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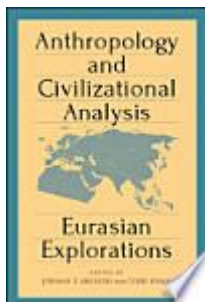
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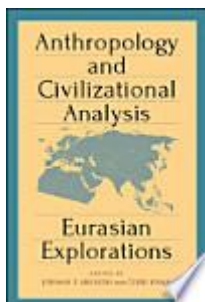
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The **Salar** did and do not fully exclude **intermarriage** with other ethnic groups. ... reached that allowed **Salar** men to **marry Tibetan women** (Ma 2011, 63).

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Tibetan women primarily **married** into **Salar** males ' households and , afterwards , brides were expected to convert to Islam . Also , while disseminating Islam ...

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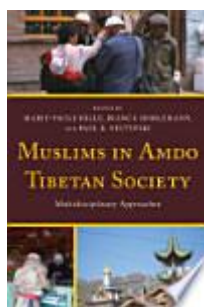
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Tibetans south of the Yellow river were displaced much earlier by **Salar** and ... intermarried extensively with local **Tibetan women** , under the condition that ...

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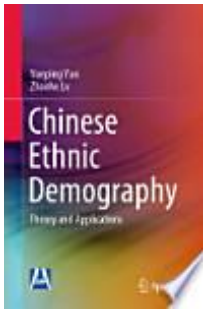
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... 146, 151n36; between Muslim tradesmen and local women, 149n15; oral history of the first **matrimonial** alliances between **Salar** men and **Tibetan women**, ...

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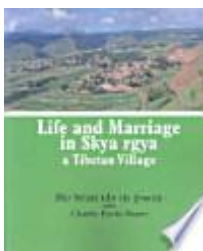
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... while ethnic minorities such as Mongolian, **Tibetan**, and Uyghur people can ... In 2000, the average ages at first **marriage** for **Salar** and Uyghur **women** ...

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A conch is blown as the men²⁰ recite **Buddhist** prayers. ... Afterwards, every member of the affected family may bathe, **women** may plait their hair, ...

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The Sa-la (also known as **Salar**) live in Hsun-hus **Salar** county of Tsing-hai ... **Married women** are mourned only by their husband's family, never by their own.



The Tibet Journal - Volume 20 - Page 101

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From the Mission d ' Ollone who explored this area at the beginning of the century , we learn that some Chinese Muslims of this area **married Tibetan women** ...

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The Salar did and do not fully exclude intermarriage with other ethnic groups. The most accepted interethnic marriage relation is with the Hui because they share the Islamic religion and similar customs. According to oral narratives, the ancestors of the Salar asked the Tibetans for marriage alliance. Due to differences in religion and customs, the Tibetans stipulated a number of requirements, but an agreement was finally reached that allowed Salar men to marry Tibetan women (Ma 2011, 63). Over several generations, cultural mixing was thus possible through marriage. Recently, such marriages have become rare: marriage alliances with Tibetans exist only among the older generations; marital exchanges with other Salar patrilineal families within a ten kilometer range are preferred; and marriages with Han are avoided (Wang 2011, 9).

Some Han influence is reflected in Salar family names. Among the more than thirty family names used by the Salar, "Han" is the most popular. But the family name marks the boundaries of an *aghing* and does not reflect deeper Han influence. The Salar do not share a concept of patrilineality with the Han, for whom cultural elements such as an ancestor's cult, genealogy, or lineage rules support the patriline's multifunctional role in religion, society, and culture. By contrast, the Salar lineage has a more limited scope: "[T]he role of the Salar patrilineal lineage serves to arrange marital exchanges, [provide] support and care within the lineage, [and] coordinate economic and ritual activities. Its functions are limited within the local society; [they] serve [the] integration and adaptation of small-scale communities. Seldom [do] they spread to the areas of politics, religions [or] related ideologies" (Wang 2011, 7).

Oral narratives, kinship and social organization, interethnic marriages, and some family names all point to the existence of cultural exchange between the Salar and their neighbors, but they do not suffice to enable a reconstruction of the historical processes of exchange. To solve this puzzle we turn our focus to the house, the favorite starting point of *Kulturkreislehre*, to trace historical changes and investigate the fine distinctions between the Salar and their neighbors. We profit greatly from a detailed report of four nineteenth-century farm buildings in Xunhua and one building of the 1980s in Xinjiang. The investigations were conducted between 2005 and 2006 by an interdisciplinary team of archaeologists, ethnologists, and architects coordinated by Mayke Wagner of the German Archaeological Institute's Eurasia Department (Wagner, Flitsch et al. 2007).

In the countryside of Qinghai Province, as well as in north China generally, a dwelling unit is a building complex enclosed by walls. The complex

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alike stop work and go to mosques to pray. Even if a Salar is away working or doing business, if it is convenient he should fast and pray. Salar are generous in making charitable donations. "Heaven taxes" are one of the five *gong*. Muslims refer to it as *fureze* (heavenly appointed duties) and for this reason better-off families vol.

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[id=ciShtCrJijlC&pg=PA12&dq=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwihv4bOnoTyAhUtAp0JHdfRCBsQ6AEwA3oECAsQAQAg](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ciShtCrJijlC&pg=PA12&dq=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwihv4bOnoTyAhUtAp0JHdfRCBsQ6AEwA3oECAsQAQAg)

Tibetans south of the Yellow river were displaced much earlier by Salar and Chinese Muslim settlements than those on the north bank. Even today, Salar areas on the south bank form a continuous region, while those on the north bank remain to this day a patchwork of Tibetan and Salar communities. In the absence of a bridge across the river, the Bayan Salars had little contact with the Xúnhuà Salars. This encouraged the Tibetanization of the Salars north of the river to such an extent that the Qīng government and the Xúnhuà Salars to the south saw the Bayan (now Huàlóng) Salars as a separate group. These settlement patterns within the *gong* system thus had far-reaching sociolinguistic effects.

Salar men on both sides of the river intermarried extensively with local Tibetan women, under the condition that the latter convert to the Islamic faith. Tibetan cultural practices not conflicting with the tenets of Islam were readily incorporated into Salar life. A white stone is placed at the top of each four corners of the high outside wall of many Salar homes, for example. In some Salar villages such as Kewa, Tibetan-style butter tea is drunk and major life passages are observed together with Tibetan neighbors and friends. Due to their partly Tibetan heritage, Salars refer to the Tibetans as their *ajiu* ('maternal uncle'), a position of utmost respect.²⁴

During the Yuán-Míng transition period, these upper Yellow River littoral pastoralist-agriculturists began to have more economic and religious contacts with peripheral areas. The most important and accessible of these was Hézhōu (now Línxià). In 1370, the Salars came under the control of the Chinese Míng dynasty and Xúnhuà county came to be administered by the Hézhōu prefectural officials. Chinese Muslims (*Huìhuí*) from Hézhōu started to move into the Xúnhuà area, broadening both Salar trading and marriage opportunities. Through intermarriage, many of these Huìhuís came to identify themselves as Salars.²⁵

24 The maternal uncle had e.g. the honor of giving the wedding speech (*urux sōz*); *ajiu* is a pan-Amdo term for 'maternal uncle' in Amdo Tibetan, Amdo Chinese, Southeastern (Mínhé) Monguor, and Salar.

25 The Salars in two Altiuli villages, Mǎjiǎ ('Mǎ-family') and Chénjiǎ ('Chén-family') readily declare that their ancestors were Huí from Hézhōu. Originally,

Huíhuís continued to move into the littoral areas north and south of the Yellow River. The bonds of religion and kinship between the local Huíhuí and the Salar became firmly cemented over time, resulting in many shared life-rituals: prayer; birth, death, and marriage rites. With ever-increasing religious and economic ties, it came to be seen as more desirable for a Salar to marry a fellow Muslim rather than a Tibetan, Mongol, or Hàn, if marriage outside the group was necessary. The common practice of Salar men taking Huí wives has continued up to the present day.

Intensive contact and intermarriage with non-Muslims (Tibetans and Mongols) in the crucial early period of Salar ethnogenesis in the 14th–16th centuries, however, shaped not only Salar sociopolitical organization, but also material culture and language. Household architecture (the high-walled adobe compound) and premodern dress (e.g. the side-buttoning coat²⁶) represented a regional style reflecting strong Tibetic and Mongolic influences, respectively. In the Salar language, the semantic and grammaticalization of basic-vocabulary lexemes from Mongolic suggests that the earliest Salars were initially at least bilingual.²⁷ From the end of the 14th c. with the end of Mongol rule, trade and intermarriage with Tibetic and Chinese speakers resulted in a shift to multilingual fluency in these languages.

Multilingualism in Salar males was the consequence of their penchant for long-distance trade, then as now. From Míng times up to the early 20th century, Salars regularly transported goods and timber by sheepskin raft down the Yellow River to Lánzhōu and even Níngxià. Former caravan trade by horse and mule has been replaced by even longer-distance motorized transport of sheepskins or passengers, but the principle remains the same: trading in the agricultural low season

most all Salars were surnamed Hán 韓 (< *khan* < *khaghan*); now as many are surnamed Mǎ 馬 (the most common Chinese Muslim surname, said to be an abbreviated form of 'Muhammed').

26 Salar *dordan*–*dorden* 'side-buttoning coat,' cf. WMo. *durdang* 'silk fabric.'

27 In addition to a variety of Mongolic terms for the natural world (*morin* '[the Yellow] river,' *col* 'river valley,' *buyu* 'deer'), a number of verbs of Mongolic origin constitute the basic vocabulary of modern Salar (e.g. *jaca*- 'to say,' *dzari*- 'to use'); for etymologies see Dwyer 2000b.

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between religion and sociopolitical structure meant that future developments in Salar society were in large measure tied to regional developments in Islam.

While intermarriage between Salar men and local Tibetan women and their conversion to Islam was a prominent feature of this early period, at the same time, Salars continued to incorporate practices not considered in conflict with Islam. This included non-Islamic naming practices until at the very latest the 18th century,³⁵ and until the mid-20th century, the marriage custom of having the bride thrice circumnavigate a horse while scattering milk or grains.³⁶

Yet for modern Salars the religion of primary relevance is Islam. As the following theatricized version of the Salars' legendary arrival in Amdo Tibet shows,³⁷ the default variety of Islam among Sino-Muslims in the area at the time was Hanafi Sunni:

Mongol: What's that you're leading, with long fur, twisted head and tall hooves?

Ahun: It's a camel.

Mongol: What is it carrying?

Ahun: Thirty volumes of the Qur'ān, large and small steelyards [秤, 戥], a bowl of water and a bowl of soil.

Mongol: Where are you going?

Ahun: To the Sunni place [孫尼地方, i.e. Muslim China].

35 Initially, besides the legendary Turko-Persian names Garaman and Akhman, Chinese historical sources mention the first Salar leader Hán Bǎo was formerly called *Shēn Bǎo* 神寶. Lists of Salar men requisitioned as Qīng troops in 1781, however, indicates that by that time the naming system had become Islamicized (XTZ, from Saguchi 1986: 109). For an overview of naming, see Hán 1992 and Dwyer 2000a.

36 Mǎ & Mǎ: 27. More precisely, a bowl of milk was scattered over the hooves of the bride's horse while two bowls-full were brought inside, echoing a similar Tibetan practice using *chang* (Mǐ 1990: 28).

37 From an unknown point in time until fifty years ago, many Salar weddings included a Camel Dance (*dōyi oyna*), in which the arrival of the proto-Salars in Xúnhuà was reenacted. Significantly, one person played a "Mongol," another played a Salar *ahun* wearing a long white robe and sometimes a white head-wrap, clutching a gnarled staff in one hand and with the other leading an exotic-looking beast (the camel), which was played by two further people. This particular example is from *Zhōngguó shǎoshù mínzú wénxué* Vol. I (1983: 636–638).

The centuries immediately after the Salars settled in northern Tibet saw the incorporation of locally-developed Islamic practices and structures into Gedom. Evidence of such incorporation includes the use of the Chinese Islamic primer *Záxué běnběn* 雜學本本 [Book of Diverse Studies], one of the two known extant texts in premodern Salar. It appears to be a Salar version of a common type of Islamic primer in Persian and Arabic which began appearing in the late Mongol Yuán dynasty; these primers were systematized in the mid to late Míng into an Islamic education known as *jīngtáng jiàoyù* 經堂教育 ‘scripture hall education.’³⁸

The Huìhuí influx to Xúnhuà and their intermarriage with Salars profoundly affected the evolution of the Salar’s Islamic faith. Some of the Huìhuís succeeded in converting many but not all Salars (and even some Tibetans) to newer Muslim orders. With the establishment of each new sub-order, the divided loyalties of the Salar population and external pressures resulted in repeated violence. What began as local religious incidents often escalated to regional political power struggles, involving local Chinese Muslims and Qīng-recruited troops of Mongols, Tibetans, and Hàns.

The first Sufi order to come to the Salars was Khafiyya, which in the 17th–18th centuries influenced but did not substantially change Gedom teaching. The most influential suborder for the Salars was the Flowered Mosque lineage 花寺門宦, known for its architectural ornamentation. Its charismatic leader Mǎ Láichí 馬來遲 (1685–1753) spread his message in Salar country shortly before his death. His teachings had broad appeal in that readings of the Qur’ān were simplified,³⁹ remembrances (*dhikr*) should be conducted in silence, and in

38 Feng Zengli, “Míng-Qīng shīqī Shānxī Yīlǎnjiào de jīngtāng jiàoyù”, in Níngxià zhēxué shèhuì kēxué yánjiūsuǒ, *Qīngdài Zhōngguó Yīlǎnjiào lǐnjī* (Yīnchuán: Níngxià rénmin, 1981): 229–230, cited in Lipman: 50. Islamic primers, so-called *Hàn Kètābù* 漢克塔布 ‘Chinese *kitāb* (religious texts)’ were translated from Persian and Arabic into Chinese, and occasionally other languages, as here.

39 Adherents read simplified Quranic extracts from the Khafiyya/Jahriyya tract *Míngshā jīng* 明沙經 (明沙爾/明沙勒) < A. *minshār* + C. 經 *jīng* ‘scripture,’ an 18th c. imported text from Arabia which Mǎ Láichí edited.

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- and Lurdi, 173n50;
 military control over Qinghai, [54](#),
[141](#), 150n24, [154](#), 161–64,
 166–67, [198](#).
See also Golok-Ma conflicts; Xining
 Ma clan
- Ma Chengjun, 107n38, 225–26n19
- MA Chi. *See* Ma Qi
- Machu (rma chu). *See* Yellow River
- Ma Desheng, [163](#)
- Ma Haiyan, [154](#)
- Ma Haiyun and Takahashi Kantaro, [77](#)
- Ma Hetian, 172n40
- Ma Jianfu, [91](#), 104n17
- Ma Laichi [Arab. Abû al-Futûh]
 (1681–1766):
 Dehenglong preaching of, [113](#);
karâmat (miracles) performed by, [79](#),
 113–14;
 legendary walking stick of, [79](#), [80](#);
 Naqshbandiyya Huasi
 founded by, [112](#);
 Old School (*laojiao*/Khufiyya)
 led by, [8](#), [71](#);
 oral legends in Salar language about,
 112–14;
 shrine in Linxia, [112](#);
 Tibetans converted to Islam by, [9](#),
 71–72, [79](#), [81](#), [112](#), [114](#);
 tomb to descendant of, [112](#), [114](#);
xiejia Ma Laichi distinguished from,
 43n18.
See also xiejia Ma Laichi
- Ma Lin [Tib. MA len], [141](#).
See also Xining Ma clan
- Ma Mingxin, [8](#), [11](#), 114–15, [139](#)
- Ma Pu, [163](#)
- MA Pu'u Hphang. *See* Ma Bufang
- Ma Qixi:
 and Ma Anliang, [195](#), 205n41;
 Xidaotang founded by, [179](#),
[186](#), [195](#)
- Ma Qi (Zixiang):
 military control over Labrang,
 141–42, [144](#), [162](#);
- modernization plan for Qinghai,
 155–56;
 son Ma Bufang. *See* Ma Bufang.
See also Xining Ma clan
- marriage:
 marriage alliances of sisters of
 Apa Alo, [162](#), 174n60;
 Muslim-Tibetan intermarriage, [77](#),
[90](#), 139–40, [146](#), 151n36;
 between Muslim tradesmen and local
 women, 149n15;
 oral history of the first matrimonial
 alliances between Salar men
 and Tibetan women, 90–91
- Ma Taibaba:
 and Ma Laichi, [112](#);
 shrine of, [110](#), [112](#)
- Ma Tianxi [Arab. Habîb Allâh], [117](#)
- Ma Tingrang, [154](#), 169n8
- Ma Wanfu, [8](#)
- Ma warlords:
 Hui village family origins of
 Ma Haiyan, [154](#);
 promotion of Ikhwan, [80](#).
See also Golok-Ma conflicts;
 Xining Ma clan
- Ma Weihua, 85n20
- Ma Wei (Salar scholar), 65n65
- Ma Wei. *See* Fakhr al-Dîn al-Sînî
 [Chin. Xiongbo/Ma Wei]
- Ma Wenquan (Arab. Muhammad
 Ibrâhîm Ayyûb al-Sînî), [123](#);
ijâzat of, [123](#), [124](#)
- Ma Wensheng, [31](#)
- Ma Yiqing (Arab. Arab. 'Abd
 al-Rahmân), [112](#)
- Ma Yuanhai, 161
- Ma Zhan'ao, 19n37
- Ma Zhongyi, 161–63
- Ma Zhongying, [143](#), 150–51n30, [198](#)
- Ma Zongsheng, [110](#)
- Meng Zang Weiyuanhui* (Commission
 for Mongolian and Tibetan
 Affairs, *bod sog u yon lhan*
khang), [164](#)

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pxxBCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA267#v=onepage&q&f=false>

- Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya:
 Ahmad Sirhindi's founding of, [116](#), [118](#);
 Beizhuang *menhuan* sub-branch of, [116](#), [179](#), [195](#);
 education culture of, 117–18;
 in Fanzhichang, 116–17, 133n22, 133n23;
 practice of multiple affiliations, [118](#);
 and Shaykh Awliyā, [116](#);
silasila document of, [117](#), [120](#), [121](#)
- Naqshbandiyya Qādiriyya. *See* Qādiriyya
- national autonomy. *See* autonomy;
 territory; Xinjiang Uyghur
 Autonomous Region; Xunhua
 Salar Autonomous District:
minzu (nationality)
- New Sect. *See* Xidaotang
- New Teaching. *See* *xinjiao*
- Nayanceng (Manchu official), 21–22, [40](#)
- Ngawa (rnga ba) [Chin. Aba],
 173–74n51, [185](#)
- Ngülra/Oula, [159](#), [196](#), 197;
 Nyentok/Niantu Monastery, [185](#),
 188, [190](#), 193–94, 204n38
- 1958 Amdo Rebellion. *See* Amdo
 Rebellion
- Ningxia, [78](#), [116](#), [119](#), [124](#), [154](#),
 168n5, [211](#)
- Nukhi (Salar caretaker of the 'Abd
 al-'Aziz Shrine), [115](#), 132n14,
 134n32
- Nyenmo (snyan mo) [Chin. Nianmao(si)]
 Monastery, [157](#), 160
- Nyingmapa (rnying ma pa), [6](#), [138](#), 158
- oral history, 225–26n19;
 conducted by Emilia Sulek, [168](#),
 173n50, 174n57, 176n72;
 of the first matrimonial alliances
 between Salar men and
 Tibetan women, 90–91;
 interview discussing interethnic
 marriage in Labrang, [146](#),
 151n36;
 interview in Jishi Town (November
[19](#), 2008), 59n1;
 interview of Tibetan-speaking imams
 and elders in Geerma, [77](#);
 interviews at Ngülra Monastery, [190](#),
 193–94;
 interviews by Ma Jianfu, [91](#), 104n17;
 interviews in Golok/Guluo
 Prefecture, [211](#);
 interviews of Salar and Tibetan
 informants on the Xunhua
 Incident, 64n52;
 interviews of Tibetan scholars
 and others with long-term
 experience working in
 education in Tibet, [213](#),
[216](#), 218, [219](#), [220](#), 225n15,
 226n26;
 interviews of Tibetan-speaking
 Muslims on Hui migration to
 Kaligang, [75](#);
 interviews recalling Apa Alo, [146](#);
 interviews with Naqshbandi disciples
 in Fanzhichang, 133n22,
 133n23;
 interviews with Salar Muslim
 manager of a wool processing
 factory in Xunhua, [214](#),
 225n19;
 interviews with Salar regarding
 fleeing the PLA in Zhunhua,
 61n16;
 interviews with Tibetan county
 officials in Rongwo, [216](#);
 interview with Bahe, *akhun* of the
 main mosque of Dehenglong
 Village, 132n11;
 interview with Bey Akhun, imam of
 the Yazı/Caotanba Mosque in
 Jishi, 133n21, 133n23;
 interview with Dr. Ma, 226n20;
 interview with Hasan Akhun (Salar
 caretaker of the 'Abd al-'Aziz
 Shrine in Liuwan Village),
 134n32;

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pxxBCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA146#v=onepage&q&f=false>

and increased tolerance of Muslim and Chinese traders. However, in spite of the more liberal attitudes, persons interviewed and written sources report that many of the Chinese and Muslims in this period were only temporary residents, and there were restrictions against family settlements until the early 1930s. One source noted that as a result some Muslim men who stayed in Xiahe for long periods married local Tibetan women.³⁶

Even though the Muslims were temporary residents, their numbers were substantial. In 1928, the total population of all ethnic groups in Xiahe County was about 34,000.³⁷ There were some 2,600 people living in the market village north of the monastery, and about the same number of monks in the monastery. Of people in the market village there were 930 Hui and Salar Muslims.³⁸ Rules for Muslim and Chinese permanent residence at Xiahe changed somewhat later in the 1930s, during the office of the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa, when Muslim families were allowed to settle in Xiahe. There was a rapid increase in numbers of Muslims and Chinese at Labrang in the late 1920s and especially in the 1930s. This was due at least in part to widespread civil wars in neighboring regions, and subsequent large numbers of refugees attracted to Labrang's safe haven after the conflicts with the Xining Ma clan and the installation of Apa Alo and the Tibetan militia.³⁹

The Xiahe mosque was expanded again in 1936 when Chinese sources say there were some three hundred Muslim families in Xiahe. That is a relatively larger number than in prior years, for example, in 1935, when there were some one hundred and eighty Han and Hui shops documented in Xiahe.⁴⁰ Oral accounts report that in the 1930s there were over eight hundred Muslims (not families) in Xiahe village, and few Chinese.⁴¹ Whatever the exact number of permanent Muslim residents, it is notable that at this point in the 1930s the Muslim traders at Labrang had the ongoing support of the Tibetan leader Apa Alo/Huang Zhengqing (alias Huang Siling 黄司令, Commander Huang). He was the brother of the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa, and the leader of the Labrang militia, in 1933 assigned as such by the Lanzhou authorities. Persons interviewed recalled that Apa Alo was a supporter of the expansion of the mosque to its present size (destroyed and rebuilt after the Cultural Revolution). The support for the Muslims in these years was clearly for regional political solidarity and economic advantage.

The Muslims thrived in Xiahe in the 1940s. Makley summarizes data from Li Anzhai 李安宅 and others, reporting that in the Tawa section of Xiahe in the 1940s there were "over a thousand households and some thirty-five hundred people, over half of whom were Han and Muslim Chinese."⁴² The normalization of Tibetan and Muslim relations, evidenced by the reduction of hostilities by the beginning of the Communist period in Xiahe is perhaps signaled by Ma Bufang's brief eulogy to the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa,⁴³ as the Tibetans and Muslims together faced an even larger challenge.

Page 147 is not part of this book preview.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pxxBCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA90#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Finally, the Tibetan designation of Salar as “*azhang*” <*a zhang*>, that is, maternal uncle in Tibetan, denotes the most positive Tibetan attitude toward the Salar. In general, the use of “*azhang*” is immediately followed by the story of how the first two thousand Salar men who settled in the region, married Tibetan women. Thus, the use of “*azhang*” emphasizes the close relationship between the two communities and generally appears in circumstances when people insist that the Salar, despite being Muslims, should not be equated with or disregarded as Hui. Notably, the Salar use a similar term, that is, *ajiu* (from Mandarin *jiu* 舅 or *jiufu* 舅父), also meaning “maternal uncle,” to designate Tibetans.¹²

The variety of terms used by Tibetans to designate their Salar neighbors is illustrative of the ambiguous way in which they relate to each other. Although matrimonial alliances have been formed throughout history and, to some extent, continue to be established, adherence to different religions, that is, Buddhism and Islam, was and still is considered as problematic in community relations. According to oral history, matrimonial alliances between the first Salar men and Tibetan women were only formed after the Salar had agreed to three or four conditions set up by the Tibetan ruler of Wimdo valley.¹³ Two of these conditions were recounted to me in Salar in the following way:¹⁴

Palteək-kiei aŋa bæ bər vur keler. [. . .]

They [the Tibetans] wanted them [the Salar] to prostrate in front of the [Buddha] statue. [. . .]

Erligine sen bu mani eləŋgusə, muni uc elen voya ro s?

He [the Tibetan ruler] asked: “Can you take this *mani* [prayer wheel] in your hand and use it three times?”

Boya bu xin! Ebisi yisilan dɟjao. Ebisi bu ɟenɟu bər alen-nə jaraqurɟi bir demese, palteik-kiei bæ vurmas. Mani oqumas.

Impossible! We are Muslims. We say that one God is the creator of the world, we do not prostrate in front of statues. We do not recite [the *om*] *mani* [*padma hum*-mantra].

The Tibetans further requested that the Salar raise prayer flags on the four corners of their houses, which was also refused by the Salar. However, a compromise was finally reached: both parties found ways to circumvent or reinterpret the conditions without betraying their faith. For instance, the Salar put stones instead of prayer flags on the four corners of their houses. Salar oral history thus clearly demonstrates how religious differences and their cultural expressions have been problematic from the very beginning of Salar-Tibetan relations. The fact that some Tibetans do not distinguish between the two distinct Muslim groups of Hui and Salar indicates that religion still

constitutes a crucial issue for self-identification and a major obstacle in the relationship between the two communities. Oral accounts mention, for example, the expulsion of a few Salar families from Wimdo at the beginning of the 1990s, because local Tibetans had complained about the presence of a mosque and the Muslim prayer calls. According to the 1996 census, only one Salar remained in Wimdo Township.¹⁵

BILINGUALISM

A linguistic by-product of Salar-Tibetan relationships is a certain degree of bilingualism within the two communities. Besides bilingualism generated by Tibetan-Salar intermarriage, Tibetan-Salar bilingualism was also a general feature of Salar traders,¹⁶ since the Tibetan language used to be the common vernacular of the area. Today, bilingualism still exists to some extent in both Xunhua and Hualong Counties. Tibetans who speak fluent Salar are less common than the reverse. This is confirmed by data presented by Ma Jianfu 马建福: only two of ten Tibetan interviewees living in Xunhua knew “some” Salar, the other eight had no knowledge of this language. On the other hand, six of ten Salar interviewees of the same district knew “some” Tibetan, and only four did not know any Tibetan.¹⁷ Furthermore, in Xunhua Tibetan-Salar bilingualism is more frequently observed among Salar aged sixty and older, while in Hualong younger bilingual speakers are still to be found. However, the trend of a decrease in Tibetan-Salar bilingualism is manifested by the aging of bilingual speakers who are not replaced by the younger generation. In addition, a shift of bilingual capacities can be observed from Tibetan-Salar to Chinese-Salar on the one hand, and to Chinese-Tibetan on the other. School education is reinforcing this process, since Tibetan children are mostly educated in minority schools. In contrast, Salar children are sent to Chinese schools since Salar has no widespread, standardized written form and is not taught at school.¹⁸ Thus, as a consequence of the establishment of Chinese as the new regional lingua franca, Tibetan-Salar bilingualism is likely to disappear in the near future.¹⁹

This brief introduction has demonstrated that contacts between Salar and Tibetan speakers not only have a long history but also continue to this day, though Salar-Tibetan bilingualism is clearly declining. Here, linguistic data constitutes a valuable resource for the preservation of traces of contact between different ethnic groups. In fact, languages are influenced by each other and different linguistic sub-domains evolve differently depending on the intensity and duration of contacts, on the number of bilinguals in a given community, and on the relative status of the two communities in contact. The following section will introduce some linguistic data about both languages,

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=81juDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA46&dq=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwihv4bOnoTyAhUtAp0JHdfRCBsQ6AEwBXoECAYQAg

2.3.2.3 Characteristics of Reproduction Patterns of Ethnic Groups

First, demographic transition and population development occur alongside economic development. Most of the ethnic minorities demographic transition of which is consistent with the population development in the larger part of the country are distributed in the north and northeast regions of China, followed by the northwest and the southwest. The larger ones of them are mostly located in the remote areas of these regions. This shows that economic development is the driving force for demographic transition and the two have a casual relationship.

Second, birth rates of ethnic minorities are relatively high, largely attributable to China's population policy. In China, the family planning policy for ethnic minorities was introduced more than one decade later than that for the Han people. According to China's family planning policy, most Han couples are allowed to only have one child, while ethnic minorities such as Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uyghur people can have two children per couple if they are living in urban areas, three if they are living in the countryside, or four if they are living in pastoral areas. Due to differentiated treatment, the average birth rate of ethnic minorities has surpassed that of the Han people, and the natural growth rates of some ethnic minorities have also surpassed that of the Han people.

Third, because of by cultural, religious, and other factors, many ethnic minority girls marry early. A study of the average ages at first marriage for ethnic females in China⁹ shows that, in 1990, Tibetan, Kazak and Korean women married at an older age compared to other ethnic groups and the average ages at first marriage for women of the three ethnic groups were 23.8 years, 23.6 years, and 22.7 years, respectively; Uyghur (19.4 years), Kazak (20.0 years), Dai (20.9 years), and Yi (20.9 years) women married earlier in life compared to other ethnic groups; the percentage of Kazak women who married earlier in life was declining, and it should be noted that Kazaks are predominantly Muslims. In 2000, the average ages at first marriage for Salar and Uyghur women were 18.69 years and 18.99 years, respectively. There were seven ethnic groups whose average age at first marriage for women was below 20 years.¹⁰ The average ages at first marriage for Russian and Tatar women were above 25 years.¹¹ The incidence of early child-bearing and bearing of more than one child is higher among women married at an early age. Therefore, affected by certain non-economic factors, the cost of having children is a much less significant factor in population reproduction for some ethnic groups than others.

Fourth, the average life expectancy of ethnic minorities is generally lower than the national average. According to the fourth national census data, in 1990, the average life expectancy in China was 68.55 years; that of the Han people was 70.43 years; and that of ethnic minorities was 66.24 years (4.19 years shorter than the average life

⁹Zhang Tianlu. *A Demographic Study of Ethnic Minorities*, Retrieved from http://w.china-b.com/zxsh/20090317/954919_1.html.

¹⁰The seven ethnic groups are Salar, Uyghur, Kyrgyz, Dongxiang, Lahu, Bonan, and Tujia.

¹¹Huang Rongqing, Zhao Xianren, et al. (2004). *Demographic Changes of Ethnic Groups in the 1990s*. Ethnic Publishing House, p. 124.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6IH_pG2yLssC&pg=PA26&dq=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=1&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwihv4bOnoTyAhUtAp0JHdfRCBsQ6AEwBnoECAIQAg

the *heeze*¹⁸ and chant *mani* in melodious tones. People who visit the bereaved family do not cover their heads during this time of mourning. Young men are divided into groups and assigned such tasks as visiting every household to collect flour and a kilo of rapeseed oil; making a huge fireplace that will accommodate a large pot; frying a large amount of *go dmar* or 'red bread,' which are thin round and square bread pieces; fry long strings of dough in spiral form or *sog sog*;¹⁹ cook noodles; serve food and greet and escort guests. Almost every household in the entire township visits the home with gifts of bread, tea bricks, wheat grain and cash. The quantity of gifts is determined by how close the visiting family is to the family of the deceased.

The family of the deceased serves three meals to all the villagers for about two weeks—in the morning, at lunchtime and in the evening. Just before a meal is served, a trumpet is sounded from the roof of the deceased's home and village children then run eagerly to dine.

After three days, the corpse is taken to the place of final departure before dawn. A son or a relative of the deceased chops the corpse into pieces with an ax. A conch is blown as the men²⁰ recite Buddhist prayers. Vultures flock to the site and eat the corpse. It is a very bad omen if vultures do not come. It suggests that the dead person committed many sins in his life and the pieces of the corpse are taken back to the village and cremated outside the family courtyard. This is essentially the end of the funeral ceremony if the family is poor.

By convention, the mourning period lasts forty-nine days. It is the responsibility of sons to cover the funeral expenses. If the family's financial situation permits, family members visit such monasteries as Bya khyung, Rong bo and Lha ri²¹ and give monks tea bricks, bread, flour, rapeseed oil and cash in the hope that the spirit of the dead person will be safe. Alternatively, the family may visit monasteries and prepare the best food that they can afford for the monks.

A final ceremony is conducted one year after the exact time the deceased died. Afterwards, every member of the affected family may bathe, women may plait their hair, men may brush their hair and family members may sing, drink liquor and wear new clothes.

Nearby Muslims

Muslims classified as Hui by the Chinese government live about twenty kilometers away in Dong sna²² Town, which is situated near the Yellow River. They often visit the

¹⁸ 'Heeze' is a Tibetan word that lacks an accurate standard written form. Today, it is often written incorrectly in literary Tibetan as 'tsha thab' that translates as 'hot stove.' This is incorrect because the *heeze* is not a hot stove, rather, it is a hollow platform made of stones with a thin layer of dry, hard earth on top. Coals and smoldering straw and grain husks are placed inside to heat it. Felt is spread atop the *heeze*, which is where family members sleep and important guests eat. Chinese: *kang*.

¹⁹ The sound of this fried bread being eaten is the name of this bread.

²⁰ Women and girls do not attend.

²¹ Bya khyung Monastery is located in today's Dpa' lung (Hualong) County. Rong bo Monastery is located in today's Reb gong (Tongren) County. Lha ri Monastery is located in today's Zhun hwa (Xunhua) Salar Autonomous County.

²² Chinese: Kangyang.

village with mules loaded with baskets of fruits and vegetables to exchange for grain, wood and medicinal herbs. Older Hui women and men of this village speak perfect Tibetan that is much better than their Chinese. An older man (b. 1931) from the village confided, "We have the same blood; we have the same ancestors. We used to marry each other, shared the same customs and observed the same traditional principles. It was Ma Bufang who converted us to Islam."

Languages

Although local residents speak A mdo Tibetan dialect, in the course of frequent contact with neighboring Hui, many older Skya rgya men (b. ~ 1970 and earlier) have learned to understand the local Chinese dialect, which is very similar to Qinzhai Chi-

language is understood by most Chinese visitors, though it is very different from Standard Chinese Dialect, and can reply in simple Chinese. However, very few women born in 1970 and earlier speak any Chinese and almost no women in this group can read and write any Tibetan. On the other hand, most men in this age group can read simple Tibetan. Villagers born after 1970 had increasing access to government-sponsored education. In 2006, approximately forty Skya rgya villagers had either graduated from a college or university or were currently students, and about ninety percent of school-age children attended primary or middle schools.

Housing

In the past, a common home was a one-roomed, large high-ceilinged, adobe-wood structure with a big *heeze*. This is where the family slept, cooked, ate and lived together. The family's horses, mules and donkeys were also kept in this room at night to protect them from cold. Generally, when you walked into such a room, the cooking area and the *heeze* were on the right, and the animals were kept in an area reserved for them on the left. Nowadays, Skya rgya inhabitants live in flat-roofed Tibetan-style adobe rooms that are built around a rectangular, adobe-wall compound. The rooms are bedrooms and storerooms, a room for donkeys and mules, a room for goats and sheep and a large room with a kitchen, *heeze*, chairs and a sofa for entertaining guests. Structures are generally one-story. Older homes are generally two-story (Photograph 5). Certain richer families live in brick structures (Photograph 9).

