SHÉPA

The Tibetan Oral Tradition in Choné

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from narrations and documents by members of
the Choné Tibetan Community





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Introduction 至可识与可可可以 导论 Bendi Tso ママママン 完代草 Marnyi Gyatso མང་ནེ་རྱ་མཚོ་་མཚོ་་ 玛尔尼嘉

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Introduction

Shépa (bshad pa), meaning 'explanation' or 'elucidation', is an encyclopedic collection of antiphonal songs practiced by a Tibetan subgroup known as the Choné people (Conepa) residing in Kenlho (Kan lho; Gannan 甘南) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Province in northwest China. It has circulated for centuries in the area straddling Amdo-Kham and Sichuan-Gansu. This book is based on Shépa in oral and textual forms collected from 2015 to 2020 in Choné County (Cone Rdzong; Zhuoni Xian 卓尼县). Most often rendered in lines with seven syllables and performed by ritual specialists and prestigious elders in a question-and-answer format (dri ba dris lan), Shépa details Tibetan cosmology, geography, history, social customs, and cultural-religious objects, among other themes. It encapsulates the evolution of Tibetan civilisation through time and serves as a repository of the cultural, religious, and historical knowledge of the Choné people.

The Choné people are part of the Tibetan ethnic group—one of the fifty-five ethnic minority groups classified by the Chinese government in

the 1950s. With a population of over 7 million, ¹ Tibetans fall under a single large umbrella term: bod rigs in Tibetan, zangzu in Chinese, or Tibetan in English. However, considerable diversity exists within the Tibetan community, based on geographic and ecological location, language, religion, custom, livelihood, and history. This variation is particularly pronounced for Tibetan subgroups distributed along the borderland between cultural Tibet and China proper. Among such subgroups, the Choné people, who number around 30,000, sustain themselves through farming, herding, trading, and occasionally logging. The Choné people are the descendants of several waves of Tibetan migrants who settled along the Luchu River (Klu chu; Taohe 洮河) and its tributaries in the upper Yellow River (Rma chu; Huanghe 黄河) basin, and speak a language that is close to Kham Tibetan. Choné villages are adjacent to those of other peoples, such as the Han, Hui, and Monguor. The history of the Choné people is profoundly shaped by intricate interactions with close neighbors and distant political and religious centers.²

Shépa was probably transplanted by Tibetan migrants or perhaps created by their descendants and today is sung by the Choné people. Yet, when and how the songs that constitute Shépa took their current form is still in question and remains a point of considerable debate. On the one hand, the content and performative styles of Shépa overlap with other forms of Tibetan oral tradition from northern Amdo to the southern Himalaya. On the other hand, a general comparison between Shépa and Tibetan written texts from the tenth century indicates a long-standing and entangled relationship between this oral tradition and Tibetan literature. In this introduction, we offer some reflections on the historical and contemporary context on Shépa, its performance, and the places and cultures that have nourished it, and we recognise the individuals who have transmitted Shépa across the generations.

Land and History

Choné is located in the eastern Tibetan Plateau, where the Dolam Ringmo (Mdo lam ring mo; Qilianshan 祁连山) and the Bayan Har (BAn yan ha ri; Bayankalashan 巴颜喀拉山) mountains stretch southeastward in parallel, intersecting with the northern Minshan 岷山 and the western Qinling 秦岭 mountains. The altitude drops from over 4,000 meters in the northwest to around 2,500 meters in the southeast. The Luchu River

and its tributaries flow over the edge of the Tibetan Plateau, cutting through towering mountains and across rolling hills, then proceeding along flat valleys. Under the influence of the East Asian Monsoon system, the Siberian High, and the low-pressure belt of the Tibetan Plateau, various ecological zones—such as highland steppe, alpine meadow, and temperate valley—occupy the grooves of this highly varied terrain. The average annual sunshine and precipitation create good conditions for temperate and high-altitude herbaceous vegetation and crops. Yet, the climatic system, topographic makeup, and elevational gradients cause occasional blizzards and droughts in the growing season, as well as destructive hail storms and above-median rainfall during the harvest season.

The geographic implications of the toponym 'Choné' have changed over time. Based on our examination of Tibetan and Chinese sources, the earliest appearance of the toponym 'Choné' in historical records dates to the early sixteenth century. At this time, the term referred specifically to the site of Choné Monastery (Co ne dgon chen dga' ldan bshad sgrub gling) and to the Tibetan communities managed by the Choné kings (sa skyong, rgyal po, dpon po) in the Luchu River valley.³ Nonetheless, long before the toponym 'Choné' was tied to the history of the monastery and kings, and even before Tibetan imperial powers exerted control over the Luchu valley, the area was already a military frontier where different political forces sought to extend their reach and solidify their influence. Choné was considered the periphery of multiple civilisations and was occupied by armies of different regimes in China and Inner Asia.

According to Chinese dynastic records, the Luchu valley was inhabited by various Qiang groups during the Han dynasty (202 BC–220 AD). It then became the eastern border of the Tuyuhun 吐谷浑 ('A zha) Kingdom (284–670) founded by a khan of the Xianbei 鲜卑, a nomadic people originating from the Mongolian Plateau. During the Sui dynasty (581–619), the valley was partially managed by Liantao Prefecture 临洮郡 of Liangzhou 梁州. Later, it was administered by Longyou Circuit 陇右道 of the Tang dynasty (618–907). In the mid-seventh century, the Tibetan Empire (618–842) based in Ü-Tsang (Dbus gtsang, central Tibet) conquered the Tuyuhun Kingdom and seized the Luchu valley. Following the demise of the Tibetan Empire, the strategic military outposts along the valley were captured by the Tibetan Tsongkha Kingdom (Tsong kha or Rgyal sras, Gusiluo 唃厮啰, 997–1099), and the

Jurchen Jin (1114–1234) in step with their wars against the Song dynasty (960–1279). After the Mongols triumphed over the Song, the region was separately incorporated into Tuosima 脱思麻 (Domé, Mdo smad) Circuit and Gongchang 巩昌 Prefecture of the Yuan Empire (1271–1368). Local Tibetan leaders were granted official titles and positions such as chiliarch (qianhu 千戶) and centurion (baihu 百戶) by the Yuan court to rule their own subjects.

With the establishment of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), border walls (biangiang 边墙) were gradually constructed across eastern Amdo. Permanent Chinese garrisons (weisuo 卫所) were set up on the east side of the border. Taozhou 洮州/Batsé (Tha'o ju/Sbra mtsher/Ba tse; Lintan 临潭) and Minzhou 岷州/Menju (Men ju; Minxian 岷县), the two garrisons in the Luchu valley, were guarded by several hundred forts manned by Han Chinese and Hui Muslim farmer-soldiers. The Ming court applied the concept of 'loose rein' (jimi 羁縻) to maintain peace with Tibetans on the west side of the border. The Ming court continued the Yuan strategy of conferring both native official (tusi/tuguan 土司/土 官) and monastic official (sengguan 僧官) titles on Tibetan secular and religious authorities to indirectly manage local affairs. Changti (Spyang thI, Xiedi 些地)—the headman of the Chotsang clan (Co tshang/Gro tshang tsho ba; Zhuozangcu 着藏簇) who was posthumously considered to be the first Choné king—was granted the title of chiliarch in 1418. Cooperating with Ming troops to subdue other Tibetan groups who harassed the frontier garrisons and to defend against the Mongols who moved to Amdo and disturbed the Ming western border in the sixteenth century, the Choné kings obtained more distinguished heritable titles from the Chinese court. By the seventeenth century, the Choné kings played an increasingly important role in Amdo politics, especially when they maintained good relations with both the Mongols and the Chinese.8

With the rise of the Choné kings, the toponym 'Choné' came to refer to their realm of control in eastern Amdo. When the Manchus established the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the Ming border was retained as a dividing line between administrations run by regular Chinese bureaucrats (liuguan 流官) appointed by the court, and Tibetan areas ruled by native officials who had been recognised by the emperors. Among many Tibetan native officials, the Choné kings were the most influential rulers in Amdo. They served the Qing in various military campaigns and received prestigious official titles in return.

They controlled the Luchu valley and expanded the kingdom to the Drukchu ('Brug chu; Bailongjiang 白龙江) River valley to the south of Choné. When the kingdom reached its peak in the late eighteenth century, it bordered the areas managed by Labrang Monastery (Dge ldan bshad sgrub dar rgyas bkra shis g.yas su 'khyil ba'i gling), Qinghai Mongols, and the Tibetan authorities of northern Sichuan. The toponym thus covered a region consisting of Choné, Tébo (The bo; Diebu 迭部), and parts of Batsé, Menju, and Drukchu ('Brug chu; Zhouqu 舟曲/Xigu 西固). The Choné kings managed this kingdom throughout the nineteenth century. Their dominance of the region continued up to 1949. Nowadays, 'Choné' refers to a county in southwestern Gansu Province (Fig. 1).

In providing this historical context, our goal is to clarify that the meaning of 'Choné' is never static. The changing implications of the toponym correspond to the transformations of the local political landscape. For the purpose of this book, we understand and use 'Choné' in an ethnocultural sense: Choné is a cultural zone along the Luchu River between Chépashi (Chas pa'i gshis; Chebagou车巴沟) to Tsangpawa (Gtsang pa ba; Zangbawa 藏巴哇), which extends beyond the present administrative boundary of Choné County. Defining Choné in this way is particularly relevant for our understanding of Shépa. The majority of renowned Shépa singers live in Choné County, but the Shépa tradition is also maintained by Tibetans in Batsé and several villages in Tébo, albeit with slight local modifications. Most importantly, by understanding Choné to be a dynamic space which carries a sociocultural meaning that changes over time—rather than as a specific place bounded by current administrative boundaries—we are better positioned to make sense of and appreciate Choné's rich history. This, in turn, is essential for understanding the content, transmission, and performance of Shépa over time—a point to which we will return.

Choné on the Margin of Tibetan Civilisation

Where were the Tibetans of Choné originally from? Who became the Choné people? While these thorny questions are beyond the scope of this introduction, readers are reminded that the Choné people are the descendants of several waves of Tibetan migrants who settled down and likely mingled with some 'Tibetanised' locals in the Luchu valley from the

seventh century onward. With cultural-religious ties connecting them to Ü-Tsang, these migrants brought the evolving Tibetan civilisation to the area where the Choné Kingdom was founded and likely adapted their knowledge, norms, and customs time and again to local circumstances. Such an understanding is crucial for making sense of how Shépa has been crafted by the Choné people into its current encyclopedic form.

The earliest Tibetan migrants were soldiers dispatched from Ü-Tsang to conquer distant lands. They arrived in the Luchu valley in the seventh and eighth centuries. After incorporating the region inhabited by Tuyuhun, Tangut, and Qiang peoples, these soldiers expanded the Tibetan Empire to the Tang western borderland. They fought in the Tang-Tibetan wars, garrisoned the frontier, and might well have lived among subdued groups, albeit with an elevated socio-political status. ¹¹ Following the Tibetan conquest, the Luchu valley was likely a vibrant space for the exchange of religious ideas and practices between Tibetan and other ethnocultural groups. Nonetheless, because of the political-military supremacy of the Tibetan conquers, the elusive Tibetan 'folk religion'—or Sipé Bon (*srid pa'i bon*)—was possibly the dominant religious tradition in the Luchu valley. ¹²

Following the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, many civilian and military officials continued to manage the borderland. They became de facto rulers, organising local Tibetans into federated units and sometimes large confederations under the banner of offshoots of the Tibetan royal lineage during the Era of Fragmentation (sil bu'i dus, ninth—eleventh centuries). The Tsongkha Kingdom was such a confederation established in Amdo.¹³ In its wars against the Xixia 西夏 (Mi nyag, 1038–1227) and the Song, in light of scattered Chinese records, the Tsongkha Kingdom's Lhündrup (Lhan grub, Longbu 陇逋), Penpod (Phan po, Pangbai 庞拜), and Barlung (Bar lung, Baling 巴凌) federations that comprised more than 40,000 Tibetan households often joined the battles, and moved freely between northern Qinghai and southern Gansu, with some units settled in the Luchu valley.14 During this period, in contrast to Ü-Tsang where Buddhism was repressed, Amdo witnessed the steady development of Buddhism as it came to reshape the local religious landscape. 15 The existing 'folk religion' was absorbed and its role in local society was possibly restrained by Buddhist and Yungdrung Bon

(*g.yung drung bon*) practitioners. Nevertheless, folk religious practices still developed alongside these more institutionalised religions.

In the twelfth century, despite the demise of the Tsongkha Kingdom, many Tibetan federations were affiliated to its ruling lineage. Chinese accounts indicate that 11,337 households and tents in Taozhou were part of this post-Tsongkha confederation that paid flexible allegiance to the influential empires of that time.¹⁶ By the thirteenth century, the confederation dissolved and new political powers took its place. According to a catalogue (dkar chag, n.d.) cited in the Oceanic Annals (Mdo smad chos 'byung), Ngédo (Ngas mdo), Gongso (Gong so), Ara (A ra), Luchung (Klu chung), and Zhunba (Gzhung ba)—which were known as the Choné Five Federations (Co ne khag lnga)—patronised Yerwa Monastery (Yer ba dgon bsam 'grub gling) of the Kadam (Bka' gdams) sect in the middle Luchu valley.¹⁷ These federations showed an inclusive attitude toward different religious traditions, placing high value on the healing skills and magical powers of ritual specialists. Both Bon and Buddhist institutions thrived along the Luchu valley. In the upper valley specifically, Luchung was one of the most reputable centers of Bon in Amdo. Local lineages produced many great Bon masters and dominated the area up to the seventeenth century. The Choné Five Federations established several Nyingma assembly halls ('du khang, lha khang) in the middle valley, including one on the site of what would later become Choné Monastery. With the patronage of local Tibetan rulers and the Song government, several large monasteries were also constructed along the lower valley.18 Being an essential part of local and transregional politics, Buddhism had a strong presence in this area, reaching a peak in the Mongol Empire.

With the support of the Yuan emperors, the Sakya sect played a crucial role in reshaping the religious landscape of the Tibetan Plateau since 1264.¹⁹ Given that Drogön Chogyal Phagpa (1235–1280)—the leader of the Sakya sect who served as the imperial preceptor (*ti shri; dishi* 帝师)—often resided in Lintao 临洮 near the end of the Luchu River, his disciples actively built new monasteries and reformed monasteries of other sects along the valley. Consequently, the monasteries of the Choné Five Federations under the Mongol rule followed the Sakya tradition. The renowned Choné Monastery, by then a small Nyingma assembly hall named Dritsang Lhakhang (Dri gtsang lha khang), was

reformed into a Sakya institution by Phagpa's student in 1295. A century later, it became one of the largest monasteries in Amdo, housing more than 3,000 monks. Nonetheless, the Sakya influence began to wane alongside the rapid demise of the Yuan Empire. Bon and other Buddhist sects promptly built and restored monasteries in Amdo, and received the patronage of the Ming emperors at the turn of the fifteenth century, ushering in an era of prosperity for Tibetan Buddhism and Bon religion. Among these traditions, the newly founded Géluk sect played a decisive role in transforming the religious practices along the Luchu valley with political and economic support from the Choné kings.

The Choné king Changti and his brother Ngoti (Sngo thI) were descended from Yéshé Dargyé (Ye shes dar rgyas): a minister appointed by the forty-first Tibetan emperor Tritsuk Détsen (Khri gtsug lde btsan/Khri ral pa can, 802–838) to collect tax in Dzögé (Mdzod dge) in present-day northwestern Sichuan. Yéshé Dargyé was a leader of the Ga (Dga') clan: a royal branch of the Tibetan imperial family that traced its origin to Ga, the son granted by heaven to the first Tibetan ruler Nyatri Tsenpo (Gnya' khri btsan po). Local accounts suggest that Changti and Ngoti migrated from Dzögé to Tébo and eventually arrived in the Luchu valley around the turn of the fifteenth century. Some groups affiliated with them joined the migration that was triggered by inter- and intrafederation feuds in Dzögé. Moving to the vicinity of Taozhou and Minzhou, they conquered some units of the Choné Five Federations, patronised Choné Monastery, and established the dominance of the Chotsang clan. Local descenting the conduction of the Chotsang clan.

Based on Géluk narratives, Changti's grandson Rinchen Lhünpopa (Rin chen lhun po pa, b. 1409)—a disciple of the first Dalai Lama Gedun Drupa (Dge 'dun grub pa, 1391–1474)—converted Choné Monastery to the Geluk order in 1459, making it one of the greatest monastic universities along the eastern Tibetan Plateau.²⁴ However, a closer reading of Tibetan and Chinese sources shows that his reform was strongly resisted by several thousand Sakya monks, leading to the division of Choné Monastery into two parts.²⁵ One side was managed by a Géluk lineage of dharma lords (*chos rje*) instituted by Rinchen Lhünpopa, while the other remained a Sakya institution. It was only in the seventeenth century—when the Khoshut Mongol ruler Güshi Khan 国始汗 (1582–1654) exerted control over the Tibetan Plateau and

supported the Géluk sect—that the dharma lords eventually gained the upper hand in Choné Monastery. Yet, the short-lived Géluk college (*grwa tshang*), set up and restored by several dharma lords to promote systematised monastic education, demonstrated the long-lasting influence of the Sakya tradition. Meanwhile, the continuous influx of Mongols into the Tibetan regions forced a considerable number of Amdo and Kham Tibetans to seek new homes in areas beyond Mongol control. Like other locations in eastern Amdo, Choné became a destination for Tibetan refugees fleeing Mongol conquests.²⁶ Oral histories in Choné indicate that some Tibetans fleeing the Mongols settled along the upper Luchu valley. Unfortunately, there are very few written records concerning this movement of Tibetan populations.

In the 1670s, the Choné kings paid allegiance to the Manchu emperor who patronised the Géluk sect and intended to replace the Khoshut ruler to manage Tibet. They began to fully support Géluk reforms across the kingdom. They enthusiastically sponsored the construction of new temples, halls, and branch or 'son' monasteries (*bu dgon*), turning Choné Monastery into a 'mother monastery' (*ma dgon*): a popular pilgrim site and a leading Géluk university.²⁷ In the process, they launched several wars to convert Bon followers in the Luchu and Drukchu valleys to Buddhism, which in turn enlarged their realm. With the kings establishing the so-called '108 branch institutions' of Choné Monastery,²⁸ the tradition of institutionalised Bon was completely wiped out in Choné. Most Nyingma and Sakya institutions were also converted into Geluk monasteries, leaving only faint traces in the form of monastic architecture, statues, paintings, and dharma dances ('cham') along the Luchu valley.

Moreover, the ruling house invited Venerable Drakpa Shédrup (Rje btsun Grags pa bshad sgrub, 1675–1749), who completed the monastic training in Ü-Tsang, to model the Géluk education system and curricula of Lhasa and establish colleges in Choné. The latter served as the thirty-fourth and forty-first dharma lord of Choné Monastery. He instituted the exoteric college (*mtshan nyid grwa tshang*) at Choné Monastery in 1714 and the esoteric college (*dpal ldan stod rgyud grwa tshang*) in 1729. He also compiled various monastic educational materials to supplement the exoteric and esoteric curricula.²⁹ In the following decades, the college system and curricula were duplicated in monasteries across the

kingdom. At the communal level, the Géluk reform profoundly changed the everyday life of the king's subjects, including the practice of their folk religions and the Shépa tradition. According to the oral account of Choné Monastery, thorough collations and revisions of Shépa were undertaken by Drakpa Shédrup and later monastic scholars from the eighteenth century onward.³⁰

From the mid-nineteenth century, the Luchu valley suffered several regional wars. The Choné people were at that point the largest Tibetan group ruled by the Choné kings. Time and again, they were either conscripted into the king's militia to suppress insurgents for the Qing and the Republic of China (1912–1949) or slaughtered by insurgents. Throughout this period, the Choné people suffered serious depopulation. Most Tibetan villages on the northern bank of the Luchu River were destroyed in warfare. To collect tax and recruit militiamen, the kings leased destroyed, bankrupted or empty households to Chinese migrants who had narrowly escaped with their lives from social unrest and natural catastrophes in neighbouring areas. This resulted in a steady inflow of Chinese migrants into Choné.³¹ By 1949, the Choné people had already become a minority within an ever-growing Chinese population.³²

Society

Presently, from an administrative perspective, the Choné people live in over 200 villages in Choné and Batsé counties. Various ethnonyms have been used to refer to them, based on their location, mode of production, and cultural characteristics such as hair dress and costume. In general, neighboring Tibetan nomads ('brog pa) refer to the Choné people as 'farmers' (rong pa), 'riverside people' (chu kha rgyud), or 'the ones wearing coral headdresses' (byu ru spos dmar gyi zhwa can// mgo byu can ma). Sometimes, due to their 'hybrid' cultural practices, nomads might use a derogatory ethnonym such as 'neither Tibetan nor Chinese' (rgya ma bod) or 'neither sheep nor goat' (ra ma lug) to refer to the Choné people. In a similar vein, their immediate Chinese and Hui Muslim neighbors refer to this community as 'half barbarians' (ban fanzi 半番子) or simply 'western barbarians' (xifan 西番): an archaic term chosen by Chinese historians to refer to Tibetans since the Tang dynasty. In recent decades, two ethnonyms have gained increasing popularity: Choné

Tibetans (*jiaonai zangzu* 觉乃藏族), a local government-sanctioned ethnonym in 2001 due to their distinctive cultural practices, and the 'one(s) with three braids' (*sangemao* 三格毛), since Choné women comb their hair into three long braids. According to locals, this style follows the hairstyle of *lha*, the heaven deity. Some community members also suggest that their ethnonym *sangemao* is in fact how the Tibetan term *songtsenmak* (*srong btsan dmag*)—meaning the army of the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po, d. 650)—renders in Chinese. The Choné people normally divide themselves into highland farmers (*stod pa rong pa*) and riverside farmers (*chu ka sde ba*), depending on their proximity to the Luchu River—a geographic barrier which strongly influences their historical exposure to Chinese language and culture and impacts the preservation of their Shépa performance to this day.³³

Historically, and in keeping with other Amdo Tibetans, tsowa (tsho ba)—meaning 'division' or 'group'—was the basic social-politicalterritorial organisation of the Choné people. This organisation appears as *cu* 簇 and *zu* 族 (cluster/clan) in Chinese records before the fourteenth century. The bases of a tsowa, which consisted of between several to around thirty households, were patrilineal descent groups. These households considered themselves to be descended from one or several legendary ancestors serving in the Tibetan imperial army. Hence, the agnatic sibling relationship among householders of a tsowa played a crucial role in forming the sub-tsho ba organisation—shanyé (sha nye) in Tibetan and *qinfang* 亲房 in Chinese. Depending on the size of the *tsowa*, the number of households that constituted a shanyé varied, ranging from a few to more than a dozen. Members of a *shanyé* shared the same bone (rus pa), bore the same lineage name (rus ming), had the same protector deity (rigs kyi lha), and worshipped the same mountain god (yul lha). In this sense, shanyé are very similar to branches of a clan.³⁴

Since the 1930s, the term village (*sde ba*; *cun* 村) has been widely used by locals and the Chinese government to refer to the basic social-administrative unit in the Luchu valley, and the term *tsowa* has been gradually replaced by 'village'. However, the Choné people still regard consanguineal kinship as the cardinal organisational axis for forming exclusive groups. The *shanyé* relation has been retained, albeit with certain changes responding to local social changes. Generally speaking, there are two kinds of *shanyé*: *shanyé* of blood (*mi sha nye*) and *shanyé* of

land (sa sha nye). Shanyé of land is a byproduct of the process by which the Choné ruling house reformed the land system in response to Tibetan depopulation, by enlisting Chinese migrants to maintain its militia and revenue. 35 *Shanyé* of land has weakened the intimate relationships within tsowa, which used to consist only of shanyé of blood. In some cases, the Choné people would further differentiate root shanyé (sha nye rtsa) from regular shanyé. As the term suggests, root shanyé is more closely bound, with its members assuming more responsibilities to one another. Having lived on the Sino-Tibetan borderland for centuries, almost all Choné people have Chinese surnames. A surname also serves as a marker to distinguish whether one belongs to the same *shanyé* in any given village. It is worth noting that a shanyé might include households with different surnames, and that households bearing the same surname within a village do not necessarily belong to a same shanyé. For the Choné people, shanyé has served as the most important social organisational axis to form intimate circles of support for one another in service of agricultural production, ceremonies, and moments of crisis.

Religious Practices

Despite its location on the very edge of Tibetan civilisation, the Luchu valley has been under the continuous cultural and religious influence of Ü-Tsang. As outlined above, multiple waves of Tibetan immigration and religious reforms have made the Luchu valley a kaleidoscopic prism for understanding religious and cultural practices in this area in particular, and across the Tibetan Plateau in general. In common with other areas in the Sino-Tibetan borderland and southern Himalaya, the marginal location of the Luchu valley has provided a shelter for traditions that were lost in the religious and cultural center to survive on in the periphery. The lives of the Choné people have been infused by many such traditions. In Choné, both non-Buddhist and Buddhist experts are considered religious practitioners and employed as ritual specialists, depending on the pragmatic needs of the locals.

Almost every Choné village had an *anyé bonpo* (*a myes bon po*) household belonging to a lay Bon priest or an *anyé gompa* (*a myes sgom pa*) household of a lay Nyingma practitioner, who would be in charge of performing rituals for individuals and community before the 1950s.

Nowadays, ever fewer villages have these priests. Both *anyé bonpo* and *anyé gompa* provide villagers with various ritual services, such as making offerings to the mountain deity, pleasing the household deity, exorcising evil spirits, curing disease, and so forth. Their knowledge, texts, and ritual objects, which are integral to their household, are transmitted to their male heirs who then assume the identity of priests.

Anyé bonpo is particularly important to the Choné people. Because the Bon priest is considered the protector of the household (Bdag rgyud du skyes pa'i bon po yis/ rigs su che ba'i lha bdar nas/ khungs su btsan pa'i smrangs gyer ro//), his ritual expertise is often associated with anyé zhidak (a myes gzhi bdag): a built-in wooden cabinet designed for storing arrows (mda') that represent lineage, fortune, and fertility, located beside the main pillar in the living room of a Choné Tibetan house (Fig. 2). Leu (le'u/lhe'u), who appear in Shépa, are a type of anyé bonpo. In Choné, Leu are crucial figures who conduct the protection ritual (srung) during the marriage ceremony. Over the past decades, ever fewer households of anyé bonpo have been in a position to transmit their heritage and duties to the next generation. Based on our current research, there remain only a handful of anyé bonpo, and no leu, in Choné.

Like anyé bonpo, anyé gompa train their sons to become qualified practitioners to perform rituals for villagers. Normally, anyé gompa are affiliated with a local Nyingma temple. At least once and up to several times a year, they gather from different villages at the temple to recite texts and practice ritual techniques together. Seen in this light, the tradition of anyé gompa has been better preserved in Choné than that of anyé bonpo. When a village does not have an anyé bonpo, an anyé gompa takes over his role. In particular, this may occur on a wedding day. For the duration of the wedding ceremony, the anyé gompa is addressed as anyé leu (a myes le'u/lhe'u). He sits next to the anyé zhidak and performs the protection ritual.

These days, almost all of the critical moments in the lives of Choné people now involve Geluk monks and lamas, from naming newborn children to blessing newlyweds to performing funeral rituals. Since the eighteenth century, the majority of Choné people have become Geluk followers. Major festivals, fairs, and pilgrimage dates in the local calendar are arranged according to the religious schedule of Choné Monastery and its branches.³⁶ In recent years, with village ritual specialists ageing

and passing away, villagers offer their non-Buddhist ritual texts to Geluk monks and ask them to perform rituals that were once conducted solely by *anyé bonpo* and *anyé gompa*. Monks usually conduct these rituals with some Buddhist modifications.

Local Understandings and Performances of Shépa What is Shépa?

In general terms, Shépa is an expansive collection of Tibetan cultural knowledge composed in oral poetic form. Its kaleidoscopic themes and performative styles overlap with other Tibetan oral traditions, resulting in varying definitions of Shépa in both academic and public discourse. Scholars studying oral performance in Amdo generally understand Shépa to be 'poetic recitals'37 or 'speeches'38. Recent studies of Shépa in other parts of Amdo offer a broader understanding and consider it 'oral literature' (ngag thog rtsom rig)³⁹ or 'oral tradition' (ngag rgyun)⁴⁰, mostly involving ceremonial speech (ston bshad/gtam) and comprehensive explanations of culturally important items such as barley (nas bshad), bowls (dkar yol gyi bshad pa), and weapons (mda' bshad and gri bshad), to name but a few. According to these studies, Shépa is composed in verse (tshigs bcad), prose (tshigs lhug), or a combination of both. In such a reading, Shépa can be performed and transmitted in various formats, including as explanation ('chad), recitation (gyer), or as song (len).41 In some cases, this more expansive understanding of Shépa has also included performances by women, such as 'The Tears of the Bride' (bag ma'i mig chu mu tig phreng ba).42

Within Choné, performers and cultural activists have developed different understandings of Shépa and its constituent elements. Firstly, besides 'Shépa', some community members use the term sipa (srid pa)—meaning 'the world' or 'the origin'—to refer to this form of oral tradition. This usage could be related to the Tibetan folk habit of referring to songs as sipé lu (srid pa'i glu) or sipa chaklu (srid pa chags glu). It might be also related to the ritual recitation of sipé toyik (srid pa'i tho yig)—translated as 'the catalogue of the world'—by the ritual specialist leu in Tibetan communities. Given that the content of present-day Shépa has already diverged significantly from early Bon ritual recitations, and that the term 'Shépa' is more widely acknowledged in public discourse, we use the

term 'Shépa' in this publication. At the same time, we wish readers to be aware of this other term by which some members of our community refer to this oral tradition.

Secondly, there exist disputes and disagreements as to what constitutes Shépa. One point of view supports a clear demarcation between Shépa-which is performed antiphonally in question-andanswer style with relatively fixed verses and content—and other forms of oral tradition, such as ceremonial speeches: whose lyrics are subject to change depending on context and which can be performed by one person alone. In Shépa, a common unit of expression is a line with seven syllables. Only a few lines of Shépa are documented that have syllable units of eight or nine. Based on this understanding, 'Chémar' (phye mar, Barley-Butter Offering), 'Da' (mda', Arrow), 'Khyung' (khyung, Garuda), 'Rübel' (rus sbal, Cosmic Tortoise), 'Jikten Chakluk' ('jig rten chags lugs, World), and 'Lönpo Garchen' (blon po mgar chen, Minister Gar Tongtsen) are widely recognised by the Choné people as constituting Shépa. As the longest section of Shépa, 'Jikten Chakluk' consists of the themes 'Jikpa' ('jig pa, Destruction), 'Chakpa' (chags pa, Formation), 'Nyi Da Kar Sum' (nyi zla skar gsum, The Sun, the Moon and Stars), and 'Nangchü Semchen' (nang beud sems can, Sentient Beings). In the current publication, we also include 'Tsalu' (tsha glu, Song of Wife Taker/Nephew) and 'Zhanglu' (zhang glu, Song of Wife Giver/Maternal Uncle) in our Shépa collection, as these are often sung together with 'Lönpo Garchen' at weddings—occasions at which Shépa performance forms a significant part of the ceremony.

A more inclusive understanding of this oral tradition would suggest that all oral traditions practiced in Choné might be regarded as Shépa. Accordingly, Shépa may be understood as an umbrella category including all local oral performances that have survived to the present. If we adopt this broader definition, Shépa has over thirty sections that range from the highly religious—such as 'Jikten Chakluk'—to the extremely secular, such as 'Chulu' (*chu glu*, Song of Water), 'Jalu' (*ja glu*, Song of Tea), and other themes that are performed in a diverse range of styles. These debates over the composition and meaning of Shépa speak to subtle yet important differences of opinion about Tibetan oral traditions in the minds of the Choné people, and serve to encourage

a sustained engagement with questions about the position of Shépa relative to other Tibetan oral traditions.

Conventional Performance

Shépa performance is monopolised by senior men who carry cultural and religious authority and enjoy social prestige. The number of singers, spatial arrangement, content selection, and length are subject to change based on the core setting of the performance. Although Shépa can be sung as a solo by a singer who poses and then answers questions by himself, the most common performative format is by choir on ceremonial occasions. In choir performances, either a lead performer sings with a stronger and higher voice—while other singers offer vocal accompaniments in the form of asking and answering questions together—or two groups (A and B) of performers engage with one another, singing antiphonally.

In a Shépa performance, each stanza, consisting of varied number of lines, starts or closes with a stock expression, such as 'Please sing the song slowly, there is no hurry' (*glu dal bur shog dang brel ba med*/), or 'This is the response to the song' (glu de yi lan la de 'dra yin/)—to remind the other performers and listeners that this section of the narration is now complete. During ceremonies, singers only perform the stanzas that are related to specific themes and do not perform each section of Shépa in its entirety. If time permits, singers may engage in song battles and hop from one section to another, freely and confidently, until their opponents are defeated. Normally, group A challenges group B with a stanza of question(s) that requires the latter to choose a stanza of answer(s) precisely and to deliver their response astutely. With B having answered the question(s), A proceeds to pose a follow-up question, or B may ask a question that requires an answer from A. The format resembles a debate through the medium of song. For example, A might ask a question from 'Khyung':

In the sky, the forefather descended.

Who was the being that held up the sky?

On the earth, the foremother descended.

Who was the being that pressed down the earth?

B would first answer the question from 'Khyung':

Speaking of the being who held up the sky,
It was the great Khyung who lifted up the sky.
The great Khyung, the being who lifted up the sky,
The sky was uplifted effortlessly.
Speaking of the being who weighed down the earth,
It was Rübel who pressed down the earth.
Rübel, the being who pressed down the earth.
The earth was depressed gently.

Given that the theme of Rübel is mentioned, B might then jump to ask a question from 'Rübel':

The great golden Rübel,
When it had come to the surface of the sea,
Did it breathe or not breathe?
Did it have hair or not have hair?
Did it face towards the sky or to the earth?
Did it stretch out or retract itself?

If A cannot answer, he is considered defeated. Since one of the central aims of a Shépa singer is to defeat their singing opponent(s), singers will memorise as many stanzas as they can and in the process, develop their own repertoire. A good combination of singing ability, voice, rich repertoire, memory, and quick reactions are the essential characteristics of a strong Shépa performer. Depending on the location and occasion, as well as on a given singer's repertoire, each performance of Shépa is dynamic, different, and full of possibilities. In broad strokes, the Shépa performance reinscribes social and cultural norms and conveys religious and historical knowledge, while at the same time educating and amusing the audience. The performance is the highlight of community gatherings.

The antiphonal style of performance is often observed during the sections of the wedding ceremony that take place in the groom's house. In the main living room, three clusters of seats (*gral*) are arranged: upper seats (*yar gral*) are reserved for monks, *anyé leu*, and elders;

middle seats (*bar gral*) for maternal uncles and the matchmaker; and the lower seats (*mar gral*) are where male villagers may sit. The upper seats are set on the *tsatap* while the middle and lower seats are set out on the wooden floor, facing each other. The latter two groups are encouraged to engage in song battles with each other and answer the questions that are posed by the people seated in the upper seats. However, it would be inappropriate for those seated in the lower area to pose questions to people in the upper seats. Given that local marriage customs are a useful lens to observe how cultural objects, ritual specialists, and social norms mentioned in Shépa play a role in the lives of the Choné people, we devote a section to discussing this important topic.

Shépa is also sung at great length by a choir over the course of one or more days around new year in Choné. Male members of a village sing together or take turns to finish certain parts of Shépa that are selected for the specific occasion and the theme of the new year celebration. Taking the village ceremony of 'horse racing and arrow shooting' (rta rgyugs mda' 'phen dus chen') during the new year as an example, the performance takes place at three consecutive sites. The first site is near a major village stupa (*mchod rten*) close to the field used for racing horses and shooting arrows. Stanzas from 'Da' are sung on this occasion. The second site is the house of the village head or the elected leader who assumes responsibility for the communal service (sngo ra ba). In the living room, the upper seats are reserved for elders, and the rest are occupied by male members of the village, according to age and social status. These men take turns singing parts of 'Chémar' and 'Da'. The third site is usually an open space in front of the village temple (ma Ni lha khang) dedicated to the mountain deity. The seating order follows the same pattern (Fig. 3). Here, 'Da' and village histories are customarily performed by male villagers.

Traditionally at least, when an individual wished to learn Shépa, he would bring gifts, visit different villages of renowned singers, and learn their signature stanzas in a formal way. He would also meet masters at social gatherings and learn discretely from them, or perhaps simply sit in the village plaza and initiate a discussion in order to develop his repertoire. Various memory-aids have been used by singers to facilitate their learning, which include but are not limited to texts in written Tibetan and vernacular renderings in Chinese, as well as audio and

video recordings. Most performers with whom we have worked are happy to acknowledge from whom, as well as when, where, and how, they learned certain stanzas. Such a learning process demonstrates the effort needed to master this tradition. Shépa performers are usually very generous in sharing their knowledge and skills with the next generation, including us, without any reservation. In recent years, 'traditional' ways to learn and perform Shépa have undergone rapid transformation in the Choné Tibetan community. The transmission of Shépa is increasingly privatised and its performance is becoming standardised in response to the inscription of this oral tradition into the Kenlho Prefectural-level register of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH, feiwuzhi wenhua yichan 非物质文化遗产; mngon min shul bzhag rig gnas), in 2016.⁴³ The performative setting and standards for what constitutes a 'good' performer are fast changing, and this process has also been accompanied by a reconceptualisation of what Shépa was, is, and will be.

Shépa Performance within the Context of Intangible Cultural Heritage

With Shépa inscribed as ICH at the Kenlho Prefectural level, the county government implemented a series of policies to motivate various stakeholders to safeguard the oral tradition, involving Shépa performers and cultural activists. ⁴⁴ The policies include the selection and recognition of Shépa culture bearers (*chuancheng ren* 传承人), the ongoing collection of Shépa texts, the founding of a Shépa troupe, and the promotion of staged performances of Shépa both within Choné County and beyond. In addition to bringing public attention to Shépa performances and raising people's awareness about the value of this cultural heritage, these policies have resulted in a new style of Shépa performance on stage.

