2 The Increasing Visibility of the Tibetan ‘Borderlands’

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Abstract

This article discusses the expression ‘Tibetan Borderlands’, a designation commonly used in Tibetan scholarly works when dealing with Kham and Amdo areas. It also reconsiders the centre-periphery dynamics between Central Tibet and the eastern regions, especially in the contemporary context. Contrary to most studies that focus on the relations between the eastern Tibetan regions and China, this paper questions their relation to the traditional centre: Lhasa and Central Tibet. In view of the current decline of Lhasa and its prevalence as a centre, is it still relevant today to speak of the eastern Tibetan regions as borderlands, and all the more so when they appear to have taken over from Lhasa as the new Tibetan centre?

Keywords: Buddhism, cultural life, identities, Kham, politics, tourism

To Elliot Sperling¹

With the collapse of Lhasa as the center of its cultural world, the Tibetan periphery has had to devise means of survival in order to preserve its identity.

– *Tsering Shakya, ‘Whither the Tsampa Eaters?’ (1993, 8).*

¹ While writing this article, I learned of the death of a very dear and close friend, Elliot Sperling. As a tribute to his total dedication to the Tibetan cause, I would like to offer him this article.

This article has benefited greatly from comments made by participants at the symposium ‘Territories, Communities, and Exchanges in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands’, especially from those of Stéphane Gros and Pat Giersch to whom I am very grateful. I thank Bernadette Sellers who edited my English. All remaining errors are mine.

Introduction

The eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau has long been the meeting ground and the politico-cultural interface between Mongols, Manchus, and Chinese rulers on one side, and Central Tibet rulers on the other. Nevertheless, this chapter focuses exclusively on the regions of Kham and Amdo as borderlands or margins of Central Tibet and Lhasa (Ü) in contemporary times. Two reasons go to explain this choice: on the one hand, these regions (especially Kham) have been the focus of growing attention in recent scholarship which details their relations with China from various perspectives – political, commercial, religious, cultural, etc. – (among others, Sperling 1976, 10-36; Nietupski 1999, 2011; Van Spengen 2000, 2006, 209-230; Epstein, ed. 2002; Rigzin Thargyal 2007; Mackley 2007; Van Spengen and Lama Jabb, eds. 2009; Gros, ed. 2016). Much less attention has been given to how these two regions, often qualified as ‘eastern Tibet’, can be understood and characterized in relation to Central Tibet. Among the few contributions on this topic, Pommaret (1999) and Huber (2011) discuss the Central Tibetan attitude towards some highland communities in the south (Mönpa-Lhopa), and Shneiderman (2006) focuses chiefly on the issue of ethnicity.

The expression ‘Tibetan borderlands’ appears quite commonly in Tibetan scholarly works, but the implications of its use on the areas it applies to are seldom explained. Among the earliest is Aris’s (1992) edited volume and introduction to photographs by the famous botanist-explorer Joseph Rock. As is often the case with works that deal with Kham and Amdo (see for example Wellens 2010; Yeh and Coggins 2014), Aris focuses only on the Chinese side of the borderland, as if Amdo or Kham were not also a borderland with Central Tibet. This is true of another conventional expression: ‘Sino-Tibetan Border(lands)’ (see Jinba 2014) which furthermore renders invisible the other ethnicities of these borderlands (Roche 2014). By contrast, the eponymous volume edited by Klieger (2006) offers a much broader coverage of Tibetan Borderlands in which he encompasses Nepal, Ladakh, Sikkim, Baltistan, Gyelrong, and Amdo. These few references, among many others, suffice to point out that while the Tibetan borderlands have been the focus of growing attention, further work has yet to be done not only to grasp a better understanding of these diverse areas but mainly to reconsider the centre-periphery dynamics between Central Tibet and the eastern regions, especially in the contemporary context.

To shed some light on these dynamics, in this chapter I propose to first explore the Tibetan terminology used for borderlands and borders, and then to outline the characteristics of the relations between the traditional centre

of the Tibetan world (Lhasa and Central Tibet) and its eastern periphery. Against this background and underlying the changes that have taken place over several decades in Kham and Amdo, I argue that at present we observe a process whose dynamics no longer radiate from the centre to the periphery but, on the contrary, from the periphery to the centre. This de-centering process, as I see it, is the result of a complex combination of factors that I detail by paying particular attention to the fields of religion, politics, culture, and tourism.

Through this endeavour I rely on an understanding of 'borderlands' akin to Zartman's definition (2010, 2): 'Borderlands are inhabited territories located on the margins of a power center, or between power centers, with power understood in the civilizational as well as the politico-economic sense. But like the sea at the edge of land (and the reverse), they are continually in movement, both fast and slow and any static depiction of the moment contains within it the elements of its change'. This type of definition, however, gives prominence to power relations and centrifugal forces that need to be counterbalanced with proper acknowledgement of the dynamics alluded to above and the forms of agency that also contribute to shaping change. The contemporary period seems to be characteristic of a 'frontier moment', following Gros' coinage in his Introduction, as a particular political and cultural conjuncture; it unsettles the conventional prism of centre-periphery relations.

Here I emphasize the relation to one centre (Lhasa) as opposed to the other (Beijing), which should not be understood as underestimating the latter's role and influence on the changes I depict, because this particular lens seems appropriate for questioning whether the term borderlands is still appropriate to describe the two eastern regions, Kham and Amdo. In a more provocative manner, this chapter raises the question: since the prevalence of the centre that led these eastern regions to be called borderlands is no longer what it used to be, is it still relevant to speak of borderlands when the centre is in decline and the periphery has somehow dethroned the centre?

Vernacular terminology²

It would seem worthwhile to start our examination by reviewing the vernacular terminology in the context of Tibetan history for what we conventionally

2 In this section based on Tibetan terminology, the Wylie system of transliteration is given in parenthesis after the simplified transcription.

call borderlands, borders, frontiers, or margins. This brief outline will show significant overlaps with the modern concept of borderland.

In ancient documents and inscriptions, one finds *so*, or *sokha* (*so kha*), for 'frontier' and *so lönpo* (*so blon po*)³ for 'frontier minister' (Richardson 1985, 112-113). The great scholar and artist Gendün Chömpel (1903-1951) reminds us that 'the minister who maintained vigilance (*so*) against external enemies was known as *phyi so* and the minister who maintained vigilance within the state was known as *nang so*. The latter term is still used as a title.⁴ The term *so blon* is an offshoot of the above term and is often encountered in the inscriptions of *rdo ring* (stone monuments)' (Gedun Choephel 1978, 27-28). According to this author, the notion of 'border' is implicit in the toponym Kham, which derives from the expression *khamkyi gyeltren* (*kham skyi rgyal phran*), 'the small principality on the border [...], denoting the "border" of the land' (ibid., 24).

