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KHAM AND AMDO OF TIBET

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Series Introduction

The interviews in this series represent the major data collection effort of the Cross-Cultural Study of Ethnocentrism. A standardized format for the conduct of each interview was provided in the Ethnocentrism Field Manual prepared by Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell (April, 1965). The interview content, unless otherwise noted, represents direct translation of informant responses to the interview schedule, with some editing to improve clarity and some reordering to correspond to a standardized system of presentation coded according to the appropriate sections of the field manual.

Sections I and V present background materials on the ingroup and informants as provided by the ethnographer. Section II contains vernacular terms for concepts of social organization and aggression, elicited from bilingual informants. Sections III and IV contain the interview schedule itself, with responses obtained from local informants. Questions in Section III.A. are designed to elicit a list of salient outgroups from each respondent; those in Section III.B. involve the ingroup's imagery of each of those outgroups while III.C. deals with the nature of ingroup-outgroup relations. In Sections III.D. and III.E. the informant is asked to make relative ratings of the ingroup and all outgroups on certain characteristics, including traits which are evaluated in Section III.G. Section III.F. obtains data on ingroup self-imagery. When included, III.H. presents a special interview with a resident of the local community who is an emigrant from some outgroup and can provide a somewhat different perspective on the nature of intergroup relations.

The final sections of the interview, IV.I. through IV.N., deal with

internal features of the ingroup: interpersonal and other forms of intra-group aggression, sexual behavior, forms of deviant behavior, beliefs and rituals, child-rearing practices, and patterns of authority. All questions are worded to obtain retrospective information--the informant's memory of conditions existing prior to extensive contact (where appropriate). The content of the interview schedule was determined by its theoretical relevance to the phenomenon of ethnocentrism.

For further information about the project and data-collection procedures, the reader is referred to the field manual (which is available as Volume No. W1-001 of this series and also appears in a volume by LeVine and Campbell, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior, Wiley, 1972). A discussion of the methodology is also available in an article entitled "Field Manual Anthropology" by Campbell and LeVine, which appears in R. Naroll and R. Cohen, A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, 1970.

Title: Kham and Amdo of Tibet

Fieldwork Dates: June - August, 1967

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PART I: A Discussion of the Field Work Procedure

Since the final analysis of these data and their ultimate incorporation into the larger body of data gathered from earlier projects will be done by persons who did not conduct this field study, it might be useful to describe some of the real field conditions which had a major impact on the nature of the data obtained. It would not be at all surprising to this writer if those connected with the final analysis found some aspects of the ensuing commentary to be similar to the observations of participants in the previous project field studies.

I. A. Selection of the Groups of Reference

This was perhaps one of the knottiest problems of the interview schedule, and even now I am not wholly satisfied with the compromise I was forced to make. It was unfortunate that the Ethnocentrism Field Manual arrived only a few days prior to departure to the field, for it allowed very little time to study the requirements carefully, and what was even more important, to discuss them with my predecessor in the field, Dr. James F. Downs, before beginning the actual interviews.

The difficulty in selecting proper groups of reference arose because of three factors:

- 1) The complex social, political, and territorial stratification of Tibetan society;

2) The relative isolation of the smaller territorial units and consequently, of their inhabitants;

3) The limited choice of informants from any one locale.

1. There were several levels of territorial organization within each territory or region. (The terms "territory" and "region" will be used interchangeably to refer to Kham or Amdo.) The following breakdown was offered by Mr. Tselo, who could speak at great length regarding Amdo political structure. Briefly defined, then, the main levels of territorial organization from smallest to largest, included:

a) The NEIGHBORHOOD or PARTY --- an alliance of adjacent families based on old family loyalties and traditional promises of mutual aid and cooperation. Some include as few as 10-15 families, while some are as large as 150 families or more, perhaps forming a village of sorts.

b) the LOCALE --- a group of adjacent parties. Can include as many as 300 families, forming a village or several small villages in one area.

c) The TOWNSHIP --- a large area made up of several locales and generally ruled by a council of elders with some sense of independence, though with representation to the higher state or kingsom government. Has since the take-over by the Chinese Communist been consolidated into larger and politically reorganized districts.

d) the DISTRICT --- traditionally an area of considerable size, including as few as four or as many as 16 townships. After the Chinese Communist invasion, many districts were consolidated and townships redistributed, forming in most cases larger districts than before. Is commonly referred to in both Kham and Amdo Tibetan as a dzong.

e) the KINGDOM, INDEPENDENT STATE, and DIVISION --- were determined primarily by the fact that they were self-ruled, independent regions with little more than religious ties to the government at Lhasa. They were the largest independent territorial units in either Kham or Amdo, though they varied greatly in size. Traditionally, both Kham and Amdo had many such states -- perhaps 20-30 -- ruled by powerful, popularly elected pombö (governors). Each territory of Kham and Amdo also included several ancient, hereditary kingdoms, which were ruled by royal familial descendents of historical/mythological kings, some of whom were venerated as gods. After the coming of the Communist Chinese, much of the Kham and Amdo territories was reorganized politically; hence, the more than 30 separate states and kingdoms of Amdo, for example, were consolidated into three main divisions, subdivided into large districts. Kingships were done away with, as were those independent governors who failed to cooperate, and a new scheme of administration was set up.

Finally, cross-cutting these territorial categories were three major classes of people: UPPER -- kings and holy lamas; MIDDLE -- administrators, agriculturalists, traders, and certain

artisans; and LOWER -- professional hunters, butchers, iron and gun smiths. For the individual Tibetan, there seemed to be a greater sense of awareness of his regional identity -- either Kham or Amdo -- than of his national identity. Beyond that, he seemed to identify more closely with his local state, division, or district than with his social class.

It should be mentioned here also that there was one more type of social divider that cross-cut the regional and local categories of identity: the two major occupational classes of dokpas (nomadic herdsman) and rongpas (farmers). Even though it was possible to have both dokpas and rongpas within the same multi-family group, the individuals clearly identified themselves as one or the other, and they had a rather different pattern of daily life, though they shared district, division, or state were definitely "preferred" to members of the same class from "outside".

2. Although it is understood that since 1959 -- the year of the great exodus for most Tibetans in India -- the Chinese have built many roads linking numerous strategic locales and districts throughout Tibet, prior to these recent developments, the links of transportation and communication between the various territorial units were very poor. Except for one or two primary roads, travel on horseback was very tedious, allowing not more than 20-40 miles per day. To the more remote areas, travel on foot was the only way to get there. The average person did not travel about extensively, for it was too great an undertaking for anything but the most important reasons: e.g. trade or pilgrimage. Even nomadic herdsman remained within limited areas, except when the need arose

to bring the animals or their by-products to some distant market.

It would seem that many of the Khamba and Amdo Tibetans at least, were very much oriented towards their own limited, local geographic environs. This limited their scope of knowledge about outgroups considerably. Distant outgroups were identified primarily by their trade goods: e.g. China for her silks, tea, and manufactured goods, Chamdo (Kham) for Indian goods traded north. Usually, the closer the outgroup the more was known about them, though not necessarily. Contact varied much according to the nature of traditional social, military, and trade relations. Also, areas in which prominent monasteries were located often became the foci for pilgrimages.

For the purposes of the interview schedule, then, the individual's knowledge of outgroups -- particularly the more remote and culturally dissimilar outgroups -- was often spotty or wholly inadequate. All of the informants answered the questions mostly with their own home localities in mind, where some of the outgroups included other states and even districts within their own ethnic region, as well as culturally dissimilar groups farther away.

(An interesting footnote to the problem of extreme localism among the eastern Tibetans can be found in a recent autobiography by Chögyam Trungpa. While en route to India during his escape from the Communist Chinese, his party came to some villages a mere 50 miles SSW of Pembar Gompa, or about 125 miles WSW of the well known city of Lhōdzong in the region known as Kongpō, where:

"They (the villagers) were very surprised at finding so large a party and could not conceal their curiosity, for they had never met people from East Tibet other than a few pilgrims; no other refugees had come this way. In this isolated village the inhabitants had never seen horses, mules, or yaks, their only domestic animals being small buffalos and pigs." (1966:201)

This is a rather amazing thing when one considers that horses and yaks were the most common and widespread means of transport in nearly all of Tibet for perhaps centuries.

Adding to the problem of extreme localism evidenced by the informants was their complete unfamiliarity with even the simplest maps. Because of India's border dispute with Communist China, separate maps of Tibet were simply not available. The few found in library books were all I had to work with. It was hoped that these maps would at least orient the informants somewhat while they described the various outgroups.

The effort was a dismal failure. While a few of the informants did apparently recognize a major city or two by name, they were unable to place their own localities in geographic relationship to these cities. Compounding the problem was the fact that after the Chinese take-over in Tibet, most of the towns and villages were renamed in Chinese. Many areas were consolidated and some of the traditional Tibetan political boundaries were eliminated. Hence, the maps themselves, drawn usually from isolated travelers' accounts, were not consistent. It was an exercise in futility.

Later on I learned from Dr. Downs that he and Ekvall had experienced the same problem with their informants. After several frustrating attempts, Ekvall finally interrupted his fieldwork to

give his informants a short course on map reading. Unfortunately, I was not in a position to do this.

Thus, as a consequence of the limitations described above, we found ourselves dealing with basically two types -- or levels, if you prefer -- of ingroups: 1) The generalized ingroup, either Kham or Amdo, accepted for the purposes of the final data analysis, and 2) the specific ingroup as defined by the informants themselves and their traditional experience -- primarily independent states and kingdoms -- which is too narrow a scope for the requirements of the study. It would have to be said, therefore, that the ensuing discussions about the two generalized ingroups were derived from the data gathered in reference to the specific ingroups. This seemed to be the only reasonable compromise between the interview requirements and the actual field possibilities.

I.B. Selection of Communities Within the Ingroup

Earlier it was stated that there were three factors creating difficulties for the selection of informants and proper reference groups. Two have already been discussed. The third pertains to the geographical distribution of the informants.

3. It simply was not possible to obtain an adequate number of reliable and knowledgeable informants from any one area at a level lower than the territories of Kham and Amdo; nor was it possible to choose informants from central communities or even centrally located divisions or states. The reason for this, of course, was that we were not dealing with informants in their

native localities, but with an agglomeration of refugees from all over the country. Since the size of the total refugee population was small, and most were either unfit or unavailable for questioning, we were left with an extremely limited sample to choose from, and we had to make do with simply Khambas or Amdos, regardless of the location of their native habitats within the two territories.

I.C. Selection of the Informants

Allowing for the limitations described above, the informants were selected on the basis of their expertness, articulateness, and willingness to cooperate. In all, there were eight paid informants. Of this number, four were Khambas and four were Amdos: two women and six men. All of the informants were articulate and quite willing to cooperate. Most were keenly interested in providing precise answers and at times consulted others (ie. an older relative) when in doubt. There was little fear of an informant having prior knowledge of another's responses, because those who were occasionally used by the informants as consultants were never selected as informants. Also, the informants rarely knew each other or had very little contact, while the sequence of questioning varied greatly for different informants during the same periods.

The mean age for the six male informants was 40 years, while the mean age for the two women was 42 years. The following includes a brief statement about each of the informants.

1. YALING ONGKEL. Age 60 years. A Khamba man from the formerly

independent kingdom of Lingsang in the north central part of Kham. Left his home to escape from the Communist Chinese onslaught at the age of 50. His role and status in Lingsang was that of a Lombo (this was interpreted as a "duke"); one of five in the King's council. Previously, had been a pombo (governor) for the district of Dza To' in upper Lingsang. Presently is the leader of the Lingsang refugees in a settlement near Dehra Dun, (India) where he is greatly respected by all Tibetans. Can read, write, and speak Tibetan only. Has traveled to Peking, China and three other states in Kham: Derge, Tswarong, and nGolo'. Has also been to Lhasa and Sikkim. Came to India in 1958.

2. NGAWANG GYELTSSEN. Age 30 years. A Khamba man from Trayap in southern Kham. The son of a rongpa farmer family, he traveled moderately in Kham prior to the Communist Chinese invasion, trading with outgroups. Can read and write in his native tongue and also speak some Hindustani. Fought in the Khamba Revolt and finally escaped to India in 1959. He is presently a trader in woolens and Tibetan artifacts.

3. TENZIN THINLEY. Age 27 years. The brother of Ngawang Gyeltsen. A novitiate in the lama college at Dharamsala (India). Studied formerly at Lhasa after leaving Kham. Limited knowledge of old culture. Can read and write Tibetan and speak some Hindustani. Good knowledge of Tibetan rituals and beliefs. Came to India after 1959.

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4. TINZIN DOLMA. Age 48 years. A Khamba woman from Chanting in southern Kham near Lithang. Left her dokpa home at the age of 23 years, after persecution by the Communist Chinese. Has had no formal education. Speaks only Tibetan. Role: housewife. Came to India in 1959.

5. AMDO YOTO. Age 38 years. An Amdo woman born and raised in Raza or Ardk Raza in northeastern Tibet. Husband was a trader in Amdo and her family was dokpa, or nomadic herdsman. Her father was a military leader. She can read and write Tibetan and speak limited Hindustani. Left Amdo at the age of 24 years. Traveled in China, Sikkim, and parts of Tibet. Was a member of the Tibetan Drama Party in India, but is presently working part-time at the Tibetan Colony near Dehra Dun. Came to India after a narrow escape from the Communist Chinese in 1959.

6. CHAKTAR (CHAKTAR AMDO SHERPA). Age 30 years. An Amdo man from Sherko' in the southern part of the territory. Left his home at 20 years of age and escaped to India in 1959. His family was rongpa and his father was a wealthy trader and farmer. Can read and write Tibetan only a little, but speaks both some Hindustani and few words of English. Is presently employed only part-time because of poor health. Apparently spends much of his free time talking with and learning from Tibetan elders.

7. TENZIN (JARONG TENZIN). Age 39 years. Husband of Amdo Yoto. A trader in Tibetan crafts and artifacts. Was a trader.

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Can read and write Tibetan and speak a little Hindustani. Joined the Khamba Revolt against the Communist Chinese and then escaped to India. Was considered a shrewd trader and a brave fighter by both Khambas and Amdos. Came to India after 1959.

8. MR. TSELO. Age 56 years. An Amdo man from Labrang in the northern part of the territory. Left Labrang around 1952. Was commander of the king's bodyguard at Trashii Gomo (Gompa) and held a high office in the state government. Can read and write Tibetan and speak a little Hindustani. A wealthy source of knowledge on Amdo political history and political organization. Traveled throughout Tibet and parts of China. Is presently the Vice President of the Amdo Tibetan Colony near Dohra Dun.

I D. Selection of Interpreters

At the start of the project we did not realize how few Khambas and Amdos were able to speak either Hindi or English. Although some of the informants could speak a few words of Hindustani, they were totally incapable of conducting the interviews in anything but their mother tongue. In a very short time, thereafter, I realized that my costly Indian guide (Berreman's former guide and interpreter), hired for the entire summer, was going to be of no use to me for the purpose of administering the schedules.

Fortunately, with some leads from Dr. Downs and sheer luck, we managed to locate three Tibetan-English interpreters, two of whom

were quite competent. We could not carry out the double-translation procedure because the interpreters were otherwise employed and could work for the project only part-time at odd intervals. A tape recorder would have been useful. Three of the interpreters were Khamba and one was Amdo. Again, I had little choice in the matter.

1. M. BASIR. Age 70 years. A Muslim Indian and a native of Dehr Dun. Formerly an Urdu-English instructor at a private college, and after retirement served as guide and interpreter for Gerald Berreman and in 1966, for James E. Downs. Served me primarily as guide and assistant, making the necessary arrangements for interviews, transportation, accomodation, etc. Helped to prepare the maps and do the local library research. Could not serve as interpreter because of the language limitations of the informants as described above.

2. SHEDUP LINGTSANG. Age 22 years. Son of Phuntso' Gaele Lingsang, King of Lingsang in northern Kham. Presently an instructor in Tibetan at the Foreign Language Institute, New Delhi. Popular as well as highly revered by all Tibetans, Shedup Lingsang spoke English well and several Tibetan dialects. He also knew Nepali, Chinese, and Hindustani. A hard and interested worker, who was really the only Tibetan who could cope even partially successfully with the concepts in Part II. A. and B. It was pure chance that brought him to us, however, his time was very limited.

3. LOBSANG KALDEN. Age 25 years. A student of English at a small mission school in Mussoorie. A southern Khamba, hard-working, intelligent, and honest, he worked for Downs in 1966. Formerly a member of the Tibetan Dram Party at Dharamsala. Worked very well with the informants and was liked by them. Had a reasonable good command of basic English. Spoke some Hindustani.

4. LOBSANG PHUNTSOK. Age 24 years. The son of Mr. Tselo, one of the key Amdo informants. He was asked to accompany Mr. Tselo at the interviews since he was the appointed interpreter for the officials at the Amdo Tibetan Colony. He was a bit over eager and a bit emotionally biased at times. Had to be constantly checked. A reasonable command of basic English. Spoke and wrote Hindustani quite well.

PART II: Interviews on Relevant Vernacular Terminology

Although we achieved only moderate success in recording concepts of social organization and aggression, I am quite sure that with a more learned and sophisticated interpreter, most of the terms could have been found. Our interpreters simply could not grasp the meanings of the less tangible English terms, in order to make good translations. To provide translations as close in sound as the words in Tibetan script, a guide to pronunciation is provided below.

GUIDE TO PRONOUNCIATION:

Vowels:

ā = f <u>a</u> ther	ǎ = c <u>a</u> t	e = b <u>a</u> it	a = b <u>u</u> t
ĕ = b <u>e</u> t	i = <u>i</u> t	ii = f <u>ee</u> t	
ō = l <u>o</u> w	o = d <u>o</u> g	ö = As in G. (M <u>ö</u> bel) (o <u>e</u>)	
u = f <u>oo</u> t	ū = b <u>oo</u> t	ü = As in G. (K <u>ü</u> che) (u <u>e</u>)	

Consonants:

k = a <u>ck</u> -a <u>ck</u>	p = w <u>r</u> ap	t = a <u>t</u>	ch = ch <u>ur</u> ch
g = g <u>o</u> wn	b = b <u>o</u> y	d = d <u>a</u> y	ch = G. (i <u>ch</u>)
r = (slightly rolled)	s = s <u>a</u> y	m,n,y,j,z = same as English	
z = a <u>z</u> ure	ʔ = silent <u>l</u>		

below vowel = nasalization

'after letter = glottal stop

after letter = aspiration

n, m, f, d, cv^b = softly pronounced

Emphasis: Usually equal on all syllables; on 1st syl. in short words

A. Concepts of Social Organization

A.1.1.	Mankind: "all human beings"	=	mólū
	(a more colloquial term)	=	nyé'
A.1.2.	Human being	=	mó
A.1.3.	Animal: "all animals"	=	səmchéng
A.1.4.	People	=	(probably) nyé ^h
A.1.5.	Persons	=	?
A.1.6.	Group: "people getting together"	=	nyé ^h tsō'
A.1.7.	Family, domestic group	=	tchin tsong
A.1.8.	Home, homestead	=	chüm no'
A.1.9.	House, household, compound:	=	
	"stone house"	=	k'omba'
	"wooden house"	=	po'ā
A.1.10.	Descent Group	=	?
A.1.11	Territorial unit: village, community:		
	"nomadic camp"	=	ābōhō

"village with permanent houses and shops	=	tchin tsong
A.1.12. Larger territorial unit: sub-tribe	=	?
A.1.13. Tribe or people	=	?
A.1.14. Kingdom	=	gerō
A.2 Additional local membership groups:		
"division"	=	schokchén
"district"	=	"dzong
"township"	=	shōkā
B. <u>Concepts of Agression</u>		
B.1.1. Strike, hit, etc.: "to beat"	=	t ^h ap ⁿ zing
B.1.2. Injure, hurt	=	?
B.1.3. Kill (in battle)	=	sěba ⁿ
murder (willful)	=	"gyép sè'
B.1.4. Brawl, combat, fight	=	?
B.1.5. Violence	=	?
B.2.1. Insult, abuse	=	ming [^] ge
B.2.2. Scold	=	che che t̄an
B.2.3. Threaten	=	?
B.2.4. Argue, quarrel	=	tsō bā

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B.2.5.	Slander, speak ill of	-	k'ātānwā
B.3.1.	Hatred	-	<u>che</u> tebā
B.3.2.	Anger, rage	-	D.K.
B.3.3.	Irritability	-	D.K.
B.3.4.	Envy, jealousy	-	D.K.
B.4.	Aggression	-	D.K.
B.5.1.	Violent	-	D.K.
B.5.2.	Quarrelsome	-	D.K.
B.5.3.	Abusive	-	D.K.
B.5.4.	Slanderous	-	D.K.
B.5.5.	Belligerent	-	D.K.
B.5.6.	Irritable, easily angered	-	D.K.
B.5.7.	Secretly hostile, ill-wishing	-	D.K.
B.5.8.	Envious, jealous	-	D.K.
B.5.9.	Violently insane	-	D.K.
B.6.	All of the informants agreed that aggressive, troublesome, or harmful behaviour was bad and not acceptable to the peaceful philosophy and customs of the Buddhist Tibetans.		