The form of stage performance depends on place, scenic design, and audience. For instance, in Choné, the scene of the traditional living room—particularly the *tsatap*—is replicated on stage to retain the essence of a conventional performance. Shépa singers sit around a tea table (*cog tse*) holding a *chémar* and an arrow on the *tsatap*, and perform popular stanzas. Additionally, with the support of choreographers from the Choné Sing and Dance Troupe, a stage performance which combines Shépa and Agya (*a rgya*)—a singing dance performed by two pairs of women in Choné—has been designed to attract audiences both in

and outside Choné. Wearing fine attire, young and middle-aged men and women sing Shépa stanzas and Agya lyrics as well as new content composed to describe recent changes in Choné, delivering a dazzling performance (Fig. 4). With video recordings of stage performances circulating on online platforms, these new performative genres have received wide attention from Shépa experts, enthusiasts, and regular audience members.

At the same time, the inherent complexity of ICH management has generated new issues in Choné. On the one hand, through uplifting this oral tradition, Shépa has become a symbolic marker with which Choné people showcase their culture and identify themselves. As a result, Shépa has come to be understood as an objectified resource; local companies carry the names 'Shépa' and 'Agya' to promote their cultural products and services. On the other hand, only a limited number of singers were chosen to serve as cultural bearers and only a few enjoy this newly formed social status and the stipends provided by the government. Consequently, competition has emerged, leading to divisions between singers, villagers, and cultural groups. Shépa is now considered to be something that can be owned by individuals, villages, or cultural groups. The idea of Shépa as the collective and lived experience of the Choné people that goes beyond a single generation is gradually fading.

Akin to other oral traditions that are registered in ICH lists across the world—such as the Mongolian epic, *Tuuli*, and the Gesar Epic in the Tibetan context⁴⁵—the safeguarding of Shépa faces both epistemological and methodological challenges. A central concern of all such undertakings is reconciling the fluid and mutable nature of oral tradition with practices that prioritise the fixing, textualising, and finalising ICH for safeguarding purposes.⁴⁶ It is important to acknowledge and protect the multiplicity and variation of an oral tradition in its differing versions, performances, and interpretations. Oral traditions like Shépa are subject to ongoing changes, finding themselves in a constant state of addition and subtraction; as new elements are introduced, old elements reinterpreted, and as the tradition as a whole expands it is revised in ways that we address in this book.

As we have noted, each Shépa performance is tailored anew for each audience in each specific context, and audience members themselves also mediate the form and content of Shépa performance based on their

own cultural backgrounds and agendas. This inevitably culminates in different understandings of what Shépa is and how it works, accentuated further when oral traditions like Shépa are supported by the fast-growing development of materials and technologies—whether these be digital, textual or multimedia; resulting in both greater dissemination and, at the same time, ever greater fracturing. Newer digital technologies,47 which have supported online learning sessions and an emerging collection of audio and video clips shared through social media, are impacting how Shépa is understood and consumed. In our work, we acknowledge the diverse forms that Shépa now takes and highlight the various contributions made by performers and cultural activists in preserving Shépa. In so doing, we draw the reader's attention to the inescapable reality that no two Shépa performances will ever be identical and that any textual or digital source—including this book must be understood as a partial snapshot of this extraordinary tradition at a specific moment, and should not be taken as an authoritative, comprehensive, or immutable account.48

We believe that the vitality of this oral tradition lies in its variation and constant development, entailing collaboration, discussion, and sharing among community members. In underlining the multiplicity and variability of Shépa, we believe that the preservation of oral traditions should focus more on negotiating historical and cultural meanings, maintaining a sense of collective belonging, and also ensuring futureoriented vitality as the community faces dramatic cultural change and new social-economic challenges. The value of Shépa therefore exists not only in official and hierarchical lists developed by government bodies, nor is it exclusive to extravagant performances staged in mainland cities. Rather, Shépa occupies a particular site of emotional and cultural attachment for the Choné people. The social and cultural meanings of Shépa are situated in the everyday lives of local people, and are transmitted through their lived and embodied experiences. Our project is but a starting point—perhaps more of a midway point, given how much earlier work has already been undertaken—in service of the preservation of Shépa in Choné. We appreciate the many varied opinions that individuals hold over the interpretation of Shépa, both its specific elements and its abstract meanings. We also hope that all those invested in Shépa will consider how multiplicity and variability,

rather than standardisation, can assist in the sustainability and vitality of Shépa, in the long run.

Marriage in Choné: A Synthesis of Shépa Performance and Tibetan Customs

Marriage customs regarding dowry, bride price, and wedding venue have changed significantly over recent decades in Choné. Nevertheless, two aspects of the custom remain largely unchanged. First, both in arranged marriages and in those freely undertaken (sometimes referred to as 'love marriages'), the matchmaker (bar pa) is indispensable. The matchmaker is usually of the same generation as the parents of the groom and bride-to-be, and is often addressed as 'maternal uncle matchmaker' (zhang po bar pa) or 'uncle-in-law matchmaker' (tsha bo bar pa), depending on his relationship to the family in question. The matchmaker is expected to know both families well and to shoulder many responsibilities, particularly investigating whether the bone—which is used interchangeably with lineage (rus rgyud/rgyud pa)—of the groom/bride-to-be's family is clean. This brings us to the second element of the marriage custom that remains unchanged: the importance of the cleanness (gtsang) of the bone. Unclean bone is often manifested through leprosy or having very apparently undesirable symptoms such as the loss of eyebrows or having strong body odour. It is said that if one inherits body odour from one's mother, such an odour comes from flesh and only lasts for two generations. However, if one inherits body odour from one's father, the odour manifests through the bone and never vanishes. In arranged marriages, individuals work hard to select an ideal candidate. In marriages that are freely undertaken, the respective families as well as the matchmaker investigate all issues related to bone. In general, people avoid marrying into a family whose bone is unclean.

Notwithstanding variations in detail from village to village, the marriage process starts with the family of the groom-to-be making a formal if largely symbolic 'inquiry' (*kha btags 'debs*) to the family of the bride-to-be. The matchmaker and two male root *shanyé* of the groom-to-be bring a *khata* (scarf of blessings), wine, and bread to the family of the bride-to-be, asking her parents if they are willing to marry their

daughter to their kinsman. If the khata is accepted, it means that the answer is positive. This step is followed by two iterations of a 'wine giving ceremony' (rgyus chang), normally held in February and again in August or September. These ceremonies aim to deepen the bond between the two families. The last step before the wedding is the 'great wine giving ceremony' (chang che). The groom-to-be's father, matchmaker, and two root shanyé come to the bride-to-be's family, where they finalise details such as the bride price, the clothes and jewels for the bride, the number of maternal uncles (zhang po) that will escort the bride, the amount of money offered to each maternal uncle on the wedding day, and so forth. In some cases, the matchmaker visits the bride-to-be's family one more time before the wedding day to update on progress and inform the family of any salient changes. Such changes might include amendments to the bride price or a status report if any items that have been requested are still unavailable despite efforts made by the family of the groomto-be to procure them.

The wedding day is usually during the winter 'slack' season and before the lunar new year. On that day, the groom (mag pa), matchmaker, best man (mag rogs), and assistant (zur las) come to the bride's village early in the morning. The best man should be a married man with a good reputation. He is expected to be good at singing Shépa to help the groom overcome all the challenges set by the bride's side, and most importantly, to request the arrow from the groom's in-laws. The assistant is tasked with carrying the gifts for the bride and her family. On arriving in the bride's village, members of the groom's side are faced with challenges that have been deliberately created in order to make the process of bride-taking playful. Three wooden posts are erected by boys, girls, and grandmothers at the entrance and middle of the village, as well as by the bride's house gate. 'Tsalu', and sometimes 'Chulu'—most often sung by grandmothers—are performed to pose questions to the groom's side at these locations. If the groom's side cannot provide satisfactory gifts and appropriate answers, water is tossed on the groomsmen by members of the bride's entourage. It is the responsibility of the assistant to stop the water from landing on the groom and his best man, as they are supposed to remain tidy and well-groomed throughout the day. With these challenges overcome and the temporary posts removed, the groom and his companions may enter the house. On entering, they are

teased and asked for gifts by the bride's sisters, girlfriends, and female cousins who block the bride's bedroom door until eventually the door is opened.

Once the groom meets the bride, he goes to the main living room where he pays respects to the monks, ritual specialists, and elders sitting on the tsatap. The groom shall not sit, eat, and talk during the whole sojourn at his in-laws' house. Before the groom returns home with his bride, one of the most important rituals in the wedding takes place: requesting the arrow from the in-laws. The arrow symbolises fertility⁴⁹, and is often stored in anyé zhidak. As elaborated on in the introduction to 'Da', there are three types of arrows. The first is the tsen arrow (btsan mda'), representing the spirits of deceased ancestors through a household's male line. The second is the yang arrow (g.yang mda'), representing the auspicious element that secures the family's fortune and prosperity. The third is known as the shooting arrow ('phen mda'), most often used during the new year archery contest. When the shooting arrow is wrapped with a five-coloured silk ribbon, it becomes the arrow gifted by the bride's parents to the groom on the wedding day. Usually, the father of the bride takes the arrow from the anyé zhidak and gives it to the most senior elder on the *tsatap*. At this point, Shépa is performed. The elders pose questions by singing stanzas of 'Da'. The best man, on behalf of the groom, answers the questions and eventually obtains the arrow. While this arrow is gifted to the groom, an elder offers the arrow saying: 'this is not an arrow itself but a son (*mda' gcig ma red bu gcig red*)'. Some individuals choose to make this even more auspicious by adding that the arrows represent three sons:

The eldest son would ascend to the Golden Throne of Ganden Monastery. The middle son would take the seat of the Chinese king.

The youngest son would stay at home and take care of the family.⁵⁰

Once the arrow is given to the groom, he returns home as fast as possible with his best man. They then stand on the roof of the groom's gate, waiting for the bride to arrive. In the meantime, the bride leaves her natal family. A senior paternal male member of her family performs the ritual to call for fortune (g.yang 'gugs). Holding the auspicious yang arrow, he proclaims: 'May the fortune come! May the fortune come! (g.yang shog, g.yang shog)'. He then recites a long verse to call forth fortune from every

place. Hearing this, the bride leaves her bedroom and enters the main living room where red felt is placed on top of a table in front of the *anyé zhidak*, to let her bid farewell to the household deities. Accompanied by two bridesmaids (*bag rogs*), each of whom ideally has given birth to both a boy and a girl and whose parents and in-laws are living, the bride circumambulates the table thrice clockwise. Normally, one bridesmaid will be her sister-in-law while the other is a *shanyé* from her natal family. The bride and her sisters and aunts sing the wedding lament (*bag ngu*) all the way from the bride's bedroom through the main living room, the courtyard, out the front gate, and finally to the horse or car that is waiting to carry her away. Upon leaving her village, the bride prostrates three times to the mountain deity. It marks her official farewell to the natal home, the place she was born and raised.

The bride is then escorted by a group of maternal uncles. As a local saying suggests, 'a maternal uncle [is] for nine generations' (zhang mi rabs dgu'i zhang po). In the past, many generations of maternal uncles would be traced and invited to escort the bride, with the maternal uncles of the bride's parents being the most important members of the escorting team. Nowadays, the bride's maternal uncle is the most important. The bride's brother is of secondary importance, then followed in ranked order by male relatives from her shanyé and her uncles-in-law and brothers-in-law. This hierarchy is reflected in the seating arrangement in the groom's house and the varied amounts of money that the bride's in-laws offer them. In other words, the seat of honour and the highest amount of money are reserved for the bride's maternal uncle. Her unclein-law and brother-in-law are less-than-ideal candidates, unless there is a shortage of male hands. These days, the escorting team has become more inclusive and diverse, including the bride's female siblings, cousins, and sometimes aunts.

When the bride and her escorts arrive in the groom's village, they stop at the village stupa. The bride then circumambulates the stupa three times. Encircled by maternal uncles, she slowly walks to the groom's house. Meanwhile, since local Tibetans believe that the bride would be followed by vicious spirits or wild ghosts on the way, anyé leu is invited to perform the purification ritual at the gate of the groom's house. With the bride arriving, the groom's mother and paternal uncle's wife bring a sacrificial cake (gtor ma) to the gate. Then, they pour vinegar

onto burnt hot pebbles (rdo bsregs) while encircling the bride (who is surrounded by escorts) in both clockwise and anticlockwise directions respectively, in order to purify her. Afterwards, the escorts are invited to sit in the main living room. The bride and two bridesmaids are seated on the tsatap in the second living room. The bride is sat under a pair of hanging boots (*lham*) that she herself has made. The boots will not be taken down and given back to her until her first child is born. In the main living room, the escorting team is welcomed with a feast. Shépa is also performed. 'Zhanglu', praising maternal uncles, is sung during the feast. It is worth noting that 'Chémar' (the head of all songs) and 'Lönpo Garchen' (which highlights the challenging aspects of taking a bride) are performed throughout the whole wedding ceremony from time to time, as appropriate. Given that almost every step of the wedding ceremony must follow an exact timing as reckoned by a monk who has been consulted months ahead of the wedding, Shépa performances usually last only several minutes, the longer performance having occurred the night before the wedding day. As time permits, singers who are villagers or relatives of the host often engage in song battles.

When the feast is nearing its conclusion, the groom and bride enter the main living room where the *anyé leu* performs the protection ritual for them. After he smears butter on the foreheads of the newlyweds, the escorts bring the bride back to her natal family. A few days later, the bride and her father come to the groom's house. Her father stays overnight and informs the in-laws of the list of bride's relatives who must be visited by the newlyweds in the new year. This marks the end of the wedding process. In the new year that follows, the groom will receive the second arrow from his in-laws during his visit. Following the birth of his first child, the groom will receive a third arrow, which in most cases is the last arrow from his in-laws, after which he once again expresses his gratefulness to the anyé zhidak in his in-law's household. In some rare cases, some infertile couples may receive an arrow on each new year visit until a child is born. The arrow is not only a prominent section of Shépa, but also a cultural object that is indispensable to the lives of Choné people.

In sum, the marriage synthesises Shépa performance and local customs in Choné. Bone, lineage, kinship, and fortune are key notions for the Choné people in particular, but for the wider Tibetan community

in general.⁵¹ These notions are embedded in the social organisations of the Choné people. They are closely associated with the everyday life of the Choné people and the cultural objects elaborated in Shépa. Choné marriage customs provide a lens through which we can directly observe how Shépa has bridged these abstract notions and cultural objects, and how its performative tradition brought local customs to life.

Shépa in Relation to Tibetan Orature and Literature

In the above sections, we have introduced the land, history, society, religion, and Shépa performance of the Choné people. In the following section, we situate Shépa in its historical, religious, and social-cultural context, and elaborate on the wider connections between Shépa and Tibetan orature and literature. For Tibetans, oral tradition is an invaluable element of the collective cultural repertoire—sustaining Tibetan beliefs and worldviews, and imparting social, religious, and cultural knowledge and values.⁵² Oral tradition nurtures Tibetan literature in profound and multifaceted ways.⁵³ As one of many practices that constitute Tibetan oral tradition, Shépa shares overlapping themes and styles with other oral practices while at the same time maintaining its own distinctiveness. By situating Shépa within the wider and dynamic context of Tibetan orature and literature, we seek to deepen our collective understanding of the development of Tibetan oral and literary traditions, and their interconnectedness. In so doing, we aspire to provide a broader basis for understanding and appreciating Shépa.

Shépa and Tibetan Orature

The Form of Shépa in Relation to Other Tibetan Oral Traditions

Analysing Shépa's use of reduplication and onomatopoeia is a productive point of departure in order to understand its form. Reduplicative onomatopoeia is a salient feature of Tibetan poetic expressions. The earliest written records of Tibetan songs, namely $lu\ (glu)$, in Dunhuang texts, clearly show such usage. Both academic and public discourse tend to understand lu as 'the earliest, most indigenous, most secular, and most orally and musically oriented of the genres' that have not been overly influenced by Indian prosody $(snyan\ ngag; Skt.\ k\bar{a}vya)$, 54 the poetic

convention that has dominated Tibetan poetic composition since the thirteenth century. For example, we see reduplicative onomatopoeia in si-li-li and spu-ru-ru as documented in the song by the sister of Songtsen Gampo to Minister Mang Chung (Rmang chung, n.d.) in the Old Tibetan Chronicle (Btsan po rim byon gyi lo rgyus) founded in Dunhuang. The use of reduplicative onomatopoeia is an aspect that Shépa certainly inherits from ancient lu and other genres that developed subsequently, such as spiritual songs (mgur). These ornamental reduplications do not always carry lexical meaning but rather convey vivid imagery, speaking to oral and secular aspects of Shépa, as in the following example:

The lingua franca of the Kingdom Ling is sa-la-la [horse racing]. The lingua franca of Hor is da-ra-ra [arrow shooting]. The lingua franca of the wedding ceremony is da-da-da [song singing]

Together with the use of reduplication and onomatopoeia, the extensive use of parallelism and repetition in Shépa are poetic conventions that can be traced back to the ancient lu^{58} and are similarly observed in other genres of Tibetan oral tradition, such as the Gesar Epic,⁵⁹ ceremonial speeches,⁶⁰ and spiritual songs.⁶¹ Parallel structure works as a mnemonic technique, assisting in the learning and transmission of oral literature as well as helping to situate objects of praise within hierarchies that reflect Tibetan ways of understanding the self, the community, the natural environment, and the wider cosmological system.⁶² For example, by matching three major components of *chémar* with key elements of Buddhist cosmology, this stanza elegantly synthesises a Buddhist worldview:

The Mount Meru-like *chémar*, What does it resemble?
The shining mirror-like tray, What does it resemble?
The rectangular wooden box, What does it resemble?

The Mount Meru-like *chémar*, Resembles Mount Meru. The shining mirror-like tray,
Resembles the sun and the moon.
The rectangular wooden box,
Resembles the Four Continents.

Simile (*dpe rgyan*) and hyperbole (*sgro btags*)—additional and distinctive features of Tibetan oral tradition that help to enact a sense of auspiciousness, importance, and solemness⁶³—can also be observed in Shépa verses. For example, everyday elements such as butter and juniper branches are hyperbolised and come to stand for the three great protectors and all living beings, in order to make the ceremony more auspicious. Animals such as bears and yaks are used to describe people whose characteristics are masculinity and integrity. The practice of fletching arrows is hyperbolised to generate a sense of power and magnificence, as in the following stanza:

When the first feather is placed,
It is like a golden temple being raised.
When the second feather is placed,
It is like a vulture landing in a pasture.
When the third feather is placed,
It is like an eagle swooping down onto its prey.
When the fourth feather is placed,
It is like the Four Great Kings descending.

Along with these features, which are widely observed across many Tibetan oral traditions, the question-and-answer format⁶⁴ of Shépa also resembles pre-Buddhist Tibetan cultural practices in the use of *deu* (*lde'u*), translated as 'riddles' or 'enigmatic songs'. For the purpose of educating people (*rig sgo 'byed byed*),⁶⁵ *deu* are composed in a question-and-answer format and cover various important subjects, such as the origin of the world, genealogy, and culturally-specific knowledge.⁶⁶ Scholars argue that Bon religious personnel (*bon*), bards who recount histories (*sgrung*), and singers who perform riddles and genealogies (*lde'u*) ruled the pre-Buddhist society (*chab srid bon sgrung lde'u gsum gyis bskyangs*), playing an important role in maintaining the political and social order.⁶⁷ In contrast to religious personnel who impart 'the

way of god' (*lha chos*), bards and singers are believed to have passed down 'the way of men' (*mi chos*), characterised by the oral transmission of the expansive cultural norms and social values through the vehicle of poetic language. ⁶⁸ Based on the fourteenth century text *Five Chronicles* (*Bka' thang sde lnga*), nine basic topics were included in 'the way of men', correlating with the body parts of a lion:

The lion's right leg represents the formation of the physical world.

The left leg represents the origin of mankind.

The back represents the geography of the world.

The right hand symbolizes the genealogy of rulers.

The left hand symbolizes the genealogy of the human race.

The middle finger symbolizes the formation of Buddhism.

The neck represents lay people.

The head represents the lineage of one's parents.

The tail represents songs of joy.69

By briefly outlining these topics, we trust that it has become clear that Shépa embodies 'the way of men' manifested through beautiful songs. However, Shépa is not the only tradition that engages with such an expansive knowledge system that embraces cultural legacies and transmits history and social norms. To better understand this interconnection, it is productive to compare the content of Shépa with other Tibetan oral traditions, such as, sipé toyik (srid pa'i tho yig) in Tébo, and molla (mol ba) in Dingri and Mustang, as well as lu and tam (gtam) in the greater Tibetan cultural region.

The Content of Shépa in Relation to Other Tibetan Oral Traditions

Sipé toyik in Tébo of Amdo, translated as 'the Catalogue of the World', is the ritual recitation of Sipé Bon specialists, *leu*, and senior laymen in the funeral rituals of those who passed away having reached the age of sixty or more. To Sipé toyik is recited antiphonally by individuals who come from the same village of the deceased as well as by relatives from other villages. A recent compilation of *sipé toyik* shows that it contains four major sections, including a panegyric, aspects of Bon and Buddhist cosmologies, the geography of the world and Tibet, and the local history

of Tébo.⁷¹ Although *sipé toyik* is composed in lines with varied numbers of syllables in a manner that is more flexible, part of its content overlaps with Shépa, such as how the world rests on the cosmic tortoise. Similar to Shépa, the origin story and history in *sipé toyik* reflect a pan-Tibetan account of the self, lineage, and community, preserved in Tébo.

Other ritual recitations that function as rites of passage are molla, translated as 'speeches'—in Dingri, Mustang, and nearby areas. Composed in lines of varied syllables, molla in Mustang are often recited by monks in order to increase one's longevity or to seek a good rebirth for a recently deceased member of the community.⁷² In Dingri, *molla* are composed mostly in lines of nine syllables and recited by a male layman or mopon (mol dpon), at weddings and in other ceremonies.73 Despite these differences, molla in both areas cover a similar range of subjects. In Mustang in particular, molla engage with topics as diverse as cosmology, geography, and the genealogy of ancient Tibetan monarchs and local rulers⁷⁴—parts of which are similar and even identical to elements of Shépa, such as the world being centered around Mount Meru and the descent of Tibetan monarchs. Additionally, as in Shépa, the themes and content of molla are not always consistent and may sometimes even be contradictory. For example, molla in Dingri value social equality yet at the same time celebrate elitism. 75 Similarly, in Shépa, Rübel is narrated as a tortoise-shaped deity of miraculous birth, in 'Khyung', but is later referred to as the being who engages in all four modes of birth, in 'Rübel'. We should not interpret these inconsistencies as mistakes, but rather understand them to be inherent to Tibetan religious and cultural histories, marked by the amalgamation of folk religion, Bon, and Buddhism.

In a wider frame, ceremonial recitations such as *molla* and *sipé toyik* fall under the category of *tam*, translated as 'speeches', a genre which has long existed in the Tibetan world. According to a Tibetan saying, 'tam existed before Yungdrung Bon and Buddhism came into being' (G.yung drung gi bon ma dar gong la/ sangs rgyas kyi chos ma dar gong la/ 'jig rten pa'i gtam dar//). Tam are often considered to be one of 'the nine skills' (pho rtsal sna dgu) that a noble man should master. The content of tam covers various subjects, including creation myths, local histories, clan genealogies, geography, celebratory speeches, and so forth. The selected subject depends on the performative context. The

characteristics of *tam* suggest that *tam* and other similar traditions, like Shépa, should be thought of as living cultural repertoires that provide an overall knowledge schema predating and influenced by Buddhism, rather than simply as a genre of Tibetan orature.

Last but not least, Shépa shares a great similarity with lu, which are predominantly understood and translated as folk songs but conceptualised as a knowledge system or encyclopedia in some Tibetan communities. In Ladakh, contemporary 'door songs' (sgo glu), which are part of the wedding ritual, serve as a compelling example of such a knowledge system. When performing door songs, girls block a door and challenge boys with questions on a wide range of subjects, including Buddhist and Bon elements and secular knowledge, to make the ceremony more challenging and enjoyable. In the Baima 白马 (Dwags po khog) community to the south of Choné on the Gansu-Sichuan borderland, 77 lu contain information on the creation myth, the movement of planets, the environment, social norms, and Sipé Bon. Locals understand lu more as an encyclopedia (baike quanshu 百科全书)78 than as simply folk songs. Similarly to Shépa, lu are performed in a question-and-answer format by singers (glu ba) who enjoy significant social status at weddings, rituals, and other social gatherings. In addition, in their folk songs and stories, Bon (g.yung drung Bon), Buddhism (sangs rgyas chos), and lu (a lags glu) often appear as three brothers who cure various diseases.⁷⁹ In Tébo, similarly, Bon, Buddhism, and lu (srid pa'i glu) are often arranged in parallel in local folk songs, 80 suggesting that lu represents a system of cultural or religious knowledge—containing kaleidoscopic themes similar to Shépa.81

By situating Shépa within the wider context of Tibetan orature and examining Shépa in relation to other practices, we note the shared formats and overlapping content among these various oral traditions. Employing figures of speech such as reduplicative onomatopoeia, simile, hyperbole, and parallelisms, Tibetan oral traditions impart cultural and social norms in vivid and poetic ways. A number of practices, including Shépa, focus on Tibetan religious and secular history and draw connections between the past and present, serving to reinforce linguistic, cultural, and religious identities. All this speaks to the connectivity and adaptability of different genres of Tibetan oral tradition. The connectivity and adaptability that we outline above suggest that an examination of

the content of various Tibetan oral traditions within specific temporal and geographic contexts, rather than a fixation on what name or title they carry, will likely generate a productive discussion. The meaning of each kind of Tibetan oral tradition may change across time and spatial contexts. For instance, lu are understood to be folk songs within the wider Tibetan cultural sphere, but as an encyclopedia in the Baima community, or as a knowledge system in Tébo, depending on the context. In Choné, Shépa are understood to be verses comprising of a relatively fixed number of syllables on sacred topics in a question-and-answer format, performed only by men. Yet, in other parts of Amdo, Shépa may be verse, prose, or a combination of both with a flexible syllable structure performed around culturally important items and on special occasions, practiced in diverse formats by both men and women. Moreover, it is relevant to note that a single practice may be referred to with different titles. Sipé toyik is regarded as a form of tam by locals in Tébo, where it is known as tampoché (gtam po che), meaning 'Great Speeches'. Molla can also be thought of as tam and the term is used interchangeably with 'narrative' ('bel gtam), 'discourse' (mol gtam), or 'speeches' (mol tshig).82

In sum, Shépa shows a strong connection to other Tibetan oral traditions. By comparing them, we can develop a comprehensive understanding of the family of Tibetan oral traditions, of which Shépa is a member. Akin to related practices in other Tibetan areas, Shépa may be understood as a cultural treasury for not only Choné locals but also for Tibetan society writ large. Shépa contains a pre-Buddhist conceptualisation of the world, a Buddhist cosmology, various cultural objects on which Tibetans rest their worries and wishes, as well as considerable native knowledge which has been modified by Buddhism through the Tibetan literary tradition.

Shépa and Tibetan Literature

Buddhist literature has undoubtedly contributed significantly to the content of Shépa. Following the orthographic standardisation of the Tibetan language in the ninth century, Tibetan Buddhism swiftly expanded across the land of snows during the 'later spread of the dharma' (*bstan pa phyi dar*). From the late tenth century onward, a large quantity of Buddhist scriptures and commentaries were translated into Tibetan, coinciding with the rise of several institutionalised Buddhist

sects. In this process, Tibetan Buddhist scholars started to compose texts to systematically explain the Buddha's teachings and the relation between Tibet and Buddhism to practitioners and laymen alike.83 Contributing to this tradition, Sakya teachers composed 'manuals' (yig cha) to facilitate the training of monastic and lay practitioners in the early thirteenth century. The Sakya Pandita Künga Gyeltsen (1182–1251) composed The Gateway to Knowledge (Mkhas pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos bzhugs so), one of the earliest manuals, to teach young monks. His successor and nephew, Phagpa, compiled The Explanation of Knowledge (Shes bya rab gsal) for Mongol Prince Činggim (Tib. Jin jim, 1243-1285) in 1278 to make sense of complex Buddhist concepts, especially cosmology.⁸⁴ Key material that they consulted to compile the manuals was Indian master Vasubandhu's (Dbyig gnyen) The Treasury of Abhidharma (Chos mngon pa mdzod, Skt. Abhidharmakośa-bhāsya, or Abhidharmakośa for short), which details a series of fundamental Buddhist thoughts and has been translated into Tibetan multiple times since the ninth century.85

In Choné, oral accounts suggest that local monastic scholars, particularly Drakpa Shédrup, composed 'Jikten Chakluk' according to the *Abhidharmakośa*. Structuring the Buddha's teachings in a taxonomically coherent way,⁸⁶ the *Abhidharmakośa* is a key text of *Abhidharma* literature, being one of the three baskets of Buddhism.⁸⁷ Consisting of eight chapters, it is one of the greatest theoretical bases for the Buddhist traditions in Tibet, China, and East Asia.⁸⁸ In the Tibetan monastic context, the *Abhidharmakośa* is one of five central texts for the Geluk monastic education. It is also the final treaty which advanced monks must study in their almost twenty-year long training in exoteric texts.⁸⁹ However, a comparison of the *Abhidharmakośa* and 'Jikten Chakluk' indicates that the latter was likely a rhythmical adaptation from an elaborate revision of the concise verses and commentaries in the *Abhidharmakośa*. The manual of Phagpa was ideal for such an adaptation and has indeed had a direct impact on Shépa.

Reading 'Jikten Chakluk' and *The Explanation of Knowledge* side by side, it seems that their contents and rhetorical styles are similar. The Buddhist length measurement discussed in these texts is a fine example of their relatedness (see Table 1). We speculate that the elements of Shépa that concern Buddhist cosmology, particularly the external world (*phyi*

snod 'jig rten') and sentient beings (nang bcud sems can), were tailored into a question-and-answer format according to Phagpa's manual. Despite local oral accounts suggesting that the Geluk scholar Drakpa Shédrup compiled 'Jikten Chakluk' in the early eighteenth century, it is possible that local Sakya monks might have already developed some contents of this section before the Geluk domination over the Luchu valley.

Table 1: Length Measurement in 'Jikten Chakluk', Shes by a rab gsal and Abhidharmakośa90

Shépa		Shes bya rab	Abhidharmakośa
'Jikten Chakluk'		gsal	
Both earshot and league, Are composed of	dpag tshad bshad rgyu na/Rdul	'Byung ba de dag gi shin tu ba'i mthar thug pa ni	Gzugs ming dus mtha' rdul yig dang/
atoms.	phra rab bsags nas yong ba yin/	phra rab kyi rdul the zhig tu med pa'i phyir cha med pa nyid do/	
Seven atoms	Phra rab rdul	De bdun ni rdul	Skad cig phra rab rdul
form,	bdun bsags pa la/	phran no/	dang ni/ Rdul phran
One molecule.	Rdul phran gcig la bzhag pa yin/		dang ni de bzhin du/
Seven molecules	De bdun la ni	De bdun ni lcags	Lcags chu ri bong lug
make one iron particle.	lcags rdul gcig/	rdul lo/	dang glang/
Seven iron	Lcags rdul bdun	De bdun ni chu	
particles make	ni chu rdul gcig/	rdul lo/	
one water particle.			
Seven water	Chu rdul bdun la	De bdun ni ru	
particles make	ri bong gcig/	bong gi rdul lo/	
one rabbit particle.			
Seven rabbit	Rdul de bdun la	De bdun ni lug	
particles make	lug rdul gcig/	rdul lo/	
one sheep			
particle.			
Seven sheep	Lug rdul bdun ni	De bdun ni glang	
particles make	glang rdul gcig/	rdul lo/	
one ox particle.			

Shépa 'Jikten Chakluk'		Shes bya rab gsal	Abhidharmakośa
Seven ox particles make one particle of sun dust.	De bdun la ni nyi rdul gcig/	De bdun ni nyi zer gyi rdul lo/	Nyi zer rdul dang sro ma dang/ De las byung dang de bzhin nas/ Sor tshigs
Seven particles of sun dust make one louse egg particle.	De bdun la ni sro ma gcig	De bdun ni sro ma'i tshad do/	zhes bya gong bdun bsgyur/
Seven louse egg particles make one louse particle.	Sro ma bdun ni shig gcig yin/	De bdun ni shig gi tshad do/	
Seven louse particles make one barley particle.	Shig bdun tshogs la nas gcig yin/	De bdun ni nas kyi tshad do/	
Seven barley particles make one knuckle.	Nas bdun la ni sor tshigs gcig/	De dag 'dus pa las/ Snod kyi 'jig rten dang lus grob bo/ Nas bdun la ni sor mo gcig gi tshad do/	
Twenty-four knuckles,	Sor tshigs nyi shu rtsa bzhi la/	Sor mo nyi shu bzhi la ni khru	
Make one cubit.	Brtsis nas khru gang bzhag ni yin/	gang ngo/	sor mo nyi shu bzhi la khru/
Four cubits make one arm span.	Khru bzhi la ni gzhu 'dom gang/	Khru bzhi la ni 'dom gang ngo/	Khru bzhi la ni gzhu gang ngo/
Five hundred arm spans make one earshot.	Gzhu 'dom lnga brgya rgyang grags gcig/	'Dom lnga brgya la ni rgyang grags gcig go/	De dag lnga brgya rnams la ni/
Eight earshots make one league.	Rgyang grags brgyad la dpag tshad gcig/	Rgyang grags brgyad la ni dpag tshad gcig go 'Dis 'jig rten dang lus kyi tshad rnam par gzhal lo/	Rgyang grags de la dgon par 'dod/ De brgyad dpag tshad ces bya'o/

In addition, 'Jikten Chakluk' contains cosmological knowledge derived from the *Condensed Wheel of Time Tantra* (*Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud*, Skt. Śrīlaghu-kālacakra-tantra). This esoteric treatise widely known as the *Kālacakra-tantra* has been translated into Tibetan more than fourteen times since the eleventh century. The *Kálacakra* practice thrived in Sakya, Geluk, and several other Tibetan Buddhist sects from the late fourteenth century. It is possible that it was introduced to Choné on a larger scale after the foundation of the first esoteric college in the Luchu valley during the early eighteenth century. Again, Drakpa Shédrup was believed to be the one who tailored the *Kālacakra-tantra*'s content about the external world and its dimensions for a lay audience in Choné. Nonetheless, we may not rule out the possibility that Sakya scholars and Shépa performers incorporated such content into 'Jikten Chakluk' before the institutionalised transmission of this tantra in Choné.

Beyond Buddhist-centered knowledge, it is also evident that Shépa has been influenced by Tibetan historical texts that were written down or rediscovered as 'hidden treasures' (gter ma) before the fifteenth century. Specifically, the account of the Tibetan royal lineage, the origin of the Tibetan people, and the spread of dharma to Tibet, in 'Jikten Chakluk' and 'Lönpo Garchen', are similar to those in rediscovered texts such as Pillar Testament (Bka' chems ka khol ma, 11th c.), The Collection of Teachings and Practices Focused on Avalokiteshvara (Ma Ni bka' 'bum, 12th c.), and The Five Chronicles (Bka' thang sde lnga, 14th c.). These accounts are widely cited in classical Tibetan history books, such as A History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (Bu ston chos 'byung, 1322), The Mirror of the Royal Genealogies (Royal rabs gsal ba'i me long, 14th c.), Red Annals (Deb ther dmar po, 14th c.), A General History on China and Tibet (Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo, 1434), The New Red Annals (Deb ther dmar po gsar ma, 1538), and A Scholar's Feast (Mkhas pa'i dga' ston, 16th c.). Whether these written accounts were inspired by contemporary orature, such as Shépa, or the other way around is essentially a 'chicken and egg' problem.

Moreover, Shépa may have a literary counterpart entitled *A 15*th *Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge* (*Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*), or *Shédzö* for short. *Shédzö* is an encyclopedia-like text compiled by Döndam Mawé Senggé (Don dam smra ba'i seng ge, n.d.) for members of a ruling lineage in southeastern cultural Tibet in the late fifteenth century. It not only translates obscure Buddhist concepts into

layman's language but also offers contextual information about a range of subjects to secular and literate elites. In terms of its readership, *Shédzö* is considered a type of compendium that is distinct from *The Gateway to Knowledge*. However, historically low literacy rates in Tibetan secular communities lead us speculate that the division between religious and secular audience of the compendia should be not be thought of as very rigid. In the same way that *Shédzö* was possibly read by religious practitioners, Shépa has been appreciated by local lamas and monks.

In addition to Buddhist cosmology and philosophy, *Shédzö* covers a wide range of topics, including Tibetan mythology, royal genealogies, geography, and language; as well as astrology, Bon, medicine, speech, and song (see Table 2). It is marked by a question-and-answer format. It is written in poetic form with less-rigid syllable structure, strongly influenced by parallelism, and systematically classified by topic. *Shédzö* is also deeply interwoven with both Tibetan orature and Tibetan literature. As shown below, many themes that emerge in *Shédzö* are similar to those present in Shépa and readers may quickly locate counterpart sections in Shépa, albeit with minor differences. It is clear that Shépa and *Shédzö* have a strong connection.

