MASHIDALAXJIN NOXJASZAN, BURASZAN ADAL DUNDA LUS QINHAINI MONGGHULNI ZHOPEN

FADING MEMORIES, FADED LIVES MONGGHUL (TU) PHOTOGRAPHS FROM QINGHAI, CHINA

by

LIMUSISHIDEN, JUGUI, KELLY WARD, AND CK STUART
Asian Highlands Perspectives (AHP) is a trans-disciplinary journal focused on the Tibetan Plateau and surrounding regions, including the Southeast Asian Massif, Himalayan Massif, the Extended Eastern Himalayas, the Mongolian Plateau, and other contiguous areas.

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SUMMARY: This collection of 131 photos features four introductions that discuss the development of commercial photography in the Huzhu area of Qinghai Province, China; details of photo collection; the social place of photographs within traditional socio-religious cultures; and how photographs are displayed within the home. For each photo there is commentary describing the when and where of their production and the people in each image. Biographic details include ethnicity, language abilities, family ties, educational background, garb and, at times, medical history.

COVERS: Photos that appear in this volume have been used in the covers.

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PREFACES
MUXIGU UGO
Limusishiden


Ye kilema buraxja jida bu mulani sghuudi Mongghulhgi amahgii guzai musina, amahgii adali lana, ne yiiguani ne pujiiura digissan tigii hanayiilidi kileji ghua shdaguna. Jixeerilaji kilesa ne dide kun huangsala yan qidaji jula warisan shdarighhana kualagu; turang zixinchai awu funisani; darang shduguhgi guaaji Wazari xji huuchaini zangda yii sgawa rjelaszanni; zuuma funiguni; miinliuzzi shdaguni; nikii musisanni ne yiigual yiiguani te sghuudigu Mongghulni lasan adaliwa. Niuduri malang qughua buraghaxja. Ne pujiu nansa huina hanayiilidi, hengii ne jinani Mongghulhgi yiiguani sghangi liuki xwakiji sgilisa hudungi baisini!


Muni aaba, Limuzhunmaa kilena gan mulani sghuudi Mongghul kunhgi musisan deelhgini Hara Mongghulni deella

Ne pujiuni jiuridilani ne Kevin Stuart baghaxi hudu kuji gharighawa, ganni hgali gigu faarida gua. Gan ne puiju darang guura buraghasan, darang jiurijin ne yiiguara shge kuji gharija, gharighana. Nijeeri zhopen yixi huuqinrawa niuri amahginida yii sgani, hguaraszanida yiina, ne yiiguani darang ne nijeeri kun photoshopri sghandiji szaji, kuji gharighaji ne yiiguani marishidan gui. Ndiriini hanayiilini shge hgali ginii! Hanayiilini zangda marishida adaguna!
he Huzhu County government website\(^1\) reported in 2013 that the county's population was 370,540 (male = 193,378, female = 177,162). The non-Han population was reported to number 91,963, or approximately twenty-five percent of the total. The minority populations included Tu (62,745), Tibetan (22,012), Hui (6,999) and others (each less than 150). Qinghai's total Tu population was reported as 204,413.\(^2\)

We have introduced the Mongghul in considerable detail in the context of the larger Tu population (including the Mongguor, Mangghuer, Wutun people, and others) (Ha et al. 2013, Limusishiden et al. 2013, Limusishiden and Stuart 2011) in China, and will not repeat that here. Briefly: the Mongghul are deeply influenced by Tibetan Buddhism and speak dialects that have many similarities to the Mongolian language.

The earliest images of the Mongghul were taken by Janet and Frederick Wulsin during their expedition to northwest China from 1921 to 1925.\(^3\) The few images in the Wulsin collection are mostly portraits. The next images of the Mongghul were taken by Zhuang Xueben (1909-1984), a Shanghai-based photographer who accompanied the ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937) in today's Qinghai Province (Zhuang et al. 2009). Zhuang visited the contemporary Huzhu Mongghul area in about 1935, where he made images that depicted numerous aspects of daily life (including farming, building, domestic tasks). He also documented Mongghul women's traditional dress in great detail. The missionary and ethnographer, Louis Schram, also took photographs in the traditional Mongghul region in the early

\(^2\) http://www.stats.gov.cn/was40/gjtjj_detail.jsp?searchword=%CD%C1%D7%E5&channelid=6697&record=2, accessed 17 March 2013.
twentieth century while on missionary assignment in today's eastern Qinghai Province (2006 [1954-1961]).

