cervid imagery, the role of the golden muntjac and water deer in the initial meeting between the emperor and the immortal is crucial as a force bringing together the realms of the human royals and that of the supernatural from the sky. The emperor, the paramount figure of the human world, enters the realm of the wilds in search of a magic musk deer, which results in the meeting with a sky god – which, as in

another Yi tale treated below, may actually have disguised himself as the deer.

MUSK DEER IN NUOSU LORE

Another Yi tale of a supernatural being in the form of a deer comes from the Nuosu people of Sichuan province, who live mostly in regions across the Upper Yangzi River from the Yunnan Yi. Least acculturated and most conservative of all the Yi subgroups, the Nuosu still have a rich living tradition of oral lore and ritual. Deer – musk deer in particular – appear frequently in Nuosu oral and oral-connected literature, including the 'mythic master-text', the *Book of Origins*, or *Hnewo teyy*, which charts the origins of life on earth. Other origin texts, many recently published in a lavishly illustrated compendium of Nuosu oral literature (Liangshan Yizu 2006), include the *Origins of Ghosts (Nyicy bbopa)*; an origin chant on hunting dogs that focuses on water deer; narrative poems such as the captured bride *Gamo Anyo*, who escapes for a short time into the wilds; many folktales; and the works of many modern Nuosu poets, such as Jidi Majia, Aku Wuwu, and Luowu Laqie (Bamo 2001, 2003, Bender 2005). Musk deer are also mentioned in other origin narratives, such as a poetic origin text which recounts the legendary origins and migrations of the ancient Gu Hou clan-group.

Bamo Qubumo, of the Ethnic Literature division of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, has introduced a version of an origin narrative (*bbopa*) about the beauty Zyzy Hnira, which features a beautiful femme fatale associated with a white water deer (which in her English translation she calls a 'river deer'). Known as the *Origins of Ghosts (Nyicy bbopa)*, the story, which is typically part of ceremonies held to dispel the ghosts of sickness, also incorporates much about hunting lore (Bamo 2001:453-4). In a beginning not unlike that of the Azhe story of *Shidi Tianzi*, the narrative begins with a hunt and leads to the encounter with a slinking musk deer, which leads to an encounter with a supernatural in human form.

Both muntjac and water deer appear numerous times in origin stories in the Nuosu *Book of Origins*. At one point in the

creation process, red snow falls from the sky, bringing life to earth. Deer, however are not among the various plants and creatures that grow up in the very particular bio-niches described in the poem. Though they are not specifically catalogued in these 'Tribes of Snow' – composed of the folk taxons the 'Tribes of Blood' and 'Tribes without Blood' (animals and plants, respectively) – they do exist within the mythical landscape; and a grey water deer is the only surviving creature during a time of global warming brought on by the creation of too many suns and moons in the sky.

The most prominent reference to musk deer in the *Hnewo teyy* is metonymic. When the mother of Zhyge Alu, the culture-hero who later shoots down the extra suns and moons, seeks out a *bimo* after being splattered with blood falling from dragon-eagles soaring in the sky, she finds the *bimo* priest seated on a special seat-pad. The pad consists of a bottom layer of bamboo matting, a middle layer of sheep wool felt, and a top layer of loose hair of muntjac and water deer. From the *bimo* she receives the information that she has been impregnated with a perverse life force falling from the sky and that she will give birth to an unusual child – which she later abandons in the wilds to be raised by dragons. I was told in Xide County that in real life, a *bimo* sits on a similar mat of bamboo, felt, and loose deer hair when conducting the rites for sending off a deceased parent's soul tablet. Such tablets are hung in the home for a set period of time until they are transported to a mountain cave or crag where they are interred.⁴

⁴ When Yi poet Aku Wuwu and I were translating this passage of the text I had a difficult time imagining this business about loose hair as a seat. After talking with a few Yi hunters, they indicated that muntjac hair is loosened by soaking the raw hide in water until the hair begins to slip from the follicles, when it can be easily pulled or scraped off. Water deer hair can be removed in clumps, especially right after one is killed. Felt cannot be made from musk deer hair, though tanned musk deer hide, with or without hair, can be used for other purposes. These include smoking pouches or hunting bags. Muntjac is the preferred leather, but the thinner water deer hides will also serve.

HUNTING LORE

"Don't kill a thin bear; don't kill a fat deer" is an *luby*, or Nuosu proverb, that reflects a folk attitude towards the conservation of natural resources. The implication is that a bear is not in its prime and not worth killing unless it is fat. And likewise a fat deer is a pregnant one that will produce more deer if left alone. Hunting has been curtailed throughout Southwest China since around 2000, in efforts to save animal species that have come under increased assault due to the effect of market reforms in the Chinese economy. Even so, many middle-aged and older Yi in Liangshan (and Yunnan) know much of hunting lore, and game is still sometimes taken. According to Eqi Luoluo, a 78 year *ndeggu* 'wise man' from Meigu County, traditionally there were taboos against killing certain animals, including eagles, monkeys, snakes, and frogs – all of which are mentioned in the *Book of Origins*. If a snake, for instance, is killed, it must be buried immediately, lest hail fall or the earth tremor. Killing such creatures could result in bad luck, which might last for generations. If a panda were killed, crop failure could result. While killing 'good' birds like lucky magpies is taboo, killing 'bad' birds is also sometimes taboo, such as that harbinger of doom, the crow. If a taboo creature is killed, a *bimo* must be called to sacrifice a white chicken in order to dispel the negative forces. In the case of killing a swan, a sheep must be sacrificed and a goose effigy made from sacred grass. A musk deer or wild pig with a noticeable lump or large cut or tear on its ear cannot be killed, as such an irregularity is the mark of a special creature. Regarded as beneficial ungulates like cows, water deer (*le*) are thought to protect life. It was once common to hang a token made of male water deer fangs around a child's neck or hat, the ends of the teeth sewed into a small square of cloth that held musk and displayed the fangs in a splayed fashion. Such tokens are sometimes part of the ritual accoutrements of *bimo*, which like eagle claws and wild boar tusks, are useful in fighting off malevolent forces (Harrell, Bamo, Ma 2000:54). Also, the skin of the water deer is featured in funeral rites. A small bag made of water deer skin is made so that the soul of the departed can carry parched grain to eat while on the road to the land of the dead.

While musk deer can be killed and eaten, there are many beliefs surrounding hunting and processing the kill. Since all game is the property of the Mountain God, special rites must be made in preparation for entering the mountains. Although these practices vary somewhat, hunting is a ritual event throughout the Yi regions. In Meigu the tools of the hunter had to be purified. This was done by placing a hot stone in water, and the hunter's body, his dogs, leashes, guns, etc. were cleansed with steam. In Xide County, located to the northwest of Meigu, I was told by Jjivo Zoqu that on the day of a hunt, a hunter rises at the second crow of the cock. The dogs are then fed nutritious food like eggs (instead of the usual scraps) – food that is better than what the hunters eat. Once the goats have been pastured, the hunter (or hunters if several men go) then sets out, and will continue into the mountains unless an untoward signal appears – such as the unexpected meeting of a woman (who might be out early getting water) on the way. Once the hunter enters the wilds, beyond the fields and into the mountains, he conducts a ritual for the Mountain God, chanting the words, "Allow me to come to the mountains; protect me while in the mountains; let me be successful." Once in the mountains, the dogs are put on a scent and allowed to chase the deer across the hills. It is said that water deer, regarded as very crafty, tend to run in large circles (not unlike whitetail deer in the US) which may indicate the deer's sense of territoriality. The chase continues until the deer tires and is cornered in thick brush or rocks (or sometimes even on a tree limb over-hanging a cliff). A good dog will yelp and circle the prey until the hunter or hunters arrive. However, should it happen that the dogs kill the game, they will typically not eat it. Moreover, if it is discovered that an ear of the dead prey has been torn by the dogs, then the hunters will not dress or eat the creature, fearing bad luck (which seems to echo beliefs about deformed animal ears in Meigu).

Ideally, the hunter comes upon the cornered deer and then shoots it with a musket ball (sometimes homemade) or, in the past, an arrow. In Xide County, older hunters told me that a killing shot anywhere in the body is acceptable – except in the heart, as it might damage the animal's soul. If a bullet strikes the heart, the hunter must undergo a cleansing ritual conducted by a *bimo*. (*Bimo* do not

hunt, though they do kill domestic stock during rituals.) After the deer dies, the hunter must say a prayer beseeching forgiveness for taking its life. At this time a freshly cut anchoring 'hook' made of a small branch cut to shape is inserted in the lower part of each leg in order to show respect to the prey and to keep its soul under control so it will not warn other animals. With the animal on its back, the hooks are inserted in a special order. Looking down on the upturned carcass, the order in Xide is reported to be: 1) left front leg, 2) right back leg, 3) right front leg, 4) left back leg. Cuts are then made above the hoofs in order to skin the deer, following the order of the hook insertion. This is also the order used in skinning goats. After this the deer is cut up. One piece of meat is then given to the dogs. Then each hunter gets a share, and anyone met on the way home (at least those who realize game has been taken) is given a share.

The ritual process, skinning cuts, and meat distribution seem to vary from place to place and even clan to clan. In Meigu I was told that once the prey is down, the hunter must cover the prey with grass and scream, "The animal has run off!" pretending that the hunt was unsuccessful in order to trick the Mountain God, who owns all creatures of the forest. After a while, the animal is butchered and some of the meat is cooked on site; the tongue is offered to the Mountain God to avoid punishment for taking the game. While I heard no mention of the use of the wooden soul-anchoring hooks, the order of the skinning cuts for descendants of the ancient Qonie clan-group is the same as that reported in Xide. However, I was told by Eqi Luoluo that for descendants of the Gguho clan the cuts are: 1) right front leg, 2) left back leg, 3) left front leg, 4) and right back leg. If the wrong order of cuts is made, the meat cannot be eaten. Thus, as in other spheres of Nuosu life, customs regarding hunting and deer must be strictly followed.

In a Nisupo village in the Eshan area of central Yunnan, I was told that the Mountain God controls the wild animals, and thus must be worshipped before a hunt. As in Liangshan, hunters must avoid women on the road to the hunting area. If they speak with a woman, or she handles the hunting tools, the hunt is cancelled. If a hunt is successful, the ear of a musk deer or boar must be placed on top of the Mountain God shrine as evidence of a kill. Everyone gets a piece

of the game in small villages. However, in big villages, only those met on the road need be given a portion. Also, the main hunter receives an extra piece of meat – usually a leg. As in Liangshan, each hunting dog also receives a portion. When skinning, the cuts are made as follows: 1) around the neck, 2) right front leg, 3) left front leg, 4) left back leg, 5) left right leg, 6) down the middle from neck to anus. Based on this and other accounts, it seems that there are certain continuities between musk deer hunting customs in Yunnan and Sichuan.

CONCLUSION

From this brief look into a few examples of musk deer in Yi lore the following points are worth noting. The behavioral mode of locomotion through thick cover, described by zoologists as 'slinking' may be a factor in the transformation narratives such as the golden muntjac turning into an immortal and the grey water deer becoming a beautiful woman. Other attributes – timid, gentle, lovely, and gracile – especially of water deer, may also contribute to the magical mystique surrounding these creatures in Yi lore. The dual magical qualities of musk – at once auspicious, inviting good fortune, while also repellant of malevolent forces – might also be enhanced by perceptions of the deer having para-normal attributes. The hair and teeth of the water deer are significant in myth and ritual, and in the act of hunting the deer is a material and spiritual bridge between the realms of the uncultivated, unsettled wilds, the domestic and domesticated human realm, and the supernatural. Given the obvious differences and similarities between musk deer in folk literature, belief, and hunting lore, attention to the role of musk deer and possibly other citizens of the local environments – including wild animals such as tigers, eagles, plants like the rhododendron, pine, and cypress, and supernatural dragons – can add dimension to the problem of *rentong*, or 'ethnic commonalities' regarding the Yi. This question of *rentong* is at the heart of what allows such diverse cultures as are represented by the Yi sub-groups to be logically grouped as one ethnic group. Thus, in small ways, such studies on

deer tusks or dragon claws situated within the ecological niches of the story world and actual landscapes of the Yi regions may contribute to a new understanding of the puzzle of pan-Yi ethnic identity and other complex amalgamations of sub-ethnicities such as the Miao, and other ethnic groups with complex compositions.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Note: Yi words written in the official romanization of the Liangshan Standard Yi Syllabary are presented in the main text and footnotes without the often confusing tone marks (p,t,x). The romanized version of the words with tone marks is presented in parentheses in this list. Nuosu words without a roman tone mark (such as “*le*”) are level tones, which are unmarked. Words in other Yi dialects are represented by the same romanization system (Pinyin) used to write the sounds of Standard Chinese.

Adu 阿赌

Aku Wuwu (Apkup Vytvy) 阿库乌雾

Aku Wuwu 阿库乌雾,

Azhe 阿哲

Azhe 阿哲

Bamo Qubumo 巴莫曲布嫫

bimo (bimox) 毕摩

bimo jiao 毕摩教

Bu 布

bujiao 布教

Chuxiong 楚雄

cie 鹿

Eqi Luoluo ??

Eshan 峨山

Gamo Anyo (*Gamop Atnyop*) 甘嫫阿妞

Ga 吴呷

Geliwan 戈力挽

Gezi 格滋

Gguho

he lu 河鹿

Hnewo teyy (Hnewo tepyy) 勒俄特依

Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture 红河哈尼族与彝族自治州

Huang Jianming 黄建明

Jidi Majia 吉狄马加,

jizi zhangzi 麂子獐子

jizi 麂子

Jjivo Zoqu (Jjivot Zopqu)

le 獐

Lipo 里颇

Lolopo 罗罗泼

lu byx 谚语

Luojiao 罗教

Luowu Laqie 罗乌拉且

ma lu 马鹿

Meige 梅葛

Meigu 美姑

meihua lu 梅花鹿

Mile 弥勒

ndeggu (ndep ggup) Nisupo 尼苏泼

Nuosu 诺苏

Nyicy bbopa (Nyitcy bbopat) 鬼的来源

pao 豹

Pinyin 拼音

Qonie (Qotnie)

qy (qyx) 麂子

qy le (qyx le) 麂子獐子

rentong 认同

shanlu 山鹿

Shi Youfu 师有福

Shidi Tianzi 施滴添自

Shuangbai County 双柏县

shui lu 水鹿

Telema 特勒么

vo nre sse ci nyi (vo nre sse ci nyix) 雪族十二子

Wang Jichao 王继超

xiang zhang 香獐

Xide 喜德

Xie Awu 歇阿乌

yanyang 岩羊

Yi 彝

Yunnan 云南

zhangzi 獐子

Zhyge Alu (Zhyxge Axlu) 支格阿鲁

Zyzy Hnira (Zytzyr Hninrat) 孜孜尼扎

DESCRIBING AND TRANSCRIBING THE PHONOLOGIES OF THE AMDO SPRACHBUND

Juha Janhunen (University of Helsinki)

The Amdo Qinghai region, at the frontier of Tibet and China, comprises languages belonging to three genetic language families (Sino-Tibetan, Turkic, and Mongolic), three typological orientations (Sinitic, Bodic, and Altaic), and approximately 20 separate languages. These languages have undergone profound interaction at all levels of linguistic structure and substance in the context of what may be called the Amdo Sprachbund (Janhunen 2012), also known as the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund (Slater 2003) or the Qinghai Linguistic Complex (Janhunen 2007). Within the Amdo Sprachbund, several historical processes have taken place that have contributed to the transformation of the original typological orientations of the participating languages. We may speak of Altaicization (of the local varieties of Chinese), Tibetanization (of the local varieties of Turkic and Mongolic, and some varieties of Chinese), as well as of Sinicization (of some of the local varieties of Mongolic).

The present paper will discuss the impact of the Amdo Sprachbund on the phonological structures of the languages of the Amdo Qinghai region. Due to their interaction, the phonological systems of the languages concerned show a number of region-specific features, some of which are rare, even on a global scale. A separate, but related, issue is concerned with the challenge these systems provide for phonological notation in terms of a unified Roman transcription. The present paper will argue that for technical purposes it is convenient to use a system of Romanization based on the Pinyin system of Chinese. To some extent, the Romanization may be anchored in the practical orthographical notation already used for some of the local languages. For the purposes of literacy and native language use it is, however, also important to rely on local cultural traditions, which means the use of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Arabic scripts.

Within the Amdo Sprachbund there is a certain chronological layering of different typological orientations, in that most languages of the region seem to share a basic and possibly locally very ancient Altaic typology, reflected, among other things, in a systematic SOV word order as well as in a complex system of suffixal morphology, comprising markers for both nominal (number, case) and verbal (nominalization, converbialization) categories. As far as their synchronic phonologies are concerned, however, the extant languages of the Sprachbund represent either a Bodic or a Sinitic orientation. A common feature of these two orientations is the important role played by the syllable in the phonological structure. Thus, languages of both the Bodic and the Sinitic type show very different phoneme paradigms for the different phonotactic slots of the syllable. Maximally, it is possible to distinguish between the following slots: preinitial (H), initial (C), medial (M), vowel (V), final (F), as well as, marginally, postfinal (S).

The most complex syllable type with as many as five slots filled (HCMVF) is attested in several languages of the Bodic type, while languages of the Sinitic type normally leave the preinitial slot empty and have maximally only four slots filled (CMVF). The Sinitic syllable is, however, complicated by the presence of tones, though tones in the Sinitic languages spoken in the Amdo Qinghai region can also be absent, as in Wutun, or considerably reduced, as in most mainstream varieties of Northwest Mandarin, which have maximally three distinctive tones. On the other hand, the original Altaic syllable type, as still attested in most languages of the Altaic typology elsewhere in Central and North Asia, is generally much simpler and comprises normally only three segments (CVF), though marginally a medial can also be present (CMVF). None of the non-Sinitic languages of the Amdo Qinghai region has been shown to possess distinctive tonal phenomena, although it has been claimed that secondary suprasegmental distinctions have arisen in some of the local Mongolic idioms, notably Jishishan Bonan (Li 1986) and Minhe Mangghuer (Dwyer 2008).

As far as the segmental structure of the syllable is concerned, however, the Turkic and Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund have adapted to the locally dominant Bodic and Sinitic phonologies. In some cases, as in the case of Minhe Mangghuer and Jishishan Bonan, it is possible to distinguish between a primary Tibetanization and a secondary Sinicization of the phonological system, while in other cases only either Sinicization, as in Santa, or Tibetanization, as in Tongren Bonan, is present. In general, it may be said that the Bodic phonologies in the region are segmentally more complicated, in that they comprise more distinctions in both the horizontal (places of articulation) and vertical (manners of articulation) directions. They also typically contain initial clusters, composed of an initial and a preceding preinitial, which can variously yield monophonemic entities that additionally complicate the segmental paradigm.

THE ISSUE OF NOTATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

There are only two fully developed written languages used in the Amdo Qinghai region: Written Tibetan and Written Chinese, of which the latter is today represented by the Standard Mandarin literary norm (Putonghua), but earlier also by various stages of Classical Chinese. Neither of these languages is strictly speaking native to the region, though both have been used for centuries for both documentational and educational purposes. Additionally, Written Mongol and Written Arabic have been used, and are still being used, in the region, though both may be classified as secondary to the populations that use them. Written Mongol functions today as the literary medium for several Oirat-speaking groups in Amdo, while Arabic is only used as a foreign language in connection with Quranic studies by the Muslim populations with Sinitic, Mongolic or Turkic vernaculars.

All the other languages in the region are traditionally unwritten. However, in recent decades, a semi-norm has been created for Amdo Tibetan, the principal dialectal complex of Tibetan in the region. This norm, which functions in the Tibetan script, combines

features of the Written Tibetan orthography with regional dialectal lexical, morphological and phonological idiosyncracies. Amdo Tibetan may today be viewed as a new Tibetan-based literary language, similar, for instance, to Dzongkha in Bhutan and Bhutia in Sikkim. It should be noted, however, that the Amdo Tibetan semi-norm omits several non-Amdo varieties of Tibetan also present in the region, especially in the Jone (Zhuoni) area in present-day southern Gansu and adjacent parts of Sichuan.

On a different basis, experimental Romanized orthographies and literary norms have been created for some languages of the region, notably Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer, the two principal varieties of 'Monguor' (Tu), but also for Santa (Dongxiang). Importantly, all of these new literary languages apply the principles of the Pinyin Romanization for Chinese, with the necessary modifications. This may be seen as a strategically wise choice, since the Pinyin system is today the main form of Roman script familiar to the local populations speaking non-Chinese languages. Although in scholarly publications the transcription system of the International Phonetic Association (IPA) still dominates, its application to the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund is not always consistent (and sometimes even mistaken). There are many reasons why, at least for the purposes of phonological description, the Pinyin system is the most practical choice even in scholarly publications. This choice will be adopted below.

It has to be noted, however, that some of the aboriginal populations of the Amdo Qinghai region gain literacy in either Tibetan or Arabic, and the choice of these scripts could well be defended for the purposes of practical orthographies. In fact, the Arabic script has been marginally used for writing Santa (Suutarinen 2013), while experimentations have been made to apply the Tibetan script for Wutun, which, although genetically a Sinitic language, is spoken by a population with a Tibetan ethnic identity (Janhunen 2009). Even the Chinese script would be a natural choice for literacy for the speakers of the mainstream forms of Northwest Mandarin, though it seems that in these cases the development is inevitably leading to the full replacement of these idioms by Standard Mandarin.

THE MATRIX OF INITIAL CONSONANTS

The paradigms of segments occurring in the slot of the initial consonant (C) in the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund are probably most conveniently described in terms of four primary and four secondary vertical columns, corresponding, roughly, to four to eight different places of articulation. The four primary places of articulation are present in the nasals, which are typically divided into a labial (*m*), a dental (*n*), a laminal or palatal (*ny*), as well as a velar (*ng*) segment (Table 1).

Table 1. Nasal initials.

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ny</i>		<i>ng</i>	
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The four additional places of articulation are present in the strong stops, which can have a sibilant (*c*), a retroflex (*ch*), and a distinctively palatal (*qh*) segment, as well as a postvelar segment (*kh*). The realizations of the sibilant, retroflex, laminal, and palatal stops involve also manner features, in that they are normally pronounced as affricates containing a homorganic stop + a fricative phase. Even so, in the matrix of initial consonants they are best placed in separate vertical columns (Table 2).¹

Table 2. Strong stop initials.

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>
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In practice, the postvelar stop is rare in the region and may even be synchronically questionable in some cases, being attested mainly in the restricted subarea comprising Minhe Mangghuer, Santa, and Salar. The distinction between laminals and palatals is also not universal in the region, being only present in several, but not all,

¹ The present paper will not go into the deeper phonetic implications of the terms used to classify the phonemic distinctions. In most cases, these terms follow the traditional understanding of articulatory phonetics, but due to the diversity of distinctions in the Amdo region some concepts might actually require more elaboration in the future. Note, for instance, that laminality, though used here, is a potentially disputable concept (on it, cf. e.g. Ladefoged and Madison 1996:23-25).

varieties of Amdo Tibetan as well as in a few areally contiguous languages, notably Wutun. Elsewhere, including in many Amdo Tibetan dialects, laminals and palatals are represented by one single column of what may be termed basic palatal stops. In the notation, it is practical to use the regular Pinyin convention (*q*) for the laminal column, which more or less corresponds to the pronunciation of this type of segment in Standard Mandarin, while the palatal column, if present, will have to be expressed in terms of a specific digraph (*qh*).

A similar range of distinctions is present in the weak stops (Table 3), except that the postvelar weak stop (*gh*) is paradigmatically ambiguous and may also be understood as the velar member of the weak fricative series (as discussed below). In fact, this segment is in most idioms pronounced with frication, which can even, as in many Amdo Tibetan dialects, result in pronunciation as a uvular trill [ʀ]. Otherwise, the distinction between strong and weak stops is universally present in the region and is typically realized in terms of aspiration (unvoiced aspirated vs. unvoiced unaspirated), with no phonetic voicing contrast involved. This is because voicing as a phonetic and phonemic feature is connected with the system of initial clusters (as also discussed below).

Table 3. Weak stop initials.

<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
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The 8-column-structure of the stop system is itself rare among the languages of the world. In the Amdo region, however, this system is also present in the strong continuant obstruents, or voiceless fricatives (Table 4). This series typically comprises a dentilabial (*f*), a fricolateral (*lh* = [ʈ]), an aspirated dental sibilant (*s* = [sʰ]), a retroflex sibilant (*sh* = [ʂ]), a laminal sibilant (*x* = [ç]), a palatal fricative (*xh* = [ç]), a velar fricative (*h* = [x]), and a postvelar or laryngeal spirant (*hh* = [h]). Instead of the palatal fricative, many idioms of the region, including 'standard' Amdo Tibetan, exhibit the universally rare sound of a dorso-palatal approximant [ɰ], though, on the other hand, the distinction between the laminal and palatal columns (*x* vs. *xh*) can be dialectally neutralized. The distinction between the velar and postvelar columns (*h* vs. *hh*) is also not

universally present and is represented by a single velar to laryngeal segment in most idioms in the region. As far as the notation is concerned, there is already some tradition to mark the non-sibilant dental (*lh*), palatal (*xh*) and postvelar (*hh*) segments with non-standard digraphs, which are also used, when required, in the Roman orthographies of the languages concerned.

Table 4. Strong continuant initials.

<i>f</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>xh</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>hh</i>
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It has to be added that Tibetan originally had two dental sibilants, expressed in Written Tibetan by the letters <*s*> vs. <*z*>, whose phonetic difference in Amdo Tibetan is basically one of aspiration, with both segments being unvoiced, i.e., [s^h] vs. [s]. This distinction based on aspiration in the dental sibilants has no natural place in the phonological system, for which reason it is very commonly lost both in Amdo Tibetan dialects and in other local languages with a Bodic phonological orientation. The distinction between the segments *xh* and *x* is originally of a similar type, Written Tibetan <*sh*> vs. <*zh*>, but it has been integrated into the system of strong continuant initials and need not, for that reason, be eliminated (even though it is also synchronically absent in many idioms).

Finally, there is a series of corresponding weak continuants, or weak fricatives alias spirants, all of which are inherently voiced (Table 5). This system is phonetically and diachronically of heterogeneous origin and comprises a labial (*w*) and a palatal (*y*) segment which could also be classified as glides, a voiced dental lateral (*l*), and a retroflex rhotic with or without vibration (*r*), voiced dental (*ss*), and laminal (*xx*) sibilants, as well as a voiced velar to postvelar fricative (*gh*), which can also be pronounced as a uvular trill, and which can also be classified as the postvelar member of the weak stop series (see above). The adherence of the lateral (*l*) to the obstruent system is an important, though not a universally unique, feature characteristic of the phonologies of the Amdo Sprachbund. No language in the region seems to have a distinctive segment in the postvelar column in this series. Note that in a Pinyin-based

phonological notation, special digraphs (here doubled letters) have to be used for the voiced dental and laminal sibilants (*ss* and *xx*).

Table 5. Weak continuant initials.

<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>xx</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gh</i>	
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What makes the matrix of initial consonants in the Amdo Sprachbund special in a global context is its extreme compactness: of the theoretically available $5 \times 8 = 40$ slots in the system up to thirty-four can be filled (Table 6). In practice, no single idiom in the region has all these segments in a synchronically coherent system. Most commonly absent are the postvelar strong stop (*kh*) and the palatal stops (*qh*, *jh*), but depending on the language several other segments, for instance, the palatal nasal (*ny*) and the voiceless fricolateral (*lh*) can also be absent as independent phonemes. In general, the systems with a Sinitic orientation exhibit a smaller number of segmental distinctions than those with a Bodic orientation (cf. Janhunen 2006), but this does not correlate with the genetic origin of the languages. For instance, Wutun, which is genetically Sinitic, is phonologically Bodic and has an almost complete matrix of distinctions in its synchronic system.

Table 6. Complete matrix of initial consonants.

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ny</i>		<i>ng</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>xh</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>hh</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>xx</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gh</i>	

THE SYSTEMS OF INITIAL CLUSTERS

The voiced dental and laminal sibilants (*ss* and *xx*), in those languages that have them, are diachronically connected with the presence of preinitials. Since the latter are typically a feature of Bodic phonology, they are present only in languages of a Bodic orientation.

Originally, Tibetan could have as many as five distinct preinitials, including a sibilant (*s*), a lateral (*l*), a retroflex (*r*), a labial obstruent (*b*), an archiphonemic obstruent (*d/g*), a labial nasal (*m*), and an archiphonemic nasal (*v*). In most varieties of Amdo Tibetan, and apparently in all non-Bodic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, these are represented as a residual system comprising only the features of prenasalization (N), preaspiration (H), and preglottalization (Q) (Kalsang Norbu and Janhunen 2000: 261-269).

Prenasalization is synchronically present only before a single series of stop obstruents, which in this position are pronounced as voiced and may be paradigmatically identified as the weak series (*b*, *d*, *z*, *zh*, *j*, *jh*, and *g*), implying that this series is also inherently unmarked as compared with the strong series (phonemically marked and phonetically aspirated). The system of prenasalized stops comprises maximally seven members, with a diachronically conditioned empty slot in the postvelar column (Table 7). Prenasalization is conveniently expressed in the notation by the letter <*v*>, as used for archiphonemic nasalization also in the modified Wylie system for Written Tibetan (Balk 2005). As long as the system has also other preinitials, the prenasalization element is best analysed as a separate segment, meaning that we are dealing with initial clusters of archiphonemic nasal + stop. Alternatively, it would be possible to analyse these clusters as a separate set of monophonemic prenasalized initial consonants, which would correspondingly increase the paradigm of initials.

Table 7. Prenasalized stops.

<i>vb</i>	<i>vd</i>	<i>vz</i>	<i>vzh</i>	<i>vj</i>	<i>vjh</i>	<i>vg</i>	
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Preaspiration is likewise attested before a single series of stop obstruents, which in this position are pronounced as voiceless but without aspiration, and which may paradigmatically be identified with the presumably unmarked weak series. In the notation, preaspiration can be conveniently expressed by the letter <*h*>. Preaspiration can, however, also be present before the nasals (*m*, *n*, *ny*, and *ng*), which in this position can become slightly or even fully devoiced. Thus, the system can have maximally eleven sequences

with preaspiration. These are probably best analysed as initial clusters, though it would also be possible to operate with a set of separate monophonemic preaspirated stops and voiceless nasals.

Table 8. Preaspirated nasals and stops.

<i>hm</i>	<i>hn</i>			<i>hny</i>		<i>hng</i>	
<i>hb</i>	<i>hd</i>	<i>hz</i>	<i>hzh</i>	<i>hj</i>	<i>hjh</i>	<i>hg</i>	

Finally, preglottalization is, again, attested before a single series of stop obstruents, which in this position are pronounced as voiced, and which may be identified with the unmarked weak series of stops. The preglottalization element itself is normally lost as a segmental feature, leaving only a set of voiced initial stops. These could conveniently be analysed as monophonemic entities were it not that preglottalization is also attested before the segments *l* and *y* of the weak continuant series, in which case the glottal element is often segmentable as a specific voiced onset. Thus, preglottalization is maximally attested in 9 sequences (Table 9). In the notation, preglottalization, as well as the phonetically observable feature of voicing, may be expressed by letter doubling, a convention already established in Chinese minority language studies.

Table 9. Preglottalized stops and continuants.

<i>bb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>zzh</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>jjh</i>	<i>gg</i>	
	<i>ll</i>			<i>yy</i>			

In most idioms of the Amdo Sprachbund, the relatively complex system of initial clusters has been simplified in a number of ways. Most obviously, the preglottalized continuants *ll* and *yy* (occurring only in a few diachronically conditioned Tibetan lexical items) are marginal to the system, and their distinction with regard to the simple *l* and *y* is widely neutralized. Also, the distinction between the regular and the preaspirated nasals is commonly lost, leaving preaspiration as a feature of stops only. After these reductions, the typical system of initial clusters will only comprise the full sets of prenasalized, preglottalized and preaspirated stops (Table 10). This is the system attested in, for instance, Wutun, and it would be

synchronously possible to analyse these clusters as monophonemic prenasalized, voiced, and preaspirated consonants.

Table 10. Reduced system of initial clusters.

<i>vb</i>	<i>vd</i>	<i>vz</i>	<i>vzh</i>	<i>vj</i>	<i>vjh</i>	<i>vg</i>	
<i>bb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>zzh</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>jjh</i>	<i>gg</i>	
<i>hb</i>	<i>hd</i>	<i>hz</i>	<i>hzh</i>	<i>hj</i>	<i>hjh</i>	<i>hg</i>	

The reduction of the system can proceed even further, in which case preaspiration can lose its distinctiveness, leaving only the basic set of unmarked stops (*b, d, z, zh, j, jh, and g*). At the same time, the distinction between prenasalization and preaspiration can be lost, resulting in a single series of voiced stops, which can variously be pronounced with or without a nasal onset. This seems to be the synchronic situation for, for instance, many younger speakers of Wutun. In such an idiom, we are definitely dealing with only three sets of monophonemic stops: one basic unmarked unaspirated and unvoiced (*b, d, z, zh, j, jh, and g*), another distinctively voiced (*bb, dd, zz, zzh, jj, jjh, and gg*), and a third distinctively (post)aspirated (*p, t, c, ch, q, qh, and k*) (Table 11).

Table 11. Simplified system of initial stops.

<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>bb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>zzh</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>jjh</i>	<i>gg</i>	
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>k</i>	

On the other hand, we have to recall that some, in this respect 'archaic', languages and dialects of the Amdo Qinghai region still have a larger paradigm of preinitials. A case in point is Huzhu Mongghul, which has the distinctive retroflex preinitial *r*. The latter can, moreover, occur both before the weak obstruents, in which position it has the phonetic value of a voiced retroflex approximant [ɣ], and before the strong obstruents, in which position it has the phonetic value of a voiceless retroflex sibilant [ʂ], meaning that the two series of stops can contrast after this particular preinitial (*rg* [ɣg] vs. *rk* [ʂk] etc.). A similar system is present in several Amdo Tibetan dialects.

VOWELS, FINALS, AND MEDIALS

Compared with the systems of initials and initial clusters, the distinctive potential of medials, finals, and main vowels is considerably more restricted. Most languages of the Amdo Sprachbund seem to have a system of five vowels, comprising two rounded back vowels (*u* and *o*), two unrounded back vowels (*e* and *a*), and one high unrounded front vowel (*i*). Many forms of Amdo Tibetan have, however, only one distinctive round vowel, resulting in a system of four vowels (*u*, *i*, *e*, and *a*), while other languages, like Wutun, have an additional non-high front vowel (*ai* = [e]), yielding a symmetric rectangular system of six vowels (Table 12). This system can be further expanded by two long or tense high vowels, which, however, can also be analysed as sequences of two segments (*uu* and *ii*).

Table 12. Complete paradigm of basic vowels.

<i>u</i>					<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	
<i>o</i>					<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	

The vowels are in a direct phonetic relationship with three places of consonantal articulation: labial, palatal and velar, and the high vowels (*u*, *i*, and *e*) may simply be seen as the vocalic counterparts of the corresponding weak continuant consonants (*w*, *y*, and *gh*), which may also be classified as glides. The other weak continuants (*l*, *ss*, *r*, and *xx*) do not normally have vocalic counterparts in the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, though such vowels (at least sibilant and retroflex) are present elsewhere in East Asia.

Finals are originally a category paradigmatically similar to that of preinitials, and some forms of Amdo Tibetan do, in fact, preserve as many as eight distinct finals, comprising three nasals (*m*, *n*, and *ng*), three obstruents (*b*, *d*, and *g*) and two continuants (*l* and *r*). In most languages of the region, however, the system of finals is much simpler and comprises in the extreme case only one archiphonemic nasal and one archiphonemic non-nasal. The nasal final is then realized variously as either a dental or a velar segment, or

also as the nasalization of the preceding vowel. For practical purposes, it is convenient to use the standard Pinyin finals *n* and *ng* in combination with different vowel letters even when the two finals stand for a single nasal final phoneme (Table 13).

Table 13. Vowels with a nasal final.

<i>un</i>					<i>in</i>	<i>en</i>	
<i>ong</i>					<i>an</i>	<i>ang</i>	

The non-nasal final is typically combined with a substantially reduced paradigm of vowels, comprising only two (as in many forms of Amdo Tibetan) or three (as in Wutun) distinct segments. The final itself is realized as a velar to postvelar to uvular stop or continuant, which can also be phonetically very weak. For reasons of tradition and convenience it is perhaps best written as *k* in the phonemic notation (Table 14). It may be noted that vocalic finals related to the labial and palatal glides (*w* and *y*), as commonly attested in many forms of Chinese, are generally absent in the Amdo Sprachbund.

Table 14. Vowels with a non-nasal final.

<i>ok</i>					<i>ak</i>	<i>ek</i>	
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The role of medials (M) is also very limited in the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund. Although sequences comprising either the labial (*w*) or the palatal (*y*) glide, or the corresponding high vowels (*u* and *i*), between the initial consonant (C) and the main vowel (V) are attested in most languages of the region, they are not a central feature of the local phonologies. For diachronic reasons, they are more important in the Sinitic than in the Bodic languages, though their role has been decreased by neutralizing processes on the Sinitic side, while they have arisen also independently on the Bodic side.

For paradigmatic and segmental phonology, the most important implication of medials is perhaps connected with the role that the labial medial (*w*) can play in connection with the velar column of initials. In many idioms of the Amdo Sprachbund, the labial medial occurs either predominantly or solely after initials of the velar column. In such idioms, the resulting sequences could also be

interpreted as monophonemic labiovelar segments. One possible outcome would be a system that has a complete set of labiovelars beside the regular velars. In such a system, the three columns of vowels would be naturally associated with the palatal, velar, and labiovelar columns of the consonants, respectively (Table 15).

Table 15. Integrated system of segments.

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ny</i>		<i>ng</i>	
<i>bb</i>	<i>dd</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>zzh</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>jjh</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>ggw</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>xh</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>hw</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>xx</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ghw</i>
					<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>
					<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>

Ultimately, the two-dimensional representation of phonological paradigms in terms of a rectangular matrix of the traditional type (Tables 1 to 15) is misleading. A better picture of the interrelationships between the members of the paradigm would be gained with a model organized cylindrically, or perhaps spherically. The elaboration of such a model remains, however, outside the scope of the present discussion, which is only concerned with the basic taxonomy of the phonological distinctions present in the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund.

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ANIMALS GOOD FOR HEALING:
ON EXPERIENCES WITH FOLK HEALERS
IN INNER MONGOLIA (CHINA)

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THE BEGINNING: SOME SURPRISES

The opportunity for fieldwork with shamans in northeastern Inner Mongolia, together with experienced colleagues, came as a windfall, causing me contradictory feelings. On the one hand it was a pleasant surprise, because it promised the fulfillment of a dream I had long nurtured. On the other hand, however, it made me painfully aware of the limits for my work. Limits in time, because I could not use more than a few weeks each year, and limits in communication, because I lacked practically any knowledge of Chinese or Mongolian. I could not change the problem of limited time, but I was fortunate enough to find a good interpreter. His help went a long way to solve at least part of my linguistic problem. In addition, the fact that he was a Mongol proved instrumental in opening many doors to us. Furthermore, he had a great number of friends and acquaintances in the area, something that turned out to be an invaluable asset, because these people gracefully agreed to support us in many ways and at every stage of my fieldwork. Nevertheless, my linguistic handicap was not completely overcome. For that reason, explanations I can offer for actions I have observed may often remain unsatisfactory. However, I will make an effort to describe as truthfully as possible what I have observed in the hope of making up at least in part for my lacunae.

On my first visit to the area in the year 2000, the Chinese colleague in our research group offered to accompany me. From his earlier visits, he was already familiar with several shamans or healers in the area of our fieldwork, and agreed to introduce me to a few of them. One was a woman healer at whose house we arrived at about noon on a warm September day. Almost immediately after our arrival, she invited us, together with some friends of hers, for lunch in a small restaurant in the village, saying "Let's have some mutton!" While we

were waiting for the meat to appear, my colleague and the woman were engaged in casual conversation and exchanged memories of earlier visits. Suddenly, the woman looked intensely into my colleague's face saying, as he told me later: "Your heart is not well. Your body is not in good form, because there is too much *qi* in your stomach." Her behavior and remark surprised me and made me wonder how she could possibly know this. When, a few moments later, after the meat had been served, the woman picked up a thigh from the pile of meat on the plate and, while she swung it in circles in front of our faces, she accompanied her movements with a song. Then she explained what all of this meant. It was a ritual, she said, she performs for a child whose soul had gone astray, in order to have the soul return. After the simple rite, in order to complete it, the child had to eat the meat, but nobody else was allowed to eat from that piece. After our meal, the woman took us to the family, for whose little boy she had recently performed the rite. The boy was running around in the room, as any healthy child would do, and the expression on the face of the woman who had brought us to the family left no doubt that she was proud of her success in helping the child.