SECTION III A

SURVEY OF OUTGROUPS

Informant I:

- Q: According to your ancestors, who were the first human beings in the world?
- A.1.1. All Khambas descended from Kess. His father was a human being called Singlü. His mother was nGomo, the daughter of a sea god. Kess went out and conquered four pagan countries and brought them into the realm of Tibetan religious culture. The four pagan countries were: Hórkokor in the east; Móchint in the west; Sho'Latse' in the north; and nJon Sado^h in the south. His battles were described in the book called Dū.
- Q: Where did the first human beings live?
- A.1.2. These first human beings came from the Lingsang area.
- Q: What language did the first human beings speak?
- A.1.3. These people spoke Tibetan.
- Q: What other parts of the world were there?
- A.1.4. The world was composed of the four areas mentioned in A.1.1. (Hórkokor, Móchint, Sho'Latse', and nJon Sado^h)
- Q: Where did the other peoples come from?
- A.1.5. Not known where they came from.
- Q: Where did these other peoples live?
- A.1.6. They lived at the four corners of the earth.
- Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?
- A.2.1. Each of the four areas spoke a different language.
- Q: Did all the peoples speak the same?
- A.2.2. All spoke differently.

Q: In the old days, which peoples fought wars with other groups?

A.3.1. Lingsang people fought sometimes with people from nGolo' or and Seta.

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Kasa fought all four groups.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors that have since disappeared?

A.4.1. Don't know. All four groups became one after they were conquered by Kasa. They did not actually disappear.

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

Q: Where did they go?

A.4.5. Tibet

Q: When did the Khambas come to this land?

A.5.1. Don't know. The Khambas came many centuries ago.

Q: Where did they come from?

A.5.2. Lingsang is where Kasa came from and is where the Khambas came from.

Q: What people lived on this land before the Khambas came?

A.5.3. Don't know.

Q: Why did those people leave?

A.5.4. Don't know

Q: Before the Europeans came, what groups lived next to the Khambas?

A.6.1. (From this point on, this Khamba informant answered in terms of his own Lingsang area when speaking of the "Ingroup".) South of Lingsang were the people from Derge, east and north lay nGolo'. and Horba was west.

Q: What groups lived beyond the Khambas?

A.6.2. Beyond Derge was Lado^h and Trayap, and farther still was Chamdō.

Above (north) of the nGolo' area was the Amdō area. Teō and Tawū lay beyond Horba.

Q: What other groups did the Khambas know about in the old days?

A.7.1. Khamba names for known adjacent non-Khamba

areas included the following: China = Djemi or Janna'; Bhutan = Dukpa; Lhasa = Phö; India = Jəkor; Russia = Oroso'; Burma = Don't know; Nepal = Pabo^h; Sikkim = Danjon

III. A.

Informant II:

Q: According to your ancestors, who were the first human beings in the world?

A.1.1. According to the book Mannekabhum, which we Khambas believe, before the time of the Tibetans there was a monkey named Digen (aged one) Changtshu Tsamba (all merciful), and an old lady whose name was Ma (mother) Tra' (stone cave) Tsimo (evil monster). Their children were first people.

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

A.1.2. They lived together in a cave in the side of a steep mountain. That's all I know.

Q: What language did the first human beings speak?

A.1.3. They spoke Tibetan, but did not write it.

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

A.1.4. The other parts of the world at that time were India, Nepal, and China.

Q: Where did the other peoples come from?

A.1.5. They came from India, Nepal and China, I guess.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

A.2.1. They all spoke different languages.

Tibetans - III.A. - #II

Q: Did all the peoples speak the same?

A.2.2. They all spoke differently.

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

A.2.3. There was no mutual understanding of languages.

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with other groups?

A.3.1. Sometimes there were battles between groups of hardmen because of stolen cattle. Usually neighboring groups like Mankham and Chamdō.

Q: Against which groups did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Kesa was our ancestor who fought wars against the people from Hōrkokor, Mōghint, Sho'Latse, and nJon Sado^k.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors that have since disappeared?

A.4.1. There were no people who disappeared.

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A. .

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Khambas come to this land?

A.5.1. It was a very long time ago. Don't know how long.

Q: Where did they come from?

A.5.2. There were three angels in one incarnation. This incarnation was called Rik (Differant Roles) Sun (Three) Gombō (Powerful Savior).

These three leaders of heaven saw the four evil earth kings from Hórkokor, Móchint, Sho'Latse' and aJon Sado^h, and decided to conquer them in order to return the world to righteousness. In order to do this, Rik Sun Bombō changed into a powerful warrior king named Kesa. With 80 other angels as his army, Kesa defeated the four evil kings. Kesa then settled in Ling and the 80 angels became ministers who ruled in other places throughout Kham. Today, Ling is known as Derge.

Q: What people lived on this land before the Khambas came?

A.5.3. The people from Hórkokor, Móchint, Sho'Latse', and aJon Sado^h.

Q: Why did those people leave?

A.5.4. Because they were defeated.

Q: Before the Europeans came, what groups lived next to the Khambas?

A.6.1. (From this point, this Khamba informant answered in terms of his own Trayap area when speaking of the "Ingroup".)

In the east was Derge, in the west Chamdō, Mankham in the south and Nangcheng in the north.

Q: What groups lived beyond the Khambas?

A.6.2. Beyond Derge was the Chinese border. Beyond Chamdō was Lhasa.

Beyond Mankham was China and India, and beyond Nangcheng was the Amdō area.

Q: What other groups did the Khambas know about in the old days?

A.7.1. India=Jɔkər; Bhutan=Dukpa; China=Djemi; Lhasa=Phö Don't know other names.

III. A.

Informant III:

Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human beings

A.1.1. The monkey Digen Chengtshu Tsemba and the old lady Ma Tra'Tsimo had six children. These were the first people.

Tibetans - III.A. - #III

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

A.1.2. They lived in Tibet in a large cave on the side of a high mountain.

Q: What language did the first human beings speak?

A.1.3. They spoke Tibetan.

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

A.1.4. China, India and Nepal were probably there also.

Q: Where did the other peoples come from?

A.1.5. China is south and east. India is south. Nepal is west.

Q: Where did these other people live?

A.1.6. They lived in China, India and Nepal.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

A.2.1. They all spoke differently.

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

A.2.3. There was no mutual understanding

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with each other?

A.3.1. Dokpas (herdsmen) often fight dokpas over stolen cattle. Can be any neighboring group: e.g. Derge, Chamdō, Nangcheng, etc.

Q: Against which groups did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. The people of Horkokor, Mochint, Sho'Latse' and nJon Sado^h fought wars with Kesa, the first Khamba king, and his army.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors who have since disappeared?

A.4.1. No people disappeared.

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Khambas come to this land?

A.5.1. A very long time ago.

Q: Where did they come from?

A.5.2. The first Tibetans came from the descendants of Digen Changtshu Tsemba and Ma Tra'Tsimo, but these people became evil after some time and had to be defeated by Kesa (see A.3.1. above). He then became first Khamba king and his ministers ruled over all Kham.

Q: What people lived on this land before the Khambas came?

A.5.3. Before there were Khambas there was Horkokor, Mochint, Sho'Latse' and nJon Sado^h.

Q: Why did those people leave?

A.5.4. They were conquered by Kesa and his army.

Q: Before the coming of the Europeans, what groups lived next to the Khambas

A.6.1. (This informant, also from Trayap, now answers relative to his own native area.) Derge is east of Trayap, Mankham is south, Chamdō is west and Nangcheng is north.

Q: What groups lived beyond the Khambas?

A.6.2. Outside of Derge is China. India is after Mankham. Lhasa is after Chamdo and nGolo' and Amdō are beyond Nangcheng.

Q: What other groups did the Khambas know about in the old days?

A.7.1. We know about Lhasa, China, India and Bhutan and Sikkim.

Q: By what names did they know them?

A.7.2. Lhasa=Phō, China=Djemi India=Kakor and Bhutan=Dukpa. I do not know the name for Sikkim.

III. A.

Informant IV:

Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human beings

A.1.1. I believe in the story of Digen Changtshu Tsemba and Ma Tra'Tsimo.

They made the first people.

Tibetans - III.A. - #IV

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

A.1.2. Don't know.

Q: What language did the first human beings speak?

A.1.3. Tibetan.

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

A.1.4. Don't know the names, but there were four parts.

Q: Where did the other peoples come from?

A.1.5. Don't know.

Q: Where did these other peoples live?

A.1.6. They must have lived in four places: north, south, east, west.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

A.2.1. Don't know.

Q: Did all the peoples speak the same?

A.2.2. Everyone spoke differently as they do today.

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

A.2.3. None of the groups could understand the others.

Q: Which peoples spoke differently but were able to understand one another?

A.2.4. None

Q: Which peoples could your ancestors understand?

A.2.5. Don't know. None, probably.

Q: Which ones could they not understand?

A.2.6. All, probably.

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with each other?

A.3.1. There were no big wars in those days, only small fights between groups of herdsmen, robber-bands, etc. There were some border conflicts also from time to time. I can recall no specific group names.

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. The god-king Kesa went to war against the evil peoples of the world, mentioned earlier. I cannot recall their names. (see A.3.2. for II and III.)

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors which have since disappeared?

A.4.1. Do not know of any.

A.4.2. Don't know. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. Don't know.

A.4.4. Don't know.

A.4.5. Don't know.

Q: When did the Khambas come to this land?

A.5.1. Don't know. Must have been since the beginning.

Q: Where did they come from?

A.5.2. Don't know. They probably always lived there.

Q: What people lived on this land before the Khambas came?

A.5.3. Don't know.

Q: Why did those people leave?

A.5.4. Don't know.

Q: In the old days, what groups lived next to the Khambas?

A.6.1. (Outgroups are now identified in relation to informant's local Ingroups from Changting.) China is east and south, Menyá is north, and Batang is west.

Q: What groups lived farther beyond the Khambas?

A.6.2. Amdo is farther north and Lhasa is farther west, but I don't know what is beyond China.

Q: In the old days, what other groups were known to the Khambas?

A.7.1. Don't know.

III. A.

Informant V:

Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human being

A.1.1. Amdo, especially the older ones, believe much the same about these things as Khambas. Digen Changtsbu Teemba and Ma Tra'Tsimo made the first people.

Tibetans - III.A. - §V.

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

A.1.2. They lived in Tibet and many places in the world.

Q: What language did the first humans speak?

A.1.3. They spoke all languages.

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

A.1.4. There were many different parts: India, China, Asia and many more whose names I do not know.

Q: Where did the other peoples come from?

A.1.5. They came from same place as Tibetans.

Q: Where did these other peoples live?

A.1.6. They lived where they live today.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

A.2.1. They all spoke different languages from Tibetan. There were even some Tibetans who spoke differently.

Q: Did all the peoples speak the same?

A.2.2. No. Several. Outside Tibet, no understanding. Within Tibet, many different dialects.

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

A.2.3. Many Amdōs could not understand Chinese or even language from Jarong (Gyarong).

Q: Which peoples spoke differently but were able to understand one another?

A.2.4. Most Tibetans could understand each other. All Khambas speak different from Amdōs, but they can understand most. Many dialects among Amdōs, also: nGolo^o, Bekung, nGa^hko speak differently from my people at Raza.

Q: Which peoples could your ancestors understand?

A.2.5. Most Tibetan peoples.

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with each other?

A.3.1. Tibetans have always fought amongst themselves, especially the dokpas like my people. There were many cattle thieves. But there were no real wars until the Chinese came.

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Mostly against the Chinese.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors who have since disappeared?

A.4.1. No

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Amdos come to this land?

A.5.1. They have always been here.

Q: Where did they come from?

A.5.2. Same as A.5.1.

Q: What people lived on this land before the Amdos came?

A.5.3. None.

A.5.4. N.A.

Q: In the old days, what groups lived next to the Amdos?

A.6.1. (Informant responds in relation to native Ingroup from Raza.) East of Raza is T^hebo, with nGako^h to the south, Rekung to the north and Jeykundo to the west.

Q: What groups lived beyond the Amdos?

A.6.2. East of T^hebo must be China. South of nGako^h is Kham territory. North of Rekung is Sining. West of Jeykundo is probably Lhasa.

Q: What other groups did the Amdos know about?

A.7.1. People from my area knew about China, Kham, Lhasa, Mongolia, Jarong, Russia, India.

Q: By what names did they know them?

A.7.2. China=Janak Kham=Kham Lhasa=P^hopa^h Mongolia=Sobo Jarong=Jarong
Russia=Orus India=J^hky^h.

III. A.

Informant VI:

- Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human beings?
- A.1.1. Digen Chantshu Tsemba, the monkey-god, and the old woman in the mountain were the first people.
- Q: Where did the first human beings live?
- A.1.2. Some Amdōs say the old woman's cave was near Lhasa.
- Q: What language did the first human beings speak?
- A.1.3. Tibetan
- Q: What other parts of the world were there?
- A.1.4. China, Mongolia, India
- Q: Where did the other peoples come from?
- A.1.5. Don't know
- A.1.6. Same as A.1.4.
- Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?
- A.2.1. People from China, Mongolia, India all spoke differently from each other and from Tibetans.
- A.2.2. Same as A.2.1.
- Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?
- A.2.3. None of these languages were mutually intelligible, although some Amdōs did also learn to speak Mongolian and Chinese.
- Q: Which peoples spoke differently but were able to understand one another?
- A.2.4. Tibetans had many dialects which were mutually intelligible.
- Q: Which peoples could your ancestors understand?
- A.2.5. Amdos could understand Khambas and Lhasans.
- Q: Which ones could they not understand?
- A.2.6. Chinese, Mongolians, and Indians.
- Q: Among the peoples your ancestors could understand, which spoke differently?
- A.2.7. All Khambas and Lhasans.
- Q: In the old days, which peoples fought wars with each other?
- A.3.1. No real wars, just fights against thieves and small border conflicts. Between Amdōs and Chinese mostly, although once there was a large fight between Amdōs and people from Jarong because of a boundary dispute.

Tibetans - III.A. - #VI

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Mostly against the Chinese and Mongols.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors that have since disappeared

A.4.1. None

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Amdos come to this land?

A.5.1. Since the very beginning we have been in Tibet.

A.5.2. (see A.1.1.)

Q: What people lived on this land before the Amdos came?

A.5.3. None

A.5.4. N.A.

Q: Before the coming of the Europeans, what groups lived next to the Amdos?

A.6.1. (Answered in terms of his own native Amdo area of Sherko')

The first ring of Outgroups from Sherko' were Pozo and Kopoko' on the north, Rungchina'ko' in the southwest, Mewa on the west along with nZorgenkham and Morge, nGako to the northwest and China on the east and southwest.

Q: What groups lived farther beyond the Amdos?

A.6.2. Beyond these Outgroups: Chone is north of Pozo and Kopoko'; Chorko' is west of nZorgenkham and nGolo' is northwest of it; Jarong is southwest of Rungchina'ko'.

Q: What other groups did the Amdos know about in the past?

A.7.1. We have always known about China, Mongolia, Lhasa area, Bhutan, India, Russia, Nepal, Sikkim, Jarong and Kham.

Q: By what names did they know them?

- A.7.2. China=Ja or Janak Mongolia=Sobo (outer Mongolia=Che So' and Inner Mongolia=Nang So') Lhasa=P^hopa^h and the area north of Lhasa was Tsangpa^h ; Bhutan=Dupa India=J^hky^h Russia=Orus Nepal=Pa-yul Sikkim=Denjon Jarong=Jarong and Kham=Kham

III. A.

Informant VII:

Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human beings?

- A.1.1. Ancestors believed in the monkey-god creation of mankind. (see V A.1.1.)

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

- A.1.2. Somewhere in the mountains of Tibet.

Q: What language did the first human beings speak?

- A.1.3. Don't know.

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

- A.1.4. China, India, Mongolia

- A.1.5. Same as A.1.4.

- A.1.6. Same as A.1.4.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

- A.2.1. Tibetans spoke same language, but Chinese, Indians, and Mongolians spoke different languages.

- A.2.2. Same as A.2.1.

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

- A.2.3. Chinese, Indians, Mongolians

Q: Which peoples spoke differently but were able to understand one another?

- A.2.4. Khambas, Amdos, and Lhasans--all Tibetans

Q: Which peoples could your ancestors understand?

- A.2.5. Khambas and Lhasans

Q: Which ones could they not understand?

- A.2.6. Chinese, Mongolians, Indians, except for a few words of each.

Q: Among the peoples your ancestors could understand, which ones spoke differently?

- A.2.7. Lhasans, Khambas and Amdos all spoke differently, but could understand

each other.

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with other groups?

A.3.1. Don't know of any real wars until Communist Chinese came to Tibet.

Small conflicts with robber bands or between nomadic groups occasionally.

People from nGolo' quite troublesome for Amdōs sometimes. They come to steal cattle and rob traders enroute.

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Mostly China.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors who have since disappeared?

A.4.1. No

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Amdos come to this land?

A.5.1. Don't know. They have probably always been there.

A.5.2. Don't know

A.5.3. Don't know

A.5.4. Don't know

Q: Before the coming of the Europeans, what groups lived next to the Amdos?

A.6.1. (Informant's answers in terms of his own native Raza.) East of

Raza lie T^hebo, mBora, Amchok, and northwards Rakung and Labrang.

To the south lies nGako^h and Dzachuka. To the west lies Jekundo.

Q: What groups lived farther beyond the Amdos?

A.6.2. Farther east of T^hebo, mBora and Amchok lies China. North of Rakung

and Labrang lie Siling (Sining) and Kumbum. Lhasa area is farthest

west and south of nGako^h and Dzachuka is Derge and Chamdō in Kham area.

Q: What other groups were known to the Amdos in the past?

- A.7.2. Mongolia=Sobo China=Ja^h or Janak Lhasa=P^hopr Jarong=Jarong
Kham=Kham Russia=Orus India=J^hkyr

III. A.

Informant VIII:

Q: According to the beliefs of your ancestors, who were the first human beings?

- A.1.1. Most Tibetans believed in the story of Digen Changtshu Tsamba, the monkey god who lived in the cave with the old woman monster Ma Tra'Tsimo. They had six children who were the first people.

Q: Where did the first human beings live?

- A.1.2. It is believed that the monkey god and the old woman lived in the mountains in the region known as Ü or Ü-Tsang, where Lhasa is located.

Q: What language did the first human beings speak?

- A.1.3. Tibetan

Q: What other parts of the world were there?

- A.1.4. Since the very beginning it is difficult to say how many parts of the world there were, but our Amdo ancestors have known of the Chinese, Nepalis, Indians, Mongols, and some of the outlying nomadic tribes for centuries.

Q: Where did the other peoples come from?

- A.1.5. They have always been where they are today, except that the Chinese were never so many in Tibet as today.

Q: Where did these other peoples live?

- A.1.6. Where they have always lived.

Q: What peoples spoke different languages from each other?

- A.2.1. They all spoke different languages outside of Tibet.