The photos in this book were taken after 1949 and were taken primarily by various commercial photographers in Xining, Lanzhou, Beijing, and Lhasa. A few photos at the end of this book depict modern Mongghul and their clothing. We give information about the people in the photographs, including (where possible) birth and, as appropriate, death dates; photographer; where the photograph was taken; and, brief biographical information.

A photo studio existed in Weiyuan Town in 1956. Beginning in 1971, Wang Rongguo (b. 1952) worked as a photographer in Weiyuan Town, where I interviewed him on 20 June 2010. Wang is Hui (Chinese Muslim) and walks unevenly, due to a hip joint becoming badly infected in his youth. His parents moved to Weiyuan Town from the Zibo area of Shandong Province in 1958. He never returned to Zibo. His father was assigned to work in the Huzhu Department Store.

Government officials recruited photographers, cooks, and barbers. The first photo studio was opened in Huzhu County as a part of this initiative. It was located in today's Dong Street, in the eastern section of Weiyuan Town. In about 1965, the Huzhu State Photo Studio moved to the center of Weiyuan Town and the name became the Huzhu Photo Studio.

After Wang graduated from today's Huzhu Number One Middle School in 1971, he was assigned to work as a photographer in the Huzhu Photo Studio. He was sent to study at the Xining People's Photo Studio for three months in 1974. In 1980, he was sent to the Shanghai Wangkai Photo Studio for another two weeks of study. Later, he contracted with the government to run the Huzhu Photo Studio by himself. He paid a certain sum to the government annually and kept the remaining earnings. He renamed the photo studio 'Huzhu People's Photo Studio', a name still in use in 2010. Wang bought the photo studio outright in 2006. When I interviewed him, he had twelve staff. His long work history in Huzhu has meant that he has had many customers.

From 1971 to 1985, Wang and others regularly visited villages by bicycle to take photographs of villagers. He said that he had visited every village in Huzhu that could be reached by bicycle, except in
Songduo and Caijiabu townships. After taking photos in a village, he returned to Weiyuan, developed the film, printed the photos, and then returned to the villages to deliver the photos to his customers. 

He said Mongghul eagerly welcomed an opportunity to be photographed. When he visited a Mongghul village, villagers asked to have their photo taken. This was particularly true for women, who rushed into their homes, opened their dowry chests, chose their best clothes, and made up nicely. Photos were usually with family and friends. Few people had a photo of only themselves because of poverty. The backdrop was usually the main building if it was in the home courtyard, the front gate of the home, or green fields if it was in summer.

From 1971 to 1985, Wang and his workmates took graduation photos of students and teachers at schools, and in many government units. Wang gave this account of his photography in Huzhu:

Mongghul like photos of themselves because their clothes are so colorful and beautiful. Mongghul clothes are the most beautiful among China's fifty-six nationalities. During such festivals as the Fifteenth Day of the First Lunar Month and the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in Weiyuan Town, many Mongghul carried their heavy robes on their backs or on horseback from Mongghul areas. Once they reached Laoye Temple⁴ in Dasilu Village in the eastern outskirts of Weiyuan Town, they rested, put on their robes, and made up. They then directly came to our photo studio for photos before they moved on to enjoy the festival.

Chinese put on Mongghul costumes that I had in my photo studio if they saw Mongghul taking photos in their colorful clothing. Many tourists from outside Huzhu come to my photo studio to dress in Mongghul clothes and have their photos taken.

Before 1980, the price of a 2.54 x 3.62 cm photo was four jiao,⁵ six jiao if it was 3.5 x 5.2 cm, eight jiao if it was 5.5 x

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⁴ Laoye Temple is a wood, three-story structure located in the center of Dasilu Village. I was unable to establish when it was originally built. All Dasilu Village residents were classified as Han in 2010. Locals said that village residents and residents of nearby areas who built the temple were once Mongghul. Later, when Chinese migrated to Weiyuan Town, they settled around the temple and Mongghul retreated to the northern part of Huzhu. After Chinese people arrived, they built a drum-tower in today’s Weiyuan Town's center in 1624 (told to me by my father, Limuzhunmaa).
⁵ Ten jiao equals one yuan.
8.4 cm, and 1.2 RMB for a 12 x 8 cm photo. I used the Seagull 120 and 135 cameras. Both were made in Shanghai. Backdrops included the Summer Palace and Tiananmen Square in Beijing; Nanjing Changjiang River Bridge; West Lake in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province; and Wanshou Mountain.6

Wang had few negatives of historical photos. What he had kept had been taken by government units such as the Huzhu County Archives, Data Office, and Organization Bureau. Other negatives were lost when the photo studio moved in about 1965 or later, when the interior of the studio was redecorated.