This unexpected short performance made me aware that mutton was not only an important part of the Mongol diet, but that it also has a significant role to play in healing and in the recovering of an afflicted person's health. The woman used a piece of already cooked meat to demonstrate how she cured the boy, but I am not sure whether she had done it the same way when she actually performed the rite for the boy. At the time when I witnessed her demonstration at our table, I just assumed that she had actually used cooked meat in curing the boy and so did not inquire whether this was really the case or whether she rather might have used raw meat. The question of what kind of meat had been used occurred to me only later after I had heard more about the curing by the means of applying animal meat, because in these cases it was stressed that the meat (or hide) of the animal used should still be warm and, therefore, raw. In any case, the demonstration of that day was most intriguing to me and aroused a strong wish to be one day in a position to attend a healing rite in which the use of an animal's meat was crucial. That day eventually

presented itself, again unexpectedly, but by that time several years had passed since the first encounter just mentioned. In the meantime, I had the opportunity to become quite well acquainted with several of these healers who call themselves, or are called by their clients, *bariyaqi*.

Although I will have more to say about what a *bariyaqi* is, suffice it for the moment to say that he or she is a 'folk healer,' a person who is sought after for help in curing illnesses or wounds, but who did not undergo formal medical training in order to qualify for the job. The woman mentioned above says of herself that she is a *bariyaqi* and I will call her S *bariyaqi*. She is a middle-aged woman with an established reputation as a successful *bariyaqi*. For that reason, she is visited daily by numerous people seeking her help. One day, she told me the story of one of her cases, which I had stumbled on by accident on a visit to her house. On that visit I found a man doing all kinds of services and chores around the house. When I asked him who he was, he said that he was the younger brother of S *bariyaqi*. His answer puzzled me because S *bariyaqi* had told me on an earlier visit that she had no brothers. To solve my puzzle, the man told me story of why he became the 'younger brother' of the *bariyaqi*.

His story goes like this. His son, a high school student, had been badly injured in a traffic accident and had to be hospitalized for months. When he was finally discharged, he was still suffering from terrible headaches, but the doctors told him there was nothing more they could do for him. For the boy, this meant that he could never think of returning to school. But his father did not give in, and desperately tried to find a way to help his son. In this situation, he brought the boy to S *bariyaqi* and told her what had happened. She took the boy into her house for twenty-one days and treated him daily, massaging his head and blowing strong spirits on it. At the end of this period they boy was completely relieved from the headaches. "Now he goes to school again, like all the other students," said S *bariyaqi* in concluding her story. The boy's father, out of gratitude for her having restored his son's health, decided to support her in any way he could, and for that reason became her 'younger brother.'

Here I want to draw attention to a few points in this story that I think are noteworthy. The first is that the *bariyaqi* had come

on the scene at the moment when biomedicine declared it had reached its limits. The second point is that the *bariyaqi* used only readily available ordinary means in applying her cure: a fixed period of twenty-one days during which she used no other means but her hands for the massage and her mouth to blow the spirits on the boy's head. And finally, last but not least, is that the boy's father had full confidence in the *bariyaqi*'s healing charisma, although there was no official acknowledgement. The only sign that would lead people to her house was a white cross, painted on the exterior wall. But even that would not really indicate who and what she was. In order to understand the sign, one needed to know beforehand what kind of person lived in that house. Incidentally, when my colleague and I were looking for her house, we did not even notice the sign.

Among the friends of my translator there was also a Mongol doctor who had an office in the Mongol Hospital of Hailar. One day, we visited him there, and when we stepped into the entrance hall, I was surprised to find three different windows there, each one offering access to a different kind of medicine, Western biomedicine, Chinese traditional medicine, and Mongol medicine. The doctor we were about to visit had studied Mongol medicine and had his office in the hospital's section for Mongol medicine. This hospital appeared to be a demonstration of the types of medicine that are officially acknowledged by the Administration of Inner Mongolia. However, there was no place for a *bariyaqi* in this system. The *bariyaqi* functions outside the official system, yet under certain circumstances, like those of the boy mentioned in the story above, the system admits a possibility for a *bariyaqi* to step in. This can happen when the system's professionals have reached the limits of their wisdom. A doctor may not really believe in the healing ability of a *bariyaqi*, but under such circumstances he nevertheless lets the patient try a last option, or he may in fact acknowledge a *bariyaqi*'s ability to offer the patient a real chance for recovery where his own expertise has reached its limits. The latter is the case in the situation I will now describe.

USING A SHEEP'S BODY PARTS FOR HEALING

Ever since the day when I got word for the first time about a well-known and very successful female *bariyaqi*, I was looking forward to an opportunity to encounter her. She was said to use the same method as other *bariyaqi*, namely, to knead the afflicted part of a patient's body and blow alcohol onto it. But, the main reason for her success was seen in a method particular only to her: curing by licking the sick spot on a patient's body.

In the course of time, I had opportunities to meet with and observe several *bariyaqi*, but what I had been told about this particular one made me truly curious. On a fine day in the summer of 2005, a chance to meet her presented itself, and my translator, who knew her already from earlier meetings, took me to her house. When we arrived, she already had several clients waiting for their turn to be treated. She nonetheless took time out of her evidently busy schedule to talk to us. Because of what I had already heard about her, I began by asking the obvious question of how she went about curing patients. She then explained that she blows alcohol on the sick area of a client's body and that she always licks the area, adding that this was really the most important action in her cure, an action she alone performed. Further, she said that she could feel in her own body where a client was suffering. For that reason, she felt very tired at the end of a day, after caring for many clients.

Her friendly openness finally encouraged me to ask a question about another method that had been mentioned to me repeatedly by other *bariyaqi*, but it seemed too unusual and rare to me to hope for an explanation, let alone a chance to observe it. Nevertheless, on that day I decided to try my luck. What I had in mind was the method of using parts of a sheep's body to heal a human patient. She began by explaining what had to be done in such a case and then announced unexpectedly that she had actually been asked to do just such a kind of healing. It would take place a few days later. To my surprise, she even offered to take us – my translator and me – along and let us witness the procedure.

Once the date was set, we received notice on an early morning and proceeded to the house of the *bariyaqi*, whom from

now on I will call Y *bariyaqi*. At her house, we joined her in the car that was already waiting to bring all of us to the village of the patient and his family. The patient was a high school student suffering from severe headaches, repeatedly losing conscience and falling to the ground. The village doctor had examined the boy and had tried every means available to him in order to help him, yet his efforts were to no avail. In this situation he consulted with Y *bariyaqi*, who was an acquaintance of his, and then decided to entrust her with the performing of a healing rite for the boy for which she would use parts of a sheep's body.

After a ride of about an hour and a half, we arrived at the patient's house in the late morning, at around ten thirty. Immediately after arriving, Y *bariyaqi* entered the house and, after a few simple greetings, proceeded directly to a room adjacent to the house entrance. In that room the body of a sheep was lying on a sheet. The sheep had already been killed and its skinning was almost completed, but the butchering had not yet started (Figure 1).

The man charged with the skinning and dissecting of the sheep must be a person well versed in these activities, because they must be done with great circumspection and accuracy. Just at the moment Y *bariyaqi* entered the room he took out the bladder from the sheep's body. He handed it to her right away. Holding the warm bladder in her hands, the *bariyaqi* hurried to an adjacent room. There a young girl, probably a third or fourth grader, was lying on her bed. The *bariyaqi* put the bladder quickly upon the girl's private parts and fixed it so that it could not fall off. She asked the girl to keep resting quietly for about an hour. Then she returned to the room where the butchering of the sheep was making progress. She explained her action by saying that she used the bladder to cure the girl who, because of a weakness of her urinary bladder, was suffering from wetting her pants. The simple action was not related to the curing that the *bariyaqi* had been called for. But taken together with some similar treatments performed after the main curing, it showed that the killing of a sheep enabled the *bariyaqi* to use many other parts, in order to treat various diseases apart from the one that was to be the main focus of her action. The sheep's bladder was not needed for what Y *bariyaqi* was to do later, and so she did not return to the

girl's room to check on the result of this treatment. But about an hour later I noticed how the girl was already playing with her friends in front of the house. By that time the *baryiaqi* had turned to attend the boy.

Figure 1. Skinning the sheep.¹



In the room where the sheep was being butchered, its spleen (*delu*) and the two kidneys were now removed. *Y baryiaqi* took the kidneys and knotted a thin thread around their openings in order to close them tightly so that their *qi* would not escape (Figure 2).

Then she put the kidneys into cold water for about five minutes to cool them (Figure 3) and while they were cooling, *Y baryiaqi* took the spleen to bring it to the room where the boy was sitting on his bed. She attached the spleen to his forehead (Figure 4), covered it with a cloth and knotted the cloth at the back of his head so that the spleen could not move.

¹ All photographs by the author, Hailar, 2005.

Figure 2. Binding the kidneys' openings.



Figure 3. Cooling of the two kidneys.



Figure 4. The spleen attached to the patient's forehead.



She said that, if a person was sick in their spleen, the sheep's spleen would be attached to the place of that person's spleen. However, in all other cases, the spleen is attached to the patient's forehead. If this is done, the patient does not suffer from headaches and he can be prevented from falling unconscious. The boy with the spleen fixed to his forehead had to now lie on his stomach on his bed. He also had to remove the clothes from the upper half of his body. When he was ready, *Y bariyaqi* took the two cooled kidneys and placed each one on the place of the kidneys on the boy's lower back. She then wrapped the boy's body with a warm cloth, so the kidneys would remain fixed in their position (Figure 5). This was also done to protect the kidneys from the danger that bad air would damage them. The *bariyaqi* instructed the boy to keep lying in this position for about two hours.

Figure 5. Fixing the kidneys with a cloth.



In the meantime, the dissecting of the sheep was proceeding smoothly and without problems. The women who took part in the work accepted the pieces of intestines one by one as they were taken out of the sheep's body, and put them into a container on the side. The sheep's blood was contained in the carcass until the women scooped it up with ladles and poured it into another container, taking care not to spill a single drop. Once the carcass was empty, the man in charge proceeded to cut out the spinal column. After that, a very difficult and precarious stage of the work began; the complete, undamaged spinal column needed to be removed. For this work, which needed not only highly skilled hands but also a great deal of patience and time, the village doctor lent a hand to the man who had cut out the backbone (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Extracting the spinal cord.



The tension under which the two men were working was palpable and could be felt also among the bystanders, the *bariyaqi* included, who eagerly awaited the successful conclusion of this difficult task.

Y *bariyaqi* took a seat for a little rest, while the two men were working. From that seat, she could observe the work of the men, but several people from among the bystanders took advantage of these moments to consult with her and ask for her advice.

When the time-consuming work had finally come to an end and the spinal cord was ready, Y *bariyaqi* took it and carried it to the room where the boy was lying. There she took off the cloth she had used to fasten the kidneys to the boy's back and then, on his bare back, she arranged the sheep's spinal cord on the boy's backbone so that it extended from the neck to the hips (Figure 7).

Y *bariyaqi* explained her actions, saying that by using the sheep's spinal cord in this manner the poison, meaning the illness, located in the patient's neck and/or hips, could be removed. On the spinal cord laid out in this way she then placed pieces of the sheep's meat, covering the cord completely, again from neck to hips (Figure 8).

She said that by placing the meat in this manner the poison (illness) in the patient's blood and body could be eliminated. Unfortunately, I did not think at the time to ask, if she had to use meat from certain parts of the sheep's body, but my impression was that any meat could have served the purpose.

After she had put the meat in place, Y *bariyaqi* took the cloth she had removed earlier from the kidneys to bind it again in the same way as before. Finally, she covered the boy's body with a blanket to keep it warm.

Figure 7. Attaching the spinal cord to the patient's back.



Figure 8. Covering the spinal cord with meat taken from the sheep.



While the *baryaqi* was occupied placing the spinal cord, another difficult task had begun in the room with the sheep's body. The skin of the sheep's head had been removed in its entirety. The

difficult work to be done now was to take out the sheep's brain together with the containing membrane. This had to be done without causing any damage to the brain, the same way as the spinal cord had been removed. First, a piece of bone of about five or six square centimeters was cut out of the back of the skull so that the brain became visible (Figure 9).

Figure 9. The brain of the sheep has become visible.



Next, the brain had to be taken out undamaged through this hole. It was again a very time-consuming task, done patiently and adroitly by the doctor. When he could finally hold the brain in his hand, he quickly handed it over to the *bariyaqi* (Figure 10).

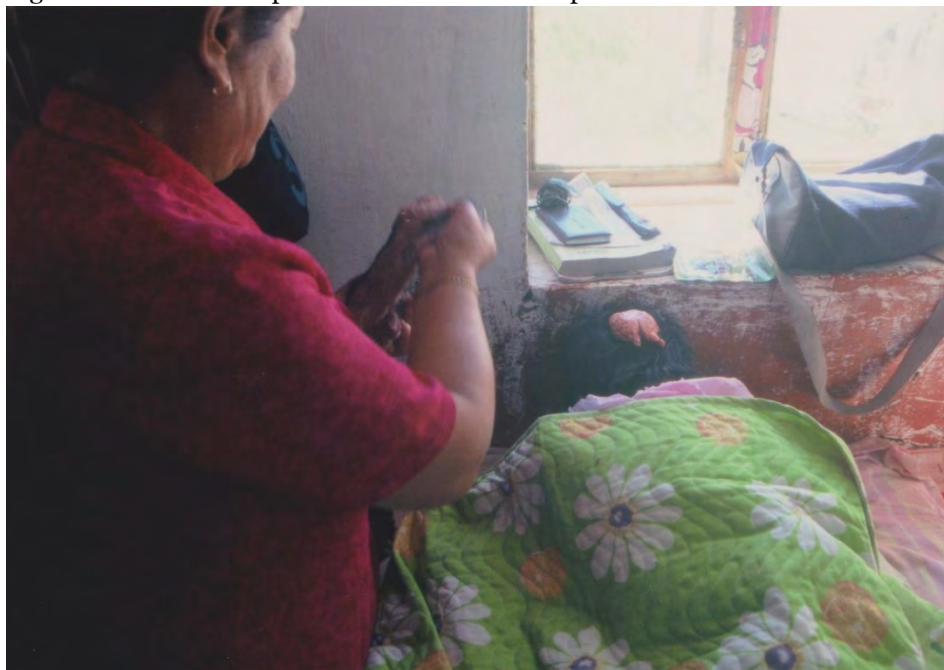
At this point in the curing process, Y *bariyaqi* explained certain important conditions. First, it was decisive that the brain together with its membrane was in no way damaged. Second, the sheep from which the brain was extracted had to be a healthy animal older than four years. Third, the person extracting the brain had to be a member of the patient's family. In the case described, the person who extracted the brain was the doctor, but he was also the sick boy's uncle. The *bariyaqi* pointed out that the brain could be used in the same way on a patient suffering from mental illness, but in any case the conditions mentioned needed to be observed exactly, or there was a serious danger that the patient would die.

Figure 10. The brain is shown to the *bariyaqi*.



Taking the brain, *Y bariyaqi* went again to the boy's room, where she removed the spleen from his forehead and the spinal cord and all the other meat from his back, putting it into a tray filled with water that was ready at the bedside. Then, she took the sheep's brain, attached it to the back of the boy's head, and covered the brain and the boy's head with the skin of the sheep's head, just as if covering it with a hat (Figure 11).

Figure 11. The brain is placed on the back of the patient's head.



In doing this, she made sure that the sheep's ears covered the boy's ears. The boy then had to lie again down on his stomach, but this time remained in that position for only about ten minutes, because the head of a patient under this kind of cover grows very hot, and therefore the cover should not be worn for a long time. The *bariyaqi* removed the brain after a few minutes and, while holding it in her hands, examined it (Figure 12). Then, she said that the brain had turned red, which was a sign that the boy's illness was not severe.

After she had removed the brain, she had the boy rest for a while. Meanwhile, she returned to the room where the sheep had been dissected, in order to take care of another person who was

waiting there. This was an old woman who complained of a problem with her eyes. Y *bariyaqi* took the sheep's two eyeballs and put them one by one on each of the woman's eyes. She then covered them with a cloth she bound to the woman's head, in order to keep the eyeballs in place (Figure 13).

Figure 12. The *bariyaqi* explains the brain's condition.



Figure 13. The *bariyaqi* applies the sheep's eyeballs to the eyes of a patient.



Before they could be used in this way, however, the eyeballs had to be put into water for about five minutes, the *bariyaqi* explained. After she had attached the eyeballs to the woman's eyes, she said that the woman should keep them in this way for some time, but as far as I could notice, she did not mention a definite length of time. After about ten minutes the old woman was already up again.

After this short interval, Y *bariyaqi* returned to the boy's room and picked up the spinal cord from the water where she had put it after she had removed it from the boy's back. She showed us the places where she said the spinal cord had changed its color (Figure 14).

The doctor, too, came to examine the cord. He and the *bariyaqi* shared comments about what they noticed, but unfortunately I was not able to understand their comments. I could only watch the expression on their faces, which appeared to me to be expressions of contentment and satisfaction, indicating that the procedure had been successful. However, it was still too early to make a final statement about the result because, as Y *bariyaqi* explained, ordinarily both the

spleen and the spinal cord had to be soaked in water for at least ten hours before it was possible to really judge by the change of their color whether the healing had been successful or not. Our time, however, did not allow us to wait for so many hours before we left.

Figure 14. The *bariyaqi* explains the condition of the spinal cord.



The inspection mentioned was not the end of the procedure. The boy was still lying on his bed as before, and appeared to be quite tired. After everything that had been put on his back had been removed, Y *baryaqi* began to rub his bare back with both hands, applying a paste made of wheat flour that had been roasted in oil (Figure 15).

Figure 15. The *baryaqi* rubs the patient's back with a paste of wheat flour.



This was, she explained, a measure to prevent bad air (the term used for translation was ‘wind,’ but I believe it should have been *qi*) from entering the boy's still-weak body. For the same reason, she also

rubbed the boy's back, head, and legs (Figure 16), and only after she had finished the rubbing did she tell the boy to put on his clothes.

Figure 16. The *bariyaqi* massages the patient's head.



When he was dressed again, he changed his position to sit cross-legged on his bed, and the women of the house came in to serve him food. There were several regulations about the kind of food that could be offered and about how it should be consumed. It had to be soup cooked with the sheep's meat, and the soup had to be eaten from a wooden bowl, with wooden chopsticks. The reason was again to help fend off the influence of bad air, which otherwise the boy's body was still judged to be too weak to do by itself.

By this time, more than three hours had passed since the healing procedure had started. There were several people waiting who wanted to consult Y *bariyaqi*. She listened and responded to a few of them, yet she had only a little time before her departure, because she knew that other clients were already waiting at her house for her to return. During the ride back to her house, Y *bariyaqi* mentioned in the car that she was satisfied with how the healing had

proceeded and that she was convinced that it had been successful. I did not intend to question her conviction, but I wished for some more concrete indication that the boy was really freed from his illness. Since there was no chance anymore to see the boy in person and observe his present state of health, the next possible source from where such an indication could come forth was Y *bariyaqi*. Therefore, we visited her again three or four days after the event. It gave me the possibility to ask her whether she had news about the boy's health. She said that she had gotten news and that the boy no longer had headaches, and did not fall unconscious anymore, and could now go to school every day with the other students.

She clearly appeared to be satisfied with the result of her efforts. I was also impressed by the fame and high degree of appreciation she enjoyed in the population for her healing power. I visited her on several occasions, and each time I was truly astonished by the many phone calls she received and the impressive number of clients that just dropped in or called, asking that she visit their house. Another reason was the matter-of-fact character of her actions. She had told me that she owes her success as a *bariyaqi* on one side to a charisma she had inherited from an ancestor, and on the other side to her own accumulated experience. This latter point was demonstrated to me during the healing process described when she said that she was the one who had determined how the procedure should be conducted in order to be successful. On other occasions, she insisted on saying that she did not rely on extraordinary or spiritual help of any kind, but that she had learned by experience what was successful and what not.

DISCUSSION: LOCATING Y BARIYAQI'S PRACTICE

In the course of my fieldwork I have become acquainted with five *bariyaqi*. Two of them were initiated by a shaman in an elaborate ritual, but the other three, among them Y *bariyaqi*, had not undergone any such ritual. They claimed that they owed their charisma originally to a *bariyaqi* ancestor in their family line, and to their personal experience in actual practice. The problem of the

bariyaqi initiated by a shaman deserves a separate discussion, but I will limit my reflections to *bariyaqi* not initiated by a shaman, in particular to Y *bariyaqi* and the healing she performed before my eyes. The main question that arose for me was: Why had Y *bariyaqi* and the people who called for her help been confident that she could heal a human patient by using the inner organs of a sheep? In order to find a suitable answer, I will consider her action within the larger context of Mongol folk medicine, although I am aware that the limits of my knowledge may not allow me to offer a completely satisfying answer.

The first time I was told that human sicknesses could be healed by applying the intestines of a sheep to the afflicted area the reason given was that in common understanding a sheep's inner organs were very much the same as those of humans with the exception that a sheep had two stomachs. If, therefore, the healthy organ of a sheep is brought into close contact with the same, but sick, organ of a human, the latter is enabled to recover.

The question that remains, however, is the question of why such a procedure should bring about the recovery of a human organ. The answer does not seem to be the intimate knowledge of the herders about the structure of their animals' body and the functions of its organs. If that knowledge alone were sufficient, there would be no need to call for the help of a specialist such as a *bariyaqi*. Furthermore, not every *bariyaqi* is taken to be qualified to perform a healing such as the one I have described. The usual method used by a *bariyaqi* is massage. The very term '*bariyaqi*' is said to mean, according to Shimamura, "someone who grasps the body" (Shimamura 2014:180; 519-521). While this is true for all three of the *bariyaqi* whose healing method I was given a chance to observe, only Y *bariyaqi* was credited with the gift to heal by using a sheep's body parts.

In order to find an answer to the question as to why an animal's, in this case a sheep's, organs can be used to cure a sickness in a human, I need to make a detour. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Ming Emperor Zhu Qiyu ordered the book *Yinshan Zhengyao*, a treatise on medical nutrition therapy, to be republished. This book had originally been published in 1330 by the emperor's head

physician, who was also responsible for the diet of the Yuan Emperor Wenzong. In a short text, the Ming Emperor contributed to the re-edition of this book, writing of two features common to everything that exists in the universe. First, he points out that to come into existence by the *qi* of heaven and earth is the condition common to humans and all things. Second, he says, humans are sustained by all other things of the universe (Hu 1993:2). This means that everything participates in the same energy, namely *qi*, and that humans are therefore obliged to treat all things with respect. Although the Emperor's admonition is contributed to a book on nutrition, his statement that everything in the universe participates in the same *qi* energy might offer a hint, towards understanding why the organs of a sheep can be used for the benefit of humans. For example, *Y bariyaqi* had explained the binding of the openings of the sheep's two kidneys with a thread by saying that it ensured that the kidneys' *qi* could not escape.

Almost a hundred years before the publication of *Yinshan Zhengyao*, William of Rubruck wrote of the hunger and thirst he and his companions had to suffer on their travel through sparsely inhabited regions of Inner Asia. They had only a little food during the days, but in the evenings they were given meat of a sheep and soup of that meat. This food revitalized them completely and prompted him to say that the soup seemed to him to be the healthiest and most nourishing thing (de Rubrouck 1985:137). Rubruck writes how this food helped him to recover from his fatigue and not that it would cure a sickness. The author of the *Yinshan Zhengyao*, however, writes in several entries how the cooked meat or intestines of a sheep could heal a variety of sicknesses. For example, a dish prepared from the liver, the kidneys, the heart, and lungs of a sheep is said to cure weak kidneys and defects of bone marrow (Hu 1993:106). It can, therefore, be said that the meat and intestines of a sheep were taken to have a highly appreciated value, not only as food, but also as a means to cure conditions of weakness and sickness in humans. That the meat of a sheep can have a healing effect on humans may be an idea born from long experience, but as mentioned earlier, people also say that such an effect can be expected, because the structure of a sheep's body and the functions of its organs are basically the same as those in a human

body. In his treatise, Hu lists the items that can be taken from various animals to be used for treating humans. I cite just one example from the section on 'sheep.' The example backs up the action of the *baryiaqi* introduced earlier because it says, "The five viscera of the sheep compensate for the five viscera of a human. The kidneys of a sheep compensate weak [human] kidneys, they increase the latter's essence" (Hu 1993:160). Certainly, familiarity with the body structure of their animals is a characteristic trait of adult herders, although not every adult male might command the same degree of such knowledge. However, such knowledge *per se* apparently does not qualify any herder to also be a healer using an animal's body parts for healing practice. Where, then, can we possibly find the basis for such a statement as the one made by Hu? Since he is concerned with preparing food for the emperor that is also a medicine, we might take a hint from a text on Tibetan medicine. The text is the *Rgyud bzhi* 'Four Treatises', a foundational text in Tibetan medicine. This text is also said to be one of the first books translated into the Mongol language (Meyer 2007:89) and to still have a decisive influence on Mongol medicine.

Although all those who want to practice Tibetan medicine have to first master this text by heart, it is difficult to understand. To make the text more approachable, the regent to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, wrote a commentary to it, the Vaiḍūrya sngon po, *Blue Beryl*, and added a great number of illustrations (Meyer 2007: 91). In these illustrations, he uses the image of a tree with its root, branches, and leaves. In one of them, where the tree represents various methods of treatment, it has several branches. Each branch ends in leaves carrying an image of the food that should be eaten in order to restore the balance of *qi*. On one of these leaves, we find the image of human arms and legs as a means for cure. But the commentary *Blue Beryl* explains that in the place of human flesh, the meat of sheep or bear is often used (Gyurme Dorje and Meyer 1992:23-24; 179-180). This means that, according to the commentary, human flesh has the same medical effect as the meat of sheep, so that the former can be replaced by the latter. Hu does not say that human flesh is replaced by animal meat, but he does say that a certain piece of an animal's body can be used in order to restore the

same area in the human body when it is afflicted by a sickness. This wisdom may perhaps be the reason why the contemporary *bariyaqi* uses parts of a sheep's meat to cure sickness in a human, and perhaps also why people generally believe that a sheep's viscera are close to those of humans. This kind of wisdom is, however, not reached by scientific experiments. Rather, it may be, as Jigent says, that the method to cure a sickness of the human viscera by the viscera of a sheep is based on the long tradition among the Mongols that takes the meat of the sheep to be the essence of 'red food', namely meat (1991:77). Such originally experiential knowledge may have gradually come under the influence of the systematic knowledge of professional Mongol medicine. During the treatment, the *bariyaqi* sometimes pointed to the characteristics of a particular body part as being of a 'hot' or 'cold' nature, and said that a balance between the two was the necessary condition for the patient's health condition to be restored. To that extent, her understanding of the reason why her curing was effective seemed to coincide with one of the basic explanations given in Mongol medicine. Yet, she apparently did not simply follow the stipulations of formal Mongol medicine.

In a Mongol text discussing the curing methods of the Mongol physician Yjinge, there is a description of the method to cure by using body parts of sheep. The method described is, even in the details, the same as the one Y *bariyaqi* used (Uljidgelger et al. 2005:84-89). However, Uljidgelger, one of the text's editors, writes in an unpublished text that for such treatment the heart, lungs, and liver are used, yet they should be used while they are still hot (Ulji n.d.). Y *bariyaqi*, in her treatment, differed from this statement, because she first put the still-hot kidneys and spleen in water to cool them before she applied them to the patient. Perhaps, it would be going too far, if this seemingly minor difference were given much attention. But a statement offered by Y *bariyaqi* at the time she applied the sheep's spinal cord to the boy's back suggests otherwise. At that moment, she first insisted that it was vital for the spinal cord to be raw and not damaged in any way. But then she added that in a case where such a spinal cord was not available, a red thread could be used instead. And she further said that this was her own idea, an idea she had found to be applicable and successful through experience. Although we may

accept that in both of the cases mentioned basic conceptions of formal Mongol medicine are adhered to, we also notice that the *bariyaqi* may not feel compelled to follow them minutely, but may rather prefer to make use of knowledge acquired not by formal study and experiment but by practical experience.

Y *bariyaqi* once told me in an interview that for some time she used to study with a book, but then she gave it away and relies now only on her experience and intuition. However, the ultimate source of her ability, she claims, is an ancestor who had been a well-known *bariyaqi* in his time and whose ability she has inherited. Because her ability is a gift she says that, therefore, she is not to ask to be paid for her services. This does not mean that grateful clients do not offer some sort of remuneration, be it money, food, or help in her household. For example, when we were about to board the car that would bring us back after the treatment of the boy, she was given a hind leg of the slaughtered sheep, but this was done in such an unobtrusive way that the action could hardly be noticed by the bystanders.

To conclude, I am inclined to accept the *bariyaqi's* statement that what they do is a profession and a technique, although of a special nature, because it is a gift not everyone has. This special nature does not exclude the possibility that they control their experience and learn from it, so as to develop its effectiveness over time. Although they accept their ability as an ancestor's gift, they do not rely on the assistance of some spirit being for their efficacy. In fact, all three of the *bariyaqi* who I had the privilege to observe in action insisted emphatically that, unlike the shamans, they do not rely on the help of any spirit being. They emphasized that their ability to act as they do is initially due to an ancestor in their family, but is also an ability that they developed by closely observing and reflecting on their experience in practice. Therefore, their curing methods do not bind the *bariyaqi* to a fixed scheme. They can be quite flexible and responsive to a given situation, a characteristic that may have been generated by experiences accumulated over a considerably long period of time.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Ming 明

qì 氣

Rgyud bzhi ལྷན་བཞི

Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Wenzong 文宗

Yinshan Zhengyao 飲膳正要

Yuan 元

Zhu Qiyu 朱祁鈺

ETHNICITY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY
ON THE NORTHEAST TIBETAN PLATEAU:
SANCHUAN'S WEATHER MANAGEMENT RITUALS
IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

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INTRODUCTION: ETHNICITY AND CULTURE BEYOND BARTH'S
BOUNDARIES

What is the relationship between ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity? This paper is part of a broader project to investigate this question in the context of a region of supposed ethno-cultural rupture – the Sino-Tibetan Frontier. My investigations of ethnicity, culture, and language in this region (Roche 2011, 2014, 2015, Roche and Leagmo 2013, Roche and Stuart 2015) have focused on a population referred to as the Monguor or Tu. My work also aims to contribute to broader trends in the study of Tibet and ethnic minorities in China that look at the complex relations between ethnicity and diversity (Jinba Tenzin 2013, Chao 2012, Merriam 2012, Hayes 2014).

My research has been inspired by Barth's (1969) critique of the 'Herderian trinity' of community, culture, and identity (Wimmer 2013). In contrast to the Romantic notion of bounded communities professing a common identity based on shared culture, Barth suggested that the landscape of cultural difference is frequently divided arbitrarily, with ethnic boundaries often placed between culturally similar groups. He therefore advises placing emphasis on boundary marking and maintenance over the 'cultural stuff' contained within ethnic bounds. Within this 'boundary paradigm', "Researchers would no longer study 'the culture' of ethnic group A or B, but rather how the ethnic boundary between A and B was inscribed onto a landscape of continuous cultural transitions" (Wimmer 2013:22-23).

Although this 'boundary paradigm' is widely accepted today –

¹ My sincere thanks to Jeffrey Snyder-Reinke for his helpful feedback on this paper.

to the extent that some have even interpreted it as a 'denunciation of ethnicity' (May 2013) – there are still good reasons to continue extending Barth's critique. One is that the Romantic, Herderian notion coupling ethnicity and culture is, in many arenas, alive and well. Most prominently, perhaps, this notion lives on in theories of multiculturalism, which assume that "each ethnic group is endowed with a unique universe of norms and cultural preferences" (Wimmer 2013:19). In this framework, the role of the multiculturalist state is to ensure that these culturally distinct ethnic groups are publically recognized and their right to be 'equal but different' is protected (Eriksen 2010). This persistence of 'Herderian common sense' in multiculturalist ideology is suggestive of the need to continue extending Barth's critique of the relationship between ethnicity and culture.

A second reason why it is important to continue extending Barth's critique is that in decoupling ethnic groups from culture, Barth's 'boundary paradigm' provides no alternative framework for thinking about patterns of cultural diversity beyond ethnic boundaries. Does this suggest that patterns of cultural diversity are completely un-structured? To fill the gap left by Barth's removal of ethnic boundaries, Wimmer (2013) offers a list of potential strategies for 'de-ethnicizing' discussions of diversity, suggesting that it can be analyzed along individual, local, class, and institutional lines. However, rather than using any of these strategies, I attempt to explain patterns of cultural diversity by using Barth's (1993) concept of 'traditions of knowledge' – the "great cultural streams" that contain "a corpus of substantive assertions and ideas about aspects of the world" that are "instantiated and communicated in one or several media" and "distributed, communicated, employed, and transmitted within a series of instituted social relations" (Barth 2002:3). More than a mere bundle of ideas, therefore, traditions of knowledge also extend to "social organizations, political structures, cosmologies, and moralities" (Barth 2007:15). They are venues where ideas are reproduced and created (Barth 2007) according to the traditions' own "particular structures of conventions, social organizations, and criteria of validity" (Barth 1995:67). In his study of Bali, for example, Barth (1993) looks at Balinese Hinduism, royal cosmology,

modernity, and sorcery as traditions of knowledge that constitute and produce the diversity of the region.

In this article, my exploration of traditions of knowledge and my discussion of the relationship between culture and ethnicity focus on weather management rituals – specifically, rain-beckoning and drought-breaking practices – in the Sanchuan region on the northeast Tibetan Plateau. I give significant space to providing detailed accounts of the ritual process offered by local consultants. Following this, by recourse to the secondary literature, I attempt to situate these practices within the framework of traditions of knowledge in the broader region: North China and Inner Asia. In doing so, I explore how cultural diversity in the region is patterned. Is Barth's disentangling of ethnicity and culture warranted in this case? Is diversity more accurately framed by traditions of knowledge? What other factors shape the region's cultural diversity? My answers to these questions will hopefully contribute to broader understandings of cultural diversity and its patterning, and also to practical questions of how diversity is managed, whether by state, international, or local agents. My discussion begins with an introduction to the local context: the Sanchuan region, and local practices of water and weather management.

WEATHER MANAGEMENT IN SANCHUAN

The Sanchuan region lies at the edge of the northeastern Tibetan Plateau, and consists of a broad, flat basin on the northern bank of the Yellow River, as well as several valleys extending through the mountainous hinterlands that form an arc around the basin. The main inhabitants of the region typically call themselves Mangghuer but are classified by China's government as belonging to the Tu *minzu*. Most Mangghuer live in villages named after the surname of their founder, subsist by agro-pastoralism, and speak a Mongolic language that is heavily influenced by both Tibetan and Chinese (Slater 2003). The population was traditionally divided between those living in the fertile, prosperous lowlands (*chuan*) and those eking a living in the hard hinterlands (*shan*) of the basin. The earliest description of Sanchuan and the Mangghuer in a western language

comes from Potanin (1893), and Stuart and his various co-authors have also made a significant contribution to the literature on the region,² while my own work has dealt with various aspects of the history and culture of Sanchuan, particularly ritual.³

Until modern irrigation projects began to be implemented in Sanchuan in the 1950s, the management of water was a major concern for all residents. Those in lowland valley areas of the basin could draw irrigation water from springs and streams, but even then, water was a limited resource that had to be carefully managed. In the mountainous hinterlands, water was even scarcer and its supply less reliable – crops depended solely on rainfall. For villagers in both the valleys and the hinterlands, the consequence of too little or too much water could be catastrophic. If there was too little water at the appropriate time, seeds could not be planted, or crops failed to sprout, or they did not grow enough, or they withered and died. In any of these cases, starvation beckoned. On the other hand, if too much rain fell early in the season, seeds or seedlings were washed away, or if hail fell before the harvest, the year's crop was ruined, and again, starvation loomed. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the management of weather and water was a central aspect of local life.

A number of secular and religious institutions dealt with water and weather in one way or another. Perhaps the most pervasive of these was the role of *paitou*, an elected village council of men whose duties included the management of irrigation water for their community:⁴

Before liberation, *paitou* had many things to do. They protected fields from livestock, and fined villagers if their livestock ate someone's crops. They stopped people from transporting illegal lumber. Here in Baojia Village, they managed the water that came from the valley behind the village. If the water broke the

² Bao 1991, Chen et al. 2005, Hu and Stuart 1992a, 1992b, Stuart and Limusishiden 1994, Qi et al. 1999, Stuart and Hu 1991, 1992, 1993, Wang and Stuart 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, Zhu and Stuart 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, Zhu et al 1997, Zhu et al. 1994-5.

³ Roche 2011, Roche 2014, 2015, Roche and Wen 2013, Roche and Stuart 2015.

⁴ All oral accounts are provided anonymously. See below for information on the consultants who provided these accounts.

banks of the channel, they had to fix that immediately, because at that time, water was very scarce. *Paitou* could get more water than other people, but being a *paitou* was also a heavy burden. In the fourth lunar month, each *paitou* could get one day and one night's water. People in Baojia Shawar Village weren't allotted any water from the irrigation channel, so they had to buy water from the *paitou*. Most people didn't have money then, so the *paitou* accepted oil to light lamps in the temple.

Paitou were also responsible for protecting crops from storms, as observed by Potanin (2015:171) during his visit to Sanchuan in 1884/5. Here, he uses an alternative name for *paitou* – *turaoqi*:

The principal obligation of *turaoqi* is to conduct ritual at times of thunder. The elders among the *turaoqi* take sticks and start knocking them together immediately after the onset of a thunderstorm. All *turaoqi* run into the public temple upon hearing this, grasp drums, gongs, and *luo* and beat them. At the same time they keep in their hands flags and shout: "*Qilliao! San liao!* It is over, they have dispersed." Irrespective of how severely they might be soaked by the rain, and however strong hailstones might be hitting their heads, they must continue their ceremony under the open sky. The *turaoqi* wear on their heads winter hats made of felt to protect themselves from being hit by hailstones.

The *turaoqi* go from the temple to the closest crossroads if the thunder does not calm down, and if even this does not work, they go to a hillock or elevation on which a *chapai* has been set up in the spring by the same *turaoqi*. More male leaders from the village join the ritual if the storm still does not retreat. This ritual procession with drums is called *nuoqir kharerjiang* ('guarding against thunder'). Every *turaoqi* is obliged to participate in it without fail. A *turaoqi* is fined 100 cash if he comes too late to the crossroads and 400 cash if he comes too late to the hillock. Therefore, if a *turaoqi* has business away from home, he appoints a neighbor to be his deputy during his absence. They buy liquor from the money received from the fines.

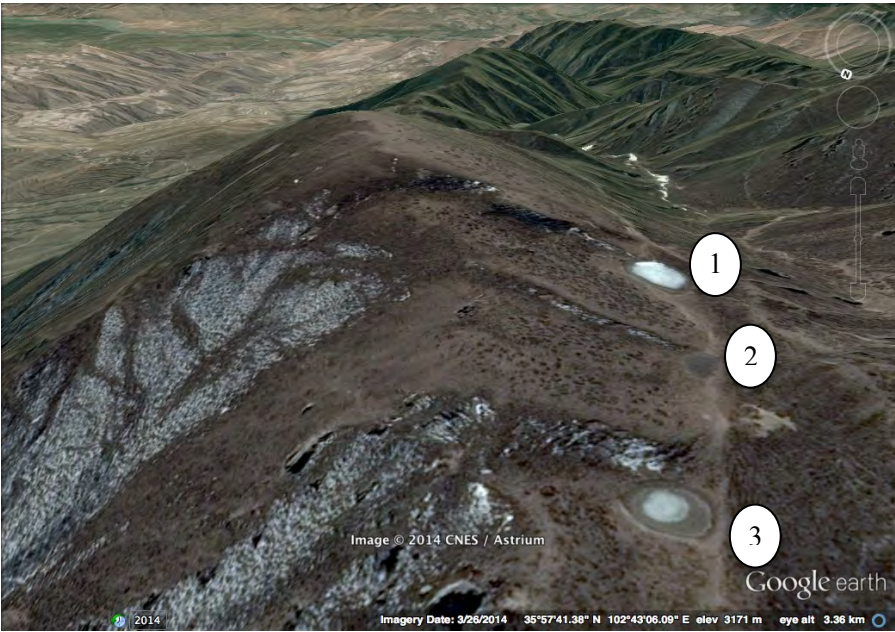
Potanin (2015:171) also describes another important duty of the *paitou* – erecting storm prevention effigies, called *chapai*, to protect village crops:

The term *chapai* denotes a four-pointed wooden cross that is erected at some elevated location close to the fields. A human face is carved at the upper end of the vertical beam of the cross. The ends of the horizontal beam count as hands. The height of these crosses corresponds to the height of a man. The peasants under the guidance of the *turaoqi* set them up in the fourth month. ... The *turaoqi* slaughter a goat during the erection of the *chapai*. Its meat is cooked and eaten, while the skin is stuffed with straw and the stuffed animal is then tied to the cross in such a way that its head comes below the depiction of a human face on the cross. The goat's head must face the north. They drive a tablet called *shazhuang* into the ground, with Chinese characters at the root of the cross. Another tablet is attached to the intersection of the cross. I was told that they place four such crosses on one hillock; one is placed facing north, the other south, the third west, and the fourth east. I was unable to observe them myself for they are burnt in autumn, and on both occasions I arrived in Sanchuan only after the *chapai* had been removed from the fields. Their complete name is *khura wujiku chapai* or 'rain-watching *chapai*'. The peasants bake loaves of three different sizes and ten of each size during the erection of the *chapai*. The loaves baked in Sangbura differ from all others by their large size and are called *zhengbing*. According to the peasants, the *chapai* are erected in order to protect the fields from hailstorms.