Q: Did all these peoples speak the same? Which ones spoke differently from one another?

- A.2.2. No. They all did. (see A.1.4.)

Q: Which peoples could not understand one another?

- A.2.3. The language of China, India and Mongolia are different and there is little or no understanding. This is also true for Jarong.

Q: Which peoples spoke differently but were able to understand one another?

- A.2.4. Khambas, Amdos and Lhasans all speak differently but can understand

each other. This is also true for Nepal.

A.2.5. Same as A.2.4.

A.2.6. Same as A.2.3.

A.2.7. Same as A.2.4.

Q: In the old days, which groups fought wars with each other?

A.3.1. There was no big wars, but many small conflicts between Labrang people and people from mBora, mGura, and Amchok.

Q: Against which peoples did your ancestors go to war?

A.3.2. Tibetans have always fought amongst themselves, or united against the Chinese as they did after World War II.

Q: Were there any peoples known to your ancestors who have since disappeared?

A.4.1. None

A.4.2. N.A. (Not applicable)

A.4.3. N.A.

A.4.4. N.A.

A.4.5. N.A.

Q: When did the Andos come to this land?

A.5.1. Tibetans have always been in their homeland.

A.5.2. (See VIII A.1.1.)

Q: What people lived on this land before the Andos came?

A.5.3. Don't know of any such people.

A.5.4. N.A.

Q: Before the coming of the Europeans, what groups lived next to the Andos?

A.6.1. The adjacent Outgroups from Labrang (Trashí Gomo) were: Hortsong to the east; mBora and Amchok to the south; Songko' and K^hotse to the west; and Ganja to the north.

Q: What groups lived farther beyond the Andes?

A.6.2. Beyond the above outgroups were: China on the east; Tebuko and Chone to the south; Choko and nGawa to the west; and Rakung and Kumbun to the north.

Q: What other groups were known to the Andes in the past?

A.7.1. China, Lhasa, Kham, Jarong, Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim, and India.

Q: By what names did they know them?

A.7.2. China=Jenak (nak=black, ie. "people ^{of} black clothes"); Lhasa=P^tops^t;
Kham=Kham; Jarong=Jarong; Bhutan=Dukpa (Duk =dragon, ie. "people of the dragon"); Nepal=Pa-yul; Sikkim=Denjon; India=Jykr (kr=white, ie. "people of the white clothes").

III. B. Khamba Informants (I-IV)

Outgroup: Amdo

(Note: Out of the four Khamba informants interviewed, only Informants I and II knew more than a smattering of reliable information about Amdos. After the data for Section III. A,B,C,D, and E had been completed for Amdo, Informants III and IV reviewed the material and concurred with it to the best of their limited understanding.)

B.1.Q: What were all the names and nicknames used by the Khambas to refer to the Amdos?

The only name used was Amdo (no nicknames). It has no other meaning.

B.2.Q: Did the Khambas like or dislike the Amdos?

Khambas mostly liked Amdos.

B.3.Q: What did the Khambas think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Amdos?

Amdos are good in business. They are more clever traders than Khambas. They are simple country folk like Khambas and are not two-faced like Lhasans.

B.4.Q: What did the Khambas think were the bad characteristics of the Amdos?

There are some Amdo tribes who are wild. They come into Khamba territory to steal and make trouble. Amdos are very stubborn and sometimes act too simple. They often let their stubbornness override their reason.

B.5.Q: In what ways were the Amdos different from the Khambas?

Amdos have a different language than Khambas. They also speak more swiftly and are difficult to understand. More Amdos than Khambas believe in the Bonpo (Bon) religion. They have different

styles of clothing, and the women of Amdo like to wear large heavy ornaments.

B.5.1.Q: In what ways did Amdo men dress differently from Khamba men?

During the winter, Amdos mostly wore heavy fox fur hats, which Khambas also used. But Khambas also wore the tearing (Qng life) chinkep, which has four fur flaps and a cap of very fine silk and brocade. Khamba men wore shirts with extra long sleeves, and during the summer months their garments were usually of lighter weight materials than those worn by Amdos. The Khamba man's coat has longer sleeves than the Amdo's coat. Amdos generally wear no socks in their heavy felt-lined boots, but Khambas often wear knitted wool socks called ord. Amdos commonly wore the kohan, knee length yak skin boots lined with felt. Khambas also wore the kohan during the colder winter months, but during the summer preferred to wear a lighter knee-length boot made of woven wool with a yak skin sole. It was called baham. Both types of boots were often brightly colored.

B.5.2.Q: In what ways did Amdo women dress differently from Khamba women?

Amdo women wore different styles of hats, caps, hoods, capes, and headdress than Khamba women, but many variations also occurred within Amdo and Khamba. Amdo women wore a small jacket under the coat which was usually not worn in Khamba. This piece of clothing was called kochen tsilin. The Amdo's coat, or rrila, had long sleeves. In warm weather the right sleeve was left empty to hang freely behind. The rrila had a very wide border of otter or leopard fur. Khamba women wore a coat (chuba) with no sleeves

and a small border of otter skin. The ornaments and jewelry worn by Amdo women were generally heavier and larger and more elaborate than those worn by the women of Khamba.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Khambas different from the Amdos in physical appearance?

There were some differences in physical appearance between certain groups of Amdos and Khambas, but we do not consider ourselves different from one another as a people. (The variations in skin color, facial structure, stature and body type are common to both Khambas and Amdos.) Both Khambas and Amdos do some body mutilation for purposes of curing illness.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Amdo language different from the Khamba language? Amdos do speak differently from Khambas. The biggest difference is in pronunciation. Also, Amdos speak more swiftly than Khambas.

B.5.5.Q: In what ways were the Amdos different in ways of getting food to eat? There are no real differences between Khambas and Amdos in getting food. Biggest difference within each group is between Dokpas and Rongpas. Dokpas are herdsmen who depend for their food on sheep and yaks. Rongpas are farmers who raise grains and have a more varied diet.

B.5.6.Q: What were the differences in customs of eating?

Again, the biggest difference is between Dokpas and Rongpas. The former prefer to eat butter, white and green cheese, milk, and the meat of sheep and yaks. Rongpas consume mostly wheat, peas, cauliflower, barley, eggs, and the meat of pigs and chickens. There are some differences even within Khambas. Derge people take butter with their tea and like to eat roasted barley flour, whereas

Lingsang people eat butter with flour and mix them to prepare a food (tsamba).

B.5.7.Q: What are the differences in rules about marriage?

Amdos have fewer arranged marriages than Khambas.

B.5.8.Q: What are the differences in circumcision of boys?

Not known in either group.

B.5.9.Q: What are the differences in circumcision of girls?

Not practiced in either group.

B.5.10.Q: What are the differences in rules about love-making between boys and girls?

No differences.

B.5.11.Q: What are the differences in rules about sexual relations?

No differences.

B.5.12.Q: What are the differences in customs of urination and defecation?

No differences.

E.5.13.Q: What are the differences in ways of teaching children?

No differences.

B.5.14.Q: What are the differences in customs of fighting wars?

Basically the same.

B.5.15.Q: What are the differences in political organization?

Both Khambas and Amdos have a feudalistic political organization of princely states.

B.5.16.Q: What are the differences in drinking alcoholic beverages?

Both Khambas and Amdos drink barley liquor.

B.5.17.Q: What are the differences in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Some Khamba groups (e.g. Derge) are better known for their silver handicrafts. Amdo people sell more animal products.

B.5.18.Q: What are the differences in how they built their houses?

No real differences in houses between Khambas and Amdos, except some difference in design. Biggest difference within each group is between Dokpas and Rongpas. Rongpas build houses out of mud and stone; Dokpas make large tents of woven yak hair.

B.5.19.Q: What are the differences in how they treated foreigners?

Treatment of foreigners among Amdos varied with different sub-groups. People from Amchok, ^rGura and Soko^b were much more generous than people from ^rGawa and Chone (all Amdo sub-groups).

B.5.20.Q: What are the differences in their pride in themselves?

Both Khambas and Amdos were equally proud people and each sub-group expressed their own individual pride.

B.6.Q: Were the Amdos ever used as good examples in teaching Khamba children?

Both groups say to be brave like Dokpas. It was good for Khambas to be brave like the Amdos.

B.7.Q: Were the Amdos ever used as bad examples in teaching Khamba children?

Khamba people told their children not to be warlike like some of Amdo sub-groups. Both Khambas and Amdos instructed their children not to be cowardly like Rongpas.

B.8.Q: When Khamba parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Amdos?

No.

B.9.Q: Did the Khambas fear the Amdos?

Some Amdos were feared because they were warlike and they raided neighboring Khamba sub-groups.

B.10.Q: Did the Khambas blame the Amdos for any troubles?

Raids from warlike Amdo sub-groups sometimes caused vengeance feuds among Khambas.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Amdos say about the Khambas?

Amdos thought of Khambas a "simple", "honest" people.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Amdos like the Khambas?

Most Amdos liked Khambas.

B.11.3.Q: Were the Amdos afraid of the Khambas?

Amdos did not fear Khambas.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Amdos blame the Khambas for any troubles?

No, except when some groups had border disputes.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Amdos have for the Khambas?

No names except Khambas.

Tibetans

III. B. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Khamba

B.1.C: What were all the names and nicknames used by the Amdos to refer to the Khambas?

Khamba - no nicknames. Means people from Khamba. They have always been called that.

B.1.3.Q: Were there other peoples called by the same name?

No.

B.2.C: Did the Amdos like or dislike the Khambas?

Most Amdos liked Khambas.

B.3.C: What did the Amdos think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Khambas?

Khambas are good fighting people; very brave.

B.4.C: What did the Amdos think were the bad characteristics of the Khambas?

They sometimes try to steal land and get involved in boundary disputes.

B.5.C: In what ways were the Khambas different from the Amdos?

Not very different. Spoke different dialects. Some differences in clothing.

B.5.1.C: In what ways did Khamba men dress differently from Amdos men?

Khamba people wear "tsering-chinkap" - special silk cap with four flaps; not worn by Amdos. Shirts and coats of Khambas had longer, wider sleeves. In summertime Khamba men wore lighter weight boots "bahar" - of woven wool.

B.5.2.C: In what ways did Khamba women dress differently from Amdos women?

Khamba women do not wear "kachen tsillin" - an under-jacket which is worn by most Amdo women. Gold and silver ornaments worn by

Khamba women were not as large as those worn by Amdo women.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Khambas different from the Amdos in physical appearance?

No special differences noted.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Khamba language different from the Amdo language?

Khambas generally speak more slowly and some words are different.

In what ways were the Khambas different

B.5.5.Q: in ways of getting food to eat?

Same as Amdos. Dokpas live from their livestock and Rongpas from their farming.

B.5.6.Q: in customs of eating?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.7.Q: in rules about marriage?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.8.Q: in circumcision of boys?

Don't know.

B.5.9.Q: in circumcision of girls?

Don't know.

B.5.10.Q: in rules about love-making between boys and girls?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.11.Q: in rules about sexual relations?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.12.Q: in customs of urination and defecation?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.13.Q: in ways of teaching children?

Same as Amdos.

Tibetans - III.B.

In what ways were the Khambas different . . .

B.5.14.Q: in customs of fighting wars?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.15.Q: in political organization?

In certain parts of Khamba, people are more "class conscious". Amdos are most "democratic" of all "Tibetans." Otherwise, types of Khamba political organization similar to those of Amdo varying from sub-group to sub-group.

B.5.16.Q: in drinking alcoholic beverages?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.17.Q: in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Khambas from Derge specially noted for their silver work, saddles, and teapots.

B.5.18.Q: in how they built their houses?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.19.Q: in how they treated foreigners?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.20.Q: in their pride in themselves?

Same as Amdos.

B.6.Q: Were the Khambas ever used as good examples in teaching Amdo children?

Be brave and honest like Khambas.

B.7.Q: Were Khambas ever used as bad examples in teaching Amdo children?

Don't be stupid like Khambas.

B.8.Q: When Amdo parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Khambas?

No.

Tibetans - I.I.E.

B.9.Q: Did the Amdo fear the Khambas?

No.

B.10.Q: Did the Amdo blame the Khambas for any troubles?

Sometimes neighboring sub-groups would try to steal land or animals from others which caused conflicts and feuds.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Khambas say about the Amdos?

Don't get cheated by clever Amdos.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Khambas like the Amdos?

Yes.

B.11.3.Q: Were the Khambas afraid of the Amdos?

No.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Khambas blame the Amdos for any troubles?

Same as B.10.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Khambas have for the Amdos?

No names.

Tibetans - III.B.

III. B. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

Outgroup: Chinese

B.1.Q: What were all the names and nicknames used by the Khamba to refer to the Chinese?

"Kungten Chakpa", meaning "Chinese robber". Chinese were very clever traders and cheated Khambas. They also demanded tribute from some Khamba groups which was resented.

B.2.Q: Did the Khambas like or dislike the Chinese?

Khambas disliked Chinese very much.

B.3.Q: What did the Khambas think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Chinese?

Chinese were very smart and made beautiful silks and manufactured goods.

B.4.Q: What did the Khambas think were the bad characteristics of the Chinese?

Chinese liked money too much and did not respect religious ways of Tibetans. They could not be trusted in any matters.

B.5.Q: In what ways were the Chinese different from the Khambas?

Chinese spoke their own language and were different from Tibetans with their own way of life. Chinese were more educated and more corrupt than the Tibetans. Tibetans are closer to God.

B.5.1.Q: In what ways did Chinese men dress differently from Khamba men?

Chinese traders and officials wore clothes made mostly of fine silks, cotton, and wool and did not wear so many skins as the Tibetans.

B.5.2.Q: In what ways did Chinese women dress differently from Khamba women?

Khamba women wore long skirts and jackets made of home-spun

materials with heavy ornaments. Chinese women had better cloth but dressed simply, often wearing pajamas, except for the wealthy women who had finer things than Khamba women.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Chinese different from the Khambas in physical appearance?

Chinese had light skin and were not always as tall as some Khambas.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Chinese language different from the Khamba language?

Chinese spoke in a sing-song fashion and had a different alphabet.

In what ways were the Chinese different

B.5.5.Q: in ways of getting food to eat?

Chinese were mostly farmers or traded goods for their food.

B.5.6.Q: in customs of eating?

Informants I and II said Chinese did not eat roasted barley flour with tea as did Khambas. Informants III and IV did not know.

B.5.7.Q: in rules about marriage?

Don't know.

B.5.8.Q: in circumcision of boys?

Don't know.

B.5.9.Q: in circumcision of girls?

Don't know.

B.5.10.Q: in rules about love-making between boys and girls?

Don't know.

B.5.11.Q: in rules about sexual relations?

Don't know.

Tibetans - III.B.

In what ways were the Chinese different . . .

B.5.12.Q: in customs of urination and defecation?

Don't know.

B.5.13.Q: in ways of teaching children?

Don't know.

B.5.14.Q: in customs of fighting wars?

Chinese had better guns than Khambas and organized armies.

B.5.15.Q: in political organization?

All informants spoke of communist Chinese organizations.

B.5.16.Q: in drinking alcoholic beverages?

Chinese liquor was not as strong as that made by Khambas - more like wine.

B.5.17.Q: in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Chinese made many manufactured items which Khambas traded, such as fine cloths, guns, ammunition, soap, spices, and especially tea.

B.5.18.Q: in how they built their houses?

Chinese houses were larger, made of stone and wood. They were more ornamented and colored.

B.5.19.Q: in how they treated foreigners?

Chinese treated Khambas badly and didn't respect them.

B.5.20.Q: in their pride in themselves?

Chinese thought they were the best people of all - too proud.

B.6.Q: were the Chinese ever used as good examples in teaching Khamba children?

No.

B.7.Q: were the Chinese ever used as bad examples in teaching Khamba children?

Khamba children were told not to be fickle and greedy like the Chinese.

Tibetans - III.B.

B.8.Q: When Khamba parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Chinese?

No.

B.9.Q: Did the Khambas fear the Chinese?

No, except when Chinese armies came into Khamba territory; but then it was too late.

B.10.Q: Did the Khambas blame the Chinese for any troubles?

Chinese tried to kill Khamba leaders, take their land and destroy their religion. They took over their country.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Chinese say about the Khambas?

Chinese people said that Khambas were dirty, warlike, stupid and believed in false religion.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Chinese like the Khambas?

No.

B.11.3.Q: Were the Chinese afraid of the Khambas?

Yes, because Chinese knew that Khambas were much braver than they.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Chinese blame the Khambas for any troubles?

Yes, in that Khambas did not wish to follow the ways of the Chinese leaders.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Chinese have for the Khambas?

Don't know.

III. B. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Chinese

B.1.Q: what were all the names and nicknames used by the Amdos to refer to the Chinese?

"Ja^h" or "Janak" "nak" = black. Because common Chinese wore black clothing.

B.2.Q: Did the Amdos like or dislike the Chinese?

Disliked Chinese.

B.3.Q: What did the Amdos think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Chinese?

Chinese were very good at manufacturing, engineering and other technical sciences.

B.4.Q: What did the Amdos think were the bad characteristics of the Chinese?

Chinese were greedy, cruel, shrewd and deceitful.

B.5.Q: In what ways were the Chinese different from the Amdos?

Chinese had a different language and a different way of life from the Amdos. Chinese were "foreigners."

B.5.1.Q: In what ways did Chinese men dress differently from Amdo men?

Upper class Chinese wore clothes of best silk, brocades and ornaments.

B.5.2.Q: In what ways did Chinese women dress differently from Amdo women?

Amdo women wore long skirts, and jackets with very long sleeves. Chinese wore pants and simpler tops, but sometimes of finer fabrics. Chinese women did not wear large ornaments to the same extent as Amdo women.

Tibetans - III.B.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Chinese different from the Andos in physical appearance?

Chinese more fair-skinned; not as sturdy as Andos.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Chinese language different from the Ando language?

Chinese had tonal language - completely different from Andos.

In what ways were the Chinese different

B.5.5.Q: in ways of getting food to eat?

Chinese did more farming; did not have nomadic herdsmen like some Tibetans.

B.5.6.Q: in customs of eating?

Ando Dolpas ate more meat and cheese, whereas Chinese ate more vegetables. Chinese add more spices in foods.

B.5.7.Q: in rules about marriage?

Chinese more strict about marriage. Andos allow more "love" marriages.

B.5.8.-13.Q:

Don't know.

B.5.14.Q: in customs of fighting wars?

Chinese use modern weapons and fight with larger armies; better organized than Tibetans. Tibetans too independent.

B.5.15.Q: in political organization?

Chinese had highly sophisticated civil government, later communist government. Andos had many independent kingdoms some having close ties to Dalai Lama.

B.5.16.Q: in drinking alcoholic beverages?

Chinese made good "wines."

Tibetans - III.B.

In what ways were the Chinese different

B.5.17.Q: in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Chinese produced manufactured goods sought after by Tibetans.

B.5.18.Q: in how they built their houses?

Chinese sometimes made their homes of bricks.

B.5.19.Q: in how they treated foreigners?

At first Chinese were hospitable toward Amdos. Later, hostile.

B.5.20.Q: in their pride in themselves?

Chinese felt their way of life was best and tried to impose it on Tibetans.

B.6.Q: Were the Chinese ever used as good examples in teaching Amdo children?

No.

B.7.Q: were they ever used as bad examples in teaching Amdo children?

Amdo children should not be deceitful and disrespectful like Chinese.

B.8.Q: When Amdo parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Chinese?

No.

B.9.Q: Did the Amdos fear the Chinese?

No, except when Chinese came in large numbers and took over our country.

B.10.Q: Did the Amdos blame the Chinese for any troubles?

Chinese took over country, killed many rightful Amdo leaders, changed ownership of the land and installed their own leaders. Amdo people were forced to support Chinese armies and obey Chinese laws against their will. Those that rebelled were killed.

Tibetans - III.B.

Many Tibetan youths were taken to China to be indoctrinated and returned as Chinese puppets. Chinese tried to destroy much of Tibetan way of life, especially Tibetan religion. Chinese feared the influences of the lamas.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Chinese say about the Amdos?