Table 2: A Comparison of Topics in Shédzö and Shépa

Shédzö	Shépa
The Physical World	Phyi snod 'jig rten
A Brief Account of the Origins of the Cosmos	
The Various Universes of the Cosmos	
The Worlds of Our Universe	
Our Wolds and the Arrangement of the Discs	Dkyi 'khor
Mount Meru	Ri yi rgyal po
The Seven Golden Mountains	Gser gyi ri bdun
The Seven Corresponding Seas	Rol ba'i mtsho bdun
The Vast Outer Ocean	Phyi'i rgya mtsho chen po
The Encircling Iron Mountains	Phyi lcags ri nag po
The Four Continents and the Eight Subcontinents	Gling bzhi dang gling phran
The Sun, Moon, Planets and Stars	Nyi zla skar gsum
The City of Paradise of the Gods	
The Palaces and Parks of the Upper Heavens	
The Theory of Origination and Destruction	'Jig pa
The Measurement of Space and Time	Nyi ma ring thung
	Dpag tshad kyi brtsi tshul

Shédzö	Shépa
The Sentient Creatures	Nang beud sems can
The Six Spheres of Rebirth	Sems can 'gro ba rigs drug
The Eighteen Hells	
The Sphere of the <i>Pretas</i>	
The Sphere of the Animals	
The Sphere of the Titans	
The Sphere of Men of the Four Continents	Gling bzhi po
Man in <i>Jambudvīpa</i> and His Fall	Sngon bskal pa dang po'i mi
The Origins of the Tibetans	Bod kyi mi yi pha ma
The Sphere of the Gods	Khams gsum
The Royal Lineages	Blon po mgar chen
The Royal Lineage of Tibet	Rgyal po sum cu rtsa gnyis
The Royal Lineage to Sron-rtsan-sgam-po	
The Royal Dynastic Period	
The Tribal Structure of the World	
The Geography of the World	
The Geography of Jambudvīpa	Lho 'dzam bu gling
Buddhism: Its Origins and Concepts	Khams la bco brgyad
Buddhism in Tibet	Bod sangs rgyas bstan pa
Astrology	Skar ma skar chen nyer
	brgyad
	Khyim bcu gnyis
	Sme ba dgu
	Spar kha brgyad
Astrology in China	Lo 'khor bcu gnyis
The Great Golden Cosmic Tortoise	Ma hA gser gyi rus sbal
How The Five Elements Appeared	'Byung ba lnga
The Bon Religion	
Medicine	
Esoteric Practices of the Mantrayana	
Philology and Linguistics	
The Importance of Rhetoric and Public Speaking	
The Oral Expression of Happiness	

From the eighteenth century onward, we see the intellectual engagement of local Géluk scholars in modifying and compiling Shépa. Many singers state that Drakpa Shédrup collated and revised Shépa. After comparing Shépa with his writings on the astrology and divination, as shown in Table 3, we can identify considerable similarities. Whether this is because Drakpa Shédrup documented the content of Shépa as it was

performed at the time, or whether he composed new content for local performers based on other written works, or even whether scholars subsequently added sections from his work to Shépa, cannot be known without further research.

Table 3: The Eight Trigrams and Nine Magic Squares in Shépa and the Collected Works of Drakpa Shédrup⁹⁵

Shé	Drakpa Shédrup	
<i>Li</i> is fire, <i>khön</i> is earth	Li me khon sa dwa lcags	Spar kha li me kon sa
and <i>da</i> is metal.	dang/	dang/
Khen is sky, kham	Khen gnam kham chu gin	dwa lcags khen gnam kham
is water, and gin is	ri dang/	chu dang/
mountain.		
Zin is wood and zön is	Zin shing zon rlung de dag	Gin ri zin shing zon rlung
wind.	kyang/	ngo/
This is the composition	Spar kha brgyad po chags	'On kyang phyogs kyi spar
of the Eight Trigrams.	tshul yin/	kha ni/
As for the reckoning of	Sme ba dgu bo brtsi tshul	Sme ba'i chad lugs bstan
the Nine Magic Squares,	ni/	pa ni/
The first, sixth and	Gcig dkar drug dkar	Gcig dkar drug dkar
eighth are white, and	brgyad dkar lcags/	brgyad dkar lcags/
their element is metal.		
The second is black and	Gnyis nag gsum mthing	Gnyis nag sum mthung
the third is blue, and	chu yin la/	chu yin la/
their element is water.		
The fourth—whose	Bzhi ljang shing ste lnga	Bzhi ljang shing ste lnga
element is wood—is	ser sa/	ser sa/
green; the fifth is yellow		
and its element is earth.		
The seventh is red and	Bdun dmar dgu mu men	Bdun dmar dgu dmar me
the ninth is violet, and	me yin/	yin no/
their element is fire.		

Nevertheless, it is evident that Lozang Tendzin (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, n.d.), a local monk from Pelyül (Dpal yul/Bod yul; Boyu 博峪), was involved in transliterating, editing, and enriching Shépa. He obtained the degree of Geshe Lharampa (dge bshes lha rams pa) in Lhasa, and

then served as the 113th dharma lord of Choné Monastery. In the late nineteenth century, he compiled *The Collection of Shépa (Bshad pa'i tho yig)*. His text became the principal material used by Choné County officials to produce mimeographed versions of Shépa in the 1980s. According to local knowledge holders, his successor, the 114th dharma lord Doröl Pönlop Ngakwang Tapkhé (Rdo rol dpon slob ngag dbang thabs mkhas, n.d.), transcribed *The Collection of Shépa*, perhaps expanding it with sections on Mount Meru and the Spread of Buddhism in Tibet. These Geluk scholars consulted Buddhist texts to revise Shépa, likely to promote the dharma in local Tibetan communities. To this day, their texts still exert an enormous influence on the content and transmission of Shépa.

The involvement of monastic scholars in compiling Shépa and bridging orature and literature continues to the present. Several Shépa performers have confirmed that they learned stanzas of 'Jikten Chakluk' from local monks who were invited to explain the meaning of some of the content. When narrations are disputed, performers may ask a monk to offer a verdict and draw on a textual source for verification if one is available. In 2019, an online Shépa course was offered to performers by a disrobed monk who is an active collector and compiler of Shépa texts. During the course, he read and explained stanzas concerning Buddhist cosmology to support community members in gaining a deeper understanding.

In sum, Shépa has been influenced by Buddhist classics, manuals, and history texts. On closer inspection, Shépa and literary sources mirror one another considerably in terms of how they approach the formation of the world, early Tibetan history, the spread of Buddhism, the invitation of Princess Wencheng (Rgya bza'; Wencheng gongzhu 文 成公主, 623–680), and so on. We find it futile to focus on the sequence in which these contents emerged; instead, we pay attention to their close interplay within and across Tibetan orature and literature.

Shépa: Fusing Tibetan Orature and Literature

Shépa blurs the boundaries between orality and textuality, resisting strict demarcation. We have discussed how certain elements of pre-Buddhist

oral traditions such as *deu* have endured in Shépa, and how the Tibetan literary tradition has woven its narratives into Shépa. In this way, we seek to offer a new perspective for examining the interplay between oral and literary traditions in cultural Tibet, which until now has been mostly overshadowed by studies of how oral traditions—working as repertoires—shape and energise Tibetan literary production.⁹⁷ This interplay is not a new phenomenon but has in fact long existed in cultural Tibet and beyond.⁹⁸ Such tendencies are also observed among performers of the Gesar Epic (*don sgrung/thos sgrung*), who rely on both textual and audio recordings as learning sources,⁹⁹ as well as among performers in the Yi community who rely on written texts for the transmission of their own epic, *The Nuosu Book of Origins*.¹⁰⁰ We demonstrate that Tibetan oral traditions in general, and Shépa in this specific case, fuse orature and literature.

The dynamism of the oral tradition and the richness of the Tibetan literary imagination enrich one other, enlivening Shépa through various aspects and with different rationales. By way of example, in Tibetan historical narratives, the marriage between Princess Wencheng and Songtsen Gampo is more often understood as a symbol of the Buddhist 'civilising project' within the Tibetan Empire. Wedding speeches in other Tibetan areas, such as Trika, also depict this union as a model marriage. ¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, this story in Choné, as demonstrated through 'Lönpo Garchen', is less focused on the wedding itself and the Buddhist aspect of this marriage. Instead, the central focus of this story in Shépa is on matchmaking and praising the wisdom and bravery of Minister Gar Tongsten (d. 667). It is this mutability that shines a light on different aspects of age-old stories. These dynamic processes contribute to the vitality of Shépa in particular, and to Tibetan oral traditions in general.

The Wider Implications and Relevance of Shépa

Shépa can be appreciated in many distinct ways: both as a composition of Tibetan poetry delivered in accessible language, or as a repertoire of Tibetan culture in which myths of creation, legends, religious traditions, rituals, and local customs are documented and described. In engaging with sites such as the Machen Pomra and Otang Lake, Shépa also highlights Tibetan conceptions of geography and sacred space, offering

cultural and religious knowledge that are inscribed onto the Tibetan landscape. We may also appreciate Shépa as a means to understand elements of early Indian and Chinese culture that were adopted by Tibetans. In Shépa narration, east China (smad rgya nag), the Land of Divination, is always presented hand-in-hand with west India (stod rgya gar), the Land of Dharma. Indian astrology (skar rtsis) and Buddhism have left heavy imprints on Shépa. The Chinese astrological knowledge system (nag rtsis)—comprising of Five Elements (khams lnga; wuxing 五行), Eight Trigrams (spar kha brgyad; bagua 八卦), and Nine Magic Squares (sme ba dgu; jiugong 九音)—as well as Chinese figures who are often regarded as masters of divination such as Princess Wencheng and Confucius (Lha kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po; Kongzi 孔子, 551–479 BCE), are also celebrated in Shépa.

Shépa can be read as an access point for shared cultural elements that carry relevance across the wider Himalayan region. For example, the bat (pha wang), with its nine specialties, carries ritual and cultural significance in Tibetan culture and is often regarded as very capable in dealing with a range of problems. 103 Narratives about how the bat solves crises are found not only in Shépa—where the bat plays a key role in locating and rescuing the red Khyung trapped by the dü (bdud), a class of pre-Buddhist deities translated as 'demons'-but are also present in other Tibetan sources, such as the Nyen Collection (Gnyan 'bum), in which the bat helps ease tensions between human beings and the nyen (gnyan) after prominent priests fail in this endeavour. In this collection of stories, the bat is the principal character who searches for and locates the male deity (pho lha) after he goes missing. 104 Similarly, in Yunnan, the Naxi ethnic community look to the bat for crisis-solving. According to the pictographic manuscript *The White Bat's Search for Sacred Books*, the Naxi people believe it was the bat who finally secured the sacred book from the female priest, after the eagle and sparrow failed in their quest. 105 Through Shépa, we could observe cultural tropes that are shared across the Himalayan region.

The most celebrated and perhaps most salient element of Shépa is that it has endured the great transformations that occurred within Tibetan culture, transmitting and carrying forward elements of Tibetan civilisation, reflecting Tibetan political and religious history, and speaking to the shared culture, beliefs, and experiences that tie

geographically distinct Tibetan communities together. The accretion of Tibetan civilisation is layered into Shépa, making it an amalgamation of Sipé Bon, Yungdrung Bon and Buddhist knowledge systems. Specifically, Sipé Bon, with its animistic features, have remained present in Shépa. The belief that the physical world is inhabited by various spirits, such as $za\ (gza')$, $tsen\ (btsan)$, and $teurang\ (the'u\ rang)$, all of whom need to be propitiated, is addressed in 'Tsalu' when the groom comes to take the bride. In 'Khyung', the bird-shaped deity was born from an egg of thirteen substances kneaded by Yémön Gyelpo (Ye smon rgyal po)—the King of Primordial Wishes; the Black-Headed Man (Smon mi dbu nag)—mankind; and Yeshen Wangdzok (Ye gshen dbang rdzogs)—the earliest Bon priest. The egg resembles three classes of spirits (lha, gnyan and lu) which reside in the three realms ($srid\ pa\ gsum$) of the world, namely: the sky, earth, and intermediate space:

The incredibly mysterious egg,
Looking at it from above, what was the egg?
Looking at it from below, what was the egg?
Looking it from the front, what was the egg?

Looking at it from above, it was *lha*.

Looking at it below, it was *nyen*.

Looking it from the front, it was *lu*.

This was an incredibly mysterious egg.

This worldview is a powerful confirmation of Sipé Bon cosmology. The same worldview is also preserved in 'Rübel'. Yet, a transition from the tripartite worldview of Sipé Bon to the dualistic worldview of institutionalised Bon also appears in Shépa. ¹⁰⁶ Khyung and Rübel, the tortoise-shaped deity, are delineated along dualistic lines, separating heaven from earth:

In the sky, the forefather descended.

Who was the being that held up the sky?

On the earth, the foremother descended.

Who was the being that pressed down the earth?

Speaking of the being who held up the sky, It was the great Khyung who lifted up the sky.

The great Khyung, the being who lifted up the sky,
The sky was uplifted effortlessly.
Speaking of the being who weighed down the earth,
It was Rübel who pressed down the earth.
Rübel, the being who pressed down the earth.
The earth was depressed gently.

With the spread of Buddhism to the Plateau, a Buddhist worldview was introduced to the Tibetan cultural world. Buddhism interacted with local Tibetan beliefs, leading to the amalgamation of folk religion, Bon, and Buddhism. As scholars have indicated, there are many points of active interaction between these once quite different belief systems.¹⁰⁷ Such aspects are clearly manifested in oral traditions such as Shépa, particularly in 'Rübel': the understanding that Rübel's body parts are compatible with three major classes of spirits residing in the world's three realms reflects the worldview presented in Tibetan folk religion. Only later were Buddhist elements such as Mañjuśrī ('Jam dpal dbyangs), method (thabs), wisdom (shes rab), and others included in the narration. For instance, Mañjuśrī became identified as the divinity who tamed the cosmic tortoise. Mañjuśrī shot the Rübel with the golden arrow and pierced it with the flaming sword. The tortoise-shaped deity was turned upside down and its shell became the foundation of the world.108

Notably, in the tradition of Yungdrung Bon, the wisdom deity Sherab Mawe Senge (Shes rab smra ba'i seng ge) emanated a golden tortoise as the foundation of the world. In an earlier Bon work, *The Multicolored Apportions Collection (Kun 'bum khra bo,* 13th c.), a deity named Künbum Goje (Kun 'bum go 'byed) created the golden tortoise that holds the world. In all these narratives, including Shépa, the cosmic tortoise is widely understood to be the basis of the world. We note that divinities of different religious traditions have played similar roles in emanating and taming the tortoise. This similarity showcases the process of mutual incorporation among Tibetan religions and reflects the conscious collection of Tibetan knowledge systems and the preservation of ancient continuities. In this way, we can begin to understand how Tibetan history unfolded and how Shépa stands as a narrative that has captured shifts in religious and cultural paradigms across the Tibetan Plateau over time.

While acknowledging that Shépa reflects shared culture and beliefs across geographically distinct Tibetan communities, we must also highlight that Shépa speaks to the vernacularisation of Tibetan civilisation, contributing to a sense of the specificity of local communities. For instance, the vernacularisation of the notion of lineage and continuity of the patrilineal household is manifested through anyé zhidak in Shépa. While anyé zhidak is normally integrated into the prayer room in neighbouring Tibetan communities, in the Choné Tibetan household, it is found in a separate location and continues to be a key element of house architecture where it is reserved for the ritual specialist to conduct rituals related to the rites of passage of family members. In addition, Khyung is a culturally and religiously important creature for Tibetans. In Choné and Tébo, a straw-knitted Khyung (dgra lha mgon po bya rdang) is presented during the offering ritual for the mountain deity.¹¹¹ Khyung is also adopted into the daily lives of Tibetans, evidenced by local narratives in Choné and Gyarong which suggest that the style of headdresses and cloaks are patterned after this mythical bird. While there are many other examples, the central point here is that these vernacularisations reflect the ways in which each community mediates Tibetan civilisation through their own specific and local lens. Oral traditions like Shépa offer a prism through which we may discern the parameters of Tibetan culture without glossing over its richness and complexity.

Documentation, Transliteration, Transcription, Textual Collection, and Translation

The Shépa recordings and texts on which we draw in this manuscript were collected between 2015 and 2020, along the upper and middle Luchu River where the Tibetan language and culture are better preserved. Our documentation of Shépa was initiated by Marnyi Gyatso in 2015. Fragmented sections were recorded by Marnyi Gyatso together with Grandfather Quan Gyatso and Grandfather Meng Tusktor in the summers of 2016 and 2017. The majority of the recordings were made by Bendi Tso in the course of 2019. In the process of documentation, we were fortunate to receive the help of Guru Tsering and Fan Xueyong, as well as many monastic scholars and local historians who—having

committed their time and knowledge to collect Shépa texts—generously shared their collections and insights with us. Taken together, these oral and textual materials form our corpus.

In Choné, Grandfather Meng Tusktor was one of the best-known performers who sang most Shépa sections in their entirety. In Grandfather Meng Tusktor's village, Bendi Tso documented his narratives by video in April 2019. There was no audience during the sowing season, which ensured that this documentation work could proceed without disturbance. Meng Tusktor gave our work his wholehearted support, enormous patience, and deep care. He always brought his 90-page transliteration of Shépa in Chinese to the recording site, in a format that is only intelligible to him, in case he forgot a few lines. Years of performance ensured that he had memorised almost every stanza and he only consulted his text occasionally. As singing took a significant amount of time and effort, given his health and age (being in his late 70s), we respectfully requested him to render his songs into narratives after we had recorded 'Chémar'.

Grandfather Meng Tusktor made narrative plans in accordance with his own condition and experience, deciding when to pause and take rest, what to narrate next, and thinking through what needed to be explained before and after each segment. A short segment would often take around ten minutes to narrate, which would be followed by his interpretation and sometimes anecdotes related to his learning and performance of that segment. Bendi Tso took notes throughout the process, reviewed them at night and asked questions the following morning before resuming the documentation. For this reason, we transliterated the narratives of Grandfather Meng Tusktor into Tibetan and used these as our primary text, which we indicate with the acronym MT in footnotes. After completing the documentation, Bendi Tso invited Grandfather Zhang Gyatso, a wonderful Shépa singer, to listen the recordings. He shared sections he had memorised along with his experiences of performing Shépa with us. He provided many stanzas that are not found in Grandfather Meng Tusktor's narrative. We label his stanzas with ZG in our footnotes.

Considering the frequent use of colloquial and everyday language in Shépa performances, a feature which we have chosen to highlight and uplift in this work, we give priority to the oral narration rather

than to written texts. Most of the transliterations were completed by Naljor Tsering, with the assistance of Bendi Tso. Naljor Tsering was also responsible for the initial collation. In contrast to previous documentation work undertaken by monks and local scholars, while still following the rules of written Tibetan, we have chosen to align our transliteration closely with the language as spoken in Choné, rather than with the standardised written form of Amdo Tibetan. To transliterate local verbal art and convert it into written form, for instance, we use the colloquial register 'na' rather than the written register 'dam' for 'or'; colloquial 'ga ru' rather than written 'gang na' for 'where'; colloquial 'ci 'dra' rather than written 'ci tsam' for 'how many'; and 'ci zhig' rather than 'chi zig' for 'what', and so on. In addition, certain Chinese loanwords that are in everyday use are transliterated phonetically and appended with an endnote explaining their meaning.

While our stated goal is to prioritise the oral narratives which feature local, vernacular language, at the same time we also list the many relatively complete texts which we collected during our collaborative work in Choné. Our intention is not to create a 'master text' that holds as much standardised content as possible, 112 but rather to showcase the many variations of Shépa in both oral and textual transmission—ranging from verbal and rhetorical styles to alternations in meaning. In the process, we uplift and acknowledge the efforts of all those who have committed themselves to preserving and diversifying this oral tradition and come before us. By 2020, with the generous support of local singers and scholars, we had collected many handwritten, mimeographed, and printed Shépa texts. These written texts can be roughly classified into five clusters and we list their original Tibetan titles in Wylie transliteration without correction:

1. The most influential text is known locally as *The Collection of Shépa*, which has had an enormous and lasting impact on the textualisation of Shépa in Choné. It was compiled by Lozang Tendzin in the 1890s and was preserved by monks at Choné Monastery. In the early 1980s, three officials in Choné County mimeographed this text. The reproduction of this text includes 'Lönpo Garchen' (*blon po sgang chen*), 'Khyung' (*khyung*), 'Rübel' (*rus sbal*), 'Da' (*mda*'), and 'Jikten Chakluk' ('*jig rten chags glu*). We have not seen the original texts, except for the

- mimeographed 'Lönpo Garchen', and we label this collection with CS in our footnotes.
- 2. Another of the earliest texts we were able to collect is written in cursive Tibetan (*dbu med*) on traditional long folios. This edition was preserved by the natal family of the 114th dharma lord of Choné Monastery, Doröl Pönlop Ngakwang Tapkhé, in the 1900s. It consists of 'Khyung' (*khyung*), 'Rübel' (*rus sbal*), and 'Jikten Chakluk' ('*jig rten chags tshul*). We were informed that a great-grandson of Doröl Pönlop's family copied out the text and complemented it with 'Lönpo Garchen' (*blon po sgang chen*), 'Chakshé Dashé' (*lcags bshad mda' bshad*, Iron and Arrow), and 'Ri Gyelbo Rirap' (*ri rgyal bo ri rab*, Mount Meru). However, we were only able to collect 'Khyung', 'Rübel', and 'Jikten Chakluk', and we label this edition as DP.
- 3. Guru Tsering generously provided another set of Shépa texts. These comprise of 'Chémar Choktsi' (phye mar cog tsi, Barley-Butter Offering and Table), and 'Da' (mda' yi bshad pa), all of which were edited or transcribed by an unknown person. We label them as UN. In addition, this set of texts also include 'Da' (mda' yi glu bshad pa) as transliterated or transcribed by Tsering, 'Jikten Chakluk' ('jig rten chags glu), and 'Khyung and Rübel' (khyung dang rus sbal) by Lhamo Tsering, and a printed version of 'Jikten Chakluk' ('jig rten chags glu) by an unknown singer or compiler. We label these as TR, LT, and PT respectively.
- 4. We also collected a set of handwritten texts. The texts titled 'Ri Gyelbo Rirap, Jikten Chakluk' (ri rgyal bo ri rab, 'jig rten chags glu), 'Tam' (gtam), 'Choné Pönpö Logyü' (co ne dpon po'i lo rgyus, The History of Choné Kings), and 'Sipa Chaklu' (srid pa chags glu, The Sipa Song) are transcribed by Namkha Döndrup, and are labelled as ND. The handwritten texts also include 'Jikten Chaksum' ('jig rten chags gsum, The Formation of the World) from Choné Monastery, which we label as CM.
- 5. The last text we draw on is the book titled *Sheba* 舍巴, co-edited by local historians Fan Xueyong and Yang Shihong. It includes 'Chémar' (*phye mar*), 'Sipé Chakrap' (*srid pa'i chags*

rabs, The Origin of the World), The Formation of the World ('jig rten chags lugs), 'Jikten Chakluk' ('jig rten 'jig lugs), 'Jikten Chaktsül' ('jig rten chags tshul, The Creation of the World), 'Rigyel Lhünpo' (ri rgyal lhun po, Mount Meru), 'Khyung' (khyung chen bshad pa), 'Rübel' (rus sbal bshad pa), 'Lönpo Garchen' (blon po mgar chen), 'Da' (mda' bshad pa), 'Choné Pönpö Logyü' (co ne dpon po'i lo rgyus), and 'Tam' (gtam). The authors edited the texts that they collected and standardised them in line with the Amdo variety of the Tibetan language. We label stanzas of this book with FY in our footnotes.

Other than these texts, we also collected many fragmented editions of Shépa. On inspection, these are generally similar to the five clusters outlined above, and most are adaptations of the compilations by Lozang Tendzin or Ngakwang Tapkhé. We understand these adaptations to have occurred when local singers used these texts to revise or complement their own narrations and documentation projects. These editions—which have influenced one another and resulted in many trivial modifications—certainly warrant further analysis. Through careful and comparative work, we anticipate being able to trace the trajectory of Shépa transmission and better understand knowledge production within Choné.

In this book, while we prioritise oral narrations, we also list all collected texts in our footnotes and do not correct mistakes in spelling or grammar. Our goal is that community members and scholars will be in a position to engage with these texts in service of their future studies without significant editorial intervention by us. The verses which we have translated are bolded in the footnotes. Most translated verses derive from oral narrations. When a verse from the written texts could complete the oral narration or make it significantly clearer, we translate the verse and indicate this selection by bolding it in the footnote. When a verse is missing or incomplete, we compose a verse and bold it in the footnote, marking our editorial intervention with ED.

This book is the product of close teamwork and intense collaboration. Marnyi Gyatso assumed primary responsibility for examining the written texts of Shépa, providing the Chinese translations using seven characters for each verse—employing classical Chinese exclamatory particles to form rhyming patterns. Bendi Tso, having completed the second round of collation, contributed the English translations and

wrote introductions to each individual section. She and Marnyi Gyatso also composed the book's introduction. In the whole process, Naljor Tsering provided his expertise in Bon religion and rituals. Marnyi Gyatso contributed his knowledge of Chinese and Tibetan history. Mark Turin offered his experience in the documentation and preservation of oral traditions more generally, and assumed responsibility for English editing and representational consistency across the volume. The introductions were respectively translated into Chinese and Tibetan by Marnyi Gyatso and Naljor Tsering.

Chinese and English translations are offered immediately following the Tibetan text, allowing readers to cross-check or cross-read if they have the requisite language competencies. We avoid being too literal in our translations in order to keep close to the original Tibetan meaning. Auspicious numbers, such as 108, are translated literally, and we ask readers to bear in mind that artistic language is a key element in Tibetan oral traditions. It is our hope that the section introductions and endnotes will help to contextualise the narration, providing some ethnographic and cultural context about the topics in question. Tibetan terms are transcribed phonetically in the Latin alphabet using the Tibetan and Himalayan Library's (THL) Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan, with Wylie transliterations provided in parentheses for English readers. Exceptions are made for terms which have a common vernacular transliterated form, meaning that we write *molla* rather than the more literal *molba*.

Book Outline

This book is structured in eight sections. The first section is 'Khyung' and delineates how the world and Khyung were born. The narrative proceeds to elaborate on Khyung's appearance, food, power, forms, and so forth. The narrative then turns to illustrate how the red Khyung was captured by the demon and rescued by the wise bat. The second section is 'Rübel' and is often performed together with 'Khyung'. It starts with an account of the life of Rübel in the sea, followed by how Rübel was tamed by Mañjuśrī. It concludes with how Rübel's body parts embody the divinatory schemes. The third section is 'Jikten Chakluk' and depicts the destruction and formation of the world, detailing how the external

world and sentient beings came into being. This section concludes with the origin and history of the Tibetan people.

The following two sections focus on the significant social norms and cultural objects of the Choné people. The fourth section is 'Chémar', the most performed and best-preserved section of Shépa. As its lyrics demonstrate, the song of 'Chémar' is the head of all songs; without narrating 'Chémar', one cannot start to narrate Shépa. This section offers a detailed description of Chémar and the table holding it. The fifth section is 'Da', which illuminates how the arrow is made, from cutting bamboo to each step involved in crafting it. This section further outlines the representational meanings of all components of the arrow.

The last three sections highlight wedding elements, and are often sung together in cultural Choné. The sixth section is 'Lönpo Garchen' and begins with an introduction to King Songtsen Gampo, Princess Wencheng, and Minister Gar Tongtsen—illustrating how the minster journeyed to Tang China, triumphed over the envoys of other rulers in competitions to woo Princess Wencheng, and then escaped from China to Tibet. The seventh and eighth sections are 'Tsalu' and 'Zhanglu' and detail the process of taking and giving a bride, respectively.

In documenting and translating Shépa, we stand on the shoulders of many generations of Shépa performers and compilers. From past to present, they have kept Shépa alive through generously sharing their knowledge and skills with both amateurs and dedicated apprentices. Their experience teaches us that communication and cooperation are central to the vitality of Shépa. Following in their steps, our hope is that this book will help to connect Shépa with the Choné people, with all Tibetans and with the wider world.

Endnotes

- 1 Guowuyuan diqici quankuo renkou pucha lingdao xiaozu bangongshi, ed., *Zhongguo renkou pucha nianjian*, 3 vols (Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe, 2020), I (2020).
- 2 Marnyi Gyatso, 'Home on the Margins: Tsowa Societies of the Choné Kingdom on the Inner Asian Frontier, 1862–1952' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2020), pp. 45–60.
- 3 Skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Yab rje bla ma skal ldan rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum bzhugs so*, 4 vols (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999), I (1999), p. 342; Yu Zhang, *Bianzheng kao* (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1990), j9.2b.
- 4 Ye Fan, Houhanshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), j87.2869–908.
- 5 Xu Liu, *Jiutangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), j196–197.
- Bangzhan Chen, Songshi jishi benmo (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), j41; Bianca Horlemann, 'The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to its Neighbour States on the Silk Road', in Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet, ed. by Matthew Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 79–101; Duanlin Ma, Wenxian tongkao (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), j335; Toqto'a, Songshi (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), j492.
- 7 Lian Song, *Yuanshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), j121–123.
- 8 Mingshilu (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, 1962), Taizong, j196.1b-2a; Tingyu Zhang, Mingshi (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j330. For the Ming fortification, see Marnyi Gyatso, 'The Ming, Tibetan and Mongol Interactions in Shaping the Ming Fortification, Multicultural Society and Natural Landscape in Mdo smad, 1368–1644', Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines, 55 (2020), 351–84; Marnyi Gyatso, 'A Rosary of the Wish-Fulfilling Jewels: The Co ne Kingdom on the Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu Frontiers from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished manuscript, June 1, 2022); Yu Zhang, Bianzheng kao, j3–4.
- 9 Marnyi Gyatso, 'Home on the Margins', pp. 43–99.
- 10 Yandu Zhang, *Taozhou tingzhi* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1970), p. 842; Erxun Zhao, *Qingshi gao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), j517.

- 11 Christopher Beckwith, 'The Tibetans in the Ordos and North China: Considerations on the Role of the Tibetan Empire in World History', in *The Tibetan History Reader*, ed. by Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 133–41 (pp. 136–37).
- 12 We acknowledge the extensive debate that exists on what precisely constitutes the Bon religion. In our writing, we have an inclusive and expansive understanding of Bon. Along with institutionalised Bon, Yungdrung Bon (g.yung drung bon), which from the tenth century onward began to resemble Buddhism, we also recognise the more animistic Sipé Bon as holding significance. Tucci and Stein use 'folk religion' or 'nameless religion' to refer to this religion respectively. For different significations of Bon, see Ngawang Gyatso, 'Shilun siba benjiao de jiben hanyi ji xingshi tezheng', Xizang Daxue Xuebao, 28.1 (2013), 7-12; Helmut Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, trans. by Edward Fitzgerald (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961), pp. 13–27, 84–110; Per Kværne, The Bon Religion of Tibet (Boston: Shambhala, 1995), pp. 9–10; Geoffrey Samuel, Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 10-13; Tsering Thar, 'Zangwen shouchaoben benjiao wenxian de faxian jiqi dangdai wenhua jiazhi', Zhongguo Zangxue, 2 (2021), 188-95.
- Luciano Petech, 'Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols', in China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries, ed. by Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 173–203; Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet, trans. by Derek F. Maher (Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 177–96.
- Gyitang (Gyi thang; Jitang or Qingtang) was also used to refer to Tsongkha. Tao Li, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan, 1792), j265, j398, j404, j520; Lian Song, *Yuanshi*, j39, j43, j121, j123; Toqto'a, *Jinshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), j26, j79, j80, j91, j95, j98, j103, j113; Toqto'a, *Songshi*, j42, j326.
- 15 Tsutomu Iwasaki, 'The Tibetan Tribes of Ho-hsi and Buddhism During the Northern Sung Period', *Acta Asiatica*, 64 (1993), 17–37.
- 16 Toqto'a, Jinshi, j26.654.
- 17 Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), p. 666. The term *co ne khag lnga* is possibly a later invention to address the five units along the Luchu valley after the Choné kings transformed the Sakya gönpa into a famous geographic marker in Tibetan history.

- 18 Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, pp. 646–66.
- 19 Karl-Heinz Everding, 'The Mongol States and Their Struggle for Dominance over Tibet in the 13th Century', in *Tibet, Past and Present*, ed. by Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 109–28; Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan—Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), pp. 8–9; Turrell V. Wylie, 'The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37.1 (1997), 103–33.
- 20 Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, Anduo gucha chandingsi (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995), p. 7; Shajia Shili, Jingangcheng qixin zhuangyan baoman xitian fozi yuanliu lu, trans. by Ning An (1448, transcribed in 1829), chapter 2; Lian Song, Yuanshi, j202.4517–19.
- 21 Elliot Sperling, 'Notes on the Early History of Gro-tshang Rdo-rje-'chang and Its Relations with the Ming Court', *Lungta*, 14 (2001), 77–87.
- ²² 'Jam dbyangs 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu'i phreng ba* (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971), pp. 378–80.
- 23 Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne sa skyong gi lo rgyus klu chu sngon mo'i gyer dbyangs* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), pp. 27–8; Tshe ring don grub, *Mdo smad co ne'i lo rgyus sa gzhi skyong ba'i rgyan* (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2016). Tibetan oral accounts in Choné, Mébo (Dme bo) and Dzögé suggest that Changti and Ngoti were defeated in a war that took place in southern Amdo and were then forced to leave.
- 24 Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, pp. 643, 646–47; 'Jam dbyangs 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp. 382–83.
- A description of Guhyasamāja Temple (Gsang 'dus lha khang) in Choné Monastery, which was established by Richen Lhünpopa, might help us know the result of this reform, 'inside the temple enshrined the statues of the Sakya dharma-throne holders (sa skya khri 'dzin), Je Tsongkhapa and his two disciples'. It seems the Géluk teaching was only preached in a small scale. See Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, Anduo gucha chandingsi, p. 174.
- 26 Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, pp. 625–26.

- 27 Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, *Anduo gucha chandingsi*, pp. 40–50, 65–66, 79, 166–67.
- 28 There were ten regional monasteries (*dgon chen*), fifty-five communal monasteries (*dgon pa*), and over a hundred temples (*lha khang*) and retreats (*ri khrod*) across the Choné Kingdom. See Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, *Anduo gucha chandingsi*, pp. 228–42.
- 29 Exoteric and esoteric are two types of Buddhist teaching. Exoteric teachings focus on Mahayana sutras and the associated path. Esoteric studies focus on tantric texts and the secret path and are also referred to as tantric studies. For more context on exoteric and esoteric studies in Tibetan monastic settings, see Georges Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 18–20, 111–20.
- 30 Interview, Choné Monastery, January 3, 2015.
- 31 Marnyi Gyatso, 'Home on the Margins', chapter 2–4.
- 32 *Zhuoni xianzhi*, ed. by Zhuoni xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2020), p. 672. *Lintan Xianzhi*, ed. by Lintan xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2008), p. 93.
- 33 Some community members believe Batsé, a traditional market for many Choné people, separates the highland famers from those along the riverside.
- 34 Marnyi Gyatso, 'The Legacy of Bla ma dkar po: An Unsettled Dispute between Chone and Labrang on the Inner Asian Frontier', *Waxing Moon: Journal for Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, 1 (2021), 16–56 (pp. 25–26).
- 35 Marnyi Gyatso, 'Home on the Margins', chapter 2.
- The most important festivals in Choné include the Mönlam Festival (*smon lam chen po*) from the third to the sixteenth day of the first month, the May Mani Festival (*lnga pa'i ma Ni*) from the first to the seventh day of the fifth month, The Great Festival of Turning the Wheel of Dharma (*tshes bzhi chos 'khor dus chen*) for seven days in the sixth month, the Maitreya Dharma Assembly (*byams smon*) from the seventh to the twenty-second day of the ninth month, and the Anniversary of Tsongkhapa's Death Day (*lnga mchod chen po*) from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month. Two, ten-day fairs used to be held in the sixth and the tenth months.

- 37 Lama Jabb, 'The Wandering Voice of Tibet: Life and Songs of Dubhe', Life Writing, 17.3 (2020), 387–409 (p. 392).
- 38 Timothy Thurston, 'An Introduction to Tibetan sa bstod speeches in A mdo', *Asian Ethnology*, 71.1 (2012), 49–73 (p. 55).
- 39 Bkra shis don grub, 'Ge sar sgrung gi glu tshig las bshad pa'i skor gyi zhib 'jug' (unpublished master's thesis, Northwest Minzu University, 2018); Don grub rgyal, 'Mdo smad mtsho lho yul du dar khyab che ba'i bshad pa'i skor la rags tsam dpyad pa' (unpublished master's thesis, Tibet University, 2012), p. 6; Rnam rgyal rig 'dzin, 'A mdo'i ngag rtsom las bshad pa'i khyad chos la dpyad pa' (unpublished master's thesis, Qinghai Normal University, 2013), p. 1.
- 40 *Bshad pa*, ed. by Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), p. 1.
- 41 See, for example, Don grub rgyal, 'Mdo smad mtsho lho yul du dar khyab che ba'i bshad pa'i skor la rags tsam dpyad pa', p. 15.
- 42 Bshad pa, pp. 28–44.
- 43 Sources from different state offices offer contradictory dates for when Shépa was listed as Prefectural-level Intangible Cultural Heritage. In our writing, we follow the date provided by the local Tourism Bureau which is charged with the preservation and performance of Shépa.
- 44 Bendi Tso, 'Opportunities and Challenges in Preserving and Revitalizing the Tibetan Oral Literature Shépa in Chone', *Book* 2.0, 9.1–2 (2019), 7–18.
- Amy Mountcastle, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Inevitability of Loss: a Tibetan Example', Studia Ethnologica Croatica, 22.1 (2010), 339–59; Timothy Thurston, 'The Tibetan Gesar Epic beyond Its Bards: An Ecosystem of Genres on the Roof of the World', Journal of American Folklore, 132.524 (2019), 115–36 (p. 117); Timothy Thurston, 'Assessing the Sustainability of the Gesar Epic in Northwest China, Thoughts from Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture', Cultural Analysis, 17.2 (2020), 1–23.
- 46 Rachel C. Fleming, 'Resisting Cultural Standardization: Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Revitalization of Traditional Music in Ireland', Journal of Folklore Research, 41.2–3 (2004), 227–57; Ahmed Skounti, 'The Authentic Illusion: Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Moroccan Experience', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 74–92.