In the villages of Wushi Valley, in northwest Sanchuan, the *paitou* undertake a unique ritual to ensure clement weather for their community. Each year, early in the fifth lunar month, the *paitou* ascend the high mountains above their village, and visit Niangniang Lake,⁵ a chain of three small ponds with no visible inflow or outflow. Here, they sacrifice a sheep to the deity Niangniang Ye, and then boil and eat its meat. They conclude by performing a divination to ascertain if the deity has received their offerings and will grant them good weather in the coming year. During this ritual, the *paitou* are joined by two religious specialists who assist them, and who have an important role to play in weather-related rituals elsewhere in Sanchuan.

⁵ Also known as Suoke Lake, probably from the Tibetan, Mtsho kha 'lakeside'.

Figure 1. The three sacred ponds of Niangniang Lake, 2011. All photos by Gerald Roche. Satellite imagery from Google Earth.



The first is a *lama*. In Sanchuan, the term *lama* is used to refer to all monks who practice Tibetan Buddhism. In the ritual at Nianniang Lake, the monk accompanies the *paitou* and chants while the *paitou* sacrifice, cook, and eat the sheep. None of the *paitou* know what the monk chants. Indeed, his presence seems to be a fairly superficial addition to the ritual. However, elsewhere in Sanchuan, as described below, monks take sole responsibility for performing weather management rituals.

Figure 2. A monk performs during the ritual at Niangniang Lake, 2011.



Another religious figure who is typically involved with the ritual at Niangniang Lake is the *huala*, a medium who embodies the community's patron deity (Stuart and Hu 1991, Roche and Wen 2013). Typically, the *huala* accompanies the *paitou* and the monk to the lake. He is possessed by the deity Niangniang Ye, and acknowledges the receipt of the *paitou*'s sacrifice to the deity. There are three *huala* in Wushi Valley, and about fifteen *huala* in all of Sanchuan, and it is typically the *huala* from Chuankor Village who accompanies the *paitou* to Niangniang Lake. More generally, *huala* play a central role in rain-beckoning and drought-breaking rituals, as the deities they incarnate are responsible for defending the community from destructive weather and providing them with clement weather that nurtures their crops.

Figure 3. A *huala* possessed, 2010.



Drought-breaking and rain-beckoning rituals are an important part of weather management in Sanchuan, but are performed only rarely. Rain-beckoning rituals may be performed once every twelve years according to the Chinese zodiac cycle (see Account One, below), but more typically, these rituals are only performed in extreme situations, when villagers feel that the lack of rain threatens their livelihoods. Normally, these rituals are

performed by villagers from the hinterlands who lack access to irrigation water from streams or springs, and who are solely reliant on rainwater. Rain-beckoning rituals usually involve a procession of villagers to a water source, often barefoot and wearing willow wreaths, where they obtain a symbolic sample of water, which they then transport back to the village, thus bringing rain. The efficacy of such rituals is typically thought to be due to the intercession of the community's patron deity. Drought-breaking rituals, on the other hand, seek to release water that is being contained by a malevolent being in a dam called a *nur* – a Mongolic term that has now lost, in the Mangghuer language, its broader meaning of 'lake'. The efficacy of drought-breaking rituals is thought to result from the defeat of the malevolent being by the community's patron deity, and the destruction, or pollution, of the *nur*. Drought-breaking rituals seem to have been far less common than rain-beckoning rituals.

Schram (2006) has previously discussed a variety of weather management rituals performed among the Mongghul, who, like the Mangghuer, are officially classified as Tu and are typically referred to as Monguor in English-language writing. He described a number of rituals performed by figures he calls shamans, as well as rituals performed by villagers themselves (presumably by figures similar to *paitou*), including the construction of *chapai*. The weather management practices he describes do not include any practices similar to the rain-beckoning or drought-breaking rituals described here.

Potanin (2015:172) provides the following brief description of a rain-beckoning ritual in Sanchuan:

During times of drought, the Sanchuan people make a visit to the temple of Shuilian Dong (close to Bingling Si) that is located on the left bank of the Yellow River downriver from Sangbura. The temple is built in a cave that contains a spring of cold fresh water. The water runs out of the rock and fills a basin. There is a small fist-sized protuberance in which there is a cavity like a drinking glass above the basin in the rock. This cavity is also always filled with water, and the water trickles from it into the basin. The walls and the ceiling of the cave are painted in fresco and a statue of the goddess Guanyin Pusa stands in front of the basin in a special case.

Sanchuan people place the statue of their local [deity] Longwang in a palanquin and carry it to Shuilian Dong when there is a long period without rain. The *turaoqi* also go with the procession. The participants carry with them a flask and a silk ribbon. The palanquin with the statue of Longwang is placed by the goddess Guanyin Pusa upon reaching Shuilian Dong Temple. The flask is then placed on the floor by the basin, and one end of the silk ribbon is tied to the flask and the other to the drinking-glass-shaped cavity in the rock from which water trickles. The litter with Longwang remains in the temple overnight.

According to tradition, Longwang once was a ferocious god, but was tamed by Guanyin Pusa and now is compelled to spend a night by her side in order to remind him of the lesson taught by the goddess whenever the god becomes reluctant to give water. The Sanchuan people think that Longwang is afraid of the goddess and will open the skies. The next morning, the people performing this ritual take the flask with the water that has been collected in it along with the ribbon, lift Longwang, return to Sanchuan, and wait for rain. The flask is once more taken to Shuilian Dong when it does rain, and the water in it is poured back into the basin.

Figure 4. Shuilian Dong, 2011.



Although Potanin claims to be describing practices common throughout Sanchuan, the following accounts make clear that practices varied greatly, and what Potanin described was most likely specific to Qijia, the village from where he collected his information.

ACCOUNTS OF WEATHER MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN SANCHUAN

The following six accounts of rain-beckoning and drought-breaking rituals were collected from Mangghuer consultants in Sanchuan in the course of my PhD research (Roche 2011). Interviews were conducted by Wen Xiangcheng in Mangghuer and recorded in a variety of digital audio and video formats. I was present at all interviews, which were conducted in consultants' homes in Sanchuan on the basis of semi-structured interview guides that Wen and I developed together for each interview. We later replayed the interviews, and Wen verbally translated the content into English, while I transcribed them, seeking clarification as we went. Sections of interview transcriptions dealing with the focal rituals were later identified by key-word searches of the interview database, and then these excerpts, including Wen's questions and consultants' answers, were edited to produce the following accounts. Wen's questions were removed, and some changes were made to the transcribed texts to maintain flow and avoid repetition. Every attempt was made to preserve the original content and intent of the consultants' statements. Mangghuer terms have been transcribed using the pinyin system employed by Slater (2003) to represent local pronunciation, even for terms that are clearly derived from Chinese or Tibetan.

The first three accounts deal with rain-beckoning rituals. Accounts four and five deal with drought-breaking rituals, while the final account deals with both types of ritual. The last three accounts were provided by *huala* who participated in the ritual, while the first three accounts come from *paitou* who organized and participated in the rituals. The consultants who provided the accounts and quotes in this article were all male and in their forties or over. In order to ensure consultants' privacy, other than details provided in the accounts, no further identifying information is provided.

Account One

We should go pray for water every Tiger Year, but the last time we went was about twenty years ago. To begin with, about ninety villagers gathered at our temple, and then we asked the *huala* to go into trance. We beat drums and gongs and then the *huala* went into trance and pierced his cheeks with a skewer. After that, we picked up Niangniang Ye's palanquin and left the temple. All the villagers wore hats made of willow branches and tied willow branches around their ankles. They wore the long robes we wear in Nadun,⁶ and also carried flags; some villagers brought drums and gongs.

We set off for Juetan Temple,⁷ across the Yellow River in Gansu Province. We stopped to rest, eat, and drink in several places: first in Khuaiter, then in Tiegong. Then we crossed the Yellow river in rafts made from boards laid over inflated sheepskins, and rested in Ghada Doro. Our next stops were in Erjia, and then Dati.

Just before we reached Juetan Temple, the villagers came out to welcome us, and our *huala* went into trance and pierced his cheeks with a skewer. When we reached Juetan Temple, he came out of trance and removed his skewer inside the temple. That temple must have some connection with Qutan Monastery in Ledu, because we sing a song that says: "Qutan Monastery is on the other side of the Yellow River from Juetan Temple."

We think that our Niangniang Ye originally came from Juetan Temple, so that is why we visit there. We put our palanquin in the temple with their Niangniang Ye, and our statue went on the left, because she was the guest. That night we stayed in the village: one or two people from Sangbura stayed in each house. The following morning, after eating breakfast at our hosts' homes, we went back to the Yellow River to pray for water.

We came to Malamanicha⁸ on the way. We weren't expecting anything from them, but when we arrived, villagers

⁶ Nadun is an annual post-harvest festival held by communities throughout Sanchuan. See Roche (2011) and Stuart and Hu (1993).

⁷ *Juetan si* used both to refer to a temple, and the village where the temple is located.

⁸ Malamanicha literally means 'Ma lama's tea', but means 'to not get what one expects' in Mangghuer. On a past trip to get water from Juetan Temple, Sangbura villagers waited in this village, expecting to be received with food and drink, but no one appeared. After this incident, Sangbura villagers started to call the place Malamanicha and forgot its original name.

came out, greeted us with food and drink, and took us to a big, old, hollow elm tree. The villagers asked us to cut that tree down for them. They were afraid that a strong wind might blow the tree over on a house any day. But, they were also afraid their deities would punish them if they cut that tree down, but with our Niangniang Ye visiting they felt we would all be protected from disaster. So, we pushed that tree over and it fell down very easily.

Then we went to the Yellow River to get water. First, we put a long colorful string in a small copper bottle, and stopped the bottle up with a jujube. Then a Daoist tantrin⁹ chanted Niangniang Ye's invocation scripture,¹⁰ burned incense and votive papers, and we put the bottle in the water while an old man stood on the bank holding the other end of the string. Doing that is just like fishing with a fishing hook. Once the bottle was in the water we waited. We waited for more than an hour and then we pulled the bottle out to see if there was water in it or not. There was just one, very small drop of water in there, but that was enough, so we built a small fire, melted some candle wax, and sealed up the bottle.

After the bottle was sealed up, we returned to our village. The *huala* stayed in a trance all the way back, to protect the water. We visited Erjia in Gansu and Wangjiler in Sanchuan on the way back. But then, near the water pumping station in Nuojie, something strange happened: the deity Longwang Ye, from Nuojie Village, stole our water. Our *huala* sensed that, and started to move very energetically. He told us that the water had been stolen from our bottle, and that we needed to look for it. We searched all over the place for more than half an hour, before the *huala* discovered that Longwang Ye had hidden the water in a big tree. The *huala* threw his flail at the tree and a single drop of water fell from a leaf and onto a villager's face.

I don't remember if we put that water back in the bottle, but then we did return to our village and put Niangniang Ye back in her temple and the *huala* took out his skewer. I don't remember what we did with that bottle at the temple.

Then, it rained. It didn't rain much, but it did rain.

⁹ Locally called a *yinyang*.

¹⁰ Invocation scriptures, locally referred to as *hao*, are described further in Roche and Wen (2013).

Account Two

We used to go to Niangniang Lake in Gushan¹¹ to pray for water. Whenever we went, the *huala* pierced himself with three skewers: two in the cheeks and one in the tongue. Whenever the *huala* needed to eat during the ritual, the skewer in his tongue fell out by itself. But, I heard that many years ago, the *huala* could not take the skewer out of his tongue during the ritual, even when he ate.

When we went to pray for water, the *huala* pierced himself in our temple, and then, while we carried out the ritual for the next seven or eight days, the skewers were always in his cheeks. We needed seven or eight days because Niangniang Lake is so far from here. It took that long just to go there and come back.

When we went there, we offered a sheep to Niangniang Ye. We would choose the sheep several days before leaving for the lake. Then, we just let the sheep join the flock again, and on the day we left for the lake, the sheep would separate itself from the flock and follow us. We didn't need to drag it from the flock, it just followed us when we set out to Niangniang Lake. Whenever we took a break, the sheep also took a break, and when people started to walk, the sheep also started to walk again, and just followed them of its own volition. Then, at the lake, the sheep was dedicated to Niangniang Ye, and after the deity received the sheep,¹² we just left it there.

The last time we prayed for water, it was about seven or eight years ago (~2001). Usually, when we go to pray for water, we need a *huala* to help us, but if we don't have a *huala*, then the deity just possess someone from the village. When we go to pray for water, anyone can be a *huala*, and they will become possessed very easily.

Every time we went to pray for water, we went to the same places and stayed in the same places along the way. We didn't need to take any food with us, because local people would offer us food along the way. People in many villages prepared food for us. But, if it was not the right time to eat, then the *huala* would chase people and make them leave – even if the food was ready for them to eat, the *huala* wouldn't give them time to touch

¹¹ Gushan Town in Minhe County, approximately fifty kilometers to the north of Sanchuan.

¹² Dedicating a sheep to the deity typically involved pouring water on its back; when the animal shook, this was taken as an indication that the deity had 'received' the animal.

the bowls.

During the ritual, ten of the twelve *paitou* had to pierce themselves with one skewer each. The *huala* pierced a skewer through their ear – he put it right through the hard part of the ear, not the earlobe. Although it looks terrible, they say it isn't very painful to pierce a skewer like that. After they were pierced, they had to keep the skewer in their ear for seven days. People say that after they came back after the seven days, the skewer would just fall out all by itself.

One of the villagers carried a bottle to get the water. He carried it on top of his head, using a special frame that we keep in the temple. The bottle is made from black china, and both the inside and outside are very smooth. It isn't like the usual china bottles that we can see everyday. Before we leave our temple, we seal the mouth of the bottle. We also place one end of a red thread inside the bottle, and the other end hangs outside the bottle.

On the way to the lake, people chant *mani*, and once they arrive at Niangniang Lake, they throw the bottle into the lake, while someone holds one end of the red thread. After a while, they pull out the bottle and make a hole in the seal with a heated skewer. Then, they push an incense stick through the hole to see if there is water in the bottle. If they can get as much water as the depth of the point on an incense stick, then it's perfect. If they get more water, then there will be too much rain, but if they cannot get any water, they throw the bottle into the water again. They have to get some water after three times. If they get too much water, then they have to throw the bottle into the lake again to return some of the water.

After we get water from the lake, we return the bottle to our temple, and we leave it there for three days. Then, we take the bottle to Miao'er Monastery and let monks chant over it, and this returns the water to Niangniang Ye.

It always rains after we do this ritual. Last time we did it, it snowed when we came back to the village, because we went to Niangniang Lake very early in the spring. At that time, it had been so dry that we couldn't sow our seeds. We went to pray for water, and then, in Manggghuer areas, it snowed. On the mountains it snowed, and in the valley floor it rained, but there was neither snow nor rain in Han places, even places that were very close by.

Account Three

People from Niejie and Hawangjia always go to pray for water together. I heard that in the past, Shidieghuer people went to pray for water from Heavenly Lake, but later, they thought it was too far, so they went to pray for water from the spring in Xinjia Village, because that's where we used to return the water after we had prayed for water from Heavenly Lake. So, years ago, we decided to go pray for water down in the valley area. At that time, I was the temple keeper, and because my wife is from Wangjia Village, in the valley area, villagers here sent me to tell people in the valley that we were planning to come and pray for water.

So, first I went to Xinjia, but people there said, "Wangjia is where your village's ancestral temple is, so why don't you go there?" So, I went to Wangjia. But then, I found that in Wangjia, they had enclosed their spring in cement. That wouldn't work for us, since our *huala* needed to dance in the spring when we prayed for water. However, nobody in Wangjia was willing to undo all the work they'd just completed cementing over their spring. I went to ask their village leaders, and one of them said, "We just finished building our spring. It's impossible for us to destroy it now, just so you can get water. You shouldn't even consider coming to take water without bringing cigarettes and liquor for us as gifts." I answered, "The sky is raining fire, now is no time to talk about cigarettes and liquor!"

I remember, when I was very young, there was a wild spring there in Wangjia – nobody had built anything there. I saw a *huala* dance in that spring, and he sank into the mud up above his waist. The *huala* from Xinjia always danced in their spring when we went to pray for water. You see, whenever we go to pray for water, the local *huala* should dance *in* the spring, and our *huala* had to dance *around* the spring. People from our temple stood around the spring and got water while the Xinjia *huala* danced in the spring, and meanwhile, our *huala* danced outside the crowd of people. The other villagers had no chance to see anything. Sometimes we got water from Xinjia or Wangjia, but sometimes we got it from here. If we pray for water in Xinjia or Wangjia, we had to stay there for seven days.

Once, our *huala* went to earn money in Xiachuankou Village, near Chuankou Town (the capital of Minhe County). While he was there, people from Shidieghuer went to pray for water in the valley area. So, the *huala* ran all the way from Xiachuankou back to Guanting.¹³ When our *huala* arrived in Guanting, we had

¹³ This is a distance of approximately ninety kilometers.

just arrived there from Shidieghuer on our way to Wangjia or Xinjia. When we arrived in Guanting, people there thought, "Mountain villagers are so stupid to pray for water – it never works." Nonetheless, people in Guanting offered us food. While we were eating, our *huala* arrived and started to beat villagers, and forced us to get up and leave. At that time, there were only a few small wispy clouds in the sky, but within ten minutes of us having left there, a storm arrived. We couldn't continue in all that rain, and so we took a break in Hulijia.

Every time people from Shidieghuer go to pray for water, the Muslims in Damajia Village start fertilizing their fields, because they know it is going to rain. As far as I recall, it has rained every time after we've gone to pray for water, but I don't think that's because of the deity's power. You see, every time we go to pray for water, it is after a long drought, and after a long drought it *has* to rain, even if we don't go to pray for water.

The last time we went to pray for water, the people in the valley area asked me to show the process to young people. They said that after old people died, young people wouldn't know how to pray for water any more. But, even I don't know all the processes; many old people died and we lost the songs we should sing when we pray for water. So, the last time, some old people sang some songs by themselves, but those songs were not really traditional songs.

It is very expensive to pray for water, because we need to slaughter a sheep, among other things.

Xinjia people always choose the time when we should go pray for water. When they want us to come, they send some people to the top of this mountain behind their village, and then they stick a flag in the ground on top of the mountain, and then they beat a gong. After that, they leave. When people in Lajia hear the sound of the gong, they send someone to the mountain between Lajia and Xinjia, and they bring the flag back to the village temple. Then, that night, people from the four temples in Shidieghuer gather together in Lajia temple, and we chant *mani* all night long. When cocks begin to crow, we pick up the palanquin from Lajia Village and set off towards the valley area. We don't wear shoes or hats. The *huala* chases us and drives us along the banks of the river, and we have to walk over the stones there.

Account Four

Many years ago, *huala* sometimes went to deal with *nur* [dams]. If the weather was very dry one year, people thought that there must a *nur* somewhere. They say that a female immortal from heaven spends her pregnancy in a *nur*. She pulls the mountains together to make a lake, and then she lives in the water while she is pregnant. This is just a legend – nobody has ever seen such a thing.

It is easy to deal with a *nur* – you just make a channel to let the water out. So, if there's a drought one year, village leaders come together to discuss what to do. "Maybe, there is a *nur* somewhere," they'll say, "so let's invite a *huala* or Daoist tantrin." Then, they invite a *huala* to ask him if there is a *nur* somewhere or not, and if he says that there *is* a *nur*, then they ask him where the *nur* is. The *huala* usually just tells them the general direction.

Before they set off to the *nur*, a Daoist tantrin chants scriptures until the *huala* is possessed. The *huala* then pierces himself with metal skewers, and the Daoist gives him several talismanic bowls to tie on his body. He also gives the *huala* a protective charm to wear. The *huala* then brandishes a sword and leads all the villagers to the *nur* while the Daoist stays in the village. If one family doesn't go, then the village leaders fine them one sheep.

When villagers arrive at the *nur*, first, they implant crossed flags in the ground near the *nur*. Then, the *huala* tells the villagers where the evil things are in the lake, and instructs them to throw dead dogs or small bombs into the water. The *huala* always tries to go into the water, but villagers restrain him, and we just throw bombs and a dead dog into the water instead. If you throw a dead dog in the water, the water will become polluted and the evil will leave. A dead dog is the dirtiest thing in the world – that's what we usually say. If we want to insult someone, we say they are as dirty as a rotten dog. The bombs can frighten the evil away. Then, villagers dig a channel and the water flows out.

Whenever we go to deal with a *nur*, all the people from the seven villages in this area have to go. The Daoist tantrin provides some of them with bowls that he has empowered with his chanting. Then, villagers can throw them into the lake to help expel the evils. Meanwhile, all the villagers continually call out "Qiliao, zuliao!"¹⁴ while this is done.

I have seen such things three times in my life. One was

¹⁴ Potanin translates this phrase as, "It is over, they have dispersed."

near the Zhaomuchuan Monastery. Another time was in Gamaka, and the other was in Wushi Valley, near Yindong Valley. Once, all Sanchuan people went to deal with a *nur* in Dazizhuang. I heard that that was a very big *nur*. As soon as they dug the channel and drained the *nur*, it began to rain and rain and rain. So, the *huala* became famous after that. But, after that old *huala* came back from Dazizhuang, his cow died. He had defeated the evil in the *nur*, but that evil got its revenge on him.

The last time we went to deal with a *nur* was in Wushi Valley. On our way back from the *nur*, Wushi villagers came to fight with us. They said that we hadn't polluted a *nur*, we'd polluted their holy lake that belonged to their Niangniang Ye. So, they tried to start a fight with us. We didn't have many people then, because Wushi is very far from here, and so on the way some people had turned back.

Several years ago, some people came here to pray for water. They were going to Mengda Lake. They just passed by our village, and they had bare feet. They wore hats like the ones that our Daoist tantrins wear. Lots of Muslims also pray for water. The imam leads the Muslims with bare feet. They chant their Muslims scriptures on the road. When Muslim people go to pray for water, they go to somewhere near Mengda Lake. One year, during a drought, *maniqi*¹⁵ from Zhaomuchuan went to a place on the other side of the Yellow River and prayed for rain. All the *maniqi* chanted scriptures and wore wreaths made of willow branches.

Account Five

Many years ago, when people went to pray for water or to deal with a *nur*, villagers had to ask the Niangniang Ye *huala* to dance. He would tell them where the *nur* was, and how to deal with that, but he never went with them, he just stayed in the village and didn't go to a monastery and temple.

The former Niangniang Ye *huala* often impaled himself with a spear during rituals. I heard old people saying that once they went to get water from the Yellow River and the Niangniang Ye *huala* ran into the Yellow River. Villagers should have tied a rope around him. Every time we go expel a *nur* or get water, *huala* will walk into the river or *nur*. Older people told us that that time the Niangniang Ye *huala* stuck the spear into himself. Villagers should have stopped him, but they didn't. When that

¹⁵ *Maniqi* are typically elder women who gather regularly to chant Buddhist scriptures in Chinese.

huala danced back to Gaishang, even Muslims were very surprised, and they knelt down on the ground and stuck out their tongues in surprise. Then, they took water from the Yellow River to Ghada Monastery. After he stopped dancing, he scolded all the people there. "Fuck all your mothers! " He said that because villagers hadn't controlled him when he was possessed, so he'd gone into the water while the spear was still in his abdomen. He kept the spear in for a very long time and had difficulty taking it out later.

Dealing with a *nur* is very different from getting water. If it is very windy in a drought year we think that there must be a *nur* somewhere. Whenever there are clouds in the sky, the wind blows them away. That means that there is a *nur* somewhere. When a *nur* occurs, an evil female evil has drawn together water to make a lake. The area around there becomes very dry and there won't be any rain. That female evil stays there to give birth. To deal with that, we throw a dog or *sasa*¹⁶ into the water. We throw a dog into the *nur* and then we throw it in again if it runs out.

When we go to get water from Niangniang Lake, we pray to the deities, but if we go to get water from a *nur*, we just chase the female evil away. If the bank of the *nur* is not very high, we just dig a channel to let the water out. But usually the banks are very high, so we use dogs or *sasa* to pollute the *nur* and chase the evils away. Villagers ask a *huala* to dance to see where the *nur* is.

We call droughts and other big disasters *bershijia* or *wershijia*. They are very big disasters for many people, just like the disaster when religion was suppressed. 1993, for example, was a drought year. Villagers didn't plant any seeds in their fields. Because of the situation, the leader of the villages here advised villagers to get water from Niangniang Lake. All the villagers gathered in the temple on the chosen day. Then I was possessed and pierced my cheeks with metal skewers. Then I left the temple and lead the villagers to go to the lake.

The local leader chased students on the road and didn't let anyone turn back or rest. I walked up and down the line of people and asked them to walk quickly. If someone tried to leave, I went and beat him. All the monks from our Tibetan Buddhist monastery also came, playing their musical instruments.

When we arrived at the lake, I came out of trance. We killed a sheep and cooked it, and offered some of it to local

¹⁶ In Tibetan, *tshwa tshwa* – clay Buddhist icons stamped from a mold.

deities. That's called *popan*. Later, we ate the rest, but after we made the offering, the deity possessed me again and I went into the lake. After I danced three circles around the lake, my feet were burning with pain because the thick black mud on the floor of the lake had instantly sucked my shoes off my feet. The weather was very cold. It had been raining when we started from the temple, and so after I walked around the lake three times, I was so cold that my body was shaking. My clothes became very wet. It was very difficult, but I had to do it because I'm a *huala*.

To get water from the lake, we use my red headscarf and a bottle. First, we put the bottle on the scarf near the shore of the lake, and took a colorful string out of the mouth of the bottle. Then I dragged this string into the lake so that one end was in the bottle and one was in the lake. Usually, water then goes into the bottle. After I walked into the water with that colored string, villagers beat gongs and some experienced old men went to look at the bottle and check if there was water in it or not. When they shouted, "Water is coming!" I walked out of the lake and villagers covered the bottle with the scarf and held it over the mouth very tightly. One villager held the bottle, and then I chased all the people back to the village. At that time, I chased the villagers through the thorn bushes near the village monastery. After we arrived at our monastery we put that bottle on the table in front of the monastery shrines and the monks chanted scriptures for several days.

After the monks chanted for several days, we needed to return the water to the deities. When we get water from that lake, it's just as if we had kidnapped the Dragon King's children. We had to return that, because we just borrowed that water from the lake. So, after some monks chanted, someone took the bottle and poured the water into a lake or a spring. Anyone can do that, and a *huala* doesn't need to be present.

Sometimes, when we get water, the water escapes on the way back to the village. If the *huala* knows that the water has escaped, he will go to look for it. Once the water ran away when my villagers took water from the lake. The *huala* at that time discovered that and went to look for the water with all the villagers. Later, they found the water on a blade of grass. Actually, there was just a drop of dew there. Then, they took that drop of dew and put it into the bottle and took it back. I just heard this – I never had such an experience myself.

Account Six

Whenever we have a drought, the monks in our monastery chant scriptures to bring rain. They chant for seven days, and at that time, I need to go into trance in the monastery. Although I'm a *huala*, when I dance in the monastery, I'm called *kurten*. In our temple, praying for water is the monks' duty, and as a *kurten* I should also go into trance when they chant.

As a *kurten*, I use a spear. One of my ancestors once went to pray for water from the Yellow River. He pierced his spear through his chest until it came out his back. Traditionally, the *kurten* should pierce himself with the spear in the monastery, and then he should take it out when he reaches the Dongyuan temple in Guanting, before he gets to the Yellow River. If the *kurten* does this, then the spear can't hurt him. But, when my ancestor was the *kurten*, they didn't let him take the spear out at Dongyuan temple, so when he went to the Yellow River to fetch water, he still had the spear in his chest. Some water entered his body through the hole, and the spear got a little rusty. Then after he came back home, he died soon after.

During the first year after I became a *huala* I went into trance near Niangniang Lake. That was a rainy day, because several days ago, people from Zhaomuchuan had come to our Niangniang Lake to pray for water. It had been a very dry year. After people from Zhaomuchuan went back to their villages, it started to rain, on the fourth day of the fifth lunar month. That morning, a Muslim guy from Guanting came to visit my home. I told him, "Please go home soon. It's going to rain." I made a divination, and it told me it was going to rain. But that Muslim guy said, "Are you kidding me? Take a look at the sky, there's no way it's going to rain." But then, at noon, it started to rain. After a short while, the rain stopped. I did another divination, and the results weren't good – I could tell that my deity was angry. Later, I heard that people from Zhaomuchuan had thrown some dirty things into the lake. They hadn't gone to our Niangniang Lake to pray for water – they'd gone there to destroy a *nur*! They thought our Niangniang Lake was a *nur*! The people from Zhaomuchuan had made Niangniang Lake dirty, and so Niangniang Ye was very angry.

The next day was the festival of Wuyue Dangwu. All the monks from our monastery went up to Niangniang Lake, and villagers went with them, bringing a sheep. The monks made a big incense offering. The old *huala* from Wanzi Village also came up to Niangniang Lake with us. As soon as we arrived there, the Wanzi *huala* went into trance, and then I also went into trance

not long after, and we danced together. The Wanzi *huala* dug out all the bowls that the Zhaomuchuan people had buried around Niangniang Lake. Then, he jumped into the lake and knelt down in the water. Villagers didn't understand why he had jumped into the lake and knelt down in the water like that. Then I pointed at villagers with my sword and told them, "Please dig in front of the old *huala*." When villagers dug there, they found a bowl in front of him. Then the Wanzi *huala* jumped out of the lake, and he and I both came out of trance.

Next, villagers cooked mutton. When the meat in the pot was cooked, many bubbles came out of the water in Niangniang Lake – it looked just like a flower. Villagers didn't know what was happening, so they asked the Wanzi *huala* to go into trance again. So he went into trance, and when they asked the Wanzi *huala* what was going on, he answered, "No rain this year. People here don't believe in deities deeply enough, so the deities are going to punish them." Then, I went into trance, and villagers asked me what was happening, and I answered, "It will rain soon. Heaven will give you gentle wind and rains." Two *huala* gave villagers two different answers.

On the way back home, one villager asked me, "You two *huala* gave us two different answers, so which one should we listen to? The Wanzi *huala* said there would be no rain this year, but you said it would rain soon. It's raining fire now, so it seems impossible that we will get rain any time soon. So, why'd you say that?" I answered him, "I don't know what I said when I was possessed. If I really said that it will rain, then please go home and have a good sleep – it will rain." At about eleven o'clock that night I went to the monastery to watch TV. The night sky was full of bright stars. I stayed in the monastery that night, and early that morning, I heard the sound of rain. Heaven gave us very heavy rain, which lasted for four or five days. So, all the people around here were saved. It was very late in the season to plant wheat, so instead we planted millet. We didn't have delicious wheat flour to eat that year, but we had something to eat.

WEATHER MANAGEMENT IN NORTH CHINA AND INNER ASIA

The first thing to note about the rituals described here is that, as pointed out by Molnár (1994) in his exhaustive comparative study of 'weather magic' in Inner Asia, they do not bear any similarity to the many weather management rituals that are performed by Turkic and Mongolic peoples throughout the region, which typically involve the

use of 'rain-stones', often bezoars. However, Molnár's explanation that practices in Sanchuan can be explained by "the influence of Chinese popular beliefs ... as well as the influence of Buddhism" needs some clarification. Following, I attempt to disentangle some of the 'traditions of knowledge' (Barth 1993) elided by the category 'Chinese popular beliefs', and in doing so, aim to avoid the associations this term makes between cultural practice and ethnic identity, as well as the problematic suggestions of sinicization that it carries (see Brown 2001 and Rawski 1996). I also conclude this comparative section with a brief look at Tibetan traditions of knowledge concerned with water and weather management and their relationship to practices in Sanchuan. In engaging with the literature here, it is not my intention to provide an exhaustive review of all available literature on weather management in North China and Inner Asia, but rather to flag key sources that signpost major issues in contextualizing practices in Sanchuan.

In unpacking the problematic category of 'Chinese popular beliefs', a distinction can be made between popular beliefs in north and south China (Overmyer 2009). Although this distinction does not represent a sharp delineation between two entirely distinct traditions of knowledge, it does represent a pattern of difference that is consistent with significant regional identities (Friedman 2002), and with broader cultural patterns beyond 'religion' (Cohen 2005, Jones 2010).

The rain-beckoning rituals held in Sanchuan are broadly similar to those described by Overmyer (2009:20) as typical of north China practices:

...in Changli County in Hebei ... we are told that villagers put an image of the Dragon King in a basket and took it around to nearby villages. In front of each house in each village the participants used [sprinkled?] water with a willow branch, and spread out a piece of yellow paper with the characters on it, "The position [=tablet] of the Dragon King of the Four Seas, Five Lakes, Eight Rivers and Nine Streams" [in sum, a lord of all the waters]. They offered burning incense in front of this. Along the road, those who saw this kneeled and bowed calling out, "May it rain!" Many people accompanied this procession, barefooted and wearing headdresses made of willow branches. This

procession was welcomed in all the villages it passed through, then it returned to where it had begun. At night people gathered at the Dragon King temple to pray.

Several significant similarities exist between this account and those above. First is the Dragon King deity as a source of efficacy, which ultimately also includes the capacity to bestow rain (see also Chau 2006). Second is the element of procession, which, as the accounts above demonstrate, often involves a significant element of hospitality on behalf of communities that are encountered along the way. Another similarity between this account and those above, is that the villagers taking part in the procession go barefoot and wear headdresses of willow branches, something I return to below. Another account, from Du Bois (2005:45-46) highlights the importance of community involvement in north China's local religion, a feature also shared by Sanchuan's rain-beckoning rituals:

The Prayer for Rain ceremony ... can last from one to three days, addresses the most basic need of the dry farming regions of North China. Rainfall being a universal necessity, and, moreover, one that generally does not distinguish among individual households, Prayers for Rain are the epitome of a common concern and a common good. Ethnographic accounts from various locations in Republican North China suggest that village Prayers for Rain were often not only a collective effort, but also a recreation of the village in ritual form. In most cases, the ritual began with a formal procession around the village, which delineated the boundaries of the community. According to village leaders in Shajiang and Houxiashai villages (in northern Hebei and northern Shandong, respectively), one adult male from each household would participate in the procession, although ordinary villagers questioned on the topic were less emphatic about the universality of this custom. In Wudian Village, near Beijing, the procession stopped in front of each household so that the residents could burn incense to the statue of Guandi carried at its head. In the large village of Lengshuigou, near Ji'nan, nearly a quarter of the 400 household participated in the prayer, each in a specific ritual capacity. Even those who did not perform a ritual function maintained the purity of the sacrifice by abstaining from certain foods (such as meat and onions) and sexual intercourse during the three days of the ceremony.

As in the cases described here by Du Bois, broad participation from the community is an important feature of the rain-beckoning rituals of Sanchuan.

Despite this similarity between the rain-beckoning rituals of Sanchuan and those of north China's popular religion more generally, it is also important to discuss some other practices which might also be called 'popular Chinese beliefs' with which Sanchuan rituals show less overlap, namely, popular Daoism and vernacular-imperial practices.

As with popular religion, Jones (2010) makes a distinction between northern and southern regional forms in his study of Daoism and folk Daoist practices. In this book, he makes several mentions of 'rain rituals' and 'rain ceremonies' (*qiyu*, *qiuyu*), but provides few details (see also Chau 2006). He states that the rituals draw on texts present in both Daoist and Buddhist scriptural traditions, and also states that Daoists, Buddhists, and Christians in North China all conduct rain rituals. He mentions a 'rain-thanksgiving' (*xieyu*) ritual performed in Xinzhou that required the participation of Buddhist and Daoist practitioners, and also mentions the widespread presence of *shuihui* – water assemblies, probably similar to *paitou* – across northern China. Finally, Jones mentions 'fetching water' (*quyu*) rites, performed in two different ritual contexts. In the context of a funeral ritual that Jones observed, water was fetched in order to be offered to the deceased, presumably within a logic whereby descendants continue their filial obligations to their ancestors by continuing to feed them after death. In another instance, Jones describes a fetching water rite being conducted at a temple fair, and here the rite seems related to the rain-beckoning rituals of Sanchuan: a procession of villagers visits a well, at which they fill a vase with water before conveying it to the temple. Both 'fetching water' rites require the participation of a *yinyang*, a lay Daoist practitioner, though it is unclear to what extent these practitioners are similar to or different from the Daoists tantrins of Sanchuan, also called *yinyang*.

Imperial rain-beckoning and drought-breaking have been dealt with by Snyder-Reinke (2009) and Elvin (1998, 2006). This form of weather control is broadly coherent with a Confucian imperial cosmology that places the emperor at the center of a moral

order which necessitated that he maintain the cosmos in a state of equilibrium by 'nourishing the people' (*yangmin*), and 'controlling the waters' (*zhishui*) (Elvin 1998, Edgerton-Tarpley 2014). Failure of the emperor to maintain righteous moral conduct resulted in Heaven's displeasure, including inclement weather, and even natural disasters, for the empire. The emperor's responsibility to nourish the people and control the waters, therefore, was first and foremost a duty to uphold, exemplify, and defend Confucian moral values. He was also responsible for conducting annual agricultural rites to secure the well-being of all residents of the empire.

In the same way that the emperor's moral conduct was responsible for the well-being of the empire, local magistrates were responsible for the residents of their jurisdiction. Local magistrates used a variety of methods to beckon rain and break droughts, some of which included the punishment of deities by, for example, exposing their statue to the sun until rain fell (see Feuchtwang 2001:77, Snyder-Reinke 2009). We find echoes of such strategies in Sanchuan, as in the following account:

In Hawangjia temple, the deity's statue used to be made of jade. During a drought one year, people from Xing'er found a *nur* and became very angry at their deity. They said, "You are the deity in this village, but you let that evil being make a *nur* near your temple!" Then, they threw that jade deity into the *nur*.

Another account describes an annual ritual, during which the resident Dragon King is punished by a local monk-official (Nuoyan) as part of a dramatic performance:

The Nuoyan asks, "Was there not enough rain this year? Didn't the Dragon King give enough water?" and the Nuoyan says, "Please bring the Dragon King here and beat him." There is a very big stone out of which a spring flows. They tie the stone with ropes and beat it.

Such instances of punishing deities for failing to fulfill their duty are examples of what I call vernacular-imperial practices – practices that emerged in the complex cultural exchange between imperial state elites and the common people.

In addition to imperial practices that sought to punish deities for failing to fulfill their duty to the people, another significant category of imperial weather management centered on the magistrate rather than the deity. Such practices included the magistrate making barefoot processions to temples, exposing himself in the sun until rain fell, writing petitions to the deities in his own blood, and even committing suicide by self-immolation. As Snyder-Reinke (2009) documents, the purpose of such rituals was to demonstrate the magistrate's sincerity, and thus virtue, to Heaven, thus bringing about a rebalancing of the disordered cosmos. The following account shows that some aspect of this imperial sincerity is found in the Sanchuan rain-beckoning rituals:

Here, we carry our deity to Mengda Lake in Xunhua to pray for water. Villagers take off their shoes and walk there barefoot. If we went there with a cigarette in our mouth, wearing leather shoes, strolling comfortably, I don't think it would work - we wouldn't be able to get water.

Looking at this broader, comparative context, it therefore seems that weather management practices in Sanchuan were similar to the rituals practiced as part of a distinctly North China variety of popular religion, especially the rain-beckoning rituals: the veneration of Dragon King deities, the participatory communal processions, and the use of willow-branches all seem to confirm this. I also noted, however, that weather management techniques in Sanchuan draw on popular Daoist traditions of knowledge, as evidenced by the participation of Daoist practitioners and the metaphor of 'fetching' water. Elements of vernacular-imperial traditions of knowledge can also be seen in the instances of punitive reprisal against deities for failing to meet their obligations, and in participants' concern to express their Confucian sincerity.

This examination of the comparative literature, however, only confirms the apparent uniqueness of the drought-breaking rituals practiced in Sanchuan, which focused on expelling evil beings from *nur*, as no parallels exist in the literature on local religion or popular Daoism in North China, or writing on imperial weather management. The following brief examination of the literature on Tibetan weather

management techniques only serves to confirm the uniqueness of Sanchuan's drought-breaking rituals. Unlike in the preceding discussion, I do not distinguish between distinct traditions of knowledge in the Tibetan case (though this might profitably be done).

Like the Confucian imperial tradition, Tibetan conceptions of the weather included a moral aspect: transgressions among people, or by people against various spirits or deities, cause bad weather, be it hail, drought, or other calamities (Huber and Pedersen 1997). Maintaining appropriate weather, therefore, was primarily a matter of maintaining moral conduct among people, and not transgressing the norms that structured interactions with spirits and deities. Bad weather, however, could also be caused by malevolent spirits, or created by religious practitioners (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, Waley-Cohen 2006). Various religious specialists could deflect, disperse, and even destroy bad weather. Huber and Pedersen (1997) cite a case of a lama using meditative techniques to disperse a storm. Rdo rje don 'grub (2012) describes the deflection of rain and hail by Buddhist tantrins (*dpon, sngags pa*) in northeast Tibet (Amdo) and Sihlé (2009) describes hail prevention as part of Bon and Buddhist tantric practice in Nyemo, southwest of Lhasa. Snying bo rgyal and Rino (2009) describe the participation of *lha pa*, deity mediums similar to Sanchuan *huala*, in a rain-beckoning ritual. Throughout the ten days of the ritual, three *lha pa* camped by a spring, and were periodically possessed by local patron deities, whose divine efficacy brought the needed rain. Brief though this survey is, it suggests that in Tibetan contexts, weather was managed by the people at large through the maintenance of moral conduct and correct social relations with spirits and deities. Weather could also be managed through tantric measures by religious practitioners, or by the divine intervention of patron deities. Weather management in Sanchuan, by contrast, seems to have lacked the underlying moral logic, and relied much more on ritual intervention by the community members working together with ritual practitioners. This, once again, confirms the affinities of practices in Sanchuan with the traditions of knowledge described above, and highlights the uniqueness of the drought-breaking rituals.