Still in use today, *sokha* has the meaning of 'a place to be on the watch for enemies; a watchtower' (*Tshig mdzod chen mo*)⁵ and is thus related to borders. A common expression in the literature is *takhop* (*mtha' 'khob*), an expression that comes from the Sanskrit *pratyanta* meaning:⁶ 'bordering on, adjacent or contiguous; a bordering country, i.e. a country occupied by barbarians'. The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (1986, 1201) defines *takhop* as 'a land where civilisation [Dharma] has not spread',⁷ 'the country where the fourfold retinue⁸ of the Buddha have not come'; 'a border region of a country or a kingdom'.⁹ It is not surprising that this expression, which can be glossed as referring to bad, rough, remote, and barbarous areas, is generally used in Buddhist historiography with the meaning 'uncivilized country'. It is significantly applied, for example, to Tibet, the Land of Snow, before the latter was civilized or 'tamed' by Buddhism.¹⁰ *Takhop* is also sometimes

3 See also the *Dba' bzhed* (folio 5b; Pasang Wangdu-Diemberger 2000, 39) where we can read that Dba' gsal snang was sent to Mang yul as *so blon*.

4 On *nang so*, see also Yangdon Dhondup (2011, 33-59).

5 *Dgra la sol ta sa; so kha'i mgar* (1986, 2952).

6 Monier-Williams (1993, 664). I would like to thank Daniel Berounsky for this information.

7 *Rig gzhung ma dar pa'i yul*.

8 *Sangs rgyas kyi 'khor rnam bzhi mi rgyu ba'i yul*; the four types of followers of the Buddha are male and female laypersons, fully ordained male and female persons [including monks, nuns, and male and female novices].

9 *Rgyal kham sam yul gru bzhi gi mtha' mtshams sa khul*.

10 There are plenty of examples in the *Mani bka' 'bum*, a 'treasure-text' (*gter ma*) which is a collection of teachings and practices centred on Avalokiteśvara as well as in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies), a fourteenth-century Buddhist historiography. As for example in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* translated by Sørensen (1994),

understood as the periphery populated by 'barbarians'.¹¹ *Ta (mtha')* with the meaning of 'remote, borders' is still in use in modern times. In the 1940s the Khampa Communist Bapa Püntso Wangyel and his friends used it in the name of the organization they founded, the *Khambö takhül ledönuyön lenkhang* (*Khams bod mtha' khul las don u yon lhan khang*), the 'Communist Party Work Committee of the Kham-Tibetan Border Area' (Goldstein et al. 2004, 129). This expression is used today in the media to describe a remote area.¹² In addition, one can say *tatsam (mtha' mtshams)* (lit. demarcation of the margins) or *satsam (sa mtshams)* (lit. demarcation of land) for borders, and *satsam kyimi (sa mtshams kyi mi)*, for 'people of the border' or *satsamsu dökhen (sa mtshams su sdod mkhan)*, 'those who inhabit the border'.¹³

To sum up, we can say that the vernacular terminology defines the borderlands as places to be defended or to be made civilized. But do people from Central Tibet regard Kham and Amdo as places to be defended or civilized? And what about the perception Tibetans from eastern areas have of Ü, the traditional centre?

Borderlands versus Centre

For centuries, Central Tibet and its capital Lhasa were considered to be the centre – as expressed in the very name of the region, Ü, 'Centre' – of the historical, religious, economic, and cultural life of the Tibetan world,

mtha' khob, pp. 26 and 38 of the Tibetan text, is translated as 'barbarous borderland' (Sørensen 1994, 97 and 112), and *kha ba can ni mtha' khob kla klo'i yul* is translated as 'The Snow-capped [country], a barbarous and savage borderland' (Sørensen 1994, 205).

¹¹ This is the case in a Tibetan encyclopedia compiled in the fifteenth century by Döndam Mawe Senge (Don dam smra ba'i seng ge), the *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* (A Treasure of Explanation, the Jewel that Fulfills One's Desires) (Smith 2001, 221). See also: *mtha' khob kyi kla klo rnams*, 'People Inhabiting the Outlying Territories' http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/mtha%27_%27khob_kyi_kla_klo (accessed 4 September 2017); and *kla klo mtha' khob kyi zhal lce*, 'The Law of the Barbarian Borderlands' [http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=O01ACI124|O01ACI12401ACI68\\$W12165](http://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=O01ACI124|O01ACI12401ACI68$W12165) (accessed 4 September 2017). The Tibetan and Himalayan Library's dictionary gives 'outlying district, border, outskirts, barbarian, primitive [border]land without learning. Border regions. A wild and savage land; borderland; primitive borderland', <http://www.thlib.org/reference/dictionaries/tibetan-dictionary/translate.php> (accessed 8 September 2017).

¹² http://tb.tibet.cn/2010news/xzxw/whjy/201404/t20140410_1987488.html (accessed 4 September 2017).

Samten Karmay told me that in the eulogy (*bstod pa*) to Shugden, it is written: *gshen rab lugs ngan 'dzin pa'i mtha' khob tu*: here *mtha' khob* designates the Dromo valley, in southern Tibet, on the eastern border of Sikkim (personal communication 17 February 2015).

¹³ Information given orally by Chung Tsering (17 January 2016).

the civilizing centre where all Tibetans aspired to go, at least once in their lifetime. A saying expresses this feeling very clearly: 'They who have not seen Lhasa live only half [a life]'.¹⁴ 'Until 1950, all Tibetan-speaking people regarded Lhasa as the centre of their universe', writes Tsering Shakya (1993, 10). The same applied to Tibetans from all over Tibet, as shown for example in Tibetan biographical literature translated into English. Aten, a 'Khampa warrior', claims that 'for our people in eastern Tibet it was the culminative [sic] experience of a lifetime to see Lhasa, at least once before we died. The city was not only the capital of our country but also the centre of our culture and our religion' (Jamyang Norbu 1979, 45). Rinchen Lhamo ([1926] 1985, 165), also a Khampa and the first Tibetan woman to marry a European, Sherap from Kham (Combe 1975, 56), noble ladies such as Jamyang Sakya from Kham (Jamyang Sakya and Emery 1990, 43), or Dorje Yudon Yuthok from Lhasa (1990, 73), and Bapa Püntso Wangyel (Goldstein et al. 2004, 69), among others, all speak about Lhasa in the same terms. As for the great Amdowa yogi Shabkar, 'he portrays the city of Lhasa as being the "center of Tibet"' (Pang 2018, 44).