Chinese felt Amdos were warlike and untrustworthy.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Chinese like the Amdos?

No, except those who followed Chinese ways.

B.11.3.Q: Were the Chinese afraid of the Amdos?

Yes.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Chinese blame the Amdos for any troubles?

Sometimes the Chinese complained that Tibetans raided their border towns.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Chinese have for the Amdos?

Don't know.

III. B. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

Outgroup: Lhasans

B.1.Q: What were all the names and nicknames used by the Khambas to refer to the Lhasans?

"Uba"

B.1.1.Q: What other meanings does that name have?

People who live in the center.

B.1.2.Q: Why were they called that name?

Don't know.

B.1.3.Q: Were there other people called by the same name?

No.

B.2.Q: Did the Khambas like or dislike the Lhasans?

Most Khambas did not like Lhasans.

B.3.Q: What did the Khambas think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Lhasans?

Lhasans were better educated than Khambas.

B.4.Q: What did the Khambas think were the bad characteristics of the Lhasans?

Lhasans were considered to be deceitful.

B.5.Q: In what ways were the Lhasans different from the Khambas?

Lhasans are much more religious minded than Khambas. They are more educated and refined.

B.5.1.Q: In what ways did Lhasa men dress differently from Khamba men?

Khamba men dress about the same as those from Lhasa.

B.5.2.Q: In what ways did Lhasa women dress differently from Khamba women?

Lhasa women fold their gowns differently and wear ornaments not

as heavy as Khamba women. (women's dress varies so much from one locale to the next that it is difficult to generalize.)

Lhasa women often wore fabrics and ornaments traded from India.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Lhasans different from the Khambas in physical appearance?

No physical differences.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Lhasa language different from the Khamba language?

Lhasans spoke "U-Tsang" dialect much of which can be understood by the Khambas, but some words are different as are some pronunciation.

In what ways were the Lhasans different

B.5.5.Q: in ways of getting food to eat?

Basically the same.

B.5.6.Q: in customs of eating?

The same.

B.5.7.Q: in rules about marriage?

The same.

B.5.8.Q: in circumcision of boys?

Not known.

B.5.9.Q: in circumcision of girls?

Not known.

B.5.10.-16.Q

Same as Khambas.

B.5.17.Q: in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Lhasans brought cloth and other goods from India. Otherwise many arts and crafts are the same as Khambas and vary widely from one

locality to the next.

In what ways were the Lhasans different

B.5.18.Q: in how they built their houses?

Same as Khambas.

B.5.19.Q: in how they treated foreigners?

Same as Khambas.

B.5.20.Q: in their pride in themselves?

Very proud because they are more educated and more religious.

B.6.Q: Were the Lhasans ever used as good examples in teaching Khamba children?

No.

B.7.Q: were they ever used as bad examples in teaching Khamba children?

Khambas told their children "Don't do like Ubas"; that is, don't be deceitful.

B.8.Q: when Khamba parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Lhasans?

No.

B.9.Q: Did the Khambas fear the Lhasans?

No.

B.10.Q: Did the Khambas blame the Lhasans for any troubles?

No.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Lhasans say about the Khambas?

"Don't do as ignorant Khambas do." Khambas will do what they believe in even if they die from it.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Lhasans like the Khambas?

Lhasans thought of Khambas as good fighters, but sometimes too warlike.

Tibetans - III.B.

B.11.3.Q: were the Lhasans afraid of the Khambas?

Yes.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Lhasans blame the Khambas for any troubles?

Don't know.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Lhasans have for the Khambas?

Don't know of any.

III. B. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Lhasans

B.1.Q: What were all the names and nicknames used by the Amdos to refer to the Lhasans?

Lhasans from Lhasa area were called "p^höpa^h". People north of Lhasa were called "Tsangpa^h".

B.1.1.Q: What other meanings does that name have?

"pö" = to call

B.1.2.Q: Why were they called that name?

Don't know.

B.1.3.Q: Were there other peoples called by the same name?

No.

B.2.Q: Did the Amdos like or dislike the Lhasans?

Amdos liked Khambas better than Lhasans, but liked Lhasans better than non-Tibetans.

B.3.Q: What did the Amdos think were the virtues and good characteristics of the Lhasans?

Lhasans are very religious people and most educated of all Tibetans.

B.4.Q: What did the Amdos think were the bad characteristics of the Lhasans?

Lhasans considered themselves superior to Amdos and Khambas. Amdos could not always trust the word of the Lhasans.

B.5.Q: In what ways were the Lhasans different from the Amdos?

Lhasans were the same as Amdos except more educated and more religious. They spoke a different dialect.

B.5.1.Q: In what ways did Lhasa men dress differently from Amdo men?

Lhasa men and Amdo men wore the same clothes - very little difference.

B.5.2.Q: In what ways did Lhasa women dress differently from Amdo women?

Lhasa women wore different headdress from Amdo women. Amdo women wore more heavy ornaments of gold, silver and turquoise. Lhasa women wore finer fabrics brought from India.

B.5.3.Q: In what ways were the Lhasans different from the Amdos in physical appearance?

No physical differences noted.

B.5.4.Q: In what ways was the Lhasa language different from the Amdo language?

Lhasa dialect is understood in Amdo, but some Amdo dialects are not understood by Lhasans.

In what ways were the Lhasans different . . .

B.5.5.Q: in ways of getting food to eat?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.6.Q: in customs of eating?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.7.Q: in rules about marriage?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.8.Q: in circumcision of boys?

Not known.

B.5.9.Q: in circumcision of girls?

Not known.

B.5.10.-14.Q:

Same as Amdos.

Tibetans - III.B.

In what ways were the Lhasans different . . .

B.5.15.Q: in political organization?

Lhasans under more direct control of Dalai Lama; not as independent as Amdos.

B.5.16.Q: in drinking alcoholic beverages?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.17.Q: in crafts, manufactures, artisans?

Same as Amdos.

B.5.18.Q: in how they built their houses?

Basically similar to Amdos.

B.5.19.Q: in how they treated foreigners?

Lhasans more formal in behavior toward foreigners and Amdos.

B.5.20.Q: in their pride in themselves?

Lhasans equally proud as Amdos except they considered themselves better than Amdos.

B.6.Q: Were the Lhasans ever used as good examples in teaching Amdo children?

Sometimes Amdo children told to respect religion like Lhasans.

B.7.Q: were they ever used as bad examples in teaching Amdo children?

Amdo children taught not to be too proud as Lhasans.

B.8.Q: When Amdo parents were trying to frighten children into being good, did they ever mention the Lhasans?

No.

B.9.Q: Did the Amdos fear the Lhasans?

No.

B.10.Q: Did the Amdos blame the Lhasans for any troubles?

No.

Tibetans - III.B.

B.11.1.Q: What did the Lhasans say about the Amdos?

Lhasans thought Amdos were good business people - shrewd traders.

B.11.2.Q: Did the Lhasans like the Amdos?

Yes.

B.11.3.Q: Were the Lhasans afraid of the Amdos?

No.

B.11.4.Q: Did the Lhasans blame the Amdos for any troubles?

No.

B.11.5.Q: What names did the Lhasans have for the Amdos?

Don't know.

III. C. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

Outgroup: Amdo

C.1.1.Q: What types of contacts and relationships did the Amdos have with the Khambas?

Many Amdos came into Khamba as traders selling their wares, and bringing goods from China, India and Lhasa. Relationships on the whole were mostly through trade. Some religious contact through pilgrimages and traveling Lamas.

C.1.2.Q: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Amdo and Khamba?

(Considering the problem my Tibetan informants had with geography, I was not able to develop a proper map where boundaries could be indicated. Informants could recall most of the names of princely states within their territory but became hopelessly lost when attempting to indicate even roughly the proximity of one political division from another.)
Rough political boundaries were delineated by major natural land marks, stone cairns.

C.1.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas have any common organizations with the Amdos?
No, not traditionally; but after the Chinese incursion the Khamba and Amdo fighting groups joined together to drive the Chinese out, although unsuccessfully.

C.1.3.2.Q: Did the Khambas ever have military alliances with the Amdos?
(See C.1.3.1.)

C.1.4.Q: What things did the Amdos trade with the Khambas?

Amdo traders brought Chinese and Indian goods to trade with Khambas for opium, silver ornaments, saddles and leather

goods, pottery and dishware.

C.1.5.Q: Did any Khamba healers or sorcerers ever practice among the Amdos?

No.

C.1.6.Q: Did any Amdo healers or sorcerers ever come to practice among the Khambas?

No.

C.1.7.Q: Did the Amdos have any of the same religious beliefs as the Khambas?

Yes.

C.1.8.Q: Did people from Khamba ever work together with Amdo people?

Traditionally, no. After Chinese incursion Khambos and Amdos were forced to work together on public projects such as roads and highways.

C.1.9.Q: Did Khamba people ever join Amdo people for feasts or celebrations?

(None of the informants could recall any joint feasts and celebrations.)

C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Khambas and Amdos?

No.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Amdos provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Khambas?

Rarely a few Amdos married Khambas. These were voluntary marriages. No slaves.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Khambas provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Amdos?

(Same as above.)

C.1.13.Q: How many of the Khambas could understand the Amdo language?

Those Khambas who lived adjacent to Amdo areas and those who

traveled into Amdo territory understood enough of their language to "get along", but for most Khambas there was only slight understanding, but the degree varied considerably from one dialectical region to another.

C.1.14.Q: How many of the Amdos could understand the Khamba language?

The same is true regarding Amdo understanding of Khamba language, but it would appear that more Amdos traveled into Khamt than the reverse.

C.1.15.Q: Did the Khambas believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originated among the Amdos?

(None of the informants could recall anything of this nature.)

C.2.1.Q: Were there any men or women living in Khamt. who were born in Amdo territory?

Yes, they were known as Amdos. Their position was just like the Khambas because they had married into Khamba families. They were allowed to have land and they were compelled to follow Khamba laws. Their children were treated the same as Khamba children even though they might be identified as having an Amdo parent. Such persons may have come to marry or because they wished to escape from some feud in their homeland. There were not many such migrants, although their number increased after the Chinese takeover.

C.2.2.Q: were there any men or women born in Khamt who lived with the Amdos?

Same as C.2.1. for Khambas living with Amdo people.

C.2.3.1.Q: Could Khamba men marry Amdo women?

Yes. Normally the woman would go to the man's house to live. Hence, if a Khamba man married an Amdo woman then she would come to live in Khamb with his people. But if a woman's home had no men living - that is, no father, brothers, or brothers-in-law to look after her family home - then the man would most probably go to live at the woman's home. This is called "makpa" (meaning not known).

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Amdo men marry Khamba women?

Yes, same possibilities as in C.2.3.1. above.

C.2.4.Q: Could a man be a member of both Khamba and Amdo at the same time?

No.

C.2.5.Q: Did the Khambas allow Amdos to come as visitors into their territory?

Yes, in all cases, except that there were certain religious sanctuaries in both Khamb and Amdo where only certain Lamas could go which were prohibited to the commoners.

C.2.6.Q: Did the Amdos allow Khambas to go as visitors into their territory?

Yes, in all cases with the exception as in C.2.5. above.

C.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas encourage stealing from the Amdos?

Although stealing, raiding, etc. did occur sometimes between Khambas and Amdos, such things were not encouraged by Khambas.

C.3.2.Q: Did the Amdos encourage stealing from the Khambas?

Some Amdo groups such as the Dokpas from NGOLO and Setha would sometimes raid into Khamb. They were particularly troublesome and independent from other Amdo groups.

C.3.3.C: Did the Khambas encourage raping Amdo women?

Such things were prohibited.

C.3.4.C: Did the Amdos encourage raping Khamba women?

Prohibited.

C.3.5.C: Did the Khambas encourage killing Amdo people?

Prohibited, except in cases of feuds. Feuds were prohibited by law but feuding families did try to avenge grievances.

C.3.6.C: Did the Amdos encourage killing Khamba people?

Same as C.3.5. for Amdos.

C.3.7.C: Did Khamba persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Amdos?

Sometimes if a Khamba family or fighting group was not powerful enough to win against Amdo group, they might call upon a wizard ("tunken") to perform magic for many days to help them win the fight.

C.3.8.C: Did Amdo persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Khambas?

Answer to C.3.7. was also true for Amdos.

C.4. (There were no major conflicts between Khambas and Amdos, only occasional feuds and disputes.)

C.4.1.C: Was there ever fighting between Amdos and Khambas?

Yes.

C.4.2.C: What were the causes of these fights?

Feuds would arise between Khambas and Amdo sub-groups as a result of murders, beatings, thievery and trespassing.

C.4.3.1.C: What were the goals for which the Khambas fought?

Khambas sometimes fought to protect their property and livestock, for revenge and for wrongdoings.

C.4.3.2.Q: What happened when a Khamba man killed an Amdo man in war?

were there any rituals or honors?

If a Khamba man killed an Amdo man during conflict he would be honored only if killing was justified in the eyes of the people. In some Khamba areas feuding was outlawed and offenders were punished, but they went on, nevertheless.

C.4.4.Q: What were the goals for which the Amdos fought?

Amdos sometimes fought with Khambas over land disputes and for revenge. Amdo Dokpas from some areas came to steal cattle from neighboring Khamba and a feud would ensue.

C.4.5.Q: What weapons were used?

Most common weapons used were rifles, revolvers, knives, swords and battle axes. Fighting was both from a distance and close in with appropriate weapons used. Attacks were often by stealth and ambush.

C.4.6.Q: What did the Khambas do with Amdo war captives?

Captives were punished and either forced to pay fines (e.g., for stealing animals, murder, etc.) whipped or tortured.

C.4.7.Q: What did the Amdos do with Khamba war captives?

Amdos did the same with Khamba captives.

C.4.7.1.Q: Was there anything a man could do to keep from being killed when surrounded by enemies?

Surrender.

C.4.8.1.Q: During such fights, did any Khamba men or women help the Amdos?

No. Sometimes an Amdo was allowed to take refuge with Khambas if he was escaping a conflict with other Amdos.

C.4.8.2.Q: Did any Amdo men or women help the Khambas?

Sometimes Khambas sought refuge among Amdos.

C.4.9.Q: How many men were killed in such fights? what property damage was caused?

Relatively few Khambas or Amdos were killed in disputes.

Property was sometimes destroyed by avenging parties.

Many more people were killed by the Chinese (see below).

C.4.10.Q: How did such fights end?

Sub-group leaders sought to intervene in disputes to bring them to an end. If one leader failed to end the dispute, he would call upon the sub-group leaders from neighboring uninvolved areas to serve as objective intermediaries in settling the dispute. Offenders were usually fined or physically punished (as described).

Tibetans - III.C.

III.C. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Khamba

C.1.1.Q: What types of contacts and relationships did the Khambas have with the Amdos?

Mainly trade relationships and religious contacts through pilgrimages. (Same as reported by Khamba informants about Amdos in C.1.1.)

C.1.2.Q: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Amdo and Khamba territory?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants in C.1.2.)

C.1.3.1.Q: Did the Amdos have any common organizations with the Khambas?

(Same as Khamba information for Amdo.) Informant #VIII made the observation that there were similarities in religious sects in both Khamba and Amdo, primarily of the old Bon religion and some of the lamaist sects such as the Nyingmapa sect.

C.1.3.2.Q: Did the Amdos ever have military alliances with the Khambas?

Military alliances organized to combat the Communist Chinese incursion.

C.1.4.Q: What things did the Khambas trade with the Amdos?

Amdos traded with some Khamba areas as:

- a) Lithang received opium. Paid in Chinese money.
- b) Derge received silver work, saddles, teapots. Paid with money.
- c) Chamdo received goods from India. Exchanged with Chinese goods from Amdo.
- d) Kantze received large ornamental dishes in exchange for goods from India.

C.1.5.Q: Did any Amdo healers or sorcerers ever practice among the
Khambas?

It is possible but no cases were cited. (Some migration of
individual lamaist monks have been known to occur.)

C.1.6.Q: Did any Khamba healers or sorcerers ever come to practice among
the Amdos?

Same as C.1.5.

C.1.7.Q: Did the Khambas have any of the same religious beliefs as the
Amdos?

Yes. (See C.1.3.1.)

C.1.8.Q: Did people from Amdo ever work together with Khamba people?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos)

C.1.9.Q: Did Amdo people ever join Khamba people for feasts or celebra-
tions?

No.

C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Amdo people and Khambas?

No.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Khambas provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Amdos?

Same as Khambas for Amdos.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Amdos provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Khambas?

Same as above.

C.1.13.Q: How many of the Amdos could understand the Khamba language?

Same as Khambas for Amdos. (More Amdos seem to travel into
Khamb than the reverse; hence, more were familiar with
Khamba dialects.)

C.1.14.Q: How many of the Khambas could understand the Amdo language?

(See C.1.13.)

C.1.15.Q: Did the Amdos believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originate among the Khambas?

Amdos and Khambas have similar cultural traditions. (Informants could not answer more specifically.)

C.2.1.Q: Were there any men or women living in Amdo who were born in Khamb?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.)

C.2.2.Q: Were there any men or women born in Amdo who lived with the Khambas?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.) Amdo informants noted that when the Chinese invaded Tibet many Amdos passed through Khamba area enroute to safe refuge in India.

C.2.3.1.Q: Could Amdo men marry Khamba women?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.)

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Khamba men marry Amdo women?

(Same as above.)

C.2.4.Q: Could a man be a member of both Amdo and Khamba at the same time?

No.

C.2.5.Q: Did the Amdos allow Khambas to come as visitors into their territory?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos)

C.2.6.Q: Did the Khambas allow Amdos to go as visitors into their territory?

Yes, but for the exceptions noted in Khamba C.2.5.

C.3.1.Q: Did the Amdos encourage stealing from Khambas?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos)

C.3.2.Q: Did the Khambas encourage stealing from Amdos?

The Amdo informants cited more cases where there was a problem of nomadic robber bands from outlying Amdo areas than from the Khamba area. No specific cases of Khambas raiding Amdos cited.

C.3.3.Q: Did the Amdos encourage raping Khamba women?

It was prohibited by law, although some outlying Amdo groups had a reputation for being warlike.

C.3.4.Q: Did the Khambas encourage raping Amdo women?

It was prohibited.

C.3.5.Q: Did the Amdos encourage killing Khamba people?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.)

C.3.6.Q: Did the Khambas encourage killing Amdo people?

(Same as Khamba section C.3.6.)

C.3.7.Q: Did Amdo persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Khambas?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.)

C.3.8.Q: Did Khamba persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Amdos?

(See C.3.5.)

C.4.1.Q: Was there ever fighting between Khamba and Amdo?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos C.4.1.)

C.4.2.Q: What were the causes of these fights?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos C.4.1.)

C.4.3.1.Q: What were the goals for which the Amdos fought?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos C.4.3.1.)

C.4.3.2.Q: What happened when an Amdo man killed a Khamba man in war?

Were there any rituals or honors?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos C.4.3.2.)

C.4.4.Q: What were the goals for which the Khambas fought?

Khambas generally fought in defense of their land and property.

C.4.5.Q: What weapons were used?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos C.4.5.)

C.4.6.Q: What did the Amdos do with Khamba war captives?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos)

C.4.7.Q: What did the Khambas do with Amdo war captives?

Khambas and Amdos treated prisoners alike.

C.4.7.1.Q: Was there anything a man could do to keep from being killed when surrounded by enemies?

Surrender.

C.4.8.1.Q: During such fights, did any Amdo men or women help the Khambas?

No.

C.4.8.2.Q: Did any Khamba men or women help the Amdos?

No.

C.4.9.Q: How many men were killed in such fights? What property damage was caused?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.) Amdo informant Number VI recalled some 20 to 30 small conflicts within a period of 20 years. Loss of life and property damage was not heavy, however.

C.4.10.Q: How did such fights end?

(Same as Khambas for Amdos.)

III. C. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

Outgroup: Chinese

C.1.1.Q: What types of contacts and relationships did the Chinese have with the Khambas?

Khambas sometimes traded with Chinese, buying tea, good cloth and manufactured items. Khambas sold wool, skins, salt and sometimes opium.