Livelihood

The majority of residents are engaged in half-farming and half-herding, which are important income sources. Trees are cut from conifer forests that are a thirty-minute walk from the village and sold to Muslim traders. A large log sold for approximately 250 RMB in 2004. Smaller poles sold for 25–30 RMB.

The forest is divided into two parts. The village controls one part and the other is State property and policed by forest guards, who receive government salaries. Caterpillar fungus is also present. Though not as plentiful or as large as those found in Mgo log (Chinese, Guoluo) and Yul shul (Chinese, Yushu) pre-

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SA-LA Population: 30,600. Language group: Altaic (Turkic). The Sa-la (also known as Salar) live in Hsün-hus Salar county of Tsing-hai, Hua-ling Hui Autonomous County of Tsing-hai, Lin-hsia County, Hsi-ning and Lin-t'an districts of Kansu, northern China. They are mainly farmers but some are merchants. Most are Muslims.

in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, and are also scattered in Kirin and Liaoning Provinces, north-east China. They are farmers whose religious beliefs center on shamanism.

SUNWAR Population: unknown. Language

as Murmi) probably entered Nepal through the valleys of the Buri Gandak and Trisuli rivers, and settled north-west of Katmandu. From there they pushed on east. Today they live in large villages in that area, and in the northern parts of Ghoraka and the eastern parts of Lamjung. There they live side by side with the Ghale. Their physical appearance and the fact that their clans have Tibetan

in so-an in Kwangtung Province, south-east China. They are farmers of pantheistic beliefs, and speak mostly Chinese, although they still have their own language.

SHERPA Population: unknown. Language group: Tibetan. The Sherpa live throughout the inland of eastern Nepal and many of

moustache and may wear only one layer of white clothing and no hat. Mourning lasts for ten days for a parent, wife or married brother, but only five days for unmarried brothers and sisters. Married women are mourned only by their husband's family, never by their own.

TAT Population: 470,000. Language group:

TATZE Population: unknown. Language group: unknown. The Tatze live in the mountains of the Chinghai-Kansu-Szechwan border areas, and particularly in the valley of Seirachong. They are a pastoral nomadic people, who recognize no chiefs but follow leaders who show skill. They live in round white felt tents fixed to an unstable, like

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=3LAMAQAAMAAJ&q=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&dq=tibetan+women+salar+marriage&hl=en&newbks=1>

Central Asian Sufi Masters who gave to the founder of the Chinese Qādiriyya his early training.²⁵

Gladney wrote in his book *Chinese Muslims* that Afāq Khvāja preached to the northeastern Tibetans but he does not tell us what are his sources.

The cities of northwestern China visited by the khvāja are Xining (in Qinghai), Hezhou (the old name for Linxia, the Chinese Mecca) in Gansu and Xunhua near the Gansu-Qinghai border where the Salar Turks live amidst a predominantly Tibetan Buddhist population. Gansu is a natural corridor linking China with Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia. It is a

passageway through which the silk road slipped between the Tibetan plateau to the west and the Mongolian grasslands to the north. In addition to the Chinese and the Tibetans, Gansu was also home to different people like the Salar Turks and the Dongxiang or Mongol Muslims, both preached to by Afāq Khvāja.

(actually the city of Kuna according to Nizamüddin Hüsāyin).²⁶ Although the Salars intermarried with the Tibetans, Chinese and Hui, they have maintained their customs until now. From the Mission d'Ollone who explored this area at the beginning of the century, we learn that some Chinese Muslims of this area married Tibetan women who had kept their

religion, i.e. Lamaism, and that their sons were either Muslim or Buddhist. We are told for example that in one of these families, there was one son who was a Muslim and the other who became a Lama. Between the monastery of Lha-brang and the city of Hezhou (Linxia), it is also indicated that there were Muslims living in most of the Chinese and Tibetan

(actually the city of Kuna according to Nizamüddin Hüsāyin).⁴⁰ Although the Salars intermarried with the Tibetans, Chinese and Hui, they have maintained their customs until now. From the Mission d'Ollone who explored this area at the beginning of the century, we learn that some Chinese Muslims of this area married Tibetan women who had kept their religion, i.e. Lamaism, and that their sons were either Muslim or Buddhist. We are told for example that in one of these families, there was one son who was a Muslim and the other who became a Lama. Between the monastery of Lha-brang and the city of Hezhou (Linxia), it is also indicated that there were Muslims living in most of the Chinese and Tibetan

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韩有文传奇 然也

时间：2008-10-16 | 文章来源：民革中央

字号：大 中 小

韩有文是撒拉族人，生于奉佛的藏族土屋，长于信伊斯兰的化隆甘都；19岁被马步芳部抓去当壮丁，35岁成为骁勇善战的守边将领；49岁随陶峙岳起义，文革中再历磨难。在新中国成立后的三十多年中，流亡高外的“马家军”人士一直传言韩有文被共产党杀害，孰料，1985年身为新疆自治区政协副主席的韩有文，任中国第十七届朝觐团副团长出使沙特朝圣。震惊之下，海外“马家军”奔走相告，先后回国观光。

热买赞还是韩有文?!

1912年10月，韩有文来到了这个世界，当时他父亲给他起的名字是热买赞，因为他是伊斯兰教斋日出生的。

韩有文的父亲叫阿额玛，青海化隆县甘都镇人。他家很穷，没有地种，没有饭吃，为了活命，被甘都的一个小买卖人招赘入赘，当小伙计。新婚伊始，阿额玛就被掠入甘军简练军入守京畿。八国联军进攻北京，京城危机时，慈禧太后挟光绪皇帝仓皇向西逃去。身为甘军御卫队侍卫的阿额玛只好抬着慈禧的轿子。大难不死的老太后为了奖赏这批冒死护驾的撒拉族卫士，除了赐食慰问外，还御赐韩姓于撒拉。九死一生的阿额玛不知是厌恶战火，还是憎恨慈禧的卖国，他到死也没有改姓为韩。

阿额玛从京畿回来后，便继承岳父的遗产做起小买卖。穿梭于黄河、洮河之滨，来往于岷山之间，他结识了藏族牧民，学会了藏话。1911年，阿额玛从山崖上滚下来，昏死过去。当他醒来时，却睡在藏族的土屋里。屋子中央烧着牛粪，墙上挂着兽皮。他吃了一个多月糌粑，等恢复了体力后，阿额玛做了藏民的女婿，妻子叫祖力哈，此时他已经快40岁了。这个地方是甘肃省甘南藏族自治州一个叫乔吾塘的小村子。1912年10月韩有文就诞生于此。

因为撒拉族信仰伊斯兰教，藏族信奉佛，1916年，阿额玛带上藏族妻子祖力哈和长子韩有文、次子四十三(阿额玛四十三岁得此子，故叫四十三。回族、撒拉族常以自己的年龄给儿子命名)。回到家乡化隆县甘都镇。在甘都，阿额玛每天要做五次礼拜。他每诵一次“安拉至大，安拉呀!为我们打开你那慈善与宽恕的门吧!最仁慈的主呀!”就深深地鞠一躬，跪下叩二次头。为了让儿子将来

能升天堂，见到那最仁慈的主，他虔诚地将热买赞(韩有文)送到经文学校，还让阿訇给热买赞起了教名：穆罕默德海比不拉海。

拴不住的野马

Legend of Han Youwen

Time: 2008-10-16 | Article source: National Revolutionary Committee

Font size: big middle small

Han Youwen is a member of the Salars, born in a Tibetan mound where he worships the Buddha, and grew up in Hualonggandu who believed in Islam. At the age of 19, he was arrested by the Ma Bufang tribe to become a strong man. At the age of 35, he became a brave and warrior general. At the age of 49, he rebelled with Tao Zhiyue. In the Cultural Revolution, we went through hardships again. For more than 30 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the "Ma's Army" exiled from Gaowai have been rumored that Han Youwen was killed by the Communist Party. The deputy head of the delegation made a pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. In shock, the overseas "Ma Jiajun" rushed to tell each other and returned to China for sightseeing.

Hot praise or Han Youwen?!

In October 1912, Han Youwen came to this world. At that time, his father named him Remaizan because he was born on the Islamic fasting day.

Han Youwen's father is Aema, from Gandu Town, Hualong County, Qinghai. His family is very poor, there is no land to grow, no food to eat, in order to survive, a small businessman in Gandu recruited his son-in-law and became a young man. At the beginning of the wedding, A'ema was looted into Ganjun Jianlianjun to guard the capital. The Eight-Power Allied Forces attacked Beijing. When the capital was in crisis, Empress Dowager Cixi took Emperor Guangxu and fled westward in a hurry. Aema, who was the guard of the Gan Army Guards, had to carry Cixi's sedan chair. In order to reward the group of Salar guards who risked their lives to escort, the old lady who survived the catastrophe, in addition to giving food and condolences, she also bestowed the surname Han to Sarah. After nine deaths, Aema didn't know whether he hated the flames of war, or hated Cixi's traitorous country. He didn't change his surname to Han until he died.

After Aema returned from Gyeonggi, she inherited her father-in-law's estate and started a small business. Shuttle between the banks of the Yellow River and Tao River, and between the Minshan Mountains, he met Tibetan herdsman and learned the Tibetan dialect. In 1911, Aema rolled down the cliff and passed out. When he woke up, he slept in a Tibetan earthen house. Cow dung was burning in the center of the house, and animal skins hung on the wall. He ate tsampa for more than a month. After he recovered his strength, A'ema became the son-in-law of the Tibetans. His wife was Zuliha. He was almost 40 years old at this time. This place is a small village called Qiaowutang in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Province. Han Youwen was born here in October 1912.

Because the Salars believe in Islam and the Tibetans believe in Buddhism, in 1916, Aema brought his Tibetan wife Zuliha and his eldest son Han Youwen, and his second son was forty-three. The Hui and Salars often name their sons after their own age). Back to his hometown of Gandu Town, Hualong County. In Gandu, A'ema prays five times a day. Every time he chanted "Allah is great, Allah! Open your door of charity and forgiveness for us! The most merciful Lord!" He bowed deeply, knelt down and knocked his head twice. In order for his son to ascend to heaven in the future and meet the most merciful Lord, he devoutly sent Remaizan (Han Youwen) to the scripture school, and asked the imam to give Remaizan the Christian name: Muhammad Haibibrahai .

Unleashable Mustang

Han you have a legend and also

Date: 2008-10-16 | Article Source: Central Committee of the Democratic Revolution

Size: Large, medium and small

Han Youwen is a Salah, born in the Tibetan earth house of Fengfu, longer than the Faith of Islam's Hualong Gandu; 19-year-old was captured by Ma's Ministry as Zhuangding, 35 years old to become the guard general of the war; 49-year-old with tao confrontation Yue uprising, the Cultural Revolution and then tribulations. In the more than 30 years since the founding of New China, exiled "Ma Jiajun" people have been rumored that Han Youwen was killed by the Communist Party, in 1985 as vice chairman of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region CPPCC Han Youwen, as the deputy head of China's 17th Hajj delegation to make the Saudi pilgrimage. Shocked, overseas "Ma Jiajun" rushed to tell each other, has returned home for sightseeing. Hot buy praise or Korean?!

Han youwen came into this world in October 1912, when his father gave him the name Hot Buy Zan because he was born on The Islamic Day of Ramadan.

Han Youwen's father is called Ayema, Qinghai Hualong County Gandu Town. His family is very poor, no land, no food to eat, in order to live, by a small trader in Gandu to recruit into the burden, when small man. At the beginning of the new marriage, Ayema was plundered into the Gan Army's concise army into the Beijing-Yuan. When the eight-nation coalition attacked Beijing and the beijing crisis, the Queen Mother took Guangxu Emperor Canggu westward. As the guard of the Royal Guard of the Gan Army, Ayema had to carry the car of Cixi. In order to reward this group of Salah guards who risked their lives to protect, in addition to giving food condolences, but also the Korean surname Yu Sara. Nine dead life of Ayma do not know whether to hate the war, or hate the sale of Cixi, he died did not change his last name to Han. When Ayema returned from Gyeonggi, he inherited his father-in-law's estate and started a small business. Shuttled between the Yellow River and the Wei River, between Lushan, he met Tibetan herders and learned Tibetan. In 1911, Ayema rolled down a cliff and passed out. When he woke up, he slept in a Tibetan hut. Cow dung was burning in the middle of the house

and the skins were hanging on the walls. He ate for more than a month, and so on to restore strength, Ayema made a Tibetan son-in-law, his wife called Zuliha, at this time he is almost 40 years old. This place is a small village called Qiao Wutang in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province. Han Youwen was born here in October 1912.

Because the Salahs believe in Islam and the Tibetans believe in Buddhism, in 1916, Ayema took his Tibetan wife Zuliha and eldest son Han Youwen, the second son of forty-three (Ayema was forty-three years old, so called forty-three). Hui and Salah often named their sons after their own ages. Back to his hometown of Gandu Town, Hualong County. In Gandu, Ayema worships five times a day. Every time he recites, "Allah to the big, Allah!" Open your door to charity and forgiveness for us! The kindest Lord!" Take a deep bow and kneel down to his head twice. In order for his son to ascend to heaven in the future, to see the most merciful Lord, he piously sent hot buy praise (Korean) to the scripture school, and let Ao give hot buy praise to the name: Muhammad Hebi bra'a sea.

Undying Mustang

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怀念我的父亲——韩有文

发布：admin 时间：2009年10月16日

写在新疆和平起义60周年之际

(一)

1998年正月26日，天，是阴冷的，空中飘洒着雪花。我的父亲——撒拉族的将军，新疆和平起义的签字人之一、自治区政协副主席、新疆民革名誉主委韩有文，在晨礼前因心脏病突发而永远的离开了我们，走完了他86岁的人生旅程。

Missing my father—Han Youwen

Release: admin Time: October 16, 2009

Written on the 60th anniversary of the peaceful uprising in Xinjiang

(one)

On the 26th of January, 1998, the sky was gloomy and cold, with snowflakes floating in the sky. My father, the Salar general, one of the signatories of the Xinjiang Peaceful Uprising, the vice chairman of the CPPCC of the Autonomous Region, and the honorary chairman of the Xinjiang Democratic Revolution, Han Youwen, left us forever due to a heart attack before the morning ceremony. His 86-year-old life journey.

I miss my father, Han Youwen

Released: admin Date: October 16, 2009

Written on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the peaceful uprising in Xinjiang

(i)

On the 26th of the first month of 1998, it was cold and snowy in the air. My father, General Salah, one of the signatories of the Peaceful Uprising in Xinjiang, Vice Chairman of the CPPCC of the Autonomous Region, and Han Youwen, Honorary Chairman of the Xinjiang Democratic Revolution, left us forever before the morning ceremony because of a heart attack, and completed his 86-year-old journey.

(二)

我的家是个多民族融合的家庭。我爷爷是撒拉族。听父亲说爷爷是个习武之人，曾被选为慈禧的御林军，为慈禧抬过轿子，因保驾有功被老佛爷赐为韩姓。后因牵连太平军被追捕，逃到了甘南。因饥寒交迫，又患了伤寒，昏倒在草地。在生命垂危的时刻，一位善良的藏族姑娘救了他，把他背进了毡房，精心照料他，爷爷终于大难不死，康复了。这位叫孜力哈的藏族姑娘以后就成了我的奶奶。一年后父亲出生了，起名热买赞。在毡房里，在马背上渡过了他欢乐的童年。老年时，他还经常给我们讲起儿时的情景，冬天常常把冻得通红的脚塞进刚拉下的牛粪里取暖，当讲起与他的小伙伴贡保扎西一起玩耍，比赛扔石子、摔跤、骑马时，脸上洋溢着童孩般的笑容，目光里流露出的是对美好童年的无限的眷恋。最令父亲欣慰的是，80年代初，他居然联系上了幼年的好友——贡保扎西。扎西伯伯还给父亲寄来了他的照片，父亲出差时，还特地绕道去看过他。

(two)

My home is a multi-ethnic fusion family. My grandfather is a Salar. I heard that my grandfather was a martial artist. He was once selected by the Imperial Forest Army of Cixi and carried a sedan chair for Cixi. He was given the surname Han by Lafayette because of his merits. Later, he was hunted down for implicating the Taiping Army and fled to Gannan. Due to hunger and cold, he contracted typhoid fever and fainted on the grass. At a dying moment, a kind-hearted Tibetan girl rescued him, carried him into the yurt, and took good care of him. Grandpa finally survived a catastrophe and recovered. This Tibetan girl named Ziliha became my grandmother in the future. The father was born a year later, and he named it hot. In the yurt, he spent his happy childhood on horseback. When he was old, he often told us about childhood scenes. In winter, he often stuffed his red feet into the cow dung to keep warm. When he talked about playing with his little friend Gongbao Tashi and playing games When throwing stones, wrestling, and riding horses, there was a childlike smile on his face, and his eyes revealed the infinite nostalgia for a beautiful childhood. What made my father most gratified was that in the early 1980s, he actually got in touch with his childhood friend, Gongbao Tashi. Uncle Tashi also sent a photo of him to his father. When his father was on a business trip, he made a special detour to see him.

(ii)

My home is a multi-ethnic family. My grandpa is Salah. Listen to my father say that Grandpa is a man of XiWu, has been selected as the Royal Forest Army of Cixi, for Cixi carried a coupe, because of the success of driving by the old Buddha to give the Han surname. He was later hunted for his involvement in the Taiping Army and fled to Gannan. Forced by hunger and cold, he suffered from typhoid fever and fainted in the grass. At the moment of life-threatening, a kind Tibetan girl saved him, put him back into the felt room, carefully cared for him, Grandpa finally died, recovered. The Tibetan girl named Ziliha became my grandmother. A year later my father was born and because he was famous for his love of buying praise. In the felt room, on horseback spent his happy childhood. In old age, he often told us about childhood scenes, winter often put the frozen red feet into the newly pulled cow dung to keep warm, when talking about playing with his little partner Gombau Zahi, the game throwing stones, wrestling, riding horses, the face is filled with childlike smile, eyes show the infinite love of a beautiful childhood. Most comforting to his father, in the early 1980s, he actually contacted his childhood friend, Gombau zahi. Zahibo also sent his father a picture of him, and when he was on a business trip, he took a special detour to see him.