Amdowas emphasized even further the centrality of the city when going on a pilgrimage to Lhasa, saying that 'they were going to Ü, to the [spiritual] centre'. They even called themselves Ü-pas, literally 'those of the centre', understood as 'those going to the [spiritual] centre' (Naktsang Nulo 2014, 75), and the road the pilgrims took when going to Lhasa on a pilgrimage was called *ülam*, 'The road to the [spiritual] centre', that is to say Lhasa.

One may wonder why people from Ü do not call themselves Ü-pas in the same way that people from Kham are called Khampas or those from Amdo, Amdowas. Could it be because they do not have the same sense of unity, or because they travel less than people from the eastern regions who often have to explain their origin (it is a fact that Khampas and Amdowas often went to Central Tibet for religious or commercial purposes, while it was not usual for people from Central Tibet to travel to the east); or rather because, being from the centre, they represent the place in relation to which others define themselves.¹⁵

As for monks from the eastern regions, going to Lhasa to study at the famous Gelukpa monasteries, even if they were Bönpos, was extremely important since the monasteries at the periphery were 'unable to compete

14 *Lha sa ma mjal mi lus phyed pa*.

15 Generally speaking, this parallels a 'majority' (those at the centre) as the by-default category. This is true of Han in the context of China. See Mullaney et al. (2012), a collection of essays exploring what it means to be Han in China.

with the great scholastic centres' in Lhasa (Dreyfus 2003, 47). For these monks, Drepung was the most prestigious centre of philosophical studies since it had been the seat of the Ganden Phodrang, the Tibetan government in former times, thus lending importance to a government of which they otherwise considered themselves independent.

The feeling of not even belonging to the same country (namely Tibet) was manifest in the use of the term Bö, 'Tibet', to designate Lhasa and Central Tibet.¹⁶ The biography of Bapa Püntso Wangyel (2004) clearly shows how the idea of a pan-Tibetan nationality was often badly looked upon because many Khampas regarded the 'Böpas', Tibetans from Central Tibet, as 'different nationalities or ethnic groups' (Goldstein et al. 2004, 55) – a perception confirmed by a Khampa from Lithang who describes his trips to Lhasa before 1959 as going to 'Tibet' (Bö),¹⁷ implying that he was going to another country. But Böpa does not have the same meaning throughout Tibet and the people from the high plateau of Changthang, the Northern Plain, only use it to designate the people of Lhasa (Tsering Shakya 1993, 8).¹⁸

Another striking example of this sense of not belonging to Tibet – nor to China – can be found in a Golok song recorded by Namkhai Norbu (1997, 3):

I rebel (*nolok*) against those up there/ I rebel against Tibet/ I rebel/ Against the orders of the Dharma King of Tibet I rebel/ I rebel and the sky is with me/ The blue sky is with the rebellion/ I rebel against those down there. I rebel/ Against China I rebel [...]¹⁹

As this song clearly shows, relations between the Ganden Phodrang government and the peripheral areas were not of the peaceful neighbourly sort. There were numerous conflicts and exchanges of fire could often be heard. In the 1930s the Khampas regarded the 'Tibetan army', the army of the Lhasa government, as an enemy army. In a book written by a certain Orgyan Nyima (2016) containing a collection of interviews by Khampas describing their lives between the 1930s and the Chinese occupation of

16 A lot of work still has to be done on the terms *pha yul*, *lung pa*, *rgyal khab*, *mes rgyal* (This last term is a new one which appeared after 1950. Information Bugang from Chamdo, May 2016). The question of when Tibetans use these words depends on the region they belong to, on the context, and on who their interlocutor is.

17 McGranahan (2010, 120). See also Goldstein et al. (2004, 54).

18 Here I will not discuss the situation among the diaspora since it is beyond the scope of this paper.

19 Namkhai Norbu doesn't provide the Tibetan version of the song.

the 1950s, those interviewed recount the ‘invasion of the Tibet Army’ in the 1930s (ibid., 22, 29, 36, etc.). Khampas were even members of a militia which, alongside the Muslim warlord Ma Bufang (1903-1975), fought against the Tibetan Army (ibid., 27), and the militia in Drawu (place of the narrator’s native community)²⁰ joined the Chinese soldiers to defeat the Dergé troops (ibid. 4). During those years, the Khampas considered that they were in ‘Tibet proper’ when they were on the other side of the Drichu or Yangtze (Goldstein et al. 2004, 57), which marked the frontier between ‘Inner Tibet’ (Kham) under Qing authority and ‘Outer Tibet’ (Bö) under the Ganden Phodrang, thus following and respecting the Simla Convention of 1914.²¹ It was only with the advent of the People’s Liberation Army that ‘the hatred between Drawu and Dege faded’ (ibid., 44) since they had to fight side by side against the same enemy. Nevertheless, relations between them were still tense: in 1956, following the numerous battles between Khampas and the soldiers of the People’s Liberation Army, Khampa traders appealed to the Lhasa government for help and were ‘amazed’ not to receive an answer (Tsering Shakya 1999, 141). In fact, following the implementation in 1955-1956 of so-called ‘democratic reforms’ in Kham, widespread revolts erupted and were brutally repressed; the main monastery in Lithang was bombed on 28 March 1956. Many Khampas fled and took refuge in Lhasa²² where they had to face the inhabitants of the city who, at the outset, did not believe their stories about the exactions. On the contrary, ‘they tended to stereotype them as unruly and troublesome’ (Tsering Shakya 1999, 142), all the more so since the Khampas themselves conceived their own country as ‘a lawless and uncertain land’ in which ‘a rifle was an essential part of man’s life. It was not only the fear of bandits [...] but also due to prevalence of bloody and interminable feuds’ (Jamyang Norbu 1979, 24).²³ Relations between Lhasapas and Khampas were problematic: even though Lhasapas did not refer to Khampas and Amdowas by the same pejorative names they used for communities on the southern margins, they nevertheless considered themselves much more ‘civilised’ (Pommaret 1999, 53; Schneiderman 2006, 15; Huber 2011, 260).