CONCLUSION

We may return now to the questions posed at the start of this article regarding cultural diversity, ethnic boundaries, and traditions of knowledge. Is Barth's critique of 'Herderian common sense' justified in this instance? And if so, does his concept of 'traditions of knowledge' offer a viable framework for understanding observed patterns of cultural diversity? What other factors might structure local cultural diversity?

The materials presented here do indeed support Barth's (1969) assertion that ethnic boundaries and cultural difference are not necessarily related. Despite the fact that all Tu populations constitute a single *minzu*, and are therefore supposed to share a common culture, weather management rituals in Sanchuan bear almost no resemblance to anything found amongst other Monguor populations. Furthermore, practices in Sanchuan align closely with those found among another of China's *minzu*, the majority Han, further complicating any simple correlation between ethnicity and culture. These conclusions also confirm what has been described in other publications regarding the internal diversity and complex cultural affiliations of the Monguor (Roche 2014, Roche and Stuart 2015, Janhunen 2006), not to mention what we know more broadly about *minzu* as categories that typically contain and conceal diversity rather than represent it (Mullaney 2011).

Using traditions of knowledge as a framework seems to provide a more fruitful approach to understanding cultural diversity in the present case. I have shown how Sanchuan's rain-beckoning rituals bear many similarities to other weather management practices in the traditions of North China's popular religion and popular Daoism, as well as the Confucian-inspired vernacular-imperial practice. Therefore, if we wish to account for why weather management practices in Sanchuan are the way they are, we can fruitfully do so by looking at traditions of knowledge rather than ethnic groups. Furthermore, if we wish to account for the diversity of practices among the Monguor, we can explain this by the unequal influence of differing traditions of knowledge on different

populations. If weather management practices among Monguor outside of Sanchuan are different, it is because they are influenced by different traditions of knowledge – not by different ethnic groups.

Examining diversity in terms of traditions of knowledge can explain patterns of similarity between practices in Sanchuan and elsewhere in the region. However, perhaps what is most striking about the rituals described above is the diversity *within* Sanchuan. Although practices are broadly similar within the categories of rain-beckoning and drought-breaking rituals, there is enormous diversity within those categories, such that no two communities practice the rituals in the same way. In order to explain this, we must resort to Johnson's (2009:333) concept of 'village ritual autarky', a form of communal independence that existed in the absence of any "authority with the power to regulate local ritual activity," beyond the village level, and meant that "in the realm of ritual ... villages were left alone." Johnson (2009:337) describes such communities as "independent, creative, [and] self-conscious." In Sanchuan, communal autarky existed insofar as the *paitou* in each village were responsible for organizing communal rituals, with no supervision from any external authority. This has led to the granular diversification of the broad patterns formed by the traditions of knowledge that are the source of the ritual practices.

Traditions of knowledge and communal ritual autarky, then, explain a lot about patterns of similarity and difference when it comes to the rain-beckoning rituals. However, the drought-breaking rituals – those acts of ritual dam-busting – bear no similarity to anything in any of the traditions of knowledge reported in the literature. We should concede, therefore, that these practices are possibly unique to Sanchuan. This means that, in addition to traditions of knowledge and communal autarky, we should add another factor to the elements which shape cultural diversity – that of locality, of territorial or regional units, i.e., localized, supracommunal formations, as suggested by Wimmer (2013). This 'localized' approach is one that Kevin Stuart has himself long-advocated.

In conclusion then, this study has corroborated Barth's suggestion that ethnic boundaries do not necessarily indicate anything meaningful about cultural diversity and similarity. In the

present case, traditions of knowledge have provided a much more suitable framework for explaining observed patterns. However, the full extent of diversity could not be explained solely by looking at traditions of knowledge, and it was necessary to also recognize the impact of locality and community. Returning to the general debate around the management of cultural diversity through multiculturalist ideology discussed in the introduction, I will conclude by considering what the practical implications of such findings might be. Although much further study would be needed to confirm the general pattern, the findings in this paper suggest that a focus on ethnic groups is insufficient for understanding and managing diversity. Rather, more complex and nuanced strategies that focus, at the least, on the effects of multiple traditions of knowledge and how they intersect with community and locality would be better suited to managing cultural diversity in its fullest extent.

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HERDS ON THE MOVE: TRANSFORMATIONS IN TIBETAN NOMADIC PASTORAL SYSTEMS

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Eight thousand years ago, an event took place that changed the world. In the mountain valleys where modern Iraq, Turkey, and Iran intersect, some enterprising farmers determined that it was easier to make a living by specializing in raising livestock than growing crops. They left their farms and moved into the grasslands, herding their animals over a vast area, traveling to different seasonal pastures throughout the year with their belongings and homes rolled up and carried on the backs of animals. This was the first stage of what later became known as nomadic pastoralism, and the people that followed the herds were called nomadic pastoralists, or simply, nomads.

Sheep and goats were first domesticated about 10,500 years ago, but it took another couple thousand years before some hardy farmers, who raised both crops and livestock, ventured into the steppes and developed a culture that specialized in raising livestock. Since they first left the fertile, agricultural valleys with their livestock and moved into the steppes, they have been out there on the edge of civilization – out where the vast rolling grasslands meet the purple haze of the horizon – living a life that many aspire to, but which few are able to follow.

The word nomad is derived from the Greek term for pasture, *nomos*, and the adaptation of people moving with their animals across extensive pastures would eventually lead to the rise of nomadic cultures throughout the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Tibetan Plateau. Usually misunderstood, and often maligned, they prefer to be left alone to move with their herds on seasonal migrations.

Tibetan nomads, known in the Tibetan language as *drokpa*, meaning 'people of the high pastures', provide examples of nomadic

¹ The information and views presented in this paper are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views or positions of the U.S. Agency for International Development of the U.S. Government.

livestock production practices that were once widespread throughout the world, but are now rare. The fact that nomads and, in some areas, wildlife, have managed to exist on the Tibetan Plateau and in the Himalaya, attests to the rationality and efficacy of many aspects of traditional Tibetan nomadic pastoral production. Over thousands of years, Tibetan nomads adapted to their environment, learning to live with what it offered instead of changing and molding the landscape to suit their needs, as farmers try to do. Thus, they have much to teach us about living in harmony with the land.



Nomadic pastoralism has been described as one of the great advances in the evolution of human civilization. The actual beginning of nomadic pastoralism on the Tibetan Plateau is not well known, but studies of pollen samples of grazing weeds from Tibetan areas indicate that livestock herding may have begun over 8,000 years ago during the mid-Holocene, with the conversion of forests to pastures from burning. The development of Tibetan nomadic pastoralism was undoubtedly shaped by early nomads moving into the Tibetan grasslands from the northwest out of Central Asia. The Tibetan black yak-hair tent, for example, is strikingly similar to the tents of nomad tribes in Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. The Yuezhi, an Indo-European speaking nomadic tribe, was known to reside in the Qilian Mountains and Gansu Corridor region on the northeastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau in the second millennium BC. They must have moved into the region long before, probably following trails into the Tibetan frontier region that later became the Silk Road. During the Chinese Shang Dynasty (1766 BC – 1122 BC), livestock-herding people known as the Qiang were reported to be widespread in the grasslands of the northeastern Tibetan Plateau. Some Qiang tribes were known as the Qiang of Many Horses, and supplied horses to the Shang Dynasty.

Recent archaeological studies in northern Bhutan now point to the existence of livestock herding as early as 4,000 years ago in some high mountain valleys in that Himalayan region. These early Himalayan herders would undoubtedly have moved into the area from neighboring regions of the Tibetan Plateau.

Today, the Tibetan nomadic pastoral area encompasses a vast landscape, stretching almost 2,500 km from west to east and 1,000

km from north to south. It is one of the largest pastoral areas on earth. Unfortunately, our understanding of Tibetan nomads' culture, their way of life, and livestock production systems remains scant, like green grass in the hot desert in the middle of summer. The ecology of the landscape they call home – grasslands, steppe, desert, mountains – is also not well understood, despite the huge expanse of land used by Tibetan nomads.



With their homes rolled up in bundles and lashed to the back of yaks as they move across the steppes, Tibetan nomads offer a rare perspective on life. Their world operates on a rhythm quite different from the one to which we are accustomed. Their lives are finely tuned to the growth of grass, the births of animals, and the seasonal movement of their herds. Like many people living close to nature, the nomads developed a close connection to the land that nurtures them.

Constantly exposed to the harsh elements of the environment, Tibetan nomads display an impressive disregard for what we Westerners would consider bad weather conditions. Whether it is sudden hailstorms in the middle of summer or severe snow storms in the frozen depths of winter, nomads seem to take these events for granted and face these hardships with amazing equanimity. Values that humankind admires – courage, integrity, and generosity – are principles instinctive to nomads. They also have an intimate knowledge of their environment and an amazing ability to handle animals – a skill rare among most people today.

Moving across the grazing lands with their yaks, their homes a yak-hair tent, nomads evoke freedom. But nomads' movements are not haphazard; they are purposeful, always searching for the best grass, water, and shelter for their yaks, sheep, and goats. While never totally free to roam aimlessly, as their movements were usually well prescribed by monasteries, wealthy landlords, or tribal restrictions, Tibetan nomads' worldview cherishes independence and the liberty to move in search of grass and water for their animals. This was especially the case among the Golok tribes in the Amdo region of the northeastern part of the Tibetan Plateau, and among various nomad tribes of the region of Kham. Despite these admirable traits, nomads throughout the Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau are now facing serious

challenges to their way of life.



In 1947, Francis Kingdon-Ward, a British botanist and explorer, who first traveled to Tibet in 1910 and went on to make over twenty-five expeditions in search of plants, wrote:

There is an aspect of Tibet, and in the modern world perhaps the most important one, which is rarely emphasized. The people with their strange culture and stranger religion, the topographical features, violent and primitive like those of newly upheaved crust, the fierce climate, the vegetation – where there is any – have all been the theme of travel books, or have received attention in geographical literature. But Tibet considered primarily as a grazing land seems to have been overlooked. Yet that is what it really is.

For fifteen years, from 1988 to 2003, I spent part of each year in the grazing lands of the Tibetan Plateau. The fact that these grazing lands have supported nomads for thousands of years while sustaining a varied and unique flora and fauna bears witness to the existence of a remarkably diverse and resilient rangeland ecosystem. These 'fields of grass' provide the theatre in which nomads and their animals interact and bring into force a unique culture – a remarkable nomadic way of life, thousands of years old, about which so little is still known.

Trained as a rangeland ecologist, I am interested in grasses and the interactions between vegetation and the animals – both wild and domestic. In my numerous journeys in the Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau I have endeavored to understand the ecology of the rangelands. Why are distinctive plant communities found in certain areas? What species of plants dominate these plant communities? What grasses are grazed by livestock? Do wildlife eat the same plants? Why are wildlife found in certain locations and not in others? Is there really competition for forage between Tibetan wild ass, or *kiang*, and livestock, as the nomads claim there is? These are questions I asked myself as I walked across the Tibetan landscape, my eyes trying to pick out patterns on the ground.

To the untrained eye that is unable to distinguish one plant from another, Tibetan Plateau rangelands can appear boring and lifeless, particularly when majestic mountains dominate the horizon. But it is the diversity in plant species and mix of plant communities on the rangelands that influences the grazing patterns of livestock and the behavior of wildlife. And it is this remarkable variation in vegetation and the ecological dynamics of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalayan ecosystem that needs to be understood in order to sustain the natural resources for future generations of Tibetan nomads.



From a global environmental perspective, few other places are as important as the Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau region is now. Rising concerns about global warming, climate change, receding glaciers, desertification, food insecurity and loss of biodiversity all point to the significance of the Tibetan Plateau in addressing these global challenges. Increased scientific research is needed, along with an improved understanding of current land use practices, especially of agriculture, forestry and livestock grazing. Critical analysis of existing conservation and economic development policies is required. New thinking on how we view the landscape is also needed.

Addressing global environmental challenges in the twenty-first century demands that we start viewing the Tibetan landscape more holistically and try to develop a better understanding of its unique ecology, the value of its natural resources, and its illustrious cultural heritage. Understanding Tibetan nomads requires knowledge of the environment in which they live.

Conservation and development strategies for the Tibetan Plateau need to encompass a broad scale and implement programs at the level at which natural systems operate. This landscape level of attention ensures persistence of populations and ecological processes and has to work across political boundaries. Unhindered by the clutter of political boundaries, one begins to define the land by watersheds, by mountain ranges and large lakes – by the natural demarcations of an environment. Artificial, man-made, politically drawn lines on a map do not stop a river from flowing downhill, nor do they prevent black-necked cranes from migrating or Tibetan argali and Tibetan wild ass from crossing international borders in search of

forage to graze on. Birds and animals don't need passports and visas to travel, and we now need to adopt a similar style in how we perceive landscapes.

In 1995, the American poet, Gary Snyder, got it right when he wrote, "Now, with insights from the ecological sciences, we know that we must think on a scale of a whole watershed, a natural system. A habitat. To save the life of a single parrot or monkey is truly admirable. But unless the forest is saved, they will all die." Saving the grasslands and nomadic culture of the Tibetan Plateau requires a new way of thinking; a mindset that recognizes watersheds instead of political frontiers to define plans of action for conservation and development.



Mobility is a central theme in nomadic pastoral production practices in the Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau. The movement of herds and the flexible use of rangelands were strategic elements in the development of Tibetan pastoralism and the key to survival in the harsh environment of the Tibetan Plateau. Traditional nomadic pastoralism, which emphasized multi-species herds, complex herd structure, regular movement of livestock, and links with agricultural communities, developed as a rational response to the unpredictability of the high elevation landscape.

Nomads raise a mix of different livestock species; each has its own specific characteristics, uses and adaptations to the environment. The multi-species grazing system – the raising of yaks, sheep, goats, and horses together – maximizes the use of rangeland vegetation. The pastoral system that evolved through centuries of trial and error was a sophisticated adaptive response by the nomads to the environment; a rational adaptation to the spatial and temporal differences in rangeland resources. Livestock management systems were designed around the movement of herds to various pastures during different seasons of the year and the tracking of favorable forage conditions. The nomads' animals were regularly moved between pastures to maintain rangeland condition and animal productivity. The movement of livestock between different pastures also took advantage of topography and climatic factors to make the best use of the rangeland. It also took into account the

unpredictability of droughts and frequent snowstorms. This is why the movement of herds was so important. Although to some, the movement of herds may appear as haphazard, nomads do not move randomly across the land; rather, their movements are often well prescribed by complex social organizations and are often highly regulated.

Owen Lattimore, in his classic, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, first published in 1940, encapsulated the movements of nomads:

Within the world of the steppe there are many types of migration cycle, governed partly by geography and partly by social specialization in the use of different animals. There are groups that move over considerable distances and others that move only a few miles in the course of a year. Some nomads have a pastoral range which includes both rich and poor grazing, while some never leave the arid-steppe or remain entirely in good meadow country. There is an intricate relationship between the kind of pasture that predominates, the frequency of moving camp, the distance traveled from one grazing ground to the next, and the climate and soil.

The nomads' tents are an excellent example of how Tibetans adapted to a mobile lifestyle of raising livestock. Made from the long, coarse hair of the yak, the tents are well-suited to the nomadic lifestyle on the windswept steppes of the Tibetan Plateau. They can be easily taken down and packed on yaks when moving camp. They keep out the rain, yet let in light. Sections of the tent that become old and frayed can be easily replaced with new strips of woven yak hair. The size and design of nomads' tents varies across the Plateau, but, wherever they are found, they provide an excellent shelter that has suitably served nomads for thousands of years.

The seasonal movement of people with their herds is termed transhumance. This refers to the vertical seasonal movement of livestock, generally to higher elevation pastures in the summer and a descent to lower elevation grazing lands in the winter. Movements are usually relatively short, with numerous locations, or pastures, used throughout the year. These transhumant herders usually have a permanent home, typically in the valleys where crops are grown. The

people that practice transhumance are also called agro-pastoralists, as their livelihood is a mix of agriculture and animal husbandry. In the Tibetan language, these agro-pastoralists are termed *samadrok*.

Movements of herds are usually linked to the Tibetan lunar calendar and an auspicious day is picked for these movements. On the grazing lands of the Tibetan Plateau, movements are not defined so much by seasonal vertical moves as they are by horizontal migrations. In some areas, nomads actually move yaks to higher elevations in the winter.

Over thousands of years, nomads in the Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau acquired complex knowledge about the environment in which they lived and upon which their lives depended. The fact that numerous, pastoral groups remain to this day, despite living in one of the harshest pastoral areas on earth, bears witness to the extraordinary knowledge and animal husbandry skills of the nomads. We can learn a lot from the nomads. Their lifestyle is more basic, yet wholesome. Their lives are geared to the seasons. They follow a calendar according to the phases of the moon. They are tough enough to live in a yak-hair tent in the winter and are highly skilled in handling rambunctious animals like yaks. Courageous when confronted with danger, nomads exhibit amazing hospitality to strangers who enter their tents. As long as nomads are allowed to move in harmony with their animals across the grazing lands of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalaya, there is hope for the future.



The Tibetan antelope, or *chiru*, perhaps more than any other animal, embodies the expanse of the Tibetan Changtang ecosystem, the vast northern plains of the Tibetan Plateau. The *chiru* is a migratory animal and needs a vast landscape in which to travel between its winter ranges and birthing grounds. They cover distances of up to 400 kilometers, across the steppes and over mountains on their seasonal migrations. In 1994, while working in the Changtang Wildlife Reserve in northern Tibet, I attempted to follow the antelope's migration across the Changtang to their birthing grounds on the northern edge of the plateau. Observing herds of hundreds of female *chiru*, with their female young of the previous year, traveling on ancient paths as they have for thousands of years, is to bear

witness to one of the earth's outstanding ecological spectacles.

Understanding *chiru* migratory movements could provide valuable insight into the structure and function of the Tibetan Plateau grassland ecosystem and assist in efforts to protect biodiversity. The continuation of Tibetan antelope migration, one of the last, great natural marvels on earth, depends on better protection of the species, improved understanding of their ecology and better insights into the dynamics of the Tibetan Plateau ecosystem. It also requires innovative approaches to conservation and pastoral development that adopt participatory, integrated ecosystem management models that work at the landscape level with Tibetan nomads. That is, approaches that consider both the needs of the wildlife, and the nomads' requirements for grazing their animals. The diets of domestic sheep and goats often overlap with those of the smaller wild animals like gazelle. But is there competition between wildlife and domestic animals for forage? If so, to what extent? To what degree can wildlife and livestock co-exist? And if limitations have to be placed on nomads in order to conserve wildlife, what alternative employment opportunities are there for nomads?

Given its huge extent, environmental conservation on the Tibetan Changtang needs to encompass a broad scale and take into account the entire territory that wildlife and nomads use. This landscape level of consideration ensures persistence of wildlife populations and ecological processes and has to work across wildlife reserve or political boundaries.

The Tibetan Plateau and adjoining Himalayan region is one of the most ecologically diverse landscapes on earth. A number of globally important biodiversity areas, or 'hotspots' are located here. With their highly distinctive species, ecological processes, and evolutionary phenomena, these areas are some of the most important sites on earth for conserving biodiversity. The northwestern part of the Tibetan Plateau, the Changtang, also includes the most unspoiled example of a mountain rangeland ecosystem in Asia with a relatively intact vertebrate fauna, and is one of the largest remaining terrestrial wilderness regions left in the world. The area is still relatively little affected by humans and provides the untrammled space for large herds of wild yak and Tibetan wild ass to still run wild across the

steppes. It is also home to numerous other rare and endangered wildlife species such as the migratory Tibetan antelope, Tibetan argali, blue sheep, brown bear, and snow leopard. Conserving these animals and their rangeland habitat is an important priority for the global conservation community. Without the wild yak, wild ass, and antelope, the grazing lands of Tibet will have lost some of their characteristic species; a loss the world cannot afford and should not allow to happen.



My last trip to the Tibetan Plateau was in the summer of 2003 when I traveled from Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province, China to the town of Yushu, or Jiegu, as it is known in the Tibetan language, retracing my first journey on the Plateau made fifteen years earlier. The nomadic pastoral areas have seen far-reaching changes since I first visited them. These changes are radically transforming age-old livestock production methods, land-use practices and the socio-economic fabric of Tibetan society. Many rangelands that used to be managed communally have been privatized, allocated to individual households and fenced. Conflicts over grazing rights have led to 'range wars' in some areas. Fences have curtailed seasonal movements of livestock, leading to overgrazing in many places. Fences have also triggered conflicts with wildlife, especially *kiang* and *chiru*.

In the northeastern Tibetan Plateau, it is estimated that one-third of the rangelands are considered to be overgrazed. Officials, concerned with environmental degradation, are moving nomads out of the grasslands and settling them in towns, but nomads are often ill-prepared for this new type of existence, lacking the education and skills to find gainful employment.

I have often argued for maintaining livestock mobility in order to promote livestock production and the health of the rangelands in the pastoral areas of the Tibetan Plateau. Current policies and plans to settle Tibetan nomads go against state-of-the-art information and analyses for livestock production in pastoral areas. This body of scientific knowledge champions the mobility of nomads' herds as a way to sustain the grazing lands and nomads' livelihoods. Livestock mobility should be encouraged on the Tibetan Plateau instead of

eliminated and nomads should be empowered to manage the rangelands they use. Certainly nomads need to be more involved in any process that attempts to transform their production system. What happens when nomads are forced to settle and move into towns? Is their indigenous knowledge of the rangelands and livestock lost? Is their relationship with the environment severed? Does a 'home on the range' have to signify the demise of Tibetan nomadic pastoralism? These are important questions that require answers in order to develop the rangelands of the Tibetan Plateau in a sustainable manner and in ways that are sensitive to the nomads' needs and desires.

The reasons for rangeland degradation on the Tibetan Plateau are not well understood. There are signs of a gradual desiccation of the plateau, evident from old beach lines around lakes. It is also apparent that alpine sedge meadows are undergoing a physical transformation, probably because of reduced precipitation over the last couple of thousands of years. Less moisture possibly means that the sedge meadow plant communities cannot sustain themselves any longer and plants are dying, leading to 'degraded' patches of bare soil, or 'black beach' as it is termed. Livestock grazing and the nomads' traditional practices are often blamed for this degradation.

Black-lipped pikas (*Ochotona curzoniae*), a small, tailless, mouse-like mammal related to rabbits, is widespread on the plateau, burrowing into the ground. Pikas are often blamed for grassland degradation. As a result, they have been indiscriminately poisoned, but pikas are an important part of the ecosystem, providing nesting sites for many birds and prey for predators, including Tibetan brown bear. In the Changtang Wildlife Reserve, I once watched a bear, closely followed by a wolf, digging for pikas. When the bear failed to grab the pika as it scurried out of its hole in the ground, the wolf quickly bounced on it. The pika is now considered a 'keystone species' on the Tibetan Plateau; they play a pivotal function in ecosystem processes and without them it would be difficult for many other species to exist.

Efforts to manage Tibetan rangelands must address the full range of causes of degradation, loss of biodiversity, low livestock productivity and marginalization of the nomads and embrace the

opportunities that the rangelands and the nomads offer for sustainable development. While certain areas of the plateau have been subjected to overgrazing by livestock in the past and livestock numbers do exceed the carrying capacity of the rangelands in some areas now, nomads are, unfortunately, often blamed for much of the environmental deterioration seen today.

More efforts are needed to develop a better understanding of nomadic production systems. Practices vary across the Tibetan Plateau and these differences need to be analyzed. Why do nomads in different areas maintain different livestock herd compositions? What forms of social organizations exist for managing rangelands and livestock? How have these practices changed in recent years? Answers to these, and related questions, will help unravel many of the complexities of Tibetan nomadic pastoralism.

Maintaining rangeland health is critical, not only to provide forage for wildlife and livestock, but to sustain the watershed properties of the rangelands and to preserve the Tibetans' cultural heritage. Development policies and programs need to integrate the ecological processes of the rangelands with the economic processes of livestock production and the socio-cultural aspects of improving Tibetan nomads' livelihoods.



On my journeys, I would occasionally come across skulls of wild yaks. Some were old and bleached out. Others still had shiny, black horns. Wherever they were found, wild yak skulls served as a poignant, silent sentinel – a reminder of the magnificent herds of wildlife that once roamed the Tibetan Plateau. They also speak of the elemental wild nature of the Tibetan landscape and the proud nomads who fashioned a remarkable way of life on the steppes.

There will be a great and tragic emptiness on the Tibetan Plateau and Himalaya if the environment is allowed to deteriorate. The wildlife – grand, moving masses of migratory *chiru*, herds of magnificent wild yak, and graceful Tibetan gazelle bounding across the steppes – will only be found in photographs of explorers' accounts or in the memories of older Tibetan nomads recounted to their grandchildren. With their lives intricately linked to the natural resources, the irreplaceable nomadic culture will also be transformed

beyond recognition and Tibetan nomads will lose their singular identity. These consequences can be avoided if timely action is taken to acknowledge the special attributes of the Tibetan Plateau ecosystem. This requires serious evaluation of the natural resources, increased understanding of current land use practices, and greater appreciation of Tibetan nomads and their worldview.

The challenge is to balance the diverse economic, cultural, and social needs of the inhabitants of the Tibetan Plateau with the need to maintain the environment and conserve the biodiversity and cultural heritage of the landscape. This calls for strengthened participation by local nomadic and farming communities in the entire development process. It also requires that Tibetans' indigenous knowledge of the environment is better understood and that there is greater acknowledgement of the efficacy of many traditional natural resource management practices and beliefs.



The Himalaya and Tibetan Plateau is a special place. The snow-capped peaks are awe-inspiring. The Tibetan steppes evoke boundless possibilities, liberating one's spirit. A sacred geography for followers of many religions, there are revered places of pilgrimage scattered across the region. As the birthplace of many of the world's major rivers, this landscape is hallowed ground, demanding greater appreciation and respect. Looming threats of climate change, melting glaciers, loss of biodiversity, and the cultural and socio-economic transformations that are already taking place should be viewed as a wake-up call for everyone concerned about this high and sacred realm.

The survival of Tibetan nomadic pastoralism requires new attitudes that view the landscape more holistically, with greater appreciation for its intrinsic beauty as well as the economic value of its natural resources. It also requires a better sense of the sacred nature of the landscape as the headwater environment for Asia's major rivers. As a first step, we could begin by acknowledging the hallowed nature of this land and start to treat it with a little more reverence and respect, as Tibetan nomads themselves have, for centuries.

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'ZOMIA': NEW CONSTRUCTIONS
OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN HIGHLANDS
AND THEIR TIBETAN IMPLICATIONS

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While I have never had the opportunity to meet Kevin Stuart in person, I have been aware for many years of the major contribution he has made to Tibetan studies, both through his own writings and through his encouragement of the development of local scholarship among Tibetans and other peoples living within the People's Republic of China. Kevin's work as scholar and collaborator, and the generosity of spirit which underlies it and which I have witnessed in my own correspondence with him, has set up a new and very significant model for work in the area, and I am happy to have the opportunity to offer him my congratulations and my thanks on the occasion of this commemorative volume. Kevin's own work is notable for its groundedness in small-scale social life and its closeness to its ethnographic subject. The work of the two authors I discuss here, particularly that of James C Scott, is in many ways quite contrasting, dealing in large-scale theorising and generalisations. Yet the work of both Scott and Willem van Schendel, like that of Kevin, is rooted in a concern for the people whose lives are the subject of our work, and I hope that he will find some enjoyment and value in this reflection on the relevance of 'Zomia' to the study of Tibetan societies.

¹ The first version of this paper was presented at the August 2010 conference of the International Association of Tibetan Studies in Vancouver. Revised versions were presented at La Trobe University in Melbourne on 14 Sept 2010, the University of Sydney on 7 Oct 2010, the Buddhist Forum, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London on 19 November 2010, and the University of Toronto on 22 March 2013. I thank the audiences on all these occasions for their helpful and constructive comments.

The concept of 'Zomia' was first advanced in a paper published in 2002 by the Dutch scholar Willem van Schendel (van Schendel 2002). Van Schendel's early work concerned the hill peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tract in Eastern Bangladesh (e.g. van Schendel 1992). In his 2002 paper, he pointed to the arbitrariness of the divisions we make between regions of Asia – South, Southeast, East, Central – for purposes of area studies.² This, I might add, is already a major issue for Tibet, the region within which my own work has mostly been situated. The study of Tibetan societies, for historical and political reasons, has found itself on the margins between these divisions, and without a really comfortable home in any of them. A map in van Schendel's article (van Schendel 2002: 652, Fig.1) allocates it to 'Central Asia,' but Central Asia for area studies purposes usually tends to mean Muslim Central Asia plus the Mongols.

In fact, Figure 1 in van Schendel's article is not concerned with allocating Tibet to Central Asia – quite the opposite. Its real point relates to four dots close to the putative intersection between South, Southeast, East and Central Asia. These four dots represent:

...four settlements in the eastern Himalayas, each some 50 km from the other. Arbitrary decisions made in far-off studies and conference rooms have allocated them to four different world areas: Gohaling is in Yunnan ('East Asia'), Sakongdan in Burma ('Southeast Asia'), Dong is in India ('South Asia'), and Zayü is in Tibet ('Central Asia'). [...] The assumption that the more meaningful links of these places are with faraway 'area cores' rather than with each other is rather preposterous, and the claim of area studies to be mindful of the unity of people's 'shared ideas, related lifeways, and long-standing cultural ties' comes a cropper here (van Schendel 2002:653).

Van Schendel's point is well taken. To the extent that these area studies divisions have any social or cultural logic, it is because of

² As van Schendel notes, 'Central Asia' came well after the others, emerging only in the 1990s (van Schendel 2002: 648 and n.2).

features each area (South, Southeast, East, Central Asia) is supposed to hold in common.³ But, as van Schendel implies here, even if one could plausibly define the major part of each of these areas in relation to these core characteristics, such definitions are likely to have little meaning when one is dealing with places on the peripheries. Yet these are not just marginal places; they have their own integrity and logic, based on connections that cut across these arbitrary borders.

Of course these connections had not gone unnoticed by previous scholars. There is an established tradition of Southeast Asian highlands studies, going back at least to Edmund Leach's classic volume from the early 1950s, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Leach 1954; see Samuel 1994 for further references). Van Schendel, however, both made the point very explicitly, at a time when discussions of alternative geographies and languages of flows across borders were already gaining considerable currency, and also provided a tentative new name to refer to the highland region as a whole. This name was 'Zomia', based on *zomi*, a term for highlanders in several languages of the region. In relation to how to go forward theoretically, van Schendel suggested an emphasis on borderlands, and an attention to flows of objects, peoples and ideas across borders, as a way of moving towards more appropriate geographies than those allowed by the area studies paradigms. The astute reader will sense the shadow of Arjun Appadurai in the background here (e.g. Appadurai 1999), and indeed van Schendel refers to Appadurai in his article (van Schendel 2002:658, 659).

It is worth spelling out that there are two distinct aspects to van Schendel's argument. There is the general point that academic divisions between areas and cultural regions tend to privilege the central zones as against the margins. This deflects attention away

³ The dominant classical languages of South and East Asia, Sanskrit and Chinese, are obvious candidates, and of course significant in terms of the organization of scholarship, since expertise in South Asian or East Asian studies tends to be defined in large part in terms of expertise in the corresponding languages and literatures, or in modern languages and literatures with a close historical if not necessarily genetic relationship to them.

from the places near the edges, making it difficult to appreciate the margins, which are not really margins except as a result of the arbitrary divisions which have made them so, in their own terms. But van Schendel clearly also wanted to remind us more specifically that the various peripheral areas that fall into highland Southeast Asia, his own personal area of expertise, can usefully be looked at within a common frame of analysis. Much of the same is true of James C Scott, to whom I will turn in a little while: there is both a general message and a specific regional concern.

This dual aim led to a certain amount of confusion in the developing literature on Zomia. Some people became very interested in the precise limits of Zomia, and with whether or not particular areas should be considered as part of Zomia or not. Yet my own feeling is that neither van Schendel nor Scott were really concerned with precisely delimiting a region called 'Zomia' which had a strongly shared cultural identity and integrity of its own. In van Schendel's case, this would hardly go along with the other side of his argument, which suggested that viewing the world in terms of such distinct and separate areas was actually part of the problem.

Thus, van Schendel's rather sketchy map of Zomia in his original article (van Schendel 2002:653, Fig.2) delimits an area of highland peasant peoples whose primary common feature is a relative remoteness from the major states of the region. The societies in question share little else, beyond perhaps a tendency to small-scale, relatively unstable states, and a strong sense of local autonomy. Certainly, we are not dealing with an area that has a great deal of cultural homogeneity. According to Jean Michaud (2010:188 and Figure 1), van Schendel subsequently revised his concept of Zomia to include a number of areas further to the west, including parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Michaud calls this expanded Zomia 'Zomia+', and this 'Zomia+' is even more culturally varied than the original Zomia. Indeed, van Schendel does not appear very interested in arguing for Zomia as a cultural area across which there is a great deal of commonality. Zomia for him functions mainly as a stalking-horse to attack the idea of area studies.

Scott's argument is a little different, since his Zomia has more analytic content than van Schendel's. However, Scott's Zomia is arguably a state of mind and a mode of behaving that is not restricted to the people living in any precisely-delimited area of the world, so it may again be that the question of whether a particular place is in Zomia or not misses the point. At most, we might ask whether Zomian behaviour or Zomian thinking is an important part of how that place operates.

I make this initial point in part because the various maps presented by van Schendel and Scott disagree about whether Tibetan societies actually fall within 'Zomia'. However, the map of Zomia in van Schendel's original article clearly includes most of the Tibetan plateau along with highland Nepal (van Schendel 2002:653, Fig.2). Western Tibet and Ladakh are excluded, but probably more by accident than design. Both areas are included within Michaud's 'Zomia+', along with areas further to the West such as Baltistan, Hunza, and Swat (Michaud 2010:188, Fig.1).

ZOMIA ACCORDING TO JAMES C SCOTT

The other major figure with whom this article is concerned, James C Scott, delimits Zomia quite differently. Scott's initial scholarly focus was on Vietnam and Malaysia, and he is best known for an important series of studies which focus in various ways on state power and on peasant resistance to it – *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (Scott 1976); *Weapons of the Weak* (1985); *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), and *Seeing Like a State* (1998). Scott's 'Zomia' book, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, appeared in 2009, though the ideas had been prefigured in a series of lectures Scott gave from around 2007

onwards, which received considerable public attention in their own right.⁴

Scott's book, like van Schendel's article, includes a map of Zomia, but it is considerably more restricted than either of van Schendel's (Scott 2009:17, Map 2). From the perspective of Tibetan studies, it is worth noting that Tibet and the Himalayas from Bhutan westward are not included in Scott's Zomia.⁵ Scott does include, however, some areas that van Schendel omits: his Zomia contains substantially more of Southeast China, and some additional territory along the frontier between Thailand and Burma.

So we have at least three versions of Zomia and its boundaries: van Schendel's original version, his extended version, and Scott's version.⁶ I think, however, that as noted above we can get rather too tangled in the question of where Zomia stops and starts. For Scott, as for van Schendel, the central issue is arguably not 'Zomia' as a delimited unit. Scott's primary concern is with the processes of state formation and political power, and the counter-processes by which people attempt to escape from the destructive impact of that power. It is these processes that he sees as generating the characteristic features of such places as Zomia. Yet there is again a kind of double focus here, and much of the literature commenting on Scott has been more interested in the particularities of Southeast Asia than on Scott's general theoretical approach.

Scott's book is, nevertheless, only secondarily concerned with delimiting a new region for area studies. Its main thrust is to propose a major shift in how we understand the history, society, and culture *both* of regions such as the Southeast Asian Highlands, and to a

⁴ See e.g. his Frank H. Golay Memorial Lecture at Cornell in May 2009, which is available on video on the web at <http://www.cornell.edu/video/?videoID=625>, accessed 8 December 2014.

⁵ In fact, neither are the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the adjoining Indian highland state of Tripura, which seems a little odd given van Schendel's regional interests.

⁶ To which we could add a fourth and considerably smaller Zomia, the area that is associated with the ethnonym *zo* according to F.K. Lehman. Hjørleifur Jonsson refers to this as Zomia^o (Jonsson 2010:195).

considerable degree *also* of the large-scale states that impinged on them. Scott's book has been widely read and discussed, so here I shall just summarise his principal arguments in point form:

1. The 'Zomia' region until recent times was one of the last of a series of 'escape zones' to which people moved to avoid incorporation into states. These regions were characterized by their relative difficulty of access for centres of state powers. This meant that it was impractical and uneconomic to include them in pre-modern state projects on a continuing basis. Being in an 'escape zone' did not guarantee total protection. These regions were accessible to intermittent campaigns and raiding, and often had to accept some degree of tributary relationship with surrounding states.⁷ However, on the whole the people in these regions were left alone.
2. The people who lived in these areas were not necessarily relics or survivals of earlier indigenous populations. Many of them were descendants of escapees from surrounding states (e.g. Han Chinese, Burmese, or Thai in the case of Zomia) who moved to these areas and adopted local social and cultural practices. In other words, a significant part of the population of Zomia and similar areas consisted of people who had *chosen* not to be part of a state. If one can sense Appadurai's

⁷ Some commentators on Scott's work appear to assume that any relationship by a 'Zomian' group with neighbouring centres of power in some sense disproves his model. Despite his tendency to stress the 'escape' aspects of Zomian existence, I do not think that he implies that there is no relationship with surrounding states. In fact, he discusses such relationships at some length. The issue may be more (Shneiderman, below) to do with the kind of recognition by the state. Here it is worth noting that (as with the Chinese *tusi*) the state's official representations could diverge considerably from reality on the ground. Thus the Imperial Chinese state officially regarded all relationships with external powers, including Japan, England and Portugal, as tributary relationships by subordinate powers, and Imperial protocol was based on this assumption, even at a time when the actual power relationship was very different.

work in the background to van Schendel's, the spirit that hovers over Scott's work is that of the late Pierre Clastres, whose *La société contre l'état* (*Society against the State*, Clastres 1977) provides the book's epigraph.⁸

3. The peoples who lived in these areas acquired cultural inventories that were appropriate to their primary goal of evading state power. These included forms of agriculture that worked in highland terrain, were compatible with relatively frequent movement, and were not easily raided by state authorities, as well as forms of social organization compatible with frequent movement and the lack of centralized authority.

Historically, these peoples tend to be labeled as 'tribal' by state authorities, and seen as backward and in need of incorporation within the state. It can be seen that Scott is presenting a very different picture. For him, the 'tribe' is something that was developed as a mode of organization to *resist* the state, rather than being a survival of a more primitive social arrangement that has been superseded by the state.

4. Their cultural inventory also included the ability to shift between multiple 'ethnicities', and to represent themselves plausibly in different ways to state authorities to suit the specific circumstances. Thus a particular village might shift between Kachin or Shan (to give Leach's example), or between Tibetan, Chinese, or Monguor (to give a contemporary example from Northeast Tibet) depending on what suited their interests at any given time. Individuals and communities systematically maintained the ability to perform several identities.

⁸ The epigraph is at Scott 2009: v. Scott discusses Clastres' influence on his work in an interview published in *Humanity* in Spring 2014 (Gilman and Guilhot 2014: 111).

5. Many of these societies did not have writing, but Scott suggests that this absence was not a mere lack, but also a significant part of their cultural inventory. These people were not pre-literate but post-literate. They had in a sense chosen not to have writing, and often had stories implying that it had been lost at some time in the past. Writing was an instrument of the state and a mechanism of administration. It was safer for them not to have written records. Scott has a nice quote from Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques* on this theme:

Writing appears to be necessary for the centralized, stratified state to reproduce itself. Writing is a strange thing ... The one phenomenon which has invariably accompanied it is the formation of cities and empires: the integration into a political system, that is to say, of a considerable number of individuals into a hierarchy of castes and slaves ... It seems rather to favour the exploitation than the enlightenment of mankind (cited in Scott 2009:228).

6. Religious forms in these areas also make sense as an adaptation to the specific conditions of escape and refuge from the state. They tend to be non-hierarchical, and to provide the potential for *ad hoc* charismatic leadership at times when rapid change is required. I shall return to this theme later, since it is especially relevant to the Tibetan situation.
7. Finally, the complex ethnic and linguistic maps of regions such as the Southeast Asian Highlands can be understood as 'shatter zones' formed by numerous successive waves of refugees from processes of state formation and state conflict.

Clearly, these points amount to a thorough and radical rethinking of traditional understandings of both the Zomian region and other such regions. Scott suggests that Zomia and other such escape zones have all now effectively been incorporated into nation-states. As we will

see, some scholars have suggested that elements of 'Zomia'-thinking are nevertheless still alive and well in the contemporary period.