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<https://alchetron.com/Father-Tongue-hypothesis>

Genetics does not determine the language spoken by a human being, and the link between Y chromosomal haplogroups and linguistic affinities is an observed correlation and not a causal link. Therefore, it must be assumed that, while father tongues predominate, exceptions to father tongues exist in the world. Two very well known exceptions are the Balti in northern Pakistan and Hungarians. The mtDNA haplogroups most frequent among Balti are the same as those of the neighbouring Tibetan communities, whereas the Y chromosomal haplogroups most frequent in Balti males appear to have entered Baltistan from the west with the introduction of Islam. The Balti speak among the most conservative dialects of Tibetan. The language of the Baltis corresponds with the mtDNA and not with the Y chromosome and is in effect a salient example of a mother tongue. The other well known exception is Hungarian. The N1c haplogroup of the Y chromosome, distinguished by Tat-C deletion is found at a high frequency throughout Uralic language communities, but it is virtually missing in Hungarian males. Therefore, while the intrusion of the Magyars into what is today Hungary is historically attested and has left clear linguistic evidence, genetically the Magyar intrusion has left no salient genetic traces. Instead, from a genetic point of view, Hungarians strongly resemble a Western Slavic language community.

https://www.secret-bases.co.uk/wiki/Father_Tongue_hypothesis

Exceptions

Genetics does not determine the language spoken by a human being, and the link between Y-chromosomal haplogroups and linguistic affinities is an observed correlation and not a **causal link**. While father tongues predominate, exceptions to father tongues exist in the world. Two very well-known exceptions are the **Balti** in northern Pakistan and **Hungarians**. The mtDNA haplogroups most frequent among Balti are the same as those of the neighbouring Tibetan communities, whereas the Y-chromosomal haplogroups most frequent in Balti males appear to have entered Baltistan from the west with the introduction of Islam. The **Balti speak** one of the most conservative **Tibetan languages**.^[12] The language of the Balti corresponds to the mtDNA and not to the Y chromosome and is in effect a salient example of a mother tongue.^[17] The other well-known exception is **Hungarian**. The **N1c haplogroup** of the Y chromosome, distinguished by Tat-C deletion, is found at a high frequency throughout **Uralic language** communities, but is virtually missing in Hungarian males. Therefore, while the intrusion of the **Magyars** into what is today Hungary is historically attested and has left clear linguistic evidence, genetically the Magyar intrusion has left no salient genetic traces. Instead, from a genetic point of view, Hungarians strongly resemble a **Western Slavic language** community.^[31]

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Salar men have 18-32% R1a and their male ancestors came from Central Asia to Qinghai and they married Tibetan women.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HsuBDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA183#v=onepage&q&f=false>
https://file.scirp.org/pdf/AA20120100001_58744990.pdf

15 15 18 17 36 38 12 12 - 11 9 15 16 8 10 10 8 10 10 12 23 23 16 10 12 12 15 8 12 22 20 13 12
11 13 11 11 12 12

There are 48 and 44 mutations between the above and the Indian R1a haplotypes shown earlier. This formally places their common ancestor at more than 10,000 years before present and, in fact, much earlier, at least 15,000 years ago. R1b bearers were not among the Aryans coming to India, and it is very likely that they were not Indo-Europeans then. Specifically, there is no supporting evidence that 4000 years before present (ybp) bearers of R1b spoke Indo-European (IE) languages. On the other hand, Central Europe was likely populated by R1b speakers of non-IE languages. Moreover, there are very few bearers of R1b haplogroup in India, mostly on its Arabian Sea coast, and there were none of the R1b haplogroup among the 367 tested Indian Brahmins (Sharma et al, 2009). Therefore, it is highly unlikely that bearers of the R1b (as well as R1b1a2) haplogroup were among the Aryans, and, hence, they were not among those carrying the Indo-European languages elsewhere in those times.

We are left holding two questions: first, from where did the R1a haplogroup arise and, second, what was their migratory route that brought them to 1) the Russian Plain (currently up to 66% R1a, see above), 2) India and Iran (10% - 16% R1a), 3) Anatolia (15% R1a), 4) the Middle East (up to 7% - 13% R1a), and 5) the Arabian Peninsula, where nowadays 2% - 10% of the population carries the R1a haplogroup (Abu-Amro, 2009; Underhill et al, 2009)?

As described in (Klyosov and Rozhanskii, 2011), Europeoids (Caucasoids) appeared ~ 58,000 ybp. They gradually branched to downstream haplogroups and migrated to the west, south and east. Haplogroup NOP, which was among them, arose ~ 48,000 ybp, and moved eastward, presumably towards South Siberia and/or adjacent regions. Haplogroup P arose ~ 38,000 ybp, apparently in South Siberia, and gave rise to haplogroup R and then R1 ~ 30,000 - 26,000 ybp (see the diagram in Klyosov and Rozhanskii, 2011). The timing of haplogroup R1a's appearance can be reconstructed from series of R1a haplotypes, made available from the databases (see the list in Materials and Methods and the Appendix). The most ancient common ancestors of this haplogroup lived in: northern and northwestern China (in particular, Xinjiang region, which is the south Altai area), in southern Siberia, in the Eastern Himalayas, India and Pakistan, the Comoros Islands, and in Europe, where their bearers apparently migrated from the east during both the remote past and later, for example, with the Scythians.

Northern China R1a Haplotypes

Apparently, the most ancient source of R1a haplotypes is provided by the people now living in northern China. It was shown (Bittles et al, 2007) that for a number of Chinese populations, such

Part 3. History of the Aryans and the Arbins (Ancient Bearers of R1a and R1b Haplogroups)

as Hui, Bonan, Dongxiang, Salars, a percentage of R1a haplotypes reached 18% - 32%. Their haplotypes were not provided in the paper, but the author, Professor Alan H. Bittles, kindly sent me a list of 31 of five-marker haplotypes typed as R1a, the tree of which is shown in **Figure 1**. The haplotypes vary tremendously in their alleles, which already indicates that their common ancestor lived in ancient times. For example, values of DYS19 varied between 14 and 17, DYS388 between 12 and 14, and DYS393 between 10 and 13. It should be noted that mutations in the last two markers occurred on average once in 4545 and 1320 generations, respectively. With a correction for back mutations (Klyosov, 2009a) it occurs once in 8500 and 2400 generations. The 31 haplotypes contain 99 mutations from the deduced 5 marker base haplotype as shown here in the 12 marker FTDNA format with missing alleles indicated:

13 X 14 X X X X 12 X 13 X 30

This extent of mutations, which can be presented as $99/31/5 = 0.639 \pm 0.064$ mutation/marker, is a very high value. Actually, it is a measure of how ancient a common ancestor might be (for a comparison, contemporary European R1a and R1b1a2 haplotypes are separated by 0.250 - 0.270 mutations from their common ancestors, see Klyosov 2011a, b). It can also be



Figure 1. The 5-marker haplotype tree for R1a haplotypes in Northern China. The 31-haplotype tree was composed from data provided by Dr. A.H.Bittles and collected in ethnic communities Hui, Bonan, Dongxiang, and Salars (Bittles et al, 2007) (no haplotypes were provided in the referenced article). A fraction of R1a haplogroup in said populations is 18%, 25%, 32%, and 22%, respectively (ibid.)

http://chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=010_ethnic.inc&issue=010

http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=010_ethnic.inc&issue=010

<https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-124>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-009>

<https://hpcbristol.sjtu.edu.cn/visual/hv44-103>

<https://hpcbristol.sjtu.edu.cn/tag/muslims>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv43-217>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-112>

<http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/harvard-yenching/collections/pickens/>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv43-207>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-055>

<https://hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-009>

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<https://hpcbristol.net/location/qinghai>

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<https://www.hpcbristol.sjtu.edu.cn/tag/muslims>

<https://www.hpcbristol.sjtu.edu.cn/visual/hv27-18>

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[query=salar&match_mode=any&date=&end_date=&estdate=&collection=&location=&photographer=&identifier=&title=¬es=&caption_on_mount=&caption_on_image=&orderby=identifier&orderdir=asc&show=12](https://www.hpcbristol.net/search?query=salar&match_mode=any&date=&end_date=&estdate=&collection=&location=&photographer=&identifier=&title=¬es=&caption_on_mount=&caption_on_image=&orderby=identifier&orderdir=asc&show=12)

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[page=2&query=salar&match_mode=any&date=&end_date=&estdate=&collection=&location=&photographer=&identifier=&title=¬es=&caption_on_mount=&caption_on_image=&orderby=identifier&orderdir=asc&show=12](https://www.hpcbristol.net/search?page=2&query=salar&match_mode=any&date=&end_date=&estdate=&collection=&location=&photographer=&identifier=&title=¬es=&caption_on_mount=&caption_on_image=&orderby=identifier&orderdir=asc&show=12)

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<https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-105>

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<https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/hv44-100>

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<https://archive.org/details/marchingwind00clar/page/16/mode/2up>

golia and America to die. Northeast Tibet is very dangerous. Even the great Sven Hedin stayed well west and north of it!"

The premonitions of the Lanchow savants were well grounded in past personal experiences, experiences involving capture, torture, death.

Thus two weeks passed in strenuous and exciting work. Lacking a stove, our workroom (my room), a dank stone-and-plaster cell, was often 15° Centigrade below zero. We ate barley soup and sausages, soggy gray potatoes and string beans, topping off with "coffee" made from burnt barley. We walked in the city, buying old maps, soap, inexpensive gifts for the Tibetans, and warm underwear, closing our eyes against the swirling dust storms, peering at the ancient walls and forts erected against the invading tribal hordes of inner Asia, watching the muddy flood of the icy Yellow River flow near the city. We did not dare to hope that one day we would actually stand in central Tibet with our horses' feet in its headwaters.

One day Dorje said, "You know, certain lamaist priests called *bomboms* can cause rain to fall on alternate squares as on a checker-board. They have great magic power and can also predict the things to come. Yesterday I talked to a bombom and he raised his 'thunder-bolt,' drank from his cup made out of a human skull and told his beads. He said I would reach a mountain called 'Amne Machin' and the weather would be clear."

"Maybe he heard a rumor," I suggested, alarmed, "this town is full of agents from a hundred countries and tribal regions."

"Maybe he did. And maybe he did not. Anything is possible here." He was certainly correct in that last, for that night word came by an officer that Governor Ma wished us to proceed at once to his headquarters in Sining.

It was on a Saturday, March 5th, 1949, in freezing weather before dawn that we said goodbye to our loyal friends Bishop Buddenbrock and Father Senge, and after leaving a note for our friend Mr. Gustav E. Söderbom set out on the dirt road to High Tartary in a west-bound rattletrap Chinese postal truck.

These postal trucks were regular American machines left over from the war, having high board sides, and equipped with double sets of springs. They carried not only mail, but freight and passengers. The crew consisted usually of a driver, mechanic, ticket collector, and a general factotum whose duty was to put gasoline and

oil in the right places, keep water in the radiator, change tires, and the like. Sometimes there were soldiers aboard to guard the truck and cargo, and kick off any non-paying hitchhikers. These Chinese postal trucks, and the postal system itself, were the only things in China said to be run on the level without graft. I personally know otherwise, but I wish to leave at least one Chinese Santa Claus in which doting missionaries can believe, and so will say no more.

The driver of this junk-heap said this was the first truck out in a week, his predecessor having been stopped on the road by a band of renegade Moslem riders who had cut the throats of the crew and the 23 passengers, robbing them and the cargo afterwards. Mud villages flew past, strangely robed people in wide-winged fur hats rode by on shaggy ponies—Mongols, Moslem Turkomen, Tibetans—all wearing thick sheepskin wrap-around robes and curly-toed boots, the men carrying rifles slung across their backs. Many of their saddles were very high and covered with rich carpets and even silver and coral decorations.

The frozen dirt road led across barren mountains and hills and quite often along the north bank of the yellowish ice-bound Sining River. Sometimes we got out and pushed, and once we had to walk on frozen feet about a mile by trail above the river, to lighten the load in the truck so that it could proceed in its ruts up and over a mountain. Aboard once more, sitting here and there on the cargo, mostly mats of rice and merchandise, and our faces, hands and feet freezing, we set out on the final leg.

After some 120 miles of hard jolting among local Moslem passengers and polite Chinese businessmen packed around us like sardines, and half-suffocated by garlic fumes (the curse of China), baggage, and the cages of Mongolian singing larks heaped around us, we hailed the stone battlements of the mighty walls of Sining—China's last great city, glowing with the light of the setting sun through a dry crystal atmosphere. We were already actually in north geographical Tibet!

Through the dusky, narrow streets of this scented (and in some streets stinking), bustling outpost of 60,000 Tibetans, Mongols, Chinese, Tungans, Taranchi, Turki, Quizhurs, Quergares, Hussacks (or Khasaks), Salars, Afridis and Afghans, majestically moved caravans of the giant taffy-colored two-humped Bactrian camels and inky-black yaks, richly laden and tinkling with bells. This was the seat

<https://archive.org/details/dli.pahar.3024/page/30/mode/2up>

<https://archive.org/details/marchingwind00clar/page/30/mode/2up>

was thick-set, not six feet tall, sausage-necked in the way that Prussian officers are supposed to be but seldom are, shave-headed, beet-red-faced; his hoarse voice was already heard bellowing orders, directing the line of march, sending out scouts to watch for possible Tibetan snipers out after a rifle, scolding half-playfully, slashing at tardy soldiers with a brass-tipped whip. He showed his teeth—flashing golden choppers that would do credit to a horse—in frequent fierce smiles; whenever he dismounted to tend to the call of nature he leapt back on his horse and into the high Mongol velvet-covered saddle without even using its silver-plated stirrups; in jest he called himself "Sultan of Tibet."

The other, his running partner, was not so obvious; he ran less to the physical and more to the psychological. Also about forty, Tan Chen-te was a tall thin man, almost an ascetic, who smiled frequently—not to show off his flashing white teeth but, I suspected, to throw you off your guard; suave in a worldly manner, inflexible in determination, quick as a steel whip when his temper was roused, which was to prove often. Abdul, one of the younger officers, whispered to Dorje that Tan could cut a man's head off in battle with a single stroke. Whether such a loyal remark was justified I had no way of knowing.

As the long column bucketed along I sized up our personal body-guard: it consisted of dashing, weather-beaten, and considerably scar-faced fighting *hui hui*, (Moslem soldiers-of-fortune), for the most part dressed like dandies in fur caps, red robes, and either Tibetan or polished black Cossack boots: fifty hand-picked Salar and Tungan guerrilla cavalymen mostly from Shengwha and Hochou, each of whom bore at least one wound fighting Communists. One of them, Habibu, was said to have had nineteen gunshot and sword wounds. I suggested he might have been hit at long range by a shotgun, and this fellow lost no time showing a few of his more dramatic wounds. There were among them apparently a few Afridis and Sharaunis (who called themselves Tungan), outlaws probably—too hot for even their own tribes to handle—blood enemies of the old British Raj on Khyber Pass, enemies of the Afghan kings. In addition to these so-called Sining Moslems, were twenty swaggering Tibetan fighting scouts, fanatical Buddhists claiming to be deliberately seeking liberation to *Nirvana*, Heaven, through a speedy death; none under six feet. They were armed with businesslike European rifles, German

or Belgian automatic battle-pistols (a few of the magazines holding fifty shots), short Tibetan daggers suspended on long chains and also the broadswords of the Tibetans.

As the miles increased between Governor Ma Pu-fang and me, I feared my control over these men would decrease in exact proportion.

On this first leg of our journey we traveled light, our basic transport consisting now of eighty yaks (Tibetan oxen), seventy saddle horses bred for work at extreme altitudes, and a herd of remounts, pack-mules, and a few camels. Much later, wagons drawn by oxen would be added. Even pack-sheep. Of necessity, we were considered for all practical outward purposes, a military attacking party; as a guerrilla lieutenant colonel behind the Japanese lines in the late war, I already saw a few minor faults in the order-of-march which could probably be streamlined. At the moment, however, I did not antagonize Ma and Tan by any such ideas. At times I never quite knew whether I was guest or leader. Among our caravaners in a separate supporting group were blacksmiths and a veterinary, a medical doctor and his helper, a geologist of sorts, a topographer, a biologist and botanist, a horse-buyer, a law court, a professor of languages and acting surveyor, a meteorologist, a section of professional trackers (who knew the trail code-signs), game hunters, an army imam, political and military strategists, an epizootic scientist, intelligence operators, machine-gunners for our Japanese pieces. Habitual smokers of opium, which comes in part from the secret government poppy fields in west Szechwan, and of *hashish*, or *charas*, which is produced in Chinese Turkestan, had been weeded out at my suggestion.

Such was the caravan that maneuvered over the weeks to come in a long sinuous column of men and animals, bobbing across broad yellowish, dismal Tibetan upland plateaus, working over boundless screes, making its way through sandy deserts, bogging down in wide sterile gray mud flats, finally to emerge and plunge into an icy riddle of mountain ranges. The shadows of the caravan grew long, and so after a ride of ten hours through the freezing cold of late winter, the bugle called a halt, and we drew up to form a defensible encampment, for strangers were reported near.

Eight tents, black yak-hair ones and blue-and-white "flower tents" with formalized good-luck designs stamped on their sides soon

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custom here among these Moslem and Tibetan soldiery. That first night I watched Hassan, now promoted from the dangerous job of chief outrider to be my bodyguard, orderly, and "taster," an even more dangerous assignment due to the ever-present possibility of an *amok* suicide among one of our Moslems, or a spy and assassin among our Tibetans. First, Hassan made up my bed; he spread out a white felt Turkestan carpet on the frozen ground, over that went robes of bear and wolf, topped off by a pair of Chinese quilts—red silk and white linen stuffed fatly with inner camel-hair—and finally capped with a sheepskin robe and a moisture-proof raincoat of Lhasa red wool which was flung over the whole pile to keep off any dampness precipitating from the tent walls. Wind was driving snow and ice through the tent as easily as needles could be thrust through my hand. The pillow was my saddle (the uncomfortable Mongol saddle had been replaced by an old American cavalry saddle which I had purchased for thirty dollars from a Sining missionary) covered with a sheepskin robe, woolly side out.