20 Drawu (Gra ’u) was a place under the jurisdiction of Drawu cenurion (Tib. *brgya dpon*; Ch. *baihu*) in Jyekundo (I thank Yudru Tsomu for this information).

21 On the Simla Convention regarding Kham, see Goldstein (1989, 67-74 and 832-841).

22 According to Kapstein (2004, 237) about 55,000 Amdowas and Khampas camped in and around Lhasa at the beginning of 1959.

23 There is an old saying: A blow on the nose of a hated enemy / Is surely more satisfying / Than to listen to the advice / Of benevolent parties (Jamyang Norbu 1979, 25).

For their part, Khampas perceived themselves as 'straightforward and honest' while they regarded Lhasapas as affected and slick (McGranahan 2010, 121). When in Lhasa on a pilgrimage or for trade, Khampas and Amdowas were faced with new customs, new laws, and new habits, which often accentuated this feeling of otherness they felt in relation to Lhasapas. In 1954-1955, when Naktsang Nulo (2014, 108), a young Amdowa, went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa with his father and some companions, he was struck by the spectacle he witnessed of criminals with shackles around their ankles and a yoke around their necks. This reminded him of a saying he had often heard: 'If you want to see the sufferings of hell, you must go to Lhasa'.²⁴ Moreover, one of his companions was arrested by Tibetan soldiers, and the Amdowa pilgrims refused to abide by the laws laid down by the Ganden Phodrang, laws which they did not consider themselves to be concerned by. They therefore disarmed the soldiers, released the prisoner, and handed him over to their own chief (ibid. 117), the only person who, according to them, represented the law.

Local and national identities

Relations between the centre and the eastern borderlands were not devoid of ambivalence. But after Chinese communists entered Central Tibet in the 1950s, regional identities that were traditionally strongly bound to local territory, religious school, and master were then eclipsed by a pan-Tibetan identity, more secularized (through the influence of intellectuals) and politicized.²⁵

The emergence of a feeling of Tibetan national identity is a recent phenomenon linked to political events in the recent past (occupation of Tibet, national policies, and ethnic categorization system introduced by the Communists) (Tsering Shakya 2012, 24) – even if regional identity is still sometimes stronger than national identity (Kolås 2008, 83). Indeed, there were grounds for a shared identity: Tibetan Buddhism, a specific culture, a common mythology, a common written language, a common history, shared memories, customs, and territory gave the population of the vast Tibetan plateau a sense of belonging to a specific group, sharing a large number of identity features distinct from other countries.

24 *dmyal kham sduḡ bsngal ni blta dgos na ; lha sa'i grong du 'gro dgos ni red* (Naktsang Nulo [Nags tshang nus blo] 2008, 190).

25 For the transformation from a feeling of regional identity to a much more secular feeling of national identity, see Tsering Shakya (1993) and Jia Mang (2015).

At the root of this sense of common belonging also lies the fact that Tibetans consider themselves insiders, that is to say Buddhists (*nangpa*) as opposed to outsiders, non-Buddhists (*chipa*). This strong feeling was expressed, for instance, through the name given to Chinese Communists who were described as 'enemies of the doctrine' (*tendra*), while the 'Four Rivers, Six Ranges' resistance army, the Chushi Gangdruk, was also called 'The Tibetan Volunteer Army to Defend Buddhism' (*Bökyi tensung dang langmak*).

The first time the whole Tibetan population was united in a 'common purpose and shared values' (Tsering Shakya 1999, 165) was in 1957 when Khampa traders from Lhasa organized groups of people to collect, *from all Tibetan regions*, contributions towards offering a golden throne to the Dalai Lama in order to preserve Tibet and Tibetans from any obstacles and calamities that might arise.²⁶ This was offered to the hierarchy on 4 July during a ceremony called *Tenshuk shabten*, which, for Dreyfus (2005, 12), marked 'the birth of Tibetan nationalism, the awareness that Tibetans have of belonging to a single country'.

The creation of the resistance army in 1958 was also an important step in nurturing the feeling of national identity. Although the Khampas organized it to combat the Chinese and made up the majority of the fighters, some Amdowas and Lhasapas joined its ranks, thus creating a national movement (Nima Chodon 2012, 35-45).²⁷

Between 1959, the year of the Lhasa uprising, until 1980 Tibet suffered a series of dreadful events: 'democratic' reforms, the destruction of the religious and cultural heritage, and the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution that swept through China. But following the visit to Central Tibet in 1980 by Hu Yaobang, the then Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, a movement of 'liberalization' emerged which led to a religious and cultural revival. Amdo and Kham then underwent a 'revitalization of the local identity and the reconstitution of scarred sites, with this revival of religion and traditional practices heightening local identity' (Tsering Shakya 2012, 24). As we shall see, however, this revitalization of the local identity does not preclude the feeling of national identity from (re)appearing as soon as Tibetans confront the 'Others', the Chinese.

26 This ceremony expressed the people's loyalty and confidence in the Dalai Lama's leadership and confirmed his earthly sovereign powers (Andrugtsang 1973, 51).

27 It is important to underline that many Amdowas had already been killed or jailed. '[In 1958] some nomadic areas of Amdo were reported to have been virtually emptied of men, all having fled or been killed or imprisoned. Most of the population of the Sokpo (Mongol) areas east of the Ma chu were reportedly massacred' (Smith 1997, 442).

Religious revival

Religious revitalization led to the (re)construction of religious buildings in the eastern borderlands just like in Central Tibet. Yet these areas stand out from others by the fact that replicas of monuments from Central Tibet, India and Nepal were (re)built. I have already shown elsewhere (Buffetrille 2015, 133-152) that the choice of duplicate edifices bears witness to the glory of a politically and religiously prestigious Tibetan past, referring to a time of Imperial Greatness, to the introduction of Buddhism in the Land of Snow, and to India, the holy country from where Buddhism came. They also constitute substitutes to famous pilgrimage sites where Tibetans are not allowed or are unable to go since these replicas are said to bring the same amount of merit.