ZOMIA, ITS COMMENTATORS AND ITS MEANINGS

Van Schendel and Scott clearly have interests in common. They are both working within an essentially anthropological frame of reference, and both are interested in the fate of little people, if you like, on the edges of states and empires – but their projects are somewhat different, and also come out of different anthropological traditions – I cited Appadurai and Clastres as shorthand labels in each case. Van Schendel argues that globalization is making area studies boundaries increasingly less relevant, while Scott's book is almost an elegy for people who have managed to escape the state and live on a very local scale. Van Schendel's Zomians have mobile phones, whereas Scott's have deliberately forgotten how to read. Subsequent commentators on Zomia have had their own projects, which may not have much in common with either van Schendel's or Scott's, so there is a certain potential for confusion, or at any rate for people to go off in a variety of different directions.

In the remainder of this article I shall concentrate on Scott's book, which has already stimulated special issues of at least three journals since its appearance, as well as a sizeable flurry of individual articles (e.g. Michaud 2009; Perdue 2009; Jonsson 2010, 2012; Karlsson 2013), and a plethora of review-symposia and individual book reviews.

The three special issues are of the *Journal of Global History* (volume 5, no.2, July 2010), *Review of Austrian Economics* (volume 25, no.1, March 2012) and *Common Knowledge* (volume 18, no.3, Fall 2012). The *Journal of Global History* issue is the first and most substantial of these, with seven articles, including Jean Michaud's extensive introduction (Michaud 2010) and Victor Lieberman's review-article (Lieberman 2010). The remaining contributions, from a mixed group of historians and anthropologists, explore the applicability of Scott's ideas in a variety of historical and

ethnographic contexts. I discuss some of these articles in more detail below. The historians, on the whole, tend to spend a lot of time questioning exactly where Zomia is, whether it really exists, and where its boundaries might be. The anthropologists do a bit of this too. It is natural, if you are an anthropologist, to want to know whether your tribe is in Zomia or not, though as the reader probably appreciates by this stage, much depends on whose map of Zomia you are looking at. On the whole though, the anthropologists are more interested than the historians in Scott's theoretical argument, which picks up, as I have noted, on some significant threads in modern anthropology.

The *Austrian Review of Economics's* special issue, with six articles, is almost as extensive, and has some intriguing contributions. Some of the economists are interested in whether Zomian behaviour is rational (Rajagopalan and Storr 2012). Others want to know what Zomia has to tell us about the possibilities of evading contemporary states (Stringham and Miles 2012). Stringham and Miles go as far as suggesting that modern multinationals are exhibiting Zomian behaviour in using their access to different national regimes to avoid tax. I'm not sure what Scott would make of this, given his tendency to go for a bottom-up view of society and his evident sympathy for the people who are most likely to lose from the draining of state resources by multinational tax evasion. The multinationals also are not necessarily using deception when they employ multiple citizenship to pursue their ends, although there can be an element of this. Many of the devices they use to evade tax are quite public and well known.

To return to the *Journal of Global History*, we can, as I have suggested, spend too much time worrying about the boundaries of Zomia. How closely any specific area meets the parameters of Scott's description of Zomia, on the basis of detailed historical or ethnographic data, is, however, a reasonable enough question to ask. The usual answer tends to be that, in relation to a detailed enough account of any particular area, Scott's criteria are messy and incomplete, and fit less than perfectly. That is perhaps unsurprising, given that his book is a large, ambitious, generalizing work that

inevitably omits as much as it includes, and oversimplifies complex historical particularities, but which offers a striking and significant new vision. If you approach Scott's work with the assumption that there is a clearly delineated region called Zomia and that his characterization of the social and cultural aspects of Zomian people should apply comprehensively and exhaustively to any specific group that lived within that area, it is not difficult to demonstrate that his account is inadequate.

To approach Scott in this way, however, would be to miss the positive insights provided by his work. The same, I think, is true of other lines of criticism, for all that they are pertinent enough, such as the tendency of the book to reflect current Western concerns and interests at the expense of the people who actually live in 'Zomia' (e.g. Jonsson 2012).⁹ What Scott offers us – rather as he did in the *Moral Economy of the Peasant* (1976) and *Weapons of the Weak* (1985) – is a sense of social history as lived from the bottom up. The validity of the account in any given instance is less relevant than the new perspectives opened up for understanding social behaviour, both historically and in the contemporary situation. All he really needs to do to validate this picture is to demonstrate that enough people in the region behaved in Zomian-like ways to render the account plausible.

Yet I am left with a sense that Zomia can mean quite a few different things, and we shall see more as we continue. It may be useful to have a preliminary listing:

- Zomia can be a region in the Southeast Asian Highlands, perhaps extended through Tibet and the Himalayas and even into Pakistan and Afghanistan, with certain common social and cultural features;

⁹ As Jonsson (2012:167) puts it, "Zomia offers no place for Asian highlanders on whatever have been their own terms, but instead a vast playground for western libertarian distraction and delight." As Jonsson and others have noted, actual 'Zomian' voices are largely absent from Scott's text, a point which Scott himself implicitly admits in his interview for *Humanity* (Gilman and Guilhot 2014:116-117).

- Zomia can refer to a specific zone of refuge from the state in the Southeast Asian highlands in the past, which has now been absorbed into modern states and so has lost its specific features;
- Zomia can be seen as typical of a number of such zones of refuge that have existed at various times throughout the world;
- Zomia can be significant as indicating a mode of analysis that focuses on processes of evasion of state control (in the past and/or in the present).

This last option in turn has a number of possible variants:

- Zomia can indicate a set of cultural practices which assisted particular groups (individuals, families, villages, larger populations) in the past to evade state control
- There may be Zomian modes of thinking and behaving, by which groups of people systematically avoid state control (e.g. the Romanis or Gypsies, a frequent example of Scott's; Scott 2009:235, 261, 330)
- As part of such Zomian modes of thinking and behaving, groups of people may systematically present themselves to state authorities in ways such as to maximize their advantage (particularly in relation to alternative identities)
- For some authors, simple exploitation of multiple citizenship, at whatever level, even on behalf of a multinational company, constitutes 'Zomian behaviour' (Stringham and Miles 2012).

Other variations could probably be added. None of these usages is necessarily illegitimate or inappropriate, but the fact that the term has already attracted such a range of usage can cause confusion, and perhaps suggests that Zomia as a mode of analysis risks being used to explain so much that it can lose its explanatory value altogether.

With these cautionary remarks in mind, I move on to look at the applicability of Scott's approach to Tibetan and Himalayan societies. Scott's area focus, as we have seen, does not directly include Tibet and the Himalayas. His mode of analysis could nevertheless provide a significant intervention in an argument which has been evolving for some time about the nature of the Tibetan state – or as I would prefer to put it myself, the nature of pre-modern Tibetan polities, which were actually quite varied. Early accounts of Tibet, perhaps overly impressed by the undoubtedly exotic ideological foundations and equally exotic state ceremonial associated with the Dalai Lama's regime at Lhasa, tended to settle for an over-simple picture of Tibet as a theocracy and the Dalai Lama as God-King. By the 1970s and 1980s, there was enough reasonably solid ethnography from various Tibetan cultural regions, and enough detail about Tibetan political history, to be able to see that things were much more complicated than that, and I attempted to put the picture together as far as I could in a series of chapters in my 1993 book *Civilized Shamans* (Samuel 1993:39-154).

It was already clear by then that the Lhasa regime was quite limited in its power for much of its history, that there were a variety of other competing centres of power, and that substantial segments of the Tibetan population, particularly in the pastoralist areas, were effectively outside any kind of state control. Most of these centres of power were in any case much more interested in extracting a certain amount of tax and *corvée* labour from the populations within their reach than in exercising control over everyday life. Disputes were settled by local mediation both in pastoralist and agriculturalist areas; they were rarely brought to the small number of state administrative officials, and there was no developed body of law, either case-law or statutory (Samuel 1993:121-3, 132-6; Pirie 2005a, 2005b, 2006)

All this suggests that Scott's mode of analysis might have considerable applicability to Tibet. Two of the *Journal of Global History* authors, Pat Giersch and Sara Shneiderman, deal more or

less directly with Tibetan regions, and both suggest some degree of applicability for Scott's model. Thus Shneiderman notes that Scott's mode of analysis raises significant issues for Tibet and the Himalayas:

The analytic imperatives that underlie Scott's usage of [the term Zomia] can be of great utility to those working in the Himalayan region, particularly the emphasis on the ethnic, national, and religious fluidity of highland communities, and their agency vis-à-vis the states with which they engage (Shneiderman 2010: 290).

I would agree. At the same time, there are a number of ways in which Tibetan regions do not fit neatly into the Zomian model. While there is certainly ethnic variety on the edge of ethnic Tibet, as in parts of Amdo, Gyalrong, and the central and eastern Himalayan ranges, it does not rise to the complexity of the central Southeast Asian Highland region, and is for the most part confined to the margins.¹⁰ Much of the Tibetan plateau itself has long had a shared spoken language, if with considerable dialectical variation, and a shared *written* language – there is no sign of rejection of writing here, in fact Tibet is one of the places, globally, where the cult of the written word was most highly developed in pre-modern times.¹¹

The Dalai Lama's regime might have been weak as states went, but, as both Shneiderman and Giersch point out, it had centres of state power. Lhasa was certainly one, if a relatively weak one for much of its history. Major monastic and aristocratic political centres elsewhere throughout the region also had considerable permanence, authority and exploitative capacity in relation to peasant populations. Pat Giersch makes this point in his contribution to the same issue in relation to some of the large Khamba monasteries and aristocratic estates. The degree of connection of Tibetan populations with surrounding peoples through long-distance trade routes, as Giersch

¹⁰ It might be interesting though to estimate the population of these 'marginal' regions in relation to ethnic Tibet as a whole. They might well turn out to constitute a relatively high proportion.

¹¹ Dreyfus' articles, focusing on recent times, provide perhaps the strongest case for Tibetan national identity and unity (1994, 1995, 2002).

notes, is also significant, and it goes beyond the kind of trading links that Scott regards as characteristic of the relations between states and Zomian-type groups.

Schneiderman also raises the question of the 'orientalist' aspects of Zomian thought. She suggests that the deliberate blurring and erasing of national boundaries is likely to seem to indigenous Asian scholars like a reprise of old-fashioned colonialist ethnography. She notes that in relation to such scholars:

...advocates of Zomia must clarify that Zomia-thinking is not a return to previous models of cultural and ecological determinism, but rather an attempt simultaneously to acknowledge the role of states in shaping highland communities and to investigate indigenous forms of consciousness and agency within such processes (2010:299).

Shneiderman appears to be thinking here particularly of Nepalese scholars, although the point could be made more generally. Clearly, though, Shneiderman feels that 'Zomia-thinking' can be plausibly defended along these lines. In fact, she is one of those who feels that the Zomia model can usefully be applied to contemporary populations, including the subject of her own research, the Thangmi. These people divide their year between Nepal, India, and China, migrating on a regular basis between the Nepali hill districts of Dolakha and Sindhupalchok, Sikkim and the Darjeeling district in India, and the border areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region in China. The Thangmi are 'Zomian' in that they systematically present themselves in different ways to exploit these various contexts. Shneiderman suggests that what is 'Zomian' in the contemporary situation is not so much escaping from states altogether, as trying to control the terms on which one is recognized by them:

Contemporary Thangmi encounter a range of 'recognizing agents', from territorial deities to the Nepali, Indian, and Chinese states, and from (international) non-governmental organizations and anthropologists to members of other ethnic groups, each of which reaffirm different aspects of Thangmi identity. I suggest that we might see the ability to control the terms of recognition that govern

such encounters, rather than emphasizing a lack of desire for such recognition, as an important feature of Zomia-thinking (Shneiderman 2010: 308).

Thus one can be "a 'non-state' people in subjective terms" (308) while also working for political recognition within a modern nation state.

The catch here perhaps is to define where the boundaries of Zomia-thinking might lie. We have already met Stringham and Miles' suggestion that multinationals might be seen as Zomian (Stringham and Miles 2012). To me that is definitely going too far, but I had already been thinking about more modest contemporary examples when I came across their article. Consider, for example, the large populations of families from South and Southeast Asia, West Asia, and North and Sub-Saharan Africa who now have members who have settled within the developed world. Such people, like many other migrants, often need to dissimulate to state authorities and other 'recognizing agents' about their precise ethnicity or the nature of their kinship ties, for reasons of migration or access to resources. Families may systematically build up a range of possible identities in Asia, Europe, North America, or Australia, and variously exploit local welfare provisions and other resources in the countries where they have settled. Are they exhibiting Zomian behaviour? It would be tempting to say that they are, and Scott himself might not be unsympathetic to such a usage, although it would seem to stretch 'Zomia' to a point where its explanatory value risks being lost. Yet where, along the continuum between, say, the 19th-century Burmese highlands and the contemporary South Asian diaspora in the United Kingdom or Canada, does Zomia-thinking begin and end?

Patterson Giersch, the other contributor who deals directly with Tibet and the Himalayas in the *Journal of Global History* collection, writes on trade routes through Kham (Eastern Tibet – or Western Sichuan in Chinese terms). His critique of Scott centres on Scott's suggestion that the state, and state-like processes, did not effectively penetrate 'Zomia' until the late twentieth century. His brief historical conspectus suggests that:

Zomia included peoples who resisted states, plundered trade routes, and organized themselves in ways to enhance their autonomy. But people also adopted new practices out of a desire to participate in, not shun or hijack, networks of power and wealth... In Kham, the Qing and Tibetan states provided moderately safe trade routes, and those who benefited included local elites, such as the Khampa rulers of Chala or the monastic leaders in Litang. Even before the arrival of nation-states, it is therefore difficult to separate political power from economic or cultural transformations ... Zomia was not always a place in which culture or political organization was shaped by refusal (Giersch 2010: 237, 238).

Scott would not necessarily reject this point, but the extent to which people are buying into state resources is clearly an issue for any Zomian model, particularly in the contemporary situation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above has suggested some of the reservations that might be posed in relation to Scott's model, particularly in relation to Tibetan regions, but neither Shneiderman nor Giersch suggest that we dismiss the relevance of his work on these grounds, and neither would I. My own feeling about Scott's work in relation to Tibet and the Himalayas is that his theoretical approach cannot provide a *total* mode of analysis in isolation from other explanatory frameworks. The Tibetan region over the last ten or twelve centuries was not simply an escape zone from the state. It witnessed significant, if ultimately limited, attempts at state formation in its own right before its eventual incorporation into the People's Republic of China. Yet Scott gives us an important new tool, which highlights and helps to explain aspects of Tibet and the Himalayas that conventional approaches deal with less satisfactorily.

Some of these are issues that I have been concerned about myself for many years. I argued for the relative weakness of Tibetan state formations as far back as 1982 (Samuel 1982=Samuel 2005:27-51, 1993), and in the first part of my 1993 book *Civilized Shamans*

(Samuel 1993) I tried to sketch an ongoing dialectic between stateless areas and the limited presence of state power, both internally and externally generated. A couple of years later, I suggested (Samuel 1994) that many characteristic features of Tibetan religion and culture might be understandable through comparison with the Southeast Asian highlands literature. Scott's work provides a wider, and significant, intellectual context within which to place these ideas.

We might nevertheless ask, what specific insights about Tibet might Scott's work suggest? I conclude with three general points.

(1) *Physical considerations.* While movement around the Tibetan plateau in pre-modern times was never easy, and many areas were relatively isolated, there were also major and important trade routes linking sizeable communities with elements of centralized power such as Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo, or Derge with the major states to Tibet's east, south and west. Scott's model tends to underplay long-distance trade. Long distance trade also has a long-term connection with Buddhism (Samuel 1994). However, an important consideration remained the cost of maintaining control over Tibet, and this doubtless explains why neither local Tibetan state formations nor the incursions of external state regimes tended to establish effective long-term relations of control or exploitation except in areas immediately adjoining areas of state power. This connects with a major theme of Scott's work. External powers might be able to establish control briefly, but they could not generally afford (until the 1950s) to maintain it.

(2) *The important contrast between peripheral and central regions,* or wild and tame, to cite terms I used in *Civilized Shamans* (Samuel 1993: 217-22, 571-2). I feel that this is still understated in many discussions of Tibetan societies, as indeed is the sheer range of Tibetan social formations and of environments within which they are located.

Scott's work directs our attention towards the elements of systematic rejection of centralized control present among both

pastoral groups (Pirie 2005a) and peripheral agricultural communities.¹²

Note though that Scott's Southeast Asian model is based on the valley-hill, *padi* rice-swidden cultivation contrast. Parallels elsewhere may have some of these features (e.g. the Hindu-Javanese hill people in East Java, cited by Scott; perhaps also such people as the Kogi in Venezuela, the Huichol in Mexico).¹³ In the case of Tibet, what are the functional equivalents and what are their implications? Rather than swidden agriculture, the two mechanisms that stand out are pastoralism (the Goloks might be the prime example here) and sheer geographical remoteness and difficulty of access (as with the Sherpas of Nepal, or Gyalrong in Eastern Tibet). Do these mechanisms produce the same effects as that discussed by Scott?

There are Tibetan populations – the Sherpas would be a classic example – who have a mythology of escape from the state. In some cases (Bonpo, and non-Gelugpa traditions in general) there is an element also of escape from religious persecution. Here the *sbas yul* 'hidden valley' complex is particularly significant. This is a cultural pattern in which people are led to a remote region by a *gter ston* or visionary lama (e.g. Boord 2003; Childs 1999; Diemberger 1993, 1997; Dokhampa 2003; Lhundup 2001; Reinhard 1978; Sardar-Afkhami 1996; Shor 2011). While this escape is often phrased in religious terms, and the hidden valley described as a place to which

¹² For pastoralists, see Pirie 2005a; for agriculturalists, Ramble 2007, and several of the articles in Centre for Bhutan Studies 2004. Also Pain and Deki 2000:206, on examples of flight from oppressive estate lords in Bhutan, and Goldstein's material on flight from oppressive estate lords in his articles on Central Tibet (e.g. Goldstein 1971).

¹³ In his 2014 interview, Scott makes it clear that, as far as he is concerned, 'Zomias' are not restricted to the specific ecological contrast that underlies the Southeast Asian Zomia: "I think that the category of "regions of refuge" is rather capacious and that state-fleeing peoples are extremely common, and the geographies to which they flee are dependent upon what's available to them" (Gilman and Guilhot 2014:113). Thus the Netherlands might historically have been a Zomia of sorts, protected by the swamps and marshes of the river delta, which restricted the movement of cavalry (2014:113).

people flee as a refuge for religious practice, this is clearly not the only aspect. Central and Eastern Tibet underwent a long series of wars, especially in the eighteenth century, and a standard response of Tibetan populations was the flight to a *sbas yul* under the leadership of a charismatic lama.

The *sbas yul* as an exemplification of Scott's thesis is certainly tempting, but it has some limitations. While some *sbas yul* were perhaps primarily places of escape and refuge, either from exactions of state authorities or those of monasteries, *sbas yul* often had a political dimension as well which was not necessarily anti-state. Early *sbas yul* accounts suggest that these places were thought of in part as places where surviving members of the Tibetan imperial dynasty could take refuge.¹⁴ In some cases at least (Sikkim and Yolmo are possibilities), the *sbas yul* ideology may have been little more than an ideological device to mask state expansion.¹⁵ Arguably, Tibetans were often not looking so much to reject the state as to find a better local estate lord or ruler.¹⁶

¹⁴ Note Childs' argument (1999) about the role of *sbas yul* in the early period as preserving members of the ruling lineage from the early Tibetan state. I don't think there is a necessary contradiction here, in that these lineages may have been seen less as exploitative aristocrats and more symbolic representatives of an idealized past when rulers were just and non-exploitative. However, as this suggests, kingship as such was not necessarily seen as illegitimate. Even Ramble's Te elects a quasi-king (Ramble 2007). It is perhaps worth noting that Buddhist kingship has an elective component as in the myth of the first king, Mahāsammata. In the Tibetan case there is a combination of the idea of the king as *chosen* with the idea of *hereditary transmission of ability* (*gdung rgyud* etc).

¹⁵ David Templeman has suggested this for Yolmo in Nepal, personal communication 14 Sep 2010.

¹⁶ Many of Scott's critics note that contemporary 'Zomians' are not necessarily averse to states as such. Thus Jonsson (2012: 165) notes that the ethnic minority people he has encountered in Southeast Asia "do not expect power to be moral, and have no categorical aversion to dealings with state agents", while Karlsson (2013: 329), discussing Northeast India, comments that people "hope for a state that can provide functional transport, education, health services, and justice. The controversy rather relates to whether one believes the Indian state, the far away center or Delhi, to be interested in or capable of delivering that."

(3) Finally, Scott's discussion of the *religious aspects of "Zomia"* is suggestive in relation to the Tibetan material. For Scott, core and periphery correspond to religious orthodoxy and heterodoxy. In the following passage, he is referring specifically to Theravāda Buddhism, though elsewhere he generalizes the point to other religious forms:

Centralized power helps explain a certain degree of religious orthodoxy at the core, but it doesn't fully account for the enormous religious diversity in the hills. The heterodoxy of the hills was itself a kind of state effect. Aside from being beyond the easy reach of the state, the hill populations were more scattered, diverse, and more often isolated. Where there was a Buddhist clergy, it was more dispersed and more decentralized, poorer, and, because it lacked royal patronage or supervision, more dependent on the favour of the local population. If that population was heterodox, as it often was, so too was its clergy. Schismatic sects were therefore quite likely to spring up in the hills. If and when they did, they were difficult to repress, being at the margins of state power (Scott 2009: 156).

Scott goes on to note that Buddhism itself "provided a strong warrant for withdrawal," citing the charisma afforded to hermits, wandering ascetics and forest monks. He also points out that heterodox groups were themselves among the peoples who were likely to flee to these marginal areas: "Hill demography and geography not only facilitated religious heterodoxy, they also served as a zone of refuge for persecuted sects in the valleys" (2009: 156).

In the Southeast Asian context, Scott sees these processes as underlying the opposition between religious forms that has often been described in terms of 'merit' and 'blessing'. The general idea here is that lowland peoples stress 'merit,' in other words positive karma. Merit implies morality, hierarchy and future lives, themes which link up with the ideological bases of Theravada Buddhist states. Upland peoples by contrast are more interested in blessing, which is shorthand here for rituals promoting this-worldly goals, such as health, fertility, and prosperity (Kirsch 1973; Durrenberger and Tannenbaum 1989; Kammerer and Tannenbaum 1996). If we look at the Tibetan plateau in these terms, it is surely significant that

followers of the dGe lugs pa tradition, most strongly associated historically with state formation, stress merit, while the rNying ma pa, most closely linked to the stateless pole, stress blessing, though we should be wary of oversimplifying here. Scott's model increases my own conviction that we need a polarity or continuum in describing Tibetan religion and Tibetan society.¹⁷

The link between heterodoxy – particularly of the charismatic and prophetic kind – and Zomian regions is, however, even more integral, in Scott's view, than the above implies. He suggests that the charismatic and prophetic role provides Zomian society with a form of leadership suited to its specific needs – citing the record of rebellions led by prophets (millenarian cults, in anthropological jargon) among the Hmong, Karen, and Lahu as examples (Scott 2009:282-293). Later in the same chapter he discusses heterodox Buddhism in Burma, arguing an affinity between the heterodox, charismatic aspects of Burmese Buddhism and the hill peoples (2009:299-302). Prophetic leadership and millenarian movements provide the "ultimate escape social structure" (2009:311-315). They give people the ability to 'turn on a dime,' as Scott puts it, to abandon their existing community and its social and religious practices, and create something radically new.

The obvious association in the Tibetan context is the role of the *gter ston* or 'visionary lama' (Samuel 1993), whom I have already mentioned in relation to the *sbas yul* or 'hidden valley'. There is no doubt that *gter ston* did add an element of visionary and prophetic leadership to Tibetan society throughout the centuries. I suspect that a Zomian analysis of their role would be a worthwhile undertaking, but, as in other areas of Tibetan society, this mode of analysis is unlikely to give an exhaustive account of their role.

Perhaps these three points are enough to illustrate both the relevance of Scott's work to Tibetan and Himalayan studies and some of its limitations. Overall, his mode of analysis shines a revealing new

¹⁷ Whether clerical and shamanic (Samuel 1993) are the best terms to define that continuum I am not sure, but I have yet to come across a better alternative.

light on many well-known features of Tibetan societies, and may help both Tibetans and foreign scholars perceive aspects of the Tibetan world that have not always received the attention they deserve. Scott's Zomians are more concerned with survival, with getting by, with managing in a difficult and threatening world, than they are with the pursuit of salvation through Buddhist or other religious practice. For them, the state in all its forms is a problem to be kept at bay, deceived and, where possible, evaded. They may help us to remember that Tibetans lived in the everyday world as well as in the transcendent universe of the Buddhist scriptures, that Tibetans too had to work hard at times to avoid the impositions and depredations of state authorities, and that Tibetan religion itself has incorporated much of those everyday needs within its complex technologies of the sacred.

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WITNESS TO CHANGE: A TIBETAN WOMAN RECALLS HER LIFE

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INTRODUCTION

Women play a critical role in rural Tibetan households. As youths and adults, they engage in labor-intensive chores, including farming, herding, fetching water, cooking, tailoring, cleaning, collecting fuel, and child care. In their old age, most Tibetan women dedicate themselves to chanting, prostrating, going on pilgrimage, and meditating. Prior to the early twenty-first century, in such areas as Mang ra County in A mdo,¹ women seldom traveled away from their family and community for work, though nomadic women seasonally traveled long distances between summer and winter camps with their family's livestock. Farming and herding have sustained life on the Tibetan Plateau for millennia. These traditional lifestyles have been changing in most Tibetan communities today in China's rapidly urbanizing society. Despite the massive transformations that have taken place in A mdo over the last sixty years, much continuity remains in how Tibetan women in A mdo spend their time. In 2015, average women in their forties and above are still actively engaged in such religious practices as chanting, prostrating, going on pilgrimage, and meditating. This paper presents the life-story of an elder Tibetan woman, Lha mtsho (b. 1946). Similar to many other Tibetan women born in the late 1940s, she was witness to the chaos of 1958, the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and also saw China's economic reform and development from the late 1970s up until today.

Lha mtsho is from a Tibetan Village in A mdo, and has six daughters and two sons. All her children have married, although her two daughters later divorced. She and her husband live with their youngest son. Her knowledge of local history, folktales, songs, riddles, speeches, and proverbs had a deep impact on some of her children

¹ One of three Tibetan regions that encompasses much of Mtsho sngon [Qinghai] and Gansu provinces

and continues to fascinate them, as do her relentless energy and seemingly endless traditional knowledge. Some of her family's younger children were unable to live with her all the time, due to the demands of schooling, and the distance this created made her children and grandchildren realize how valuable she is. They have, therefore, recorded her memories, songs, and stories. In 2012, Lha mtsho's enthusiasm for religious practice and past experiences led her to become a nun. This article is based on interviews that focus on her personal life and memories that her family recorded with her over the years. The ethnographic approach taken in this article is largely inspired by Dr. Kevin Stuart's tremendous ethnographic work and collection.

The rapidly growing economy and shift from subsistence to mass manufacturing and service industries, has brought inevitable waves of changes across the country. Tibetan communities in China have been inescapable parts of these historical changes. Lha mtsho's life account illustrates the experiences, traditional and modern family structures, religious practices, and changing patterns of livelihood in a Tibetan village.

There are many elderly men and women in A mdo who experienced the same historical events as Lha mtsho, but many are reluctant to talk about such things, and do not encourage others to learn about them. Publications on the events of 1958 and the Cultural Revolution, written by Tibetan scholars such as Naktsang Nulo (2014, first published in Tibetan in 2007) are rare, and recent publications by laymen and monks are no longer publically available. Until recently, the events of 1958 in A mdo have been a lesser-known and little-studied aspect of modern Tibetan history in both English and Tibetan literature. However, a corpus of recent studies has begun to explore 1958 and the following Great Famine. Nonetheless, such studies have only begun to scratch the surface of the events in A mdo and their impacts.²

² Some recent studies on the events around 1958 in A mdo are: Becker (1996), Buffetrille (2012), Yangdon Dhondup, Pagel, and Samuel (2013), Robin (2012), Erhard (2013), Fravel (2008), Gruschke (2001), Horlemann (2002), Huber (2002), Joes (2006), Makley (2007), Nietupski (2012), Pirie (2005), Slobodnik (2004), Tuttle (2013), Weiner (2012), and Yeh

From the 1950s to the mid-1980s, it was also a challenging task for foreign researchers to gain direct access to the Tibetan Plateau. Most western scholars undertook their anthropological and ethnographic studies on Tibet from outside the Tibetan Plateau, a practice that Rinzin Thargyal and Huber (2007:4) call "ethnography at a distance". Meanwhile, the Chinese government implemented ethnological surveys as part of its national ethnic classification program, which Chinese and Tibetan scholars reevaluated in the late 1970s (Rinzin Thargyal and Huber 2007).

With the emergence of new generations, the historical events of the year 1958 are less discussed and traditional knowledge is less commonly learned. A generational gap has increasingly grown between today's elders and youths. Meanwhile, the original local knowledge and practices have largely gone ignored, unrecorded, and unarchived. Although essays, papers, and speeches were published in school, private, and government journals, many early publications have seldom focused on the original stories and knowledge of farmers and herdsmen. These publications can no longer be found either in print or online, because of a lack of archives. The loss of traditional cultures has been increasingly noticed across the Tibetan region since the late 1970s and early 1980s, following the Cultural Revolution. According to Grags pa rgya mtsho (1981:6), there were about four journals of Tibetan art and literature in Tibetan available across Tibetan areas in 1981. These publications seem to be formal periodicals that the government approved of and promoted.

In Tibetan areas, the widespread publication of Tibetan folk art and literature journals capturing people's knowledge and practices started in the late 1970s and 1980s under local government cultural bodies. The main publications were: Blo bzang rdo rje and Zla ba bzang po (1988), Bod ljongs rig rtsal mthun thogs (1980), Bsod nams dbang ldan (1989), Dkar mdzes khul rig slob cu'u (1981), Grags pa rgya mtsho (1981), Kan lho'i rtsom rig sgyu rtsal mnyam 'brel lhan tshogs (1982), Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig rtsom sgrig khang (1988), Lho kha'i rtsom rig sgyu rtsal bod yig rtsom sgrig khang (1984),

(2003). Among these studies, Erhard (2013:108) deals with two previous Tibetan publications on 1958, both from an area nearby where Lha mtsho comes from.

Mtsho sngon Education Bureau (1979), Mtsho sngon tang gi slob grwa (1984), Mtsho sngon zhing chen rig gnas khang (1985), Sde chen sngrol dkar and Tshe rdor (1988), and Tshe brtan rdo rje (1989). Additionally, some ethnographic studies are found in communal and regional history publications created since the 1980s.

Most of the above journals are published today under the same government bodies and many of them are focused on general literature and contain small sections focusing on local folk art. Most of them are archived in searchable formats at the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org).

Government restrictions have regularly been imposed on informal publications. However, hundreds of private periodicals and newspapers on general Tibetan literature, art, and culture have proliferated. Almost every monastery, school, and village had a newspaper or a journal published with writings by Tibetans themselves. Such publications still continue today in many parts of Amdo, such as Mtsho lho and Rma lho prefectures. However, these independent print publications have constantly been lost and current and future publications are endangered due to the lack of systematic and searchable archives that are accessible and linguistically appropriate to the publishers and writers.

The focused initiatives in ethnographic studies on ordinary farmers and herders, both by academics and independent scholars in Tibetan within China, have only been undertaken since the late 1990s. One example of this is the editorial focus transition of *Mtsho sngon Tibetan Folk Art and Literature* from general literature to folk art, and its compiling of focused and selected publications on ethnography (Mtsho sngon zhing chen rig gnas khang 2009). The publications of Gcan tsha bkra b+ho (2008, 2011) were pioneering in providing theoretical perspectives, guidance, and research methods in Tibetan ethnographic studies focusing on ordinary herders and farmers. In contrast to conventional descriptive Tibetan ethnographic studies, the work of Mkhar rtse rgyal (2009) and Samten G Karmay (2010) featured analytical interpretations of ritual practices, histories, symbols, and other cultural practices in Tibetan communities. The latter's essays were originally written in English and later translated into Tibetan. In 2015, a growing number of Tibetan university

students' graduation papers focus on cultural practices and experiences of people in villages, rather than the traditional focus of religious, historical, social-economic literatures, and monastic politics. Large gaps still exist between the research subjects of general university intellectuals and the knowledge of ordinary men and women in rural communities.

With the introduction of television, DVD players, and cameras, audio and video publications have increasingly been made of ritual performances, songs, ceremonies, and speeches. However, the same issue of lacking archives meant that these publications disappeared almost instantly from the public record, and are not available for younger generations.

Although some awareness of ethnography is emerging among Tibetans, an enduring and accessible archive has not been made. The availability of the Internet in the region in the early 2000s allowed young Tibetans to upload and archive certain audio and videos on such sites as Youku or Tudou. However, these have largely been modern music and performance. Chinese Internet servers have constantly rejected visual and audio recordings of traditional rituals and knowledge, especially if they lack Chinese subtitles. Some digital archiving projects have been implemented by local NGOs, foreign universities, and independent researchers and have created archives on foreign websites (e.g., TBRC, YouTube, archive.org, www.oralliterature.org) and university library archive sites. Unfortunately, NGOs and outside researchers are often hampered by uncertainties and difficulties in retrieving and archiving much of the knowledge and practices from rural community members. The loss of traditional knowledge and practices that elders hold has become increasingly widespread and extensive recording and archiving are urgently needed.

What follows is Lha mtsho's story. Her life is just one example of the rich knowledge and experiences that contemporary Tibetan elders possess, a knowledge which is going largely unrecorded and unarchived and may be lost to the future were it not for concerted effort.

LHA MTSHO'S EARLY LIFE

I was born into the tribal leader's home in an agro-pastoral village not far from the sacred salt lake of Mtsho sngon po (Kokonor).

"This child is going to be a special person," a lama told my family before I was born. "They will bring great fortune to the family if the child is born a boy. In order to let it be born a boy, family members should avoid killing animals and eating fresh meat during the childbearing period."

One day, my uncle Rdo rje's family killed a sheep and brought some meat to my family for dinner. We were living in a black tent at that time. My family members believed that it was because of this meat that my mother started to feel a churning pain in her womb, and then gave birth to me later that night. And, I was born a girl instead of a boy. Grandmother Skar mtsho, her cousin Klu mtsho, and a relative, A ma Kho le, helped my mother to give birth.

My father was absent from home when I was born, because he had traveled to some other communities to chant. People considered him to be like a lama. He had been a monk in the past, though he had disrobed in the early 1930s.

"Wrap up the infant in one of my robes as soon as he is born," Father had told Mother and the others before he left. However, grandmother and her cousin forgot to wrap me in his robe after I was born. They were surprised that I was born with a caul – a thin and translucent skin tissue that I was entirely enclosed in – which was considered unusual and unique.

A ma 'Brug mo, a local woman, recalls that when she was herding one day, A ma Kho le's daughter told her that Gdugs dkar skyid (~1925-2012), my mother, had given birth to a baby girl.

"I did not know that. How did you know?" she asked.

"I heard it from my mother," A ma Kho le's daughter replied. "Someone came and asked for help with birthing a girl last night. Then she told me everything this morning. The child was born covered in a caul. Although such things are very rare, Mother said that she'd had a rough idea of how to handle such a unique situation, because she had heard about something similar from

some elders long ago. She opened the skin tissue at the top of the head, and found it was a girl."

According to Grandmother, my two maternal uncles were both unmarried at that time. Mother's sister, Bde skyid, was at home doing chores. She made tea in another tent so the child and mother could avoid smoke.

"Bde kyid, make sure you use enough fuel to make the tea," one of my uncles commanded, while brandishing a stick at her. "The stove sounds very empty – you obviously still haven't learnt how to boil tea properly!"

"I'm working on it," Bde kyid said nervously.

Mother later told me that she and the other women overheard such conversations from the next tent.

A lags Thos pa, a lama, foretold that I was the reincarnation of a former much-respected tribal leader, who brought peace and prosperity to the community. Family members recognized me as the reincarnation of Dpon po Yon tan, a former leader of my community, who lived several generations before I was born. This made my family members and relatives take special care of me. Many family members carried me around and rarely allowed anyone to put me down. When I turned three, several other tribes in the village that were related to the tribal leader's clan invited me to their households, as an auspicious sign, to stay for a day and two. A lot of food was made. I never ate meat from an animal that had been slaughtered that day, because doing so was considered more sinful than eating it the next day. Eating the fresh meat of livestock that had been killed on the same day was considered more sinful than eating it the next day. My family often set aside the best cuts of mutton for me to eat: breast meat and the meat from tail joints. Such delicious morsels were usually reserved for the most beloved and important people. I was constantly taken to many other families when I was still about six and seven. Gifts of meat, tea bricks, candies, and clothes were given to me each time I left a family. My family members gave me good-looking and strong animals as gifts. A mare once gave birth to a pony and a camel gave birth to a little camel at home. Both were recognized as gifts for me and nobody was allowed to use or sell them.

My family once had dozens of camels that belonged to an official from Khri ka.³ These camels were later taken back by the official, but he left a couple of them with my family. I rode these camels whenever my family moved back and forth between the winter and summer pastures. We were able to pack a lot of things on the camels. My parents would use a sheepskin to make a comfortable seat for me on top of everything we had packed. They always piled the back higher than the front, which meant there was something for me to lean back against, and I could go to sleep while the camels walked. Like many other things, those two camels disappeared in 1958.

My father left home when I was eight. It was not clear why he left. He was always traveling to many places. The last time I saw him, I was standing on a hill behind our home, and watched him leave by horse. He gave one last look back over his shoulder just before he disappeared into the distance. I missed him day and night after that, and frequently asked mother when he would return home. Unfortunately, he never did. I was then raised by my uncles, my mother, and Uncle Phag go's wife Skar mtsho, who I also called 'Mother'. They gave me many robes and silver jewelry and I passed the jewelry on to my own children.

When I was around ten, as before, relatives showered me with gifts – the finest things that were available. Uncle Phag go gave me a tame, fast-walking mare. A thick and comfortable rug was placed on the mare for me. Everyone had a horse to ride at that time. I received the best horse and saddle. Mother often cooked mutton and soup for me. Noodles were considered a low-quality food, so I was given meat instead of noodles. Mutton dumplings and bread were baked under hot ashes. Black sugar with butter was sandwiched in warm bread and given to me. In our family, my mother had been cared for in the same way. She was a much-cherished woman in the family. Relatives often worked harder, herding and doing chores, to lessen her workload. She often dressed up in luxurious robes with colorful ornaments

³ Khri ka was an important farming region about two days' travel by horse from Lha mtsho's village. It was home to several important temples, monasteries, and government officials.

and rode strong horses and raced across the grassland. As a cherished woman from the tribal leader's home, she seldom needed to do chores. My uncle's wife often took care of me and I called her mother. It took me until about ten to realize who my real mother was.

Uncle Phag go taught me the Tibetan alphabet in his spare time. He was the village leader at that time and emphasized the importance of learning Tibetan to many people. He brought many books for my mother and me whenever he returned from meetings in the local township and county towns. Later, many other villagers were encouraged to learn Tibetan. The first school in the village was set up in a tent. A group of locals was organized to study in the tent for a few days, and then the tent and teachers moved and another group studied in a different location on the grassland. Tshe brtan, a former monk, was appointed to be the school headmaster.

"Why would you let a girl learn Tibetan?" many people asked Uncle.

"You don't understand. There will be a time when learning Tibetan will be important for everyone," Uncle often replied. Many local elders still remember the way he encouraged people to pursue education.

My family household was located at Chu wa dbol in Bon po'i zhing kha at that time. Uncle Phag go was the head of the village and also the vice-president of the People's Bank in Mang ra County at that time. Whenever he returned home, he talked about his official trips to other counties and cities in China. He also met many lamas, such as Tshe brtan zhabs drung,⁴ the Dga' ldan gser khri, and Rdo sbis dge bshes Shes rab rgya mtsho⁵ when he travelled to Beijing. Two Han Chinese assistants always accompanied him when he traveled. I remember clearly one time when he scolded one of his assistants for pissing on his horse while riding on a rainy day.

⁴ 1910-1985.

⁵ A scholar, 1884-1968.

1958: CHAOS

In 1958, I was twelve and my brother Bstan pa was seven. One day, early in that year, several local county officials had come to the village's farmlands and held a meeting. Officials warned locals to not participate in any riots, because several other villages in the area had recently risen up against the government. Afterwards, they also collected all the weapons that locals owned. Rifles were common in the village that time, so they collected a big pile of them from the villagers.

Uncle Phag go emphasized the importance of maintaining peace in the village and warned people not to cause any disputes with the officials, and then he left for Mang ra County town for work. However, in the following months, an argument started with several Chinese officials who frequently visited the village. The argument escalated and the officials were killed and buried. Villagers managed to keep it a secret for some time, and two to three months later, Uncle Phag go returned home by horse from a business trip to Chab cha. He was terribly sick, suffering from gall bladder infection and a flu. We took good care of him at home, treating his problems with Tibetan medicine. Even after a few days of medical treatment, he still hadn't heard what had happened. Then, one day he heard that two of our villagers had been murdered by Chinese militiamen. One of them was a monk. Uncle was furious to hear this news and did not quite understand why it had happened.