C.1.2.Q: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Chinese and Khamba territory?

Some people believed Yalung river was the boundary between Khamba and Chinese territory, but some Khambas went all the way to Kangting.

C.1.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas have any common organizations with the Chinese?
No.

C.1.3.2.Q: Did the Khambas ever have military alliances with the Chinese?
No. (Some Khamba groups are reported to have aligned themselves with Communist Chinese against rival Khamba groups.)

C.1.4.Q: What things did the Chinese trade with the Khambas?

Purchased from Chinese - silk and other fine cloths, tea, manufactured goods, guns, ammunition, medicines and spices.
Chinese purchased - wool, skins, salt, and opium for some areas.

C.1.5.Q: Did any Khamba healers or sorcerers ever practice among the Chinese?

No.

C.1.6.Q: Did any Chinese healers ever come to practice among the Khambas?
Chinese brought doctors and other health service personnel into Tibet.

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C.1.7.Q: Did the Chinese have any of the same religious beliefs as the
Khambas?

No.

C.1.8.Q: Did Khamba people ever work together with Chinese people?

Tibetans sometimes worked for Chinese traders but after Communist invasion, the Chinese took over the Tibetan government and forced many Tibetans into labor camps and to building roads. Tibetan children were taken away sometimes as far as China to be educated by the Chinese.

C.1.9.Q: Did Khamba people ever join Chinese people for feasts or celebrations?

No.

C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Khambas and Chinese?

After Chinese takeover there were some sport contests sponsored by the Chinese. Races and other athletic games.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Chinese provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Khambas?

No.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Khambas provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Chinese?

After the Chinese takeover many of the Khambas were forced into slavery for the Chinese, and others were forced to provide tribute or services to them.

C.1.13.Q: How many Khamba people could understand the Chinese language?

Only a few Khambas who perhaps visited China or traded with the Chinese could speak their language. Khamba children taken to China were taught the Chinese language.

C.1.14.Q: How many Chinese could understand the Khamba language?

Chinese "advisors" and, later, many Chinese military and government personnel learned the Tibetan language.

C.1.15.Q: Did the Khambas believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originated among the Chinese?

Some tools and manufactured items from China were used by Khambas. These were regarded as being of good quality, but Khambas did not desire any other part of the Chinese culture.

C.2.1.Q:

Were there any men or women living in Khamba who were born in China?

Those few Chinese living in Khamba border towns were treated as Chinese and not as Khambas. They may have bought property but they were not given large tracts of land. The children were not treated as Khambas. They moved into Khamba territory mainly to trade. After Chinese takeover many thousands of advisors and government people came along with the military.

C.2.2.Q: Were there any men or women born in Khamba who lived with the Chinese?

A few Khambas may have lived temporarily with Chinese, but they were not treated as equals since the Chinese looked down on Tibetans. They may have worked for Chinese.

C.2.3.1.Q: Could Khamba men marry Chinese women?

Chinese and Khambas could intermarry, but generally they did not. (None of the informants could cite cases where Khamba men married Chinese women.)

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Chinese men marry Khamba women?

(The informants recalled two instances where a Chinese man married a Khamba woman. They returned to China to live.)

C.2.4.Q: Could a man be a member of both Khamba and China at the same time?

No.

C.2.5.Q: Did the Khambas allow Chinese to come as visitors into their territory?

Yes, Chinese came as visitors and were encouraged to visit in Tibet. Chinese were not welcomed in some of the monasteries but they did come into Khamba homes and ate and drank with the Khambas. Before Chinese invasion Chinese tried to be very friendly with the Khambas.

C.2.6.Q: Did the Chinese allow Khambas to go as visitors into their territory?

Khambas were allowed to travel to China. About the same time of the Chinese takeover high Khamba officials were welcomed as visitors and treated with great hospitality. The only areas Khambas did not go to were some of the military compounds.

C.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas encourage stealing from the Chinese?

Khambas were not encouraged to steal from and raid the Chinese because this is against Tibetan law, but some did so anyway.

C.3.2.Q: Did the Chinese encourage stealing from the Khambas?

Before Chinese takeover some Chinese robber bands did conduct raids along Tibetan border towns. After Chinese invasion much Khamba property was stolen by the Chinese and many Khambas were forced to feed and clothe the Chinese again.

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C.3.3.Q: Did the Khambas encourage raping Chinese women?

Khambas were prohibited from doing these things.

C.3.4.Q: Did the Chinese encourage raping Khamba women?

When the Chinese invaded Tibet they allowed many of their soldiers to abuse Khamba women.

C.3.5.Q: Did the Khambas encourage killing Chinese people?

When the Khambas fought to protect their land from the Chinese invasion every able-bodied Khamba was asked to join in the fight. They killed many Chinese.

C.3.6.Q: Did the Chinese encourage killing Khamba people?

The Chinese encouraged their soldiers to kill Khambas.
(Informant I recalled that from 1949 to 1959 about 2,000 Khambas were killed in his district fighting the Chinese.
Another 200 were tortured and executed by them.)

C.3.7.Q: Did Khamba persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Chinese?

Yes.

C.3.8.Q: Did Chinese persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Khambas?

Don't know.

C.4.1.Q: Was there ever fighting between Khambas and Chinese?

Yes.

C.4.2.Q: What were the causes of these fights?

The Communist Chinese wished to take over our government, destroy our religion and culture and take away our personal property.

C.4.3.1.Q: What were the goals for which the Khambas fought?

We Khambas fought for the defense of our homeland and our way of life and to preserve our freedom.

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C.4.3.2.Q: What happened when a Khamba man killed a Chinese man in war?
Were there any rituals or honors?

The religion of the Tibetan people is against killing of any kind, but during our war with China honors were awarded to individuals for bravery.

C.4.4.Q: What were the goals for which the Chinese fought?

Communist Chinese wished to take over all of Tibet and make it a part of China.

C.4.5.Q: What weapons were used?

The Khamba soldiers used rifles, hand guns, swords, knives, battle axes, and occasionally cannon when available. Many of the Tibetan weapons were old and outmoded. The Chinese fought with modern weapons developed during world war II and the Korean War. Fighting was usually conducted at a distance but there were occasional hand to hand conflicts. The Khambas, greatly outnumbered, used stealth and ambush frequently to their advantage.

C.4.6.Q: What did the Khambas do with Chinese war captives?

Generally Khambas did not take captives because they had to move frequently and had little food to spare.

C.4.7.Q: What did the Chinese do with Khamba war captives?

The Chinese either killed or made slaves of Khamba captives.

C.4.7.1.Q: Was there anything a man could do to keep from being killed when surrounded by enemies?

He could surrender or try to escape at nightfall.

C.4.8.1.C: During such fights, did any Khamba men or women try to help the Chinese?

Very rarely did a Khamba betray his people to help the Chinese, but it did happen.

C.4.8.2.C: Did any Chinese men or women help the Khambas?

No incidents could be cited by the informants.

C.4.9.C: How many men were killed in such fights? What property damage was caused?

All informants agreed that many thousands of their people were killed, including women and children. As Informant #1 indicated earlier about 2,000 people were killed in his small district alone and perhaps as many as 7,000 to 8,000 in all of Lingtang, a small princely state from which he came. Many houses, crops and animals were destroyed.

C.4.10.C: How did such fights end?

As far as Khamba informants were concerned, their war with Communist China has not ended and there will be no peace until the Chinese are driven out.

Tibetans - III.C.

III. C. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Chinese

C.1.1.C: What types of contacts and relationships did the Chinese have with the Amdos?

Prior to Chinese invasion, principally trade relationships.

C.1.2.C: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Chinese and Amdo territory?

It was generally considered that the northern boundary ended north of the Koko Nor region and from Sinding southward.

C.1.3.1.C: Did the Amdos have any common organizations with the Chinese?

No.

C.1.3.2.C: Did the Amdos ever have military alliances with the Chinese?

No.

C.1.4.C: What things did the Chinese trade with the Amdos?

From China many Amdo sub-regions traded for tea, cloth, soap, tooth paste, boots, raincoats, guns, ammunition, medicines, spices, coral, and an alcoholic drink called Ta chu'.

In return the Chinese purchased foreign goods from India, Europe and U.S.A. Opium, boric powder, scent from the musk deer, antlers and medicinal herbs from India.

C.1.5.C: Did any Amdo healers or sorcerers ever practice among the Chinese?

No.

C.1.6.C: Did any Chinese healers ever come to practice among the Amdos?

Chinese did bring medical and other technical personnel into Amdo and took some Amdos to China for advanced technical training and political indoctrination.

Tibetans - III.C.

C.1.7.Q: Did the Chinese have any of the same religious beliefs as the Amdos?

No.

C.1.8.Q: Did Amdo people ever work together with Chinese people?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.1.9.Q: Did Amdo people ever join Chinese people for feasts or celebrations?

No.

C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Amdo people and Chinese?

No.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Chinese provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Amdos?

No.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Amdos provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Chinese?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.1.13.Q: How many Amdo people could understand the Chinese language?

Some widely traveled Amdo traders spoke Chinese. Some Amdo sub-groups residing near Sining had familiarity with the Chinese language.

C.1.14.Q: How many Chinese could understand the Amdo language?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.1.15.Q: Did the Amdos believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originated among the Chinese?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.2.1.Q: Were there any men or women living in Amdo who were born in China?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.2.2.Q: Were there any men or women born in Amdo who lived in China?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

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C.2.3.1.Q: Could Amdo men marry Chinese women?

No cases cited.

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Chinese men marry Amdo women?

Amdo informants cited couple of cases where a Chinese man married a Tibetan woman and they returned to China.

C.2.4.Q: Could a man be an Amdo and a Chinese at the same time?

No.

C.2.5.Q: Did the Amdos allow Chinese to come as visitors into their territory?

Yes. Same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.2.6.Q: Did the Chinese allow Amdos to go as visitors into their territory?

Numerous Amdos of high political position traveled into China as guests of the Chinese. They were welcomed in all places.

C.3.1.Q: Did the Amdos encourage stealing from the Chinese?

Prohibited.

C.3.2.Q: Did the Chinese encourage stealing from the Amdos?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.3.3.Q: Did the Amdos encourage raping Chinese women?

Prohibited.

C.3.4.Q: Did the Chinese encourage raping Amdo women?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.3.5.Q: Did the Amdos encourage killing Chinese people?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.3.6.Q: Did the Chinese encourage killing Amdo people?

With the Chinese invasion many Amdos were killed trying to drive the Chinese away. Several of the informants cited figures from 1,000 to 10,000 Amdos having been slain in different sub-areas. Many were non-combatants.

C.3.7.Q: Did Amdo persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Chinese?

Yes.

C.3.8.Q: Did Chinese persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Amdos?

No.

C.4.1.Q: Was there ever fighting between the Chinese and the Amdos?

Yes.

C.4.2.Q: What were the causes of these fights?

The Chinese sought to annihilate the Tibetan people and their way of life.

C.4.3.1.Q: What were the goals for which the Amdos fought?

Most Amdos fought for defense.

C.4.3.2.Q: What happened when an Amdo man killed a Chinese man in war?

Were there any rituals or honors?

Many Amdos were given special recognition for their bravery in fighting the Chinese.

C.4.4.Q: What were the goals for which the Chinese fought?

Chinese sought to take over political and cultural domination of all Tibet.

C.4.5.Q: What weapons were used?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

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C.4.6.Q: What did the Amdos do with Chinese war captives?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.4.7.Q: What did the Chinese do with Amdo war captives?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.4.7.1.Q: Was there anything a man could do to keep from being killed when surrounded by enemies?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.4.8.1.Q: During such fights, did any Amdo men or women help the Chinese?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.4.8.2.Q: Did any Chinese men or women help the Amdos?

No.

C.4.9.Q: How many men were killed in such fights? What property damage was caused?

No informant could estimate the number of Amdo men killed in the war with China. They all agreed that the figure was in the tens of thousands. Many villages and towns were destroyed; and most Tibetan holy places and monasteries were damaged. Crops were ruined mainly because there was no one left to tend them.

C.4.10.Q: How did such fights end?

Much of the fighting ended when most of the Tibetan leaders were either killed or driven across the border to India. Peace was made when there was no one left to fight among the Amdos and the Chinese installed their own leaders.

Tibetans - III.C.

III. C. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

Outgroup: Lhasans

C.1.1.Q: What types of contacts and relationships did the Lhasans have with the Khambas?

Lhasans sent representatives to Kham from the Tibetan government at Lhasa. (None of the informants emphasized any special trade goods from Lhasa, except to point out that some Indian goods came through Lhasa from the southern trade routes.)

C.1.2.Q: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Lhasa and Khamba territory?

(None of the informants could specifically identify boundary markers between Lhasa and Kham. However, they did mention that at certain points traveling west from Kham a person would discover differences in dialect, costume and especially a predominance of monasteries more directly controlled from Lhasa.) It should be noted, however, that the traditionally accepted boundary between Kham and Lhasa is Sokla Kyag.

C.1.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas have any common organizations with the Lhasans?

The Offshoots of many Lhasa monasteries were located in Kham.

C.1.3.2.Q: Did the Khambas ever have military alliances with the Lhasans?

The Khambas and Lhasans joined forces in fighting the Chinese.

C.1.4.Q: What things did the Chinese trade with the Andos?

In trading with the Lhasa area Khambas sought mainly goods from India. However, the Lhasans prized silver work and

leather goods from Kham and Chinese manufactured goods that came in through Kham.

C.1.5.Q: Did any Khamba healers or sorcerers ever practice among the Chinese?

The informants agreed that there may have been instances where one or another outstanding Lama born in Kham might be visited by Lhasans, but this was not nearly as common as the reverse.

C.1.6.Q: Did any Lhasan healers or sorcerers ever come to practice among the Khambas?

Among the Khambas, the Lhasans were believed to be the most religious of the Tibetans and many Lamas from Lhasa side used to come into Kham to reside at the monasteries.

Sometimes persons from Kham would go to Lhasa on a pilgrimage to visit the Dalai Lama and spend some time learning from the monks in the Lhasa monasteries.

C.1.7.Q: Did the Lhasans have any of the same religious beliefs as the Khambas?

Yes.

C.1.8.Q: Did Khamba people ever work together with Lhasan people?

Not usually.

C.1.9.Q: Did Khamba people ever join Lhasan people for feasts or celebrations?

Sometimes if a famous Lhasan lama came into Kham, Khambas might celebrate his visit.

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C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Khambas and Lhasans?

No.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Lhasans provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Khambas?

No.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Khambas provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Lhasans?

Khambas did send gifts to the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. These were both obligatory and voluntary depending upon the occasion.

C.1.13.Q: How many Khambas could understand the Lhasan language?

(Linguistic comprehension varied from sub-group to sub-group within Kham.)

C.1.14.Q: How many Lhasans could understand the Khamba language?

(Probably more Lhasans could speak Khamba than the reverse but none of the informants could say how many.)

C.1.15.Q: Did the Khambas believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originated among the Lhasans?

Much of the Khambas' way of life revolved around their religious beliefs and customs and the Dalai Lama in Lhasa was considered the godhead of their faith. All of these things were considered as good.

C.2.1.Q: Were there any men or women living in Kham who were born in Lhasa?

No such cases were cited by the Khamba informants.

C.2.2.Q: Were there any men or women born in Kham who lived with the Lhasans?

Some Khambas who joined the monasteries went to Lhasa to live

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and study there. They were treated well but they were always identified as Khambas and not accepted as Lhasans. (Each of the informants knew of a few such cases.)

C.2.3.1.Q: Could Khamba men marry Lhasan women?

Yes. The girl would go to live with her husband.

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Lhasan men marry Khamba women?

Yes, same as above.

C.2.4.Q: Could a man be a member of both Kham and Lhasa at the same time?

No.

C.2.5.Q: Did the Khambas allow Lhasans to come as visitors into their territory?

Yes.

Q: Did the Lhasans allow their people to come as visitors into Khamba territory?

Yes.

Q: Were there certain places where Lhasans were not allowed to go?

No.

Q: Were Lhasans allowed into Khamba houses to eat and drink?

Yes.

C.2.6.Q: Did the Lhasans allow Khambas to go as visitors into their territory?

Yes. Same as above.

C.3.1.Q: Did the Khambas encourage stealing from Lhasans?

Khambas were forbiddent to steal and raid from Lhasans.

C. 3.2.Q: Did the Lhasans encourage stealing from the Khambas?

Not permitted.

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C.3.3.Q: Did the Khambas encourage raping Lhasa women?

It was prohibited.

C.3.4.Q: Did the Lhasans encourage raping Khamba women?

It was prohibited.

C.3.5.Q: Did the Khambas encourage killing Lhasa people?

It was prohibited.

C.3.6.Q: Did the Lhasans encourage killing Khamba people?

It was prohibited.

C.3.7.Q: Did Khamba persons use witchcraft or sorcery against Lhasans?

Only in the case of personal or family feuds.

C.3.8.Q: Did Lhasan Persons use witchcraft or servery against Khambas?

Same as above C.3.7.

C.4.1.Q: Was there ever fighting between Lhasa and Kham?

(It should be noted that my informants did not live close to Lhasa area and they were not able to describe conflicts between Khambas and Lhasans. Very probably there were family disputes over land and property and occurred between Khambas and Amdos, but none of the informants would cite any cases from memory to support this supposition.)

C.4.2.Q: What were the causes of these fights?

Don't know.

C.4.3.1.Q: What were the goals for which the Khambas fought?

Don't know.

C.4.3.2.Q: What happened when a Khamba man killed a Lhasa man in war? Were there any rituals or honors?

Killings of this nature were punished with heavy fines, beatings and torture.

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C.4.4.-C.4.10.G:

Don't know.

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III. C. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Outgroup: Lhasans

C.1.1.Q: What types of contacts and relationships did the Lhasans have with the Amdos?

(Same as for Khamba informants.)

C.1.2.Q: Before the Europeans came, where was the boundary between Lhasan and Amdo territory?

The most commonly accepted boundary of Amdo was considered to be the upper reaches of the Ma Chu (Haang Ho) river from Kyarine Tso. No one could comment as to how this boundary was decided upon.

C.1.3.1.Q: Did the Amdos have any common organizations with the Lhasans?

Similar sects of the lamaist religion were located in both Lhasa and Amdo.

C.1.3.2.Q: Did the Amdos ever have military alliances with the Lhasans?

Amdos joined Lhasans in fighting against the Communist Chinese.

C.1.4.Q: What things did the Lhasans trade with the Amdos?

Some Amdo traders traveled into Lhasa with goods from China and brought back from Lhasa goods from India and the western world.

C.1.5.Q: Did any Amdo healers or sorcerers ever practice among the Lhasans?

A few Amdo lamas went to Lhasa to stay and teach, but most simply came on pilgrimages to visit the dalai lama.

C.1.6.Q: Did any Lhasan healers or sorcerers ever come to practice among the Amdos?

Many lamas and holy men came out of Lhasa to teach and work

among the people of Amdo.

C.1.7.Q: Did the Lhasans have any of the same religious beliefs as the Amdos?

Yes.

C.1.8.Q: Did people from Amdo ever work together with Lhasan people?

Not until after the Chinese came.

C.1.9.Q: Did Amdo people ever join Lhasan people for feasts or celebrations?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.1.10.Q: Were there games or competitions between Amdo and Lhasan people?

No.

C.1.11.Q: Did the Lhasans provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Amdos?

No.

C.1.12.Q: Did the Amdos provide gifts, children, brides, etc. to the Lhasans?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.1.13.Q: How many Amdos could understand the Lhasan language?

Some Amdo traders and Lhasas learned to speak Lhasan dialect.

C.1.14.Q: How many Lhasans could understand the Amdo language?

Generally the Lhasans who came to Amdo either as religious leaders or government emissaries could speak Amdo language.

C.1.15.Q: Did the Amdos believe any of their words, customs, tools, etc. originated among the Lhasans?

(Same as reported by Khamba informants.)

C.2.1.Q: Were there any men or women living in Amdo who were born in Lhasa?