Lung Ngön monastery in Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is a perfect example of a place where many replicas have been erected (Figure 2.1): the main temple of Samyé (the first monastery built in Central Tibet in the eighth century), and Sekhar Gutog, Milarepa's tower originally located in Lhodrag (southern Tibet) (see Akester 2016, 305-328; 464-469), as well as the Bodh Gaya Mahabodhi temple and the Jarung Kashor *stūpa* (Bodnath), which is even bigger than its original in Nepal. Dzogchen monastery, in Kandzé Autonomous Prefecture, also has its own replica of the Jarung Kashor *stūpa* whose consecration took place on Guru Rinpoche's day, 13 August 2016. Moreover, in several monasteries, such as Seršhül or Dzogchen, Aśoka pillars and statues of elephants covered in gold leaves – a clear reference to India – have been built in the front courtyard. Furthermore, a private Tibetan company intends to build a new Yumbu Lagang in Amdo.²⁸

One building in particular has been duplicated in many places: Milarepa's tower, perhaps because Milarepa is considered the Tibetan yogi *par excellence* – contrary, for instance, to Padmasambhava who came from India (another sign of the emphasis on Tibetan identity). One was built in the seventeenth century in the city of Tsö in Amdo, then rebuilt after its destruction during the Cultural Revolution. Another one is to be found in Kham, in Sangkar (Gyelrong region),²⁹ and yet another one in Kyodrag gönpa (Nangchen region).³⁰

28 Françoise Robin, personal communication, 17 February 2015. She saw the plans of the building in 2014. Yumbu lhagang is said to have been the oldest building in Tibet. It was the palace of King Lhathotho Rinyentsen, the 28th mythical king. According to tradition, various Buddhist items – text about Avalokiteśvara as a *stūpa* – fell onto the roof one day. Not understanding the content of these objects yet aware of their value, he treasured them.

29 <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-china-tibet-kham-sangkar-gyarong-gorges-novices-in-front-of-milarepa-70376412.html> (accessed 15 November 2017)

30 I thank Cécile Ducher for this information. The monastery belongs to the Barom Kagyü School.

While Lhasa has long been the main destination for pilgrimages, eastern areas now appear to be more and more attractive on a religious level to the overall Tibetan population, and this is not only because of the replicas. Another phenomenon specific to Amdo and Kham is the presence of charismatic religious figures who have created new semi-monastic Buddhist encampments (*chö gar*) where several thousands of lay and religious devotees gather or have founded mountain hermitages (*ri trö*). Among them we find four prominent masters: Jigme Püntso (1934-2004), founder of Larung Gar;³¹ Drubwang Lüntog Gyeltsen (1927-2011), known as Khempo Achung, who created Yachen Samten Ling (also simply called Yachen), which houses nuns as well as monks (see Cho, this volume); Kusum Lingpa (1934-2009), who set up Lung Ngön in Golok (see Buffetrille 2009, 523-554); and Dechen Ösel Dorjé (b. 1921), founder of five mountain hermitages in Nangchen (Terrone 2010). The setting-up of monastic camps is nothing new. Religious encampments already existed in the fourteenth century and were generally associated with the Karma Kagyü School (Terrone 2008, 763; 2009, 87). What is new though is the presence of lay and religious practitioners and the size of these encampments, which can house more than 10,000 practitioners, exceeding the number of monks in monasteries such as Drepung or Sera prior to the 1950s.³²

These masters largely contributed to the revitalization of Buddhism in contemporary Tibet. Not only did they attract Tibetan disciples from all parts of Tibet and from all schools of Tibetan Buddhism, but also many Chinese practitioners. They were famous treasure-revealers (*tertön*) of the Nyingma school of Buddhism who upheld an ecumenical approach (*rimé*, lit. 'impartial'). Their endeavour has been perpetuated by their disciples. This is no mere anecdote because, as Dreyfus has shown, 'memories as they are contained in the "treasures" act as a focus of identity for Tibetans' (1994, 209).

A new religious phenomenon that was inspired by Jigme Püntso and systematized during the years 2008-2010 by his main disciples continues today through other great masters and gives new visibility to these regions: a

31 See Germano (1998, 53-94) and Terrone (2008, 747-779 and 2009, 73-110).

32 Since July 2016 the Chinese authorities have started the demolition of monastic dwellings in Larung gar and the eviction of nuns and monks with the aim of cutting the number back to 5000. See *Shadow of Dust across the Sun: How Tourism is Used to Counter Tibetan Culture Resilience*. ICT Report 13 March 2017. <https://www.savetibet.org/shadow-of-dust-across-the-sun-how-tourism-is-used-to-counter-tibetan-cultural-resilience/> (accessed 8 September 2017). Yachen underwent the same fate in the summer of 2017, see <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=39431&article=After+Larung+Gar%2c+Yachen+Gar+demolition+underway> (accessed 8 September 2017).

Figure 2.1 Lung Ngön monastery: Jarung Kashor stûpa (Bodnath)

Photograph by Katia Buffetrille 2011

movement based on a new set of 'Ten Virtues'³³ – with a focus on the ban on killing animals. Vegetarianism, which is not listed as one of the ten virtues, is also strongly advocated (see Tan, this volume). This new phenomenon, much discussed on blogs and supported by high-ranking lamas mostly from the eastern 'borderlands', is gaining strength throughout the country.³⁴ In Amdo and Kham, for instance, most monasteries no longer serve meat but, while some of them allow their monks to eat meat outside (like Rongwo gönchen in Rebgong), others have totally banned its consumption inside and outside the monastery (such as Tashi Dargyeling in Kham). This movement, which has not received the support of all Tibetan people, has spread to the Tibet Autonomous Region (T.A.R.).

It may happen that the religious sphere is sometimes conflated with the political sphere. It is a well-known fact that the most important sacred mountains are located in border areas (as are *beyül*, valleys hidden by Padmasambhava

33 The ten new virtues are: 1) not to butcher and sell meat, 2) not to steal or rob, 3) not to fight with weapons, 4) not to prostitute one's body, 5) not to sell guns and opium, 6) not to smoke opium or cigarettes, 7) not to drink alcohol, 8) not to gamble, 9) not to hunt, and 10) not to wear animal skin and fur.