- 47 Andrew Martindale, Sara Shneiderman and Mark Turin, 'Time, Oral Tradition and Technology', *Memory*, ed. by Philippe Tortell, Mark Turin and Margot Young (Vancouver: Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, 2018), pp. 197–206; Mark Turin, 'Orality and Technology, or the Bit and the Byte: The Work of the World Oral Literature Project', *Oral Tradition*, 28.2 (2013), 173–86.
- 48 Skounti, 'The Authentic Illusion: Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Moroccan Experience', p. 78.
- 49 Samten Gyaltsen Karmay, *The Arrow and The Spindle*, 3 vols (Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1997–2014), I (1997), p. 150.
- 50 Bu che ba dga' ldan gser khrir bzhugs/bu gnyis pa rgya nag rgyal por bzhugs/bu gsum pas sa la sbra gur phub//
- 51 Hildegard Diemberger, 'Blood, Sperm, Soul and the Mountain: Gender Relations, Kinship and Cosmovision among the Khumbo (N.E. Nepal)', in *Gendered Anthropology*, ed. by Teresa del Valle (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 88–127; Nancy Levine, 'The Theory of Rü: Kinship, Descent and Status in a Tibetan Society', in *Asian Highland Societies in Anthropological Perspective*, ed. by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1981), pp. 52–78.
- José I. Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, 'Editors' Introduction', in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. by José I. Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (New York: Snow Lion, 1996), pp. 11–37.
- 53 Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani, 'Introduction', in *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, ed. by Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. xiii-xxxviii (pp. xvii-xviii); Lama Jabb, *Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015).
- Alexandru Anton-Luca, 'glu and la ye in Amdo: An Introduction to Contemporary Tibetan Folk Songs', in *Amdo Tibetans in Transition: Society and Culture in the post-Mao Era*, ed. by Toni Huber (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 173–96 (pp. 178–79); Roger R. Jackson, "Poetry" in Tibet: *Glu, mGur, sNyan ngag* and "Songs of Experience", in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. by José I. Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (New York: Snow Lion, 1996), pp. 368–92 (p. 369); Anna Morcom, 'Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the "Great Transformation" of Tibet through its Songs', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 47 (2015), 161–89 (p. 164).

- As for the introduction and influence of Indian poetic poetry on Tibetan literature, see Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, 'Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Dandin and Ksemendra', in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. by José I. Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (New York: Snow Lion, 1996), pp. 393–410 (pp. 395–400).
- 56 See, for example, *Dunhuang guzangwen wenxian tansuoji*, ed. by Yao Wang and Jian Chen (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), p. 38; Jackson, "'Poetry" in Tibet: *Glu, mGur, sNyan ngag* and "Songs of Experience"', 368–92 (p. 371); Rolf A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1972), pp. 252–53.
- 57 The term *gur* (*mgur*) was originally used in the honorific register to refer to songs, lu, as shown in the Old Tibetan Chronicle where kings' songs or songs sung by a king's sister were described as gur in contrast to the songs of ministers, which were described as lu. Later, during the expansion of Buddhism that started in the tenth century which was known as the second dissemination, and the strong association between gur and Milarepa—the great yogi and poet born in the eleventh century—gur gradually came to be used to refer to spiritual songs. Gur carry the spirit of lu and are characterised by simple and colloquial language and metric flexibility. For definitions and features of gur, see Tsangnyön Heruka, The Life of Milarepa, trans. by Andrew Quintman (London: Penguin Books, 2010), pp. xxxxxxi; Lama Jabb, Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation, pp. 5–10; Victoria Sujata, Tibetan Songs of Realization: Echoes from a Seventeenth-Century Scholar and Siddha in Amdo (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 77–85.
- Per K. Sørensen, Divinity Secularized: An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Songs Ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama (WIEN, 1990), p. 13.
- 59 Solomon G. Fitzherbert, 'The Tibetan Gesar Epic as Oral Literature', in *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of The First International Seminar of Young Tibetologist*, ed. by Brandon Dotson and others (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2009), pp. 171–96; Zhambei Gyaltsho, 'Bab Sgrung: Tibetan Epic Singers', Oral Tradition, 16.2 (2001), 280–93.
- 60 Thurston, 'An Introduction to Tibetan sa bstod speeches in A mdo', pp. 49–73.
- 61 Tsangnyön Heruka, *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa: A New Translation*, trans. by Christopher Stagg (Boulder: Shambhala Publications, 2017); Sujata, *Tibetan Songs of Realization: Echoes from a Seventeenth-Century Scholar and Siddha in Amdo*.

- 62 Morcom, 'Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the "Great Transformation" of Tibet through its Songs', pp. 168–70; Charles Ramble, 'Gaining Ground: Representations of Territory in Bon and Tibetan Popular Tradition', *The Tibet Journal*, 20.1 (1995), 83–124 (pp. 85–87).
- Morcom, 'Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the "Great Transformation" of Tibet through its Songs', pp. 166–67.
- Many Tibetan oral traditions use the question-and-answer format. One of the most well-studied is the debate song (*glu 'thab/glu shags*) found in Amdo in which the aim is to debate with, satirise, or tease one's counterpart. See, for example, Anton-Luca, *'glu* and *la ye* in Amdo: An Introduction to Contemporary Tibetan Folk Songs', p. 185; *Glu shags srid pa'i dar lce*, ed. by Bkra po (Xining: Mtsho sgnon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997); 'Phags mo skyid, 'mdo smad mtsho lho yul gyi glu shags la rags tsam dpyad pa' (unpublished master's thesis, Tibet University, 2013), pp. 6–13; Per K. Sørensen, *Divinity Secularized: An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Songs Ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama*, p. 18; Timothy Thurston, '"Careful Village's Grassland Dispute": An A mdo Dialect Tibetan Crosstalk Performance by Sman bla skyab', *CHINOPERL*, 32.2 (2013), 156–81 (p. 157).
- 65 See, for example, Don grub rgyal, 'Mdo smad mtsho lho yul du dar khyab che ba'i bshad pa'i skor la rags tsam dpyad pa', p. 15.
- 66 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 195–96.
- 67 See, for example, Don grub rgyal, 'Mdo smad mtsho lho yul du dar khyab che ba'i bshad pa'i skor la rags tsam dpyad pa', pp. 11–13; Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, trans. by Geoffrey Samuel (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 232, 238; Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 191–92.
- 68 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 192, 195.
- 69 Mi chos rtsa ba rnam pa dgu/ seng ge'i khog pa dper bzhag ste/ rkang g.yas srid pa'i chags lugs gleng/ g.yon pa skye 'gro'i byung tshul gleng/ tshang ra 'dzam gling sa bcad gleng/ lag g.yas rje yi gdung rabs gleng/ g.yon pa 'bangs kyi mi rabs gleng/ gung mo bstan pa'i chags lugs gleng/ mjing pa rje nam mi sde gleng/ mgo bo pha ma'i cho rigs gleng/ mjug ma mtshon byed dga' ba'i glu, see O rgyan gling pa, Bka' thang sde lnga (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), p. 469. See also, for example, Stein, Tibetan Civilization, p. 193; David P. Jackson, The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland (Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1984), p. 84.

- 70 Ngawang Gyatso, 'Minjian benjiao jisizhe "laiwu" de jingshu neihan jiqi wenhua tezheng', *Xizang Daxue Xuebao*, 29.1 (2014), 115–20; Jixi Cili, 'Anduo diebu diqu minjian koushu jingwen "siba tuoyi" chuta', in *Minzushi Yanjiu*, ed. by Cang Ming (Beijng: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 2018), pp. 128–40.
- 71 'Gru btsun legs bshad rgya mtsho, *The bo'i dmangs khrod ngag rgyun rtsom rig phyogs bsdus* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2017).
- 72 Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*, pp. 36–41.
- 73 Barbara N. Aziz, 'On Translating Oral tradition: Ceremonial Wedding Poetry from Dingri', in *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, ed. by Barbara N. Aziz and Matthew Kapstein (New Delhi: Manohar, 1985), pp. 115–32.
- 74 Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*, pp. 81–83.
- 75 Aziz, 'On Translating Oral tradition: Ceremonial Wedding Poetry from Dingri', p. 118.
- 76 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 196–98.
- 77 Even though the Baima ethnic community, with a population around 17,000, were identified as Tibetan (*zangzu*/ *bod rigs*) during the Ethnic Identification Project in the 1950s, controversies over the nature of their Tibetan identity continue to the present day. In 1973, the Baima ethnic community filed a report requesting to re-examine their ethnicity. In 1986, the Chinese Central Government decided to retain the ethnic classification of Tibetan for the Baima community. For details about the controversy, see Sichuan minzu yanjiusuo, *Baima zangren zushu wenti taolunji* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu yanjiusuo, 1980); Pingwuxian baimaren zushu yanjiuhui, *Baimaren zushu yanjiu wenji* (Pingwuxian baimaren zushu yanjiuhui, 1987).
- 78 Wanping Wang and Xudong Ban, 'Baima zangren guge diaocha baogao', Xibei Minzu Daxue Xuebao, 4 (2015), 142–50; Tsongka Yongdrol and Wanping Wang, 'Baima zangren guge "gLu" yu siba benjiao', Xizang Daxue Xuebao, 3 (2016), 8–15.
- 79 Wanping Wang and Xudong Ban, 'Baima zangren guge diaocha baogao', pp. 142–50; Tsongka Yongdrol and Wanping Wang, 'Baima zangren Guge yu siba benjiao', pp. 8–15.

- 60 'Gru btsun legs bshad rgya mtsho, *The bo'i dmangs khrod ngag rgyun rtsom rig phyogs bsdus*, p. 160.
- Along with oral accounts in communities across the Tibetan Plateau, written sources also indicate that it is helpful to understand *lu* as conveying encyclopedic knowledge, rather than simply being understood as folk songs. For example, in chapter twelve of *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, *lu* are understood as the knowledge system. This chapter also provides the most comprehensive taxonomy of *lu*, including the dharma song from India (*chos glu*), the song of astrology from China (*rtsis glu*), the song of Bon from Zhangshung (*bon glu*), and Tibetan songs from Ngari (*mnga' ris bod kyi glu*), alongside performance rules for each type of *lu*. See Don dam smra ba'i seng ge, *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge* (*Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*) with an introduction by E. Gene Smith, ed. by Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1969), pp. 522–27.
- 32 Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*, pp. 23–24.
- 83 Ellis Gene Smith, 'Introduction', in *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, p. 6.
- While the scholastic and meticulous style of writing of *The Gateway to Knowledge* for Buddhist professionals, Phagpa wrote *The Explanation of Knowledge* in a concise and compact style for pious patrons. His writing of this text was possibly inspired by the Chinese tradition of compiling imperial reference books (*leishu* 类书) for emperors and princes—a popular practice in the Song dynasty.
- 85 Jinamitra translated sections of *Treasury of Abhidharma* into Tibetan as early as in the ninth century. Chim Jampaiyang's commentary on Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Abhidharma* in the thirteenth century is consideredthe most comprehensive. For a complete English translation of *Treasury of Abhidharma*, see *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya of Vasubandhu: The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary*, ed. and trans. into English by Gelong L. Sangpo, 4 vols (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2012); The Ninth Karmapa Wangchuk Dorje, *Jewels from the Treasury*, trans. by David Karma Choephel (New York: KTD Publications, 2012).
- 86 Rupert Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 207–09; Noa Ronkin, 'Abhidharma', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (2018). https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/abhidharma/

- 87 For the explanation of the three baskets of Buddhist teachings (*sde snod gsum*), see Chögyam Trungpa, *Glimpses of Abhidharma: From a Seminar on Buddhist Psychology* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1975), p. 2.
- 88 Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism*, pp. 56, 206.
- 89 Drevfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*, pp. 113–18.
- 90 Drogön Chogyal Phagpa, *Shes bya rab gsal*, in *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, 15 vols (Sachen International, 2006), XIII (2006), p. 2a; *Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa sogs* (BDRC: MW1NLM864, n.d.), pp. 30b-1a.
- 91 Khedrup Norsang Gyatso, *Ornament of Stainless Light: An Exposition of the Kalachakra Tantra*, trans. by Gavin Kilty (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), pp. 2–3.
- 92 Luosang Danzhu and Popa Ciren, Anduo gucha chandingsi, pp. 47–48.
- 93 See the similarity and difference between *Abhidharma* tradition and *Kalachakra* tradition regarding cosmology in Vesna Wallace, *The Inner Kalacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric view of the Individual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 66–76.
- 94 Ellis Gene Smith, 'Introduction', in *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, p. 5–6.
- 95 Grags pa bshad sgrub, Lo dang spar sme'i re'u mig gi skor dang rtsis kyi lde mig gi skor don bsdus gsal ba bzhugs so in Co ne grags pa bshad sgrub kyi gsung 'bum, 18 vols (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), XVII (2009), p. 393.
- We note that these stanzas of Shépa transcribed by Lhamo Tsering are identical to those published in *Bod kyi dmangs khrod ngag rgyun rig gnas dpe tshogs*, ed. by 'Brug thar and Ngag dbang rgya mtsho, 60 vols (Lanzhou: Kan su'u rig gnas dpe skrun khang, 2015), V, VI, VII, VIII (2015).
- 97 Cabezón and Jackson, 'Editors' Introduction', p. 14; Lama Jabb, Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation, pp. 17–20.
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- 100 Mark Bender, Aku Wuwu and Jjivot Zopqu, *The Nuosu Book of Origins* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), p. xi.
- 101 Timothy Thurston, 'An Examination of the Poetics of Tibetan Secular Oratory: An A mdo Tibetan Wedding Speech', *Oral Tradition* 33.1 (2019): 23–50.
- 102 Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 43–44.
- 103 Charles Ramble, 'Real and Imaginary Tibetan Chimeras and Their Special Powers', *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia*, 7.2 (2014), 13–33 (pp. 15–20).
- Daniel Berounský, 'Bird Offerings in the Old Tibetan Myths of the Nyen Collection (*Gnyan 'bum*)', *Archiv orientální*, 84.3 (2016), 527–59 (pp. 539–40).
- 105 Maoji Fu, *Naxizu tuhua wenzi baibianfu qujingji yanjiu* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2012).
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- 107 Geoffrey Samuel, Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.
- 108 Philippe Cornu, *Tibetan Astrology*, trans. by Hamish Gregor (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, 1997), pp. 30–31.
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- 110 Ramble, 'The Assimilation of Astrology in the Tibetan Bon Religion', p. 214.
- 111 Sangji Zhuoma, 'Minjian benjiao wenxian "xiadang"chutan', Xizang Daxue Xuebao, 2 (2022), 38–45.
- 112 For a critical examination of the master texts, see Mark Bender, 'Co-creations, Master Texts, and Monuments: Long Narrative Poems of Ethnic Minority Groups in China', *Journal of Chinese Oral and Performing Literature*, 38.2 (2019), 65–90.
- 113 Fan, Xueyong and Shihong Yang, *Zhuoni zangzu chuangshi shishi sheba* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2017).

र्ष्ट्रेव सेट मी मान्या

चैद्र.चट्यां इंट्र कुर्या-प्रे क्रियां सूर्य क्रियां स्वीची क्रियां स्वीची क्रियां स्वीचित्र स्वीचित्र क्रियां क्रियं क्रियां क्रियं क

याचयाच्योध्यार्बेट्ट प्रयोधयाच्याःक्रीः भ्रुः स्वायाः त्याच्याः स्वायाः मुद्रान्तः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्व स्वायाः याच्याः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः नितः स्वायाः स्वायः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स् स्वयः स्वयः

क्री.चट्ट.ह्य.जुर्च.च्री-देर्चट.क्रूच.क्रीट.इंग.च्रीच.व्रीच

ૡૢૡ૽૽૽ૄ૾ૺૹઌ૱ઽ૽ઽઽ૽૾ૢઌ૽૽૽ૢ૿૽૽ૢૢ૿ૢ૽ૢઽ૽૱ૹ

ર્કે ત્રે ત્રે ત્રે ત્રે ત્રુપ્ત સ્વયાન ફુન્ ત્રુપ્ત સ્વયાન ફુન સ્વયાન સ્વયાન

कु'वना'नी'भेना'क्ट'मिना'भेर'व। ५न'मुल'रम्नल'(汉)(ध्रुं'लें'र्स्नेन'ग्री'२०२नल'हीं'लें'हेल'ग्री'२२०८र) ग्रैॱभ्रप्यायाः खुद्रः कुर्-र्रुः श्रुर-प्रथाः कुरः (羌) बेया धादेः खुषाः कें घः पर-पायारः पे विवागवयाः विदास्यायः विदा प.रर.। ∮ ह्या.शु.रे.वु.हुर.ताया.अष्ठर.तायु.विय.तु.(鲜卑) र्यवाया.गु.मैंया.त्यू.वाया.तर्यायाया.व्याया. 'खेटु:मिता,विता,(४८०-९२०) ग्री:चेरा,शक्षाया,श्री.बीरी श्रेपु.(堤) मिता,रचया,(५८७-९२७) ग्री:सैनया सिता र्षिट्यासुरामधूर्या हेराव्याखरामुराकुवार्यवरा (४१८-२०००)ग्रीर्टराया र्वेट्स्पेटुर्न्हर्रे (陇右道)बेरायवेर વર્શ્વ :તૃયા (*७१*८–४*७२*) વ.લ.ભૂદયાતા શદવ. દેવદ શદ્દ . તા વશ્વ નર્ચે . ધ્રી જેવુ . ધ્રૈં દેવા છે. તા છે. તા કે તે धूरःकुलःकुः अरतःविरुषःशुः नर्खनः पर्वन्यः पर्वन्यः विरुष्यः स्तर्यः विरुष्यः होता याः खुरः कुनः ग्रीः नशनाः देव क्रमण वी र्षेषुरासुरः (朱၉५०-७२०१) कुषा स्वमायमा त्रमा त्यमा त्यमा स्वमा र्झर,पिद,भैल,स्था,(५७०–१०७७)रेट.कुर.भैल.रचल.(在道要賴७४७०–१८३०)बधुय.ग्रीय.रैव.सूर्यु <u>५५८ वीषा रेशापर ५०८ ५ पत्राप्त ५५० ५०० ५५० विषय</u> श्वरःम्वीतारम्बराष्ट्रास्यास्त्राम्बर्धाम्यस्य प्रमानस्य प्रमानस्य प्रमानस्य स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्व <u>२८। चीर विर व्र (</u>祖昌府) बेय प्रतः तया विरया ग्री रें राय विराव प्रता मुला विराव व्यासीया ૽ૢ૿)૽વૅઽ_ૻતવઃત્વનું.ઽત્ત્રું.ઽત્ત્રું.ધજાતઃતો ફ્રૅઽ.ઽત્ત્રું.૮૮.ત[્]વે.ટત્તું.તું.ફે.જ્.ત્.૮૮.ત્વું.તવજાતનજીત.ત૮.ત[્]વે.ટ.ત્તું.ત प्यट्यः4य्यः
यःय्यट्यः5प्यटः
प्रञ्चेर्।7

<u></u> ને 'ક્ષુર 'ર્ક ' ત્રે ' ત્રા 'ર્ક્સેન વર્ષ કૃષા થાય કે સા ગુજા કુષા માત્ર ત્રા માત્ર ત્રા માત્ર કરી કે માત્ર કુષ <u>ત્ર્રિ</u>દ-વીય.ૹન્.સૈટ-ઇટ-૧૧૧૧૧૫.શે.સુંદ-વતુ.૧૧૯૫.તૃદય.ને.૫.ભૂદય.શે.ક્ર્યુન.તર.દીંદો ૧૧૬.ન.⁴૧૧૫ र्न्यत्र वस्य सुवा सुवा किया में प्रवा विषय के लेखा है जो किया सुवा कर सुवा के स्वा कर सुवा कर सुवा कर सुवा कर ૹ૾ૢૺૼૼૼઽ૽ଵ૽૾૽ૡૺઽ૾ૺ૾ૻ૱ઌૹૹઌઌ૽૿ૢૹૹ૾૽ૡ૽૽ૼઌૹૻ૱ઌ૱ઌૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૺૹ૾ૢ૽ૡૺ૱ઌૹઌઌૢ૱ઌ૽ૺ૱૱ઌ૱ઌ૱ઌૺ૱ૺૹ૿ૢૺ ૡૢૼૺૼૼઽૹઌૢ૱ૡૺૺૻૡૺઌ૱ૹૡૡૺૹ૽૽ૺૡૺ૱ૡઌૢ૱ૡૢઌ૱ઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ૹઌઌૢ૱ૹઌઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌૺ૱૱ૺૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૺઌ૽૽૱ઌૢ૱ઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ઌૢ૱ઌૢ૱ઌૺૺૺઌ श्चर-गाव-ल-स्वर-प्रांच्य-स्वर-प्रांचश्चर-मे रुष-रचक-चर्च-प्रकृत-पावक-चर्च-प्रवर-प्रोत-श्वी-श्विक-विद्यः ૹૣૡ.તવુ.સૈનજ.લી ૡૢૈનજ.તલુવુ.જન૮.ફૂનજ.વુ.ધી.સં.તંત્ર.ધી.તા.વુજા.તફીજ.તની જાર્જુ.ફૂવ.ૡૈનજ.મી.જૂના.તૂવુ. क्रॅ.त.पिन क्षीच्रित चिर क्रैर ग्री सीका रेतृय रर क्रिका क्रीका माना का अरूशका रर रेट्र अ.श. पत्रीका सूरी हे प र् दु.वु.वुय.तपु.सीयाशुर.पट्र.तारा। क्र्.वुयु.सीया.रेटा इ.स्.स्टा घप्र्.हे.शोवरी शुव.हे.शोवरी परीवी. ळुते:पश्रे:र्र्रःपः(舟曲/西固)र्श्वाशायरुषायाते:धुवा:बुच्चेत्रःशं:बेवा:वार्चों:पःन्दाः र्रःवे:रार्श्रेटःवे:न्परः श्चर-वे.र्रुअ:ग्रीअ:र्अ:रन्य:पञ्जर्वा:व्यापक्वर-देश्वे:र्य:११०००वर:र्-वावय:र्याः। देरःग्री:भ्रान्य:श्री र्रुः <5⁴'²³N| ⁹>

स्र- स्. ध्र्याक्ष्यायाययास् ख्रीयाय्क्ष्टात्यायास्य स्याक्षयाः स्याक्षयः स्याविष्यः स्याविषयः स्याविष्यः स्याविष्यः

વર-વૈદ્યી ક્રૈન્રિયા ક્રિયાના ક્રિયાના વ્યાપ્ત ક્રિયાના ત્રું ક્રિયાના ત્રું ના વિક્રાના ત્રું ના વિક્રાના ત્રું કર્યાના ક્રિયાના ત્રું ક્રિયાના ત્રું કર્યા ના વિક્રાના ત્રું કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા ના વિક્રાના ત્રું કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા ના વિક્રાના ત્રું કર્યા કર્યા ના વિક્રાના ત્રું કર્યા ક

त्र्र-क्री.चेय.र्रम्।विय.प्र्रिय.क्री.यय.श्रघत.श्र.वोवय.तप्र.क्र्.वी

रट.शूल.केर.विषण.लूट.स्टर। चूट.त.क्ष्मण.वु.ट्मावी.हूंचल.कुंचल.कुंचल.कुंचल.क्ष्म.चटल.खेट. प्री.कुंतु.हूंट्यु। चूट.टट.शु.र्चवल.विषय.त.विवा.हीय.शूट.टे.विषण.तु.लील.क्षट.बुवा.वे.कीर.हटा। कृ.यू. पश्य.हीरा श्रीट.की.ट्वट.लट.लट.लघुच.तू.बुवा.चवीट.लूट.त.रुटी। चश्य.तू.श्राचर.वूटला.श्री.कीर.तु. राम्या.वे.चश्रुमा श्रीट.च्या.ट्वट.लट.लघुच.सू.कुवा.चवीट.लूट.त.रुटी। चश्य.सूट्ट.कुव.सूट्य.श्री.कीर.तयु. सट.टट.विलील.तचच.चत्तेश्वर.तु.कुटी शचर.अघ्य.क्ष्म.कुं.ट्वि.च्या.वु.शु.च्या.वु.शु.हूंट.कुंट.कुंट.क्ट.क्ष्म.च्या.वु.श्रीट. सट.स्ट.विलील.तचच.चत्तेश्वर.तु.च्या.चु.कुंटी शचर.क्ष्म.कुं.च्या.कुं.च्या.वु.श्रूच्या.कुं.स्ट.च्या.वु.ली.ली. स्ट्या.श्री विषय.सूट्य.श्रीट.टश.क्ट.ट्ये.त्यूट.तपुट.तपुट.या.व्य.च्या.च्या.च्या.चुंच्या.वु.कुंच्या.कुंच.वु.ला.वु.कुंच्या.चुंच

ध्रुरःमुगः पर्वतः र्वेतेः मुगः रप्याः सहुवाहू वायाः पतेः वेदः स्रीयः सुतेः स्नीयः सुः (त्याः रपयाः १७७१ र)। वि चैवा.वी.रेल्य. मुव्यंत्राचवा.कुवा.वीय.भघंत.भक्ष्मया.ग्री.लीय.जीट. म्थाया.चक्र. चर्डेंट.चीय.त.रेटा ह्यूंट. चना नीय प्रचर्त र्येदी निर्मु नृत्ती प्रचर के के र्येदी देना सुवा सुवा सुवा स्वर्भ के देने के प्रचर के स्वरा स्वर र्देश'वर्ष'ऋ'यह्र्ष्ण्रष'चुर्ष'हे'स्रवत'यद्येल'चुैःर्क्क'ष्वण'नृ'मञ्जीष्यश्चीद'धुव्यख्रिर्देश'संरक्षर'स्पर'द्यद शु.पश्चिम ट्रे.ट्रमालका क्रूट.विद्यः मुल.स्प्यान्ते अवतः तत्त्रोतार्क्कः विमालायहेन विकासकी मानिस्यान गुलावनायान्त्रवात्रवनानुषा क्षुवागुना(陇逋)न्ना धवार्या(庞拜)। नमासुना(巴凌)वेषार्काया વાશિયાતાયા.ચીંવાતાવુ.રેંને ફિંશાવાલું ફિંગાલયા.જાયા.જ્યાં જોવાતા જુના જુના તાલું તાલું તાલું તાલું તાલું તાલું કુદા નાંભેળ.તંગ્રેન.તવુ.તથ્મેન.કુંગ.ટી કુંદાંવવુ.ભેળ.વય.જાનું વિજાળ.સું.સુંનય.ગ્રી.ભેળ.લેંદાંવના.ધે.નોવય. क्र्यानकुर-वानाअवतःअर-र्-तर्यतानिवानिवान्। अर्दे-श्चर-ग्री-धुत्य-वानिवान्-धर्म-वर-पायर्याकुराः ઌ૾ૢૺ૾ઌૹૢ૽૱૽ૻૻૹ૾ઌ૽ૢ૿ૹઽ૱૱ૹૺ૾ૹ૾ૢૺ૾ૹ૽ૼૼૼૼૼઌૹઌ૽૿ૢ૽૽૽ૼૹ૱ૹ૽ૼૹઌ૿ૢઌૹઌ૽૿ૢ૽ૠૢ૱ઌઌ૽ઌ૱ઌ૽૽ૺઌ૽૽ૺઌ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹઌૹ*૽* र्ल्रेटी₁ः इत्र-ब्री:ब्र्य्ट्-क्र्य-देन:पद्मेव:पर्य:प्रेय:प्रेय:क्षेत्र:क्षेत्र:क्षेत्र:क्षेत्र:क्ष्य:प्रेय:ब् વેંત્ર⁻. શુંગુષાયા વહેંત્ર તા તુમારા મુખા તે તાલું ત ङ्क्षेषा'वह्ष्पर्यार्ट्स'त्रसार्वेद'यवे:चुेद'त्स्य'ते:देस'चुैस'तृस्यंपरा-चुद्र-व', भद्रा' 🕍 क्षेषा'वहुषास'रद'वित्व'चुे' रुषात्त्र विषाः चूटा र्षेत्।

ट्ट-क्रियःकृषः सुर्टीट-लूट्टी ट्रिन्ट-व्री मी.कृपुःक्रूट-क्रीट-क्री-क्री-क्री-क्रिट-क्रुट-सुर्य-सीयायः तर्मान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्यान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्यायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थान्य-स्थायः स्थायः स्यायः स्थायः स्

राययाग्रीः श्लीययाश्चिर्द्याययाग्ची ह्यायया द्वारा मुच्या मुच्या

देवदःळेत्रःभं र्देरः ग्रुःकुपः पहेतः ग्रुःवेंग श्रुःवेंग्१२४७८त्वयः पत्तुदः द्वयः श्रुः पराञ्जः पवा वेदः विसयः ર્ખેદર્જાનું ક્રિયા શ્રીન નું નિવા ત્વાર વારે વા મુંગાનું વાલે અપાસ અપાસ સામાન અપાસ અપાસ અપાસ અપાસ અપાસ અપાસ અ च्चिरातपुरम्रियास्य प्रतिस्थात् क्षेत्राक्ष्यास्य स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप र् नविषान्त्र भ्रीताम् स्वाप्तान्त्र स्वाप्तान्त्र स्वाप्तान्त्र स्वाप्तान्त्र स्वाप्तान्त्र स्वाप्तान्त्र स्व वाबर.त.वि.चेब्राचुवा.चबुट्य.चुट्युंट.त.वि.चेब्रा.चुं.बे.लट.चश्चैर.वेबा ब्रा.में.तपु.कूब्र.चर्चैट.वचवःबुवा. શુંના ક્રૅમ. શું ક્રાંત્રના હૃ ઓસર્કેન વાલે અને ખાન અસુ પાંતા સુવા તાના સુધા કું અ શું કે અ શું સ્વાના સુધા સુ श्रुव-र्प्पट्याशुःकुयायदे र्के वे प्वर्षिव केव वियामाध्या श्रीपया ने रामाया श्रीप्या श्रीप्याया हिताया विवास वि विद्राक्षीवराष्ट्रियास्त्रिवीः श्रीक्ष्वेश्वराध्यापार्त्यास्यात्रात्रास्यात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रात्रा चिवा स्वाची हे शास्त्रा दे वे चा पासुसार्श्वर स्वाचा वसाय चिता प्रते सर्वे प्रतिसार्थे स्वाची चा सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र स्वाची सामित्र साम चन्दा दुबःरचवःचर्के:मृःपःभवःअवःख्य विश्वदःदुदःचेवःचीःस्ववयःददःवदवःमुवःकेवःकेवःचेवःवदेवः नपुःक्र्यानम्देर्वाचेषयानाव्यान्त्रयान्त्राच्यान्त्रप्राप्तान्त्रयान्त्रप्राप्तानम्बर्धाः नष्ट्रव प्राप्त स्थाने का विषय क्राया सुराजा के सिवार के स्थान क्षाया के सिवार के स्थान करते हैं का सिवार के स $\neg \frac{1}{2} - \frac$ ૹ૾ૢૺૼઽ[੶]ઌ૽૿૾ઌૺઽ૾ૺૻૻઽઌઌૹૻૹઌઌ૿૽ૢઌૹ૽૾ઽૺઌઌ૽ૢૺૼ૱૽ૢ૿ૺૹૄઌ૽ૢ૽૱૽ૢ૾ૹ૾૱૾ૺ૱ૻ૱ઽૡૼૺૢૡ૾ૢૺ૱ૢઌ૽ૺ*૽૽*ૡ૽ઌૹૢઌૣૻ૽ૢૻૡૢઌ૽ૺૹ૽ૢૼઽૺૹૢૢૢૢૢૺૢ

ટ્રૈય. ત્વન્યત્વકૃ. के. त. ત્વના જાયા તા કાયુ. દે. ને દા જુવ. દે. જ્ઞાન ક્રાન્ટ કે. વાવુ. ધ્રી. વે. તે. વાવુ યા જ્યાના ક્રિય. વે. તા વ્યાના ક્રિય. કર્ય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. કર્ય. ક્રિય. કર્ય. ક્રિય. કર્ય. ક્રિય. ક્રય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય. ક્રિય

अट.लूट्य.श्री.शर्ट्य.ट्वट्ट.चर्न्चैंस्ट्यपुरंग्रुट्अवीय.ट्ट्य.श्री.चर्ड्ययाय.त्र.चीयाथाः क्.यु.रिव्या.सं.ला.क्र्य.तावचा.द्रश.वीयायक्त्य.हे। क्.यु.ट्यूय.क्रय.यु.शक्ट्ट.वाष्ट्य.श्रीय.वेहेय.खेटा। शह्यर.लेजा

लट.रे.चे.र्जय.तपु.श्रोवयात्रय.त्रा.वर्षिट्य.त.रे.रे.ची श्रिट.धुंतु.क्.सू.रू.व.कुव.क्षेव.तू.त.(१८०७-३)खेया ঀ৾ঀ৽য়ৣ৾৽য়৾৽৴ৼ৸৽ঀ৾৽ড়৾৽ঀ৾৽ঀ৾ঀ৾ঀ৻ড়৾ঀ৽ঀ৾৽ঀঀ৾৽ড়ঀ৽৸৻ঽ৽৻৻ঀঀয়৽৻য়ৢ৽ঢ়ৠৢৼ৽ঢ়৾৽ৼয়৽ঢ়ৢ৾য়৽য়ঀ৾৽ঀঢ়ৢয়৽য়য়৾৽ৠৼ৽ঢ়ৼ৽ सक्तरात्रीं वी.स.कु.चूंस.चेता.चे.वी.चे.ती.चे.ती.चे.ती.चे.ती.ची.ती.ती.कू.ती.ती.कू.ती.वी.क्र.ती.वी.क्र.ती.वी.चे. <u>चक्क</u>िर.तपु.शह्र.त.ट्रे.ल.कॅर.च्री.थ.सेपु.अंवे.अंवेय.तह्र्य.त.क्षेत्रथ.लूट.श.रट्य.तय.ट्र्.ज्या.वय.क्र्.यु.ट्र्यूय. ळेव व 'विषय पादिय सुर चुरेय हो विषय केवा के स्वर केव 'क्षुव 'सें प्य व य पर्देश सुर पर्देश स्वर प्रें प्र केव 'ची 'चि यहूर्य.क्र्याङ्गंबुयानवाःभ्रेत्राचरामहर्यः कृता विवायविषयः देवाष्ट्रस्यावेताः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्वयः स्वया अवर:त्य:रनय:पञ्च:पत्तु:पत्ते:वर:र्नेर:वाःवे:पक्षतःपद्देतःर्केय:कुयः(१५८२-१८५८)वी:प्रमाःक्षेपयः कुर्य-त्, खुर्चा-ये-ब्रिटा त्रुप-प्रपटा कूरा-इ.चर्चिय-प्रपटा-ब्रिय-प्रपटा-ब्रिय-प्रपटा-ब्रिय-प्रपटा-क्रिय-प्र चतः वी.य.र.धेर.थी ह्रन्य वी.य.श्रीतः सीवायः ग्रीःसिवायः भ्रीवः सूर्यः सीनः अर्थः सीनः अर्थः साम् हेर्स्यायः सीनः *૾૾ૺૺૡ*ૢૹૡ૾ૼૻઌૹ૾ૺઌૢ૾ૺ૱૽૽ૢ૾ૢૺઌઌૻઌઌ૱ઌઌ૽ઌૢ૱ૹૢઌઌૢ૱ૹૢઌ૱ઌૢઌ૱ઌૢઌ૱ઌૺઌઌ૽ૺ૱ઌ भर्ने विभवानी सीता सीट सूर्य सूर तक्ष्य चतुः सूर प्राप्त भवाने सीता वालव दि है ता देवूया दा है हो । अर्रे श्री दिन स અજ્ઞઅ મું ખુબ તુર વૃત્ર વૃત્ર વર્ષ વર્ષ કરે છે. તુર છે કે તે તે ખુબ તે મેર્વર એ અર મેં લેવા કું બ ખુબ કુ . क्युन:र्भेन:प्रने क्युन:पुरावेश क् <u>श</u>.ज.चीऱ।

तझेतालूर्ट्य क्रियाज्ञीरीयानचवायु सुच में झेटानम्म्यान्य स्वास्त्र क्रीम्याच्या स्वास्त्र क्रियाज्ञीरीयानचवायु सुच मुक्ता स्वास्त्र स्व

यक्षात्मा विकास स्वास्ति स्वासि स्वास्ति स्वास्

ट्याययाचीरा वेट.टी.चैर.लूट् इट.वायया क्षेता ट्रेच्ट.चई.चर.टी.टचैर.शुट्टी क्षेत्र वर्ट.ची कर क्षेत्र हुन्य हुन्य हुन्य हुन्य क्षेत्र हुन्य क्षेत्य हुन्य क्षेत्र हुन्य क्ष

लेज.बी.बी.क्रुचया

કૈર.ક્ય.જા.કે.વી.ર.વનૂર્ટ.ત.રેટા ભટ.ક્ષેય.ય.વનોર્યા ક્ર્.યુ.ત.ધ્રેશ્ય.ગ્રી.લીવા.શૂંવા.ટે.કૃતા.નોય.શ.કો.લપ.વુંત યુ.ત્યર.નોય.તાવુ.વર્નુનો.ત.ધ્રેશય.ગ્રીજા.ક્ર્.ર.તાવજા ક્રી.વ.ફ્રીટી ભટ.વ.રી.વે.ક્યુંય.રેશર.ગ્રી.લે.ક્ય.રેટ.જાનુ લીનોજા શૈય.નૂંશ.જ.લીનોજા.શૂનોજા.ગ્રી.દ્યા.વેશ.તવ્યુંટ.કેટ્ય.ગ્રીટ.વર્ટ.જુવ.કૃ.કૃતાંબપ્રેનો.કૈટ.ભૂટી ક્ર્.યુ.ત.રેટ. ધૃદ્ય.શે.નો.ફ્રીન.વદ્ય.યાલિજા.ગ્રી.રીકે.તા.કેર.થી ક્ર.યુ.તા.ધ્રેશ્ય.વુ.તાત્વ.જુર.કૃ.કૃ.યું.દ્યા.રેટ.તા.લ્રજ્ય.કૃ.ટ.નો.જારત. यक्षान्तिरातृ क्रीर जीवाकाला, लास्ट स्टर सेवाका क्रीयः चनः क्रा चंचा स्ट्रा हुंचा का स्वावित्र जी स्वावित्र

ૹૺ. ટેવ્રે. દાતાના બારા હું કુ. કુ. અ. શ્રેટ. હાં નાર્ટર. રાવા ક્ષેત્રમાં માને ભાગ લેટ. હું ટ્રાં શુ. લવૂર. વેટ. ટે. શૂર. લદ્દ્વ કેટે. તાલુ ક્ષ્ટર. નાવુ ના કુ. હું ના કુના તે કે આ માને કે ખાને કુ. હું ના નાવુ ના કુ. હું ના કુના તા કુના ત

क्र्य.जीवाय.रेट.लीज.ब्र्जिनी

कृतायाचित्रायीचित्राचित्राचार्यम् अथायाचित्रम् अथाक्ष्याचित्रम् अथाक्ष्याचित्रम् अपित्राचित्रम् वित्राचित्रम् अथित् वित्राचित्रम् वित्राचित्रम् अथित् वित्राचित्रम् अथित् वित्राचित्रम् अथित् वित्रम् वित

चन्द्र-प्रते र्ने र्ने न्दर-सुन्न स्वा

यक्थाने, लीट, जाट्या, स्वास्ति क्ष्यां स्ट्री स्वास्ति स्वासि स्वास्ति स्व

યુર્ટા ત્રુક્તા.લંબાનાફૂર્ટ, कूर्या.त.લુંતા.જીવ. જીરી ત્યાં ક્રિય. વી.ક્રીય. ત્યાં ક્રેય.વી.કૃષ્યા.તા ત્રાં કે સ્ત્રા.તા.તા ટે.વુ.તાયેજા.લુંતા.વી.દ્યા.વજા.ટું.તા.ટુંયા.તાવ. ગ્રી.સંત્યા.ટી.ય.ગ્રી.ટેશ્તા.તાવ.સુત્યા.તા.વું ક્ષ્યા.તા.તાયેવ.તાનુતા.લુંતા.તાું ક્ષ્યા.તાવ. ત્રુંતા.તાવ.ગ્રી.સંત્યા.ટી.સંત્યા.તાવ.સુત્યા.તાવ.સુત્યા.તાવ.સુત ટુંતરા.તાત્તેટ.તાવુંતા.તાનું ક્ષ્યા.તાવું.સંટ.વંતાનું ક્ષ્યા.તાવે.સુત્ય

૮૮.1 હ્વદ.ધી.૮૮.ૹ,ધી.ઌૢ.વર્ષર.દ્વાયા.ક્ષ્મબા.પ્રૈપ્ટ જોયા.ક્ષ્મબા.પ્રીવ્યાયે ક્ષ્મના ટી.વર્ષ્ટ બારા ક્ષ્મિયા. શ્રુવા.ટુંવ.લટ્ટ્ર-.વર્મ્પ્ર-.ભૂર.ત..ટ્ટા વાયુવ.સ્રુંવ.દ્યું.સ્રો.સ્રવ.લી.વંડ.વેવ.દે.વાતા.कु.વર.દ્યેર.વંડ.સુંય.ત્.,શ્રવા. વર્જ્ય.દ્યું.તુલ.૧૮.તુ. શર્વવ.તુ.તુલી દ્વિદ.વો.તુલી ૧.૧.સંત.દ્યો.તુલી ટ્રે.વે.તા.કૃષ્ય.કૃષ.જવાયા.લીવાય.કૃષ્ય. કુ. ૧૧. ક્ષેત્ર.તા કૃષ્યા.દ્યેશ.વંડ.તુન.સુંય.તુને વ્યાપ્તિ કૃષ્ય.સુંય.દ્યો.તુને કૃષ્ય.સું.તા.ક્ષ્મા.દ્યો.વાયુરે ૧૧. ક્ષેત્ર.તા ૧૧. કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.દ્યો.જ..વંટ..કૃષ્ય.તુ.સું.તુ.સું.તા.ક્ષ્મા.છે.વર્ષ્ય.તુ..વું.તુ. ૧૧. ક્ષેત્ર.તા ૧૧. કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.વંડ.કૃષ્ય.પાયુ.તુને તુ. કૃષ્ય.પાયુ.