Informant VIII recalled having known several Lhasans who had

lived in Amdo. They were men of high rank, mostly lamas. The lamas did not have any children and the children of the others were treated the same as all Tibetan children. These Lhasans did not own any land in Amdo. There were fewer than 10 in number. The other informants did not know of any Lhasans living in Amdo, although they suspected there were some lamas in Amdo monasteries.

C.2.2.Q: Were there any men or women born in Amdo who lived with the Lhasans?

A few Amdos lived in Lhasa in service to the Dalai lama. They themselves were lamas. Fewer than five cases were cited.

C.2.3.1.Q: Could Amdo men marry Lhasan women?

Yes; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.2.3.2.Q: Could Lhasan men marry Amdo women?

Yes; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.2.5.Q: Did Amdos allow Lhasans to come as visitors into their territory?

Yes; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.2.6.Q: Did Lhasans allow Amdos to go as visitors into their territory?

Yes; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.3.1.Q: Did Amdos encourage stealing from Lhasans?

Prohibited; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.3.2.Q: Did Lhasans encourage stealing from Amdos?

Prohibited; same as reported by Khamba informants.

C.3.3.Q: Did the Amdos encourage raping Lhasan women?

Prohibited.

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C.3.4.Q: Did the Lhasans encourage raping Amdos women?

Prohibited.

C.3.5.Q: Did the Amdos encourage killing Lhasan people?

Prohibited.

C.3.6.Q: Did the Lhasans encourage killing Amdo people?

Prohibited.

C.3.7.Q: Did Amdo persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Lhasans?

No.

C.3.8.Q: Did Lhasan persons use witchcraft or sorcery against the Amdos?

No.

C.4.1.Q: Was there ever fighting between Lhasans and Amdos?

No.

C.4.2.-10.Q:

(Not applicable)

III.D. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

D.1.Q: Of all the groups we have been discussing, which had the largest territory?

(None of the informants had any knowledge regarding the actual size of the outgroup territories, but we were able to persuade them to make guesses about relative sizes.) China was the largest territory, Lhasa next largest, then Kham and then Amdo. The Amdo had less territory than the Khambas.

D.2.Q: Which had the most people?

China had the most people, then Lhasa, then Kham and then Amdo.

(Until the Chinese came, there was no official census in Tibet but the overall population has been estimated at around 6 million.)

D.3.Q: Which had the largest city?

China had the largest city--Peking. (None of the informants was aware that Shanghai is much larger than Peking. A number of Khambas and Amdos had been to Peking on official visits and naturally concluded it to be the largest city.) Lhasa had the next largest cities--Lhasa (estimated 40,000) and Shigatse (estimated 15,000 - 20,000). The third largest city was in Kham--Chamdo (estimated 10,000). (In Amdo the only large city mentioned was Sining which is actually a Chinese city on the northeastern border of Amdo. It is the provincial capital of Tsinghai province and is a major trading center between China and Amdo. The only "large" Amdo settlement mentioned was Labrang with a population less than 10,000.)

D.4.Q: Which was strongest in political power and war strength?

The Chinese were the strongest, the Lhasans were next, the Khambas next, and the Amdos last.

D.4.1.Q: Which was wealthiest?

The Chinese were the wealthiest, the Lhasans next. The Khambas and Amdos rank evenly in this category.

D.5.Q: Which was the most virtuous, moral, and good?

The Khambas were most virtuous, the Amdos next, the Lhasans next, and the Chinese last.

D.6.Q: Which was most similar to Khamba in customs and ways of life?

Amdo.

D.7.Q: Which language was most similar to Khamba?

Language similarity varied according to geographical proximity. Those Khambas near the Lhasa territory could understand Lhasan and vice versa, while those near Amdo had a better understanding of Amdo. Chinese was the most different language.

D.8.Q: Which did the Khamba like best?

Khambas liked the Amdos most and the Chinese least.

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III.D. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

D.1.Q: Of all the groups we have been discussing, which had the largest territory?

China was the largest territory, Lhasa the next largest, then Kham. Amdo was the smallest.

D.2.Q: Which had the most people?

China had the most people, then Lhasa, then Kham and then Amdo.

D.3.Q: Which had the largest city?

China had the largest city, namely, Peking. Lhasa (in Lhasa) was the next largest, then Shigatse (Lhasa) and then Chamdo (Kham). Labrang was one of the larger cities in Amdo.

D.4.Q: Which was strongest in political power and war strength?

Chinese were the strongest, then the Lhasans. The Khambas and Amdos were about equal.

D.5.Q: Which was the most virtuous, moral, and good?

The Khambas and Amdos were about the same in virtue and morality.

D.6.Q: Which was most similar to Amdo in culture and ways of life?

The Khambas were most similar.

D.7.Q: Which language was most similar to Amdo?

Khamba was the most similar language, although it varied greatly from area to area. Lhasa was next similar and Chinese was least similar.

D.8.Q: Which did the Amdo like best?

The Amdos liked the Khambas most and the Chinese least.

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III.E. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

(Note: Neither the Khamba nor the Amdo informants relished making the comparisons in this section, particularly between Tibetan groups; answers were obtained wherever possible directly or indirectly. In some instances, informants found it easier to make comparisons between the two major Tibetan socio-economic strata--Dokpas (nomads) and Rongpas (cultivators)--or between specific regional Tibetan subgroups.)

Of all the groups we have been discussing, which were most. . .

E.1.Q: Peaceful among themselves?

All Tibetans.

Q: Quarrelsome among themselves?

The Chinese.

E.2.Q: Peaceful with neighboring tribes?

Some Tibetan groups caused little trouble with their neighbors.

Q: Quarrelsome with other tribes?

Tibetans subgroups, particularly Dokpas from Jarong and some Amdo groups from nGolo.

E.3.Q: Honest among their own people?

All Khambas.

Q: Dishonest among their own people?

Perhaps, the Chinese.

E.4.Q: Honest with foreigners?

Most Tibetans.

Q: Dishonest with foreigners?

Most Chinese.

E.5.Q: Hardworking men?

Most Tibetans.

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Q: Lazy men?

Don't know.

E.6.Q: Hardworking women?

Most Tibetans.

Q: Lazy women?

Don't know.

E.7.Q: Brave?

All Tibetans, especially Khambas.

Q: Cowardly?

Some Tibetans from Ihasa side who did not fight the Chinese.

E.8.Q: Clean - dirty?

Don't know.

E.9.Q: Stupid?

Some Tibetans say Khambas are stupid because they will die for what they believe in.

Q: Intelligent, clever?

Chinese.

E.10.Q: Strong physically?

Most Tibetans.

Q: Physically weak?

Some Chinese.

E.11.Q: Handsome men?

Don't know.

Q: Unattractive, ugly men?

Some Chinese.

E.12.Q: Beautiful women?

Khamba women from Derge area.

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Q: Unattractive women?

Don't know.

E.13.Q: Strong in magical powers?

Some Lamas from Lhasa.

Q: Weak in magical powers?

Don't know.

E.14.Q: Friendly, warm, hospitable?

Most Khambas.

Q: Unfriendly?

Most Chinese.

E.15.Q: Sexually restrictive - immoral?

Don't know.

E.16.Q: Cruel?

Chinese.

Q: Not cruel?

Most Tibetans. .

E.17.Q: Distrusting of others, suspicious?

Most Chinese?

Q: Trusting?

Most Khambas.

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III.E. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

Of all the groups we have been discussing, which were most. . .

E.1.Q: Peaceful among themselves?

All Tibetans were peaceful. Chinese were quarrelsome among themselves.

E.2.Q: Peaceful or quarrelsome with other tribes?

Some Dokpa groups from nOura and Choko were quarrelsome.

E.3.Q: Honest or dishonest among their own people?

Khambas and Amdos were honest.

E.4.Q: Honest or dishonest with other groups?

Most Tibetans were honest. Most Chinese were dishonest.

E.5.Q: Hardworking men?

Most Tibetans.

E.6.Q: Hardworking women?

Most Tibetans.

E.7.Q: Brave or cowardly?

All Tibetans are brave. Some Lhasans were cowardly who did not fight the Chinese.

E.8.Q: Clean or dirty?

Don't know.

E.9.Q: Stupid or intelligent?

Khambas are stupid. Chinese and Lhasans are intelligent.

E.10.Q: Physically strong or weak?

Most Tibetans are strong. Some Chinese are weak.

E.11.Q: Handsome or ugly men?

Don't know.

E.12.Q: Beautiful or ugly women?

Don't know.

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E.13.Q: Strong in magical powers?

Some Lamas from Lhasa and Amdo.

E.14.Q: Friendly or unfriendly?

All Tibetans were friendly. Most Chinese, unfriendly.

E.15.Q: Sexually restrictive or immoral?

Don't know.

E.16.Q: Cruel?

Chinese were cruel. Most Tibetans, not cruel.

E.17.Q: Trusting or distrusting?

Most Chinese were distrusting, most Tibetans, trusting.

III.F. Khamba Informants (I - IV)

F.1.Q: What names did the Khamba use in naming themselves?

Khambas. (None of the informants attributed any special meaning to the name, except that it meant "people of Kham.")

F.2.Q: What did the Khambas think were their good characteristics?

Khambas are friendly, simple, open, generous, hardworking, brave, good fighters, and loyal.

F.3.Q: What did the Khambas think were their bad characteristics?

Weaknesses mentioned were gullible, vengeful, not shrewd enough to cope with cunning outsiders, stubborn, will risk their lives in tenacious pursuit of some goal they believe in even though it is sometimes unreal, impractical, or poorly planned.

III.F. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

F.1.Q: What names did the Amdo use in naming themselves?

Amdos. (No special meaning given.)

F.2.Q: What did the Amdos think were their good characteristics?

Amdos are clever, good businessmen, good horsemen, brave, and worldly.

F.3.Q: What did the Amdos were were their bad characteristics?

Amdo bad characteristics include being vengeful, quarrelsome, and too independent.

III.G. Khamoa Informants (I - IV)

G.1.Q: Did the Khamba think it was better to be peaceful or quarrelsome among themselves?

Peaceful.

G.2.Q: Peaceful or quarrelsome with neighboring tribes?

Peaceful.

G.3.Q: Honest or dishonest among themselves?

Honest.

G.4.Q: Honest or dishonest in dealings with foreigners?

Honest.

G.5.Q: Hardworking or lazy (men)?

Hardworking.

G.6.Q: Hardworking or lazy (women)?

Hardworking.

G.7.Q: Brave or cowardly?

Brave.

G.8.Q: Clean or dirty?

Clean.

G.9.Q: Stupid or intelligent?

Intelligent, but not sly or cunning.

G.10.Q: Physically strong or weak?

Strong.

G.11.Q: Handsome or ugly?

Handsome. (Several of the Khamba informants pointed out, however, that it was not necessary to be handsome or beautiful in order to be virtuous since virtue dwelled in the spirit and not the body of the person.)

G.12.Q: Beautiful or ugly (women)?

Beautiful.

G.13.Q: Strong or weak in magical powers?

All of the Khamba informants agreed that magical powers were meant only for the select few, and that it would not be a good thing for the average person to have strong magical powers.

G.14.Q: Friendly or unfriendly?

Friendly.

G.15.Q: Sexually controlled or immoral?

Sexually controlled.

G.16.Q: Cruel or not cruel?

Not cruel.

G.17.Q: Suspicious or trusting?

It is more virtuous to be trusting, but the reality of life demanded that one be suspicious of all strangers. (One informant said that her people were by nature suspicious of strangers but very warm and friendly and suspicions were allayed.)

III.G. Amdo Informants (V - VIII)

G.1.Q: Did the Amdo think it was better to be peaceful or quarrelsome among themselves?

Peaceful.

G.2.Q: Peaceful or quarrelsome with neighbors?

Peaceful.

G.3.Q: Honest or dishonest among themselves?

Honest.

G.4.Q: Honest or dishonest with others?

Honest.

G.5.Q: Hardworking or lazy (Men)?

Hardworking.

G.6.Q: Hardworking or lazy (women)?

Hardworking.

G.7.Q: Brave or cowardly?

Brave.

G.8.Q: Clean or dirty?

Clean.

G.9.Q: Intelligent or stupid?

Intelligent.

G.10.Q: Physically strong or weak?

Strong.

G.11.Q: Handsome or ugly (men)?

Handsome.

G.12.Q: Beautiful or ugly (women)?

Beautiful.

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G.13.Q: Strong or weak in magical powers?

Informant VIII pointed out that very often it was those persons of highest virtue who had strong magical power.

G.14.Q: Friendly or unfriendly?

Friendly.

G.15.Q: Sexually restrictive or immoral?

Restrictive.

G.16.Q: Cruel or not cruel?

Not cruel.

G.17.Q: Suspicious or trusting?

Several of the Amdo informants felt that it was better to be distrusting or suspicious of strangers but that this was not necessarily being virtuous. However, they all agreed that it was not good to be suspicious of one's family, friends, and leaders.

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Section H was not administered as no old outgroup was available for either the Khambas of the Amdos. (See introductory remarks regarding the difficulties in obtaining informants.)

IV.I. Combined Informants

I.1. Communities varied in size from 50 to several hundred families. Families also varied in size generally from 3 or 4 persons to extended families where there might be 10 to 12 to a household.

I.1.1.Q: What sorts of quarrels and fights took place within local communities?

Mostly feuds, mainly a result of arguments over stolen cattle, revenge for personal injuries and grazing rights.

I.1.2.Q: Were there killings among people of a community?

Killings occurred mainly between separate families either within the local community or between two communities. Killings were mostly a result of fights between feuding parties. Tibetan law prohibited execution. The only case related involving a killing within a family was politically motivated. This happened within a high-ranking family in a struggle for power. After the coming of the communist Chinese, the incidence of political killings increased as the Chinese played one political leader against another. The Chinese also organized many executions.

I.1.3.Q: How frequent were such killings in the old days?

Prior to the communist Chinese takeover, lawless killings among local people were infrequent. Most of the informants could only recall a few such instances during their lifetime.

I.1.3.1.Q: Since the Chinese came, are there more or fewer such killings?

Since the Chinese incursion such killings increased.

I.1.4.Q: In the old days, what happened when one person killed another?

The penalty for murder was a heavy fine or torture or both, e.g., payment to the injured party or family of 100 yaks and to have the

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hands tied behind the back and be hung above the ground by the hands for several hours.

I.1.4.1.Q: How frequently were people killed by group decision?

Traditionally, the Tibetans did not carry on executions.

I.1.5.Q: Were there injurious fights among people of local communities?

There were fights between local people for the same reasons as in I.1.2. The only instances where such fights occurred between related families were the result of mistreatment of the bride or groom after marriage—e.g., daughter from family A marries son of family B, moves to live with his family and is mistreated, becomes despondent, runs away or takes her life. Family A will then take revenge on family B.

I.1.6.Q: How frequent were such fights?

Injurious fights were not frequent and took place only a few times each year and sometimes occurred as a result of drinking.

I.1.7.Q: What happened when someone was injured in such a fight?

Although personal retribution or revenge was not condoned, it frequently was a manner of settlement. More serious matters might be brought to the local leader for him to negotiate a settlement.

I.1.7.1.Q: Since the Chinese came, have such fights increased or decreased?

Injurious fights increased after the Chinese came.

I.1.8.Q: What about arson and deliberate destruction of property among people of local communities?

No instances were cited. The only time such things occurred was in time of war or when the Tibetans set fire to their own dwellings in order to prevent the Chinese from taking possession of them. As a result of efforts to fight the Chinese invasion, there was a great deal more arson and property destruction in Kham and Amdo.

I.1.11.Q: What about serious verbal quarrels?

Serious quarrels sometimes occurred between individuals from different families. Drinking sometimes was involved. Such quarrels arose as a result of family feuding or the mistreatment of one relative by another. Sometimes they occurred between male family members when discussing matters of male prowess, especially when drinking.

I.1.12.Q: How frequent were such quarrels?

Quarrels were fairly frequent, perhaps several times a month.

I.1.12.1.Q: Since the Chinese came, are such quarrels more or less frequent?

After the Chinese came, many communities were disrupted and the incidence of such quarrels increased.

I.1.13.Q: Was there "backbiting" or malicious gossip among people of a local community?

Malicious gossip occurred but it was much frowned upon.

I.1.14.Q: How frequent was such gossip?

Backbiting was relatively infrequent.

I.1.14.1.Q: Has it increased or decreased since the Chinese came?

Increased.

I.2. All of the informants related that within each ingroup there were territorial subgroups headed by kings or princely governors. Unfriendly hostile action did occur between these subgroups for the same reasons as those listed in I.1.2., namely border disputes, theft of livestock, raiding parties, family feuds, etc. There was no open warfare comparable to that between outgroups. Occasionally single family disputes mushroomed into disputes between subgroups when leaders were unable to reconcile the feuding parties. The only rules mentioned regarding hostile action was the expectation that disputing parties should cease hostilities

and, in accordance with the law of the land, bring their grievances to their accepted leaders for mediation. It was evident, however, that such rules were frequently ignored in favor of personal retributions. Under the law of the land, punishment and restitution was meted out by the accepted leaders in the form of fines and torture.

I.2.2.Q: How frequent were such hostile actions?

The frequency varied greatly from area to area within each group. From the responses of the informants it appeared that hostilities occurred more frequently along the eastern borders of Kham and Amdo where several independent Dokpa tribes conducted frequent raids. The incidence, then, varied depending on the area, from once every few years to several times a year.

I.2.3.Q: How frequent were isolated murders between communities?

Murders were not frequent, occurring once every 2 or 3 years. The incidence of such killings apparently depended more upon the individual causes and personalities involved than upon geographic factors or traditional subgroup relationships.

I.2.4.Q: What were the causes of such fights?

Causes similar to those discussed in I.2.1. above, with the addition of political infighting. One example cited was the case where the accepted leader of a subgroup had two sons, each from a different wife. When the leader died, a dispute arose between the two sons and their mothers as to the rightful descent of leadership. Each son and his mother had the support of their followers from among the citizens of the territory. The disputes lasted for 6 to 7 years, and between 10 and 20 local people were killed as a result. The older of the two brothers won the dispute when the younger brother's mother

was killed and the younger brother fled to another territory. The older brother was later executed by the Chinese when he refused to support them. The younger brother in exile joined the Chinese, turned communist and returned to Tibet to support the Chinese government there.

I.2.5.Q: What were the goals for which people fought?

The goals included defense, revenge, plunder, territory, and political control.

I.2.6.Q: What weapons were used?

The weapons most commonly used included rifle, revolver, sword, knife, battle ax and, on rare occasions, cannons which were made in China. Attacks were often by stealth and ambush. There was basically no difference in the methods of fighting between ingroups and outgroups or between subgroups except that during one phase of the war with China, the Tibetans did attempt to organize an army and pit army against army. It was an uncommon method of fighting for the Tibetans and because they lacked both the proper tactics and weaponry, it resulted in heavy losses to them.

I.2.7.Q: What was done with captives?

Khambas and Andos preferred not to take captives.

I.2.8.Q: Were there any things a man could do to prevent being killed?

Most Tibetans wore holy boxes in which there were enshrined images of Buddha and local saints and personal artifacts of religious significance, which were to protect the wearer providing that he was a wholesome character.

I.2.9.Q: How many men would be killed in such conflicts?

Such conflicts did not always result in killings unless killing the enemy was the principal objective. Raiding parties, poachers, and

the like preferred to get away with their mischief without causing personal injury or excessive property damage to the other side in order to avoid the revenge of the victims. Local subgroup conflicts were often a show of strength meant to frighten the opposite side. Killings and property damage did not occur in large numbers until the conflict with the communist Chinese.

I.2.10.Q: How were such conflicts ended?

They ended most commonly in one of three ways:

- (1) a dispute was settled by mediating local leaders
- (2) one of the parties suffered losses sufficient to end their participation in the conflict (e.g., they might flee into exile under the protection of another subgroup)
- (3) principal members of the dispute have been either killed or died and the succeeding generations no longer wish to pursue the matter.