34 See Galley (2011, 2013, 2016); Gaerrang (2011, 2012); Barstow (2013); Buffetrille (2015, 2016).

where Tibetans could seek refuge when dangers threatened the country).³⁵ These mountains, which were traditionally perceived as territorial gods (*yül lha*), a non-Buddhist concept, mainly attracted populations from the surrounding areas who, through their worship, expected various mundane benefits (see Buffetrille 1998, 18-34). But this has changed. The year 2015 was the year of the sheep according to the Tibetan duodenary calendar and the most important year for the pilgrimage to Mount Kawakarpo, located in northwest Yunnan province. Pilgrims from all over the Tibetan plateau came to circumambulate the mountain in growing numbers thanks to new modern means of transportation, to the rise in income, and to the increasing Buddhization of these sacred mountains. In fact, these mountain territorial gods are more and more integrated in the Buddhist pantheon through a process of Buddhization, which has led to their transformation into Buddhist sacred mountains. The growing number of pilgrims who come from all Tibetan regions to circumambulate Mount Kawakarpo (Figure 2.2) is also a consequence of the Chinese authorities' religious policies that have prevented Tibetans from going to Kailash, the most sacred mountain in the T.A.R., for the great pilgrimage in the year of the horse (2014). Consequently, quite a few Lhasapas and people from Central Tibet have replaced it with the Kawakarpo pilgrimage, taking advantage of the greater political openness in eastern regions. This exemplifies the fact that the political situation can vary greatly across the Tibetan Plateau.

Political situation

As previously mentioned, following the Chinese occupation in the 1950s, the Land of Snow underwent a series of dramatic events that contributed to the decline of the Holy City. Moreover, in 1965 the territory that had been governed by the Ganden Phodrang since the seventeenth century was transformed into the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region which, for the Chinese authorities, corresponds to what they consider to be 'Tibet'. For decades and up until today they regard it as an 'autonomous' area that had to be kept under strict control. This tighter control contrasts with the situation in Kham and Amdo – with the exception of parts of western Kham that are included in the T.A.R. – which have been fragmented into various autonomous administrative entities within Chinese provinces. There, the control exercised by the authorities has always been looser than it was in the T.A.R., providing more opportunities and relatively greater freedom to partake in various cultural and religious practices.

35 See among others Bernbaum (1980), Sardar-Afkhami (2001), Buffetrille (2007, 1-22).

Figure 2.2 Kawakarpo range

Photograph by Katia Buffetrille 2014

At a political level, the demonstrations in 2008, which started in Lhasa and were led by monks, spread throughout the entire plateau. The feeling of national identity was clearly expressed by Khampas and Amdowas who brandished the Tibetan flag during their demonstrations. From then on Tibetans in the eastern areas once again became agents of resistance, destroying the common perception of Tibetans in Tibet as powerless victims of the Chinese state (see also Shneiderman 2006, 61-63). Even though Lhasa had been a place of considerable contestation in the 1980s and in subsequent years, the Tibetan diaspora was usually considered to be the main centre of resistance and the promoter of nationalism. After 2008, however, the eastern margins became the centre of numerous peaceful protests: refusal to celebrate the New Year or to harvest; *sit-ins* by students or monks; desertion of monasteries by nuns and monks to escape the new restrictive rules; celebration of 'White Wednesdays' (Lhakar) that has spread through the diaspora, etc.³⁶ One retaliatory measure imposed on Khampas and Amdowas was the ban on travelling freely to the T.A.R., demanding that they possess

36 On this day which is said to be the day the Dalai Lama was born, Tibetans 'eat Tibetan food, wear Tibetan clothing, speak [the] Tibetan language and celebrate the Tibetan identity'. See <https://lhakardiaries.com/about/> (accessed 10 February 2019).

a special permit, that they stay in designated hotels – new regulations that have contributed to altering a little more the role that Lhasa has played in Tibetan life for more than a millennium.

Following on from the 2008 demonstrations, a movement of self-immolations that was launched in Amdo Ngawa in 2009 has significantly strengthened the sense of identity of all Tibetans in the Land of snow and beyond.³⁷ To this day (15 March 2019), 153 Tibetans have self-immolated in Tibet and, with only six exceptions – in the years 2011 and 2012 – all the immolators hailed from Kham or Amdo (including two young men who self-immolated outside Jokhang temple in Lhasa on 27 May 2012 and a woman in Beijing on 12 September 2012). Following the system of ‘punishment by association’ established by the Chinese authorities, which entitles them to imprison all the relatives of the self-immolator, the movement has dwindled dramatically.³⁸ Nevertheless, despite a step-up in spot-checks, Tibetans from the borderlands are still mobilized, and as of 2015 a succession of lone protests started to take place in Kham and Amdo.³⁹

Cultural revival

One might think that this political tension in the borderlands would hinder the development of cultural life, which on the contrary is thriving. The literary scene has moved from Central Tibet to Amdo, particularly from the mid-1990s onwards, as shown by numerous scholars (Venturino 2007, Hartley and Schiaffini 2008, Lama Jabb 2015, among others). Almost all writers who publish work in Tibetan (Döndrup Gyal, Tsering Döndrup, Shogdung, Jangbu, Sangdor, to name just a few) are from Amdo, as are several others who write in Chinese (Yidam Tsering, or Jamphel Gyatso i.e. Jiangbian Jiacao), without forgetting Alai, from Gyelrong. Starting in 1993, quite a few of them set up literary groups, a phenomenon which apparently

37 On self-immolations, see the Hot Spot in *Cultural Anthropology* (online), 11 April 2012; Buffetrille and Robin, eds. 2012; Buffetrille 2016, 343–360. The first immolation by a Tibetan took place in Delhi (India) on 27 April 1998. The self-immolator was Thupten Ngodrup, a sixty-year-old ex-Buddhist monk from Tashilhunpo monastery (Central Tibet) and a former soldier (in exile). See Buffetrille (2012, 1–18). See also the Afterword by Carole McGranahan, this volume.

38 There have been a total of 153 immolations in Tibetan areas: 1 in 2009, 12 in 2011, 84 in 2012, 26 in 2013, 11 in 2014, 7 in 2015, 3 in 2016, 6 in 2017, and 3 in 2018.

39 <http://tchrd.org/lone-tibetan-protester-holding-dalai-lamas-portrait-detained-incommunicado/> (accessed 10 February 2019).

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/critical-03212017154647.html> (accessed 10 February 2019).

does not exist in Lhasa.⁴⁰ The publishing sector is also booming in eastern areas along with websites and independent online forums, though none come from the T.A.R. (Tsering Shakya 2012, 27).