With darkness upon us Dorje and I summoned Abdul (his Chinese name being Ma Wei-shan), to our tent. This twenty-six-year-old Salar was personal bodyguard to Marshal Ma-yuan, China's supreme field commander in the northwest against the Communists. He was loaned to me by the Marshal, who believed him to be the deadliest gunman in China, and that's saying quite a lot. I wanted to take Abdul's measure, for he was typical of the expedition's Moslems, men who could at least match up to an Afridi or a Waziri; the same Afridi and Waziri who recently descended Khyber Pass into India and killed perhaps a million or so Indians.

It was said that Abdul had been in Afghanistan and Persia (and likely fought there); under Ma Pu-fang he was a sergeant in the Peace Preservation Corps of Chinghai; by profession he was actually an expert guerrilla strategist, who would have rated a captaincy in any European army. He could draw up and was capable of executing a plan of battle, and personally lead a cavalry force of 300 men into battle. There are quite a few majors throughout the world who would like to be able to do just that. He, like many of our other fighting non-commissioned officers, and their men, often spurned a tent while on the march through Tibet. Very often, unless it was snowing or raining, Abdul simply crawled between a pair of sheepskin robes, which were cured and waterproofed by a local buttermilk

process. He had fought against, and killed, according to Colonel Ma, Russians, Japanese, Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, Tungans, and Chinese bandits and Communists. Abdul—to my surprise—claimed that night that Tibetans were by far the smartest and most dangerous of all Asiatic soldiery including the Japanese.

Our Moslems preferred (he said), unless pinned down in the open by enemy fire, to mount and charge the flanks of the enemy's main position, terrain allowing. The main strength of the British army of occupation in India was usually stationed in the Moslem northwest posts, and especially in the Northwest Frontier Province, and here they learned a healthy respect for the Moslems. The British also rate the Gurkhas tops; the Gurkhas are Mongolian in race, and were, before British occupation, not only Tibetans in blood, but in allegiance as well. This yardstick is intended to give a definite idea of the actual effectiveness of our small expeditionary guard force, both Moslem and Buddhist. In addition, I had seen the Gurkha serve against the Burma Japanese Army, and as private citizen and United States Army officer, I had seen something of fighting in about half the provinces of China; therefore, my own experiences, too, would verify the opinions long held by the British concerning the Far East Moslem. Our Moslems nearly always followed up a victory by cutting the throats of the fallen. Few if any prisoners are ever taken in Tibet, by either side, except for questioning. Like most country-born central Asian Moslems, and completely unlike the Chinese, Abdul was both horse- and gun-wise, keeping these, his best friends, in top shape.

Abdul's pay was high—\$30 (Chinese silver *yuan*) per month, and food and equipment; as well as robes of sheepskin, cloth and fur and wool. His arms were a Chinese copy of a German automatic sub-machine pistol, a bone and golden-hafted dagger, a new Skoda .30 caliber rifle inlaid with chased silver and having bifurcated resting-forks of polished buckhorn. Abdul was over six feet in his bare feet, lean and tough as whipcord, white-skinned, blue-eyed, handsome (except for a bad bayonet scar on his forehead) and gay; but, for all this he was very reserved and quiet. I don't want to give the impression his bearing was timid; it was extremely bold and dangerous-eyed, but perfectly disciplined and faultlessly mannered. Abdul did not wear a glove on his right hand—his gun hand. He did not drink. He was one of the finest singers I have ever heard: he

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could sing in Salar, Tibetan, Tungan, and Chinese. Colonel Ma swore by him and his kind, and though Abdul would in time, under the colonel's own tutelage, become a commissioned officer, he was perfectly content with his present lot. In short, he was a soldier. While traveling it was Abdul who nearly always led off the massed marching songs, so dear to the untamed hearts of these men of the inner steppes. That is the picture of Abdul, and that is the appropriate picture of his fifty comrades, our best bet for reaching Amne Machin.

Being apprehensive (because of my ignorance of the situation), and wishing to get a full view of the defense system should we ever be attacked, I asked Abdul by what tactics—exactly what tactics—did Tibetans usually strike a party such as ours. He lit his pipe, a queer-looking kind of aluminum Chinese water pipe: * after a few puffs, he began speaking (in effect):

"My Honorable Colonel Clark-ah, I have weathered five such attacks by Tibetans. . . ."

Briefly, the prime objective of Tibetan brigandage is to run off a caravan's or a military column's livestock, the second being to capture arms, supplies, and gear. To secure these four, raiders usually attack at dusk, or just before dawn. Diversions are sometimes made on the target-camp by a group of raiders pinning down the camp's guards, while a detached party rams in and drives off the animals should they be grazing, or stampedes them if picketed. If so far successful, the robbers rest content, for escape is now impossible for the caravan. Having secured the livestock, the attackers now go after the loot and especially the firearms and ammunition. A second attack might be launched at any moment of the following day, or on the second night; sometimes, however, days crawl by minute after minute until all fuel is exhausted, and the surrounded men become careless in their search for it. At that time the camp is usually attacked in a massed cavalry charge.

As many as a thousand horses and riflemen have been used; few caravans survive the bullets and swords. Abdul had seen Colonel Ma, with many of these same Moslems of ours, hold off as many as 500 Tibetans (probably an exaggeration) through charge after

* While there are many orthodox Moslems in Tibet, who neither use tobacco or alcohol, our own men for the most part were not averse to taking them in moderate quantities.

charge; Abdul claimed that the colonel was the best guerrilla fighter in the northwest. That was why he personally covered Ma Pu-fang's south flank backed against Tibet. His very name insured a considerable margin of safety for us. Then Abdul added:

"But even Colonel Ma can't help us against the Ngoloks!"

Dorje changed the subject: "Now, how about our scouts? And our own internal and external security systems?"

By this time the hubbub had to be refired. In a cloud of smoke Abdul answered that should a camp sentinel or a roving scout report, by visual or sound signal, anything suspicious out in the dark, our lights—candle and butter-lamps inside the tents—must be instantly extinguished. Campfires would be screened, or doused with water, or lacking that, packed with snow or earth. All tents must be immediately emptied, as these are the first to receive gunfire. Positions would be taken up near piles of gear and among the animals on the picket lines. Firearms were kept stacked at hand, and loaded at all times; inspections were made daily—fines, whippings, and punishment duly levied if all was not in order. Reports were already going out by Tujeh's agents among the Tibetans that we were in top shape, and so the likelihood of our being overrun, he hoped, was further cut down.

An ordinary Tibetan Drök-pa, tent-dweller clan chief, encamped a few miles away to the east, possessed over 500 good horses, 10,000 sheep, 3,000 yaks. And yet this man and his followers were continually raiding. They did it for two reasons: first, sport; second, gain. No caravan was safe, not even troops in strength. Nor was it really safe for us to move anywhere in this area of Tibet. Ninety-five per cent of all male tribal Tibetans in this region go out on raids. Top horses are valued at \$150 (yuan), and up; therefore, this comparatively "poor" Drök-pa's horse herd alone, which was rated good, had a cash value in north Tibet, Turkestan, or west China, of \$75,000 (U. S.) as the current rate of exchange in Lanchow was \$1 (silver yuan) for \$1 (U. S.)!

At Fort Ta Ho Pa—in spite of Colonel Ma's and Captain Tan's wishes—not a single Tibetan had been "pressed" into service of the expedition, though I had wrangled for days with them about this, finally being forced to get a special order from the Governor to obtain my ends. Likewise not a single Tibetan animal had been confiscated for our use. All this was extremely unusual in Moslem

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At 5 A.M. with a light baggage *ula* (train) of twelve horses and mules and eight yaks, we rode out through the gate and into the black night cloaking the desert. We were muffled in thick furs and skins, our hands protected by long sleeves of sheepskin which were warmer than gloves. But still we shook with cold in the stillness of that crackling air, an air so cold that when a man spat you could hear a sharp *pfittt* as it froze before hitting the ground.

The moon shone over the dunes in the west, but it was not long before the sun's earliest rays began filtering through the sky, finally to burst overhead like the glow of slag and melt the clouds folded along the eastern dunes. Our destination was Ching Kou, 60 trail li through "empty" desert according to Narda's Rong-pas. That is, they slyly warned, empty of everything but robbers.

We soon pressed along the shaggy flanks of the yak train plodding along heads down, men and animals trying to protect themselves from the cold by crowding close together. The Tibetan drivers were hunched on their high, wooden yak-saddles, shivering in the depths of thick sheepskins. The only sound came from their long whips curling over the yaks and ending in a terrific crack.

Our party totaled about fifty rifles, three Japanese Nambu machine-guns and some miscellaneous weapons. Steering by compass first west a half hour then south of west, we noisily broke through an ice-sheathed marsh, and entered a sand-dune desert extending three marches north-and-south, two east-and-west. We must attempt to cross in a single march; neither of the two Tanguts sent out had located water. Owing to possible robbers, our Order-of-March was important. And Colonel Ma formed us thus:

In the great, yellow dunes ahead of the column he laid down a scouting point approximately three hundred yards out. And, when practical, ranging outside this point and in parallel wings on each side of the main column were files of two or three flankers. Ma or I rode at the head of the column, thus accelerating and directing the scouting point to left or right by sound signals or movements of the arm. Behind came the machine-gunner carrying his gun at the ready across the saddle. He was followed by a pair of mules packing two or more machine-guns lashed one on each side, together with ammunition cases. Following in a flexing queue were the troops and others who drove the baggage and extra animals along in the center. At the rear followed four guards armed with a small Japanese mor-

tar, Skoda rifles, Chinese copies of American Tommy guns and Chinese potato-masher hand grenades. These latter rode in a fan formation whenever possible, to guard against attack on our rear and flanks. All guns were loaded, with shells in the chambers, safeties on. When Tibetans strike they often do so with the speed of lightning.

The desert as we entered its wind-shifting dunes—some as long as two to three city blocks and proportionately high—was silent. The wind stopped and a breeze began stirring out of the east, on our rear left side. The frozen sand was crusty underfoot, crunching under our hooves, little swirls of loose sand dancing over it. Above tipped a dome of red and blue sky, an inverted teacup lined with eggshell blue bottom and sides, its rim smeared with red. Steam spouted from our nostrils. As the horses gradually warmed they straightened out their kinks, bouncing up and down friskily. Riding over frozen sand seemed like sitting on air. Fifty pairs of sharp eyes peered out of weather-beaten faces, watching for the slightest movement out in the dunes.

Saddle leather creaked, horses mouthed steel bits, iron and silver stirrups clicked against boot heels, spurs and metal saddle ornaments. Rifles thudded against men's bony hips. The swishing cut of whips on horseflesh. These were the only sounds during the first hour. And then there burst overhead a flare of light striking the tallest sandy crests—*tse shar* "peak-shining time," and the whole desert awoke as long points of light slid spinning among the long dunes.

Large, flat, squat partridges like huge wobbling beetles, scampered away from the marching column. Blue-gray in the body and slashed with brown and cream under short, hooked wings, they were probably a high-elevation cousin of the Indian chukar. When they burst flying out of hollows they sounded exactly like whirring mechanical machines, sometimes startling men and animals.

A *yeh tu* (rabbit) scampered off a knoll; except for its rather long tail it seemed exactly like our western jackrabbit. A hunting pair of *yeh ying* (eagles) flashed by in front of me with a wind-strumming sound. Crumbling animal tracks and hot, steaming droppings of *kulans* indicated we had jumped a herd of wild asses feeding on the few bushes scattered about. The *kulan* is called *kyang* by the Tibetans, and *yeh ma* by the Tungsans. A wolf howled on scenting us

<https://twitter.com/GlobExpressNews/status/1226577816470327297>

For decades June Campbell ended up being the `consort' of a Tibetan Buddhist that is senior monk. I happened to be a Tantric sex servant <http://globalexpressnews.com/for-decades-june-campbell-ended-up-being-the-2/>

<https://twitter.com/worldviews101/status/87775688098193408>

TRIMONDI ONLINE MAGAZINE <http://trimondi.de/EN/deba02.html> I was a Tantric Sex Slave about June Campbell.

<https://twitter.com/functionhanshu/status/988365274410901504>

多年前看过英国人June Campbell的会谈，讲她是西藏流亡在印度地区的非常高的西藏喇嘛的 Tantric sex slave，也就是要想启蒙，就要和高僧睡觉。这篇文章彻底改变了我对西藏佛教的看法。呵呵呵。

<https://twitter.com/songma/status/988358750191824901>

这篇文章不错，讲了西方对藏传佛教和西藏文化的玫瑰色误解，值得一读，

<https://twitter.com/aeonmag/status/988356877254844417>

Behind the beatific image of Tibetan Buddhism lies a dark, complicated reality. But is it one the Western gaze wants to see? <http://ow.ly/mIQU30jCx3Y>

<https://twitter.com/MalMoncrief/status/1309019505566375940>

This is one of the most gruesome murder descriptions I have come across. In 1905 the French Catholic missionary Jules Dubernard was tortured and killed by Tibetan lamas in Yunnan. The Scottish plant collector George Forrest was lucky to escape. <https://bit.ly/3i2kTqi>

<https://twitter.com/Suada1976/status/496382554543783936>

@Syrian_Intifada @magicbravosolo The Tibetan uprising in 1905 resulted in mass pogroms against Catholics and Catholic missionaries.

<https://twitter.com/Edourdoo/status/1008735975386877953>

<https://twitter.com/AlysCorduoy/status/1031384950564515840>

down to the idea that these “flesh pills” bridge the boundary between subject and object, serving as ritual tokens that embody the compassion of past Buddhas while also reminding the eater of the transient nature of his own mortal flesh. --excerpt from <http://sapiens.org>

<https://twitter.com/vyomologist/status/1304097601038344193>

Source : <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/12274200>

Sokdokpa narrates an episode that purportedly occurred five months after Zhikpo Lingpa's first Treasure discovery that offers a particularly lucid introduction to the dynamics that can occur in the vicinity of powerful objects. The objects that feature in the following passage are the Treasure substances (*gter rdzas*) that Zhikpo Lingpa excavated, quite literally, according to Sokdokpa, from the face of a cliff. By Sokdokpa's account, the Eighth Karmapa Mikyö

- 51 For details on the life and literary career of the Eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé, see Jim Rheingans, "Narratives of Reincarnation, Politics of Power, and the Emergence of a Scholar: The Very Early Years of Mikyö Dorjé," in *Lives Lived, Lives Imagined: Biography in the Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Linda Covill, Sarah Shaw, and Ulrike Roesler (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2010), 241–297; and *The Eighth Karmapa's Life and his Interpretation of the Great Seal* (PhD diss., Bath Spa University, 2008). For a rich Tibetan language biography of this hierarch composed by his direct disciple Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa (Dpa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba, 1504–1564/66), see Dpa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), vol. 2, 1206–1333.

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Dorjé sent word to Zhikpo Lingpa specifically to request one of the seven-times born Brahmin flesh pills that Zhikpo Lingpa had allegedly discovered during that excavation.

The practice of discovering, distributing, and ingesting the flesh of deceased human beings undoubtedly appears to most contemporary readers unfamiliar with its underlying logic as an outrageously grotesque and irrational activity for anyone to be involved in, let alone Buddhists. Indeed, the seemingly cannibalistic nature of this practice deeply challenges fundamental assumptions concerning the limits of Buddhist practice and propriety. And yet, for all its peculiarity, the practice of ingesting Brahmin flesh and other unusual ingredients and concoctions is firmly rooted in canonical Indian Buddhist tantric scriptural traditions as these absorbed earlier medical and ritual techniques prevalent throughout India. Pills purportedly formed from the bodily flesh of a person born for seven consecutive lives as a Brahmin are extolled in several Indian Buddhist *tantras* as an especially potent substance that confers a range of mundane and soteriological powers when eaten, especially the power of flight.⁵² When excavated in the form of Treasure substances, Brahmin flesh is often regarded to derive specifically from human embodiments of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion, who materialized as seven-times born Brahmins to benefit beings that come into contact with, or ingest them.⁵³

Treasure Brahmin flesh is typically treated in collective ritual performances called “great accomplishment” (*grub chen*), a class of ritual that may or may not centrally feature power objects like Brahmin flesh pills. Broadly speaking, the goal of a great accomplishment rite is for a group of ritualists and participants to communally realize the ultimate awakened state of buddhahood through materializing and experiencing themselves and their immediate environment as a *maṇḍala* of awakened deities and their pure realm.⁵⁴ This transition is put

- 52 The *Hevajra-tantra* and the *Cakrasamvara-tantra* are but two of the influential Indian Buddhist tantric scriptures that describe the positive effects of eating seven-times born Brahmin flesh. See chapter three of this study for more on the role of these two scriptures in the practice of consuming Brahmin flesh. For a discussion of Brahmin flesh in the context of the *Cakrasamvara-tantra* and its commentarial traditions, see David Gray, "Eating the Heart of the Brahmin: Representations of Alterity and the Formation of Identity in Tantric Buddhist Discourse," *History of Religions*, 45.1 (2005): 45–69.
- 53 Sokdokpa himself draws a distinction between the New Schools' tantric Brahmin flesh and the Old School's Treasure Brahmin flesh, a topic that I shall revisit in chapter three.
- 54 For English translations of a series of Tibetan language texts and lectures on the great accomplishment rite, see Padmasambhava, Chokyur Lingpa, Jamgön Kongtrül, Jokyab Rinpoche, Tulku Urgyen Rinpoche, Orgyen Topgyal Rinpoche and Lama Putsi, *Great*

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IN THE VICINITY OF THINGS

59

into motion by a densely layered choreography of physical, vocal, and cognitive acts, aided by the sensory stimuli of music, incense, edible substances, and more. When great accomplishment rites center on the production of edible substances of power such as Brahmin flesh pills, the flesh concoction is mixed with other substances and formed into pills in the course of ritual proceedings. This concoction then serves as the focal point of the rite's series of physical activities, liturgical verses and *mantras*, and imaginative contemplative exercises. This welter of activity, whose imagery is most frequently associated with Avalokiteśvara, or his lotus family members Padmasambhava or Amitābha serves to concentrate the blessings and power of these buddhas and past masters into the pill concoction. This concentration unleashes or augments the substance's intrinsic potencies. The consumption of ritually "accomplished" Brahmin flesh pills promises, according to Treasure traditions, "liberation through tasting" (*myong grol*),⁵⁵ one of the four, or six liberations renowned in Old School parlance.⁵⁶ Brahmin flesh and its ritual treatment will be discussed in greater details in chapters three and four. For now, it suffices to remark that in the following episode, the discovery of potent, time- and context-specific Treasure Brahmin flesh rendered it a valuable commodity in social interactions between the Treasure revealer and his wider network of relations.