"Why should such innocent people be killed? I can't see any reason why those militiamen would shoot them. There must be some devils in the village. I told them hundreds of times to be peaceful," Uncle said, coughing.

Soon, he was told about the killing of the officials in the village. He became outraged, coughed more, and complained, "Why should these local officials have been killed? They are no different from us. They were merely doing their job – they had no choice."

In the following days, everyone discussed whether the army was going to come and attack the village, and if so, when.

Some people began preparing to leave the village for Kye pur Mountain, which they considered a good place to hide out. However, Uncle asked the villagers not to leave, as it would cause more fights and escalate what was already a bad situation. He was still bedridden and couldn't walk. Many villagers were determined to go, and came to see Uncle, bringing *kha btags*⁶ with them.

"Please listen to me," Uncle said. "Going to Kye pur will mean losing many lives. I don't want to see any innocent people die just because of some devils' thoughts and bad advice. Please listen to me and just stay in the village. But if you won't, I will leave the village and go back to my workplace in Mang ra County town."

After several days, the villagers managed to force Uncle to leave the village with them for Kye pur Mountain. He was placed on a horse, although he was still ill and could barely ride. All our relatives followed. The militiamen soon gave chase and reached Kye pur a few days after us. Many different communities had gathered in Kye pur, and when the militiamen arrived, they continued their uprising. It was chaos. Terrible killings occurred, as there was no surrendering to the militiamen. Most Tibetans were unarmed, because their weapons had been collected, but still the militiamen shot them. Many villagers lost their lives. Some escaped further into the mountains and hid there. All the local lamas, tribal leaders, and wealthy people were imprisoned. However, Uncle Rdo rje took my uncle Phag go and hid deep in the mountains, and so they were not arrested.

After about two months, the militiamen asked the remaining villagers to return home. After a few more months, harvest time arrived, and most villagers returned to Bon po'i zhing kha, our village's farmlands. My uncles didn't come back until 1959. The local government informed us that all the people still in hiding would be granted pardons upon their return. My uncles finally came back and surrendered but were imprisoned anyway. Uncle Phag go passed away in prison, suffering from his illness, and Uncle Rdo rje was released later. Most people were wrongly

⁶ Auspicious silk strips thought to embody purity and good fortune given to guests, religious personages, and others, to show respect

arrested and the government apologized to these people, including my uncles, in September 1981, with a written letter and reparations of about 500RMB. I used to be able to recognize Uncle's bank in Mang ra County town, but now it is difficult to find it today with all the new buildings around.

Locals began occasionally shouting slogans after 1958, for example, "Defeat the evil masters of capitalism and feudalism." One day in 1959, when I was playing with my brother, some children said, "Is the evil master of capitalism and feudalism here?" pointing at me, and then my brother. Sometimes they even bullied him, since we were from the traditional leader's family. As a girl, I seldom got hurt.

The 1958 chaos left my mother, Uncle Phag go's wife, brother, and me in the family. I later realized that my father was also in prison and could not return home. In 1960, some villagers from two neighboring villages murdered Uncle Phag go's wife in a dispute. To this day, this crime has never been clearly acknowledged or redressed.

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According to the official records of the Guinan County Annals (1996:19):

From 17 June to 20 August 1958, over 7,587 people in Mang ra rebelled against the government. The local army cracked down by executing seventy-one people and injuring, forcing the surrender, and arresting 1,616 others. Additionally, seventy-two officials lost their lives, including a Mang ra County leader. In this process, local officials also made 'aggravating' mistakes. Apologies were offered in late 1958 for the killing of eighty-six innocent people, whose reputations were restored, and subsidies were given to their surviving relatives. Over 780 people who were falsely arrested and sentenced for committing crimes were rechecked and their cases corrected.

Starting in 1960, there was nothing to eat. It was the same everywhere. There was no *rtsam pa* or other food. Most villagers, including me, ate roasted wild plant seeds mixed with wheat husks and water. We ate it like *rtsam pa*, but of course there was no butter or cheese. It was very spicy and hard to eat. I did not eat it often and could endure hunger for a couple of days without eating anything. Locals were not allowed to have adequate portions of food, nor could we cook at home. If someone saw a family who seemed to have more food than others, they immediately reported it to local authorities. Rule-breakers were punished, forfeiting everything their family owned. Nonetheless, my mother brought a bag of flour from somewhere and buried it in a pile of sheep dung by the stove. Every couple of days, my family secretly made tiny pieces of bread and soup with bits of noodles at home. Most other villagers went to a communal canteen for food, but none of my family members were allowed to do this, because we were descendants of the leader's family.

After 1958, families that were identified as rich or who had been traditional leaders were considered criminals. Many starved to death. I personally saw more than ten people starve to death. Families with no men or strong young men were particularly likely to starve and die, whereas families with men ultimately survived, because men secretly hunted and stole livestock.

During this extreme famine, people ate all sorts of animals that we'd normally never consider as food. Some ate the flesh of camels that had died, while others stole and killed camels to eat. Once, some people who stole a camel were later discovered by the Village Committee and beaten. Some ate a dead wild ass, and some ate donkey meat, cats, or birds. I only ate camel and wild ass meat when the bag of flour at my home ran out. Locals' farmland and livestock were confiscated by the state. Locals could not own a single sheep or piece of farmland. Instead, the state created nine 'Production Teams' in the village. Villagers worked together and

⁷ Nangchukja (2015).

earned food from the communal canteen. Daily labor was monitored strictly and 'Work Points' were awarded to each person based on the amount of work they did, and food was rationed out accordingly.

My family members went barefoot and only had enough sheepskins to cover half our bodies. We had no roof, because local officials had destroyed our house in the village. Tents and yurts were either destroyed or abandoned during 1958 and lost afterward. Eventually, my family was able to pitch a simple cloth tent to live in.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION⁸

From 1966 to 1976, descendants of traditional leaders and rich families were assigned extra work and were subjected to criticism. During the struggle sessions, I had to wear a paper hat, signifying that I was guilty of crimes. Those labeled guilty of causing or participating in the events of 1958 were made to stand the whole day in the fields while wearing white paper hats. Uncle Mgon po, who had some sort of leader's position at the county level, was the only person from our family who was considered innocent. Village Committee officials frequently organized locals to shout such slogans as, "Defeat Deities and Demons!" and "Defeat the Four Kinds of Bad People!" in gatherings and meetings together.

I don't know who organized it, but during this time, the temple of the local deity, called Yul lha, as well as the mountain altar of the deity, were both burnt to the ground.

Spies among locals reported to the local government. Nobody was allowed to practice any form of religious activity, including chanting or any form of worship. Engaging in any form of religious activity was punishable by extra labor and beatings.

⁸ Nangchukja (2015).

When I turned fifteen, Uncle Mgon po took me to his family home to stay, leaving my mother and brother alone. Uncle wanted my brother to continue the tribal leader's family line. While I lived with my Uncle, I found that he and his wife frequently quarreled about trivial things, and I soon realized that it was because of my presence in their family. At seventeen, I escaped from my uncle's family to Mgon lo's family, the neighbor of my original home. Finally, I went to my natal home, where my mother and brother lived. Uncle Mgon po came for me many times, but I refused to return to his home.

At nineteen, I married Pad ma. Uncle Mgon po did not agree to my marriage. Several matchmakers repeatedly made negotiations. I remember one such conversation during that time.

"Lha mtsho's father told us that she should not be given to anyone for marriage," Uncle said.

"You have no choice if the couple obtained a marriage certificate," some matchmakers said.

"I don't care. She is the only person in our family who will take care of us, and she is our most cherished child. I will go to whatever courts I need to, to get my girl back," Uncle insisted.

Dozens of negotiations took place, and eventually Uncle Rdo rje and 'Phags pa decided to allow me to marry Pad ma, although Uncle Mgon po disagreed.

At twenty-one, I gave birth to my first child, and the second one came when I was twenty-five. Eventually, I gave birth to a total of nine children, and one died at birth among them, before the fourth daughter. All my children got married, but two of them divorced. My children are: Don grub (b. 1967), Mtsho mo (b. 1969), Gnam skyid (b. 1971), Bkra shis sgrol ma (b. 1976), Tshe skyid (b. 1978), Tshe bzung (b. 1979), Gser mtsho (b. 1981), and Kun dga' (b. 1983).

When I was in my early thirties, my husband spent most of his time away from home. He abandoned the children and me, and went to stay in his girlfriend's home in the same village. During his absence, my children and I went through so much incredible

hardship. The laborers from my family were my eldest son and me. My son was about ten years old at that time. We carried sheep and cow dung for the Production Team on a daily basis. A head of the team secretly supported us by giving us a couple of extra Work Points. One sack of dung was counted as one ticket. This credit was accumulated and exchanged for food at the end of each year. I bought goat hair from the Production Team, then I took the fine wool out of the coarse hair and sold the wool back to the team. I used the coarse goat hair to make strings and ropes. My son and I used the ropes to bind bundles of wood that we collected on the mountains. I used strings to make woven fabric and sold it to farmers in the neighboring farming villages. They mostly used such fabric to make sacks. There were paper banknotes at that time. Money earned from such trade was then used to purchase salt, tea, and clothes for my children. I bought sheepskins from the Production Team, which I made into robes with colorful decorations lining the hems, and my children and I wore them in winter. These earnings also allowed me to purchase sashes and shoes.

After some years, we were allowed to herd our own goats, so we had plenty of goat hair, and I sold much goat hair fabric to local farmers. I got up very early in the morning without having breakfast and set out to herd livestock. Soon, my family livestock had dramatically increased and locals began to admire me. I sold a goat for several sacks of wheat flour, so we had enough food for some time. My elder daughter was at my natal home, assisting my mother and brother to herd and do chores.

One day, I planned to build a small house for my family. I took my son with a yak and donkey to a lush forest by a wide river, to log some trees. The forest was logged by the state and so there was a forestry station there. It had already been there for some time, but that year, locals were saying that it would be closed. Trees were logged quickly and moved out of the area. Many truckloads of logs were transported out of the forest, day and night. Workers there were prisoners, and were closely monitored. When we reached the forest, my son kept look out for militiamen or guards, while I cut some small trees. A couple who lived near the

forest and guarded the fields from wild animals had given me an axe and a trowel. I got several bundles of timber and transported them back home by yak and donkey. I did this several times with my son and never got caught.

To make our new home, I first dug a big hole with a spade. My son assisted me in all the labor, even though he was very young. Within a month, we had dug a spacious room and roofed it with the timber we had gathered in the forest. We used the trowel to spread soil mud that was mixed with straw to make the wall surface. Sheep stomachs were the only containers we had at that time for fetching water. Straw was placed underneath carpets on the floor for a bed. It was a nice and warm small room to live in. Beside, we also built a sheep pen out of wood beside the house for livestock. Locals found the sheep pen to be a great model and I made another one for my brother's family.

At times, we ran out of meat, because nobody in our family could kill a sheep. Women did not kill a sheep, and though my son had tried to do it several times, he couldn't manage it until he was thirteen. Before that, he had used a sash to tie a sheep, but the sheep was stronger than him and dragged him around the pen. However, by the age of thirteen, he was strong enough. Before that, my brother occasionally came to help us.

After a year, a farmer woman who had married a Han Chinese man who herded for the forestry station, said, "The forestry station will be closed. I will leave with them. You may move up to the house where I lived. It is in good condition."

She also kindly offered me other items. I found that it was a nice location, but the house had been cobbled together from many different materials. There was not only wood and mud, but pieces of clothes also covered cracks in the walls, and pieces of glass were wedged into the wall. I found the strange construction a bit annoying, so I used the good-quality wood from the house to build a new house beside the site of the old one. Fetching water with a sheep stomach was the challenging part. Luckily, I got a plastic container that could carry twenty-five liters, from the local store-keeper, Tshe thar, who was one of my husband's relatives and took pity on me.

"Tshe thar, can I please buy a water container? I have no money now, but I will reimburse you in the summer. I have been fetching water in a sheep's stomach all these years," I asked Tshe thar.

"Didn't Pad ma buy one for you? Is he still not coming back home?" he asked.

"No," I replied.

"He is so evil. He should be dead. I can't believe he didn't even buy you such a basic thing. I am very concerned about your difficulties and I'm worried about your children." He went on and on scolding my husband, and eventually said, "The container costs thirteen RMB, but you can take one for free."

"Thank you so much, but I will give you the money later," I said.

"Please take it for free. I refuse to take any money from you," he insisted. Nonetheless, after several months, I returned the money to him.

The water container was very convenient and allowed me to fetch water to use for building the new house. I did most of the work to build our house, and let my son and daughter go herding. The house was made of both mud and wood. All the walls, inside and out, were covered with mud mixed with wheat and bean straw, which made everything very sturdy. I also built an adobe stove and adobe sleeping platform in the room.

One year, just before New Year, some time after I had built the house, Pad ma, my husband, came home by horse. My children (my son and four daughters) had missed him badly and ran out to him, and hugged him. They missed him so much that they even smelled his clothes in his absence. I did not say a word, even though I was very angry. He stayed in our home for a few days during the New Year celebrations. I had prepared everything I could for the children for New Year, making new clothes and even buying some for them. They visited many families during the New Year period. After a few days, Pad ma left home again and did not come back for months. I had an argument with him one time upon his return.

"Don't come back to my home again! You bring nothing to the family but trouble. You're torturing the children," I yelled at him. He said almost nothing – he just beat me.

"Go to your other wife's home and stay there. We don't need you!" I said as he beat me. During such arguments, my son sometimes contradicted me, and begged his father to come home.

"I will run away if Father isn't allowed to come home," my eldest son used to say.

Uncle Mgon po visited me many times and tried to take me back to my natal family. However, Pad ma's father had stopped my uncle and told us to wait until Pad ma realized his mistake.

One of the most challenging parts of life was moving between the summer pasture and the wintering site. On one occasion, my son and second daughter took care of the livestock and herded them by the Yellow River bank to the summer pasture. I packed our things on two camels and a horse. I had done this with my third and fourth daughters, who were very little, and they had to ride the camels and horse. The fifth daughter was very little, and I had to carry her all the way. It took an entire day to move from the winter house to the summer pasture. Traveling across steep mountains to the pastureland was very tiring. I did not bring water with me that day and was very thirsty. I almost fainted out under the hot sun. Finally, we made it to the summer pasture. My son and second daughter arrived first, as they had set out before us and taken a different route. They also brought some water in the plastic container and in an old inner tire of a vehicle.

Challenges continued. Pad ma seldom stayed at home, and rarely brought anything for the children, preferring to give gifts to his girlfriend instead. Although he spent most of his time with his girlfriend, he periodically returned home. We were periodically friendly with each other, but we also fought. In the following years, I gave birth to the fifth and sixth daughters, and the eighth child was a son. I had to carry such a big burden, but as my first son had already grown up, he was very helpful and worked very hard.

VILLAGE RESETTLEMENT

Some time in the early 1980s, the government started building a dam on a local river. The village's farming site needed to be relocated. Some people received small subsidies – I don't remember how much – but I didn't receive anything. My husband got a subsidy and occasionally brought some clothes and fabric home. One time, Pad ma took my son to Sku 'bum Monastery⁹ on pilgrimage. My son was fourteen years old at that time, and Pad ma bought some fabric in Sku 'bum to use for making robes for my son's future wife.

Starting in 1986, Pad ma and my eldest son occasionally went to the relocated farming site to cultivate cropland. Meanwhile, Pad ma and I started preparing clothes and ornaments for a wife for my son, who was then nineteen. I provided a silver and coral ornament that was shaped like a crescent moon above a sun, which hung from the belt at the right hip. I also gave hair ornaments I received from my mother, which were made of silver in the shape of bowls, and some similar ornaments were given by Pad ma from his father. Pad ma gave these to a silver smith in Khri kha to make new ornaments and earnings. My son and his fiancée, Sgrol ma, had been undergoing a trial period for some time, and my son finally abducted her. A matchmaker went to negotiate the marriage conditions with Sgrol ma's relatives, but they couldn't come to terms. My son and his fiancée planned to elope to A ma Bde skyid, my aunt's home in Stong rgya Village.¹⁰ Pad ma withdrew 300RMB from the local bank and gave it to my son for their travel expenses. 300RMB was a very large amount of money at that time. My son and his fiancée then traveled firstly to Sku 'bum and then to Khri kha.

After many unsuccessful negotiations, my brother and Pad ma's father went to Sgrol ma's home as matchmakers and they finally agreed to the marriage. I had prepared coral necklaces, fabric robes hemmed with otter pelts, and sheepskin robes. The sheepskin robe required many lambskins, and so some relatives

⁹ A monastery in today's Hongzhong County, Zi ling (Xining) City.

¹⁰ Khri ka County.

helped provide lambskins as well. Lambs were never killed to make such robes, instead, we took skins from those that froze to death in winter. We prepared the best clothes and ornaments we could for the new bride.

As the marriage of my son got closer to a reality, Pad ma also frequently stayed at home with us and seldom went to his girlfriend's house. He lived with that woman for almost eight years, and they had three children together. The village invited Lama Byang chub¹¹ and Pad ma was assigned to be one of the caretakers of local religious sites and activities, such as the Yul lha Temple, mountain cairn, and village *mani* chanting hall. The lama also came to my home and stayed there many times. Later on, my husband's girlfriend married another man. All these things convinced him to stay at home and take care of the family.

My son and his wife lived in the resettled farming site while my husband and I stayed with the rest of the children in the herding site. Our herding livelihood continued until about 2002. The government divided the pasture in the early 2000s and each household was allotted a limited piece of pasture on which to live and raise their livestock. As my daughters got married into other villages and my husband and I grew older, my eldest son repeatedly requested us to move to the farming site with my son and his wife, and to give up herding. I was also diagnosed with hepatic echinococcosis, took more medicines from a Chinese doctor, and started feeling less energetic than before when I was doing chores. Eventually, we gave up herding. In 2002, we sold half of our 300 sheep to some local villagers and entrusted the other half to my elder daughter's family, so we could get mutton whenever needed. We rented the pasture to my elder daughter's family and neighbors. My husband and I moved to the farming site to live with my son and his wife afterwards.

Life was difficult without livestock. We started raising some cows and a female yak for milk at the farming site. The female yak has been one of our family's most precious animals. She lived to be over twenty years old and still provides milk for us

¹¹ A local lama who was often invited to chant at villagers' homes.

today. Besides, we occasionally received meat from my elder daughter's family from the herding site. However, this was stopped in about 2005 when my daughter's family gave up herding. Now, we must purchase meat from markets in local township town, which is about forty minutes away by car.

Starting in 2000, local government introduced the Returning Cropland to Forest Policy¹² and most locals stopped farming. The government subsidized households with one hundred kilograms of wheat per *mu*¹³ of cropland. My family also dedicated most of our cropland to this project and no longer farms. My grandchildren no longer engage in herding or farming. They are often away at school in distant places and stay less at home.

ACTIVITIES LATER IN LIFE

Living in the farming site allowed me to chant more at home, participate in rituals, and turn prayer wheels at the local chanting hall. Recalling my cheerful childhood, and its tragic end with the loss of my father and uncle in the chaos of 1958 continued to make me fearful. Happy times are impermanent and dedicating myself to chanting the Dharma is the only way for me to be truly happy. The many sheep that my son and husband killed to provide for us continued to make me feel guilty. Such thoughts continued to give me a strong faith in practicing the Dharma.

I used to like listening to tape recordings of people singing the Ge sar¹⁴ Epic, including songs about A stag lha mo.¹⁵ I found them both educational and inspirational. I remember most of the stories told through those songs – how A stag lha mo died and was punished in Hell, but eventually made it to Heaven, and so on. I also used to sing some of the songs while herding, but have now forgotten them. In addition, I learned some proverbs, speeches, and folksongs from my uncles and other relatives.

¹² Tuigenghuanlin.

¹³ A unit of area equivalent to 0.67 hectares

¹⁴ The legendary King of Gling.

¹⁵ A character in the Gling ge sar Epic.

With the knowledge of Tibetan that I received from Uncle, I could chant many Buddhist scriptures. Chanting and prostrating are the main activities of my daily life. With occasional instructions from local lamas and monks, I am able to chant a number of mantras and scriptures, and have memorized some of them too. Everyday at home, I chant Mka' spyod ma, Sman bla, Gzungs spyod, Ltung bshags, Bla mchod, and Gcod one time each. I also chant a few pages of Rje rin po che'i Lam rim, Thar mdo, and I also chant Brgya rtsa many times. While circumambulating a stupa or walking on roads, I chant Dga' ldan lha brgya ma 100 times, Skyabs 'gro 100 times, Sgron dkar seven times, Da re 5,000 times, Mani several hundred times, 'Od dpag med kyi mtshan several hundred times, and Yig brgya fifty times, which I have chanted 101,000 times so far.

It takes about twenty minutes for me to walk to the local chanting hall from my home. I attend the Mka' spyod ma'i tshogs ritual on the tenth of every month from 9:00am to 4:00pm. The chanting hall provides lunch on this day.

I go on tantric retreat for seven days each year, in the ninth lunar month, during the Great Attainment ritual. Practitioners go to remote grasslands for this ritual, and meditate. I meditate in different locations each day and night during the ritual.

Furthermore, I practice Mka' spyod ma'i bsenyen chen, a ritual for which I chant tantric mantras and other recitations 108 times, included Mandala practices, making and offering sacrificial items such as cones of *rtsam pa* dough, sometimes on a daily basis, and use water vases while chanting. Whenever I chant, I try to think of compassion, tolerance, and peace, and to pray for a better next life for all sentient beings.

Besides practicing and chanting the Dharma at home, pilgrimage is also important. I am occasionally ill and traveling long distances becomes a problem. However, I have traveled to Ü-Tsang¹⁶ twice with the help of my children. That's the farthest I have ever traveled in my life. I also travel to such important

¹⁶ Central Tibet.

pilgrimage sites as the Dgon chen bzhi,¹⁷ A myes rma chen,¹⁸ and nearby monasteries and temples whenever I find time. When I was not this old and ill, a pilgrimage to such monasteries as Sku 'bum in Zi ling¹⁹ and the Jo khang in Lha sa²⁰ meant prostrating and circumambulating around those sites, which took a few days, or sometimes more than a week.

REALIZING A DREAM TO BECOME A NUN

Becoming a nun has been my dream since I started being immersed in the Dharma. However, it is both unacceptable and unusual for a woman with a husband to become a nun. Several women from my village have become nuns, but they are all widows. Since I first had the idea, I occasionally told my family of my wishes, but they disagreed, especially my husband. However, I insisted more strongly as I got older and became less useful around the house.

As my dreams grew, I even prepared robes and other things that a nun needs. It took several years to negotiate with my family members. In order to convince my husband and children, I asked other elderly relatives who supported my decision to talk to them. By early 2012, everyone had agreed with my decision, and then I took the holy vow to become a Buddhist nun at a monastery under the instruction of a lama.

A nun's life is different from a laywoman's life. Now, I no longer engage in family chores, but more in Buddhist practices at home and at the monastery, and go on pilgrimages. People respect

¹⁷ Four key monasteries in northeast A mdo: Bya khyung Monastery in Hualong (Ba yan) County, Haidong (Mtsho shar) District, Qinghai Province; Gser khog Monastery in Datong County, Xining (Zi ling) City; and Dgon lung and Chu bzang monasteries in Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Haidong District in Qinghai Province.

¹⁸ A holy mountain and deity in Rma chen County, Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

¹⁹ The capital city of Mtsho sngon (Qinghai).

²⁰ Refers to Jowo, the image of Shakyamuni in the Jo khang Temple in Lha sa, the capital city of Central Tibet.

me more than before. I avoid gossiping, killing living beings, sexual intercourse, lying, stealing, drinking alcohol, smoking, and being angry, greedy, or jealous. These are the basic vows that allow me to practice the Dharma and to take the path to enlightenment. Chanting and meditation bring me peace and reduce the sin I accumulated earlier in life. Buddhist practices further give me confidence in approaching death, and reassure me that I will have a better next life.

CONCLUSION

Lha mtsho's vivid recollections of her life bear testimony to historical social changes that younger generations may no longer be aware of, both today and in the future. In particular, women's experiences and life accounts are seldom recorded and published, though there has been a plethora of publications by men and monks in the past decades on the Tibetan Plateau. Lha mtsho's encounters with tragedies in losing her father in early childhood, social chaos, hardships through famine and marriage, illuminate a life that was not uncommon for Tibetan women in that period. Although the status and visibility of women are increasing in Tibetan society, particularly through formal education, the unique voices of elder women still often go unheard.

Tibetan elders often describe themselves as "people of the old world and the new world" today. The traditional knowledge that was handed down from generations prior to modernization is now endangered. In 2015, Tibetan elders who are in their fifties and above still carry unique treasures of knowledge that, without the younger generation's efforts to maintain them, will become something precious that has gone forever on their death. Consequently, a line of identity, tradition, values, language, and knowledge will be fragmented and modernization may continue without a foundation of cultural value that was maintained for centuries.

NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'Od dpag med kyi mtshan འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་མཚན། a Buddha

A lags Thos pa ཨ་ལགས་ཐོས་པ། a lama

A ma 'Brug mo ཨ་མ་འབྲུག་མོ། a person's name

A ma Kho le ཨ་མ་ཁོ་ལེ། a person's name

A mdo ཨ་མདོ། one of three Tibetan regions that encompasses much of
Mtsho sngon and Gansu provinces

A myes rma chen ཨ་མྱེས་རྩ་ཚེན། a holy mountain and deity in Rma chen
(Maqin) County, Mgo log (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous
Prefecture

A stag lha mo ཨ་སྐག་ལྷ་མོ། A character in the Gling ge sar Epic

Ba yan བ་ཡན། (Hualong 化隆) Hui Autonomous County

Bde skyid བདེ་སྦྱིད། a person's name

Bkra shis sgrol ma བརྒ་ཤིས་སྐྱོལ་མ། a person's name

Bla mchod བླ་མཚོད། a Buddhist recitation

Bon po'i zhing kha བོན་པོའི་ཇིང་ཀ། a local place name

Brgya rtsa བརྟེ་རྩ། a Buddhist recitation

Bstan pa བསྐན་པ། a person's name

Bya khyung བྱ་ཁྱུང། a monastery name

Byang chub བྱང་ཚུབ། a lama

Byang gi dgon chen bzhi བྱང་གི་དགོན་ཚེན་བཞི། four key monasteries in
the North of A mdo

Chab cha ཆབ་ཇ། (Gonghe 共和) County

Chu bzang ཚུ་བཟང། a monastery name

Chu wa dbol ཚུ་ལ་དཔོལ། a local place name

Datong འུ་ཐོང། County

dga' ldan gser khri དགའ་ལྡན་གསེར་ཁྲི། a lama

Dga' ldan lha brgya ma དགའ་ལྡན་ལྷ་བརྟེ་མ། a Buddhist recitation

Dgon lung དགོན་ལུང། a monastery name

Don grub དོན་གུབ། a person's name

Dpon po Yon tan ཡོན་ཏན། a person's name
 Gcod གཙོང། a Buddhist recitation
 Gdugs dkar skyid གདུགས་དཀར་སྦྱིང། a person's name
 Ge sar གེ་སར། the legendary King of Gling
 Gling ge sar གླིང་གེ་སར། alternative name of Ge sar
 Gnam skyid གནམ་མཚོ་སྦྱིང། a person's name
 Gser khog གསེར་ཁོག། a monastery name
 Gser mtsho གསེར་མཚོ། a person's name
 Gzungs spyod གཟུངས་སྦྱོང། a Buddhist recitation
 Huzhu 互助 Tu Autonomous County
 Jo khang ཇོ་ཁང། a name of temple in Lha sa
kha btags ཁ་བཏགས། auspicious silk strips thought to embody purity
 and good fortune given to guests, religious personages, and
 others to show respect
 Khri ka ཁྲི་ཀ། County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.
 Klu mtsho ལུ་མཚོ། a person's name
 Kun dga' ལུང་དགའ། a person's name
 Kye pur ཀྱེ་ཕུར། Mountain
 Lha mtsho ལྷ་མཚོ། a person's name
 Lha sa ལྷ་ས། the capital city of Central Tibet
 Ltung bshags ལུང་བསྐྱེད། a Buddhist recitation
 Mang ra མང་ར། County
 Mgon lo མགོན་ལོ། a person's name
 Mgon po མགོན་པོ། a person's name
 Mka' spyod ma མཁའ་སྦྱོང་མ། a Buddhist recitation
 Mka' spyod ma'i bsnyen chen མཁའ་སྦྱོང་མའི་བསྟན་ཆེན། a ritual
 Mka' spyod ma'i tshogs མཁའ་སྦྱོང་མའི་ཚོགས། a ritual
 Mtsho lho མཚོ་ལྷོ། (Hainan 海南) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 Mtsho mo མཚོ་མོ། a person's name
 Mtsho shar མཚོ་ཤར། (Haidong 海东) District, Qinghai Province
 Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ། Lake

Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྒྲོན། (Qinghai 青海) Province
mu མུ a unit of area equivalent to 0.67 hectares
 Pad ma པད་མ། a person's name
 Phag go ཕག་གོ། a person's name
 Rdo rje རོ་རྗེ། a person's name
 Rdo sbis dge bshes shes rab rgya mtsho རོ་སྒྲིམ་དགོ་མཉམ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། a
 person's name
 Rje rin po che'i lam rim རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ལམ་རིམ། a Buddhist text published
 by Rje rin po che blo bzang grags pa
 Rma lho མ་ལྷོ། (Huangnan 黄南) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
rtsam pa རྩམ་པ། a staple food
 Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ། a person's name
 Sgron dkar སྒྲོན་དཀར། deity
 Skar mtsho སྐར་མཚོ། a person's name
 Sku 'bum སུ་འབུམ། Monastery
 Skyabs 'gro སྐྱབས་འགོ། a Buddhist recitation
 Sman bla སྐན་བླ། a Buddhist recitation
 Stong rgya སྟོང་རྒྱ། Village, Khri ka County
 Thar mdo ཐར་མདོ། a Buddhist recitation
 Tshe brtan zhabs drung ཚེ་བརྟན་ཞབས་བྱུང། a lama
 Tshe brtan ཚེ་བརྟན། a person's name
 Tshe bzung ཚེ་བཟུང། a person's name
 Tshe skyid ཚེ་སྐྱིད། a person's name
 Tshe thar ཚེ་ཐར། a person's name
 Tuigenghuanlin ཏུ་གི་ཇེ་ཁྱེ་ལོ་ལྷོ་འཇོ་ལོ་ལོ། a policy
 Yig brgya ཡིག་བརྒྱ། a Buddhist recitation
 Yul lha ཡུལ་ལྷ། *Yul* = 'place' 'designated place'; *lha* = 'deity'.
 Ziling ཟི་ལིང། (Xining) City

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A GROUP OF MURAL PAINTINGS FROM THE 1930S IN A MDO REB GONG

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Over the course of several summer and winter visits to A mdo Reb gong in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I had the privilege of meeting 'Teacher Kevin' and several of his students (of Tibetan and various ethnicities) and teaching colleagues in Xining. I sat in on more than one of the evenings at his apartment with his amazingly proficient language students. Often these rather jolly gatherings ended with a performance fest: going round the room, each person was obliged to sing a song. Without either musicality or a good memory for lyrics, and in the face of some truly extraordinary musical talents among the Tibetan-speaking young men, I usually begged off. I vividly recall one evening, however, when I was somehow convinced or inspired to uncharacteristically sing a bawdy song taught to me in the winter of 1971 by my friends Chief and Skeezix, two Chippewa Native Americans who were resident, as I was that year, on Madelaine Island in the Wisconsin side of Lake Superior. The ditty started, "There once was an Indian maid, a shy little prairie maid..." and went downhill from there. In Xining that night, we all recovered, and I even had the good fortune soon after to be able to steer Skidmore College into admitting, in consecutive years, two of Teacher Kevin's students, Spencer (Don grub dbang chen) and Joe (Sgrol ma don grub), who both graduated with BA degrees. The point of this anecdote is to suggest that Kevin's methods may have been unorthodox, but, to put it mildly, they did work, not only with Tibetan students and the English language, but also to the mutual benefit with the world of Tibet-related scholars, so many of whom came to know and appreciate Kevin, his colleagues, and his students.

I burnished the fieldwork I conducted in Reb gong those years into two articles (Linrothe 2001, 2002a), but both were published before I had made a minor discovery of some slender documentary value for the study of pre-Cultural Revolution Reb gong painting. Having since those years focused mainly on art in the Western Himalayas and Tibet, I never had the chance to share it in print,

except for two paragraphs in a non-scholarly venue (Linrothe 2002b). The means by which I arrived at the pertinent evidence is, I believe, analogous in some loose ways to the methods used by Kevin Stuart himself, and resulting in his many publications in *Anthropos*, *Asian Folklore Studies*, and so on. That is, they involved orally-transmitted information, collaboration with local people whose knowledge and memory was drawn on, as well as personal observations. Therefore, I hope it is appropriate to submit it in the context of this *festschrift* for Kevin Stuart.

Because of the high reputation in Reb gong of the Seng ge shong monasteries (upper and lower), I naturally visited both of them several times while investigating contemporary Reb gong painting in the late 1990s and early 2000s. My primary base of operations was Tongren (Rong bo) where I had forged a friendship which endures to this day with a learned and devout friend and *kalyāṇamitra*, Dge 'dun A khu dpal bzang.¹ We started interviewing various people related to the arts, including the monk Skal bzang blo gsal of the Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling Monastery at the Seng ge shong ma mgo (lower) temple. We visited Skal bzang blo gsal in mid-January of 2001, and then again on the third of February 2002. Being a knowledgeable impresario and manager of younger painters, Skal bzang blo gsal was thus a fount of information about the reach of Seng ge shong artists into the surrounding areas of A mdo. In addition, he took us into those buildings of his monastery with artwork, and allowed us to take photographs. In 2001, I had already noticed that on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang 'Maitreya Hall' there were paintings which looked to me to be older than recent paintings. At that time, based on the high quality and subtle shades of the pigments, I thought that they might be nineteenth century. It was common knowledge that the sculptures in the Byams pa lha khang, believed to have been built in the early eighteenth century, had been destroyed between 1958 and the Cultural Revolution. The re-creation of the present main statue of Maitreya was overseen in 1982 by one of the premier artists in the region, the late Rgya mtsho, along with a

¹ A khu dpal bzang later produced a study of the monasteries of Reb gong, their histories and holdings (Dpal bzang 2007).

team of collaborators.² Because the interior of the shrine became a granary for the village during 'the troubles', the architecture itself survived, though its interior murals were ruined in the process, and have since been repainted. The porch murals, however, may have been covered, and so were protected.

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Skal bzang blo gsal asked one of the older monks about the porch murals, and with his help, we tracked down the elderly monk Snying 'bum, now retired from painting but not from religious practice (Figure 1). In 2002, he said he was eighty-three (thus born around 1919). Born in Seng ge shong village, his father was also a painter. He began learning the arts from his father and became a monk at age seven. Later, he painted alongside the slightly older Rgya mtsho, also from Seng ge shong. Snying 'bum recalled not only the fact that he was forced to stop painting in 1958, but that unlike many other monks and monk-painters at that time (including Rgya mtsho and another famous painter Sha bo tshe ring),³ he was allowed to remain a monk. It was not until the year 1980 or so that he could return to painting publically. Snying 'bum showed me a painting of Tsong kha pa he had done when he was sixty-four, in around 1983.

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Snying 'bum clearly recalled helping two painters work on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang. He was sixteen then, while his teachers were in their thirties. One was named Kun dga' sha bo, and the other Skal bzang. Skal bzang was also a monk. Snying 'bum related that Kun dga' sha bo painted the four Lokapāla and the Shambhala (bde 'byung) Kings (Rigs ldan) on the porch, which would leave Skal bzang as primarily responsible for the Dpal lha mo (Lakshmi) (Figure 2). She is one of the protectresses of Lha sa, and I was told she is locally referred to as De ma chi ni. She is surrounded by a large number of local mountain gods and their retinue. Directly below Dpal lha mo is Tshe ring ma of the Long-Life Five-Sisters, with her sister Ting gyi

² A khu dpal bzang and I had interviewed the recognized master-painter, the late Rgya mtsho, in January of 2002, when he was 86 and already in poor health.

³ A khu dpal bzang and I also interviewed Sha bo tshe ring; on him see Fraser 2010, 2011.

shal zang ma' to her right. The mountain deities Rma chen spom ra (the deity presiding over A mye rma chen, the highest peak of A mdo) and A myes bya khyung (presiding over the highest peak in Reb gong) are the first deities in the lower left corner of the panel (Figure 3).

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The twenty-five Shambhala Kings are arranged around a large central deity (Figure 4). I was told that the largest Shambhala King was the Pan chen bla ma in his pre-incarnation, Mañjuśrīkīrti ('Jam dpal grags pa), which can be confirmed by comparing the iconography (holding a sword and a book) with the images included in the Pan chen bla ma pre-incarnation sets.⁴ The rest of the Rigs ldan identities are difficult to confirm, however, as more than one carry the same attributes, such as the vajra and bell. There are gold inscriptions beneath each one, but unfortunately my images don't allow decipherment.

Despite its limitations, the value of this documentation lies in the establishment of a relatively rare fixed point in the evolution of Reb gong painting within the first half of the twentieth century. It helps to position the style of painting that was bottled up in the late 1950s and then revived and further developed from the 1990s to the present. Many of the particular characteristics represented in the 1930s painting are visible in the revival style, thus demonstrating the fidelity of many recent painters to former painting practices. Yet, at the same time, comparison of painting in the 1990s and the new millennium with earlier painting demonstrates a significant gap between the two periods of mural painting at the same site. Without color illustrations, this is nearly impossible to demonstrate, only describe.⁵ One fitting comparison is between the 1930s painting on

⁴ See for example the complete sets of pre-incarnations included on the Himalayan Art Resources website; <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=72>, accessed October 2014.

⁵ Many of my images from Amdo Rebgong are already available on Artstor (www.artstor.org/index.shtml) but an institutional subscription is required. Through the Northwestern Library Digital Collections Department, others not already in Artstor will be made available to anyone with internet access, including Amdo Rebgong material. They will be available at: <https://images.library.northwestern.edu/>.

the porch of Seng ge shong ma mgo's Byams pa lha khang, and those on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang of Seng ge shong ya mgo on the other side of the same village. They were done by a young local artist, Sha bo thar, in the late 1990s and feature not only most of the same larger themes but echo many of the same tendencies, though without literal copying.

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To summarize the similarities, one notices a broad tendency toward lighter colors in the skies, a generous use of gold, and a tendency to indulge in the elaboration of tiny details of both an ornamental and a figurative nature, as in the Fabergé-like wish-fulfilling jewels held by Dpal lha mo and the gold patterns of her garments. Building on a base of features absorbed from late Ming painting, as well as painting known in Lha sa from the eighteenth century, the exaggerated, hard-edged blue-and-green rock formations, outlined in gold, are quite prevalent in both earlier and later painting. The imaginative placement of vignettes almost playfully irrelevant to the main theme – such as yogi or siddha meditating in a cave below the sword tip of Virūhaka ('Phags skyes po) (Figure 5) – are one of the hallmarks of the earlier painting that seems to have been consciously picked up by the later painters to a distinctive degree. The most significant difference between the 1930s paintings and those of more recent times can be attributed to a factor simultaneously material and economic: the type of pigments employed. As Rgya mtsho explicitly told me in the interview of 2002, before 1958 he used stone-ground pigments, while the paints he used once he was allowed to paint again are of a prefabricated, industrial nature. This is generally the case in my encounters with practicing artists. The contemporary pigments have lost most of the subtlety and softness of hue that are perceptible even in reproductions of the 1930s murals, as long as those reproductions are in color. They allow for a considerably warmer, less harsh tonality that is immediately visible in person. Interestingly, the bright pigments of artificial colors have been, it seems, embraced by artists and the local viewing public alike, all of whom appear to value the bright freshness they feel is suitable to the religious themes. Contemporary artists also tend to have been exposed to 'modern' realist painting from multiple sources. They are much more likely to

interpolate into relatively traditional themes naturalistic poses, one-point perspective, shadows and shading, resulting in a fascinating hybridized combination of the traditional and the 'modern'.

These murals on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang of Seng ge shong ma mgo, then, can form a benchmark for the study of both contemporary Reb gong art as well as pre-1958 painting. Although a great deal, particularly sculpture, was destroyed in the years intervening between 1958 and the late 1980s, when painting in the service of Buddhism seems to have resumed in Reb gong, there are significant pockets of surviving works of art. In particular, murals and *thang ka* paintings from before 1958 have been identified⁶ and will no doubt continue to be rediscovered and documented. This short essay, dedicated to Kevin Stuart, is a small piece of the puzzle in the recovery of the distinguished culture of A mdo Reb gong.