Moreover, the support that Chinese authorities have manifested over the decades for the recording and study of the Gesar Epic has prompted a revival in Kham and in Amdo of the Gesar religious cult and of the dances and *cham* dedicated to him. Statues of Gesar are being erected everywhere and museums dedicated to him are being opened (Figure 2.3). This revitalization of the Gesar tradition, which is used by the Chinese authorities as a means of propaganda, has nevertheless created an arena where Tibetans can assert their identity.⁴¹

In Amdo the preservation of a pure Tibetan language is taken very seriously, and changes have been observed over the years with the gradual disappearance of Chinese loan words from the language. The importance accorded to language, a very strong medium for asserting the Tibetan identity, is often expressed on small pieces of paper that are put in shops requesting that Tibetans speak a pure Tibetan. Since 2010 Tibetans from Amdo have manifested through peaceful demonstrations their attachment to their language and its teaching in schools, a movement that has recently spread to Chengdu where a Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress regional committee member and professor at Sichuan Teachers University has appealed for a real bilingual education.⁴² Since 2012 Tibetans have even succeeded in organizing in Nangchen a week-long competition to test Tibetan language skills.⁴³

Amdo is also the cradle of new forms of expression with filmmakers such as Padma Tseten, Sonthar Gyal, Jangbu, or Kashem Gyal. They generally focus on their native land, shooting in rural or nomadic environments and in the Tibetan language. Their films give insight into contemporary eastern Tibet, far from old stereotypes, exoticism, and Western fantasies. The spectator is confronted with today's situation: the difficulties, frustrations, and marginalization the Tibetan population encounters when faced with modernization and globalization whose impact on their traditional world is often brutal and destructive. Thanks to their success, their films are now

40 Sangye Gyatso (Gangzhün) 2008, 263-279, in particular pp. 268, 272-278.

41 Buffetrille (2010, 523-554), Henrion-Dourcy (2017, 191-214).

42 <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/education-01192017151624.html> (accessed 10 February 2019).

43 <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/awards-02012016143320.html> (accessed 10 February 2019).

Figure 2.3 Gesar statue, Machen (Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture)

Photograph by Katia Buffetrille 2011

competing at national and international levels and have brought to mainland China, and even beyond, images of the Tibetan world of the margins.

Though writers and filmmakers are mainly Amdowas, most celebrated popular singers such as Yadong, Tsewang Lhamo, Dekyi Tsering, or Kunga Tsering are Khampas. They are recognized all over Tibet regardless of the language in which they sing: the Lhasa dialect, the Khampa dialect, or even Chinese. Their songs, which often deal with the beauty of the Tibetan landscape, religion, and the importance of expressing one's Tibetanness through language, for instance, contribute to strengthening the sense of a Tibetan identity. The Chinese authorities are not altogether mistaken about the hidden messages of these artists, some of whom end up in jail.⁴⁴

Local N.G.O.s also play a role in the cultural sphere and often hold an emphatic discourse on Tibetanness. A number of foreign N.G.O.s were expelled after the 2008 protests and many local ones forced to suspend their activities. Nevertheless, some are still active in the eastern borderlands and

44 See among others: <https://www.freetibet.org/about/human-rights/case-studies/musicians> (accessed 10 September 2017). <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/singers-11292014130459.html> (accessed 10 September 2017). <http://www.guchusum.in/popular-tibetan-singer-jailed-for-political-songs-released/> (accessed 10 September 2017).

continue to provide services after changing their status to 'social enterprise' to escape the tighter controls in place today. In Kham, for instance, the Kawakarpo Institute in Dechen is highly involved in promoting local culture. Not only does it organize classes of spoken and written Tibetan, but it also publishes local writers (poetry and essays) and old songs heard in villages in a magazine entitled *Return (Logs phebs)*.⁴⁵ Though first published only in Chinese, it was decided in 2013 to publish it also in Tibetan. For some, this may appear to be a symbolic move since Tibetans in this area read more Chinese than Tibetan. It perhaps announces the beginning of a revival in Tibetan scripture in Dechen region, a revival that can be seen as the 'protection of one's own ethnic identity and culture from cultural assimilation, and resistance to the Chinese cultural and political domination in Tibet' (Jia Mang 2015, 20). In fact, whereas in the years 2003-2005 there were practically no Tibetan-language books in Gyelthang, since 2014 bookshops have boasted a growing Tibetan section.

Boom in tourism

At the beginning of the 1980s, especially from 1984 with the opening of the Tibetan Autonomous Region to individual travellers, foreigners fascinated by Tibet poured into the T.A.R. But the Lhasa demonstrations in 1987, 1988, and 1989, the imposition of martial law from April 1989 to May 1990, and the restriction imposed on Westerners in the 1990s to travel only in groups organized through big-budget travel agencies all led to a relatively small number of Western visitors to the T.A.R. (compared to Nepal for example). The decision to promote tourism in the T.A.R. was taken in 2001 at the Fourth Tibet Work Forum in Beijing, but it was oriented mainly towards Chinese tourists.

For their part, officials and locals in the eastern borderlands realized the economic potential of tourism and launched several projects to promote their region's landscapes and culture. A Khampa Art Festival was organized as early as 1994. It is now held every four years on a rota basis in Jyekundo (Qinghai), Gyelthang (Yunnan), Chamdo (T.A.R.) and Dartsedo (Sichuan), therefore calling upon a Khampa city from each of the four Chinese provinces into which Kham has been divided, thus recreating a sort of Khampa territory. This festival is aimed at showing through various performances how

45 The title itself is interesting and may give rise to various interpretations: return to the past? to the old world? to the old culture? to the Dalai Lama? etc.

Tibetan culture is protected and developed in the framework of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). It attracts innumerable tourists, both Chinese and Tibetan, from every part of the country. It receives strong support from the Chinese authorities, which have thereby become one of the instigators of the emergence of a new Khampa identity – this in no way undermines the large voluntary participation on the part of Tibetans.

Gyelthang is another example of a successful touristic destination. The boom started in 2001 after the city was renamed Shangrila.⁴⁶ The place attracts mostly Chinese tourists, but more and more Tibetans from Lhasa and Central Tibet come to the city thanks to the airport which offers flights to and from Lhasa. This explosion of tourism (six million visitors in 2013 from April to September alone, according to a Tourist Office official) has drawn most of the local population into the tourist industry. Many Khampas from the area who were living in India have come back. The boom in tourism has attracted many Tibetans from other areas who are looking for a job and in addition like being in a place where police control is not as strict as elsewhere in the Tibetan areas. They settle here and often intermarry with local people. Quite a few are from Amdo or from Central Tibet. Most of them have been educated in India and often know each other from their period of exile. Their presence is far from being merely anecdotal: on the one hand, these are people who read and write Tibetan, contrary to the majority of Gyelthangpas; and on the other hand, and in spite of a strong sense of local identity and a tendency to keep company with people who are originally from the same region, their shared experience of living together reinforces a sense of national identity.