ट्टिशेशक,बुटा-बुट्टिनर-स्रेंसल,वट्टेट-कुं, त्व खेळ, ट्ठल, हव-बुवी-किट्स् प्रट्टिन्ट प्वचुव-प्लुट-त्पूर्टी विवास प्रतित्व के कार्य क्षेत्र क्

ब्रुलक्षिय-क्री.चचर.नद्यः क्रीम-अवार्या

श्रधेत्रात्मवेत्यदेनयात्त्यत्री लट्च शु.चोधुरा,ग्रीकार्ज्ञ ही इ.ज्रधेत्रा दे ग्री.इ.इ.ज्राच्चेट, ग्री.लूट्न त.इ.ट् अधूच ,त्या क्रै.च्चिट, ट्चे.चतु, क्च.त. क्षेत्रात्म प्रकार इ.इ.चलुच , ग्रीट्च , खुटा । वालच , क्षेत्रात्म ग्रीट्च , प्रच्च प्रकार ग्रीट्च , प्रच्च प्रकार ग्रीट्च , प्रच्च प्रकार ग्रीट्च , प्रच्च प्रचार प्रचार

शावय-विश्वेय-जय-विश्वविक्विय-विक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-विश्वविक्विय-व

तः मुन्द्रा नित्रः व। वाषाः मुन्द्रन्याः वुषाः व। सः अश्वः श्रः अधिनः नृत्यः नित्रः प्रत्यः प्रत्य

<u>હિંદ.તત્ત્વર.ગ્રી.ચૂંર.બ.ર્જ.૧૪૫.ટુ.વ.વટુ.કેર.ટુઅ.ન.વી</u>

य.ज.४.ज.थवेच.थु.चट.सुटी। य.ज.थ.थुय.जूट्य.चर्नेट.क्रेट.॥ चेषेश.लर.ज.च.चेचेथ.थु.चट.सुटी। चेषेश.ज.त.च्युच्य.चूट्य.चर्नेट.क्रेट.॥

ૡ૾ૢૺ[੶]૱ૹૻઌૢ૽ઽૻૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢઌ૽૽૱૽૽ૢ૽ૡ૽૽ૢ૽ૡૡ૽ૺૡૻૡૼઌૹ૽૽૱ઌૡ૽૽ૡૢ૾૾ૡૢ૽૱ૡ૽૽ૺઌૹ૽૽ૢ૽ૺઌ૽૽ૺ

य.श्रम्य.त्य.च्या.श्रु.श्रथयं त्र.मुट्री। य.श्रम्य.त्य.श्रवयं श्रु.मुश्च्य्य.स्य.व्या। य.श्रम्य.त्य.श्रवयं श्रु.मुश्च्य.स्य. यवश्य.त्यम्य.श्रु.म्यन्ट्रे.बु.य॥ यवश्य.त्यम्य.प्य.म्यीवयश्य.विट.कुयं वया। व्यवश्य.त्यम्य.त्य.म्यीवयश्य.विट.कुयं न्यया। व्यवश्य.त्यम्य.त्य.मुश्चयं श्रु.मुश्चयं स्त्रम्या

૨ય.સૅન.ગ્રી.નધ-.ત.નય.ધી.જૂવો.રેન્ય.ફે.વર્ન.કેન.ટુંય.ગ્રેન.જૂવો.ક્રેો ત્યન્સેનય.નકેવ.ગ્રી.કિંવ.ઘું.નક્્ન.વેલુ.વુ.૧ય.સૅન.ગ્રી.નધ-.ત.રન.વનુન.ન.ત્ત્રનફેન ફે.૧ય.સ્ં.સેન.રી.

क्रशक्र्यं स्ट्रेन्द्राच्यूष्यक्र्यं स्ट्री॥ वावयः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥ प्रवायः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥ वावयः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥ वावयः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥ वावयः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥ वावयः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्यः स्ट्रेन्द्रम्॥

વુ.ર્ધી.તઘન.ગ્રી.તાજ્ઞ.વજા.ત.કૂ.ળ.ત્.ત.જા.ત.ન.તાષ્ટ્રેય.લેય.લેમ ફિય્ય.લૂજ્ય.ર્ધી.જ્યાં.વા.વ્યય.ત.જા.સ્યાં.તા. કુબ.ટુંજા.તા.તા નોજા.કે.ર્જા.જાય.તાવા.જા.ત્યુંના વ.તજા.તમ.તકુ.તાવું! તત્વેરી.તાવુ.ર્ધી.તા.4જા.ગ્રી.રેજીના.લેજા

यवा,लृत्यश्वामूर्ट, यः ट्रंट, ट्रंचांद, श्रची क्रिय, तर्यु, ट्रंथ, च्रेचां ग्रीट, स्ट्रंटी झृत, च्रेट, तर, ट्रंचां, तथ, क्रु. यर, श्रःचं च्री, श्रंच्य, युंचे, श्रंच्य, युंचे, लिल, श्रु, घ्यां, ब्रंच, युंचे, युं

क्रीका क्रीक्षिट - देश्वर प्राप्त प्रित् में लु. क्रीक्ष प्राचित क्राक्ष क्षाक्ष स्वाक्ष स्वावक्ष स्वाक्ष स्वाकष्ठ स्वाक्ष स्वाक्ष स्वाकष्ठ स्वाकष्ण स्वाकष्ठ स्वाकष्

૮૮.વ૨બ.મું૮.ૹૣ.તોલેવ.૮વા.મુ.ધીં.ત.ોઘવા.મુ.જેવે.ટી.વ૨૪.લબો ધીં.ત.૮ુ.૮વા.મુ.ક્ષેત્ર.શુે.િદીને.ભૂલે. યૂંખ.ધ્યેવ.કે૪.વે.વો૮.લુંતો.મુંબ.વર્ષને.તતુ.ધીં.જૂવો.ભૂ૮બ.ધી.બુવોબ.ત૪.તર્સવ.લ્ટ્ર્ડ્રિવો નાતો.ધેનોજ.

पतः त्रुः क्षेताः वी देवायः दतः दतः र्देवः सुवः सुवः सुवः स्वायः परः प्यादः केदा व्यवदः पतिः त्रुः क्षेताः वी केदः यावयः पायः यदः ऍ.डीर्वा.वी.र्टर.ज.चन्नर.टी.वीट.टेव्यूज.ल.ट.र.। श्रीयज.तवार। लीज.कूपु.जर.जन.टी.वक्र्याज.वज.कूर्र.त. ८८.तर्चे.धैर.के.क्र्यां भीट.वेट.वेंच.लूच.स.स्टी वालव.लट.धी.क्रुव.4श्रा.चूट.लवा.सट.धी.लवा.वा.लवा. `र्दर-धनःक्षेत्रुवन्तुन्-धन्दनः। धनःवन्ध्रुःधनःन्दन्यक्ष्वतःधनःर्वेग्यःधनयःभ्रेयःश्रुःर्ळेग्यःयःमहेवन्वयःधेनः त्यायहेव के ब्रुप चेद की व्याप्त सेदा हेद क्षा दर अव स्तुम द्वा अव के ब्रुप अविव की ब्रुप सम्बन्ध की विभाग से ॉर्॰र्स्टळॅंशक्षेःबार्न्द्रस्थानुत्रःकेष्ट्रःबेवात्या तयन्यःहिःष्ट्रःसुःबेवाँयःयहेत्रःत्रस्यम्यदिःसतेःस्युक्ता ૽ીર-ક્ષેદ્રયાયાઃક્ષેદઃલીયાયા.શૂર્યાયા.ધુ.જી.*દાયા.ફી.જા.¥જાય.મી.યા.મી.દા.દુ.તાલુધ:રી.શ્રીંવ:દેત્ર્યાયા.મી.જા.જ્ વૈયાવના યુમ.ક્રાંકી.શ્યા.ભંદાગુન.તવું.ક્ષું.વયા.મંદાનું.ધેજાય.શુંદા.નંદાનું.ક્ષા.વું.વાલવ.તા.ક્ષા.વાયાર.જુને. तर व्रिट. तर हुँ। शूरी हे . चतुः शुः लू. कि. वश्वात वश्वात व्यवतः वश्वात व्यवतः व्यवतः व्यवतः व्यवतः व्यवतः व ळेव.त्.बुबा.चैंट.रेट.वचैंट.चबुब.त.बु.झु.ज्.उ०७९ष्य.चबेंटा। गोव.कुॅ.चूर.ऱ्योय.रट.सूॅट.विजायय. अर्देव सेव प्राप्त वा रेव वाव वा रेव वाव वा रेव वाव Meritage 非物质文化遗产) गुर्शेर हुषः र्पेट्यः सुः श्वेतः भ्वेतय। प्रभितः यो प्राचीरः यो तः नितः सुन्नः वित्रः यो प्राचीरः नम्दार्या चुरासुवा चुीनर्गेदाया द्वारा चुरास्यावत स्दाध्य विवाया वर्षे समानिका स्वीता प्राप्त स्वीता स्वापित स वाबिःबः भराविः वाष्ट्रात्वे प्रविः विवादिः विव वाश्वभःग्रीःवात्रसःभूदर्भःदनैःदवाःचक्कुदःतसा चन्नदःभःत्वेसःभवेःग्रीरःयोत्रःयोत्तःविदःश्वेसःग्रीःवाकुतः रेवा वात्रयायदेते. रतायवित्रायायययायविवायायतायत्याये चेतायाये स्ट्रास्ट्री स्वाप्तायाय

अर्देव क्षेव पुषा चल्या रेया यावरा प्राप्त प्राप्त खेरा खेता

योभ्रीय ब्रीकान्तरी-तर्पु त्यांचन क्रिय ब्रीक्ष्य क्रिक्य माम्याया स्वाया क्रिय व्रीक्ष्य क्रिया क्रिय क्रिय क्रिया क्रिय क्रिय क्रिया क्रिय क्रिया क्रिया

ક્ર્.કું.gં.a.ଲૈવ.ā).बूं.a.कैंय.ā).क्रूअअ.कुय.टंट.क्.चंच.ग्री.क्यात.ફ.ઝુંત્યા શે.चયૂંટ.लूटं.त.टंट. ग्री.प्रांच टे्यूंअ.ही.र.जूंल.कैंय.ग्री.लीबाय.टंट.बिटे.तर.तुंच.दे.कु। टेतुर.च.टंट.ग्री.पविच.कूंच.laट.बी.पविच.कुंबाय.थे. पविच.कूंच.ग्री.क्यातर.बैंद्र.तुंच्यातर.बीर.तपुंचीर.लीबाय.चु। लीज.ट्याट्ट.हेंट.बू.ताक्यात्यात्यात्यात्यात्यात्य
$$\begin{split} &\widehat{\mathcal{A}}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}_{ada,aga}.\widehat{\mathcal{A}_{ada$$

युः चुंच दें.चाल कुच .स्.लुची ह्रीचा ट्रेच त्यट्ट दें चट्ट ट्रिच हूं ट.लूट .स.हें न चचे ट्रिच .स्ट्रेच हुं .चेंचु. चट .ट्रेच .चींट्र थर .ट्रेच .चींट्र थर .ट्रेच .चींट्र थर .ट्रेच .चींट्र .स.हें न चचे ट्रिच .चींट्र .चींच .चींट्र .चींच्र .चींच्य .चींच

ર્વેદ-દુ-વર્દ્દેદ-ધ-ભ્રુમ વર્ષદ-ધરાવોદ-ભુવાય ત્રે-ધુતા-દુય-દદા ભ્રુમ-બ્રેના દુર્શવાય ધુતાના કરાયો છે. नष्ट्रव धुरा चुर येव चु इसराय पर श्रुर केंग्रय देवा पेंदर देश रेदा थूट सेंग्य कुरा में वा ग्वर रा ૹું[,] મુંત્રું વર્ષે કું ત્યાર્ગ કું તાલુકા તાલુકા કું मुेव सूर्वेषायः वेषा होनयः प्रवेष पेर्पा देवे सूर्ययः गुेषा सरः क्रेंषयः यः सर्केष व प्रवर्पः पर्वे के वेषा धीव पर ५८। प्रमुद्र-पः धेषः के लेवा चेद्र-ध्रुवः केषः प्रवेदे चन्यन्य हो। वसः धेवः सुदः देषः यावः के स्वाबः विवाः धेद દેષાયા રેના કે વર્ષ તેં તવારે રેનાયા ખેવાર્કેવા ઇંચાનું અના કેવા ઇંચાયા વર્ષેના સંવાસના કેવા વર્ષે તે કેવા કેવ वयानवर् भः ग्रीर योव प्रीत् पर अर्देव प्रयुक्त प्रुक्त पर पहेव। ग्रीर योव ग्री वर देव पर वस्य परीर देव वया ર્જ્ઞેબઃક્રુવ:ઘુ:ઘુ:પોવ:ધુેς:લુ.વાય:૬૮:૨૮:વય:૨૮:૬/૧૭ુંς:કે૮:| વાયર:૬૨:ઘુ:ઢંવ:ફલ:બ:બ:વફેવ:વયા⁴⁷ न् र्रेश ग्री प्यन्तर प्राचीर योव ग्री श्वाप्तर प्राचे स्वापा की स्वापा की स्वापा की स्वापा में स्वापा ग्री श्वापा की स्वापा की स्वापा में स्वा ઌૣૼૡૺ.ઌઌ:ૹ૿ૺઌ૽ૹૢ:ૹ૾ૺૹ૾ૢૺૹૺ૽૽ઌ૽ૻઌ૽ૺ૱ઌ૽ૹૢઌઌ૱ઌૣૢ૽૱ઌૢૡૺૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ઌઌૢૡ૽૽૱ઌઌૹૺ૱ૢૢઌ૱ૹ૽ઌઌૢ૽ઌ૽૽ૼ૱ चुर-५८-तचुर-प्रवेत-पर्वे॥ केन-देन-प्रदेश र्वि-क्षंत्रकार ग्रीय-प्रवृत्त ग्री-क्षंत्र प्रवेत ग्री-क्षंत्र प्रवा नपुःस्वाक्नियःग्रीःपह्न्यःभ्रीःस्त्रीयःग्रीश्वायानाववानायुःसिवाह्न्यायःलस्त्रीयःभःत्याःस्टर्गेन्यविवःलूनी पट्नर र्म्मेवायार्थ्यं में अर्था के ते हिं सुवाया स्वरायहें वा पूर्वे याया विवास विवास विवास विवास के स्वराया स्वराय अघतः न्वान्ते न्वयः भटः तर्थे त्यष्टुरः रटः चलेवः न्यावयः भेनः ध्रीयाः द्वीयाः नेवः वर्देरः चष्ट्रयः पर्वः प्रव क़ॖऀॱऒॴॱख़ॱॸ॔ॸॱॿॣॖॱॸ॔ॸॱॻक़ॣॺॱक़ॖऀॱॸऀॴॺॱॺॺय़ॱॸ॔ॴॱॻॖॸॱऻ<u>ॸॴॱक़ॗॺॱॹॖऀॱ</u>ॾॕॴॱॸऀॴॱय़ॸऀढ़॓ॱऒ॔ॱॻक़ॗ॔ॸ॔ॱॸऀॴ अप.कुबा.धुर.कु.क्या.त.अर्ट्य.ततु.बिर.क्श.ताला क.क्ट.बा.क्यि.पुटा क्ट.पट.क्य.त.पटा प्रक्य.पा.श्रे. यःॡॱतुःविषाःषाह्वःवशःधीवःश्रेऽःर्री।⁴⁸

स्टान्यचुर्यः क्री.क्ट्र-वाचुं स्टान्यक्रातः वाङ्गवान्तः वाण्यक्रात्तः वाण्यक्रात्यक्षः वाण्यक्रात्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रात्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वाण्यक्रत्तः वा

क्र्.चेतु.लेल.बी.बोधेय.ब्र्लिल.टेट.वर्चेल.चतु.चचेट.नच्ट.बुट्र.लेची

त्यन्यःपदैःश्चेर्यः प्रज्ञःस्याः दुःस्यः देरःया र्रुः वेःपः क्रम्यः ग्रीः यहेवः श्रीः यहेवः श्रीः यहेटः। प्रयाः स्रायाः यहेवः ૹૢૼૼ૱૽૽૱ૹૡ૽ઌ૽*૾*ઌ૽ૢ૽૱ૢ૽ૣૻૣૣૣૣૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૹ૽ૣ૽૱ૡૡૻઌૣૹૣૢ૽૱ૹ૽૱૽ઌ૽ૺ૱ૹૻૣઌ૽ૹઌઌ૽ૹ૽ૣ૽૱ઌઌ૱૱૱ चुर्च खेर्-पन्ते नवर्नन्तिकार्र् अस्त्रे। निर्माने स्थिता कुर्वा चुन्ने निर्माने स्थानित स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स वार-दीर-वी.श्रीयथालाविधवःत्र्यायर-तावी.श्रीर-दी.श्री-दीर-वालीवी.स्री क्षिय-क्षेत्र-वि-वर-तावी.श्रीयापानिस्ता नवाःभद्रःतःभःनटःभःरतयःबङ्गवाःनःबिवाःभवःर्नेषःभिरः। क्षेत्रायःविशःगदिःष्विभःस्टःवीयःर्यःर्वदेगविनः चित्रशामितः विभाज्ञतः स्वाचानाः स्वाचानाः विवास्तानाः विवास्तानाः विवासितः विवासितः स्वाचानाः विवासितः विवासित ર્ધુેવાષઃવાદ્ગેષઃવાદેઃસુષઃક્રુદ્દ:વાર્જ્દ:સઃબીद:સેવ;ઘી:ઘદ:બ:ક્રુષ:ર્બેद:વાષબ:ર્બે:લેવા:બેદ:દર્વોષ:ધ:ખીતા पत्रअः सुषः क्षुनः वार्षदः स्रातेः भूः चः वेः र्रेः वेः पतेः वावेवः र्ष्योवः नुः त्वष्युः र स्रोनः पतिः वावनः वावेषः पः नेः धीवः हे। स्रानः दे'वे'र्रुं'वे'स'क्रमणयामर्केत'व'वेव'र्','याय'के'च'वेवा'धेव'वेद'| क्वुव'ध्व'द्','याहे'र्वेदे'क्वुद्'स'द्दा| भैवा अः<u>भु</u>अःव्रयःचक्कृत्ःकें। देःवैःशःदेःभीवःहेःशेःरमयःमिष्ठेशःव्रयःकत्ःवर्षेःमःदरः। यःभयःव्रयःमक्कृतःकें। देः <u>વૈ:રુષ:ત:વષ:મक्रेर.त:, ત્રુવ:ક્ષેત્ર:વય:ભર:ક્ષ્ય-ક્ષ્ય:મુન્ય:નુવી</u> શ્રુંષ:ક્ષુત:શ્રું:વાકેત્ર:શ્રું:વાર્:શ્રે:ક્ષ્ય: यानेव क्षेया चेदाया वे विवान त्यहें अपने विवास व

ૹદાતા. શૂતા. દ્વેટીન કુદાત દ્વેરા દ્વાકુ. લું વા ભૂદા ઝુદા સૂર્યા ત્રાકુ. દાલું ચારી લેં. દેશ્યા તતુ. ફ્વિંગ જ્યા. ત્યાં બાદુ . ફ્વિંગ . શું. મું. પ્યાં તે ત્યાં તાલું ચારી . શું. મું. પ્યાં પ્રણા વા માત્ર ત સ્ત્રાં ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં કું સું સું સું માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યા માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યા માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યા માત્ર ત્યાં માત્ર ત્યા માત્ય ત્યા માત્ર ત્યા માત્ર ત્યા માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ય માત્ર માત્ર માત્ર માત્ય માત્ર માત્ય માત્ર માત્ય માત્ર માત્ય માત્ર માત્ય માત

चृत्रा श्रवान्तर्मुत्त्रीयात्रयं यद्भुन्न, इन्द्रम् त्वृत्व द्र्याययं नारेना इष्या श्रवमः श्रवेत् नृत्वे द्र्येमात्र्यी श्रव्यन्त्रीयाय्यं स्वित्त्रीयाय्यं स्वित्त्रम् स्वत्त्रम् स्वत्त्रम्

ત્રું તાલું તાલુ

चे.चार्थेश्व.तत्राक्ष.का.की.ची.स.सेटा॥ चे.चार्येश्व.ता.ची.चेचा.चेवा.तूर.त्तर्धेचाशा चे.कु.च.रेचाव.स्व.चाश्वर.घ्रिर.तर्खेवाशा

विःतचल-रम्भूयःहीर-लियःक्षैरः चिश्वराज्ञेशःसैवा-विशेशःतिवा-विशेशःतिवा-विशेशःति। क्षिः क्षित्राच्या-रिन्नेर-रम्भूया लट-त्या-श्रालेल-इं-रेट-ग्रीय-रिकाशी नृत्ययः चर्नेट-रूट-लियः र्रेट-रम्भीयः रप्तः वट-सेर-लि स्तुः क्ष्यं जलासी-रे-व्या-इ-र-प्रेट-प्रेट-प्रा-क्षित्रः जान्यनः ग्रीयः चया-श्रप्तः अन्ति-र-पर्द्यः श्रीयः यवा-श्रप्तः श्रीः सू-र-त्याव्यः तः वु-त्या-श्रप्तः प्रेट-प्रेट-प्रेट-प्रा-क्षितः विवान्तः ज्ञान्तः विवान्तः अन्ति विवान्तः अन्ति विवान्तः विवान्तः विवान्तः विवान्तः विवान्तः विवान्तः अन्ति विवान्तः विवान्तः अन्ति विवान्तः विवान्

टट्टचर्नियी थाया.सपु.अ.लीय.टट्टाळा.यु.लुय.चयोबाया.चर्स्ट्रीट्य्यी.बार्ट्ट्र्टायचिषया.यथा ट्रूंचर्योबाया.य. बाट्य.पट्टेय.खेय.प्रे! शावा.सपु.विश.स्रुं.२.अपा.बी.क्ट्राबा.ग्रुंता.सूर्य.त.ट्टा चवा.श.सूं.विम्य.चश्चेत्राया. २.पर्च्य.बुट्टा जमा.व.२.ब्रीच.क्रे.टट्प्रेये.क्रे.शूबोया.बिश्च्य.पु.य.तु.क्ट्री. बोधेय.चूया.ला.श्रीया.पु.खेया. चर्स्रेय.च.बाश्चेया.चिया.हुत्या चवा.त्रा.यु.खंट्या.स्या.बी.या.चर्स्य.या.सु.या.यु.या.त्रा.विमा.सपु.विमा.या.स्र चीत्रायक्ची-र्यूजा,सूर-साइरी क्चीत्रायक्ची-र्यूजा,सूर-साइरी क्चीत्रायक्ची-र्यूजा,सूर-साइरी क्चान्य,क्चान्य, क्चान्य, क्चिया, स्वान्य, स्वान्य,

तर्वज्ञान। पत्रिन्पः प्रत्यः कुर्वेशः देवाः प्रत्यः भ्रेषाः केषाः क्षेषः देवाः वीः

चक्रीचाथत्तर्याचु खुचाडु-रिवेच चत्त्रश्रायत्याल्या ची-चयश्च चोचु खुचाडु-रिवेच चत्त्रश्यायत्याल्या ची-चयश्च चोचु चित्रायः चयश्च प्रचाचो ची-चित्रायः च्यायाः चित्रायः चित्राय

चन्द्र-पंर्दर-वेंद्र-श्री-रनाः कुत्र-हें अर्रना नी वहोवाना

<u>र्</u>ट्र-वेट-क्र्बा-बी-पर्वेल-चा

चकात्तत्रभावःक्रियः वोश्ववार्यः क्ष्ववारास्त्रां ताचुः श्रुवाः शर्ष्वाः वित्राः त्रीः वीरः स्रित्राः वित्राः वित्र

য়ৢঀৼঀ৾৽ঀৼয়ৢঀৼয়ঀৼয়৽ঀ৽ঀ ৡ৾ৼৼঀৼঀ৾৾ৡৼৼয়ঀৼয়ঀ৽ৼৼৼ॥ ড়ৢঀৼঀৼঀৼয়ৼয়

ते.क्रॅंट.बेर.चबुं.ज्यंबयतच्चैंट.बोबी ब्रैंबेंबर.चबुंदुःब्रैंट.चबुं.क्वबंब:ब्र्ल:ट्रेटी क्रॅंट.कुं.अं.जूट.कुंबंवरटं.बोबी ब्रैंटट.धुं.अं.क्वबंब:ब्र्ल:ट्रटी कुंअर.ट्रं.प्रच.चक्रुंबंबरवटं.बोबी इंदुःचैंब:त्र्.ट्रंटाक्बंबऱ्ब्य:ट्रटी कुंअर.ट्रं.प्रच.चुं.ब्रूंचकेट.बोबी बोट.टेट.बोट.बुं.क्बबंबऱ्ब्य:ट्रटी कुंअर.ट्रं.प्रच.चक्रुंबंबरवटं.बोबी बोट.टेट.बोट.बुं.क्बबंबऱ्ब्य:ट्रटी कुंअर.ट्रं.प्रच.चक्रुंबंबरवटं.बोबी बोट.टेट.बोट.बुंक्बंबऱ्ब्य:ट्रटी

चासुर म्वी.की.विट.चश्चरस्रातायरी॥ भर्षत्र म्बी.बी.व्यवीया.सूर वी॥

ट्यी. २. तक्षेत्र. लूरी चर्या क्षेत्र. सूरी चर्या क्षेत्र. कषेत्र. कष

ૹૈવીત્ર્યાસ્ત્રામાનુષ્ટન માર્ગ માર્ટ્ સૈટીનું મુદ્દર્શેટીન વાર્ડ સ્ટ્રીન નાયુ. સ્ટ્રીની વાર્ટ ક્રેનિનેટન નાયા વિત્રામાના નાયા માર્ચ વાર્ષો માર્ટ્સ માર્ચ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત વાર્ષો માર્ચ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત ભૂષ્ત પ્રાપ્ત સામાનુષ્ટ માર્ચ પ્રાપ્ત પ

नर्हेर्नु-र्नेब-ग्री-वर्नेल-प

शक्ट्यं.लूरी विटिए. स्टायत्र भु: स्टायः ग्री. तक्ट्रेट. जीवीयः ह्याय्यायः युष्यः सुवीयः अयः ह्युः भूर्यः व्यायः स्थायः सुविटिं जीवीयः स्टर. त्ये कुवीः शब्द्रेट्यः अतः श्रेयः । वर्ष्ट्रेट विट्यं वर ह्युं क्ष्यः सुव्यः सुव्यः सुव्यः सुविट्यं वर ह्युं कुं सुविट्यं वर सुविट्यं कुं सुव्यः युव्यः ययः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः युव्यः यु

નવન-તા-ન-ભૂનબાશી.જ.૧૧૬ન્યાનુક્રિવાફ્રુંજાનુનાની.કૃતાબાનેબાનુવાલુનાભૂન.તાનું સી.નાનુ ૽ૢૺૺ૾ૄૹ૾ૢૺ૱ૹૢૣૻ૽ૡ૽૾ઽઌૢ૿ઽઌ૽૱ઌ૽૽૾ૹ૽૽ઌૻૹ૱ૢઌ૽ૼ૽ઌૡ૽૾૱ઌ૾ૻઽૹ૽ૼઽઌૢઌ*૽*૾૽૽ૼઌઌ૽૿ઌઌૡઌ૽૱૽ઌઌ૱૽ૺૡ૽ૺૹ૽ૢૺ ૹૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૹઌૢ૾ૹ[ૻ]ઌૢ૿૾ઽઽઽ૾૾ૡ૽૽ૡૡૹઌ૽૿ૢ૽ૺ૱ૡૡ૽૽૾૱ૡ૿૽ૡૻ૽૽૽ૡઽઌ૽૽ૼૡ૽૽૾ૺ૱ૡ૽ૺૡ૱ઌૢ૽ૡ૽ૹ૽૽ૢ૽૱ૹૢ૽ૼૡૼ૽૽ૢ૽ૺ૾ भ्रमार्था शुः र्से सुः येव रर्षेया प्रमार्था भ्रीय श्रीव स्वया ग्रीय से मार्थित स्वया मुन्य स्वया स्वया स्वया नपुःभुषानाः स्थायः भूतिमः नगावाः भ्री श्लाः क्ष्याः वीः नः स्थाः क्ष्यायाः वीवाः प्यान्याः विवासिनः वास्ति। वास्ति वाबि वै नव र्नेव ची नव्हव नवे चुट रम्पर नटा वहिव हेव से र्केर मुं क्रें र र्यवार वेश मुं स्रामित स्वापित विवाधित . यूनःभॅन्।⁷⁶ भरःअर्ने:श्लूनःर्के:बेते:भुषःची:क्रूं:अळअष:५८:। देरःवी:श्लेनःपहेंब:ष:नरुन:श्लूम:ब:गाव:शुतु:बेतः ळेव.रट.शु.च्रिंव.बुट.कुव.बु.अक्शब.शु.ववया.तु.तु.च्रे.तु.च्रेंट्.इवया.(白马藏族)४४.च्रेंट्.सून्यः त्र्।पृचा-क्रथःतपुःसीजःपीरःसी‱ धीं.युःसीटिरशःश्वःग्रीमःपपुःचावशःक्षःषःषाःत्रीयःतमः वाक्र्ःपुःग्रीरःतपुःक्रवायः रनल:रदः। वावत:रवा:क्व:सरा क्वेंर-नरुदःविर:धवा शे:क्वांशवाय:श्वेंव:रदः। श्वेन:पवे:विवाय:ग्री: . दोल-दुः र्षोट्र राज्यः तर्नु स्वायाविषाः पाकिषाः पुरानिः । दोल-दिन् प्रोत् । दोल-दिन् प्रोत् । दोल-दिन् प्रो च.र्चेश.लब.ब्री.ब्र्ल.र्ने.ब्रीच.ब्र्र्स.ल्र्ने.त.र्नटा। लेल.र्नेप्ट.रबा.क्रैंब.री। बेलिट.र्चेट.त्र्व.रटा। शटश.क्रैश.क्र्य. <u> २८. । त्यालवायाम् वर्षायाचीयात्राम् वर्षायायात्राम् वर्षायायात्राम् वर्षायायात्राम् वर्षायायात्राम् वर्षायाय</u> . चर्चा चान्या वित्ता क्षेत्र क्ष श्चेन'यते'स्नु'वाशुरु'वे'ने'वबैत'र्'ञ्चा'रुर'र्दुव'र्युव'र्युव'र्युव'र्येव'श्चि देर'यहेत्। यथन'य'न्द'क'वर्'पर| खुव्य

र्वोटःचार्यात्रान्त्रेयः वृट्-ग्रीःटवाःक्रैवःङ्ग्र्ञाःप्रचाःचाःवृट्यःतीवाःक्ष्यःत्रःचिवाःचाःट्र्यःवाः चर्वटःतःट्यः क्रैव.क्र्अ.रचा.वी.रचवल.प्रभव.पर्जर-८तीट.क्ष.चीय.वी रचवल.टट.प्रभाता.भ्राचाकुचा.तपु.टवा.क्रीव.वी.चर. त्यम्रुवःर्केट-दु-दनट-नवे:चुिद-र्केश-दट-नर्हेद-चु-क्षे:नुट-न-विनाः सक्रीयाः हो। हेद-चु-दु-गु-र्देशः वर्शः क्षेय-दू-। द्येः नम्बाया क्वें. नम्बायः नटः क्रवाः क्वें रः भ्रुवाः वने नः ग्रीः कुतः स्वायः याने ते न तया ने निर्णे श्रीः क्वें याना स्वायः स्वयः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स खुनाषःर्श्वेवार्थुनाषःगातःत्रकानार्थेतः १३ अषः स्टः प्रवितः पुः अर्देतः प्येतः स्टितः प्रदेतः पुतः स्वापः स्वा पति भू केंग दि तह वा हेत्र भी केंग। तद या पति हुदार देव यो पत्र चक्र्यान्,पट्रेम्पर्पद्विष्य्र्यूर्य्याः और लागान्या र्याचिष्या क्र्यालियायायाया हिरायपुर्धिः अधियाची पर्यन्ति चन्न-रुग्र-थमःगुप्तः सुवायःन्दःक्रायःभ्रेग्वरेवायतेःर्वेन्ग्रीःचवाक्वतःर्क्रेग्रःचेवायरःचीःधुवःर्केरःवीःवद्येयः न-८८। श्रृंश्वंदुःर्र्यःग्रीःवियःश्र्र्यः अत्तर्भवःतिदःशिवःवियःभ्यः श्रुंश्वः संस्वाराः स्वार्याः लान्वरावतेःवर्वेषाचाररावित्रान्दावर्षे वश्चरायां वर्षे वश्चरायां वर्षे वश्चरायाः वर्षे वश्चरायाः वर्षे वश्चराय भ्रॅर-प-ढ़िप-वत-र्-प्रथम-पढ़िपाय-ग्रेर-पर्वेष-प-प्रथा ध-श्रुप-भ्रथ-पे-ढ़िप-र्च्च-पा-शु-र्ख्वाय-ग्रीय-पत्रु-प्र-क्षेत्र-पन्द-पेंद-ग्री-सुब-सुब-स्व-क्रे-पन्स-सून्ते-द्युद्दर्व-सु-स्वेत्र-प्रदे-क्रिय-यो-देव-दु-क्रि-स-स-. हेर्न रेबेबर्स्स, प्रमाणकार के स्वेत्र क्षेत्र कुर्या होता है के स्वेत्र क्षेत्र के स्वेत्र क्षेत्र के स्वेत <u>ૄઽ૮.૨ૄ૾ૺ.વ.૨ૄ૾ઌ.ઌૡ.૾૽ૢ૽ૺ</u>૽ૹ૾ૼઌ.૨ૼ.૽ૢ૽૱.વ._.ઌૢથી ઌૢૡ.ૡઌઽ૽ૺ ૹૢ૨.ઐ૨.ઐૢ.ઌૼૺ૾ૢૹ૾ઌૹૢ૾ૼઌઌ.ઌૡૡ૱૨ૼ.ૹ૾ૢઌ.ઌૢ.ઌૢ૱ *'*बेवा'बोबा धुबा'देश'रुव'बेवा'नु'चर्हेद'याबे'वाद'रुद'बेवा'चर्नुद'वश'चर्वद'स'ग्रुर'खेद'चेुद'र्क्रवा'सर'अ द्ररः खुवा लूरी लरः मुे. रावा बु. रवा कुंद मुे. र्याया सुवा त्या श्रीरः लरः विषयः सुवा तर्देवा तरः श्रीरः सुनि *૽*૱૽૽ૼૠૼઽૡૠૢૹઌ૽૾૽ૢ૾ઌૹ૾ૣઽૡૡ૽ૺ૽૽ૼઌ૿૽ઌ૽ૻઌઌૢ૱ઌ૽ૼ૽૽૱ૡૺૹ૽૽૽ૢ૽ઌૣ૽૾૽ઽ૾૱૱ઌ૽૽ૹ૽ઌ૽ૹૼૡઌૡ वानुस-५८-। त्रचेत्य-वानुस। सेत्य-वानुस। सेत्य-केवा-केय-त्रचेंद्-५४-१२-१९-वानुसी 🗠