Accomplishment: Teaching on the Drupchen Ceremony, trans. Erik Pema Kunsang with Gyurmé Avertin (Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 2013). The practice of great

accomplishment rites centering upon power objects will be revisited at greater length in chapter four of this study.

- 55 The Tibetan verb *myongwa* (*myong ba*) has a semantic range that includes the transitive, volitional sense of “to taste,” and the intransitive, non-volitional sense of “to feel” and “to experience.” When it appears in the phrase *myongdröl*, “liberation” (*grol*) [through] *myong*, the meaning of *myongwa* signals “tasting;” this can be either as a result of deliberate eating or drinking, or through being inadvertently fed. Since this practice generally calls for complete consumption of the substance involved, regardless of the presence or absence of volition, the phrase might also be rendered as “liberation through eating.” However, to better approximate the character of the Tibetan verb, I have translated the phrase as “liberation through *tasting*” throughout this study.

Then, when about five months had passed, Gyelwé Wangpo Mikyö Dorjé, the one dwelling at Tsürpu (Mtshur phu), issued a formal letter to Zhikpo Lingpa. In it was the following command:

Your attainment of subterranean accomplishments is absolutely wonderful. From among them, you must give me an unmistakable seven-times born Brahmin pill.

Explaining why it should be kept secret for a while, and so forth, [Zhikpo Lingpa] came before him, showing him a few of each type from among the choicest *samaya* substances (*dam rdzas*); and a corner of the master of Uḍḍiyāṇa's yellow, Hor-silk religious garment, upon which was applied a little of the *bodhicitta* fluids of the Master of Uḍḍiyāṇa and his consort, with difficult to behold letter-garlands written at the top of each of the *urpa* woven borders.

Through offering him exactly that, the Karmapa was extremely pleased, and praised Zhikpo Lingpa extensively, saying, among other things, the following:

These do not appear to be any different from Sangyé Lingpa's (Sangs rgyas gling pa) yellow scrolls from the black treasury of Gamamo (Dga' ma mo).⁵⁷ Such documents are the preserve of those who have attained mastery over *ḍākinīs* and magical powers, for how would an ordinary being have the capacity to fabricate something like this?⁵⁸

As circumstance would have it, Sokdokpa made his literary debut in 1576 with an apologetic response to a set of criticisms allegedly composed by the Eighth Karmapa, wherein Mikyö Dorjé specifically targets the authenticity of the

57 The "black treasury of Gamamo" refers to a cite of Sangyé Lingpa's Treasure revelations. This is most likely Ganden Mamo (Dga' ldan ma mo), located in Kongpo.

58 *Zhig gling nam thar*, 52.6–53.3: /de nas zla ba lnga tsam song ba'i tshe/ rgyal ba'i dbang po mi bskyod[N=skyod] rdo rje mtshor[=mthur] phu na[N=phurn] bzhugs yod pas/ bka' shog nang nas/[N-/] khyod kyi sa 'og gi dngos grub thob pa de cis kyang legs pa yin/ de dag gi khrod na[N=nas] skye bdun 'khrul[N='phrul] med gcig nged la bskur[D=skur] dgos/[N-/] zhe[N=zhes] sogs kyis bka' shog phebs pas/ dam rdzas kyi phud nas sna 'ga're dang/[N-/] u rgyan gyi sku chos kyi grwa hor dar ser po la/ u rgyan yab yum gyi byang sems byugs[D=byug]/ cung zad ur pa[N=ba]'i spun re'i thog tu yi ge[N=yig] phreng re bris pa mig gis[N=gi] bzod dka'[N=bka'] ba de spyang lam phab nas [N+]/ re zhig gsang ba sogs kyi[N=kyis] rgyu mtshan 'bul ba dang bcas zhabs drung du phebs/ de ka[N=kha] ltar du[N-du] zhus pas shin tu mnyes nas/ dga' ma mo'i mdzod nag gi sangs rgyas gling pa'i shog ser rnams dang khyad par mi snang/ 'di lta bu'i yi ge mkha' 'gro ma dang rdzu 'phrul la dbang thob pa rnams kyi[N=kyis] spyod yul yin/ so so'i skye bos 'di 'dra ga la byed[N=byed] thub/ zhe[N=zhes] sogs bsngags pa rgya cher gnang/.

Old School Treasure substance of seven-times born Brahmin flesh pills and their claims to confer “liberation through tasting” (*myong grol*). Chapter three of this study is devoted in part to an analysis of that literary debate. There it will be demonstrated that Sokdokpa’s concern with defending the authenticity and efficacy of that and other related edible substances occupied him throughout much of his literary career. Sokdokpa composed the biography of Zhikpo Lingpa in 1599. Even though this was over twenty years after his famous

<https://twitter.com/MarsCheetah/status/1339732561619259392>

Prior to 1951, 95% of Tibetans lived in a feudal society ruled by the 13th&14th Dalai Lamas. They were abused & cruelly treated which are inherent to the traditional Tibetan system, such as making drums out of human skins&cutting of girls’ tongues for rituals #Tibet #Feudal

<https://twitter.com/phelanm/status/1342545522989682688>

tlbEt’S cUITuRe? “..skull implement is a ritual mask, which is worn only when the living is sacrificed ..How did the Chinese Communist Party destroy Tibet’s culture..”:

<https://quora.com/How-did-the-Chinese-Communist-Party-destroy-Tibets-culture-by-prohibiting-their-language-and-peoples-religion>

<https://twitter.com/gTerton/status/1193678564261953536>

<https://facebook.com/100020027479425/posts/367878937223019?sfns=mo>

“The 16-page ‘sex contract’ linked to below was posted to Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentse Rinpoche’s FB as a purportedly humorous example of legal framework by which a tantric guru may engage in sexual relations with their disciples.”

One Tibetan Buddhist esoteric ritual involved eating human feces, menstrual blood, urine, semen, and phlegm. No wonder Tengrists had to be force converted to this by the Lamas lol.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?>

[id=Sp1BCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT428&lpg=PT428&dq=%22five+nectars+are+human+excrement,+](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Sp1BCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT428&lpg=PT428&dq=%22five+nectars+are+human+excrement,+)

which is traditionally mounted upon a tripod of three small skulls. Within this skull are the five sense organs, which consist of: (1) a torn-out heart, representing consciousness or touch; (2) a pair of torn-out eyes on their long optic nerves, representing sight; (3) a tongue, representing taste; (4) a nose representing smell; (5) a pair of ears, representing sound. Sometimes severed hands and feet also form part of this wrathful assembly, as symbols of touch. As a symbol of the sixth sense of consciousness an upright silken arrow is often shown piercing the heart. This silken arrow symbolizes the body, speech, and mind of the deity, which empowers the sense organs. The arrow's shaft represents the central channel as the 'body' of the deity. The arrow's flight and black silk banner represent the mantra or 'speech' of the deity. The arrow's head, which penetrates the heart, represents the 'mind' of the deity as the most subtle consciousness of the 'indestructible drop' at the heart center. In ritual use this silken arrow is removed from the *torma* before it is cast away.

On wrathful deity *thangkas* the wrathful offering of the five senses is frequently painted in front of and below the central deity's lotus throne. A pair of skull-cups containing swirling 'nectar' or alcohol to the deity's right, and swirling blood to the deity's left often flank this central offering. Collectively these three symbols represent the three primary conditions for the conception of a human embryo to occur. The skull-cup of blue or white 'nectar' represents fertile male semen, the skull-cup of red blood represents fertile uterine blood, and the wrathful offering of the five senses represents the consciousness of the being seeking rebirth. In the Tibetan medical tradition the white semen of the father is believed to create the bones, brain, and nerves of the

embryo; the red uterine blood of the mother creates the soft vital organs; and the consciousness of the being seeking rebirth brings the five sense faculties into this fertile union. These five senses and their corresponding consciousnesses are the 'doors' through which the consciousness of the being seeking rebirth will ultimately experience this world.

THE INNER OFFERING

(Tib. *nang-chod*)

The 'inner offering' is a highly symbolic offering assembly that is employed in the visualization practices of the Highest Yoga Tantras, such as the *Chakrasamvara*, *Vajrayogini*, *Hevajra*, *Kalachakra*, *Guhya-samaja*, and *Yamantaka Tantras*. It consists of a large white skull-cup with a single central fissure. This skull-cup is red on its interior and rests upon a tripod of three severed heads, which are colored white, red, and blue. These three heads stand amidst a downward-pointing red triangular fire mandala, and an upward-pointing blue bow-shaped wind mandala. On either side of this wind mandala are two white or gold nectar-filled vases, from which rise red sandalwood poles, which are sealed at their top with a *vajra* and yak-tail pennon. A victory banner is attached to each pole in the form of a triangular flag. These flags billow in the wind as the maelstrom of the wind mandala causes the fire mandala to blaze upwards and melt the substances within the vast skull-cup.

These substances consist of the 'five nectars' and the 'five meats'. The five nectars are human excrement, marrow, semen, blood, and urine; and the five meats are a bull, a dog, an elephant, a horse, and a human being. The five nectars are arranged into a mandala formation, with the yellow

excrement in the east (front), the green marrow in the north (right), the white semen in the west (back), the red blood in the south (left), and the blue urine at the center. The five meats are arranged into a similar formation, with the meat of the black bull in the southeast (left front), the meat of the red or blue dog in the south-west (left rear), the meat of the white elephant in the north-west (right rear), the meat of the green horse in the north-east, and the meat of a red human corpse in the center.

In the 'generation stage' (Tib. *bskyed-rim*) of meditational practice the wind mandala, fire mandala, skull-cup, and the contained substances that melt and liquify, represent the four elements of wind, fire, earth, and water respectively. The three severed heads symbolize the practitioner's body (white head), speech (red head), and mind (blue head), as the three 'bases' to be purified. The white syllable *A*, from which the skull-cup is generated, symbolizes emptiness, and the skull-cup itself symbolizes great bliss. The skull's white exterior represents the white *bodhicitta* (semen) of the father, and its red interior the red *bodhicitta* (menstrual blood) of the mother. The skull-cup's single central fissure represents the inseparability of method and wisdom, compassion and tranquility, form and emptiness. The generation of the five nectars and the five meats from the first syllable of their Sanskrit names symbolizes that all of these substances exist by designation and arise through conceptual thought.

The five nectars symbolize the Five Buddhas, the five senses, and the five aggregates that are to be purified. The excrement represents Vairocana, sight, and the aggregate of form. The marrow represents Amoghasiddhi, touch, and the aggregate of volition. The semen represents Amitabha, taste, and the aggregate of perception. The blood rep-

resents Ratnasambhava, smell, and the aggregate of feeling. The urine represents Akshobya, sound, and the aggregate of consciousness.

The five meats symbolize the Five Mothers or consorts of the Five Buddhas, the five elements, and the five delusions or poisons. The bull represents Locana, the element of earth, and the delusion of ignorance. The dog represents Mamaki, the element of water, and the delusion of aggression. The elephant represents Pandara, the element of fire, and the delusion of desire. The horse represents Tara, the element of wind, and the delusion of jealousy. The human being at the center represents either the consort of the meditational deity or Vajradhatishvari, the element of space, and the delusion of pride.

The directional sequence of the five nectars and five meats, as described above, correspond to the 'mother tantra' descriptions of the Chakrasamvara and Vajrayogini Tantras. However, in the 'father tantra' practices of Guhyasamaja and Yamantaka the polarity sequences of these ten substances are changed. Here the five meats are positioned in the cardinal directions to correspond to the Five Buddhas, and the five nectars are positioned in the inter-cardinal directions to correspond to the Five Mothers. The color of the human corpse in the center corresponds to the main *yidam* deity's consort, which is blue in the case of Guhyasamaja and Yamantaka, and red in the case of Chakrasamvara and Vajrayogini. This corpse of 'human meat' lies within the urine at the center of the skull-cup with its head facing towards the west or rear. The other four animals lie upon their right sides with their heads facing towards the center, and are marked with their respective syllables on their left sides. All of the five meats are described as 'boneless', meaning that each of

their boneless skins is filled with the chopped meat of that particular animal.

In the 'completion stage' (Tib. *rdzogs-rim*) of meditational practice the wind mandala symbolizes the 'downward-voiding wind', which carries vital energy below the navel *chakra*. The fire mandala symbolizes the 'inner fire' of *tummo* (Tib. *gtum-mo*), which is activated at the navel *chakra*. The billowing flags symbolize the concentration of the downward-voiding wind, which causes the fire mandala of *tummo* to blaze

upwards. As the inner fire of *tummo* ascends it dissolves the winds and melts the drops in the central channel. This gives rise to the three inner signs of 'white appearance', 'red increase', and 'black near-attainment', which occur as the fifth, sixth, and seventh signs of the death process. The white, red, and blue severed heads symbolize these three signs. The vast white skull-cup symbolizes the 'mind of clear light', which arises as the eighth and final stage of the death process. The skull-cup's single ascending fissure



The inner offering.

represents the experience of great spontaneous bliss.

The five nectars and five meats represent the five impure aggregates and elements, which are transformed into the Five Buddhas and the Five Mothers through meditation upon the clear light. Their melting and transformation into nectar symbolizes the distillation of these ten substances, as purified wisdoms, into an elixir of 'one taste' (Skt. *ekarasa*). The four inter-cardinal nectars of excrement, marrow, semen, and blood circle in an counterclockwise direction around the central urine. These nectars symbolize the 'four joys' experienced as the *bodhichitta* drops descend from the crown to the throat, heart, and navel *chakras*. The four cardinal meats of bull, dog, elephant, and horse circle in a clockwise direction around the central human. These meats symbolize the reversal of these four joys as they ascend from the navel to the heart, throat, and crown *chakras* (see page 211).

During the visualization process of the inner offering each of the components arises from its respective seed syllable. After the initial stage of visualized generation and activation, which causes the ten contained substances to melt into an orange liquid, there follow several further stages of visualization.

A white syllable *Hum* appears above the molten liquid, and transforms into an inverted *khatvanga* of white *bodhichitta*. The heat causes this *khatvanga* to melt and drip into the skull-cup, transforming the orange liquid into a sweet elixir that looks like quicksilver. Above this elixir there now arise three rows of the Sanskrit vowels and consonants, which are colored white, red, and blue. These rows of syllables collectively dissolve towards their centers, until they finally merge into the three inverted syllables of a white *Om*, a red *A*, and a blue *Hum*. These three syllables then finally descend and melt into the elixir, transforming it into an alchemical panacea that bestows bliss, vitality, immortality, and wisdom.

In actual practice the material representation of the inner offering takes the form of the practitioner's skull-cup, which contains a 'nectar pill' mixed with black tea or alcohol. This nectar pill is compounded from the 'synthesized essence' of the five nectars and five meats, and is empowered by the blessings of the practitioner's lineage guru. The symbolic ingredients used to compound the nectar pill are traditionally derived from plants, and include several varieties of myrobalan, cloves, cardamon, nutmeg, saffron, and sandalwood.



Consumption of human waste is a prominent part of Vajrayana Buddhist texts. Most likely stolen from Aghoris. Vajrayana is the Aghori equivalent in Buddhism, the difference is that Aghori are a minority but Vajrayana spans a wide area.

Consumption of human bodily wastes like human feces, menstrual blood, urine, semen and phlegm is commanded in Tibetan Buddhist Tantras since Vajrayana is after all esoteric.

<http://https://jstor.org/stable/10.1086/651992?seq=1>

<https://nozeninthewest.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/five-meats-five-ambrosias-and-refuge-in-evil/>

<http://francesgarrett.chass.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/TappingGarrett.pdf>

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/22180926/>

Hirata Atsutane wrote about Han style Esoteric, Tantric Vajrayana Buddhism (Shingon) which is still practiced by Japanese. Apparently they also did rituals with feces and using skulls filled with blood and a statue with a naked woman showing her genitals, like the Tibetans.

devotedly every morning. Within the litany of the ritual is a passage that offers his worship and devotion to the very same Kuebiko no mikoto. Given the evidence of his devotion to spiritual studies and the occult, it seems likely that Atsutane himself carried out Esoteric Buddhist practice, at least in the form of the *Kuebiko saishiki*. A hanging scroll/*honzon* that depicts this *kami* is still preserved today within his archives.

Haga Noboru writes that while Atsutane was critical of Buddhism overall, and especially the more popular sects such as Nichiren Buddhism, he was relatively respectful of Zen and Shingon Buddhism, the latter being the source of his Esoteric Buddhist ritual collection. Haga goes on to suggest that these collected rituals, along with his *Maichō shimpai shiki*, may have been used for recruitment, especially around the time he was making his recruiting tours of the Kantō countryside before and after he met Torakichi.²⁴ The ambivalence and contradictions evident in both Atsutane's and Torakichi's attitudes toward Buddhism as expressed in *Senkyō ibun* probably reflect the true situation; that is, Buddhism was powerful and useful to both of them, so in truth neither of them could swear it off completely.