Conclusion

Although the civilizational centre of the Tibetan world was traditionally Lhasa and Central Tibet, the so-called Tibetan eastern borderlands, that is to say Kham and Amdo, are seen to be benefiting from increasing visibility and to be becoming today a seat both of resistance and of civilizational development. The dynamics of this shift are driven by the political situation: a centre crushed by a wall of silence and a periphery subjected to weaker control for several decades. As they watch Sinicization steamroller everything in its path, Khampas and Amdowas reveal their tenacity in claiming their Tibetanness in every way possible, as long as the latter is of a pacific nature, thus in keeping with the request of the Dalai-Lama. In a way, the demise of

46 Among others, see Hillman (2003, 177-190; 2010, 269-277), Kolås (2008).

Lhasa as the centre of the Tibetan cultural world has prompted people of the border areas to find new ways to assert their own culture and identity. Though Khampas or Amdowas still fight to preserve their identity, their sense of belonging to the Tibetan nation is also present and expressed as soon as they are confronted with a denial of their right to express their identity.

As this chapter has demonstrated, and casting back to Zartman's definition (2010, 2), '[borderlands] are continually in movement, both fast and slow and any static depiction of the moment contains within it the elements of its change'. Going beyond a simplistic portrayal of these borderlands as passive victims of distant power centres, this chapter has brought to the fore some of their internal dynamics. Today, the eastern margins of the Tibetan plateau no longer appear as a boundary between what in the past was considered the centre of the Tibetan world (Lhasa and Central Tibet) and the present dominant centre, the P.R.C. In spite of the centrally imposed diktat, people from these areas are active players in religious, political, cultural, and tourist realms. They take part in many ways in the dynamics that shape the Tibetan identity today, even when State institutions are involved, as in the Khampa art festival. This process of (re)construction of cultural forms and sense of belonging further blurs the centre-periphery divide and is exemplary of the kind of entanglements discussed by Gros in his Introduction. As he points out, the 'in-betweenness' of the borderlands gives rise to new proximities and distances alike; it attests to the multiplicity of the constitutive relations of the borderlands, which generate both continuity and transformations.

It is not the first time in Tibetan history that a territory on the margins has managed to maintain its own identity despite pressure exerted by the two centres of power that surround it. As is clearly shown by Yudru Tsomu (2009, 67), under the Qing, the kingdom of Chakla in Kham, 'managed to [...] survive by relying on a nascent Qing China to resist the encroachment of the newly founded Dalai Lama's government of Lhasa'. The new centres that are Kham and Amdo, however, do more than just survive as Tibetan cultural, religious, political, and touristic centres: in the contemporary context, they constitute new poles of attraction for Tibetans and Chinese alike.

Glossary of Tibetan Terms

Amdo

Barom Kagyü school

beyül

Bö

A mdo

'ba' rom bka' brgyud school.

sbas yul

Bod

Bökyi Tensung dang langmak
 Bönpo
 Böpa
 Chakla
cham
 Chamdo
chipa
chö gar
 Chushi Gangdruk
 Dartsedo
 Dechen
 Dechen Ösel Dorjé
 Dekyi Tsering
 Dergé
 Döndrup Gyal
 Drepung
 Drichu
 Drubwang Lüntok Gyeltsen
 Dzogchen monastery
 Gaden Phodrang
 Gendün Chömpel
 Gelukpa
 Golok
 Gyelrong
 Gyelthang
 Jampel Gyatso
 Jangbu
 Jarung Kashor
 Jyekundo
 Jigme Püntsok
 Karma Kagyü
 Kashem Gyal
 Kawakarpo
 Kham
 Khempo Achung
 Künga Tsering
 Kyodrag gönpa
 Kusum Lingpa
 Larung gar
 Lhathotho Rinyentsen

Bod kyi bstan srung dang blangs dmag
 Bon po
 Bod pa
 Lcags la
'cham
 Chab mdo
phyi pa
chos sgar
 Chu bzhi gangs drug
 Dar rste mdo
 Bde chen
 Bde chen 'Od gsal rdo rje
 Bde skyid Tshe ring
 Sde dge
 Don grub rgyal
 'Bras spungs
 'Bri chu
 Grub dbang lung rtogs rgyal mtshan
 Rdzogs chen dgon pa
 Dga' ldan pho brang
 Dge 'dun chos 'phel
 Dge lugs pa
 Mgo log
 Rgyal rong
 Rgyal thang
 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho
 Ljang bu
 Bya rung kha shor
 Skye dgu mdo
 'Jigs med phun tshogs
 Kar ma bka' brgyud
 Mkha' byams rgyal
 Kha ba dkar po
 Khams
 Mkhan po A khyug
 Kun dga' tshe ring
 Skyo brag dgon pa
 Sku gsum gling pa
 Bla rung gar
 Lha tho tho ri gnyan btsan

Lhodrag	Lho brag
Lung Ngön monastery	Lung sngon dgon pa
Nangchen	Nang chen
<i>nangpa</i>	<i>nang pa</i>
Ngawa	Nga ba
Nyingma	Rnying ma
Padma Tseten	Pema Tshe brtan
Rebgong	Reb gong
<i>ri trö</i>	<i>ri khrod</i>
<i>rimé</i>	<i>ris med</i>
Rongwo gönchen	Rong bo dgon chen
Samyé <i>tsuglakhang</i>	Bsam yas <i>gtsug lag khang</i>
Sengdor	Seng rdor
Sangkar	Zangs dkar (?)
Sekhar Gutok	Sras mkhar dgu thog
Shabkar	Zhabs dkar
Sonthar Gyal	Zon thar rgyal
Sershül	Ser shul dgon pa
Shogdung	Zhogs gdung
Tashi Dargyeling	Bkra shis dar rgyas gling
Tendra	Bstan dgra
Tenshuk shabten	brtan bzhugs zhabs brten
<i>tertön</i>	<i>gter ston</i>
Tsering Döndrup	Tshe ring don grub
Tsewang Lhamo	Tshe dbang lha mo
Tsö	Gtsos
Ü	Dbus
<i>ülam</i>	<i>dbus lam</i>
Yachen Samten Ling	Ya chen bsam gtan gling
Yadong	Ya dong
Yidam Tsering	Yi dam Tshe ring
Yumbu Lagang	Yum bu bla sgang
<i>Yül lha</i>	yul lha

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