चन्द्र-पाद्र-पिद्रणुः धेवा र्झेवा र्झे अर्देवा वी वर्झेवा चा

सूर्य-ताश्राहूर्-वाधु-ताध्वी-विश्वास्त्री-ताख्वी-लुप्तानु सार्च्य-ताश्राहूर्-चु-देश-स्वराय-विश्वास्त्र-विश्वास्य स्वराय-विश्वास्त्र-विश्वास्य स्वराय-विश्वास्य स्वराय-विश्वास

सूर.पारीबाकामुच्यामुच्यामुच्यामुच्यामुच्यामुच्यामुक्यामुच्यामुक्यामुच्य

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चन्द्र-पद्ग-तह्नवा-हेन्द-कवार्य-सुवार्या	चृत्र:चु:रच:वार्यवा	ม ีรัสนาม <u>รั</u> ร
र्देज.सं.रच.चन्नचीय.चेत्र.लूट.च.लुची। ब्रीट.चोच्य.रेनचं.क्ट्र.चन्दे.क्टें.च॥	त्वुर्र्यः दे'त्वाची वेवः नृः प्रते अवरः ब्रुवायः वे खार्यः वे क्षेरः कः से प्रतः वे प्रते चे क्षेरः	लुवा-८८:॥ बाबिवाबाश्चर-२४:शघतःम्हेताः
स्.रच.र्देज.चर्चेच.चथचोब.त.जा	ने:मत्त्व वी:मुल:धव वि॥	भू <u>८.क</u> ुवा.स.४च.क्वेज.८८.चु॥
र्-व्यःस्व-गर्रवाःयःचवगःयःभेव॥		[क्षाः] कुषाःधवः प्रतःवैः पेः प्रविवः द्या
ने'ननुब'य'वे'ञ्चवारानुय'वाङेवा	ने.चरुव.बु.क्षेच्य.स्य.ज्ञा	લુવાય.જી.૨.દ્વૅદ.લીવા.૨૮.
ञ्चनायः हुयः य ५ व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व	ने:न5्व-वे:ख:ह्यःबी	[A 도]
कु:दुव:पर्व व:य:रे:पॅट:वाडिवा	ने.च5्व.वे.दे.च्र्रंट.ची.दे.व.ज्री	
र्देज.ट्रे.चर्येच.ज.जीवा.स्ज.वाङ्ग्वा	ने.चरुव-वे.खेना-हुत्य-ब्ल्या	
खुवा-हुवः नदुवः वी:स्राटः हुवः वाईवा।	ने'न5्द्रन'दे'न्सूर'ह्त्य'र्से	

चन्न-पद्गःतह्नवाःहेत्र-कवाशःशुवाशा	चेत्र.चै.रच.बोद्यली	सर्देव्यःसर्हेद्।
ने.चनुत्र.यः ते.वे.चु.चु.चाडेवा	ने.चरुव वे.धे.चेर.की.देल.ल्ली	है।बेर:मुल:५८:ब्रॅं'स:५८:॥
ने'ननुब'य'वे'र्श्वे'अ'ग्रेगा	ने:चरुव:वे:र्श्व:यदे:र्ळन:र्न्	देःवयः द्वुदः ददः देः चलेवः
र्श्चे.च.चरेब.चु.चेबा.चकुबा.लुबा	ने:मत्त्व:वे:वेषा:वो:ळंन:र्ने॥	ब्रूच्यायः ब्रेयः चुः च्रांटः च5्वः वया
विषा पर्वे व क्रिया था व राज्य	ने:नतुव:वे:वश:ग्री:ळन:र्ने <u> </u>	
वर्षः य5्वः त्यः वैः र्शेरः क्षेषाषः पाठेषा	ट्रे.ट्य.पर्थं स.जन्ना	
	ब्रॅन:वी व्यन:वी	
	वयःचर्वःयःवैःर्वेरः विष्यःचीःकर्नःर्ने॥	
श्रॅर:क्र्याय:वे:वि:इ:चवि:व्या	શ્ર્-શ્રું.ધુ.ધુ.વલુ.લ.વુ.ધુ.	
प्रहेशःवशःष्तुःग्रदःचवगःवेःधेःधेव॥ 	الماح تُحَالًا	र्सेम्स्ये हे मु पत्ने त्याह्या
ह्यु:पत्ने:प:ने:पानु:पर्नेअ:ग्नर:॥	ाबु:पाबि:त्य:वे:तर्देअ:वाद: दें ॥	ह्यु:पवि:तावे:वावु:वाट:र्ट्रा
वार्खे.तर्ट्भ.र्ज.चश्चे.क्वेट.चंचान्न.वाङ्गवा	चाबाबाबाडुबाःम्। उर्दूषाःसःचन्धाःषाःत्रे:मुद्	<u> </u>
क्रैट.चीबोब्य.चक्कैटे.ज.टेनबो.क्ट्रे.बोडुबो	क्ट्राचडुवा.म्॥ चिट्राचाचलायचिट्राज्याचेर्	वर्नेत्र॥ कुरःच्यम्बर्भःदेखःदर्मेब्रःधरः
	क्ट्रक्षःसरःचाविषःस्॥ व्ह्रिषःस्ह्रेषःहेवःद्रिःखुषःग्रीः	<u> ने'चक</u> ुन्'न्ध्या'क्दन्'क्रेश'नुर्वे॥

िः ट्रेन्चधुयःसि क्र्युतःसीलाः क्रीचूरः क्रिवाशः स्थायः क्रीयः क्रीवः क्रीयः क्रीयः विद्यः हेन्द्यः वाश्वरः स्थायः स्यायः स्थायः स्थाय

૬બ.ત.કુરીઃ તત્વજ્ઞ.તત્તરી.ત.વુ.ધ્રી.ત.4જાય.ગ્રીબ.રીય.ત્વજ્ઞ.ત.વૂ.ત.વી.ત.વુ.સૂંચ.રી.વકૂબ.ધ્રી.વાજસ્ટી.ત.બુવો.ગ્રીર.જીવ. જ્ય.ત.તતું.રીવો.વુ.જીના.બીર.તદુંન્ર.રીય.તાંત્ર્ય.ગ્રી.તજ્યર.કેવ.જા.રીય.ત્વુંન્ર.ત્વાંત્ર. અ.ક્ષી.તાવું.ત્વીયાતદૂંવે.તાવું.વી ચોવાજા.ત.તત્તરી-ક્ષીત.જીવુંના. વાજાજાદ્દાનાત્ર.તાંત્રાનાતા જુવ.વતરા રીજા.તાંત્ર્ય.રીટ.તવુંના.તાવું.તાદૂંર. દીવુ.

क्ट्रियः रुवा चावेश्वराचिश्वरार्थे स्वीतः संख्वेया लावे स्वारं स्वायाया स्वायाया स्वायाया स्वायाया स्वायाया स्व चन्न स्वाया स्वया स्वाया स्वया स्वाया स्वया स्वाया स्वाया स्वाया स्वया स्वाया

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रमुखे. इंग. चार्षे अ.ता वर्षे रे. अहूरे. मुचे वर्षे इ.चे. ये. ये. ये. ये. वर्षे इ.चे. वर्ष

कु.ब्रूट.ग्री.वह्ना.हेब.कबाथ.क्ष्णा चनट.अह्ट.लट्ट.वाचुब.ब्रूट.वी	चे <u>।</u> क्रूट. _{'प} हेव। चन्द्र-'प
धुःर्श्वेन् ग्रीःवहेषाहेव कषाया रह्ने वा	धै:र्बेट:पहेवाहेवा
	♥ ٩
वहैवाहेव अर्देर वहुष चन्द्रा	
र्ब्रूट.चाश्वभाग्ने:सृ:सृ	
पह्ता.हेव.बी.श्रट.चड्डव.ता	
र्गुीयःवर्षिरःक्ष्यःषाशुमा	<u> </u> বৃশ্বীঝ'ঝের্বিম্
रैते'कुल'र्ये'रै'रप	રે'પો'कુવા'ર્ધે
याश्चरः युः रे प्यतुवा	ળએ ર :શુૈઃ રે:વર્તુa
र्रेल-पर्वः सर्के पर्व	र्रेष'पदि'सर्के'पर्व
मु:मर्ळ:केव:ग्री	ધુૈતઃનુ અર્સ સ્ત્રેત્ પો
ञ्चन्यारी ई	धुै'ख़ुन्नर-देन्न'र्गे।
श्चीर-प्रवेशश्चिर-ध्रव।	ଶ୍ଚିଦ୍ୟର୍ଶ୍ୱ 'ଦ୍ୱ' ଶ୍ରିକ୍ୟୁଷ୍ୟ ।
है ⁻ न्न ⁻ भूर-पशुवा	वें ⁻ त्त्र ^{-भ} नःपश्रुवा
ह् र .कुव.शंश.शं.क्. _च शंशा	
वयःयायरःहेवःपर्वःश्व	
क्रवायःवात्रयःयहेवाःक्षेटः।	तह्रवाःम
स्व-ग्री-क्र्य	वे'.स [.] २८:बु८:
z	<u>-</u> નનના.જ્ગ્રી.નકુ.લ્લા
वटःमञ्जूनःग्रीःशेश्रश्रञ्जनम्बर्शःस्त्र्या	વ <i>દ</i> .નજુંદ્ર.શુંશ્રય.કવી
वर्षे.स.र्चवाय.र्चे व	श्रेम्राथः इव. पर्वे. यः द्वीयः द्वीय

नम् न अह्रेन जीन न विवासे क्रिस्स	547.4 1
<u> </u>	
ध-2वबा	
<u> </u> चुैंय.शूट.।	
.झ. _{भ.लु} व।	
म्बीट:प्रबे:बी	श्चिदःचित्वेःचें।
नङ्गयःन:५८:यँदै:बी	र्ह्रेव् पन्नेयः पर्टः पंतः श्री
र्ने5-1व-च-रुव्-पति-स्री	ર્વે5્ગીું સૈ ખૈ પ્લચા
왕	चित्राय.चीरीया
र्ग्राट्स्ण्यामृत्रास्यम्	र्त्तेव र्धे अण्र केवा
क्वीया.सू.म्री.चधुपु.सू.क्वीया	क्वीजात्त्राक्षेत्रा श्रीका श्रीक्षा
र्नेऽसूँ सुर कुष या	
र्नेन्'ब्रि'चर्न्नेर'कुल'र्ये	
र्त्वा'अ'तवद्यांगुःभ्रे'स्वया	
ક્રુંટ-ક્રું.લીતા.ઘ્રી.ય.નશ્રી	
क्ट्रें पह्त्य तुः ब्रीटा	क्रुं.पह्न.वी.म्रीट.।
રુય.તતુ.ક્રૂય.ગ્રી.વૈંદ.લેંતા	[দলপ্ৰন্য-বৰ্কু-বৰ্কু-ব
<u> चूरे.रे.थरक्ष.क्षेक.चक्षेष.त.वैर.</u> क्ष्म	नूर-ग्री-अटब-क्षेब-ता
तच्चिर:क्रेश:बोशला:चट्ट:ब्र्लेव:श्रो	श्नरःबाश्नरःकेवावेरानकुत्।
	ब्रिम.पर्श.ब्रोध्रा
श्चें प्त-५गु	श्चे.च.रची
ग्र-र.चि.चक्चेर	রুম:[ম:पर्कुर]
र्थे. पश्चे. वीध्रेश	ज्.प्रिंच-तर्थे.यध्रेश

न्वन् अर्हेन् भेन् निबेष् र्वेर स्	ন্প্র-শ
જા.ટે	શર્ત્યું વાયમ છી. રુષા સુવા
वर्चैट.च.क <u>्</u> री	त <u>र</u> ीट.च.र्ज
याभुद:र्नुद:र्नेव:ग्री:या5व:क्रेयाया	
क्रीट.चबु.श्रेब.कुं.जू.कैंग	
तत्त्रेव'.लश.र्नचैरश [.] कृतुःत्वोल'य।	
<u> नर्</u> ड्-नु:श्रु:धे:पङ्ग्	
श्च-१र्बेर-इं-३-५-रा	
भ्रुदाह्मप्राः सर्वेदायिः चगावः सर्वेदा	

यः । व्युत्तः क्षेत्रः प्राधुः । वर्षितः प्राप्तः । वर्षितः प्राप्तः । वर्षितः वर्षः वर्षः

442. 41%	ग्रन्थर मुन्
बु.श्रोच्यं स.री.कैवाय.रेटा	इस्रम्बाक्षाः को गोवि स्थान्या॥
चित्र गत्र अप्तर स्तुः गीतः देः दरा॥	र् क्षित्रगावेव वावयावयाखः स्टा
बैवःविरःर्बेवःकुरःने:नृषाःग्रुरः॥	गीव-रे-चेव-प्रैट-चेंब-क्रुट-रेंग
इस्.व.चक्किट.स्.कवाबा.ब्ह्या.लुबा।	प्य.पीट.ह्र्याथ.ग्री.झर. व.व्री

595 .41%	র্বাবাপ্য-শ-শ্বপূর্ব-শ্রীনা
श्चे'न'न्नु'र्ने'न्द्रि'र्ख्य'वे	श्चे.तपु.क्रट्र.सीबोयायक्षेष्र.ता.चु॥
यञ्चीर्गरम् र्वुवार्गरम् वकुर्र्गरम् अवाषा	चाड्रवार्नार:दुवार्नार:चकुर:दगार:ध्रुवाबा।
चित्रेयाव्याचित्रुयायञ्चित्रः सुत्रः भीवः त्या	<u>નાકુંત્ર:વના.શૈજા.જાર્ઘેટ:જ</u> ્થેજાું
चर्षु.र्जिट:सुट:क्रुं.जं.श्रूर.श्रा	चर्षः द्विरः द्वेरः द्वेः खेरः खेरः खा
न5्ब-८्बर-४वि.की.कु.चु.चु.चु.ची	नर्व-द्यर-द्यु-द्यर-ये-भैव-र्वे॥

म्रास्त्राम्त्राम्त्रास्त्राम्त्राम्त्राम्त्राम्त्राम्त्रात

लीबार-टि-एट्रोज-चट्ट, श्रू-र-क्राब्य-ट्ट्रॉट्स्ट्रीट, नेट्टी-तट्ट्र्स्य-व्रिट-व्रीट-ट्ट्रिज्य-व्रिय-व्रिट-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्ट्य-ट्ट्रिज्य-ट्ट्य

रचन्ना चन्नेय.तपु.चैंट.रचन्ना मैं.चचय.भूट.ह्.लु.क्य.त.प्रेन्नन्य.धु.चूट.ग्री.यट.तपु.नर्ट् मैंटे.टट.नर्ट्ट. मूट.ची.चर्नेर.टिने.क्ष.तन्ना चंतेट.तपु.चर्ड्ट.ची.ल्य.तट्ट्र्चा.ध्रेय.क्ष्यान्न.तीयान्न.टर्. चूट.ग्री.मैज.

र्चर्गी.टवाक्चियः क्र्यान्टर लागा ह्या क्रिया क्रया क्रिया क्रय क्रिया क्रिया

ढ़ऀॱऄऀ८:धृटा चहूर-चै.चीकू.चू.चू.चूंचुचकुचकाचार-कूट्टाचक्च.(ऽन्ह्हुक्)च्चीकाचीःचचतःखें-चचुःकुट-टैं-टट्च, मू.ट्टचीःचचचुःचोषुच्वःचचुला-भूर-चीक्र्यंचीका-वीट-चट्टाक्च,चीक्ष्याचीका-चम्रेच्यःचुन्चेट्टाचचचुःचोषुच्यःचुन्यःभूर-चीक्ष्यःचीक्षयःचीक्ष्यःचीक्ष्यःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचित्रःचित्रःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचित्रःचित्रःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचीक्षयःचित्रःचित्रःचीक्षयःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचीक्षयःचित्रःचित्यःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित

नम्रापित नहें रामुक्ते र्वे के

क्षेत्रचेलास्, स्टातव्रीलासपु, बोरेशाक्चिर विवादिराश्रधेशास्येत्व्यीत्व्यास्य विवाद्यात्यास्य विवाद्यात्य विवाद्यात्य विवाद्य विवाद विवाद्य विवाद विवाद

ची.ला.सक्त्य.कु.स्यु.सू.स्.सूना स्रिट.पूर्वा.व्या.संक्ष्याच्य.क्षेयाच्य.स्त्री स्रुट.पूर्वा.व्या.संक्ष्याच.के.खेवा.सूनी। स्रुट.पूर्वा.व्या.संक्ष्याच.कु.खेवा.सूनी। स्रुट.पूर्वा.व्या.संक्ष्याच.कु.खेवा.सूनी। स्रुट.पूर्वा.व्या.संक्ष्याच.कु.खेवा.सूनी। चु.ला.सक्त्य.कु.स्य.चं.कु.खेवा.सूनी।

ष.षर.ता.ष्रवेब.षु.चीट.सुटी। थ.ज.ष.ष्रा.जृष.जूट्य.चर्चटे.श्रेटः॥ चवष.लर.ज.च.चचेबक.षु.चीट.सुटी। चवष.त.त.ष्रवेच.षु.चीट.सुटा॥ य.श्रम्.ता.तहश्च.श्च.श्चयं.ता.सूटी॥ य.श्चम्.ता.श्चयं.शु.म्थ्य.स्य.त्वय॥ य.श्चम्.ता.श्चयं.शु.म्थंट्रस्य.स्या यायश्च.त्वम्.श्चम्.शु.म्थंट्रस्य यायश्च.त्वम्.शु.म्थंट्रस्य यायश्च.त्वम्.शु.म्थंट्रस्य यायश्च.त्वम्.त्वम्.शु.म्थंट्रस्य यायश्च.त्वम्.त्वम्.शु.म्थंद्वम्.कुयं.व्या यायश्च.त्वम्.त्वम्.शु.म्थंट्रस्य

*देवदःषदशः*क्वुशःग्रीःचश्रुवःपःर्वेदःदुःदरःयःवशःमञ्जदःवदःपदेःवद्देवाद्देवःकवृशःशुवृशःददःवद्देवःचवैः . भृःब्युन-र्चेन-तु-नु-र-र्धेन-प-न्न-। अन्यःकुय-र्केय-युन्य-र्युन-पद्म-भ्रुनेय-र्येन-र्यन्-र्युन-प्रेन-र्युन-र्यु-'अवायाः क्रमायः द्रभाः ग्रीयाः यद्येयाः वया । क्दिः ग्रीः क्यं यद्येयायः यव ग्यायुः साम्याः ग्रीयाः स्वयः वयाय चूर-भटूब-लूट-ट्री टेनुर-वी २४५-स्रथ-कु.जु.चंदरी २४१-स्रथ-कु.अर्च्,जुर-कूर-कुर-कुर-कुर-कुर-कुर-'श्री.चर्ड्र-तपु.पह्मातपु.रचिरमार्टा, घर्मा पृथारमाःभ्राचुतःषाञ्चात्रमान्याः सम्पर्धाः थी.विट्य.लूटी ट्रेप्टर.यट्य.मीय.कूय.ग्री.पीवीय.यी.पहरातपु.ट्रचिट्य.वु.२य.त्रीत.पटरीत.पपु.सै.खुवी.टे. ह्मैयावया वार्यर ब्रीयायद्य क्रांस्य द्यास्य व्यास्य विषय हो। स्यास्य विषय विषय विषय विषय विषय हो। *दुष*.वे.पह्नेब.हेब.बी.बाबु.द.बीर.पर.चचेर.त.क्षेर्याःः बालीर.रीर.चूब.बी.अंबाबा.थी.पेबा.रच.ग्री.क्षे.श्रॅ.चयु. त्रचेद-ग्रीकार् अः ख्रेकाः चर्तवात्रकार हेवा हेवः ब्री:कवाका वावि: दुः श्रुचः निकाः ख्रुदः क्रेवाः ग्रुदः ख्रि . क्षेत्र। बक्रिवा वर्ष पदिते : देवाष ग्री : चूद : रावष ग्राव : मृत्य : खुष : वे : पदिवा हेव : बी : वि दे : पदि : पद त.रटा विष्ठेश.येथ.सरय.मेथ.क्र्य.रट.विलेट.र्टेट.स्ये.मेहेर.जी.पह्रेट.जीवोश.शे.४थ.मेज.पर्टेल.भोवय.यु.स्र् ૹૣૼઌૢઌૺૹઌ૽૾ૢ૽ૺ૱ૡૢ૾ૡૢઌ૽૱ઌઌૢ૱ૹ૾૽ૼઌૹ૽ઌઌૢ૾૱ૹઌૹૺ૽ૹ૾ૢૺ૱ઌ૱ઌૢ૱૱૽ૢ૽ૺૹૢૼૹ૱ઌઌ૽ૺ૱૽૽૱ૹૣઌ૱ઌૢૼ૱ઌૹૺ૱ ૄ૽ૢ૿ૡૢૺઌૄૹ_ૻૡ૱ૹૡ૽૾ૺ૱ૹૢ૱ૡઽ૽ૣ૾ૹ૱ૹૢ૱ૡૹ૽ૺૹ૽ૢ૱૾ૻઌ૾ઽ૾ઌઽઽ૽ૺ૾૽૾ૹૢ૽ૣૼૹઌ૾ૢ૽૾ૼૹ૽૽ઌ૽૿ૢ૽૽ૡૡૺૡઌ૱૱૾૽૱ૹ૽૽૽ૺ૱ૡૺ क्र्यानक्रैट.क्र्यूय.स्ट.जीवाय.ग्री.वैट.स्टाय.द्वीवाजुवाय.तस.चक्रैवाय.तस.चम्रेय.यथा क्र.स्टाय.त्रूट.ग्री.क्र्य र्श्रवायायाः देयाः वेयावारायेवायाः सुः हेन् युवा

ઽૺ૽ૡૢૣૣૣૣૢૢૢૢૢઌૻઌ૽ૼૢઌ૽ૢ૿ૢ૽૱ૹ૽ૼૡૹ૽૽ૺ૱ૡ૽૽ૺઌૢૡઌ૽૽૽૽ૹૢૣૣૣૣૣઌૹઌઌ૽ૼ૾ૡ૽૽ઌઌૢઌઌ૽૱ઌ૽૽ૺ૱ઌ૽૽ૼ૱ઌૢ૽૱ૺૺઌ૽૽ શું અર્દેવ ખેંદ્ર પર અલાવા વ્યવ પાંચીર ખેવ છી શું બાદ્યુવ પર્દેષ ગુદા અર્દે શ્રુદ રેં વે પાંસ્અય ગ્રી શુંબા દ્યુવ रैवा^ॱवावत्रतानुष्टेंत्र'व्यत्रस्य स्टःवीर्टेर्चेर्ट्स्य'यहेंत्र'वेऽप्यर'दवीःस्रक्तःकेतुर्येःक्षत्र'य'द्रदः। सुव्यखुदःदेवैःद्युतः ર્શ્રેન:શ્રાપ્ત્રીવ:મત્રી:સેવા:વાત્રય:ग्રी:હિન:કૂચ.જાદ્વ.તમ:કૂચ.જૂની ટતુમ:થી તત્વન:તતુ:થન:વી:જા.જીંજા.વાલુ: नन्ना-नन्तः तन्नेयानते नहें निनुः यया या अर्जुन नी नन् र्रोयानन्ति या निन्नेयान्ति । स्वाप्तानि स्वाप्ताने स्व अर्ट्य.लूर.त.रेट.। र्रेट.बी.र्थंग.थी बे.प्रकूर.बी.लैंग.बी.विचा.रे.ला.बी.ग.बी.चर्चा.बु.अर्कूर.विट.रेट.लूर्य. खु'तर्देय'र्भेद'वृत्दर। र्ङ्खे'रा'क्क्षयागु"िष्ठ्यामाविषासु'खास्त्रेयामावि नदमा'वे केद'र्'रामामावयामार्थयार्थेया ल्ट्री दे.वु.व्वियावट.चु.व्यट.क्र.वात.क्रव.वुवा.टटा क्र्.वा.यावव.ऋथय.ग्रीय.क्र्.वा.सेवा.जुव.झेवा.लेवा.चर्स्. र्वे बिवा मृः क्यूर प्रेन दे नदर के राज्य विदा की के अपना सेवा वालुर सुराधन सुरा का के सेवा के सेवा के सेवा के र्वेषःक्तुवःक्त्रसम्बन्धः विदःषीःपर्वेःभूःभीवःपरःपर्देत्। देःभूःचुतेःष्ट्विरःददःपद्वेषःपर्वःदिःदिःर्सेषःग्रीःदेषायाःक्रसमाः वै 'र्वेर्'प; क्रम्भ मंग्री' भे 'केंद्रे 'पर्वे 'विर्दे 'प्रवे हिंर्', दुः प्रवार वीषा भे 'बेर्' प्रवार वाषा विदेश केंद्र 'प्रवेर हिंद् 'प्रवार ही ही हा वा की . भुषा'सुद'र्स'र्सर'गवस्थापदे र्चेद्'पाक्क्ष्मण्येशस्य स्टास्ट'र्द्स'ग्री'बुद'र्सेट'स'भेव'पदे स्वा'गवस्थाग्री'क'बेवा वाल् दि.स.च व्या वृत्रायः विवासी स्त्रायः विवासी स्त्रायः विवासी स्त्रायः विवासी विवासी विवासी विवासी विवासी व पयः भवः तर्रेत्। द्येरः वः चयनः यः भवः वः वया र्धेषयः पर्वेषाः वयः चेतः ग्रीः श्रीः स्वायावयः ग्रीः श्रुवः र्क्रेट-रट-चलेव-लूटअ-श्री-अट्ट-लूट-कुट-। ह्रीबाय-वावव-खुवा-वय-लीय-सीट-द्री-द्यवा-वी-दशुवाय-चयय-रट-पत्नेव प्राप्त स्वापन स

स्तर्य। स्वर्य। स्वर्यः स्वर्यः

यान्ययान्नी जुन्ध्याक्ष्यान् विकास्त्रान्त स्वास्त्र स्

ત્તકેવ.વયા શ્રુૈનાનેન.તનુંનું.નાલું શ્રવું.શૈ.જ.ભૂત્ય.શે.વીન.ત.તાલુધી ત્રૂમ.નર્જી.શ્રુૈના-દેવ.તતુંનું ભર્નવ: તત્રુંન.ભૂતે.ગ્રી.કોશ્વ.દે.તત્યાં શ્રુંત.ભૂતે.જ્વે.તત્યાં ઝુને.ટે.નર્જનાનાના

द्विः, येशः अष्ट्यं तमर विश्वः लूरी विद्यत्वे स्वश्वः अष्ट्वं तमर विश्वः लूरी विद्यत्वे स्वश्वः स्वावः विश्वः लूरी स्वावः स्व स्वावः स्वाव

ट्रेस्ट्र-ट्रे-प्यूर्ट्स्यात् क्रिय-द्रिस्या क्षेत्रा देन स्वात् क्षेत्र स्वाया क्षेत्र स्वया क्षेत्र स्वाया क्षेत्र स्वया कष्टे स्वया क्षेत्र स्वया कष्ठ स्वया कष्णेत्र स्वया क

- विट्युं-CSक्षेर.अष्ट्र्यं-तर्र.विज्ञाल्ट्री तराचन्द्रियोःचन्द्रियःचर्र-विज्ञाल्ट्री विट्युं-चन्द्रियःचन्द्रयःचन्द्रियःचन्द्रयःचन्
- 2. तम् विषे ने निवासक क्रिया क्रिया

- 3. णु.इ.कें.दिर अवाश ग्रीश आर्थ हुँ द्वावद र प्राया धे. अर र हें वा कें दिरा अदि प्रमृद्ध प्राया विश्व प्राया कें कि प्राया कि प्राय कि प्राया कि प्राय कि प्राया कि प्राय कि प्राया कि प्राय कि प्राया कि प्राय कि प्र
- 4. वश्रःश्रवित्यः प्रमान्त्रः विश्वास्त्रः विश्वास्त्यः विश्वास्त्रः विश्वास्त्रः विश्वास्त्रः विश्वास्त्रः विश्वास्त्
- स्यावित्तां क्षेत्रः अर्च्यः स्यावित्यः स्यावित्य

शु. क्ट्र्यानुका चेतुः चैट-स्टाया जार्ट्च नेट-अधिय . तायु. ट्यानुका जोट-तष्ट्य या सुचित चित्र नाम अधिय । देश ने स्टाय्य ने स्वायी स्वाय ने स्वायी स्वाय ने स्वायी स्वयी स्वायी स

शक्षय-देन्द्रिय-कुवा-ये-टेन्टरमः सूर्य-कुटा। द्रवा-वर्षिट-धेश्रय-बुच-त-टेन्टर-धीं-त-धीं-श-धेश्रय-जन्द्रिय-वर्षिट-टे-लट-सुवा-वर्षिय-कुर्य-पूर्य-वर्षिय-शेश्य-सूर्य-सूर्य। टेन्टि-टर्बिर-क्री-त-प्रवि-वर्षिय-क्री-स्थ्य-क्री-वर्षिय-क्री-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थि-वर्षिय-क्री-स्थ्य-स्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्थ्य-स्य-

र्श्रात्मां क्षेत्रात्मां स्वार्थित क्षेत्रा क्षेत्रा स्वार्थित स्वार्य स्वार्थित स्वार्थित स्वार्थित स्वार्थित स्वार्थित स्

नर्हेन् मिलेरे क्षेट र्नेना

ૹનાયા. મનયા. નેટા. નુટ. મું. મુંલા. મનયા. ખું. મુંશા. ખૂનાયા. મું. મુંશા. પ્રચાયા. વટેયા. ખૂની ખુંલે. નાંચિયા. તા. યુ. તદ્દના. મુંચા. પ્રચાયા. બૈનાયા. મું. મુંશા. મુંશા. મુંશા. મુંશા. પ્રદેશ મુંશા. મુંશા. પ્રચાયા. મુંશા. મુંશ

૮૯.ૹ.ધીં.લુય.તાધુવ.ફ્રેંચ.વી.ક્ષેત્ર.વી.ક્ષેત્ર.વી.સેત.વ.જાતુ.ક્ષેત.ત્વશે.રેટ.જવુંનાતવુ.વકૂંટ.તાલુંત્ર્યા વયા યુંવ.જુવ.ત્.વે.વે.લે.લ્.ય્.યુંત્રા.કુંવ.ત્યુંવ.ત્ય.કુંવ.ત્વુંવ.ત્યુંટ.ત્યુંવ.જુવ.ત્ય.ટે.ત.વી લટ.ધી. વયા યુંવ.જુવ.ત્.ચે.લે.ત્ય.સેત.ત્યુંત.ત્યુંત.ત્ય.સેત.ત્યુંવ.ત્યુંત.તેટ. ટું.વે.ય.મે.ત્યુંવ.જુવ.યાત્ર.કુંટ.ત્વર્ચ.ત્યીજા.દી.દું.સેંટ.ત્યક્ષેત.ત્યર્ચ.ત્યીજા.દી.દું.સેંટ.ત્યક્ષેત.ત્યર્ચ.ત્યુંતે.સેંટ.ત્યર્ચ.ત્યુંત.ત્યુંત.ત્યુંત.ત્યુંત.ત્યું.સેંત.ત્યું

य्याचाराकार्यट्रात्वक्ष्यः स्वतुः क्षें द्वः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्व क्ष्यः स्वाःचां क्षेत्रः स्टरः तद्वः स्वाःचावयाः विष्यः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः चाः क्षेट्रे स्वाः स्वाःचाविरः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः चाः क्षेत्रः स्वाःचाविरः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः विष्यः स्वाःचाविरः स्वाः स्व

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导论

释巴(བནད་པ།)意为"解释"、"阐明",是一个百科全书式、可轮流对唱的诗歌合集。传唱他的主要是分布在中国西北甘肃省、甘南(གན་ལྡོ)藏族自治州、被称为"卓尼人"(శృན་ལ།)的藏族分支族群。在这个横跨安多-康巴和甘肃—四川的区域,释巴已经被唱诵了数个世纪。本书基于从2015年至2020年在卓尼县(శృན་ཚང་བ།)搜集的释巴口述与文本的合集而成。释巴阐释了藏族世界观、地理、历史、社会习俗及文化宗教事物。他通常以七字为一句,由仪式专家和有声望的长者以问答式(Ś་བ་དྲོས་ལན།)演唱。释巴是藏族文明演变的一个微缩模型,也是一座卓尼人的文化、宗教及历史知识宝库。

卓尼人是藏族的一个分支。有着700万人口的藏族被统称为"藏族" (河东河河)或"土伯特人"(Tibetan)。¹然而由于地理位置、语言、宗教、习俗、生计方式和历史轨迹的不同,藏族内部存在着可观的多样性。以卓尼人为典型,这种多样性在生活于藏汉文化边疆地带上的藏族分支族群身上尤为突出。约有三万人口的卓尼人通过农耕、畜牧、贸易和偶尔的伐木来维持生计。他们定居于黄河(表)资门流域上部的洮河(夏)资门及其支流沿岸,是不同藏族移民的后裔。其语言接近于康方言。卓尼人的村落与其他诸如汉族、回族和土族的村落相邻。卓尼人和近邻及遥远的政治宗教中心之间错综复杂的互动,深刻地塑造了当地历史。²

如今卓尼人所传唱的释巴,也许是由藏族移民带来,也许是由他们的后裔所创造。构成释巴的诗歌在何时、以何种方式形成现在的模样,仍然是个未被解答的问题,并且广受争论。一方面,释巴的内容与表演形式和其他流传于安多北部至喜马拉雅山南麓之间的藏族口述传统互有重合。另一方面,比较释巴和十世纪以来的藏语传世文献可知,释巴与藏语书写传统有悠久的交织关系。此导论会提供一些我们的思考,包括释巴及其表演的历史与当代背景、滋养他的水土与文化、以及对一代代传承释巴的个人贡献的认可。

地域和历史

卓尼位于青藏高原东部。祁连山(ম) (प्रश्निप्राय्वा) 与巴颜喀拉山(प्रश्निप्राय्वा) 平行向东南方逶迤,和岷山北部与秦岭西部在此交汇。自西北至东南,海拔从4000米以上降至2500米左右。洮河及其支流经过青藏高原边缘,切入高耸的群峰与起伏的山丘,然后流淌经过平坦的山谷。在东南季风、西伯利亚高压和青藏高原低压的影响下,这个槽状地形上存在着高原草原、高山草甸以及温带河谷这样不同的生态区域。这里的平均日照量和降雨量为温带与高山植被及农作物创造了良好的生长条件。然而,气候系统、地形构造和海拔变化偶尔会在作物生长季节产生暴风雪或干旱,也会在收割季节引发破坏性的冰雹或过量降雨。

"卓尼"一词的地理意涵因时而异。基于所见的藏汉史料,"卓尼"一词的出现可以追溯到十六世纪早期。他专指卓尼大寺(ðiði དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་དགན་ཚན་།)和卓尼土司(ས་ཚན་། རྡུལ་ས། དསོན་ས།)所管理的藏族族群位于洮河河谷的居住地。³但是,在"卓尼"这一地名与这座寺院以及土司绑定之前,甚至在吐蕃控制洮河河谷之前,这个地方就已经是不同政治势力试图延伸并巩固其影响力的必争之地。卓尼可以说是多个文明的边缘地带,曾被来自中原和草原的不同政权所占据。

衔。十七世纪时,卓尼土司和蒙古人与汉人都维持着良好的关系,在安多政治中扮演了愈发重要的角色。8

藏文明边缘地带的卓尼

居住在卓尼的藏族来自何方?谁成为了现在的卓尼人?这些棘手的问题并非此导论要回答的问题。通常,卓尼人认为自己是几波藏族移民的后裔。他们从七世纪起定居于洮河河谷,并与当地土著相互融合。凭借与卫藏之间的文化和宗教纽带,这些移民把不断发展中的藏文明带到了卓尼,同时可能不断地改变他们自己的知识、规范和习俗以适应当地的境况。了解这一点,对理解卓尼人如何将释巴打造成百科全书的形式至关重要。

最早的藏族移民是从卫藏被派来开拓疆域的士兵。他们在七、八世纪抵达洮河河谷。这些士兵吞并了吐谷浑、唐古特和羌人的领地后,把吐蕃扩张到了唐朝的西境。他们在唐蕃战争中战斗、戍守边境,甚至有可能以较高的社会政治地位生活于被征服的族群中。¹¹被征服的洮河河谷或许是当时藏族和其他族群交流交融宗教思想与习俗的一个活跃空间。鉴于藏