There is another interesting note on the connection between *Senkyō ibun* and Esoteric Buddhist practices. At one point in the text, Torakichi gives a particularly graphic description of a bizarre Esoteric ritual. It involves the statue of a naked woman with special emphasis on the genitalia. Dunking in feces and anointment by skulls filled with blood round out the description of the ritual, which is supposed to bring some sort of evil power to the practitioners.²⁵ Atsutane may have been an Esoteric practitioner in private, but what he records in *Senkyō ibun* about Esoteric rituals is quite negative. He usually makes Esoteric ritual, at least as practiced by Buddhists, sound much more like evil pornography than a blissful reunification with the universal soul.

Torakichi as Spirit Medium and Divine Child: Buddhist Precedents

One of Torakichi's special abilities and the one thing that set him apart from other religiously devoted teenage boys was his talent for spirit possession; he could intentionally cause spirits to possess him or his ritual assistants, or he could become spontaneously possessed. The exercise of these talents shows his debt to both the Buddhist and Daoist traditions,²⁶ but for the most part the possession rituals rely heavily on Buddhist images and practices. The following example has Torakichi describing a ritual he would commonly perform for people seeking his assistance.

In *Kuebiko saishiki* the practitioner is instructed to set up a *honzon*. In Esoteric Buddhism this might typically be a Dainichi nyorai image or something that represents Dainichi nyorai. In Atsutane's ritual, Dainichi has been replaced by Musubi no kami. The Esoteric pattern would then call for offerings of several sorts, and this was also copied in Atsutane's ritual. In the Esoteric model, the climax of the ritual would occur after performing contemplation and meditations meant to produce an image of the intermediate being, an alter ego of Dainichi, Fudō myōō perhaps; then unification or identification with that intermediary would take place. In Atsutane's ritual, Fudō was replaced by Kuebiko no mikoto. While the Esoteric practitioner becomes a buddha in that very body, Atsutane's practitioner becomes a *kami* in that very body. The individual soul ritually achieves the goal of reuniting with the universal soul. In Atsutane's ritual, where the Buddhist would say "many buddhas," the Chinese character for buddha is simply replaced by the character for *kami*. In the spot where the text should say "becoming a buddha," it says "becoming a *kami*." The results and the goals of the ritual are written about as *kaji* and *rieki*, just what the Esoteric Buddhist practitioner would have been hoping for.²³

The Shinto tradition does claim a long history of practitioners uniting with the *kami*, which we might be more used to associating with spirit possession, or even shamanistic practice. In modern Shinto terms, when this possession is seen to occur without artificial assistance, it is called *kishin*, and when it is induced it is called *chinkon*. Therefore, Atsutane's Kuebiko ritual could be categorized as a *chinkon* ritual, which could associate it with the so-called ancient Shinto tradition. However, the contents of his *Categories of Esoteric Doctrines and Rituals* are proof that he copied the ritual straight from an Esoteric Buddhist precedent and changed the buddhas into *kami*.

Categories of Esoteric Doctrines and Rituals contains more than a hundred more rituals, all coming from Esoteric Buddhist practice. Most of them are for defeating enemies, overcoming evil, or performing initiations. Many of the rituals in this collection contain references to or invocations of Daoist immortals, and many of them involve Kangiten or Shōten, which provides a link to Torakichi and his *sanjin* master. However, the attitude usually expressed toward Esoteric Buddhist rituals in *Senkyō ibun* is one of wariness. Atsutane readily recognized the power in these kinds of rituals, but he was afraid of their corrupting influences. Perhaps, as was explained by Torakichi, Atsutane agreed that those who held the proper reverence for the *kami* could practice them.

We know that Atsutane had published a daily morning ritual of *kami* worship he called the *Maichō shimpai shiki*, and he practiced this ritual

After this, I [Atsutane] listened to what he [Torakichi] said he did when someone asked him to perform possession rituals. Acting as the visiting deity he recited the words for the purification of the six roots²⁷ and intoned the mantra for the Eleven-headed Kannon. After the possession ritual was over I asked, "Previously you said that the thing called Kannon does not really exist. And, didn't you say it was nothing more than a name attached to a statue someone made? In spite of that, you pray to and set up that Kannon as the visiting deity, which I find difficult to understand. What does it mean to have a nonexistent thing make a visitation?"

Torakichi said, "This is what my master said. The reason we perform possession rituals is that this is the way to help people who are at a total loss about what to do in a certain situation find the answer by asking a *kami*. Even though we are essentially inviting a *kami* in order to make a request, and the ultimate goal is to be graced by the presence of that *kami*, we, along with most of the other ritual specialists in the world, set up ritual images in the dual mandala style using Fudō, Kannon, and Marishiten. Nevertheless, as I stated earlier, these are just names attached to things that don't exist. Furthermore, because they are simply make-believe images they don't make visitations. However, there are many real demons, spirits, and ghosts prowling about in the world that do make visitations, and by doing so reveal their spiritual energies. This is the reason that those make-believe things are thought to exist.

Actually, I did not learn this technique from anyone else. One time I had someone play the spirit medium in fun and I mimicked the recitation of prayer and tried intoning various disconnected and meandering chants, and somehow unexpectedly that medium became possessed and revealed the presence of some spiritual energy. This surprised me and I asked my master about it and that's when he told me what I have just told you. After this happened and I figured out the secret of it, I would conduct the ritual and chant in ways that were appropriate to the supplicant using Fudō, Marishiten, or any other dual mandala-influenced mantras. Seven out of ten times there would be a visitation and something would happen that showed the presence of some spiritual energy. If ghosts or demons would make the visitation when it concerned someone who was sick I would pray saying that the spirit medium should raise the paper wand up to the left if the sickness would get better and up to the right if it would not. The prayer rituals are done for other people, which explains why the spiritual activities take a variety of different forms."

When I heard Torakichi explain it in this way, I praised what he had said. Then I read to him what I had written previously in the *Koshiden*,



<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/jiabs/article/download/8878/2785>

<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/jiabs/article/download/8878/2785>

Islam according to Buddhist Kālacakra Tantra <https://goo.gl/mkNMXt>

The Kālacakra tantra represents Islam as a religion of violence (*himsā-dharma*) that advocates savage behavior (*raudra-karman*) (I.6). It understands the consecration in the name of Allāh of animals to be slaughtered as an animal sacrifice to the barbarian god, who is a merciless deity of death (*māra-devatā*) (I.1,5), a god of darkness (II.6) comparable to Rāhu, the demon who devours the sun and the moon (II.4). The texts exhibit concern about the destructive raids of Tāyin cavalry on the Buddhist and non-Buddhist temples of India (II.4,6). The Kālacakra tantra presents several strategies for dealing with the new Islamic challenge.

<https://twitter.com/GlobExpressNews/status/1226577816470327297>

<https://twitter.com/AncientOriginsE/status/1285946284013215744>

Los antiguos budistas bengalíes fueron responsables de la propagación del budismo desde Bangladesh hasta Sumatra y el Tíbet. ¡Hoy, los antiguos budistas bengalíes Tilopa, Naropa y Atisha son nombres apreciados por todos los tibetanos! <https://ancient-origins.es/historia-personajes-famosos/budismo-bengali-antiguo-006240>

<https://twitter.com/crcsugm/status/1055387049170165760>

The island of Suvarnadvīpa (Sanskrit for the Golden Island, now called Sumatra) was home to a great university, a vast center of knowledge at the crossroads of the Buddhist Sea Route, which attracted such great sages as I-Tsing and Atisha. <https://crcs.ugm.ac.id/wednesday-forum-report/13570/a-great-buddhist-university-in-a-jambi-muslim-village.html>

<https://twitter.com/saberhc/status/1099347833646268416>

To mark birth anniversary of Atisha Depankar (an enlightened Bengali scholar, a major figures in spread of 11th-century Mahayana and Vajrayana #Buddhism in Asia, inspired Buddhist thought from Tibet to Sumatra) Boddho Prochar Kristi Sangha organised peace medal award ceremony.

<https://twitter.com/ThubtenChodron/status/107006932422730251>

Muaro Jambi Temple ruins on the island of Sumatra. The site is associated with the great Lama Atisha, who reinvigorated Buddhism in Tibet after a period of religious persecution and is said to have studied teachings on bodhicitta for 12 years with Sumatran teacher Serlingpa.

Tibetan Buddhism replaced Tengrism and Church of the East Christianity (called Nestorian in this text) in the Mongolia and steppe region. Some traces of Christianity may survive among Mongol and Altaian peoples such as a garbled story of the Garden of Eden.

which were clearly derived from Eskimo sources, others which had a Mongol or Turkic provenance, and many which were identical with native American traditions. He found that the Yukaghirs had stories which he could trace to roots in Evenk, Russian, Sakhan and Chukchi folklore.⁷

Much native Siberian belief is harder to unscramble. Even where relationships between traditions are clear, the same is seldom true of the date at which the transmission of ideas took place. For example, by the late nineteenth century some Altaian peoples had a version of the tale of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden very similar to that in the Book of Genesis, but connecting the misfortune to the fruit itself rather than to disobedience to the divine will.⁸ This could be a garbled reception of the biblical story resulting from recent contact with the Russians. It could, however, have been transmitted by the Nestorian Christians who spread through Central Asia in the middle ages; or could equally well represent the original form of the myth from which the account in Genesis itself derived, and which had travelled up from the Fertile Crescent thousands of years before.

The same consideration relates to many other motifs which Siberian mythology shares with Judaeo-Christian, Islamic or Indian tradition; they could have been the product of relatively modern contacts with Russians, Moslems or Chinese, or of very ancient flows of ideas across Asia.⁹ Likewise, it has often been suggested that the existence in some Siberian traditions of powerful devil-figures or dominant creator-gods located in the sky, was the product of Christian or Islamic influence.¹⁰ This is a reasonable enough assumption, but the lack of any accounts of those traditions before contact with the missionary religions concerned makes confirmation of it impossible.

legends related about the site. Interestingly, by 2003, remnants of these legends could still be heard among the herders who remained in the steppe of Inner Mongolia.

The main theme of the legends related about Olon Sume concerned the bad fortune that befell people who had taken bricks from the city for their private use. The first reference documented by Lattimore of this practise concerned a number of local Buddhist lamas who mined bricks from Olon Sume to construct the temple of Bato Khalagha. Because of the ceremonies performed by the lamas at Olon Sume the appropriation of the bricks did not result in any harm. Others who did not take such precautions were, according to legend, less fortunate.

Lattimore related the story of the *Jön Beise*, the local noble, who around 1930 had built himself a palace from bricks 'harvested at Olon Sume'. Not long afterwards the nobleman's wife, the local *Khatun*, had become possessed by a spirit and started to abuse her husband for taking the bricks. In fact this was the spirit who was talking to the nobleman through his wife. The nobleman engaged Buddhist lamas to restore the woman but their sutra readings failed to do so. Then the master of Olon Sume entered the Khatun and spoke:

I am Sokhor Liu-tzu Khan [Sokhor Liuzi Khan], Lord of the ruined city. What do you mean by taking bricks from my city. . . . The lama's of Bato Khalakh-in Sume also took bricks from my city; but first they said prayers. That was all right . . . these bricks of mine are made of no ordinary earth. That earth came from very far away, and is as precious as silver. (In other words the 'magic' of the bricks should have been taken away by prayer before they were used as ordinary bricks).¹³

Only through the interference of a sorcerer and lavish offerings did the Jön Beise manage to appease Sokhor Liuzi Khan.

Lattimore documented a number of variations of legends on Sokhor Liuzi Khan as Lord of Olon Sume. The first reveals how Liuzi came to be 'Sokhor Liuzi Khan'. The legend is set in the Tang dynasty and relates how one day Liuzi was visited by a Chinese geomancer. The geomancer performed a series of tests at what is now the site of Olon Sume and explained that the person who buried his parents there would become emperor. Liuzi cheated the geomancer, buried his parents at the site and became emperor under the name Liuzi Khan (*khan* being Mongolian for 'emperor' or 'king'). When the geomancer discovered that Liuzi had become emperor, he fired an arrow from his home blinding Liuzi

¹³ Lattimore (1934) 222–3.

A great number of crosses from China, including those found in Inner Mongolia—in particular Olon Sume—are depicted above a lotus flower.⁸⁰ The lotus is frequently used in Chinese Buddhist iconography as a symbol for purity and perfection. Its ability to grow from the dark, impure mud is interpreted as a symbol of enlightenment. The lotus is therefore often depicted as the seat or throne of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. Clearly, the Nestorian Christians considered it most appropriate to depict the most central and powerful symbol of Christianity in exactly the same fashion and thus depicted the cross rising from a lotus flower. This tradition most certainly built upon the depiction of the 'leaved cross', which consists of a cross standing between two curled leaf depictions. This depiction was already much in use among the western Nestorian Christians and has been found, among other places, as far west as Armenia.⁸¹ A number of crosses from Inner Mongolia depict the cross rising from a floral object which is neither a lotus nor a clear depiction of such leaves.⁸²

Given the Buddhist presence in China I would regard the lotus depiction on Nestorian grave material as an adaptation of the leaved cross through the incorporation of a Chinese Buddhist motif. The depiction of the cross over a floral object which is neither a pair of leaves nor a lotus can be understood as an intermediate stage.

It thus comes to no great surprise that the Nestorians also appropriated further Chinese attributes of the Buddha, such as the parasol. Chinese Buddhist depictions frequently depict Buddha and the Bodhisattvas shielded under a parasol. Early representations of Prince Gautama departing from his palace before his enlightenment frequently consist of a riderless horse and a parasol and do not depict Prince Gautama himself. The depiction of a cross rising from a lotus flower shielded by a parasol-shaped object is found on a particularly well-preserved gravestone from Mukhor Soborghan (see rubbing in Appendix 5.2).⁸³ Similar depictions of the parasol shielding the cross are also found in Quanzhou.⁸⁴ The Chinese symbol of the parasol can be seen as an appropriate way to enhance the weight and authority of the cross.

⁸⁰ For lotus depictions in Quanzhou see the useful table in Xie Bizhen (2006) 267–268.

⁸¹ For a leaved cross from Armenia see Talbot Rice (1966) 229. Also see Parry (1996) 145 ff. and Fig. 1–2.

⁸² See the cube panels on Halbertsma (2005a) Gravestone 16.

⁸³ Halbertsma (2005a) Gravestone 34.

⁸⁴ Parry (2006a) Fig. 11–12; Wu (2005) B 13, B39 and B40.

The same can be said for the use of Daoist and other Buddhist or Chinese symbols in Nestorian cross depictions, such as the image of the hare and rooster/raven in the moon and sun on the trilingual stele and the depiction of highly stylized clouds. Over time, the Nestorian cross depictions in Inner Mongolia did not only appropriate 'foreign' symbolism but also shed a few of its original core characteristics. The depiction of the cross, in other words, developed from a classical early form into a local form which expressed new and local realities. Egami argued that the cross depictions in China initially developed from a western jewelled cross, or *crux gemmata*, into an early eastern Tang dynasty version. This early eastern version featured the original jewel depictions as well as foreign and 'Chinese' attributes such as the lotus, clouds and flames.

Over time the original jewel decorations were dropped and new attributes were maintained. This gradual development eventually led to a plain cross depicted in an ogival frame which, according to the Japanese researcher, can be characterized as the late eastern Yuan dynasty version. Egami defined the transitional phase—characterized by the use of both early and late characteristics—as a Song version.⁸⁵

The use of the ogee-shaped frames or so-called 'lantern window frames' around Nestorian cross depictions is not limited to Nestorian funeral material. Comparable outlines are frequently used in Islamic graves as mentioned above. Enoki has suggested that the use of such frames may not necessarily originate from Islamic influences. In this interpretation the lantern window is rather an outline 'recess where a sacred object is placed for worship' or a 'simplified representation of an altar with a curtain drawn to both sides'. Enoki points out that such frames were used in Chinese Buddhist art before the advent of Islam in, for instance, Dunhuang.⁸⁶ I would like to stress that the shape and design found in the tail-end of the Nestorian gravestones portray striking similarities with Islamic tombs, see also my remarks above and the images referred to. This design suggests that the Nestorian Christians based the shape of the horizontal gravestone on Muslim tombs. If this is the case it seems most likely that the ogival and lantern window frames on the Nestorian grave material were appropriated alongside other features found in the Muslim tombs. This would mean that the

⁸⁵ Egami (2000) 75.

⁸⁶ Enoki (1964) 50, note 23.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

APPROPRIATION OF NESTORIAN HERITAGE BY MISSIONARIES AND FIELD RESEARCHERS

The documentation¹ of Nestorian heritage in Inner Mongolia dates back to the arrival of the first Scheut missionaries from the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M.) in Inner Mongolia. I have already touched upon the Western fascination for Christianity in China and the disproportionately large number of publications on this topic in the introduction of this study. Suffice to say, the Nestorian heritage in Inner Mongolia became very much part of this fascination and was rapidly appropriated by missionaries and foreign scholars alike.² After 1949 Chinese archaeologists also appropriated the Nestorian heritage, in part through excavation or collection, but also by documenting and presenting the material in an ideological framework.

This chapter looks into the appropriation of Nestorian heritage by missionaries, foreign researchers and Chinese scholars who researched and documented Nestorian remains in Inner Mongolia. I would like to point out that their documentation has, to a certain extent, ensured the survival of certain Nestorian material that has been lost, but this positive end-result has not guided the discussion here. Instead this chapter simply highlights some concerns regarding the presentation of material that is appropriated.

11.1 *Early appropriation of Nestorian heritage by missionaries*

The appropriation of Nestorian heritage in Inner Mongolia by missionaries is not a new phenomenon nor is it a practise of the past. The editor of the Syriac version of Rabban Sauma's chronicle explained that he had edited and shortened the original to prevent 'the history

¹ As opposed to the *recording* of Nestorian encounters by medieval travellers, such as Rubruck, Polo and Montecorvino.