⁶ See for example the set of Klong chen snying thig paintings from the 1940s and 1950 available on Artstor and the Himalayan Art Resources site: <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=68>, accessed October 2014. The Byams pa lha khang of Gnyen thog monastery has late 18th century murals and its Sa 'dzin Lha khang has pre-twentieth century, Khyen ri-like murals, to name just two examples.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'Jam dpal grags pa འཇམ་དཔལ་གྲགས་པ
A mdo ཨ་མདོ
A myes rma chen ཨ་མྱེས་རྩ་ཚེན
A myes bya khyung ཨ་མྱེས་བྱ་ཁྱུང
Byams pa lha khang བྱམས་པ་ལྷ་ཁང
Bde 'byung བདེ་འབྱུང
De ma Chi ni ???
Don grub dbang chen དོན་གྲུབ་དབང་ཚེན
Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling དགའ་ལྷན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང
Dge 'dun A khu dpal bzang དགེ་འདུན་ཨ་ཁུ་དཔལ་བཟང
Rgya mtsho ལྷ་མཚོ
Sgrol ma don grub ལྷོལ་མ་དོན་གྲུབ
Skal bzang ལྷལ་བཟང
Skal bzang blo gsal ལྷལ་བཟང་བློ་གསལ
Kun dga' sha bo ལུན་དགའ་ཤོ་བོ
Rma chen spom ra མ་ཚེན་སྤོམ་ར
Snying 'bum སྤྱིང་འབུམ
Dpal lha mo དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ
Pan chen bla ma པན་ཚེན་བླ་མ
'Phags skyes po འཕགས་སྤྱེས་པོ
Reb gong རེབ་གོང
Rigs ldan རིགས་ལྷན
Rong bo རོང་བོ
Seng ge shong སེང་གེ་ཤོང
Seng ge shong ma mgo སེང་གེ་ཤོང་མ་མགོ
Seng ge shong ya mgo སེང་གེ་ཤོང་ཡ་མགོ
Sha bo thar ཤོ་བོ་ཐར
Sha bo tshe ring ཤོ་བོ་ཚེ་རིང
Ting gyi shal zang ma' ཅིང་གྱི་ཤལ་བཟང་མའ་ (?)
Tongren 同仁
Tshe ring ma ཚེ་རིང་མ
Tsong kha pa ཚོང་ཁ་པ

FIGURES

Figure 1. Snying 'bum, born ca. 1919, photographed in Seng ge gshong ma mgo Monastery. Photograph by Rob Linrothe, 2002.



Figure 2. Dpal lha mo (Lakshmi, or De ma Chi ni); detail of a mural painted around 1935 on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang in Seng ge gshong ma mgo Monastery. Photograph by Rob Linrothe, 2002.



Figure 3. Detail from the Dpal lha mo mural depicting (left to right) Rma chen spom ra, A myes bya khyung, and Ting gyi shal zang ma', painted around 1935 on the porch of the Byams pa lha khang in Seng ge gshong ma mgo Monastery. Photograph by Rob Linrothe, 2002.



Figure 4. Mural of the twenty-five Shambhala kings arranged around Mañjuśrīkīrti ('Jam dpal grags pa), one of the Shambhala kings and a pre-incarnation of the Panchen Lamas; painted around 1935 on the porch of the of the Byams pa lha khang in Seng ge gshong ma mgo Monastery. Photograph by Rob Linrothe, 2002.



Figure 5. Detail of a mural of the Guardian General of the South, Virūhaka ('Phags skyes po) depicting a yogi or siddha meditating in a cave below Virūhaka's sword tip; painted around 1935 on the porch of the of the Byams pa lha kang in Seng ge gshong ma mgo Monastery. Photograph by Rob Linrothe, 2002.



KEVIN STUART AMONG MONGOLIAN ENGLISH-LEARNERS IN HUHHOT DURING THE MID-1980S

Mandula Borjigin (Department of Chemistry, Delaware State University), Narisu Narisu (National Human Genome Research Institute, National Institutes of Health), and Chuluu Ujiyediin (Independent Scholar)

In the mid-1980s, Southern Mongolia (Inner Mongolia) was still at the early stage of opening its door to Westerners. In Huhhot, the capital of Southern Mongolia, there were only a handful of Westerners visiting, teaching English, or studying at the various colleges, and only for limited periods of time. In fact, foreigners were so few and cherished that they were often invited by the governor of Southern Mongolia to attend such state events as the annual Tsagaan Sar 'Lunar New Year' Celebration. The appearance of foreigners at these auspicious events was interpreted as a symbol of how the government was making an effort to introduce foreign investments and ideas to the economic and political reforms. Kevin was one of the respected foreigners working in Huhhot at that time.

Kevin taught English at Inner Mongolia University and Inner Mongolia Normal University for a total of three years in the 1980s. During that time, the 'English Corner', a place where English learners could practice the language by talking to each other, was a novel concept. Such events were held sporadically, and were organized by volunteer English teachers or senior English majors. Some of the few Mongolian students who were curious about learning English occasionally visited the English Corner. The best thing about the English Corner was that we had a chance to meet native English speakers and practice our English with them. We got acquainted with Kevin at the English Corner, and found that he was an enthusiastic supporter of Mongolian students learning English.

The admission of Mongolian students to colleges was limited at that time. Most were from rural areas in Southern Mongolia. At Southern Mongolia Normal University, some departments lacked programs that were taught in Mongolian, or only admitted Mongolian

students sporadically. As a result, Mongolian students faced significant challenges. Due to the lack of Mongolian-speaking instructors, Mongolian students often had to take courses exclusively in the Chinese language. All Mongolian students, except for those who were majoring in Mongolian, had to learn another language, Chinese, to catch up with the majority of students, who were of Chinese descent. Mongolian students had never been exposed to English, while the Chinese students had started learning English in middle school.

The universities encouraged Mongolian students to learn English, and opened beginner classes, but the textbooks were in Chinese, and the teachers were Chinese. Most Mongolian students struggled to learn Chinese sufficiently well to cope with their regular programs. There was an enormous gap between the Chinese and Mongolian students in terms of their level of English knowledge. Among the few Mongolian students who were taking English classes, many stopped learning after completing only one year of study. As a consequence, English was simply inaccessible to Mongol students in Southern Mongolia.

At the English Corners, Kevin was a passionate advocate of Mongolian students' involvement. He noticed the natural language ability of some students, and believed that every Mongolian student was potentially a fluent English speaker. He encouraged students to overcome the hurdle of low self-confidence, and taught students how to improve their spoken English. On some weekends, he even invited us to his residence, and let students practice their English in casual settings over tea or beer. A number of us advanced our English so fast that Kevin asked us to write some essays and articles about Mongolian culture, language, and education. Each of us wrote several articles with Kevin's help. With his guidance and editorial help, we published several articles (see the Bibliography below). In addition, he also helped us publish peer-reviewed scientific articles in our respective fields, which helped us start our careers. These achievements would have been nearly impossible, if not for his guidance.

Kevin was the first to realize the difficulty of learning English for the Mongolian students in Southern Mongolia, and the need for

specialized outreach. He worked with several English teachers to translate an English textbook from Chinese to Mongolian, and produced a full set of TV and radio programs that were broadcast across the region. The programs are still the only broadcasts of their kind available in the region and are still used today. Mongolian English learners know Kevin through this program and benefit greatly from his tireless efforts.

We are happy to share in the celebration of Kevin's sixtieth birthday, and wish to honor his contribution to many Mongolian scholars' success, teaching, and inspiration. Through him, we started to learn about the Western world and envisioned Mongolians in Southern Mongolia as proficient in English. Far more than that, he helped us to look at Southern Mongolia from a whole new perspective that otherwise was incomprehensible to us. Kevin's friendship with Mongolians and his generous help touched many Mongolian scholars during his three-year career in Southern Mongolia. We have the utmost respect for his teaching and friendship, and we wish him more success in his continuing adventures and endeavors around the world.

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༄༅། མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་གསོའི་གནས་བབ་སྐྱོང་བ།

བཅུ་ཐང་རྒྱལ། (ཀྲང་དབྱང་མི་རིགས་སློབ་ཆེན་བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སློང་།)

【ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟུན།】 ཚཱ་འདྲིའི་ནང་ལོ་རབས་དགུ་བརྒྱའི་སྐད་ཅམ་ལ་མགོ་ཚུགས་ཤིང་གཙོ་བོར་མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་ནས་དར་བའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་གྱི་གནས་བབ་བརྗོད་པ་བརྒྱུད་དེ། ཆེད་ལས་འདྲིའི་སློབ་གསོའི་བྱེད་ཐབས་ལས་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོར་དངོས་རྗེས་གསུམ་དང་། དགོ་ཆུན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་གསོའི་ལས་དོན་སྐྱོར་ལྷངས། སློབ་མའི་སློབ་སྐྱོང་གི་གནས་ཚུལ། དགོ་སློབ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་སློབ་སློབ་ཕྱིད་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་ཡར་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་བྱ་འགུལ་སྟེལ་བ་དང་དེར་ཟབ་ལྷགས་བྱེད་པའི་ཉམས་སྦྱོང་སོགས་ནི་རིམ་གྱིས་ཆེད་ལས་སློབ་སྐྱོང་འདྲིའི་གལ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་ལུངས་སུ་གྱུར་བ་མ་ཟད། ཆེད་ལས་འདྲིས་གསོ་སྐྱོང་གནང་བའི་གཞོན་རབས་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ས་ལུལ་རིག་གནས་རྒྱན་སྐྱོང་གི་ལས་གཞིའི་མང་དོར་གྱུར་ཡོད་ལ། རྒྱལ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་རིག་གནས་མཉམ་ལས་གྱི་ཟམ་པ་ལྷ་བུར་ཡང་གྱུར་ཡོད་པས། འདྲིར་ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་གཉིས་ཅམ་གྱི་རིང་གི་རང་རེའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཡིས་འདས་དང་ད་ལྟར་བཏོན་པའི་སློབ་གསོའི་རུས་པར་ཕྱིར་མཉག་བལྟས་ཏེ་མ་འོངས་པར་བསམ་གཞིགས་བྱས་ཡོད་དོ།

བརྗོད་ཆད་གཙོ་བོ། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས། རྐང་གཉིས། སློབ་གསོ། བོད་ལུལ།

༄༅། མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་གསོའི་གནས་བབ་སྐྱོང་བ།

སྐྱོང་གཞི།

འདྲིར་སྐྱོང་བར་བྱ་བ་ནི་དུས་རབས་ཉེ་བུ་བའི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཆ་སྟེ། སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1997 ལོར་རྒྱལ་ཕྱིད་ལེས་པ་དོན་གྱི་རིག་གནས་པ་དང་སློབ་གསོ་བའི་སྐབས་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་པ་འགས་མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་དེ་ཡིན། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་འདྲི་ནི་ཐོག་མར་མདོ་སྐད་ཅོང་ཁའམ་ཟེ་ཡིང་དུ་

ཡོད་པའི་མཚོ་ཚོན་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེན་མའི་མི་རིགས་ལྗེ་ལག་¹ དང་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་སློབ་བརྒྱུ་བས་ཡིན་ལ།
 སློབ་གསོའི་དམིགས་འབེན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་བསམ་སློབ་འདུ་ཤེས་དང་། གཞུགས་གཞི་བདེ་ཐང་བཅས་ཕྱོགས་
 ཡོངས་ཚད་ཤར་གྱི་སྤང་གཞིའི་སྤང་མ་འོངས་པའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་རྒྱུ་འབྲིང་གི་སློབ་གསོ་སྤྱོད་མཁན་དང་། དེ་
 རབས་སློབ་གསོའི་དམིགས་ཅན། མི་རིགས་རིག་གནས་ལ་དུང་ཞེན་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་མདོར་ན་རིག་གནས་སྣ་
 མང་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱི་འབྲེལ་ལས་དོན་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དང་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་དགོ་གནས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་མིང་གི་དགོས་
 མཁོར་གཞིགས་པ་དེ་ཡིན།

དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྤྱོད་བརྗེ་འཛིན་གྱི་² འདིས་དང་བོར་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་འཚང་ཉན་འབྲི་སློག་གི་མ་མཐའི་བྱང་
 ཚད་ལུགས་བསྐྱོད་སློབ་མཐོར་འདེགས་བཟང་བ་བརྒྱུད་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་དབྱིན་ཇི་བཀོལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དག་
 གི་སྤྱི་འབྲོར་རིག་གསུམ་འབྲེལ་ཕྱོགས་དེ་ཐང་ཀར་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་མ་ཡིག་ལས་རྒྱལ་ལོན་དང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་པ་
 དང་མཉམ་དུ་བོད་ཡིག་དང་། ཞར་ལ་བྱ་ཡིག་དང་ཚེས་འཁོར་ཤེས་བྱ་སྤེལ་གཙུག་སློབ་གསོའི་བསྐྱབ་ཚན་
 ཡང་བཀོད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་འདུག ³ དེ་ལྟར་ཆེད་ལས་འདིའི་བཟང་བྱ་ཉུང་ཤོས་རིང་གི་སློབ་གསོའི་བྱུང་འབྲས་ནི་
 གཞུགས་དུ་ཟེང་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཡང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་དེ་ཀྱུ་ཀྱུ་ཅིག་ཡིན་པ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་རྒྱུན་གཤམ་རྒྱུ་ལས་
 བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆེད་ལས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་རང་རྒྱལ་བོད་ལུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བོད་སྐད་
 གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་⁴ ལྟེ། བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གྲྭའི་སློབ་གསོའི་ཁོད་བོད་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་རྒྱའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་
 ལྗོངས་བ་དང་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་པའི་ལག་ཆ་རྒྱ་བཀོལ་བའི་སློབ་གསོའི་སྤྱོད་གཞིའི་དམིགས་ལུས་ནི་རྒྱ་བོད་སྐད་
 གཉིས་ལ་བྱང་བའི་མི་སྣ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པ་ཞེས་བ་དང་མི་འདྲ་ལ། ཡང་རང་རྒྱལ་ནང་སའི་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་
 གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་⁵ ལྟེ། དའི་ནང་དོན་ལ་གཞི་ཚུལ་ལྷན་ཚོས་གསུམ་ཚད་དགོས་པ་ནི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཁོད་ཉུང་

1 ད་ལྟ་མཚོ་ཚོན་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་ཚེན་གྱི་མི་རིགས་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་སྤྱོད་དུ་ལྷུར་ཡོད།
 2 དང་བོར་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྤྱོད་བརྗེ་འཛིན་གྱི་ཚམས་ལས་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སམ་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་སྤྱོད་གི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་དང་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་
 མོགས་འཛིན་མཁན་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་མིང་བཟང་གསུམ་ཡོད།
 3 མཚོ་ཚོན་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་ཚེན་མི་རིགས་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་སྤྱོད་གི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་དེ་ལྟར་བོད་དབྱིན་ལས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ཡིན།
 4 ཚེ་གོ་དང་བར་གོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱུས་ཤིང་ 2011 ལོའི་《མཚོ་ཚོན་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་ཚེན་མི་རིགས་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་སྤྱོད་གི་རིག་
 གཞུང་དུས་དེབ། (Journal of Minorities Teachers College of Qinghai Teachers
 University)》 ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་པར་མའི་པར་ཐངས་22 པའི་དབུ་ཐང་དང་བོད་སྤྱོད་བཀོད་པའི་མཚོ་ཚོན་བོད་ལུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བོད་སྐད་
 གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་འབྲེལ་རྒྱུས་དང་བསམ་གཞིགས་ (青海藏区藏汉双语教育发展思考) ཞེས་པའི་ཆེད་ཚུམ་
 ཀྱི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 55-58 པར་གསལ།
 5 ཀྱོལ་དབྱིན་དང་དབྱི་ལའེ་མེན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུས་ཤིང་ 2010 ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་དུས་དེབ་《ཕྱི་སྐད་དང་ཕྱི་སྐད་སློབ་གསོ་

མཐར་ཡང་སྐད་རིགས་གཉིས་བཀོལ་བ་དང་། སྐད་གཉིས་ལ་བྱང་བའི་མི་ལྷན་གསོ་སྦྱོང་གི་དམིགས་ལུལ། སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གཞི་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་སློབ་གྲུའི་སློབ་གསོའི་གྲུབ་ཆ་གསལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་དོན་གང་གི་ཁྲུབ་ཁོངས་ནས་ཀྱང་ད་པན་བར་དུ་བཏང་སྟོམས་སུ་བཞག་པ་ལྟ་བུར་གནས་ཡོད། གང་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན། སྐད་རིགས་སློབ་པའི་ཆེད་ལས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་ཁོ་ནའི་ཐད་ལ་གཞིགས་ནའང་བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་གསོ་སྦྱོང་བའི་སློབ་མའི་ཡོང་ཁོངས་གཙོ་བོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་འབྲོག་ས་ཁུལ་ཡིན་པས། རིག་གནས་བག་ཆགས་དང་པ་སྐད་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་དཀའ་གནད་དེ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་འགྲེལ་ལྟ་བུའི་རམ་འདེགས་རྒྱ་ཆ་སྦྱོང་བའི་བུ་ཡིན་ཡང་། མིག་ཁྱར་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་མཉམ་སྦྱོང་གི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་རྒྱ་ཆ་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ནས་ཆད་བཀག་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པ། དབྱིན་ཡིག་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ལས་དང་པོ་བུ་ཡིན་པས། དང་ཐོག་བོད་ཡིག་གམ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་⁶ གིས་འགྲེལ་བའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་བསྐབ་གཞི་སྦྱོང་དགོས་པ་དང་། བར་དུ་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཚད་འབྲེད་རྒྱགས་རིམ་སོགས་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་དང་འགྲེལ་བའི་ཡིག་ཚད་ལེན་དགོས་པས།⁷ རྒྱ་ཡིག་ལའང་སྦྱང་བ་སྟོན་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས་པ། སྦྱིར་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཡིན་པས་བོད་ཡིག་སྦྱང་བ་ལུང་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཀྱང་དུས་ལུན་ཐུབ་པའི་ནང་ཤེས་ཚད་མཐོར་འདེགས་ཀྱིས་ཆེད་ལས་སུ་ཟབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་བཅས་རྒྱ་བོད་དབྱིན་གསུམ་མཉམ་སྦྱོང་གིས་གྲུབ་པའི་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གཞི་ཞིག་གཞི་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་རིགས་སློབ་གསོའི་ནུས་པ་གསར་བ་ཞིག་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། གྲུབ་ཆ་གསལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ཡོད་ཅང་། སློབ་གསོའི་ཁྲུབ་ཁོངས་ལ་ཤེས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ལ་སྐུལ་བའི་ནུས་པ་ནི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ལས་ཀྱང་གསལ་ཆེ་ལ་རིན་ཐང་ལྡན་པར་མ་ཟད། སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གཞི་འདི་ཡང་གནད་དོན་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་འཕམ་གྱིན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མིག་ཁྱར་རང་རྒྱལ་དུ་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་རི་བོའི་གཏོས་

(Foreign Languages and Their Teaching)》 དེབ་དུག་པའི་སྤྱོད་བཀོད་པའི་རང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་མིག་ཁྱའི་གནས་བབ་ (我国英汉双语文教育研究现状) ཞེས་པའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ། ཤོག་ངོས་ 31-36 བར་གསལ།

⁶ རམ་རྒྱན་གྱི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཉམས་སྦྱོང་གཞིར་བཞག་ན། སྦྱིར་ཆེད་ལས་འདིའི་སློབ་མ་མང་ཤོས་ཤིག་བོད་ཡིག་དང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གཉིས་ལས་སློབ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་རྒྱ་ཚད་ལྡན་ནའང་བོད་ཁུལ་དུ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྦྱོང་བའི་ལག་ཆའི་དེབ་དང་རྒྱ་ཆ་མང་ཤོས་ཤིག་དུ་དུང་ཡང་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སུ་པར་སྐྱར་འགྲེལ་སྤེལ་བྱས་པ་མང་པས། སློབ་མ་དག་གིས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྦྱང་དགོས་པའི་གོམས་སྣལ་ལྟ་བུ་ཆགས་འདུག།

⁷ རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སློབ་ཆེན་སོ་སོར་དབྱིན་ཇི་ཆེད་ལས་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སློབ་མས་ཀྱང་སློབ་ཆེན་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཚད་འབྲེད་རྒྱགས་ (CET) ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚད་ལེན་དགོས་པའི་རེ་བ་བཏོན་ཡོད་པ་ས་ཁུལ་དང་སློབ་གྲྭ་སོ་སོའི་གནས་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་ནའང་། ད་པན་ཚད་འབྲེད་གྱི་རྒྱགས་དེ་དག་སྐོར་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཡོད་ཚད་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་མ་གཏོགས་མེད་ལ། རྒྱགས་སྦྱང་དུས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཁོ་ན་སྦྱོང་གིན་པས་ན་བོད་དབྱིན་ལ་བྱང་ཆ་ཡོད་པའི་སློབ་ཕྲུག་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྦྱོང་བའམ་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་རྒྱགས་སྦྱང་བ་ལས་རང་ལ་བྱང་ཆ་ཡོད་པའི་བོད་སྐད་ཡིག་སྦྱང་ནས་དབྱིན་ཇིར་རྒྱགས་སྦྱང་བའི་གནས་ཁེ་མེད་པར་ཆགས་འདུག།

དང་མཉམ་པ་དག་ལས་སློག་གཞི་འདིའི་འདས་མ་ད་གསུམ་ལ་དོ་སྣང་སྤོང་མཁམ་ནི་ཉིན་མོའི་སྐར་མ་
 བཞིན་ནོ། དེས་ན་འདི་ནི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་ནང་དོན་གྱི་ཁྱབ་ཁོངས་ལས་བཀལ་བས་ཡིན་ནམ། རང་
 རྒྱལ་བོད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་མི་མཁོ་བ་ཡིན་ནམ། ཡང་ན་རང་རེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་
 རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་ཚུ་ཚད་བྱོགས་ཡོངས་ནས་རྒྱུ་སློབ་མའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་ཚུ་ཚད་དང་འདྲ་བས་ཡིན། གང་ལྟར་བོད་
 དབྱིན་ཅེད་ལས་སློབ་གསོའི་སློག་གཞི་འདིའི་གལ་ཆེན་རང་བཞིན་ནི་བཏང་སྟོམས་ཀྱི་ཁོད་ནས་ནར་
 འགྲངས་སུ་མི་འགྲོ་བར་འཐུས་ཚང་དུ་གཏོང་བ་དང་། དོ་སྣང་ཡོང་བར་རེ་སྐུལ་གྱི་བསམ་བསམ་དེའི་སྐོར་རེ་
 རེ་བཞིན་སྐྱེད་བར་བྱའོ།

དང་པོ་བོད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོ་སྤྱིའི་ནུས་པ།

སྤྱིར་དེད་དུས་འགོག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་གོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་འགྲུར་ཅན་གྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་
 དང་མངའ་ཁོངས་གང་གི་མིའི་རིགས་ལ་མཚོན་ནའང་དང་དུ་མི་ལེན་རང་ལེན་ལྟ་བུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པས། རང་
 རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དུས་རབས་ཐོན་མའི་ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱུད་ཅུ་ཙམ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོ་ཤུགས་བསྐྱེད་གྱིས་
 ཐོས་ཞིང་། དབྱིན་ཇི་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ཁོད་དེའི་སྐད་བཅདའི་གནད་དང་རིག་གནས་ཇི་མ་ཇི་
 བཞིན་སློབ་དཔག་དཀའ་བ་དག་རང་གི་པ་སྐད་དེ་རྒྱུའི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་གསལ་བཤོལ་བྱེད་གྱིན་ཡོད་ལ། ཡང་ན་
 ཕྱིའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་ཆ་རང་གིས་བཀོལ་བ་སྟེ། རིག་གནས་འཇུགས་སྐྱུན་དང་འཐུས་ཚང་ཐད་རིག་
 གཞུང་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱུར་དང་རྒྱུར་བཞིན་ཡོད། དེའི་ཁོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་སློབ་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དངོས་ལ་གཞིགས་
 བས་རམ་འདེགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྐད་རིགས་གཉིས་པ་དེ་རང་གི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱིས་སློབ་པར་བྱེད་⁸ ཅིང་། དེ་ལ་སྐད་
 གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ཞེས་མིང་བཏགས་ཡོད།

དེ་ཡང་རང་རེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་དེ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རིག་པའི་སྤེལ་ལག་ཏུ་སློབ་བྱིད་ལ་
 སྦྱོང་པའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གཙོ་བོར་བོད་སྐད་བཀོལ་ལམ་རྒྱ་སྐད་བཀོལ་བའི་གཏན་འབབས་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་ཡང་

⁸ རྩེ་ལྷོ་ལཱ་ཁི་ལོ་ལྷོ་ (Rebecca A Clothey) དང་ཨེ་ལེ་རྩ་ལྷ་ཁིན་ལེ་ (Elena Mckinlay) གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་
 ལྟར་ན་ཀྱུང་གོས་ཨོ་ཚལ་འགྲན་ཚོགས་འཚོགས་པར་སྟོ་གོན་བྱས་པ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཤར་མཐའི་གོང་ཁྱེད་ཆེ་ལག་དག་དུ་སྐར་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པའི་
 དབྱིན་ཇིའི་སྟེ་གནས་དང་གསལ་སྦྱོང་སྤེལ་གཉི་དཔེར་ན། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་གསར་བ། (New Oriental) དབྱིན་ཇི་དང་པོ་ཡིན་པ།
 (English First) ལྷེ་གཡང་དབྱིན་ཇི་ (Liyang English) སོགས་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་ལས་པེ་ཅིང་ཁོ་ན་དེ་
 འདྲའི་སྟེ་གནས་ 2000 ཡོད་པ་དེའི་ལོ་རེའི་ཡོང་འབབ་ནི་ཨ་སྐོར་ས་ཡ་ 287 དང་། ཡང་རྒྱང་ཉེ་རུ་མི་གྲངས་ 300,000
 ཡིས་ལོ་རེའི་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་གསལ་སྦྱོང་ཐད་བཏང་བའི་འཚོད་གོན་ནི་ཨ་སྐོར་ས་ཡ་ 143.5 ཡིན་པ་རེད།

ཀུན་གྱིས་ཤེས་གསལ་ལྟར་ཁྲིད་ཐབས་དང་པོ་དང་ཁྲིད་ཐབས་གཉིས་པ་བཅས་ཡོད་ན་འང་སྐབས་བབ་ཀྱི་
 བརྗོད་བྱུང་མ་གྱུར་བའམ་ཚོག་ཚོགས་ལ་འཛིགས་ནས་འདིར་མི་སྡོད། དེ་ལས་གཞན་དུ་བོད་ལུས་ཀྱི་དབྱིན་
 ཡིག་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་ནང་སའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོ་ལས་དར་འབྱེད་ཤིང་། བོད་ལུས་དུ་བྱིན་ལྷན་གྲིས་གཏན་
 འབེབས་གནང་ལ་མ་ལག་ཚང་བའི་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་སློག་གཞི་ཞིག་དུ་དང་ཡང་ཚུགས་
 མེད། དཔེར་ན། མདོ་སྐད་བོད་ལུས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གྲྭ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་འབྲིང་དག་ལ་མཚོན་ན་འང་། དུས་རབས་སློབ་མའི་ལོ་
 རབས་དག་བརྗོད་མཚུགས་ཚམ་ནས་དུས་རབས་ཉེར་གཅིག་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ད་གཞི་ལྟ་བུར་དུས་རིམ་མི་འདྲ་
 བའི་ནང་དུ་སློབ་གྲྭ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་འབྲིང་ལ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་བསྐབ་ཚན་བཀོད་སློག་བྱས་དང་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད་མོད།
 དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོའི་སྐབས་ཚང་དང་བསྐབ་གཞི། སློབ་གསོ་བའི་འཛོན་ལུས། རྒྱ་བོད་དབྱིན་གསུམ་ལས་སྐད་
 རིགས་གང་ཞིག་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དུ་གཅིག་གྱུར་གྱིས་སློབ་པར་ཐག་གཅོད་རྒྱུའམ་ལག་ལེན་
 མངོན་འགྱུར་བྱེད་རྒྱ་དེར་དུ་དང་ཡང་དུས་ལྡན་དེས་ཅན་ཞིག་བརྒྱུད་དགོས་འདུག འདི་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་
 མེད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བོད་ལུས་དུ་འབྲིང་རྒྱགས་དང་མཐོ་རྒྱགས་སུ་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་བསྐབ་འབྲས་ལ་དོ་སྣང་བྱས་པ་
 མི་འདད་པས། རང་སློབ་དམ་འདེམས་སློབ་ཅམ་གྱི་གནས་སུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་ལ། ས་ལུས་ལ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སློབ་རྒྱུ་དུ་ད་
 དུ་དང་ཡང་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་བསྐབ་ཚན་བཀོད་སློག་བྱས་མེད་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། ཡང་ས་ལུས་ལ་ཤས་སུ་བསྐབ་ཚན་ཅམ་
 བཀོད་སློག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བསྐབ་དེབ་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་ཡུལ་ཁོངས་རིག་གནས་དང་མི་འཚམ་ཞིང་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ནང་
 སའི་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་གཞིར་བཞག་བྱས་འདུག་པས། རྒྱ་ཡིག་བྱང་མ་རྒྱབ་པའི་སློབ་ལ་རྒྱ་
 ཡིག་གིས་འབྲེལ་བའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཅིག་སློབ་པ་ནི་⁹ བོད་ལུས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མར་མཚོན་ན་དཀའ་བའི་གནད་དུ་གྱུར་
 ཡོད་ལ། སློ་འཕེལ་དང་ཡར་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་སེམས་ཤུགས་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་བྱེད། ཀུན་གྱིས་ཤེས་གསལ་ལྟར། བོད་ལུས་
 དུ་དམའ་འབྲིང་ནས་མཐོ་འབྲིང་དང་། མཐོ་འབྲིང་ནས་སློབ་ཚན་ (བོད་དབྱིན་ཚེད་ལས་ལུང་པའི) བར་
 ཁྲིད་པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་རྣམས་སྡོད་ཆ་ནས་གཅིག་འདྲ་ལྟ་བུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནམ།
 དེར་བརྟེན། བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་དེ་པ་སྐད་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བསྐབ་རྒྱ་ནི་
 སྐྱེར་བྱེ་ཡིག་སློབ་པའི་རམ་འདེགས་བཟང་ཤོས་ཤིག་དང་དངོས་ཡོད་ཉམས་སྦྱོང་དུ་གྲུབ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། སློབ་

9 བོད་ལུས་དུ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེ་འབྲིང་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་གྱིས་བཀོད་པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་བསྐབ་གཞི་ནི་དམིགས་བསལ་ཅན་རེ་འགའ་མ་གཏོགས་སློབ་
 གྲྭ་གཞུང་ནས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བའི་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་རྒྱུ་ལས་བསྐྱེགས་པའི་བསྐབ་གཞི་འམ་དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རམ་
 འདེགས་དབྱུང་ཡིག་རྣམས་ཡིན་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན། བསྐབ་གཞིའི་ནང་གི་ཐ་སྐད་དང་བརྗོད་ཅི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་འགྱུར་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡིན་པས།
 དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ནི་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་ལོ་རྒྱའི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ལྟ་བུ་ཆགས་ཡོད།

གསོའི་སློབ་གཞི་གསར་བ་འདིའི་མིང་དེ་དོན་དུ་གྱུར་ཚུལ་ནི་མིག་སྔར་མངོན་འགྱུར་བྱུང་མེད་སྟབས། ད་ནི་
བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ཞིག་སློབ་དགོས་ན། མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་དར་བ་ཆེས་བཟང་
ཞིང་། ཐོག་མར་གཞུང་གི་སློབ་བཀོད་མིན་པའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་འདི་མ་གཏོགས་གཞན་མེད་དོ།

གཉིས་པ། མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས།

མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་འདིའི་ཐོག་མའི་མིང་ལ་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞེས་བཏགས་
ཤིང་། ཨ་རིའི་སློབ་གསོ་བ་ཁེ་ལུ་ཟེ་ཤོར་ཁྲི་དང་ས་གནས་བོད་རིགས་མཚོང་རྒྱ་ཅན་འགས་མཉམ་དུ་
བསྐྱབས། ལྷོ་ལོ་ 1997 ལོར་མདོ་སྐད་ཟེ་ལིང་དུ་མགོ་ལོག་ཁུལ་དང་ཡུལ་ཤུལ་ཁུལ་གྱི་དགེ་འོས་སློབ་ལྷན་¹⁰
གཉིས་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་སློབ་ཚན་སྐབས་ལས་མཉམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱི་དང་བོ་དེ་ཐོག་མར་འཇུགས་པའི་སྐབས་འགྲིག་འཛིན་གྱི་དེར་
སློབ་ཚན་གྱི་ལྷན་བསྐྱབས་པ་དང་རིམ་གྱིས་བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་གཞིའི་ཐད་ལ་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་དག་གཞན་དུ་སློབ།

གཅིག་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་དགེ་ཆན་གྱི་སྐོར།

དེ་ཕྱིན་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲུའི་དགེ་ཆན་རྣམས་ནི་དབྱིན་ཇི་བཅའ་སྲོལ་གཏོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དག་
ནས་འབྱོར་བ་སྟེ། ཨ་རི་དང་། ཨོ་ཟེ་ཁྲི་རེ་ལི་ཡཱ། ཉེའུ་ཟེ་ལཱ་རྟེ། ལཱ་ན་ཏ། དབྱིན་ཇི་སོགས་ནས་ཡིན་ཞིང་།
བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲུའི་སློབ་མར་ཁོང་ཚོས་དང་སྐབས་སྐོས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་གནང་། དང་སྐབས་དགེ་ཆན་
དེ་རྣམས་མདོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདིར་སློབ་ཡུལ་ལ་ངེས་གཏན་མེད་དེ། དུས་ཡུན་གྱི་དང་བོ་སློབ་སྐབས་གཅིག་
གམ་རིང་བ་ནི་ལོ་འགའ་ཤོས་སློབ་མཁན་ཡང་ཡོད། ཁོང་ཚོས་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་ཡུལ་གྱི་འཛིན་གྲུའི་ཡོད་ཚད་
རང་ཉིད་ལ་བརྟེན་པའམ་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་སམ་རྒྱལ་སློབ་ཤེས་ལྗོངས་ཚུ་ཚོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གནང་བར་
བཤད། དང་སྐབས་དགེ་ཆན་གྱི་གྲངས་ཚད་ཆེས་མང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་སློབ་སྐབས་གཅིག་ལ་དགེ་ཆན་བརྒྱ་
ལྷག་ཡོད་ལ། ཆེས་ཉུང་དུས་ཀྱི་དང་སྐབས་སུ་ཉུང་བར་ཕྱིན་སྲོང་མེད། དེ་ནི་བསྐྱེད་མར་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཡས་
མས་སུ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་བྱུང་བ་བྱུང་བས། བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སློབ་
པར་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་དང་བོད་ཁུལ་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཟབ་ཞུགས་ཐད་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མ་

¹⁰ མཚོ་སྐོན་གྱི་ཁུལ་གཞན་དག་དང་འདྲ་བར་དེ་ཕྱིན་གྱི་ཁུལ་སོ་སོའི་མི་རིགས་དགེ་འོས་སློབ་ལྷན་དང་བོད་ཡིག་མཚོ་འབྲིང་རྣམས་
གཅིག་སྐྱེད་བྱས་ཟེན་པ་དེ་ད་ལྟའི་ཁུལ་སོ་སོའི་མཚོ་རིམ་སློབ་འབྲིང་དག་ཡིན།

ཟད། བོད་ལུལ་གྱི་དབྱིན་ཇི་སློབ་གསོའི་བྱ་བལྟ་དེ་རྣམ་པ་གསར་བ་ཞིག་དང་མཐོ་སྐབས་གསར་བ་ཞིག་ཏུ་
སློབས།

བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་དགོ་ཆུན་རྣམས་གྲིས་ནམ་རྒྱན་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ལ་འབད་པའི་ཞོར་དུ་གྲང་
གསེང་གི་ཚུ་ཚོད་སྤྱད་ནས་སློབ་མར་སློབ་གསོའི་སྤོང་བདར་སྤེལ་བ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཕྱགས་ས་ལུལ་ལག་ཏུ་
འཚོ་བར་ཟབ་ལྷགས་སློབ་རིག་གནས་རྒྱས་ལོན་སོགས་སྐད་རིགས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཀྱང་བྱེད། གཞན་བོད་དབྱིན་
འཛིན་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་དགོ་ཆུན་རྣམས་ནི་དང་སྐངས་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་མཁན་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཡུལ་འདིར་འབྱོར་བ་ཞིག་
མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཁོང་ཚོས་ཐོག་མར་དུ་ལམ་ཡིག་ཟམ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་རེ་ལུ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་ལས་བདམས་ཐོན་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན།
བོད་ལུལ་དུ་འབྱོར་བ་ཡང་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་སློབ་གསོ་ལ་ཤུགས་བརྒྱག་རྒྱ་ཁོན་ལས་ཚོས་སྤེལ་བྱ་འགྲུལ་སོགས་
རྒྱབ་པའི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་ཙན་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ནི་ཉིན་ཞིག་ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་དགོ་ཆུན་ཞིག་ལ་སློབ་མ་ཚོས་ཁྱེད་རང་དང་
ཐོག་ཟེ་ལིང་གནམ་གྱི་འབབ་ཐང་ལ་འབྱོར་བ་དང་དགོ་ཆུན་ཁེ་སྤུང་ཁྱེད་རང་བསུ་ཅུ་སློབས་སྐབས། ཁོང་
གིས་དང་པོར་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཅེ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་བྱུང་ཞེས་དྲིས་པར། དགོ་ཆུན་དེས་ཁོང་གིས་དང་པོར་འདྲི་རྒྱུ་དེ་ང་ལ་
ཚོས་དང་ཡོད་མེད་དེ་མེད་ཅེས་ཀྱང་རེ་རྒྱུ་གྲིས་གསུངས་བྱུང་། འདི་ནི་རྩེད་སློ་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པའི་ལན་
ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཀྱང་རེ་རྒྱུ་གྱི་དྲིས་ལན་འདིས་སྐབས་དེའི་ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་དགོ་ཆུན་ཚོ་སློབ་གསོ་སྤེལ་མཁན་གྱི་སྟོབས་
ཡིན་པ་ལས་རང་རང་སོ་སོའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དང་མོས་སྤེལ་མཁན་ཡིན་མི་འོས་པའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་པ་རྣམས་
ཀྱི་འདོད་འདུན་དེ་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་ལ། སློབ་མ་ཚོས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་དོ་སྣང་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་སེམས་ཚོར་ཤེས་ཡོད་
པའི་བདར་ཅུ་གསུངས་པ་ཞིག་རེད།

བཟང་བྱ་བཅུ་ཕྱག་གཅིག་གི་སློབ་གསོའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་མཐར། དེ་ལྟའི་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཐོག་
མར་འཇུགས་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་དོན་གཅིག་སྟེ། རིམ་གྲིས་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དང་སྐངས་དགོ་ཆུན་གྱི་ཁ་གྲངས་ཉུང་
བར་ཆགས་ཚེ། དེར་བོད་ལུལ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོའི་གནས་བབ་ལ་བསམ་ཤེས་བྱེད་པའི་ས་གནས་རང་གི་
མི་ཡིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོའི་རྒྱན་སྐྱོང་དགོས་པ་ལྟར། ཕྱིས་ཀྱི་འགྲུལ་ཐོག་གི་དབང་གིས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 2015
ལོར་སློབས་དུས་ཕྱི་སྒྲིང་དགོ་ཆུན་གཅིག་དང་ས་གནས་དགོ་ཆུན་བཅུ་ཡིས་དེ་ལྟའི་ཚབ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་
བྱུང་ཡོད་ལ། འདི་ཡིས་དུས་རབས་ཉེར་གཅིག་པའི་སློབ་ལ་མཚོ་སློབ་དུ་བོད་རིགས་ཡིན་ཞིང་བོད་ཡིག་འབྲི་
སྟོག་ལ་ཐོགས་རྒྱགས་མེད་པ་མ་ཟད། དངོས་གཞིའི་ཆེད་ལས་ནི་དབྱིན་ཇི་ཡིན་ལ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་

ལག་རྟེན་ཐོབ་པའི་ཚ་རྒྱུན་ཅན་གྱི་བོད་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པའི་¹¹ རྫོང་ཆ་བསྐྱབས་འདུག

གཉིས། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་སྐོར།

བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྱར་སློབ་མ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ལ་རིམ་གྱིས་འགྲུར་སྒྲིག་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། ལོ་དུ་
སྐྱེད་བ་བཞིན། ཐོག་མའི་འཛིན་གྱ་དེ་ནི་མཚོ་སློབ་ཀྱི་མགོ་ལོག་དང་ཡུལ་ཤུལ་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡིན་ཡང་། དེའི་
རྗེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 1998 ལས་བརྒྱུད་མཚོ་སློབ་ཀྱི་བོད་ལུལ་རེའི་དགེ་འོས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ནས་མཐོ་གཅིག་རིམ་པའི་
སློབ་མ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྟེ་ལོ་རེར་སློབ་མ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ཅུའི་ཚད་ཀྱི་འཛིན་གྲྭ་གཅིག་རེ་བསྐྱབས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་
བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲྭ་བསྐྱེད་ཐངས་ལྔ་བའི་བར་དུ་ཁེ་ལྷན་གྱི་འོས་ལེན་སློབ་མ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཡུལ་དངོས་ལྟ་ལོ་བས་
ནས་སློབ་བསྐྱེད་ལས་དོན་བསྐྱུངས།