族征服者的政治军事优势, 其包罗万象的"民间信仰"或"斯巴苯"(到了闪岛、河南)) 可能是洮河河谷的主流宗教传统。12

"吐蕃崩溃后,许多文武官员仍然在"分裂时期"(氧中语文·5和 九-十一世纪)管理着这片边疆。他们将当地藏族联合为部族,有时在吐蕃王室后裔的旗帜下组成更大的联盟,成为此地的实际统治者。宗喀王国就是这样一个建立在安多的联盟。¹³依据零散的中文史料可知,宗喀王国的陇逋(夏克·5和)、庞拜(绍克·4)和巴凌(马·3克·1)族由超过四万户组成。在和西夏(岛·5州 1038-1227)与宋朝的互动中,他们参与战斗,在青海北部和甘肃南部之间迁移,并有一部分人定居在了洮河河谷。¹⁴相比于佛教受到排挤的卫藏,安多在这段时期见证了佛教的稳定发展以及对当地宗教景观的重塑。¹⁵尚存的"民间信仰"被制度化的佛教和"雍仲苯教"(可知元·5克·2克·1)的修行者所吸收。在当地社会中,其作用大抵也被限制。尽管如此,民间信仰习俗仍旧和这些更加制度化的宗教一起发展着。

从1264年起, 凭借元代皇帝的支持, 萨迦派在重塑青藏高原的宗教景观中居功甚伟。19由于被封为帝师(方望)的萨迦法王——圣者罗卓坚赞八思巴(1235-1280)基本居住在洮河河口附近的临洮, 他的弟子在此河谷中积极兴建或改宗其他教派的寺院, 致使处在蒙元统治下的卓尼五部的寺院改宗萨迦派。知名的卓尼大寺, 在当时只是一个叫做"知藏拉康"(方字》55~50)的宁玛派经堂, 于1295年被改革为萨迦派。一个世纪之后, 他成为青藏高原上常住僧侣超过三千人的大型寺院之一。20然而, 萨迦派的影响力伴随着元朝的瓦解而式微。在十五世纪之交, 苯教和其他佛教教派开始接受明朝皇帝的供养, 积极在安多修建或修复他们的寺院, 开启了一个

藏传佛教和苯教的繁荣时期。²¹这些宗教传统中最新创立的格鲁派,受到了卓尼土司的政治与经济支持,并在改革洮河沿岸居民的宗教习俗中扮演了至关重要的角色。

通常认为,卓尼土司些地和弟弟敖地(至夏)是益西达吉(迎內內丁克內)的后裔。益西达吉则是吐蕃王室分支噶(དགལ)氏族的一个头领,其祖源是上天赐予吐蕃第一任赞普聂赤赞普(河亥河宫)元亥河·河)的儿子噶。据记载,第四十一任吐蕃赞普赤祖德赞(宮河亥河宫)元亥河赤热巴巾宫、邓江55河,802-838)派遣益西达吉到四川西北部的佐盖(赵至万河)收税。22本地口述历史表明,些地和敖地从佐盖迁移到了迭部,最终在十五世纪之交抵达洮河河谷。一同迁徙的还有一些依附于他们的部族。此次迁移是其联盟内部以及佐盖不同联盟之间的纷争导致。在迁徙至洮州和岷州附近后,些地和敖地征服了卓尼五部的一些部族,供养卓尼大寺,并确立了著藏簇的主导地位。23

在1670年代左右,满清皇帝支持格鲁派,取代了和硕特蒙古,从而管控西藏。卓尼土司效忠于清庭,开始在其领地不遗余力地推行格鲁派改革。他们积极兴建庙宇、佛殿以及"属寺/子寺"(蜀、河南山),将阜尼大寺发展为一座"母寺"(禹、河南山)、一个广受欢迎的朝圣地、以及一所顶尖的格鲁派学府。27在此过程中,他们在洮河与白龙江流域发动了数次战争,迫使当地苯教徒改宗。这反过来也促进了卓尼疆域的扩大。随着土司们建立所谓的卓尼大寺"一百零八属寺"28,制度化的苯教在卓尼被彻底抹除。绝大多数宁玛派与萨迦派的寺院也被改宗为格鲁派,只在洮河河谷的寺院建筑、雕塑、佛像和法舞(凤&祝山)中留下一些模糊的痕迹。

此外, 土司家族邀请尊者扎巴谢珠(美口爱可识可称"4"口号[3] 1675–1749) 按照拉萨的格鲁派教育体系和课程在卓尼修建了显密学院。在卫藏完成 十九世纪中叶以后, 洮河河谷遭受了几番战火。彼时卓尼土司统治下的最大藏族族群是卓尼人。他们被一次次征召到土司的民兵中, 替清朝和民国政府(1912–1949)镇压起事者。在此期间, 卓尼人经历了严峻的人口损失。大多数洮河北岸的藏族村落毁于战争。为了征税与补充民兵, 土司将毁于战火、破产抑或弃置的居民田宅租赁给从临近地区逃离动乱与自然灾害的汉族难民, 使汉族稳定地流入卓尼。31到1949年, 卓尼人与快速增长的汉族相比已经成为了少数族群。32

社会

从现在的行政区划角度而言, 卓尼人生活在卓尼县和临潭县的两百多个 村子。根据地理位置、生产方式及文化特征(比如头饰与服装),用于指代 他们的称谓各不相同。一般而言,附近的牧民(至河门)称卓尼人为"农民" (至5.년)、"河沿人"(愛原受引)或"头戴珊瑚者"(夏天資初54747年)。何多可或的可 ਤੁ:ਰਰਕਾਨਾ)。由于卓尼人文化习俗的"混合性",牧民有时会用较为贬义的称 呼来指代他们,如"非藏非汉"(蜀'科·奇汀)或"不是绵羊也不是山羊"(云'A (公可)。颇为相似的是,毗邻而居的汉族和回族则称卓尼人为"半番子"或"西 番"——一个自唐以降被汉族历史学家用来指代藏族的名词。近几十年以 来,还有两个族名受到越来越多卓尼人的欢迎:"觉乃藏族"和"三格毛"。前 者得名于卓尼人与其他藏族相区别的独特文化习俗,由当地政府在2001 年批准使用。后者得名于卓尼妇女三根辫子的发式。据称,这种发式是沿 用了天神(智)的发型。也有卓尼人认为"三格毛"实际上是汉语对藏语" 松赞玛"(ฐัว ์วุ่งสุวุลๆ)——即"松赞干布(ฐัว ์วุงสุวูลุง วุ่) ?–650)的军队" 的音译。在族群内部,按照距离洮河的远近,卓尼人通常把自己分为"山上 人"(至云云云山)和"河沿人"(禹河宫口)。洮河作为一个地理屏障,至今影 响着卓尼人与汉语及汉文化的接触,以及对释巴表演的保护和延续。33

过去,同其他安多地区的藏族一样,意为"部族"或"群落"的"措哇"(卷 写)是卓尼人基本的社会、政治及领地组织。早在十四世纪之前,措哇就以"簇"和"族"出现于中文记载中。措哇是以父系血缘关系为基础的群体,由几户到三十多户组成。同一个措哇的人们相信,他们的先祖是曾经服务于

吐蕃军队中的血脉兄弟。措哇下层组织由藏语叫作"沙尼"(의형)、汉语叫作"亲房"的人家构成。在沙尼组织中,户主之间同属于一个父系的兄弟关系至关重要。取决于措哇的大小,构成一个沙尼的户数不等,有几户的,也有十几户的。同一个沙尼的成员同享一个骨系(云叭니),背负同一家族之名(云叭道드),拥有同一护神(云叭道및),祭拜同一山神(叭叭및)。就此而言,沙尼如同一个宗族的分支。34

从1930年代起,当地人和政府广泛用"村"(ই內)来指代洮河河谷的基层社会单位。"村"逐渐取代了"措哇"。然而,卓尼人依然将血缘亲属关系视为组成排他性团体的一个准则。尽管随着当地社会的变迁产生了一些改变,沙尼关系仍被保留了下来。一般而言有两种沙尼:"人沙尼"(岛內內)和"地沙尼"(內內內)。地沙尼是卓尼土司为了应对当地藏族人口锐减,招募汉族移民以维持其民兵和税收的过程中出现的副产品。35地沙尼的出现弱化了曾经由血缘为基础的人沙尼构成的措哇中的亲密关系。在一些情况下,卓尼人会进一步区分"亲沙尼"或"根沙尼"(內內內)和普通沙尼。顾名思义,亲沙尼意味着更加紧密的关系,其成员要为彼此承担更多的义务和责任。在汉藏边疆生活了数个世纪,卓尼人几乎都有汉语姓氏。通常,汉姓可以用来区分不同的沙尼。但是值得注意的是,一个沙尼里可能会包括不同的姓氏,而同一村落且同一姓氏的人家不一定属于同一个沙尼。总之,对于卓尼人而言,沙尼是一个重要的社会组织,在农业生产、仪式和危急时刻为彼此提供帮扶和支持。

宗教习俗

尽管洮河河谷位于藏文明的边缘,但其持续受到卫藏文化与宗教的影响。如上所述,数次藏族移民和宗教改革把洮河河谷塑造成了一个棱镜。通过这个棱镜,我们可以更好地理解这个地区甚至整个青藏高原的宗教文化习俗。诚如汉藏边疆与喜马拉雅南麓的其他地方,洮河河谷的边缘位置为那些消失在宗教文化中心的传统提供了一个庇护所,使其能够存续于边缘地带。这些宗教传统浸渍了卓尼人的生活。在卓尼,佛教与非佛教的修行人员都会被当作宗教修行者,并被当地人根据实际需求,请为相应的仪式专家。

1950年代以前,卓尼的每个村子几乎都有一户为个人和社区做仪式的家庭。其户主是在家苯教修士或宁玛修士,他们分别被称为"阿乃苯本"(欧夏亚河南河)或"阿乃管巴"(欧夏亚河南河)。时至今日,拥有这些神职人员的村子越来越少。阿乃苯本和阿乃管巴为村民提供各种仪式服务,如祭祀山神、安抚家神、驱除邪祟、治疗疾病等等。他们的知识、科仪本及法器作为其家宅不可或缺的一部分,会被家里承担神职的儿子继承。

与阿乃苯本相似,阿乃管巴会将其儿子训练成可以为村民举行仪式的合格修行者。临近几个村落的阿乃管巴通常是同一个宁玛派寺庙的成员。每一年,他们一次或者数次从自己的村子赶到所属寺庙,一起背诵经典并修习法事。由此,阿乃管巴的传统在卓尼被更好地保存了下来。当村子里没有阿乃苯本时,阿乃管巴会接替他的角色。这一点在婚礼上尤为明显。在婚礼仪式中,阿乃管巴会被称作"阿乃莱坞"(欧夏尔河河或欧夏尔河河)。他坐在阿乃日达旁边,举行护身仪式。

如今,从命名新生儿到祝福新婚夫妻,再到丧葬仪式,卓尼人生活中的所有重要时刻几乎都有格鲁派僧人和喇嘛的身影。由于大部分卓尼人自从十八世纪成为了格鲁派信徒,他们的主要节日、集市以及朝圣日都是按照卓尼大寺及其子寺的宗教日历而安排的。36近些年,随着仪式专家们老去、故去,村民们也会把非佛教的科仪文本提供给格鲁派僧人,并请他们主持曾经独属于阿乃苯本和阿乃管巴的仪式。当然,僧人们通常会对这些仪式做一些佛教化的调整。

卓尼人对释巴的理解以及表演 什么是释巴?

 下的释巴还包括女性的表演,比如"新娘之泪"(བག་མའི་མེག་རུ་མུ་དེག་ཕྲེང་བ།)等。42

卓尼的释巴表演者和爱好者对释巴及其构成有两种不同的理解。首先,除"释巴"之外,一些族群成员使用"斯巴"(劉万'叫),意为"世界"或"起源",来指代此口述传统。这一用法可能与藏族把歌称为"斯巴鲁"(劉万'叫说'夏'),或"斯巴恰鲁"(劉万'叫说'夏'),即司惯有关,抑或与民间苯教祭司莱坞所传承的"斯巴韬义"(劉万'叫说'夏'说'司'),即意为"世界章目"的仪式诵文有关。鉴于释巴如今的内容已与早期苯教仪式诵文大相径庭,且"释巴"一词在卓尼广为认可,我们在本书中选择用"释巴"一词。但我们希望读者能够知晓,一些族群成员倾向于用"斯巴"指代这一口述传统。

其次,关于释巴由何构成同样存在争议。一种观点支持明确区分释巴和其他形式的口述传统。例如,释巴以问答形式表演相对固定的诗节与内容,不同于一人单独表演且唱词随场合而变的颂辞。释巴中常见的表达格式是七字为一句,只有少数几行为八或九字。据此,卓尼人大都认为"切玛"(夏云叫)、"箭说"(匈气口口气)、"鹏说"(夏云叫)、"乔说"(匈马口口口)、"鹏说"(夏云叫)、"命"(四)、"龟说"(克哥叫)、"命"(司马口)、"广南"(克哥叫)、"成世说"(乌克哥叫)是释巴最为核心的篇目。其中,"成世说",作为释巴最长的篇章,由"坏世"(乌克哥叫乌河河岛)、"成世"(西哥叫山河河岛)、"日月星宿"(高高哥—可以岛河岛)和"有情世间"(马云马马—高加州岛河)等内容组成。由于释巴表演是卓尼婚俗的重要组成部分,且"送亲辞/舅歌"(乌云哥)与"迎亲辞/甥歌"(西河河岛)通常会和"大臣噶尔东赞"一起被演唱,我们也将这两篇包括在了本书中。

此外,另一种更宽泛的理解建议将卓尼所有的口述传统都视作是释巴。据此,释巴是一个包含了保留至今的所有当地口述传统的合集。若采用这种宽泛的定义,释巴则由三十多个篇章组成。他涉及的篇目既包括以宗教内容为主的"成世说",也包括以世俗内容为主的"水歌"(夏夏)与"茶歌"(与夏),以及其他可以用多种形式表演的篇目。这些针对释巴的意涵及组成的争议,反映了卓尼人对藏族口述传统的细微观察和辨别。同时,这种争议也鼓励人们持续关注并研究释巴和藏族其他口述传统之间的关系。

传统的释巴表演

释巴主要由具有宗教文化权威和社会声望的年长男子表演。演出的人员数量、空间安排、内容选择及长度会根据表演的场景来改变。虽然释巴可以由歌手自问自答地独唱,但最常见的表演形式是在庆典仪式上的合唱。合唱表演时,要么由领唱者用有力高昂的声音领唱,其他人伴唱来一起问答,要么甲乙两组人相互问答。

皇天之上父祖至 孰者上举苍穹耶 后土之上母祖至 孰者下按坤舆耶

乙则根据"鹏说"可以回答到:

言上举苍穹者兮 上举苍穹大鹏矣 上举苍穹大鹏兮 轻易举升苍穹矣 言下按坤舆者兮

下按坤舆鳌龟矣

下按坤舆鳌龟兮

平稳安镇坤舆矣

这时,由于在回答中提到了龟,那么乙可以跳跃至"龟说"中提问甲:

大哉金色鳌龟兮时由海中至海上

其吐息或无息耶

其有毛或无毛耶

其朝天或伏地耶

其舒展或蜷曲耶

如果甲回答不上来,他会被认为是败下阵了。因为释巴歌者的主要目标之一是战胜对手,所以他们总会尽可能地背诵更多的诗节来扩展自己的曲库。唱功,嗓音、丰富的曲库、惊人记忆力以及快速反应能力的有机结合是

一个优秀释巴艺人的基本品质。基于演出地点、场景及艺人曲库的差异,每一场释巴表演都是动态、不同且多变的。总体而言,释巴表演重新镌刻社会与文化规范,传输宗教与历史知识,同时又教育并娱乐观众,是集体聚会的重头戏。

释巴的轮流对唱表演通常可以在婚礼时的新郎家看到。届时,客厅中会安排三处席位(到叫):预留给僧侣、莱坞和长者的上席(叫下到叫),舅舅和媒人的中席(马下到叫)以及男性宾客和村民的下席(赵下到叫)。上席设在炕上。中席与下席则设于地上,相对而坐。中席与下席进行斗歌或回答上席提出的问题,但是不可向上席提问。由于当地婚俗是观察释巴所提到的文化事物、仪式专家与社会规范在卓尼人生活中扮演的角色的有用透镜,我们会用一个单独的章节论述。

其次,男性村民会在新年时用一到数天时间,以合唱的形式演唱释巴。他们齐唱或轮唱,表演专门为新年庆典或特定场合选择的释巴的某一部分内容。以新年举行的"跑马射箭"活动(克曼可以"对与"克"克克")为例,释巴表演在村子的三个场地先后举行。第一个场地是毗邻村中主要佛塔(对意气意可)、靠近新年赛马射箭的开阔地方。此时会唱"箭说"中的部分诗节。第二个场地设置在村长或每年轮流为村子服务的人(至"元"可)的家里。长者坐在客厅的上席,村中其他男性按年龄与社会地位依次在下方落座。他们轮流唱"切玛"和"箭说"的部分内容。第三个场地是在村子供奉山神(以可识)的玛尼庙(对意识下)前的开阔空地。座次遵循相同的礼仪规范<图 3>。在这里,男性村民会按习俗唱"箭说"与村子的历史。

在过去,如果有人想学释巴,他会带着礼物拜访不同村子的著名歌者,学习其最拿手的诗节。为了丰富自己的曲库,他也会在不同社交聚会中认真向歌者请教。有时会坐在村子广场上发起讨论、一起学习。歌者们使用各种各样的方式来辅助记忆,包括藏文文本、中文音译文本、音频以及视频。我们合作过的大多数艺人都乐于承认自己从何人、在何时何地、如何学到了某些诗节。这样的学习过程展示了成为释巴大师所要付出的艰辛努力。释巴歌者们通常会给下一代,包括我们,毫无保留地分享他们的知识和技艺。近几年,传统的释巴学习与表演方式在经历快速的转变。在2016年,释巴被认证为甘南藏族自治州非物质文化遗产(Intangible Cultural Heritage, མངོན་མན་ཤལ་བནག་རོག་གནས།)。其传承正在越来越私有化,表演也变得越来越标准化。⁴³表演的场景设置和一个"好的释巴艺人"的标准也在迅速变化。这个过程伴随着对释巴在过去、现在与将来是什么的重新思考与定义。

非物质文化遗产背景下的释巴表演

随着释巴被认定为甘南州州级非遗,卓尼县政府出台了一系列政策,激励包括释巴艺人与爱好者在内的相关从业者守护此口述传统。44施行的政策涉及筛选认证释巴传承人,进行释巴文本收集,成立释巴表演团,以及在卓尼县和其他地方推广释巴表演。这些政策一方面提升了公众对释巴表演的关注和对这个文化遗产价值的认识,另一方面也催生了新的释巴表演风格,即舞台表演。

释巴的舞台表演形式取决于表演地点、场景和观众。例如,在卓尼本地,为了保留传统表演的元素,藏式客厅场景,尤其是炕,被复制在了舞台上。释巴艺人们围着炕桌(含可含)而坐,捧着切玛,拿着箭,表演着一些传唱度较高的诗节。此外,为了吸引卓尼及其他地方的观众,在卓尼县艺术团编舞们的协助下,一种结合了释巴与阿佳(欧夏)——由两组女性表演的歌舞——的演出形式被设计了出来。中青年男女们身着盛装,唱着释巴,跳着阿佳,有时也会添加描述卓尼近来变化的内容,为观众献上一场精彩的演出<图4>。随着舞台表演视频在网络平台上的传播,这些新的表演形式受到了释巴专家、爱好者与普通观众的广泛关注。

非遗保护管理中固有的复杂性在卓尼也有所体现。一方面,通过提升释巴的地位,这一口述传统已成为卓尼人展现其文化和表达身份认同的一个象征性的标签。释巴也被物化为一种资源。本地的公司会冠以"善巴(释巴)"和"阿佳"之名来推广文化产品与服务。另一方面,被选为文化传承人的释巴艺人数量有限,只有少数个人能享有这种新形成的社会地位以及政府的津贴。这导致了释巴歌者、村民与文化团体间出现了竞争和分歧。释巴逐渐被认为是一种可以由个人、村庄或文化团体私有的东西。其作为卓尼数代人共有的一种文化经历的想法正在逐渐消逝。

此外,和世界范围内其他被收录于非遗的口述传统类似,比如蒙古图力 史诗与藏族格萨尔史诗, ⁴⁵释巴在保护和复兴上面临着认识论与方法论 的双重挑战。这些口述传统的保护事业亟需解决一个关键问题,即如何协 调口述传统的流动性与活力和以保护为目的而将其固化并文本化之间的 矛盾。 ⁴⁶对于我们而言,认可并守护口述传统在版本、表演和解读上的多 样性极为重要。像释巴这样的口述传统是一直在流动变化的。新内容被吸 纳,旧元素被重新解读。作为一个整体,释巴在不断地扩展与改变。

如前文所述,每一次释巴表演都会因为观众与表演场地及目的的差异而有所不同。观众也会根据自己的文化背景对释巴表演的形式与内容有不同的理解。这不可避免地导致人们对"何为释巴"与"释巴何为"持有不同见解。当释巴这样的口述传统搭乘日新月异的技术载体(数字、文本以及多媒体)广泛传播时,对释巴的不同理解变得尤为突出。通过支持释巴

的在线学习和在社交媒体上分享释巴音频与视频, 更迭的技术⁴⁷正在影响人们对释巴的解读和消费。因此, 本书强调释巴目前所呈现出的多种形式, 认可艺人与爱好者们在保存释巴过程中的所做的各种贡献。我们也希望读者认识到一个不可避免的现实, 那就是所有的释巴表演都是不一样的。所有关于释巴的文本和数字资料, 包括本书在内, 都须理解为释巴在特定时期的切片, 而不是将他们作为权威的、全面的、或必须从未变更过的记录。⁴⁸

我们坚信,释巴的生命力在于变化与发展。这需要族群成员之间不断合作、讨论和分享。通过强调释巴的多样性和可变性,我们认为口述传统的保护工作应当更加关注其历史与文化意涵,关注其维系集体归属感的重要作用,并确保其面对剧烈的文化变迁和经济挑战时,仍然拥有面向未来的活力。因此,释巴的价值不仅在于是否跻身于非遗列表,或者是否有机会登上城市的舞台,其价值更在于对卓尼人而言的情感和文化寄托。释巴的社会文化意义存在于本地人的生活点滴中,并且通过他们实实在在的生活经历而传递。鉴于诸多前辈筚路蓝缕,本书只是为卓尼释巴保护工作抛砖引玉。我们欣赏人们针对释巴的具体元素和抽象意义给出不同见解,也希望致力于释巴保护传承的人们能思索,如何让释巴的多样性和多变性,而非标准化,最终助力其可持续发展。

卓尼婚俗:释巴表演和藏族风俗的糅合

在过去几十年,尽管卓尼婚礼习俗的许多方面,如嫁妆、彩礼、婚礼场地等,发生了巨大的改变,但有两方面没有太大的变化。第一,不管是包办婚姻还是自由恋爱的婚礼,媒人(བང་པ།)都不可或缺。通常,媒人和新郎与新娘的父母同辈。取决于他和双方家庭的关系,媒人会被称为"阿舅媒人"(禹ང་བོ་བར་པ།)或"姑父媒人"(禹ང་བོ་བར་པ།)。媒人应当对双方家庭有所了解并需要承担诸多责任,尤其是打探新郎或新娘家的骨头,即家族世系(རྡུས་་སྡུ་ང།)是否洁净。这也是卓尼婚俗中第二个没有太大改变的方面:人们尤为重视骨系的洁净(གུང་།)。不干净的骨头通常表现为浓重的体味或者麻风病(其特征是眉毛脱落)。据本地人说,如果一个人遗传了母亲的体味,这种体味来自血肉,只会延续两代人;如果一个人遗传了父亲的体味,由于这种体味来自骨头,永远不会消失。在包办婚姻中,人们谨慎地挑选理想的候选人。自由恋爱中,双方家庭和媒人也要打听关于骨头的所有情况。总而言之,人们避免与骨系不洁净的人家结亲。

 婚礼一般会在冬季农闲时节、农历新年之前举行。婚礼当天,新郎(전写 [4])、媒人、伴郎(赵写 [4])和帮手(灵 [4]])会在清晨前往新娘的村子。通常,伴郎是一个已婚且声誉优良的男人。他要善于唱释巴,从而帮助新郎克服新娘一方设置的各种有趣挑战。最重要的是伴郎需要从新郎的岳父母那里替新郎请箭。帮手则负责搬运送给新娘和她家人的礼物。到达新娘村庄后,新郎一方会遇到为了使迎亲变得有趣而刻意创造的困难。少年、少女以及祖母们分别在村口、村中和新娘家的大门口放置木杠拦路。有时,年长的妇女会用"迎亲歌"或"水歌"向新郎一方提问。如果他们不能给出令人满意的答案和礼物,新娘一方会向他们洒水。此时,帮手需要替新郎和伴郎挡水,因为他们俩人在这一天需要保持干净整洁。在克服这些挑战并移除木杠后,新郎和他的同伴才可以进入新娘家。接下来,他们会在新娘的闺房门口被她的姐妹、闺蜜和表姊妹戏弄并索要礼物,直到最终房门被打开。

长子升甘丹法座, 次子登汉地王座, 幼子则看护家业。⁵⁰

一旦新郎拿到箭,他会立刻与伴郎返回自己家里,然后站在大门的房顶等待新娘的到来。当新娘准备离开娘家时,她父亲一方的一位年长男性会举行"唤福"(¶ሣང་འགགས།)仪式。他手持福箭,高喊:"福至!福至!(གሣང་བག།)"。随后,他会念诵一大段颂辞,朝四面八方唤福。听到颂辞时,新娘离开闺房进入客厅,向家神告别。阿乃日达前会放置一张红毡覆盖的桌子。在两位伴娘(བག་རོགས།)的陪同下,新娘绕着桌子顺时针绕三圈。理想的伴娘应育有一儿一女,并且双亲公婆都健在。一般而言,一位伴娘是新娘的嫂子,另一位则从娘家的沙尼中选出。出嫁过程中,新娘和姊妹姑嫂会一起唱"哭嫁歌"(བག་ངུ་།)。她们从闺房、客厅、院子、大门,一直唱到等候载她离开的马或汽车那里。在新娘离开村子时,她向山神跪拜叩首三次,标志着和自己出生长大的娘家正式告别。

抵达新郎的村子时,新娘和送亲队伍会在村子的佛塔前停下。新娘绕佛塔转三圈,之后被舅舅们团团围住,非常缓慢地走向新郎家。同时,由于当地人相信新娘可能会在路上被恶灵或野鬼跟随,人们会邀请阿乃莱坞在新郎家门口做净化仪式。新娘抵达门口时,新郎的母亲和婶婶将仪式所用的祀食(叭壳: ས།叭叭)拿到门外。随后,她们一边把醋倒在烧热的鹅卵石(膏、叭叭叭叭)上,一边分别顺时针与逆时针环绕新娘来净化她。之后,送亲队伍会被迎请到客厅就座。新娘和她的两位伴娘会被安置在厢房的炕上。新娘坐在自己缝制的一双挂起来的裢把靴子(妈叭)下。这双靴子会被一直悬挂着,直到第一个孩子出生时才会交还给新娘。客厅里,送亲队伍会享受一场盛宴,期间会有释巴表演。夸赞舅舅的"送亲歌"常被唱起。值得注意的是,"切玛"(众歌之首)和"大臣噶尔东赞"(强调娶亲的困难)会在整个婚礼过程中按情况所需被唱起。由于婚礼的每一个步骤都必须按照数月前僧人占卜的时间进行,释巴表演一般都只持续几分钟。长时间的表演通常会在婚礼前夜举行,时间充裕时,常有歌者进行斗歌。

当宴席接近尾声时,新郎新娘进入客厅。阿乃莱坞为他们举行的护身仪式。他把酥油抹在新婚夫妻的额头后,送亲队伍即可带新娘回娘家。几天后,新娘与她父亲一起返回新郎家。她父亲会留宿一晚,并将新婚夫妻

在新年时必须拜访的亲戚的名单告知亲家。这标志着婚礼的结束。在接下来的新年中,新郎会在拜访岳父母时收到第二支箭。当他第一个孩子出生时,他会收到第三支箭,大多数情况下,这也是岳父母赠送给他的最后一支箭。新郎收到箭后会向岳父母家的阿乃日达致谢。在极少数情况下,不孕的夫妻可能会在每年的新年拜访时收到一支箭,直到他们的第一个孩子出生。箭不仅是释巴中的一个重要篇章,也是和卓尼人生活密不可分的文化物品。

总之,卓尼的婚俗糅合了释巴表演与当地的传统习俗。骨头、家族、亲属、气运在卓尼人及广大藏族社会中是十分重要的概念。51这些概念融合于卓尼人的社会组织,同他们的日常生活和释巴所解说的文化物品息息相关。以婚俗作为切入点,我们可以直观地看到,释巴给这些抽象概念和文化物品之间架起了一座桥梁,而其表演传统也让当地习俗历久弥新、鲜活生动。

释巴和藏族口头与书面文学的关系

上文中我们介绍了卓尼人的地域、历史、社会、宗教以及释巴表演。以下,我们将释巴置于藏族历史、宗教与社会文化的语境中,阐释他和藏族口头与书面文学之间的紧密联系。对藏族而言,口述传统是文化宝库中一个不可或缺的无价瑰宝。其反映了藏族人的信仰与世界观,并传承社会、宗教、文化知识及价值观。52口述传统深刻且多面地滋养了藏族文学。53作为藏族口述传统的一员,释巴和其他口述传统在主题和形式上多有重叠,同时保有自身的独特性。将释巴置于藏族口头与书面文学系统中,不仅可以加深我们对藏族口述和书写传统各自发展以及两者之间关系的理解,同时也能为解读并欣赏释巴提供一个更加坚实的基础。

释巴与藏族口头文学

释巴的形式与其他藏族口述传统的关系

分析释巴对叠词与象声词的运用,是理解其形式的一个好的出发点。重叠象声词是藏语诗歌表达中一个显著的特征。他的最早使用记录出现在敦煌文献的藏语歌谣,即"录"(到)中。学术界和公众的讨论都倾向于认为,录是"最早、最本土、最通俗且极富音乐性的体裁"。54他没有受到自十三世纪以来主导了藏语诗歌写作规范的印度的韵律诗(袅云·云·ਕ·ਕ·ਕੁਰ· [梵kāvya)的明显影响。55例如,敦煌文献《吐蕃赞普传记》(兄ぢਰ·ਧ·ਧਕਾਰਿਕਾਰੀ)中,松赞干布的妹妹在唱给使臣芒穹(ぁ云·霞云)的歌里,就用到了重叠象声词"嘶哩哩"(ਕਾਰੇਕਾਰੀ)和"噗噜噜"(వై-ʒ-ʒ)。55显然,释巴对重叠象声词的运

用继承了古代的录以及其后发展出的道歌(མགུར།)等体裁的手法。57如下所示,这些叠词不一定携带语义,往往用来描述生动的画面,从而体现出释巴的口语性和通俗性:

岭国之辞颯啦啦(赛马马嘶) 霍尔之辞哒喏喏(射箭箭响) 婚礼之辞哒哒哒(花儿歌声)

与重叠象声词一样,释巴中广泛使用的排比和复沓也可以追溯到敦煌文献中的录58。这类修辞手法也出现在格萨尔史诗59、祝辞60和道歌61等其他体裁的藏族口述传统中。排比结构可以辅助记忆,有利于口述传统的学习与传承,同时也有助于把赞颂对象置于一个反映藏族理解自我、族群、自然环境和广阔宇宙的等级秩序中。62例如,以下诗节把"切玛"的三个重要组成部分和佛教世界观的关键元素对应起来,雅致地呈现了佛教世界观:

切玛形如须弥兮, 其型所依者何耶? 碟子亮如明镜兮, 其型所依者何耶? 托盘四角八边兮, 其型所依者何耶? 切玛形如须弥兮, 其型所依须弥山。 碟子亮如明镜兮, 其型所依日月矣。 托盘四角八边兮, 其型所依四大洲。

此外,藏族口述传统的另一显著特征,即常用于表现吉祥及庄严感的譬喻(氧宁贡司)和夸张(葡萄罗可可)修辞,63也广泛存在于释巴中。例如,为了使庆典显得更加祥瑞,会用夸张的手法将酥油和柏香枝这样的日常事物比喻为三怙主和一切众生;熊和牦牛等动物被用来形容拥有男子气概与正直品质的人;制作箭翎的习俗也用夸张手法表现一种力量感与庄严感,如下面诗节所示:

- 一翎镶嵌于箭时,若黄金神庙耸立。
- 二翎镶嵌于箭时,若鹰骤落平原矣。
- 三翎镶嵌于箭时,若雌鹰降以猎食。

四翎镶嵌于箭时,若四大天王现矣。

除了这些在藏族口述传统中广泛使用的修辞,释巴的问答式⁶⁴也和前佛教时期藏族文化风俗中意为"谜语"或"谜歌"的"德乌"(望马)形式相仿。以开启民智为目的,⁶⁵德乌由问答式构成,内容涵盖各种重要主题,如世界起源、世系、历史和一些具体的文化知识。⁶⁶有学者认为,前佛教时期的吐

蕃社会政治秩序是由负责祭祀的苯师(氧丙),讲述历史的诗人(蜀云)和吟唱谜歌与世系的歌者(望到)这三种人维系(悉口到石河石)岛口到西河到四日的。67与传达"道"(夏·黄河)的宗教人员相比,诗人和歌者被认为是在传承"法"(副·黄河)。他们以诗意的语言为载体,口头传承内容庞大且复杂的文化规范与社会价值。68根据十四世纪的《五部遗教》(四四日:曾四)记载,"法"包含与狮子身体对应的九种主题:

狮右前肢代表世界之形成, 左前肢代表人之起源, 后背代表世界之地理, 右爪代表王之世系, 左爪代表民之世系, 中趾代表佛教之形成, 颈部代表在家众, 头部代表父母之宗族, 尾部代表愉悦之歌。69

通过简要概括这些主题,我们认为释巴显然是通过优美歌谣来传授"法"。然而在藏族口述传统中,释巴不是唯一一种传承历史及社会规范、涵盖庞大的知识体系的传统。为了更好地理解这种关联,对比释巴和其他藏族口述传统的内容,如迭部的"斯巴韬义"(划与"以河),定日与木斯塘的"毛拉"(刻句"河),以及整个藏区的"录"和"达"(河西川),将会卓有成效。

释巴的内容与其他藏语口述传统的关系

安多迭部的斯巴韬义,意为"世界章目",是由斯巴苯教的民间祭祀莱坞和世俗老者在年过花甲的人的葬礼上吟唱的仪式诵文。邓斯巴韬义由逝者所在村落的居民和其他村落赶来的亲戚以轮流的形式吟诵。最近所薮辑的斯巴韬义合集显示,他包含四个主要部分:赞颂辞、佛苯世界观、世界与吐蕃地理、以及迭部当地历史。邓尽管斯巴韬义的句式灵活且字数不等,但其内容有一部分与释巴重合,比如宇宙之龟如何承载世界。与释巴类似,斯巴韬义中的族源和历史反映了藏族关于自我、世系以及族群的历史叙述在迭部的存留。

相似的仪式诵文还包括在定日、木斯塘及周边区域传唱的毛拉,其意为"颂"。木斯塘的毛拉由字数不等的句子构成。多数情况下由僧人在寺院唱诵,以求添寿或为新逝者祈祷好的转世。⁷²定日的毛拉大多是九字组成

从更宏观的角度来看,像毛拉和斯巴韬义这样的庆典诵唱,事实上都可以被归类为"达",即藏族文化中由来已久的"颂辞"。如谚语所言,"达早于苯佛存在"(何以下5下的"荷克"对"克"的"阿克"的"遗秘"对"克"的"克"(阿克"(阿克"(阿克"(阿克")。达被认为是一个优秀男人需要精通的九种技巧(阿麦"(阿克"(阿克"(阿克")之一。达所涵盖的主题丰富,包含创世神话、当地历史、宗族谱系、地理、节庆讲演等等。主题选择按照表演场景不同而变化。释巴和达所呈现的特点启示我们,这些藏族口述传统不应该被简单归纳为藏族口述传统的不同的体裁。相反,他们应该被理解为早于佛教并受到佛教影响、涵盖庞杂丰富知识的文化宝库。

此外,释巴和录极具相似性。上文提到,录常被理解并翻译为民歌,但也有一些藏族族群将其理解为一个知识系统或者百科全书。比如,拉达克婚礼仪式中的"门歌"(新聞)就是这种知识系统的一个力证。为了让婚礼更具可观性与娱乐性,少女们在唱门歌时,会栓起门来阻拦接亲的男子,用歌谣提问他们。其话题内容从佛苯元素到世俗知识,所涉多元。76在卓尼南面的甘肃与四川交界地带,白马(5吲哚克)族群"的录同样包罗万象,内容涵盖了创世神话、星宿运行、环境、社会规范以及斯巴苯相关的知识。当地人认为录是一种百科全书,78而非简单的民歌。与释巴一样,录也由当地社会声望很高的歌者(周元川)以问答形式在婚礼、宗教仪式及其他集体聚会上演唱。此外,在他们的民歌和故事中,苯教(吲哚万克克克可)、佛教(叭叭叭齿)与录(叭叭叫叭齿))通常以治病救人的三兄弟的形象出现。79在迭部,苯教、佛教与录(奶气叫叭齿))通常以治病救人的三兄弟的形象出现。79在迭部,苯教、佛教与录(奶气叫叭齿))同样常常以并列的方式出现在歌谣中。80这些例子表明,录代表着一个文化或宗教知识的系统,囊括了与释巴类似的万花简般的主题。81

通过将释巴放在藏族口头文学中来检视他和别的口述传统的关系,我们注意到他们之间共通的形式与重合的内容。这些口述传统利用重叠象声、譬喻、夸张和排比等修辞手法,用生动而诗意的方式传递社会文化规范。他们关注藏族宗教与世俗历史,连接过去与当下,加强人们在语言、文