Peace was most commonly made between the leaders representing the disputing sides and most generally each side accepted the terms agreed upon by their leaders. Occasionally, leaders from a third and neutral territory were called upon to mediate the dispute. Such was the way the Tibetans ended disputes between themselves. In the war with the Chinese, no peace was made unless the Tibetans agreed to surrender to Chinese terms. It was not a conflict between equals but a war between a "superior" and "inferior" with only two possible results--subjugation or annihilation.

I.2.11.Q: Did Tibetans like better other subgroups or outgroups?

All Tibetan subgroups held greater sympathy for the members of their own ingroup than for any outgroup. Hence, an Amdo would prefer the affiliation of another Amdo, even though conflicts did arise between

them in the past, than to any other outgroup.

I.3.1.Q: How frequent was suicide in local communities?

Incidence of suicide was rare among Kham and Amdo Tibetans. Some of the older informants recalled five or fewer such suicides. This was less frequent than killing others within the subgroup.

I.3.2.Q: How did people kill themselves?

Suicides were usually committed by jumping from high places into the swiftly flowing river.

I.3.3.Q: Why would people kill themselves?

Suicides were generally committed out of fear, i.e., fear of family or community reprisals.

I.3.4.Q: What did people say about a suicide?

Suicide was considered a very bad thing and it was looked upon as a great misfortune for the victim and his family, with much more sympathy towards the family than the victim. The funeral for suicides was different because in those cases the body might not be found for days, if ever, and many of the normal rites could not be performed. Since the Tibetans believe that a person does not realize his death until after the third day, it is essential that the lamas be brought in immediately to prepare him for his journey.

I.3.5.Q: What did people do if they saw someone trying to kill himself?

They would try every means to stop him from committing the heinous act. They would try to console him and help him seek the aid of his family and perhaps a holy lama.

I.3.6.Q: Since the Chinese came, is suicide more or less frequent?

After the Chinese communist rule suicide increased dramatically. One informant reported as many cases in a single year during the Chinese

rule as he had known in his life prior to the Chinese takeover.

I.4.1.Q: When persons became insane or mad, did they ever try to hurt or kill others in a local community?

None of the informants knew of such incidences within their subgroups.

I.4.4.Q: Were there any ceremonies performed by Tibetans in which persons were killed, attacked, hurt, insulted, or teased?

There were no Khamba or Amdo ceremonies like that. Some teasing did occur at weddings and on festive occasions, but it was not proper to tease in a malicious fashion. Sometimes after the races at the festivals, those persons who came in last are held up to good-humored ridicule and Tsamba is thrown at them.

I.4.5.Q: Describe some of the sports or games played by Tibetans.

Some of the more popular sports included wrestling, horesracing (for speed and trick riding), foot races, marksmanship with a sling and stones, rifle shooting from the top of a running horse. There were no games in which one person attempted to hurt another. Competition was mild, relative to what we see in the western world and sportsmanship was regarded much more highly than championship.

Many of the competitive games were held during the period of festive occasions. One of the most popular was the summer festival at which races and other events displaying horsemanship were very popular.

Generally, the races began at the signal from a lama or other high dignitary. The winning horse was annointed with Tsamba and butter. Frequently the riders of the first three winning horses received small gifts.

I.4.6.Q: How were animals killed?

While Khambas and Amdos did raise livestock for food, it was clearly

understood that animals would be killed only as necessary and never to any excess. The taking of life was abhorrant to all Tibetans. Most animals were butchered during autumn and were despatched quickly with a knife or gun. One of the informants pointed out that butchers and professional hunters were relegated in Tibetan society to the lowest classes. Animals were ceremoniously consecrated, but they were never killed. They were tagged with colored cloth, annointed with sacred foods such as barley, Tsamba, and butter and then given a special name. The killing of consecrated animals was prohibited. Sheep, goats, chickens, and pigs were also consecrated in a less elaborate fashion.

I.4.7.Q: What was the attitude of Tibetans toward teasing or hurting animals?

The teasing and tormenting of animals was considered contemptible behavior. Children would be punished for fear that such behavior might bring upon them disaster in later life.

I.4.8.Q: Did Tibetan people ever eat human beings?

No.

IV.J. Combined Informants

J.1.1.Q: In the old days, what did an unmarried young man do when he wanted to have sexual relations with a woman?

Premarital relations were evident but because of severe penalties, especially for the girl, these were kept very secret. All informants indicated premarital relations were not common, especially in the smaller villages where there was tighter family control. Prostitution was also evident, but rare in smaller villages. It was more common along the Chinese border towns. Premarital relations were difficult to arrange and it was suggested that such arrangements were infrequently made by unmarried young men.

J.1.2.Q: What proportion of girls were virgins at marriage?

Majority of girls were virgins at the time of marriage. Most informants estimated better than 75%.

J.1.3.Q: Were there girls who had sexual relations frequently with many men?

No. (But see J.1.1. re prostitution.)

J.1.4.Q: What happened to boys and girls who broke the rules regarding premarital sexual relations?

Shame is brought upon the unmarried boy who is found to be having relations with a girl poorer or of lower class than he; otherwise the reprimand is much milder than for the girl. A girl known to be having premarital relations cannot earn a dowry at the time of her marriage. This is a severe penalty. Unusually, if she becomes pregnant the boy will take pity on her and claim the child as his own and more than likely marry her. However, if the girl belongs to a good family, the girl's parents will not permit their marriage even if she has a child by him.

J.2.1.Q: What were the rules regarding husbands and wives having extramarital sexual relations?

Infidelity between husband and wife was prohibited both by social and religious tradition among Khambas and Amdos. There was greater faithlessness among men. In the smaller villages, where everyone's private affairs were known, a straying husband was easily caught. The most severe reprimand, however, was directed against the woman

for whom he strayed. It was not uncommon for the jilted wife to muster her female friends and relations to take vengeance upon the woman who had tempted the husband rather than upon the husband himself.

J.2.2.Q: What proportion of husbands had extramarital relations?

Less than 10%. Frequency was undetermined.

J.2.3.Q: Did such husbands attempt to conceal the affairs?

Yes. Disapproval by the wife and her family would lead to an inter-family feud, not to mention a perpetually jealous and suspicious wife.

J.2.4.Q: What proportion of wives had extramarital relations?

Very few.

J.2.5.Q: Would such wives attempt to conceal the affair?

Yes, for the same reasons as men, with the more serious consequence that the unfaithful wife could be turned out of her home and be rejected by her family and community.

J.3.1.Q: In the old days, were there men who had sexual relations with other men or boys?

Most of the informants were uncertain, but a few admitted that they had heard of homosexuality within some of the monasteries.

J.3.3.Q: How frequent was such homosexuality?

Don't know.

J.3.4.Q: What happened to homosexual men?

Don't know.

J.3.5.Q: Were there women who had sexual relations with other women?

None of the informants were aware of any homosexuality among Kham or Amdo women.

J.3.8.Q: Did men ever put on women's clothing or act like women?

In Tibet, historical dramas are often presented as theatrical entertainment. The performers are men only who dress up to represent both sexes. This is the only instance of such behavior mentioned. The men were recognized for their skill in acting.

J.4.1.Q: Did men or boys have sexual relations with animals?

Don't know.

J.5.1.Q: Did men have sexual relations with dead persons?

Don't know.

J.6.1.Q: Were there men who were unable to have sexual intercourse with women?

Only one or two instances were cited by the informants. They

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assumed that these individuals had been sick that left them with this disability.

J.6.2.Q: What happened to such men?

In the cases cited, the individuals joined the monastery.

IV.K. Combined Informants

K.1.1.Q: In the old days, what kinds of things were stolen?

Cattle, horses, silver, weapons and opium.

K.1.2.Q: What things were stolen most often?

Cattle and horses most often, then weapons and other manufactured items, then opium and then valuables.

K.1.3.Q: How frequent were such thefts within a local community?

Frequency of theft varied from subgroup to subgroup. Some of the areas bordering the independent nomadic tribes to the east and north of Kham and Amdo were more susceptible.

K.1.4.Q: Were people afraid of theft?

Yes. They traveled in caravans, they protected their livestock with armed guards. Most of the men and older boys were skilled in handling weapons.

K.1.5.Q: What did people do when a theft occurred?

The thieves were pursued and with help from the men of the locality the property was recaptured and the thieves driven off.

K.1.6.Q: How were thieves treated when caught?

Thieves were brought before the local governing officials for a hearing. Torture and/or heavy fines were meted out.

K.2.1.Q: Did Tibetans in the old days drink anything that made them drunk?

Yes.

K.2.2.Q: How often did most people drink such beverages?

Mostly on festive occasions or when among guests. Drinking was against the Tibetan religion and restricted mainly to the adult males in the family.

K.2.3.Q: Did some people get very drunk and act differently?

Yes. Their behavior differed. The men generally became troublesome and, as one informant explained it, that is why excessive drinking and drunkenness is looked upon with disfavor by most Tibetans.

K.2.4.Q: What proportion of men and women got drunk like that?

Men, perhaps 10 to 15%; women less than 5%. Men, a few times a year; women the same.

K.2.5.Q: How were such persons treated?

Drunken persons were generally avoided.

K.2.6.Q: Were there people who were drunk all of the time?

None were cited by the informants, although it is suspected that some persons did leave the smaller villages for the Chinese border towns where they became drunkards and prostitutes.

K.3.1.Q: Did Tibetans use opium?

Opium was grown by some of the Tibetan subgroups, primarily for sale to China. Some of the informants admitted that in their territories dealing in opium was forbidden. Such drugs were not used during public or ceremonial occasions except by those who were addicted to them and who used them constantly.

K.3.2.Q: What proportion of people used it?

It was difficult to determine the number of people using opiates. Men apparently used them more than women. The use of opiates was more prevalent in the areas where opium was grown.

K.3.3.Q: How frequently were they used?

The majority of Khambas and Amdos did not use these substances, but the few who did, did so frequently.

K.3.4.Q: Was there addiction?

Yes.

K.3.5.Q: How many addicts were there in a local community?

Only one informant came from an opium growing area and the rest could cite very few cases in their areas. In the opium growing area, the incidence also varied greatly because not all persons from that area raised opium. Within the families raising opium there was relatively greater incidence of addiction.

K.3.6.Q: How much addiction is there since the Chinese came?

It is difficult to say. Prior to the communist Chinese takeover, China was the largest buyer of opium from Kham and Amdo, but the Chinese communists were believed, by the informants, to have made an effort to discourage the production of opium among Tibetans.

K.3.7.Q: What did people say about addicts?

Those addicted to opium were tolerated but not looked upon with favor. They were regarded as having a disability somewhat like any other physical disability.

K.4.1.Q: Were there people who stuttered in Tibetan communities?

Some of the informants admitted meeting such persons.

K.4.2.Q: How many stutterers were there in your local community?

None of the informants knew of any such persons in their own subgroups.

K.4.4.Q: What did people say about stutterers?

Don't know.

K.5.1.Q: In the old days, were there trials or courts to settle disputes?

Disputes within the family were generally solved within the single family unit or the extended family. More serious marital problems must be brought before a local lama. If all these efforts failed, then the problem was brought to the local district leader or territorial governor. He would hear both sides and then make a judgment. Disputes involving certain families or perhaps several localities might require a hearing before the territorial governor and his council of district leaders. In the subgroup territories where there was a king or a Rimpoche (a high lama, a reincarnate), such persons were considered the highest authority and their decisions were almost never disputed. One informant admitted, however, that even a king's decision could be overthrown by the majority of his council since all secular officials, even those who held hereditary rank, ruled by the consent of the people. Disputes over property rights, territorial rights, personal injury, including witchcraft, were brought to the district leaders and territorial governors for settlement.

K.5.2.Q: How long did such settlements take?

Simple disputes lasted a day or less but more complex ones involving several localities or subgroups were known to have lasted months, even years.

K.5.3. How many times a year were there such hearings in a local community?

Simple local cases arose within localities or districts a number of times each month. The more complex cases brought for arbitration before higher levels of government arose only several times a year.

K.5.4.Q: Since the Chinese came, have these cases increased or decreased?

Since the communist Chinese takeover in Tibet, such cases decreased because the traditional functions of government were substituted with communist forms.

K.5.5.Q: In the old days, what sorts of cases were most frequently brought to such hearings?

Prior to the communist Chinese rule, most cases involved territorial

disputes and the stealing of livestock. None of the informants were willing to hazard a guess on the kinds of cases brought before the Chinese government today. Several of the informants noted, however, that it seemed to them that the Chinese had loyalties of the people more in mind than their daily welfare. Two of the informants described cases where Tibetans were brought to trial before the Chinese for espionage, disloyalty, subversion, etc.

IV.L. Combined Informants

L.1. (Note: It should be understood that the intricacies of Tibetan religion are every bit as complex as the religions of India and China. Although it has been studied to a lesser degree, to provide a roster of supernatural beings for Kham and Amdo Tibetans would require a volume in itself. One of the most definitive studies on the subject is by Helmut Hoffman: The Religions of Tibet, 1961. Hoffman explains what little is understood about the ancient Bon religion which was animistic, filled with black magic and animal sacrifices, burdened with a pantheon of gods and heavenly spirits and shamanistic in character. The old Bon religion was found throughout much of Tibet, but was later displaced in all but the remotest areas by the Tibetan forms of Buddhism. Down the centuries came waves of philosophical and ritualistic mutations, until in recent times prior to the Chinese invasion, there evolved four principal sects with three major groupings.

So complex is the nature of Tibetan lamaism that, as with most highly evolved religions, the understanding a sophisticated Tibetan has for his religion is quite different from that of the uneducated villager. Since the Kham and Amdo informants used here came from widely scattered geographic areas, different sects held prominence in some of these different areas. Due to lack of time, I did not pursue a comprehensive roster of supernatural beings with each of the informants. Included here are but few of the gods and spirits mentioned during the interviews.)

L.1.1.Q: What gods did your ancestors believe in and worship?

Kesa: the supreme incarnation of three deities. In the creation of the world, Kesa conquered the four evil earth kings to return the world to righteousness.

nGuru Rinpoche: special god of the red sect revered by both Khambas and Amdos.

Jhatsa: younger brother of Kesa, first king of Lingtsang.

Thablha: the god of fire or hearth.

L.1.2.Q: Was there one god above all the others?

Kesa.

L.1.3.Q: Did any of these gods care what human beings did?

Many of the gods did some deed to help the Tibetans, e.g., battling evil spirits providing some resource or another. It was, therefore,

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up to Khamba and Amdo believers to revere these gods and avoid offending them. Through the proper intercession by a lama these gods could be called upon to help in time of need.

L.1.4.Q: Which of these gods brought help and which harm to human beings?

Kesa helped Tibetans by driving away the four evil earth spirits during the creation of the world. MGuru was another great protector of the Tibetan people. Jhatsa became the first great king of Lingsang and founded many of its cultural institutions. Thablha was a fearsome god, easily annoyed, brings upon sickness and misfortune if the hearth is neglected or dirtied.

L.1.5!Q: In what ways did people send messages to the gods?

The gods could be approached through prayer, offerings, seances, and the like. Most commonly a Tibetan went to a lama to have the proper ceremonies performed, since each deity had his own special ritual for worship and appeals. Offerings of food and objects of religious significance were especially favored by the gods. In return, the gods communicated through the lips of the lamas in a trance or through omens visible to the person making the appeal.

L.1.6.Q: What other spirits were believed in?

All Tibetans believe in a great many spirits and demons, probably a throwback to the old Bon religion. There are the spirits of the rivers & lakes, the spirits of the trees and rocks, and the spirits of the air. There are many different categories of lesser spirits within these major divisions, each with a particular association to some natural object or phenomenon.

L.1.7.Q: What did these spirits do?

Most of these spirits are vengeful and can do a person great harm if he ever unwittingly annoys them, e.g., cuts down a tree or soils a rock which harbors some spirit. The water spirits live beneath the rivers and lakes guarding secret treasures. The spirits residing in the rocks and trees send sickness and death if offended. The spirits of the air prey upon lonely travelers in the mountains, who, if he succumbs to them, becomes afflicted by a deadly sickness. The Khambas and the Amdos, like most Tibetans, believe that they should worship these spirits and try to appease them by appropriate offerings. In this manner the spirits will allow a person to travel the lonely

mountain trails unharmed. Tibetans believe that those born with a harelip have been fathered by a rock or tree spirit who had impregnated the mother in a dream. A harelip on the left side of the mouth is considered auspicious and such a person can become wealthy, whereas a harelip on the right side is unlucky and such a person is looked down upon.

L.1.8.Q: Did any of the gods or spirits concern themselves with how Tibetans related to outgroups?

None of the informants knew of any gods and spirits who concerned themselves with ingroup-outgroup relations.

L.2. Taboos:

There were taboos pertaining to food. Red sect Buddhists, e.g., could not eat pork because one of their gods had a pig's head. Yellow sect Buddhists could not eat beef because one of their gods had the head of a cow. Lamas would generally not violate these prohibitions, but the average Tibetan was known to do so. The frequency of violation depended greatly upon living conditions and the scarcity of different types of food. Most persons prayed and gave offerings to appease the gods in order to avoid sickness.

The lamas of some sects were not allowed to marry since Lord Budha had become a celibate. None of the informants knew of any violations in this respect. It was not permitted that a person from higher caste family marry a person from a low birth family, such as a blacksmith, butcher, etc. This prohibition was demanded by the fact that such low birth families were unclean because of their trade and those who associated with them could not approach the gods without danger of offending them. The informants knew of no such cases.

Fasting was required on certain religious holidays; it was required by the lamas who considered it a kind of personal sacrifice for the sake of the gods. This prohibition was frequently violated, though less among the women. Persons who violated these had to ask forgiveness in order not to incur sickness.

L.2.2.Q: Were there taboos regarding marriage between certain types of kin?

It was taboo to marry one's first cousin on either side of the family. No cases of violation were cited.

L.2.3.Q: . . . regarding sexual relations between certain types of kin?

Sexual relationships between kin was forbidden and modesty prevailed but a mild degree of sexual joking was not taboo provided it did not become vulgar or offensive. No violations cited.

L.2.4.Q: . . . social contact between certain types of kin?

No such taboos were cited.

L.2.5.1.Q: . . . women when pregnant?

No taboos.

L.2.5.2.Q: . . . women when menstruating?

Sexual relations were not permitted during menstruation.

L.2.5.3.Q: . . . women who had just given birth?

No taboos.

L.2.5.4.Q: . . . women who were breast-feeding babies?

No taboos.

L.2.6.Q: . . . eating certain kinds of foods?

(See L.2.)

L.2.7.Q: . . . kinfolk of a person who had just died?

No taboos.

L.2.8.Q: . . . speaking or laughing on certain occasions?

No taboos.

L.2.9.Q: . . . having sexual relations at certain times?

(See L.2.5.2.)

L.3.1.Q: How did Tibetans explain a death?

It was not uncommon for Khambas and Amdos to attribute someone's death to the revenge of a god or spirit or some human adversary (i.e., through witchcraft). Upon a person's death, the family would consult an astrologer who could generally tell them why the person died and what the family could do to ease his spirit and to protect the family from similar harm. Death caused by some god or spirit was payment for failure to observe some taboo or perhaps the person unwittingly offended the god. Death was also a result of succumbing to the evil powers of some demon or witch.

L.3.2.Q: Which explanations for death were most frequent?

Death was believed most frequently caused by power of some evil spirit. (One Amdo believed that diseases were not caused by witches--witches

could only cause madness.)

L.3.4.Q: What diseases were known? What caused them?

Colds - caused by bad smelling wind, bad food. Cure depends on diagnosis of an astrologer or a Tibetan folk doctor who used different native medicines.

Leprosy - can be caused by offending a water spirit.

Tuberculosis - informants knew of the disease but did not know the cause.

Bubonic plague - caused by the rock and tree spirits.

L.3.5.Q: Which diseases were most frequently mentioned as causing death?

Tuberculosis and plague.

L.4.1.Q: Were there witches and sorcerers?

Yes. Common name for witches was ndemo (female witch) and depo (male witch). Witches made people sick by casting evil spell on them.

There are also wizards known as thuwa. These are called upon to do magic in times of crisis. They can marry and raise families; they are holy men but do not belong to monasteries.