² Chinese archaeologist Huang Wenpbi, of course, was an early exception but participated in what was a foreign-organized and funded expedition (the Sino-Swedish Expedition under the leadership of Sven Hedin) when he discovered Olon Sume.

which is desired' to turn into something else.³ Seventeenth-century Jesuits also interpreted the inscription of the 'Xi'an Stele'—or indeed 'Nestorian Stele'—and utilized it, among the more unusual adoptions, in a hymn.⁴ Today, the Nestorian heritage has been popularized by evangelicals in China and in Japan through *manga*-like cartoons (see Appendix 2.5).⁵

The early C.I.C.M. missionaries were no exception to the practise of appropriating early Christian relics for their mission's use. After the physical appropriation of the material from Shizhuziliang—first expressed by claims on any Christian material and later by relocating a number of Christian objects to the bishop's residence in Xiwanzi—the remains were presented in the organization's bulletin as Christian heritage much relevant to a missionary's cause. De Brabander's identification of an engraving as a lamb, which turned out to be a depiction of a Chinese incense burner and a distorted rendering of the IHS-symbol, constitutes a Christian over-interpretation.

The discovery of the Christian objects in Inner Mongolia was, as would be expected, followed by a search for existing Christian traditions among the peoples of the steppe. Pelliot had deemed the discovery of existing remnants of Christianity among the Öngüt unlikely, but following the discovery of Shizhuziliang, two reports on the discovery of existing Nestorian remnants and culture among the Inner Mongolian peoples were filed.⁶ Both reports were filed by Scheut missionaries. The material that they uncovered, and possibly interpreted with too much confidence as 'Nestorian' in nature, actually comes from the fringes of the area with the most explicit and indisputable evidence of a Nestorian past or even from other regions altogether. As such, I, too, will wander somewhat from the field central to this study. I feel, however, that these examples illustrate some difficulties in working with 'Nestorian material' which has been appropriated and over-interpreted.

The first report concerns a curious Chinese document, compiled at the end of the nineteenth century by a member of a 'religious sect'

³ Montgomery (1927) 80.

⁴ Pang (2006).

⁵ For a Japanese example see Joseph (undated). For a Dutch news article, including a number of these Japanese *manga*-cartoons, see my report; Halbertsma (2004c). For a Chinese language example of a popularized account of the Nestorian presence featuring the Xi'an Stele and other Nestorian relics in China see Xi'an (2006) 46 ff.

⁶ Pelliot (1914) 643.

the teachings. To my knowledge, Van Damme never returned to the topic of his contribution regarding the sect.¹¹

Without attempting to solve the questions regarding the origins of the document, it seems puzzling that the text was written in Chinese whereas the sect lived in the Ordos region and thus most likely used another language. An examination regarding the origin and authenticity of the teachings exposed in the text lies outside the scope of this study but what is of interest here concerns the belief of the C.I.C.M. missionaries, or at least the suggestion, that the teachings expressed Nestorian origins and thus represented a connection between the twentieth-century sect and the Nestorian Christians under Mongol rule some seven centuries earlier. Whether an over-interpretation or not, these conclusions, and their presentation as relevant to a missionary's cause, can perhaps be best understood as a 'Christian appropriation' of the Nestorian past.

Some forty years later the Christian appropriation culminated in the identification of live descendants of the Nestorian Öngüt in Inner Mongolia. In 1934 Antoine Mostaert, the well-known Scheutist missionary and eminent Mongolist, reported to have found the descendants of the Nestorian Öngüt among the Erküt.¹² At the time, the Erküt consisted of some seventy families who lived, like the members of the sect described by Van Damme, in the extensive Ordos plain south of the Daqingshan range. According to the Belgian missionary, the Erküt practised a faith most peculiar to the region with faint echoes of Christianity. Upon childbirth, Mostaert suggested, women of the Erküt confessed their sins as a means to aid delivery.¹³ Although a leader of the Erküt did not recognize the sign of the cross, Mostaert related a number of practises among the Erküt to the use of the cross. Of further interest are Mostaert's observations that the Erküt buried their people with their heads pointing to the west; a practise, he noted, which was also followed at the cemetery of Shizhuziliang.¹⁴ The orientation has of course been recorded among the Nestorian Christians north of the Daqingshan range, but it must be remembered that the practise was

¹¹ I have only been able to verify the editions of *Missiën in China in Congo* until 1902, i.e., seven years after Van Damme's first publication on the sect.

¹² Mostaert (1934) 197 ff.

¹³ Mostaert (1934) 205–6.

¹⁴ Mostaert (1934) 210. Mostaert also noted the taboo on sleeping with the feet pointing west among the Erküt, see Mostaert (1934) 212.

shared with many other peoples of Turkic origin under the Mongol rule. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the religious practises of the Erküt, such as the burial of their deceased, differed markedly from the Mongolian herders living at the start of the twentieth century among the Nestorian remains north of the Daqingshan mountains, who preferred 'sky burials'. Most importantly, Mostaert argued that the name Erküt itself proved a relation between the Erküt and the Nestorian Christians among the Öngüt. In fact, according to Mostaert, the name of the Erküt originated from the Persian *erke'ün* and thus shared its origin with the Chinese term '*yelikewen*' suggesting some sort of Nestorian connection. The latter transcription has, of course, been frequently used in China for the identification of Nestorian Christians as well as people of non-Han Chinese descent.

Mostaert's identification of the Erküt as the descendants of the Öngüt and the resemblance of their faith to Christianity has been accepted¹⁵ as well as carefully questioned.¹⁶

In his publication on the Erküt, Mostaert did not refer to Van Damme's discoveries and conclusions, but it is possible that the Erküt were in fact the people identified by Van Damme as the followers of the 'Student of Fortune'. Both the followers of Van Damme's sect and the Erküt lived in the Ordos region.

The region where both peoples dwelled is known among students of Nestorian history in China for the great number of metal objects that, from the start of the twentieth century, have been uncovered there and which have become known as 'the bronze Ordos crosses'.¹⁷ The curious objects resemble birds, fish and crosses. Many of the objects depict swastikas and geometrical or cross patterns which are executed in high relief. According to Moule, Mostaert noted:

The Mongols constantly dig them up, from old graves and elsewhere: they know nothing of their history, but wear them on their girdles, especially the woman, and use them with a lump of mud to seal their doors.¹⁸

In fact, the objects frequently feature two loops at the reverse side, which can be used to attach the object to clothing, for example. A number

¹⁵ Lattimore (1978) 215–216; Krader (1963) 42–3.

¹⁶ Moule (1940) 24.

¹⁷ For images of these objects see among others Pelliot (1932); and Halbertsma (2002a) 121 and 123.

¹⁸ Moule (1930) 92 ff.

Bengali Buddhist Atisha renewed Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet after studying in Sumatra or Java in Indonesia, two centuries after Tibetan King Langdarma's attempt to eliminate Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet.

INTRODUCTION

In his *Essential Tibetan Buddhism*, renowned Tibetan scholar and chair of the Religion Department at Columbia University Robert A. F. Thurman made several references to the fact that Atisha Dipamkara Shrijnana (982–1054), the Lord Master and one of the Three Most Gracious Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhist religion and legend, actually lived for a number of years in Java before returning to Tibet to revitalize the teaching there and overcome a period of spiritual stagnation at the hands of secular rulers and misinformed or malicious teachers.

There is some controversy over the allegation that Atisha spent time in Java, however, and this is an example of the type of historical ambiguity we will encounter from time to time in this study of Tantra in Asia. Until recently, most historians were of the opinion that Atisha never made it as far as Java, but studied in Sumatra at the feet of a Buddhist sage in the capital of the kingdom of Survarnavdipa, most likely today's city of Palembang. Sumatra is another large island in what is now the Indonesian archipelago, but that is culturally and linguistically rather distinct from Java. Recent scholarship, however, tends to accept that the kingdom where Atisha lived during his sojourn in Indonesia was in the region of Kalasa, an ancient capital of Survarnavdipa, which itself may have comprised all of Sumatra, parts of Java, and parts of other islands in the archipelago. There is a temple called Candi Kalasa in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, and an inscription linking it to the worship of the Goddess Tara. This—along with other textual and archaeological evidence—tends to support a Javanese locus for Atisha's instruction and initiation.²

This may seem like nit-picking, but since no Indonesian would mistake a Javanese for a Sumatran, it is worthwhile to point this out. Thurman makes that statement concerning Atisha's stay in Java several times in his excellent introduction to Tibetan Buddhism.³ Moreover, while he rightfully mentions Atisha's crucial role in the renaissance of Tibetan Buddhism in the 11th century CE, he does not go into any detail about Atisha's Indonesian master nor, indeed, does Thurman assign any

2 Roy E. Jordaan, "Tara and Nyai Lara Kidul: images of the divine feminine in Java," *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2, October 1997, pp. 285–312.

3 Robert Thurman, *Essential Tibetan Buddhism* (New York: Castle Books, 1995), p. 3, 11. For a more in-depth treatment of this critical subject, see John R. Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra" in *The Wheel of Time: the Kalachakra in Context*, Geshe Lhundub Sopa, Roger Jackson, and John Newman, with a Foreword by HH The Dalai Lama (Madison, WI: Deer Park Books, 1985), pp. 51–90. Here Newman makes the case that Atisha's teacher was the same man as Naropa's teacher, Kalachakrapada the Elder, and that he lived in Java in the 11th century CE. The implication is that the Kalachakra initiations originated—at least in the relatively modern era—in Java.

most exhaustive commentaries to Atisha's text. An indication of the great value attached to Atisha's *Lamp for the Path* and the integrated approach it presents can be gleaned from its reception in India. When the Tibetan first invited Atisha to visit Tibet, his abbot at Vikramashila monastery was extremely reluctant to let him go. However, after much persuasion he finally agreed on condition that the Tibetans ensured that he returned after a certain time. As it turned out, Atisha was unable to return within the stipulated period, but sent a copy of *Lamp for the Path* in his stead. The Indian scholars at Vikramashila were so impressed with it that they felt they had been compensated, for although they had lost Atisha, if he had not gone to Tibet, he would not have written it.

Another of Atisha's major contributions to Tibetan Buddhism was the mind training tradition. He received this from one of his teachers, Dharmamati, a master from Sumatra. This text refers to him as Serlingpa—man from the Golden Isle or man from Sumatra. Of all his many gurus, Atisha regarded this teacher with especial respect and affection because under his tutelage he learned how to actually bring about the awakening mind, which is the key point of the mind training teachings.

To emphasise the value, they place on these teachings Tibetans commonly recount the great hardship that Atisha underwent to receive them, stressing the thirteen month voyage and the twelve years he spent with his master in Sumatra. And recalling Atisha's esteem for him the Tibetans in turn hold him in great respect.

The mind training teachings are a great vehicle instruction, because they are mostly concerned with developing the awakening mind, the altruistic mind of enlightenment. They are directed primarily towards the practitioner of great capacity. They deal essentially with transforming our mental attitudes. Firstly, they are concerned with transforming our attitudes towards other beings. One of the greatest obstacles to both ordinary happiness and spiritual progress is self-centeredness. While the door to the great vehicle is the aspiration to highest enlightenment based on a deep-seated wish to help others in the best possible way, most of us have just the opposite attitude

which they were prepared to sacrifice everything. This was no dry theology we were studying but a passionate tradition of personal and social transformation.

Just as Geshe Rabten and Geshe Dhargyey sought to keep this tradition alive by communicating it to their young Western followers in India, it is fitting that the teachings of *Advice from a Spiritual Friend* have their origins with an eleventh-century Indian abbot who also walked across the Himalayas to bring those teachings to Tibet. This was Dipamkara Shrijñana, known as Atisha, who was born in Bengal in 982.

Atisha was not unfamiliar with arduous journeys. After many years of study and practice throughout India earlier in his life, he had a vision at Bodh Gaya (the site of the Buddha's awakening) of Dharmamati, a monk who lived on the island of Sumatra, in modern-day Indonesia. From his vision, he learned that Dharmamati was the only teacher who could convey to him the essential Mahayana Buddhist practice of *bodhichitta*, the mind that aspires to awakening for the sake of all living beings. So Atisha traveled for many months by boat to Sumatra and stayed with Dharmamati for twelve years. During this time Atisha received the oral traditions on cultivating bodhichitta. On returning to India, he transmitted these teachings widely, thereby reviving traditions that had been lost in their own homeland.

Atisha's fame eventually spread to Tibet, which at the time was undergoing a major revival of interest in Buddhism. Impressed by the extraordinary devotion of the Tibetan king who invited him, and despite the reluctance of his monastery to let him depart, Atisha left for Tibet in 1037 at the age of fifty-five. He remained there for seventeen years until his death in Nethang, just south of Lhasa, in 1054.

Atisha's mission was instrumental in laying the foundations for Tibetan Buddhism as we know it today. In the early eleventh century, Buddhism in Tibet was fragmented into conflicting groups of practitioners. While some maintained that strict ethical purity and rigorous intellectual training was the way to awakening, others insisted that only through mastery of tantric yoga could such realization be achieved. Atisha sought to reconcile these divisions by emphasizing how all these elements were equally necessary: without moral integrity and keen spiritual intelligence an effective tantric practice was impossible.

Atisha's primary concern was to establish a clear and pragmatic foundation for Buddhist practice in Tibet. Following the example of his

<https://twitter.com/JeffreyKotyk/status/1346883937289687040>

This is how I approach dhāraṇīs in Siddham+kanji 漢字. We must look at the two scripts and Middle Chinese pronunciations, and then turn to the commentary. Siddham image files are fortunately provided by SAT project. I don't know about Siddham and Unicode.

<https://twitter.com/Bakunista/status/1271051962675367936>

<https://twitter.com/bhimpandav/status/1347393840387297282>

Han style Vajrayana Esoteric Tantric Buddhism has a twisted relationship with Ganesha. In Japan Ganesha was originally believed to be a cannibal king who ran out of beef & radishes to eat so he started eating men. The people prayed for Avalokiteshvara to calm him down & still offer radishes & a sweet similar to modak today to satiate him.

Literary Aspects of Japan's Dual-Gaṇeśa Cult 297

lations is the inclusion of a number of "origin myths." These appear to have served two primary purposes. One was to further legitimate the dual Gaṇeśa's place in a Buddhist context. The second was to make more coherent the relationship of the peculiar icon of the dual form to the ritual in which it was used. These origin myths—of wholly unclear provenance—are of sufficient centrality from Heian times on to warrant some considerable attention. Below I translate four of them, beginning with the earliest, which is in point of fact *not* from a *besson* encyclopedia, but is the introductory segment of Śubhakarasiṃha's *Tā Sheng T'ien Huan-hsi shuang-shen Tā-tzu-tsai p'i-na-yeh-chia wang kwei-yi nien-sung kung-yang fa*.

Myth One: Vināyaka and Senayaka²⁹

Jizai-ten is the *deva*-king, Maheśvara Daijizai. Umā is his wife. These two had three thousand children. King Vināyaka was the foremost of the 1,500 on the left. He practiced every sort of evil deed and commanded a host of 107,000 *vināyakas*. Senayaka, a *deva* who held to the good, was first among the children on the right side. He practiced every profitable action and was the leader of a group of 178,000 followers who fostered fortune, skill, and good. This King Senayaka was actually a transformation body of Avalokiteśvara, who, in order to subdue the bad actions of King Vināyaka, took simultaneous birth with Vināyaka so that they would be younger and elder brother, husband and wife. The iconic shape is that of two bodies united in embrace. [Text continues with a description of icon and ritual.]

The most salient feature of this origin story is its clear separation of Śiva and Gaṇeśa/Vināyaka. "Vināyaka" here seems to have only its most basic sense of demon of obstruction. Good intrudes as a separate divinity, Senayaka (probably a reference to Skanda,³⁰ identified here with Avalokiteśvara), whose relationship to Vināyaka is one of subjugation of evil by good. Since the passage is followed by the standard description of the dual-Gaṇeśa icon and ritual, it is clearly intended as an introduction to them, but the fit seems very forced. Indeed, quite possibly the odd conjunction of "elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife" marks the juncture between earlier "Hindu" materials and later concern with a Tantric Buddhist context for the ritual.

Myth Two: The Cannibal King of Marakeira³¹

Marakeira, again, had a king who ate nothing but the flesh of cows and radishes. With time, these gradually became rare throughout the land, so they offered him the flesh of dead people instead and then, when corpses too

became scarce, the bodies of living people. At this point the great ministers and the populace raised four armies to punish the king. But he became the great demon-king, Vināyaka, and with a host of *vināyakas* flew into the air and departed.

After that, the country of the king suffered epidemic illness, and the ministers and the people prayed for aid through the vow of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. Avalokiteśvara took on the form of a female *vināyaka* and enticed the king's evil heart. His heart was thus filled with joy [*kangi*], and the sickness left his land and the people were at peace.

The initial paragraph of this myth seems entirely unconnected with the origin story of Śubhakarasiṃha's *Ta Sheng T'ien Huan-hsi shuang-shen Ta-tzu-tsai p'i-na-yeh chia wang kwei-yi nien-sung kung-yang fa*, save that again Vināyaka/*vināyaka* is a demonic figure (but apparently the living transformation of a human being). The second paragraph, as in Śubhakarasiṃha's piece, identifies the female half of the dual icon with Avalokiteśvara (here specifically the eleven-headed manifestation). It also gives a rationale for the epithet, *Kangi* (Great Bliss), and hints at a motif of conversion through seduction. Mentioned, but not really explained, is the link between Vināyaka and the radish. The interchangeability of the radish with bovine and human flesh probably reflects the Indian sense that the radish, like some other roots, is an impure vegetable, and thus a fit offering for certain marginal deities.

Myth Three: The King's Minister³²

In ancient times there was a high minister at court who came to be on intimate terms with the queen. As soon as he heard of this, the king wanted to kill his minister. He laid out a great feast and, as was his custom, called his many officers in to eat it. The king served only elephant meat. He called the minister into his private quarters to insist that he eat some too.

The queen secretly worried for the man and told him, "Sir, you must go to Mt. Keira. There is a lake of oil there. Enter it and wash your body. Then dig some radishes and eat them. If you do not do this, your life will not last long, because what you have eaten was elephant's flesh. You must quickly take this cure."

The minister listened to her words and immediately went to that mountain, where he cured himself according to her instructions and soon felt bright and well again. But, as his heart was now full of resentment, he made a vow to the spirit of the mountain to become a demon. His head