སྤྱི་ལོ་ 2001 ལོའི་སྐབས་ལྔ་བའི་འཛིན་གྲྭ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲྭའི་སློབ་མའི་བྱུང་ཁོངས་
རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བོད་ལུལ་ཞིང་སློངས་ལྔའི་སློབ་མ་བསྐྱབས། དེར་ཞིང་སློངས་རེ་ནས་མི་གྲངས་ཉ་
ཅང་ཉུང་ཉུ་རེ་མ་གཏོགས་བསྐྱེད་ཐུབ་མེད་ནའང་། མི་རིགས་དང་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་པར་བོད་རྒྱ་སྐད་
གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚུ་ཚད་ནི་མཐོ་འབྲིང་དང་པོའི་ཚད་ལ་སློབས་ཤིང་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ལས་དང་པོ་བ་
རྣམས་བསྐྱབས་པ་རེད། ཡང་སློབ་ཀྱི་འཛིན་གྲྭའི་གྲངས་ཀ་ལོ་རེར་གཅིག་ནས་གཉིས་སུ་འཕར། དེ་ལས་གཞན་
འཛིན་གྲྭ་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ལོ་རེར་རིམ་གྱིས་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྐྱབ་ཚད་མཚུགས་ཤིང་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་སློབ་དུ་
འཛིན་གྲྭ་འཕར་བས། སློབ་མ་སྤྱིའི་གྲངས་ཀ་མང་བར་འཕེལ། དེ་བས་དེ་སློབ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་ཚད་ལོ་གསུམ་ཡིན་
པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གྲྭ་སྐྱོད་འཛིན་གྲྭ་ཐོན་རྗེས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་ཚད་ལོ་གཉིས་ཅན་གྱི་འཛིན་གྲྭ་ལོ་རེ་རྣམས་ལ་བོད་
དབྱིན་ཆེད་སློབ་ཞེས་འབོད།

ཆེད་སློབ་འདི་ནི་བོད་ལུལ་དུ་མདོ་དབུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་མམ་ཞིང་སློངས་ལྔའི་སློབ་མ་མ་ཉམ་དུ་བསྐྱབས་
པའི་བོད་དབྱིན་གྱི་ཆེད་སློབ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ལ་གཅིག་ལུང་ཡིན། འདིར་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཅོམ་མ་ཟད། མདོ་
དབུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁ་སྐད་པན་ཚུན་སློབ་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་

¹¹ སྤྱི་ལོ་ 2003 ལོར། ལྷོ་ལོ་དང་མང་གཉིས་གྱིས་གསུངས་པར་རྗེ་རྒྱེ་ལྷ་ལོ་སློབ་ཅིང་ཨ་ལེ་རྒྱ་སྐད་ལོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་
ལས་ཤིས།

གསའི་ཐུན་མེན་གྱི་ཁྱད་ཚུལ་ནི་བོད་ཁུལ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུགས་སོར་ཁྱབ་ཡོད་པས། དུལ་ཚུགས་སོ་སོ་ནས་
 སླབས་ཤིང་ཆེད་ལས་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་རྒྱུད་པར་རེ་འདུན་ཞུ་བའི་སློབ་གཉེར་བའང་བུང་བའི་ཚོགས་བཞིན་
 འཁོར་མོད། ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་སློབ་འཇུགས་དང་སྤྱི་ཚད་ལག་ཐོག་བྱེད་ཆེད། ཚུགས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རེ་ཞུ་བར་སློབ་
 ཟུལ་མི་སྐྱེར་རང་སྲོལ་གི་གོ་སྐབས་ཤིག་བསྐྱེད་པའམ་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་ལས་ཐབས་མ་མཆོས། བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་རིང་
 ཆེད་ལས་འདི་ནི་སློབ་མ་ལས་གཞན་ད་དུང་དགོ་ཆུན་མང་བོ་ཞིག་གིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཟབ་སྦྱོང་གནང་སར་
 ཡང་གྱུར་སྟོང་། དེ་ཡང་འདིར་མི་རིགས་གཞན་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་ཀུན་གྱིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྦྱོང་བ་དང་སྦྱོང་བར་
 རུགས་བརྒྱབ་པ་མཐོང་བས། རང་ཅག་གིས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱབ་འོས་ཞེས་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་སྟོ་ཟེ་
 རྗེ་ཟེ་ཡིས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་¹² དེང་གི་དུས་འདིར་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ཅིག་སྦྱོང་བ་ནི་ཕན་ཚུན་གོ་བརྒྱ་སྦྱོང་བའི་ལག་
 ཆ་ཚམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་མི་ཚེ་ལ་ཚུགས་ཤིག་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་དུ་གྲུབ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་
 དང་མི་རིགས་གཞན་དག་ལ་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་བྱེད་པའི་འཛོན་ལུས་ཤིག་གི་ཐོན་འགྲོའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་འདུག་ཡིན་པ་དཔེར་
 བ། རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཁྱབ་ཁོངས་སུ་བོད་རིག་པའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཐུག་དེབ་དང་དབྱུང་ཚོམ་ལེགས་གསུང་མང་བོ་ཕྱི་ཡིག་ནང་
 དུའང་བཏོན་འདུག་ལ། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནང་གིས་པ་མང་། དེ་བས་དེང་གི་དུས་འདིར་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྦྱོང་
 བ་དེ་མདོར་ན་བྱ་བཞག་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཤིག་ལ་འཇུག་ཐུབ་པའི་འཛོན་ཐང་སྦྱོང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

གསུམ། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་གཞི་དང་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་སྐོར།

བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་ཚན་ལ་ཐོག་མའི་བོད་དབྱིན་གྱི་སློབ་འཛོན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ། གཙོ་བོར་
 དབྱིན་ཡིག་དང་བོད་ཡིག་ལས་གཞན་རྒྱ་ཡིག་དང་ཚིས་རིག་ སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་མང་གཞིའི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བཅས་ཡོད་
 བའང་། ཆེད་སྦྱོང་གི་རིམ་བར་འཕར་རྗེས་བོད་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་གསུམ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གཙོ་བོའི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ལས་མེད་ལ།
 བདུན་ཕྱག་གཅིག་གི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་མང་ཤོས་དེ་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཡིན་པ་རེད། ཐོག་མར་ཆེད་ལས་འདི་ནི་
 བོད་ཁུལ་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་དང་པོ་དེ་ཡིན་པས། འདི་ལ་འོས་ཤིང་འཚམ་པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཆེད་སྦྱོང་གྱི་
 བསྐྱབ་དེབ་མེད་པ་དང་། འོ་དམ་གྱི་ཆ་ནས་སྐར་རྒྱུགས་ཡིན་པས། དབྱིན་ཇི་བསྐྱབ་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དག་སློབ་
 དཔོན་ཁེ་སྐྱོན་དང་ཕྱི་སྤྱིང་དགོ་ཆུན་ཚོགས་པས་འཛོན་གྲུ་རིམ་པའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དྲུ་འོས་སྦྱོར་
 དང་རང་འདེམས་བྱས་པ་དེ་ཡིན།

¹² རྗེ་ཟེ་ལུ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་དང་ཨེ་ལེ་རྒྱ་སྐ་ལིན་ལེ་གཉེས་ཀྱི་དབྱུང་ཚོམ་ *A Space for the Possible* ཞེས་པར་གསལ།

ཕྱིས་སུ་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་གུང་གསལ་སྐབས་སུ་སོ་སོའི་ཕ་ཡུལ་གྱི་དམངས་ཁྲིད་དག་རྒྱན་དང་ཡུལ་
 སོལ་སྐོར་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་འཚོལ་སྤྱད་བྱེད་པར་སྐུལ་ཞིང་། བཅའ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཕོན་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ཐོག་མར་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་
 བབ་བ་དང་དེ་ནས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ལ་བརྒྱུད། རྗེས་སུ་དགོ་སློབ་ཡོངས་ནས་ལྷུ་དག་རབ་དང་རིམ་བུ་བརྒྱུད་
 མཐར་སྐྱོད་དང་གཟུགས་ལ་ཕབ་ནས་རང་གི་བསྐབ་གཞི་རང་གིས་བསྐྱིགས་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ཡང་ལས་ཞོར་ལ་
 ཤེས་སུ་འཇུག་པར་སྐུལ་བས། ཡུན་གྱིས་བསྐབ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ལྡོ་མང་དུ་གྱུར་བ་དེ་དག་བོད་ལུལ་གྱི་སློབ་ལྷན་
 གཞན་དག་གི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་བསྐབ་དེབ་གཙོ་གསུ་ཡང་གྱུར་ཡོད། བསྐབ་གཞི་དེ་དག་གི་ཁྱད་ཚོས་ནི་དབྱིན་
 ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱིགས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ནང་དོན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཡིན་ལ། བརྗེས་སྤྱོད་སོགས་བོད་ཡིག་གིས་གསལ་བཤེས་
 བྱས་ཡོད་པས། བོད་ལུལ་སློབ་མའི་རྒྱ་ཚད་དང་མཐུན་ཞིང་མི་རིགས་རིག་གནས་ནང་དོན་མཚན་པས་སློབ་
 རྒྱུད་ལ་སློབ་འཕེལ་བར་བྱས་ཡོད། སློབ་རྒྱུད་གི་རྒྱ་ཆ་འདི་དག་ནི་རང་གི་རིག་གནས་ཉིང་བརྒྱུད་དུ་བྱས་
 བའི་ (content-based courses) རྐང་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་དུ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། དེང་གི་གོང་ཁྲུང་དང་གོང་
 གསེབ་བར་དང་། ཀན་རབས་དང་གཞོན་རབས་བར། མདོར་ན་མི་རིགས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་བར་གྱི་རིག་གནས་
 བརྗེ་རིས་གྱི་ཟམ་པ་ལྷ་བྱ་དང་འགྲུར་སློབ་འགལ་སྐྱེ་ཅན་གྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཁྲིད་སློབ་སྐྱོད་གི་ལས་ཀའི་རུས་པ་
 གལ་ཆེན་བཏོན་དང་འདོན་བཞིན་ཡོད། རྗེས་སུ་སློབ་མའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་རྒྱ་ཚད་མཐོ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་བརྒྱན་
 བས་དེར་མཐུན་གྱི་བསྐབ་གཞི་སྐྱོད་པའི་འཆར་གཞི་བཀོད་པ་མ་ཟད། རིག་ཚན་སོ་སོའི་དོ་སྤྱོད་ལས་འགོ་
 བརྒྱུས་པ་སྟེ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རིག་པ་དང་། མིའི་རིགས་རིག་པ་། མི་ཚོ་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ་སོགས་བསྐབ་ཚན་བཀོད་
 སྐྱོད་སློབ་སློབ་གསོའི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་གོང་དུ་སྟེལ་བར་ཡང་རུས་པ་གལ་ཆེན་ཐོན། བསྐབ་དབུ་དེ་དག་
 ནི་ཉེ་སྡོམ་མདོ་ལམས་བོད་ལུལ་གྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་རྐང་གཉིས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་སློབ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱ་ཆ་གཙོ་གསུ་གྱུར་ཡོད།

བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྤྱིང་དགོ་ཀན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་མའི་སློབ་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱོ་ལྷག་གིས་སྐུལ་སློབ་
 བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། སློབ་ཁྲིད་གྱི་སྡོམ་ལ་སློབ་མར་དགོ་ཀན་སོ་སོས་སྐུལ་བའི་ལྷ་སྟོག་ལས་བྱ་ཕོན་ཆེན་ཡོད་པ་དང་།
 སློབ་ཁྲིད་རེ་རེར་ཉུང་མཐར་ཡང་སློབ་མ་རེ་ལ་དྲི་བ་རེ་འདོན་གྲིད་པས། སློབ་མས་སློབས་པ་ཆེར་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་
 འཚད་པ་དང་སྟོག་འདོན་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱན་སྟོལ་ལག་བརྟུར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། གལ་ཏེ་སློབ་མས་བཤད་བའམ་སྟོག་
 པ་དེ་དགོ་ཀན་གྱིས་མ་ཐོས་པ་ཡིན་ན། ཀན་ལགས་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྣ་བ་ལག་པས་སྐྱོར་བའི་བཟོ་ལྷ་ཞིག་
 རྟོན་གྱིན་གཟུབ་ནན་ངང་སློབ་སྐྱོད་གིས་བརྒྱུར་བཤད་བྱེད་དགོས་པའི་བརྗེས་སུ་ལོན་པ་ཡིན། རྐང་ཡིག་སློབ་པའི་

གཞི་རྒྱུ་ལ་འདོན་སྤྲོད་བྱེད་ཐབས་བཞི་རྩེ། འཆད་ཉན་འབྲི་སྒོག་བཞི་ནི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་གཅིག་ལའང་མི་
 ཆད་པར་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར། ཚོ་རྒྱུང་གོས་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་གྱིས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བརྗེ་རེས་བྱེད་པ་ནི་རྒྱན་གཏན་གྱི་གོམས་
 སོལ་ལྟ་བུར་ཆགས་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སྒོག་གི་ལས་བྱ་དུས་ལྷར་བསྐྱག་ཚར་ཡོད་མེད་དང་དོན་
 གོ་ཡོད་མེད་ལ་དབྱུང་བའི་ཐབས་ལམ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རེད། སློབ་ཕྱིར་དུས་ཚོད་དུ་ནམ་རྒྱན་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐུལ་
 སློང་སློས་ལན་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རོགས་རེས་ཀྱིས་སྦྱོང་བའི་དོན་ཀྱན་འགྲུབ་པར་བྱེད་ནའང་། སློབ་ཁྲིད་དངོས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་
 སློབ་མས་རྒྱ་སྐད་དམ་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱིས་གོ་བརྗེས་མི་ཚོགས་པ་ནི་དབྱིན་སྐད་མཐོར་འདེགས་ཡོད་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་
 དེ་ལྟར། སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་ཐོག་མར་སྐད་རིགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་བརྒྱུས་སྐད་དང་དགོ་ཆན་གྱིས་ནམ་རྒྱན་སློབ་མ་བོས་ཏེ་
 དེ་བའདོན་དགོས་བསམ། ཕྱི་སྐད་དགོ་ཆན་གྱིས་སློབ་མའི་མིང་ཡིད་ལ་འཛིན་བདེ་བའི་སྐད་དུ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་
 མིང་བཏགས་ཏེ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་ཁྲིད་སྐབས་སུ་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་མིང་གིས་འབོད་པ་རེད། དེ་ལྟར་སློབ་སྐབས་
 གཅིག་གི་མཇུག་མཐའི་ཡིག་ཚད་དེའང་རྒྱན་གཏན་གྱི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་རྣམ་འགྲུའ་དང་། ཚོ་རྒྱུང་མཉམ་ཞུགས་
 བརྗེ་རེས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱ་ཆའི་བདུན་ཅུ་ཙམ་ཟེན་ཞིང་། ཡིག་རྒྱུགས་ཀྱིས་དེ་འཕྲོས་རྣམས་ཟེན་པར་བྱེད། སློབ་ཁྲིད་
 སྐབས་སུ་སློབ་མ་གཙོ་བོར་འཛིན་པའི་སློབ་གསོའི་རྣམ་པ་ (Learner- centered Teaching

Model) ཆགས་ཡོད་པའི་ཐད་ལ་ཐེངས་ཤིག་སློབ་དཔོན་ལེ་ལུན་ལ་གཞན་གྱིས་དྲིས་པར་གསུངས་རྒྱུར།
 དའི་ནམ་རྒྱན་གྱི་སློབ་ཕུན་གཅིག་དུས་ཚོད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་ཡིན་ཡང་། རང་ཉིད་ནས་སྐར་མ་ཉི་ཤུའི་རིང་
 ལ་མ་གཏོགས་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་ཀྱིན་མེད་ཅེས་ཟེར། དེ་བས་སློབ་ཕུན་གཅིག་གི་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་དུག་ཆའི་ལྷ་ནི་སློབ་
 མས་བཀོལ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་སུ་གནངས་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་ཐུབ།

དེ་ཡང་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་གཅིག་གྱུར་མིན་པས། བོད་དབྱིན་འཛིན་གྲར་ཞུགས་པའི་སློབ་མའི་དང་
 ཐོག་གི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཤེས་ཚད་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཆགས་ཡོད། དེ་འདྲའི་ཤེས་ཚད་མི་མཉམ་པ་དག་མཉམ་དུ་འཇུག་
 ཆེད་སློབ་མར་གྲུང་གསལ་དང་གཟུང་མཇུག་གི་དུས་ཚོད་བཏོན་ཏེ་གསལ་སྦྱོང་སྦོལ་བ་དང་། མདོར་ན་དགོ་
 ཆན་ཚོའི་བྱིམ་ནང་དུ་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བྱེད་པ། སློབ་མའི་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ལ་སྐད་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་ལག་ལེན་དངོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་
 དབྱིན་སྐད་བཀོལ་ཐུབ་པའི་རྣམ་པ་གསོ་སྦྱོང་བྱ་སྐད་སློབ་ཁང་དང་སློབ་ཁང་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་དབྱིན་སྐད་སྦྱོང་

(English Corner) ཞེས་པའི་བྱ་འགུལ་ཆད་མེད་དུ་སླེལ་བས། བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་མི་རིགས་གཞན་གྱི་
 དགོ་སློབ་དང་བྱིམ་བདག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡིད་སྤོན་དང་མིག་དཔེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གནས་སུ་གྱུར་ཚུངས་པ་སོགས་སློབ་མ་

གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པའི་སློབ་གསེའི་རྣམ་པ་མངོན་འགྱུར་བྱུང་།

བཞི། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་དང་བོད་ཁྲུལ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཤོར།

བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསེའི་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་གཙོ་བོ་གཅིག་ནི་སློབ་གྲྭ་སྤྱི་འདུས་པའི་ཤེས་བྱ་དང་ལག་ལེན་གཉིས་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ཡོང་བར་ཤུགས་སྤོང་རྒྱ་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་བས་གྲུང་གསེང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་དགོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་སློབ་མར་སློབ་ཐོན་འབྲུལ་ཆས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཆ་གཡམ་ནས་དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་དག་རྒྱུ་དང་། ས་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས། མི་ཚོ་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ། ཡུལ་སློལ། སྤྱ་དང་གཞུང་སོགས་བརྗོད་བྱུང་གྱུར་བའི་རང་གི་རིག་གནས་སློབ་བཅར་འདྲི་དང་། སྤྱ་དང་བརྟན་ཕབ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ལ་སྐུལ་བ་མ་ཟད། ད་ལྟའི་བོད་ཁྲུལ་ཞིང་སྤོངས་ཡའི་སློབ་རྒྱུང་དང་། སློབ་འབྲིང་། མཐོ་འབྲིང་མང་བོ་དང་། སློབ་ཆེན་འགའ་ཤས་ཀྱི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་དགོ་ཆེན་ཁྲོད་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསེའི་ལས་འགན་འཁུར་མཁན་མང་ཤས་ཀྱང་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ནས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ལ། བོད་ཁྲུལ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསེའི་བརྟན་བརྩིང་རང་བཞིན་དང་འཆམ་མཐུན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་རུས་པ་གལ་ཆེན་བརྟོན་ཡོད།

མི་ནི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འགོ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཕྱིན་ནམ་ཡང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་བལ་ཐབས་མེད་ལ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལས་རིགས་ལ་ཞུགས་པའི་འཛོན་རུས་གསོ་སྦྱང་བྱེད་ཆེད། གྲུང་གསེང་གི་དུས་ཚོད་བཀོད་སྲིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་མས་གཞན་ལ་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ཅ་འཇུགས་བྱས་ཤིང་། ཉམས་སྦྱང་བསགས་པ་ནི་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བོད་ཁྲུལ་གཞི་རིམ་སློབ་གསོར་མིག་དཔེ་བསྟན་ཞིང་རོགས་རམ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། ཕྱོགས་གཞན་ཞིག་ཏུ་སློབ་མས་མ་འོངས་པའི་ལས་གནས་འཚོལ་བར་རང་གི་འཛོན་རུས་ལ་ཚོད་ལྷ་བྱས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།

དགོ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཅ་འཇུགས་དང་སྐུལ་སློང་བརྒྱུད། སྐབས་དེར་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རོང་འབྲོག་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་འཚོ་བའི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་དང་རིག་གནས་སྤྱི་འབྲེལ་དམིགས་ཏེ། དབུལ་བོའི་ཁྲིམ་ལ་གྲོན་ཆས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་འདབས་དང་། གཞི་རིམ་ས་ཁྲུལ་དུ་ལམ་སྐྱོན་པ། རྒྱ་འཐེན་པ། ཉི་འོད་རུས་པའི་ལས་གཞི་སྐྱབ་པ། དམངས་ཁྲོད་རིག་གནས་སྐྱ་ཕབ་བརྟན་ལེན་སོགས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ལ་རེ་འདུན་ཞུ་བ་དང་། རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་མཚན་ཐོབ་རྗེས་དངོས་སུ་ལག་བརྟུར་བྱེད་པ། རྗེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་ཞུ་བཅས་ལས་གཞིའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ཡོད་ཚད་འགན་དུ་སྐྱབས་པས། ས་གནས་ཡུལ་མི་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་ཤེས་ཡུལ་པའི་བར་འབྲེལ་ལམ་གྱི་ཟམ་པ་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཡོད།

སྐབས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་འཛིན་གྲུ་དེ་དག་རིམ་གྱིས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ནས་མཐར་ཡོད་ཀྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སློབ་གསོའི་
ལམ་ལུགས་རྩ་བ་ནས་བསྐྱར་བསལ། ད་ནི་ལོ་རེར་འཛིན་གྲུ་གཅིག་ལས་བསྐྱུ་འཆར་མེད་པ་དང་། སློབ་མ་
རྣམས་ནི་ཐད་ཀར་མཐོ་རྒྱལ་ས་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བསྐྱུ་བའི་སློབ་ལོ་བཞི་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་རམས་པའི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན།

བཞི་བ། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབ།

སྤྱི་ལོ་ 2007 རས་བཟུང་བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་གསོའི་ལམ་ལུགས་བསྐྱར་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་དོ་དམ་ལས་དོན་ཡོད་
ཚད་སློབ་གྲུ་གཞུང་ལ་གྲངས་པ་དང་། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ནས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཞིང་། ཕྱི་འབྲིམས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་
མཚུགས་པའི་ས་གནས་སློབ་གསོ་བས་དེ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྐྱོང་དགོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་འོས་འགན་ཐག་ཏུ་
གྲངས་ཡོད་ནའང་། སྟོན་ཚད་སློབ་སྐབས་གཅིག་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱི་སྐྱོང་དགོ་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་གྲངས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོའི་
རྣམ་པ་ཡིས་ད་དུང་ཡང་ཕྱི་འབྲིམས་སློབ་མའི་རྒྱུ་ཚད་ཚོང་མེད་ལ། ཨ་རི་སོགས་ཕྱིའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནས་རྒྱས་
ལོན་པ་ལྟར་ན། བོད་དབྱིན་ཕྱི་འབྲིམས་སློབ་མས་ད་ལྟའི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་དང་མི་རིགས་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་
སྐྱོང་གི་མིང་བཟང་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། མཚོ་སྟོན་དགོ་ཐོན་སློབ་གྲུ་མཚོན་སྟོན་ཡང་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་
རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་སློབ་གསོ་དང་རིག་གཞུང་སྤེལ་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་འདུག འདི་ནི་བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་གི་བོད་ལུ་
སྤྱིའི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སློབ་གསོའི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་མཚོན་རྟགས་ཤིག་ཀྱང་རེད།

བོད་དབྱིན་སློབ་གསོའི་ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབ་ནི་ཕྱི་སྐྱོང་དགོ་ཆེན་དང་སློབ་མའི་གྲངས་ཀ་ཇེ་ཉུང་དུ་
ཕྱིན་པ་ཅམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། དེའི་བསྐྱེད་ཚད་དང་བསྐྱེད་དེབ་ལའང་འགྱུར་བ་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། དེ་སྟོན་རྒྱ་བོད་
དབྱིན་གསུམ་གཙོ་བོའི་བསྐྱེད་ཚད་ལྡོང་ད་ལྟའི་རྒྱལ་གཅེས་སྤྱི་ཚུས་སློབ་གསོའི་སློབ་ཐུན་སོགས་བསྐྱར་བསལ།
བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སྐྱོང་བའི་དུས་ཚོད་དེ་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་ཉུང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་ཕྱི་སྐྱོང་དགོ་ཆེན་གྱི་
སློབ་སྟོན་མེད་པར་གྱུར་བ་ནས་ཆེད་ལས་འདི་ནས་ཕྱི་འབྲིམས་སུ་གོ་སྐབས་ཐོབ་པའི་སློབ་མའི་གྲངས་ཀ་
ཡང་རང་དགར་མར་ཆགས་ཡོད།

རྒྱལ་ནང་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་སློབ་ཚན་གྲུ་བར་གྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་སྐད་ཆའི་བརྗེ་རེས་སྟེལ་བའི་བྱ་འགུལ་དང་
། བོད་ལུ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་ཟབ་ཞུགས་བྱེད་པའི་ལས་གཞིའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སོགས་ཐད་ནས་སྟོན་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཚེ་དོ་
སྤང་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་པ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལ། རྒྱ་མཚོན་ནི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་ནང་དང་། ས་གནས་བར་སྟོན་ལྟར་སློབ་གསོ་

དང་རིག་གནས་འབྲེལ་ཟམ་འཇུགས་མཁན་མེད་པས་རེད། དེ་བས་འདི་ནི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐད་
འཛོལ་རུས་སློབ་གསོ་སྦྱོང་བའི་བྱ་གཞག་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་མིག་སྤེའི་ལན་ཆ་ཞིག་སྟེ། ཕྱི་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ཡུན་གྱིས་ཉུང་དུ་
ཕྱིན་ཆེ། མ་འོངས་པར་རྒྱལ་ཕྱི་དང་རྒྱལ་ནང་གི་ལས་གཞིའི་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་བརྟན་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན།
དེར་མ་ཟད་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱི་བསྐབ་གཞི་དེ་སྡོན་ལྷར་སྣ་འཛོལས་རང་བཞིན་དང་། གསར་བ་གསར་
རྒྱུ་གི་རྣམ་པའི་འབྲུང་ཚོས་ལུང་ཡལ་འདུག ཡིན་ནའང་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་ལོ་བརྒྱའི་རྩམ་ཆེན་དུ་གྲུབ་ཡོད་ཅེས་པ་
ལྟར། ལོ་ངོ་བཙོ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ལས་མེད་ཀྱང་འབྲས་བུ་མི་དམན་པ་སྐངས་པའི་མདོ་སྐད་ཡུལ་
ཀྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་འདིའི་མ་འོངས་པར་བསམ་གཞིགས་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་སྟོང་གལ་ཆེན་ལྟར།

ཨ་བཀ་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཐད་ཀྱི་མ་འོངས་པའི་བསམ་གཞིགས།

དེ་སྡོན་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པའི་སློབ་མས་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་གི་གནས་བབ་
དང་ད་ལྟའི་སློབ་མའི་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་ལས་ཁུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་གཞིགས་པ་ན། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སློབ་མ་
ཡིན་ཞིང་དགེ་འོས་སློབ་མའི་རིགས་སུ་གཏོགས་ནའང་། མཐར་ཕྱིན་མཁན་ཡོད་ཚད་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་དགེ་
ཆན་མེན་ལ་ལས་གནས་ལ་ཡང་ཚད་ཡོད་པས། སློབ་མ་རང་གི་དགའ་ཕྱོགས་དང་འཛོལ་རུས་གྱིས་གང་
དགའ་དེ་སྐྱབ་གལ་ཆེ་བར་འདུག

བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སློབ་མས་བོད་རིག་པ་སོགས་རིག་ཚན་བསྐོས་མ་སྦྱང་བའི་གནས་བབ་དང་། བོད་
ལུ་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་པ་ཉུང་ཤས་ཤིག་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་སྤོང་ལྷོགས་སུ་རང་གི་རིག་
གནས་སྤོང་བའི་གོ་བབ་ཟེན་མེད་པས། བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སུ་བོད་དབྱིན་གྱི་སྐད་ཁོ་ན་སྦྱང་བ་ལས་བཀལ་
ཏེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་འདི་སྐད་གཉིས་ (ཡང་ན་སྐད་གསུམ) ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་བྱང་རྒྱབ་པ་ཞིག་སྦྱང་བར་བསྐབ་
གཞི་དང་དགེ་ཆན་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་ཀྱེན་བསྐྱུན་དགོས།

བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་སློབ་མ་ནི་སྤྱིར་རིག་ཚན་གྱི་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་སུ་གཏོགས་པས། བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་རིགས་
སྦྱང་བའི་སྟེང་ཚིན་ཚན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཤེས་བྱ་ངེས་རྒྱ་ནི་སྐབས་སུ་བབས་མེད་ནའང་། དེར་རིག་ཚན་གྱི་མི་
རིགས་རིག་པ་དང་། མའི་རིགས་རིག་པ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རིག་པ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་གི་ཤེས་བྱར་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་
གཏན་འཁེལ་གནང་རྗེས་རིག་ཚན་འདི་དག་ནི་མ་འོངས་པར་ངེས་པར་དུ་དབྱིན་སྐད་ཀྱིས་འཕྲིད་པའི་

དགོས་པ་མ་མཆིས་པས། བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་ཁྲིད་རྒྱ་ནི་ཁ་ཚེ་དགོས་གཏུགས་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེ་
 ལས་ང་ཚོས་རིམ་གྱིས་སློབ་རྒྱུ་ནས་སློབ་ཆེན་བར་གྱི་བསྐབ་གཞི་སྒྲིག་བསྐྱར་གྱི་ལས་ལ་འབད་དགོས་ལ། དེ་
 བྱི་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བསྐབ་གཞི་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་དགོས་པས་མ་ཁྲུབ་པར་རིག་ཚན་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་
 བསྐབ་གཞི་སྒྲིག་བསྐྱར་བྱས་ཚོག་ཅིང་། བྱེད་ཀྱང་དགོས་འདུག་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནམ། དེ་ལྟར་ང་ཚོར་མ་མཐར་ཡང་
 བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་ཀྱི་མང་གཞིའི་འཛོལ་རུས་ཐོན་པ་བྱུང་ན་དེའི་སྲུང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལས་དོན་བྱི་ཕྱི་ཡིག་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་
 རིག་ཚན་ལྷ་འཛོལ་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་རྣམས་ཐད་ཀར་སྱི་ཡིག་གི་མ་ཡིག་ལས་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་
 མདོར་ན་རིག་གནས་འཕུས་ཚང་ཅན་དང་རིག་ཚན་ལྷ་མང་ཅན། ལས་འབྲུགས་གདམ་གསེས་ཅན་གྱི་སྡོན་
 འགྲོའི་ཆ་རྒྱུ་དུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་ལ། ད་ཡན་བོད་ཡུལ་སློབ་སྦྱང་བར་གསུམ་དུ་ད་དུང་ཡང་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་
 ཅན་གྱི་ཤེས་རམས་པ་དང་འབྲུམ་རམས་པའི་བསྐབ་གནས་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་གྲུའམ་རིག་གནས་སྡེ་ཁག་གཅིག་
 ཀྱང་མེད་པའང་རང་རེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མ་རུས་པ་མ་གཏོགས་མི་དགོས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རང་རེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་
 རིག་གནས་འཕུས་ཚང་ཅན་དང་རིག་ཚན་ལྷ་མང་ཅན། ལས་འབྲུགས་གདམ་གསེས་ཅན། མདོར་ན་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་
 རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ཅན་བཅས་ལ་ད་དུང་རྗེས་སུ་ལུས་འདུག་པས་སོ།

དུག་པ་སྤྱི་སྒྲིག་

མིག་ལྔའི་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་ལྟར་ན། རང་རྒྱལ་ནང་སའི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་དང་བོད་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་སྐད་གཉིས་
 སློབ་གསོ་གཉིས་ཙམ་པ་ནས་མི་འདྲ་སྟེ། དེར་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་གནས་བབ་ཐད་
 དུས་རབས་འདྲིའི་འགོ་རྒྱུགས་པ་ནས་དེའི་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ངོ་བཅུའི་རིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མང་དུ་གནང་ཡོད་ལ། དེའི་
 སྐོར་གྱི་ཆེད་རྩོམ་དགུ་བཅུ་ལྟ་ཡོད། གཞན་ཡང་བོད་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་ཐད་ཅི་འདྲའི་རུས་པ་
 བཏོན་པ་ཆ་མི་འཚལ་མོད། ཆེད་རྩོམ་རེ་བོའི་གཏོས་དང་མཉམ་པ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། རྒྱལ་ནང་དུ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ཁོ་ནའི་
 ལམ་ནས་བྲིས་པའི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་ཆེད་རྩོམ་ལའང་ 2010 ལོའི་བར་དུ་དུས་དེབ་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་སུ་
 བཏོད་པ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་གཉིས་ལྷག་ཡོད་པར་བཤད།¹⁶ ཡིན་ནའང་། ཀུན་གྱིས་ཤེས་གསལ་ལྟར། བོད་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་

¹⁶ རྒྱུ་དབྱི་དང་དབྱི་ལའེ་མེན་(朱晔、俞理明) གཉིས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱམས་ཤིང་ 2010 ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་དུས་དེབ་《ཕྱི་
 སྐད་དང་ཕྱི་སྐད་སློབ་གསོ》(外语与外语教学)》 དེབ་དུག་པའི་སྟེང་བཏོད་པའི་རང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོའི་
 ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་མིག་སྤེའི་གནས་བབ་(我国英汉双语教育研究现状) ཞེས་པའི་དབྱུང་རྩོམ། ཤོག་ངོས་ 31-36 བར་

བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་ནི་སློབ་བཅོས་ཀྱིས་དར་འཕྱི་ཞིང་། ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབ་ནི་ཕྱོད་དུ་སོང་བའི་
རྒྱལ་ནང་གི་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་རིགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གང་གི་ཁྱབ་ཁོངས་སུ་འང་མེད་པའི་རྣམ་པ་གསར་བ་ཞིག་
ཆགས་འདུག་པ་ན། མིག་མར་ད་དུང་སློབ་གསོའི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་སྟེགས་བུ་ཅུ་བརྟེན་སྟོན་སུ་ལུས་ཡོད་ལ།
འདི་ལ་ད་ལྟའི་བར་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལམ་ནས་ཆེད་དུ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་གནང་བ་དང་ཆེད་ཚུལ་བྲིས་པ་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་
ཉུང་།¹⁷

དེ་ཡང་ཆ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ན། དེང་འདིར་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནི་གོ་ལ་ཉིལ་འགྱུར་ཅན་འདིའི་ཕུན་སོད་གི་སྐད་དུ་
གྱུར་ཞིང་ཀུན་གྱིས་སློབ་དགོས་པར་འདུག་པ་དང་། ཆ་གཞན་ཏུ་ན། རང་རེའི་བོད་ཁྱེད་གྱི་སློབ་འཁྲིལ་དང་
མཐོ་འཁྲིལ་ལྟ་ཞོག་སློབ་ཆེན་དུ་འང་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཚད་ཐད་གནད་དོན་རབ་དང་རིམ་པ་ཡོད་པས་ན། བོད་
ཀྱི་སློབ་མས་རང་གི་པ་སྐད་ལས་གཞན་བྱང་ཚད་དམའ་བའི་སྐད་རིགས་གཉིས་པ་འདི་ (འདིར་རྒྱ་ཡིག)
བཀོལ་ཏེ་སྐད་རིགས་གསུམ་པ་ཞིག་ཤེས་པར་བྱེད་པ་ནི་རང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཏེ། པ་སྐད་ནི་རྒྱ་
སྐད་ཡིན་པའི་སློབ་མས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་སྐད་རིགས་གཉིས་པ་ (འདིར་དབྱིན་ཇི།) སྦྱང་བའི་དཀའ་གནད་
དང་གཅིག་མཚུངས་སུ་བསྟོན་འོས་སམ། ཡང་ན་ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་ཏུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་བྱང་ཚད་ནི་རྒྱའི་
སློབ་མ་དང་འདྲ་བར་རྒྱ་ཡིག་བཀོལ་ནས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་དཀའ་གནད་གསལ་བཀོལ་དང་རམ་འདེགས་ཀྱི་
རུས་པ་ཐོན་ཐུབ་བམ།

འདི་ལས་ང་ཚོས་གལ་ཆེན་དུ་ཤེས་ཐུབ་པ་ནི་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་སློབ་གསོ་གལ་ཆེ་བ་ནང་བཞིན་

གསལ།
¹⁷ དེར་སྟེགས་རིག་རྟེན་མགྲིན་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་ཤིང་ 2013 ལོའི་ 《བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་》 འི་སྟེང་བཀོད་པའི་གངས་ཅན་བོད་དུ་བོད་
དབྱིན་ཚད་ལས་དར་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེ་བཞིན་དེ་ལག་སོན་མ་བུང་བས་ད་པན་ཚོམ་གྱི་དགོངས་གཞི་སྟེགས་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་མ་
བུང་། གཞན། དབྱི་ལིན་ (Yi Lin) གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་ཤིང་ 2007 ལོའི་རྒྱ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ནང་པར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་དུས་དེབ་ *The*
China Quarterly ཡི་དེབ་གྲངས་ 192 རྟེན་བཀོད་པའི་ "Ethnicization through Schooling: The Mainstream Discursive Repertoires of Ethnic Minorities" ཤོག་ངོས། 933-948
དང་། ཡང་ཁོང་གིས་ *Chinese Citizenship* ཞེས་པར་བཀོད་པའི་ "Choosing between Ethnic and Chinese Citizenship: the Educational Trajectories of Tibetan Minority Children in Northwestern China" ཤོག་ངོས་ 41-67. དང་། རྗེ་ལྷོ་ལེ་ལོ་ལྷོ་ (Rebecca A Clothey) དང་ཨེ་ལེ་རྩ་ལིན་ལེ་ (Elena McKinlay) གཉིས་ཀྱིས་2012ལོའི་ *Asian Highlands Perspectives* ཡི་སྟེགས་བུ་ 21 པའི་སྟེང་བཀོད་པའི་དཔྱད་ཚོམ་ "A Space for the Possible: Globalization and English Language Learning for Tibetan Students in China" ཞེས་པ་མ་གཏོགས་མེད།

བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མ་དང་སློབ་གསོར་མཚོན་ན་ཉ་ཅང་གལ་ཆེ་བ་དེའོ།
གང་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་སྐད་རིགས་དང་པོ་ནི་བོད་སྐད་དེ་རང་གི་ཕ་སྐད་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་བཞེས་ནས་
དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྐད་བ་ན་ད་གཞོན་བོད་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་སྐད་སླ་བ་མ་ཟད། དེ་ནི་བོད་
ཀྱི་སློབ་མས་སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་པ་ཞིག (མང་ཤོས་ཀྱིས་བྱང་ཆུབ་མེད་པ་ཞིག) བཞེས་ནས་སྐད་ཡིག་གསུམ་དེ་
སྐད་བ་དང་མི་འདྲ་བར་རང་ལ་བྱང་ཆ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕ་སྐད་ཀྱི་རམ་འདེགས་དང་གསལ་བཀོལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་
སྐད་ཡིག་གཉིས་པ་དེར་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན། མདོར་ན་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་མས་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་སྐད་
ཡིག་སྐད་བ་དང་མཉམ་ཏུ་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་འབྲེལ་བའི་རིག་ཚན་ཏེ། རྒྱ་བར་ཏུ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནང་གི་བོད་
ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཉམས་ཞེས་སྐོར་གྱི་ནམ་པར་རྒྱས་མངའ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གལ་ཆེ། མིག་ལྔའི་བོད་ལུལ་གྱི་སློབ་
ཆེན་དག་ན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་དང་རང་བྱུང་ཚན་རིག་གྲེ་བཅས་ཏུ་དགར་བའི་མཐོ་རིམ་ཆེད་ལས་མེད་པ་
དང་། ཤེས་རིག་གི་རིག་ཚན་དེ་དག་བོད་ཡིག་བརྒྱད་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་པ་ལ་དེ་བས་ཀྱང་དངོས་ཤུགས་བརྒྱད་
གསུམ་གྱི་སློབ་སྤྲོད་ཤུགས་དགོས་ཏེ། བསྐྱབ་གཞི་སྤྲིག་བརྒྱུར་དང་། ཕྱི་འབྲེལ་རིག་གནས་བརྗེ་རེས། ཕྱི་ཡིག་ལོ་
རྒྱ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོད་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཀྱིས་རུས་པ་གལ་ཆེན་ཐོན་ཐུབ་པས། རང་སར་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་སྐད་གཉིས་
ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་གལ་ཆེ་བ་བཞིན་ཏུ་ང་ཚོས་བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ལྷ་བུའི་ལས་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་བརྐྱེད་ན། རིམ་གྱིས་
བོད་དབྱིན་ཆེད་ལས་ཅན་གྱི་བསྐྱབ་གནས་འཇུག་ཚང་ཏུ་གཏོང་བ་དང་རང་རེའི་སྐད་ཡིག་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྷན་
རུས་དགོ་མཚན་ཡོངས་སུ་གདོན་ཐུབ་ན་ནི་སྤྱིའི་བོད་ལུལ་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཐད་ལའང་དོན་སྤོང་གལ་ཆེན་ཐུན་མོ།

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