L.4.2.Q: What types of persons were witches?

There were both male and female witches. Female witches were considered worse than male witches. Witches had no special characteristics and looked like anyone else. There was also a danger that a person might marry a witch without knowing it.

L.4.3.Q: How did a person get to be a witch?

Don't know, but all children of witches became witches themselves.

L.4.4.Q: How many witches were there in a local community?

Number of witches undermined; approximately 10 or 12 wizards, all men.

L.4.6.Q: How did people treat witches?

Witches were shunned but seldom did one ever discover a witch. (None of the informants admitted knowing any witches personally.) Wizards were held in awe and fear but were called upon for assistance in time of need. One never went to a witch for help.

L.4.7.Q: What did people do to protect themselves from witches?

Lamas could cure spells cast by witches through god's powers, but those caused by very evil witches were difficult to cure. If a person became sick he would go to a lama, the lama would pray and, perhaps, have a vision. He might then ask questions about the persons you have

recently met and about your enemies. The lama would then perform magic and instruct you in the proper prayers and rites for getting rid of the evil spell. Lamas also give a knotted prayer string to wear as a protection against witches. A person would never go to a witch for help, but sometimes a witch might take a liking to someone and offer to help. Generally, if a person needed help to fight his enemies he would approach a wizard.

L.4.8.Q: Were witches ever punished?

Witches were sometimes driven out of the village or simply left alone.

L.4.9.Q: How frequent were such punishments?

Don't know.

L.4.10.Q: How frequently did people accuse others of being witches?

Frequency undetermined. Informants knew of no accusations within a family. Sometimes these accusations were leveled against persons within the local community.

L.4.12.Q: Was there magic that an ordinary person could use against an enemy?

No. He would have to employ a witch or a wizard, more commonly a wizard.

L.4.13.Q: Why would he do so?

Revenge, jealousy.

L.4.14.Q: How would he do it?

He would hire a wizard or go to a witch that befriended him and a spell would be cast on the victim.

IV. M. Combined Informants

M.1.1.Q: What term was used to refer to newborn children?

Little boys were called shilu; little girls were called chimo.

M.1.2.Q: What terms were used for later stages of life?

The term shilu was used for little boys up to age 15. During the teen years, up to age 20 or 25, boys were called pö. Girls from 16 to 20 were no longer called chimo but were called pomo or mosa which indicated they were eligible for marriage.

M.1.4.Q: What ceremonies marked transitions from one life stage to another?

The following are ceremonial observations up to adulthood:

- (a) Seven days after birth, friends and relatives are called in to see the newborn child and they often bring money and presents. The parents serve food to the guests.
- (b) Between two and six months, on some auspicious day decided by the astrologer, the baby is named, either by parents or by a lama.
- (c) The child's head is shaven up to 3 years old. The first time is decided by the astrologer. The Amdo informants said that the first locks are saved and worn in a pouch around the child's neck. After 6 or 7 years, the amulet is removed and kept near the family shrine. Khamba informants said that the child's first locks were brought to a holy place and burned. The fear was that if the hair was not burned and got defiled, the child would have a hard and unlucky life ahead.
- (d) During a person's lifetime there are certain "danger years" and it was advisable for a person to consult a lama or astrologer or both for proper guidance during these years. These danger years

were the following (asterisks indicate the most dangerous):

Khambas		Andos	
<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
8th year	13th year	13th year	13th year
*25th year	*25th year	*25th year	*25th year
38th year	38th year	37th year	37th year
49th year	49th year	49th year	49th year
?	?	66th year	66th year

(e) Women once married were called nana. If unmarried, up to 40 years, are called pono (eligible for marriage). Women over 40 are called ayi. Men from age 25 to 40 are called posa. Men above that age are called gêpo (old man).

(f) The dead are kept for a few days while prayers are conducted by a holy lama. Then a person of low status in the village is hired by the family to cut up the corpse on the day designated by the astrologer. The pieces of the corpse are put out on a special frame called a dulu and then devoured by the vultures. Prayers are again said after 49 days to assure the person's passage to heaven.

M.2.1.Q: In the old days, what made little babies cry?

Feeling sick, lonely, hungry.

M.2.2.Q: What was usually done when a baby cried?

The child was picked up and placed inside the mother's jacket and sometimes given the breast.

M.2.3.Q: Did they feed a baby every time as soon as he cried?

No, only if they thought he was hungry.

M.2.4.Q: What made little boys cry?

If he was hurt, scolded, or spanked, or had a fight with another child.

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M.2.5.Q: What was done when a little boy cried?

Parents were usually very indulgent and tried to comfort the child.

M.2.6.Q: What made little girls cry?

Same as for boys. Tibetan informants did not distinguish between girls and boys regarding crying, laughing, and discipline.

M.2.8.Q: What made little babies happy and laugh?

Being contented, full stomach, being loved, played with.

M.2.9.Q: What made little boys and girls happy?

Playing games, being loved by parents, toys, favorite foods.

M.2.11.Q: What games did boys and girls play?

Children of both sexes played together and shared the same games and toys. Some of the games were headstands, playing with wooden dolls, mud toys, playing house, playing two or three versions of the game called "wolf and sheep" (something like tag), playing in the snow, riding the animals and shooting at targets.

M.2.13.Q: What toys were used by boys and girls?

Wooden dolls (shüti), whistles, toys made of clay, toy bows and slings, sticks and stones used for certain games.

M.2.14.Q: Where did fathers sleep?

In their own rooms in the same house.

M.2.15.Q: Where did mothers sleep?

In a separate bedroom in the same house.

M.2.16.Q: Did fathers and mothers sleep together?

No.

M.2.17.Q: Where did babies sleep?

Up to the age of 6 or 7 years children of both sexes slept in the mother's room, sometimes in the same bed. Another bed was provided

if necessary when a new baby was born.

M.2.18.Q: Where did older boys sleep?

Boys slept in the mother's room up to 6 or 7, after which they would sleep in the father's room or have their own room.

M.2.19.Q: Where did older girls sleep?

Girls slept in the mother's room until 6 or 7, after which if there were several girls they might get their own bedroom.

M.3.1.Q: When were children weaned from the breast?

Children were weaned at about 3 to 4 years of age or when the mother's milk dried up. At this stage they were given either yak or goat milk. Pregnancy was not a reason for weaning.

M.3.2.Q: What methods were used for weaning?

Children were weaned by encouraging them to drink animal milk. They were not punished nor was any bitter substance put on the mother's breast to keep the child away.

M.4.1.Q: At what age was a child expected to control urination and defecation?

By 7 or 8 years children should have control.

M.4.2.Q: Were children ever punished for uncontrolled urination or defecation?

Punishment varied; some parents were more lenient than others. Older children were spanked or slapped.

M.4.3.Q: Were there older children who still wet their beds at night?

Yes. (None of the informants could give any frequency.)

There was no difference between boys and girls. Children were sometimes shamed, spanked, slapped, depending on how strict the parents were.

M.4.4.Q: Were there children who persisted in sucking their thumbs or fingers?

Yes, sometimes up to 7 or 8 years. (Frequency undetermined.) No difference between boys and girls. Sucking the thumb was considered

a bad habit and after several warnings the child might be slapped or spanked.

M. 4.5.Q: Were there children who persisted in biting their fingernails?

Yes, until teenage. (Frequency undetermined.) Such children were scolded or slapped.

M.5.Q: What persons took care of babies?

Parents and grandparents.

M.5.1.Q: What persons disciplined young boys?

Parents and sometimes grandparents.

M.5.2.Q: What persons disciplined young girls?

Same as for boys.

M.5.3.Q: What persons were responsible for teaching boys and girls as they grew up?

Boys were taught by father, older brother or paternal grandfather.

Girls were taught by mother, older sister or paternal grandmother.

M.6.1.Q: Did a boy fear his father, mother, or other adults?

All informants agreed that fear of one's elder family members was not encouraged. Love and respect was preferred, at least respect was expected. Several of the informants admitted, however, that some parents were more strict than others and these were probably feared. Overly strict parents were strongly disapproved of and most Khamba and Amdo parents tended toward leniency.

M.7.Q: Toward which persons did a boy have to show the most respect?

Most respect to paternal grandfather, then to paternal grandmother, then to father and older brother.

M.8.1.Q: What were boys punished most for?

For being mischievous and troublesome.

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M.8.2.Q: What were girls punished most for?

For being moody and uncooperative.

M.9.1.Q: How were boys punished?

Both boys and girls were reprimanded and sometimes beaten by hand or slapped.

M.9.2.Q: What persons other than parents ever punished children?

Sometimes grandparents. Chiefs, elders, astrologers or lamas were not used.

M.9.3.Q: Were children ever threatened with punishment by spirits or gods?

Sometimes children would be told about demons who preyed upon children who wandered away from the household.

M.10.1.Q: What would happen to a child who engaged in sex play with other children?

He would be punished and temporarily segregated from other children.

M.11.Q: At what age were boys required to conceal their genitals from public?

Generally after 4 or 5 years of age.

M.12.Q: At what age did boys dress differently from girls?

Generally after 1 or 2 years of age.

M.13.-14. (No puberty rites)

M.15.1.Q: What was done when children fought with each other?

Fighting or aggressive behavior was considered unfibetan, hence fighting among children was not condoned and fighting children were reprimanded. The severity of the punishment depended upon the individual case, e.g., a persistent trouble-maker was more severely punished. Parents would never encourage fights to prove a child's maturity or masculinity. Such proofs were sought in his ability to

help the family, in the maturity of his behavior, in the respect he showed for his elders, and his skills for such things as horseback-riding, etc.

M.16.1.Q: What happened if a child hit or insulted his father, mother, or other adult?

Disrespect for one's parents or other adult was considered a grievous offense. Any child persisting in such behavior (that is to say, not improving after reprimands or being slapped or beaten) would be brought before a lama who might be able to determine what is troubling the child and how the parents ought to cope with it. Such behavior on the part of the child is considered most unfibetan.

M.17.1.Q: Did children play together in regular groups?

Kham and Amdo children sometimes played in groups but there were no stable, organized groups.

M.17.2.Q: What determined such play groups?

Sex, age and locality seemed to determine most children's play groups, when such groups existed. It was not uncommon, however, for the same children of both sexes to play together within the same locality. The older children looked after the younger ones.

M.17.3.Q: Did such groups have regular leaders?

No.

M.17.4.Q: Did parents encourage children to belong to such play groups?

No.

M.18.Q: Did parents tell their children not to play with certain other children?

Yes, children of bad behavior or children from "unclean" castes.

M.19.Q: Were children taught to share things with others?

Yes. Greedy children were strongly reprimanded and forced to share.

Greediness was also considered very unTibetan, especially greediness about food which was looked upon as more serious than greediness about playthings.

IV.N. Combined Informants

N.1.1.Q: Were married sons expected to obey their fathers?

Yes. A married son is expected to respect his wife's father even more than his own.

N.1.2.Q: Was such obedience resented or enjoyed?

Such obedience was not resented by the sons.

N.1.3.Q: What could happen if a married son disobeyed his father?

If a son disobeyed, the elders in the family and the neighborhood would advise him to be more respectful. If a son continued to disobey his father, the other family members and village members will isolate and ignore him and he will have a bad reputation in the village.

N.1.4.Q: Were there other men whom sons were expected to obey?

Yes, his father-in-law, his paternal grandfather, his older brother, father's brother, father's sister's son (to be respected as his own brother). Outside the family, the holy lama in the village and the leader of the village had to be respected.

N.1.5.Q: Was there an age at which old men were expected to obey young men?

Age was highly respected. The Khambas have a saying which was interpreted with two variations: (a) "one word from the aged is worth more than all the talk of the young" and (b) "even a lie from the aged is more respected than all the truth of the young." The Amdo had a saying: "when old people speak, young people should listen." Old men who were incapacitated in some way and could no longer bear the responsibilities of the family were cared for by their sons or sons-in-law, but this did not imply loss of respect.

N.2.1.Q: What could a village leader command other men to do?

Political leadership among the Kham and Amdo Tibetans was based on the

individual's capacity to govern wisely and maintain the respect of his people. Each Khamba and Amdo subgroup abided by its own laws and form of government. Decisions requiring public cooperation (e.g., to go into battle, embark on some local project, decide the fate of a criminal or deviant) required public consent. For example, in order for the accepted leader of the subgroup to command an armed force of his constituents into battle, it was necessary that his council approve. In order for the members of his high council to give their consent, they had to win the approval of the local district chiefs who, it was assumed, had already received the approval of the people they represent. According to all of the informants, who emphasized this repeatedly and illustrated it in many ways, Kham and Amdo Tibetans were thoroughly democratic.

N.2.2.Q: Could Tibetans refuse to do something their leader wanted them to do?

Even a king or elected leader of a subgroup could not defy the will of the people and if his decisions were thought unacceptable, the people could overrule them by mutual consent or their respective leaders. One Khamba informant even noted that a successor to the princely throne could be deposed by the people if they thought him unfit to rule. His powers would then be given to the members of his high council. He would remain as a titular head only while the most respected member of his council would rule in his stead.

N.2.3.Q: What would happen if an individual disobeyed the leaders?

If a man disobeyed his leader by going against the accepted laws of the land, he would be punished according to those laws. In a dispute, the people would decide who was right.

N.2.4.Q: Did men enjoy or resent obeying leaders?

Tibetans did not resent obeying their leaders since they approved them.

N.3.1.Q: In the old days, what were the attitudes of men towards women?

The status of Kham and Amdo women was very high in Tibetan society and in most cases equal to that of men. They were respected equally as men were and they played an active role in the affairs of the community. Kham and Amdo women were considered companions and partners to their husbands and managed the household. They are at ease with men and generally not so secluded socially. While there is evident a sexual division of household tasks and responsibilities, it is not with the idea that the woman's work is demeaning. Women did not do ploughing, hunting and trapping, metal work, or sewing in leather. They did most of the domestic work--cooking, spinning, sewing of cloth, and milking. The wives of many leaders shared in state affairs and women, although rarely, did rule if their spouses died or became unfit, providing the people accepted this. Several individual cases were cited.

N.3.2.Q: Did a wife have property or income of her own?

Usually the wife's property came under the control of her husband. However, in a dispute she might be awarded the right to control her own property if the society judged her spouse unfit or unworthy.

N.3.3.Q: Were women expected to obey every command of their husbands?

Most wives must obey their husbands. But several of the informants chose to illustrate the independence of their women by saying that Kham and Amdo women were not subjugated by their husbands as were the women of India. A Tibetan wife will argue with her husband, although a particularly rebellious housewife was not favorably looked upon.

N.3.4.Q: Did women enjoy or resent obeying their husbands?

Most women enjoyed obeying their husbands because they knew it was the accepted thing to do. They resented it only if their husbands were abusive.

N.3.5.Q: Under what circumstances could a wife disobey her husband?

A woman who was disobedient to her husband had to justify her action to the rest of the family and the villagers. A drunk or abusive husband, or a husband who had lost the respect of his family, was not expected to be obeyed.

N.3.6.Q: What could happen to a woman who was disobedient to her husband?

A woman who was unjustifiably disobedient to her husband could get slapped or beaten.

N.3.7.Q: Could a wife divorce her husband?

Kham and Amdo husbands and wives could divorce each other. In a dispute every effort was made to reconcile the husband and wife, first within the family, and then by consulting with the local lama. If the dispute still raged, then the local village or district leader was asked to reconcile the pair. If this did not succeed, then a legal document confirming the divorce was issued. Their property was divided in a manner depending upon the conditions of the individual case. Male children were generally given over to the father, and the girls to the mother.

N.3.9.Q: Did a wife eat with her husband?

Yes.

N.3.10.Q: Did a wife sit beside her husband?

Yes.

N.3.11.Q: How did a wife have to show respect for her husband?

A wife showed her respect by obeying her husband and by performing her accepted responsibilities to the best of her ability.

N.3.12.Q: Did a man's mother dominate his wife?

If a wife is living with her husband's family, the husband's mother was treated with great respect. However, it was not considered proper for her to dominate the wife. All informants admitted it happened occasionally.

N.3.13.Q: Among the wives of one man, did one have power over the others?

It was not common for most Tibetan men to have several wives but some wealthy businessmen or men who made long trading expeditions might have a couple of wives en route. Generally, in such a case the first wife had the most power and influence. However, several of the informants cited cases where a later wife proved to be more intelligent and capable and had taken over as head of the family.

N.4.1.Q: Did younger sons in a family have to obey and respect older brothers?

The first son was considered higher than the others unless he proved unfit or unworthy. Younger sons had to obey and respect their older brothers.

N.5.1.Q: In the old days, how much of a man's time was spent in preparing for war?

Little or no time.

N.5.2.Q: Were there full-time soldiers?

In Kham and Amdo there was no full-time army, although the Tibetans tried to organize one to battle the communist Chinese. The only full-time soldiers cited by the informants were the personal bodyguards of the higher leaders and rulers.

N.5.3.Q: What prestige did this occupation have?

The occupation of bodyguard to a high leader or ruler held much prestige because their duty was to protect their leader from harm. They were not offensive but defensive soldiers.

N.5.4.Q: Were young men trained so as to be brave in fighting and warfare?

Young Kham and Ando men were trained to be brave in all things, not only for the sake of war. Each male child was taught by his male elders to have a high regard for loyalty, for defending one's family and property, for defending one's freedom and way of life. They received their training during the everyday chores of life--herding, hunting, games of skill and endurance, etc.

N.6.1.Q: Was it all right for a man to run away to save his own life in a fight or battle?

No. He could save his life in battle by being a skilled fighter, by being in good physical condition, by faithfully relying upon religious advice and articles provided by the lama. Tibetan men carried such sacred articles on their person in a holy box strapped at their side.

N.6.2.Q: What actions in war were regarded as cowardly?

Showing fear and running from battle, being disloyal and abandoning one's comrades.

N.6.3.Q: How was cowardice in war punished?

Cowards were not punished but were rebuked publicly and exiled socially.

N.7.1.Q: Were there special gifts, praises, or ceremonies for a man who was brave in battle?

Bravery was praised although no informants could cite ceremonies specifically rewarding bravery. Brave persons were honored by the praises of their political and religious leaders. The act of killing

was not praised, but the act of defending their shared way of life was.

N.7.2.Q: Were there men who were so brave it seemed they sought to die in battle?

Yes. Many acts of personal bravery were cited by the informants during the war with the communist Chinese.

N.7.3.Q: How were those who died in battle honored?

Sometimes an especially revered leader was mourned widely by the people. His name was praised by other leaders and it was thought that the gods did honor him for his selfless acts. The funerals were not different except that they might be more elaborate and more statements might be made by persons of high rank regarding the deceased. Sometimes a high lama or the Dali Lama himself sent a personal message of condolence to the people who had lost a revered leader.

N.7.4.Q: Were there men so brave in war that others thought them crazy?

None were cited.

N.8.1.Q: When plans for war were being made, were there men who advocated peace?

Yes. Sometimes they were criticized.

N.8.2.Q: Were leaders who advocated war ever criticized?

Yes, sometimes.

N.9.1.Q: How did Tibetan people act when there was a war going on?

Generally the group united more strongly for support of their men who were at war.

N.9.2.Q: Did a war increase or decrease quarrelling or conflict within the group?

It decreased.

N.9.3.1.Q: What happened when a man was asked to fight in war against people who were his relatives?

No cases cited.

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N.10.1.Q: Did men who fought like or enjoy fighting wars?

No.

N.10.2.Q: Did women enjoy wars?

No.

N.10.3.Q: Did men fear wars?

Kham and Amdo men were not afraid to go into battle but they tried to avoid conflict, not only because it was against their religious and cultural ideals, but because they realized it greatly upset the daily pattern of life which in Tibet, because of the harsh environment, made great demands upon every person simply to maintain one's daily existence.

N.10.4.Q: Did women fear wars?

Kham and Amdo women feared wars for the same reason as their men and with the additional fear of losing the heads of families, sons, fathers, etc.

Tibetans

For further ethnographic description of Tibetan society, see
James F. Downs, "Lhasa of Tibet," Volume # ECAJ1-001 of this series.