总之,释巴和其他藏族口述传统有密切的联系。通过对比他们,我们可以对包括释巴在内的藏族口述传统有更全面的理解。同藏区其他口述传统一样,释巴涵盖了前佛教时代的世界观、佛教世界观、人们寄托愁思与愿景的各种文化事物、以及被佛教化的本土知识。显然,释巴对卓尼人和整个藏族社会而言是一座文化宝库。

释巴与藏语书面文学

依据卓尼的口述历史,以扎巴谢珠为主的当地经院学者按照《俱舍论》编写了"成世说"。《俱舍论》以分品的连贯形式解析佛陀的教义。⁸⁶他是佛教经、律、论三藏中属于论的核心典籍。⁸⁷其由八品组成,是西藏、中原与东亚各佛教传统的一个重要的理论基石。⁸⁸在藏传佛教寺院中,格鲁派

经院教育的"五部大论"之一即为《俱舍论》。他也是高级学僧在近二十年的显宗学修中需要完成的最后一部论疏。89比对可知,"成世说"和《俱舍论》的简明韵文与论疏相似度并不高。"成世说"应当是基于一个对《俱舍论》进行过详细改编和韵律化改写的文本。八思巴所著的《彰所知论》就是这种改写的理想文本,也的确对释巴的创作产生了更直接的影响。

阅读比对"成世说"与《彰所知论》可知,他们的内容和修辞手法都很相似。其中对佛教度量单位的讨论是一个很好的例子(见表1)。我们怀疑,释巴中有关佛教世界观的内容,特别关于器世间(登室子中含可)与有情世间(內下內蒙子內內內)的描述,是根据八思巴的《彰所知论》裁剪而来的。尽管当地口述历史称,格鲁派学者扎巴谢珠在十八世纪编写了"成世说",但是在格鲁派主宰洮河河谷之前,萨迦派僧人可能已经编写了"成世说"的某些内容。

表1:"成世说"、《彰所知论》与《俱舍论》中的长度计量对比90

释巴"成	文世说"	《彰所知论》	《俱舍论》
言拘卢舍由旬兮	म्बीट.चीबोबा.टेलबा.क्ट्.	त्वुद्दःचःदेःद्दषःषोःवैदः । त्वुदःचःदेःद्दषःषाः	व्यञ्जयारा स्वार्थियात्र
以极微所成之矣	चयःलूरःचःलुच॥ देयःसःस्यःचथयोयः चत्रेर्द्धेःच॥	हु-प्रतिक्षध्यः श्चिष्यः स्व सः स्पर्तः ग्रीः हुष्यः क्षेः त्वेषाः हुः सं स्पर्तः ग्रीः हुष्यः क्षेत्रः सः सः स्पर्तः ग्रीः हुष्यः स्व	ફુ ત્ય ⁻ એવા'55'
七极微者相叠也 是以成一微尘也	चववायःतःजा। स.रचःदैजःचर्थे	ने ^{:च} रुव वे:कुष धव वें॥	भ्रुन्-ङेषाःधः स्यःकुषः इत्वी॥
	चलवा-सःस्रवा। चलवा-सःस्रवा।		[क्षः] कुषःधवःप्रःवेः रेःचवेवःऽ॥

释巴"原	戈世说"	《彰所知论》	《俱舍论》
七微尘为一铁尘	ने'नदुब'स'वै'ख़ुबाब' हुस'बाईबा	ने'न5्द्रन'दे'ञ्चणव'र्द्रव' बी	ञ्जन्याः च्यायःसः सः स्ट्रांटः स्युवाः
七铁尘为一水尘	देजायञ्चा सैवायादेजायदेवातुः स्वायाद्वे	ने ^{:च} 5्व ⁻ वै ⁻ ख्:कुंपःर्वे	
七水尘为一兔尘	ब्रुड्या ब्रुड्या	ने:पर्व:वै:उ:र्वेट:वी: इत्यःबी	
七兔尘为一羊尘	दुव्यःचिश्वेषा दुव्यःचिश्वेषा	ने:न5्व:वे:खुना:कुव:व्या	
七羊尘为一牛尘	त्युनाऱ्द्रयः चतुत्र वृः ह्यूटः स्यः चाङ्गेना	<u> </u>	
其七所成为隙尘	ने:महुब:य:बे:वे:वे:कु:कु:	दे:पर्वावे:वे:वेर:ग्री: हुप:र्वे॥	ਰ੍ਹੇ: <u>चे</u> -र:सुत्य:प्रट:र्श्चें:ब्य: प्रटा
其七所成为虮也	ने:चरुवा:ब:वे:ब्रॅं:ब: पडेवा	रे.न5्ब.चे.बॅ.भट. क्ट.ट्री।	न्या। न्या
七虮所成为一虱	र्श्वे स्थाप्त विश्वेषाः विश्वेषाः भवेषा	ने:म्ड्बःवै:वेषाःषीः र्ट्यःर्ने॥	चर्य चर्ष्मैर॥ धूर-क्ष्वाकाषुकान्तुन्
七虱所成为一麦	वैषायदुवःर्ळेषायःयः वयःषञ्चेषाःधेव॥	ने:नर्व:वै:वशःग्री: र्ट्य:र्ने	
七麦所成一指节	व्यायनुवृत्यःवैन्त्र्यः केंग्यःग्रेग्या	दे.रच.उदेय.त.चे.स्ट्र. ज्य.च्र्य.च्री च्य.च्र्य.च्री च्य.च्रेय.च्री च्य.च्री.त.च्यी	
₩-#- 1 m 2 wh		विष्ठेवा वी क्य ५ भी	
指节二十四之数	चर्षु.जा। ब्र्स.कुर्वाय.धु.स्.	बट्ट्स बट्ट्स	
是为一肘之长也	चर्षवा.चु.लुच्या चश्च्य.च्या.खे.व्यट.		ૹૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼ

释巴"成	过世说"	《彰所知论》	《俱舍论》
四肘之长为一弓	यरः॥ वि.संबु.ज.बु.चबि.जर्नुश्र.	बटार्ट्स ब्राम्बेखेखेखेखे	ट्र. ^{द्वी.स.चु.ताखे.वाट.}
五百弓为拘卢舍	चावारा.चाङ्चवा चार्खे.जर्नूषा.कं.चचि.चीट.	चावारा वाङ्गवा.चू। पर्ट्राज्ञ.चक्ची.ज.चु.क्चीट.	ने'न्न'स्'नकु'क्रस्य
八拘卢舍为由旬	र्नत्वा.क्र्यं.चकुव्या क्रिट.चावायात्रकृत्यः	वाबिताज्ञी तद्मेश्वाच्च्याक्षेत्रः प्रत्याक्च्याक्षेत्रः च्याव्याच्च्याक्षेत्रः च्यावित्याच्च्याक्षेत्रः	चुर्यू दे.चक्कैद्रद्वा इ.चक्कैद्रद्वा क्कैट्रच्चवायाः देखाः देखेवः

此外,"成世说"中包含了来自《时轮金刚密续》(写识识写》记句不说记题写梵 Śrīlaghu-kālacakra-tantra)的世界观的知识。十一世纪起,这部以《时轮密续》之名广为人知的经典被翻译成藏文超过十四次。91在十四世纪晚期,时轮金刚传统已流行于萨迦、格鲁以及其他几个藏传佛教派系中。当第一座密宗学院在十八世纪初期落成于洮河河谷后,这一传统在卓尼地区开始广泛流传。92同样,扎巴谢珠被认为是给释巴增加了《时轮密续》中有关器世间及其大小的内容的编者。然而基于《时轮密续》在藏区的传播历史,我们不应排除萨迦派学者和释巴艺人们在这部密乘经典系统化传播于卓尼之前,就已经将这些内容纳入"成世说"的可能性。93

此外,释巴还有一个与其相像的文本,即十五世纪成书的《如意释藻》(བནད་མངོད་ལེད་བནིན་ནོར་བུ།),简称《释藻》。此书是由东达玛卫僧格(དན་དམ་སྡུ་བབི་མེང་གེ་ឝ代不详)为西藏东南部的一个统治家族编纂的类似百科全书

的文本。他不仅以通俗的语言转述晦涩的佛教思想,而且为有文化修养的世俗精英提供各种学问。有学者认为《释藻》面向在家众,从而被认为是不同于面向学僧的《智者启蒙》的百科全书手册。⁹⁴但是鉴于历史上藏族世俗社会的低识字率,我们怀疑,对这类读物按照宗教与世俗读者群的划分应并不是那么严格。宗教修行者有可能会阅读《释藻》。同理,卓尼的喇嘛和僧人一直在欣赏释巴。

《释藻》除了涵盖佛教世界观和哲学,也覆盖了很广的主题,有西藏神话、王系、地理、语言、星象、苯教、医学、颂辞与歌谣(见表2)。其以问答式呈现。内容按主题分类,以诗歌形式写就,受排比修辞影响。由此可见,《释藻》也和藏族口头与书面文学深刻地交织在一起。如下所示,尽管略有不同,《释藻》的许多主题和释巴相似。他们看起来有很强的关联。

表2:《释藻》与释巴主题对比

《释藻》	释巴
器世间	<i>धुः</i> र्श्वेन ^{:यह्} षाहेवा
宇宙起源	
婆娑世界	
大千世界	
小千世界与轮	<u>નૃશ</u> ીભાવર્ષિમ
须弥山	રે.ખે.કુ.ભ.દો
七金山	णक्षेत्र:कुःरी:पर्व
七香水海	र्रेय:पदे:सर्ळे:पर्व
大咸水海	ધુૈત ે તુ સર્જે હે ત્ર મેં
铁围山	કુૈ:સુનાય:૨ે:વન:પોં
四大洲八小洲	श्चैर-पबै-५र-श्चैर-ध्व
日月星宿	हैं: <u>ज</u> ्ञै:भूर:पाशुव्या
地居天	
空居天	
成住坏空	यह्न्यान्।

《释藻》	释巴
时空度量	वे;स ⁻ र्रट:बुटः।
	<u> </u>
有情世间	वट:चर्रुट्'रोंशय:स्व <u>ा</u>
六道轮回	श्रेश्चर.क्यं.च
十八地狱	
饿鬼道	
畜生道	
阿修罗道	
人道与四大洲	श्चिर-प्रत्वे-धें
南瞻部洲人	ર્ફેલ વસ્ત્રભય પ્રત્યાં તે સ્થા
藏族起源	ર્વેન્'શુૈ'શ્રે'ષે'ધ'શ
天界	[चस्रय.च]श्रुम[
王统	र्त्तेव र्ये अगर केवा
西藏王统	मीजात्र्यं शिषा श्रीक्षा श्रीक्षा
列王至松赞干布	
吐蕃时期	
世间部族	
地理	
南瞻部洲地理	કું.ત∉્લ.વી.ધી્ર.!
佛教起源与思想	[দ্রম্ম.শ.ন. ছ .নদ্মীন
西藏佛教	र्न् <u>र</u> -ग्री-शरशःक्षेत्र-पष्टेष-त
星象	न्नरःयःन्नरःळेवःवेरःचकुर्।
	<u>ब</u> ्चिअ:मञ्जु:मङ्गिषा
	<u>খ্</u> পী'ন'ব্যু
	원자[마'中貴]

《释藻》	释巴
汉地星象	र्जे.प्रिंच्र.पर्श्व.बिध्या
宇宙之龟	જા.ટેં.વોલુમ.ગ્રું.જેલ.સેળ
五行	पर्वैर.च.की
苯教	
医学	
密教	
哲学与语言学	
颂辞	
喜辞	

从十八世纪起,有更多的资料表明当地格鲁派僧人参与到了修改及编写释巴的工程中。许多歌者声称扎巴谢珠校勘整理了释巴。如表3所示,我们在对比释巴和他撰写的有关星象占卜的文本后发现了可观的相似之处。这到底是因为扎巴谢珠记录了当时释巴表演的内容?还是他按照其他文献为当地艺人编写了新的内容?还是后世的学者根据他的文集在释巴中添加了新的内容?要解开这个谜题,还需要更进一步的研究。

表3:释巴与《扎巴谢珠文集》中的八卦与九宫对比95

释巴%	扎巴谢珠	
离火坤地兑金也 ལི་མེ་ཁོན་ས་ད་ལྡུགས་དང་॥	इस्याय की को जीव का निस्ता	
乾天坎水艮山也 [中司:"中司"[中司"[中司"][中司"][中司"][中司"][中司"][中司"][中	२.झैर्याय.ावय.यावया.ावय.क.र्-८.॥	
再者震木巽风也 वेव वेद वेंद कुर दें 5 7 9 'युर'	मैव रे बेव भैट बेंब हुट रें॥	
八卦之形成如是 對天下中國了在"西미內"愛內"씨리	<u>ज्य. ग्र</u> ीट. स्र्रेचीय. ग्री. झं र. La. ब्री।	
其九宫之计法兮 휡'བ་དག་བོ་བརྡེ་ཚུལ་ན།	श्चे.चतु.कट्.लीबादा.चक्षेच.त.ची॥	

释巴%	扎巴谢珠
一六八白属金也 གརིག་དགར་དུག་དགར་བྱུད་དགར་ལྡུགས།།	षञ्चतः २ गरः चुनः २ गरः चकु २ : २ गरः खुनाया।
二玄三青属水也	चाहेशःचनाःशुकःकद्युदःकुःभेवःत्या
四绿木兮五黄土口尚望口的下。	चर्षु.र्जिट हो.सं.स्र. श्रम.या
七赤九紫属火也 55a.2ax.2a.3a.a.a.a.a.a.	नरुव:८अर:८गु:८अर:बे:भेव:वी

僧人编写释巴并在藏族口述传统和书面文学之间架起桥梁的活动至今薪尽火传。几位释巴艺人表示,他们曾从当地僧人那里学习了"成世说"的一些诗节。当叙述出现争议,僧人也会提供判定,如若有文献材料,僧人会从中找到佐证来提供答案。2019年,一个热衷于薮辑释巴文本的还俗僧人为释巴歌手们开设了线上课程。为了让族群成员获得更深入的理解,他还在课堂上阅读并解释有关佛教世界观的诗节。

总之,释巴受到了佛教经典、手册和历史文献的影响。细审之下,释巴与书面文学资料中有关世界形成、早期西藏史、佛教传播、迎娶文成公主(更) [13] [14] 623-680)的内容都颇为相似,甚至有一致的地方。过分聚焦于这些内容出现于口述和书写传统的先后顺序或许会无功而返。我们更应该关注的是藏语口述传统内部以及和书面文学之间的紧密互动。

释巴:融汇口头与书面文学

释巴模糊了口头文学与书面作品之间的边界。前文我们既概括了像"德乌"这样的前佛教时期口述传统的相关元素是如何留存于释巴中,同时也说明了藏族书面文学如何将其内容叙事融入到了释巴中。如此,我们试图为研究藏族口述与书写传统之间的互动提供一个新视角。因为迄今为止,多数研究只关注口述传统如何作为素材库,塑造并激发了藏族书面文学的创作,而没有探究书面文学如何反过来影响口头传统。"事实上,口述传统和书面文学的互动并不是一种新的现象,他在藏区以及其他地方由来已久。"例如,一些"格萨尔史诗"艺人利用文本和录音作为其学习的材料(为有"智气"以为"智气"),"以及彝族表演者借助文本来口头传承他们的史诗——《诺苏起源之书》。100同样,释巴也将藏族口头与书面文学融合在了一起。

口述传统的活力和书面文学的丰富想象力彼此饶益,使得释巴在不同层面保有活力。例如,在藏族历史叙述中,文成公主和松赞干布的婚礼通常被解读为一个吐蕃被佛教化的象征。在贵德(南河)等其他藏区的婚礼颂辞中,这一结合被描绘为婚姻的典范。101但是,"大臣噶尔东赞"这个故事在卓尼的演绎较少关注此婚姻本身或其佛教面向,而是侧重于媒妁之事以及对噶尔东赞(?-667)智慧与勇敢的赞颂。这种可变的解读照亮了一个古老故事的不同棱角。正是这种口述传统和书面文学的互动,使得像释巴这样的藏语口述传统保持其生命力。

释巴的意义

此外,释巴提供了研究泛喜马拉雅地区共享文化元素的一个切入点。 以在藏族仪式与文化中有重要意义的蝙蝠(Ч'ञ्'¬)为例,他被认为拥有九种能力且能够解决各种问题。103关于蝙蝠解决危机的叙述不仅出现在释巴 甚稀奇之鹏卵兮 由上观之卵何耶 由前观之卵何 神神 由上下观观郊郊 即京 神神 也由 市 前 孫奇之鹏卵

这种三界宇宙观是斯巴苯的有力明证。相同的世界观也保存于"龟说"之中。在释巴中,我们也能够看到从斯巴苯的三元世界观到制度化苯教的二元世界观的转变。106在这个二元结构中,鹏鸟和乌龟神被描绘成了开天辟地者:

皇天之上父祖至 孰者上举苍穹耶 后土之上母祖至 孰者下按坤舆耶 言上举苍穹者兮 上举苍穹大鹏兮 轻易举护野。 至下按坤舆鳌龟 下按坤舆鳌龟矣 平稳安镇坤舆矣

随着佛教在高原的传播,佛教世界观渗透到了藏族的文化世界中。佛教与藏族本土信仰相互影响,导致了民间信仰、苯教与佛教的聚合。如学者们所言,这些原本大相径庭的信仰体系有许多活跃交互的地方。107释巴明显保有这种特点。以"龟说"为例,首先以民间信仰的世界观为范式,龟的身体部位与三界的三种神灵相契合。之后,佛教元素,如文殊菩萨(乌克지 두시지)等等也被纳入到了释巴叙述中。文殊被视为是调伏宇宙之龟的菩萨。他用金箭射中了龟,以火剑将其刺穿,将龟翻转过来后,腹甲则成了世界的基底。108

我们在承认释巴反映了分布在不同地域的藏族社区之间共有的文化和信仰的同时,还需要强调释巴所体现出的藏族文明本土化。这种本土化突显了当地文化的独特性。例如,在释巴中,对父系与家宅世系等概念的本土化通过阿乃日达得到体现。在附近藏族社群中,阿乃日达通常会被置入家宅的经堂中,但是在卓尼人的家中,他拥有一个单独的位置。作为房屋建筑的重要元素,阿乃日达是仪式专家为家庭成员在人生重要时刻做仪式的神圣空间。此外,鹏鸟作为一种对藏族人来说具有重要文化与宗教意义的生灵也有不同的本土化。在卓尼和迭部,人们会将草秆编织的鹏鸟用于山神供养仪式中(55)等。2007年2015年57)。111鹏鸟还融入了藏族人的日常

生活中。卓尼人和嘉绒人分别认为他们的头饰和披肩是以这个神秘的鸟为原型制作的。类似藏文明本土化的例子还有很多。这些本土化反映了每个社群在自己特定的地理和文化背景下与藏族文明的斡旋。故而,像释巴这样的藏语口述传统为我们提供了一个棱镜。透过这个棱角,我们既可以辨识藏文化的同一性,也能欣赏其丰富性和复杂性。

记录、音译、转写、文本薮辑与翻译

本书所使用的释巴录音和文本是我们从2015年至2020年在藏语言和藏文化保存较好的洮河河谷中上游收集的。玛尔尼嘉措在2015年开始数字影像记录。随后,他在2016与2017年夏天和阿乃全嘉措与阿乃蒙子斗录制了一些零碎的篇章。大部分的录制工作由完代草在2019年完成。在记录的过程中,我们有幸获得了格日才让、范学勇以及许多寺院僧人和当地历史学家的帮助。他们投入了大量的时间和精力来收集释巴文本,并慷慨地将其收藏与洞见分享给我们。这些口述和文本材料都是本书的素材。

在卓尼,阿乃蒙子斗作为最负盛名的释巴艺人之一,可以完整地唱出大多数篇章。2019年四月,完代草在他的村子里用视频录制了其口述。恰值播种的季节,没有观众,确保了录制不被打扰。他为我们的工作给予了全心全意的支持、巨大的耐心和深切的关怀。在录制时,他始终带着只有自己能看懂、用中文注音的九十页的释巴文本,以应对忘记诗句的情况。年复一年的演唱让他记下了几乎所有诗节,他只会偶尔参考一下文本。由于演唱需要花费大量的时间和精力,鉴于他年逾七旬的身体情况,我们在录完"切玛"之后请他将演唱转为了叙述。

阿乃蒙子斗按照他的情况和经验制定叙述的计划。他决定何处停顿休息,下一步讲述什么内容,以及在每个片段开始和结束后需要解释什么。一个短的片段通常需要十分钟左右来叙述,接着是他的解释,有时候他还会提到他在学习和表演此片段的逸闻趣事。完代草会在这个过程里记笔记,当晚回顾,并于次日开始录制前针对不解之处提问。因此,我们完整录制并转写了阿乃蒙子斗的叙述并将其作为底本使用,以缩写MT在脚注中标示。在录制完成后,完代草邀请阿乃张嘉措,一位杰出的释巴歌者,来听录音。他分享了自己记诵的篇章和表演释巴的经历,并提供了许多未出现在阿乃蒙子斗的叙述中的诗节。我们将其在脚注中标示为ZG。

考虑到释巴演唱中频繁使用口语和俗语——这也是我们在这个研究中希望强调的一个特点,正文将权重给予了口述而非文本。大部分卓尼口语的转写工作由闹久次仁在完代草的协助下完成,同时他负责第一遍校勘。与之前由僧人与当地学者所做的记录工作相比,我们转写释巴时,在遵循藏文书写规范的同时将转写贴近卓尼口语而非标准的安多藏语。例

如,我们用"引"而非"气刷"表示"或",用"引、引"而非"引、词"表示"哪里",用"宽、马门"而非"宽、否则"表示"多少",在卓尼口语发音为"宽、高可"的"什么"通常写为"宽、高可",不一而足。此外,一些常用的中文借词是按音转写为藏文并在尾注中解释了其意思。

尽管以优先本地口语的口头叙述为目标,我们也罗列了在卓尼收集的相对完整的文本。我们旨在展现释巴在口述与书写传承中从口语、修辞风格到解读的多样性,而非创造一个包含尽可能多的标准化内容的"主文本"。112以此,我们希望突显并认可那些为保存并多样化释巴而付出努力的人。至2020年,在当地艺人和学者的无私帮助下,我们收集到很多手写、油印与印刷的释巴文本。这些文本大致可以分为五类。我们将其藏语名称按原字(未进行拼写的修正)罗列如下:

- 2. 以藏文草体(དབུ་མེད།)写在传统经页上的版本是我们目前收集到的最早的文本。此文本保存于卓尼大寺第一百一十四任法台多洛苯洛阿旺塔卡的家中,包括"鹏说"(བུང་།)、"龟说"(བུས་སྲུལ།)和"成世说"(བྡིད་དན་ཚགས་ཚུལ།)。我们被告知多洛苯洛的重孙誊写了这个版本并增加了"大臣噶尔东赞"(བྲོན་བོ་སྡང་ཚན།)、"铁说箭说"(བུགས་བཤད་མདང་བག།)以及"须弥山"(རི་རྱུལ་བཤ།)的篇章。我们只收集到"鹏说"(བུང་།)、"龟说"(བུས་སྲུལ།)和"成世说"(བྡིད་རྡེན་ཚགས་ཚུལ།),标示其为DP。
- 3. 格日才让慷慨提供了另一套释巴文本。他们由"切玛与桌子"(总面、泛河、河)和"箭说"(赵云、说、元母、江)组成,都是被一位未知姓名的人编辑或转写。我们以UN标示。另外,这套文本包含了才让转写或誊写的"箭说"(赵云、说"别、元母、江)、拉姆才让转写或誊写的"成世说"(元是河、青云、西河、河))和"鹏与龟"(贤云、云、云、汉四),以及一个未知名艺人或编者的打印的"成世说"(元是万、青云、西河、河))。我们分别用TR, LT和PT标示这些文本。
- 4. 我们也收集到一套手写本。篇名为"须弥山成世说"(宋·賈ལ་བོ་ར་་ང་བ། ལངངོ་བུ་བ་བུ་ལ།)、"颂辞"(གདམ།)、"卓尼土司历史"(శ్రాషా དཔོན་པོལ་བྲོས།)和"斯巴歌"(སྲོད་པ་ཆགས་ག།),由南卡顿珠抄写,标

示为ND。此套手写本还包括来自卓尼大寺的"世界之成住坏" (內美可克內西內內內別內),标示为CM。

Shépa

5. 本书参考的最后一个文本是由当地历史学家范学勇和杨士宏编译的《舍巴》。¹¹³包含"袷麦歌"(曾云丰)、"舍巴歌"(曾云记帝两四 云지지)、"创世说"(皇司青司西司和识明지)、"山王须弥"(宁贵和曾司门)、"大鹏说"(贤元帝司八四八四)、"乌龟说"(贵邓贵和元和元山)、"鲁东赞"(南元河景和)、"箭说"(邓元四八四)、"卓尼首领史"(董司·元河西山市河南河)和"赞颂词"(四万和)。他们修订了自己收集的文本并按安多藏语进行标准化厘定。我们将其书中的诗节标示为FY。

除了以上这五种文本合集,我们还搜集到了许多零碎的释巴版本。经过研究,他们一般与上述五个主要合集相类似,大多是对洛桑丹增或阿旺塔卡编著本的修订。这些修订本的出现源于当地艺人用已经编著的文本来修改或完善自己的唱本和记录。这些版本相互影响,导致了各种细微的变化,值得之后进行更深入的研究。我们认为经过细致的校勘工作,或许可以追溯到释巴在卓尼传承的轨迹,并能更好地理解卓尼本地的知识产出和流传。

在正文中,我们优先口述版本,在脚注中列出了所有收集到的版本,但未改动其中的拼写和语法错误。此举的目的是为了不让过多的编辑修改妨碍族群成员以及学者将来使用这些素材进行研究。我们翻译的诗句在脚注中用粗体字标示。大多数翻译的诗句来自口述版本。当文本中有诗句可以完善口述版本、或让其非常顺畅清晰,我们会翻译此句并在脚注中用粗体字标明。当诗句有遗失或不全的情况,我们会提供诗句,使用粗体字并用ED表明编辑的介入。

此书是团队紧密合作的一个产物。玛尔尼嘉措主要负责考证不同文本。他以七字句将释巴翻译为中文,尽量用文言语气助词押韵。完代草完成了第二轮校堪,将文本译为英文,并撰写了所有篇章的引言。她也和玛尔尼嘉措一起合写了本书的导论。在此过程中,闹九次力贡献了苯教和仪轨方面的专业意见,玛尔尼嘉措提供了汉藏历史方面的知识,马克图灵贡献了口述传统记录和保护上的经验,负责打磨英文并使行文一致。玛尔尼嘉措将导论及各篇引言翻译为中文,闹九次力则提供了藏文翻译。

为了方便具备多语能力的读者比对查阅和"校读",中英文翻译紧跟在释巴原文之后。为贴近藏文原意,我们避免过于逐字逐句的直译。尽管像108这样的吉数采用了直译,但恳请读者理解,艺术性语言是藏语口述传统中的一个重要元素。我们希望篇章引言和尾注可以为读者提供所涉主题的民族志背景与文化知识。为方便英文读者读出藏语术语,我们使用西

藏和喜马拉雅图书馆(THL)的"标准藏语简化拼音系统"将其语音转换为拉丁字母,并在括号中提供广泛使用的"威利"系统转写。针对一些有常见口语形式的术语,我们没有遵循上述规则,而是使用约定俗成的转写。例如我们使用"毛拉"(molla)而非书面转写的"毛哇"(mollba)。

本书纲要

此书由八篇组成。第一篇为"鹏说",描述世界与鹏如何诞生,再叙及鹏的外貌、食物、力量、形态等等。接着阐明赤鹏是如何被魔囚禁又被智慧蝙蝠搭救。第二篇为"龟说",通常会和"鹏说"一起演唱。本篇始于叙述龟在海中的生活,接着讲述龟如何被文殊菩萨调伏,最后以描述龟的身体如何代表占卜系统而结尾。第三篇为"成世说",描绘世界的形成与毁灭,以及细说器世间和有情世间的情况。此篇以藏族的起源与历史结尾。

后续的两篇聚焦于对卓尼人而言重要的社会规范和文化事物。第四篇是释巴中最常表演且保存最好的"切玛"。诚如歌词所表,"切玛"是众歌之首,不唱"切玛"则不能唱释巴。此篇详细描述了切玛以及放置切玛的桌子。第五篇为"箭说",阐释制箭的每个步骤,对箭的所有组成部分的象征意义也有解释。

最后三篇突出婚礼元素,通常一起被穿插演唱。第六篇为"大臣噶尔东赞",以对松赞干布、文成公主和大臣噶尔东赞的介绍开始,接着阐明大臣是如何跋涉到大唐,参加迎娶文成公主的竞赛并胜出,随后成功从大唐返回吐蕃。第七篇与第八篇是"送亲辞"与"迎亲辞",分别详述接送新娘的过程。

能够记录并翻译释巴是因为我们站在许多辈的艺人和编者的肩膀上。 从古至今,他们向业余爱好者以及致力于释巴的学徒慷慨分享自己的知识和技艺,从而让释巴源远流长。其经验对我们的启示是:释巴生命力的核心在于沟通与合作。沿着他们的足迹,我们期冀此书能将释巴与卓尼人、其他藏族人、以及更广阔的世界连接在一起。

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- "歌"(赵马利)原先是"录"(到),即"歌谣"的敬词。如《吐蕃赞普传记》所示,与大臣所唱的录相比,赞普和皇室成员所唱的歌使用敬词。后来,从十世纪开始的佛教后弘期,以及将歌与著名瑜伽士、诗人米拉日巴紧密联系在一起的十一世纪,歌一词逐渐用于指代道歌。道歌继承了录的内在,以简单日常的语言和自由的韵律为特点。有关道歌的定义与特点,详见Tsangnyön Heruka, The Life of Milarepa, trans. by Andrew Quintman (London: Penguin Books, 2010), pp. xxx-xxxi; Lama Jabb, Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation, pp. 5-10; Victoria Sujata, Tibetan Songs of Realization: Echoes from a Seventeenth-Century Scholar and Siddha in Amdo (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 77-85。
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- 59 Solomon G. Fitzherbert, 'The Tibetan Gesar Epic as Oral Literature', in *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of The First International Seminar of Young Tibetologist*, ed. by Brandon Dotson and others (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2009), pp. 171-96; Zhambei Gyaltsho, '*Bab Sgrung*: Tibetan Epic Singers', *Oral Tradition*, 16.2 (2001), 280-93.
- 60 Thurston, 'An Introduction to Tibetan sa bstod speeches in A mdo', pp. 49-73.

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- 62 Morcom, 'Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the "Great Transformation" of Tibet through its Songs', pp. 168-70; Charles Ramble, 'Gaining Ground: Representations of Territory in Bon and Tibetan Popular Tradition', *The Tibet Journal*, 20.1 (1995), 83-124 (pp. 85-87).
- Morcom, 'Landscape, Urbanization, and Capitalist Modernity: Exploring the "Great Transformation" of Tibet through its Songs', pp. 166-67.
- $\tilde{\beta}$ કેંત્ર નુવાનું મુના અર્ને જ્ઞુન અર્જે જ્રેં ખુબાનુ નુમાણન છે નવે નવે નવે સ્વાન પાયે જ્ઞેમાં મામ પાયા $\tilde{\beta}$ મામ $\tilde{\beta}$ મામ
- 66 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 195-96.
- 67 รุ๊ส สูส สูล สรัฐ รุ เมล์ รุ๊ เมล รุ รุ ร เซลา สิ่รสุร เนล ราย pp. 11-13; Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, trans. by Geoffrey Samuel (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 232, 238; Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 191-92.
- 68 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 192, 195.
- 69 श्रेक्टॅबर्ड नःक्रायः न्वा॥ बेट विदेशिव पर न्येर न्यंत्र न्यंत्र न्यंत्र क्रवायः सुवायः सेट प्राचित्र पर क्षेत्र प्राचित्र प्राचित्र

- Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland (Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1984), p. 84.
- 70 阿旺嘉措, "民间苯教祭祀者'莱坞'的经书内涵及其文化特征",《西藏大学学报》, 29.1 (2014), 115-20; 吉西次力, "安多迭部地区民间口述经文《司巴拖亦》初探",《民族史研究》,苍铭编(北京:中央民族大学出版社, 2018), pp. 128-40。
- 71 त्यु'नर्ह्हत्'सेगर्थ'न्यून्'मुंस्र्वा'वर्द्धा क्षेत्रंति'न्य्यास्त्रंत्'न्यास्त्रुत्रहेंय'न्रेयार्ध्वेताय'न्यून्या (यव'ह्या गाव'सुर्द्धा-नेर्याय'न्यून्याय्वा' (यव'ह्या
- 72 Jackson, The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland, pp. 36-41.
- 73 Barbara N. Aziz, 'On Translating Oral tradition: Ceremonial Wedding Poetry from Dingri', in *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, ed. by Barbara N. Aziz and Matthew Kapstein (New Delhi: Manohar, 1985), pp. 115-32.
- 74 Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*, pp. 81-83.
- 75 Aziz, 'On Translating Oral tradition: Ceremonial Wedding Poetry from Dingri', p. 118.
- 76 Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 196-98.
- 77 在1950年代民族识别时,人口约为17000的白马人被认定为藏族(བོང་རོ་གས།),然而关于他们藏族身份的争议延续至今。1973年,白马族群提交了请求重新鉴别其民族的报告。1986年,中央政府决定维持之前对白马人是藏族的民族识别决定。有关细节见四川民族研究所,《白马藏人族属问题讨论集》(成都:四川民族研究所,1980);平武县白马人族属研究会,《白马人族属研究文集》(平武县白马人族属研究会,1987)。
- 78 王万平和班旭东,"白马藏人古歌调查报告",《西北民族大学学报》,4 (2015),142-50;宗喀漾正岗布和王万平,"白马藏人古歌'gLu'与斯巴苯教",《西藏大学学报》,3 (2016),8-15。
- 79 王万平和班旭东,"白马藏人古歌调查报告", pp. 142-50;宗喀漾正岗布和 王万平,"白马藏人古歌'gLu'与斯巴苯教", pp. 8-15。
- 80 त्रशु'नर्ज्ञन'त्येषाय'न्यन्' कु'यार्की हो'र्नते' न्यर्य'हिंन' न्याकुन'र्क्डिय' नैया'र्देषाय'न्यूया p. 160.
- 81 与青藏高原上各社群的口述记录一致,书面文献也表明,把录理解为百科全书式的知识体系,而非简单的民歌,将更有裨益。例如,在《如意释藻》第十二章中,录被理解为知识系统。此章也提供了对录最全面的分类,包括天竺的"法歌"(莨菪 및),中原的"卜歌"(莨菪 및),象雄的"苯歌"(བན 및),阿里的"藏歌"(མངའ་རོལ་བོད་བྱ་ག།)及其各自的表演规则。见Don dam smra ba'i seng ge,

- *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge (Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu)* with an introduction by E. Gene Smith, ed. by Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1969), pp. 522-27°.
- 82 Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*, pp. 23-24.
- 83 Ellis Gene Smith, 'Introduction', in *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, p. 6.
- 84 与为学僧撰写的《智者启蒙》那种学者气浓厚且精细的写作风格不同, 八思巴以简明扼要的风格给其虔诚的施主撰写了《彰所知论》。他写此书可能是受到了宋代为皇帝与皇子编写类书的传统的影响。
- 85 早在九世纪, 胜友已将《俱舍论》的部分内容翻译成了藏文。十三世纪祁嘉贝央为世亲《俱舍论》所作的藏语论疏被认为是最全面的。《俱舍论》 完整的英文翻译见*Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya of Vasubandhu: The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary,* ed. and trans. into English by Gelong L. Sangpo, 4 vols (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2012); The Ninth Karmapa Wangchuk Dorje, *Jewels from the Treasury*, trans. by David Karma Choephel (New York: KTD Publications, 2012)。
- 86 Rupert Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 207-09; Noa Ronkin, 'Abhidharma', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (2018). https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/abhidharma/.
- 87 有关佛教三藏(환혈두역장제), 见Chögyam Trungpa, Glimpses of Abhidharma: From a Seminar on Buddhist Psychology (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1975), p. 2。
- 88 Gethin, The Foundations of Buddhism, pp. 56, 206.
- 89 Dreyfus, The Sound of Two Hands Clapping, pp. 113-18.
- 90 ଦର୍ଗି'ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧିକ୍ ଚିଷ'ଞ୍ଜୁକ''ପ୍ରଧ୍ୟମ୍ବର''ଧା ନିଷ'ସ୍ତ୍ର''ୟସ''ସ୍ୱର୍ଷା ବିଦ୍ର''ସିର୍କ୍ (Sachen International, 2006), XIII (2006), p. 2a; ଚିଷ''ଅର୍କ୍ଟ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଟ୍ଟ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଟ୍ଟ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଟ୍ଟ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଟ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଗ୍ରି'' ଅର୍ଗର୍ଗର୍ଗର୍ଗର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଟର ଅର୍ଗର ଅର୍ଗ
- 91 Khedrup Norsang Gyatso, *Ornament of Stainless Light: An Exposition of the Kalachakra Tantra*, trans. by Gavin Kilty (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), pp. 2-3.
- 92 洛桑丹珠和婆巴次仁,《安多古刹禅定寺》, pp. 47-48。

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- 94 Ellis Gene Smith, 'Introduction', in *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*, p. 5-6.
- 95 चन्ययः प्राप्त क्षेत्र क्ष
- 97 Cabezón and Jackson, 'Editors' Introduction', p. 14; Lama Jabb, Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation, pp. 17-20.
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- 99 Fitzherbert, 'The Tibetan Gesar Epic as Oral Literature', pp. 179-85; Thurston, 'Assessing the Sustainability of the Gesar Epic in Northwest China, Thoughts from Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture', p. 4.
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- 110 Ramble, 'The Assimilation of Astrology in the Tibetan Bon Religion', p. 214.
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