In 1982, a second, privately-owned photo studio - the Drum Tower Photo Studio - opened in the southern outskirts of Weiyuan Town. It was run by a man from Gansu Province and went out of business in 2002 because of a lack of customers. Many Mongghul were photographed in this studio.

Mongghul traditionally glued their family photos on rough paper in the order of generations, i.e., the older generation (grandparents or parents) on the top, followed by succeeding generations. The photos glued on paper were then put between two pieces of glass, the edges fixed in a wooden frame, and then attached to a wall of the main room, making it easy for family members and visitors to view and enjoy the photos. In 2010, most families had one photo frame - some had two or three. The latter was particularly true if a family had a member with a government job because such people have more opportunities to have their photos taken. After 1990, modern photo albums were readily available in shops and some families began putting photos in such albums. Other families put photos between the pages of books. After 2000, Mongghul increasingly replaced their traditional old wooden and adobe houses with modern-style brick and concrete ones. Traditional photo boards were then rarely seen. Several reasons explain this. It is much easier to use nails to affix photo boards to walls in traditional wood and adobe houses than it is to walls in modern homes, there is a sense that fixing photo boards on walls is 'outdated', and most adults have a mobile phone that makes it easy to use to take and keep photos.

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6 Construction began in 1960 and finished in 1968.
7 A famous hill in Beijing.
After a person's death, Mongghul often cut their figure from a photo, believing that it was bad luck to have a photo of the deceased in the home. Many Mongghul secretly burned their photos inside a stove in the home when they were old because they believed that their lingering photos would sadden surviving family members. Similarly, most old people did not want their photos taken.

Dr. CK Stuart showed me two or three old Tibetan photos in his home in Xining City in about 2006, and encouraged me to work on a collection of photos from Huzhu that would document Mongghul life in the twentieth century. I scanned photos mostly in my relatives' and friends' homes because it was easy to gain permission to do so. For non-relatives, such permission is hard to obtain because there is concern the photos will be lost or ill-used. At my relatives' homes, I asked for photos from their neighbors, clan members, and other villagers, first explaining why I wanted to scan the photos and the purpose of this project. After scanning the photographs, I asked them to put them back in their photo frame again. This lessened their concern that their photos would be lost or damaged. I also promised to give them copies of their photos after they had been edited.

The original condition of these photos can be seen in, for example, photos numbered 10, 32, and 86, which were beyond our ability to restore.
The availability of digital cameras and social media in the twenty-first century makes photographs a ubiquitous feature of daily life for many. While the phrase "A picture is worth a thousand words" is hackneyed, photographs can jog the memory, often leading to long reminiscences that seem to prove the adage right. On some occasions, a photograph may provide insight into the unique cultural world of a particular moment. At still other times, the photograph, as part of an archive, can provide direct, visual insight into the material culture and lived experiences of certain periods. I discuss the value of the photographic archive, in the context of this book, as insight into the lives of people over a period of great social and cultural upheaval, as a teaching tool, providing a record of technological changes in western China, the role of the author as an organic intellectual, and the work of such intellectuals in twenty-first century grassroots cultural preservation.

The ethnography on the Tu - the official, umbrella term for the group to which the Mongghul of Huzhu belong - has tended towards the study of events: particularly of marriage and festival. This is perhaps because they provide easily observable and fixed points in the lives of communities, and are thus more easily studied in short bursts of time by 'outsiders'. With the Tu in particular, the Nadun harvest festival has received considerable attention in the field (Wen 2010, Roche 2011, Zhu and Stuart 1996). Such restrictions do not, however, apply to native ethnographers like Li, who have worked over the years, adding breadth and depth to Tu studies. In conjunction with scholars such as CK Stuart, Li has provided in-depth, detailed, and intuitive research on the ebbs and flows of Mongghul daily life based on the sort of long-term engagement with local communities not seen since the work of Louis Schram, the
Flemish missionary who lived in the area between 1911 and 1922 (2006 [1954-1961]).

This book begins with a brief discussion of the development of commercial photography in the Huzhu area, as well as the social place of photographs within traditional socio-religious cultures, for example, the burning of images of deceased friends or relatives in fear that they might return to negatively influence the living. Photographs are then provided that document how photographs are displayed within the home. This is frequently in large, collage-like frames. This presentation is then followed by individual photographs with commentary describing the when and where of their production, and the people in each image. Biographic detail includes ethnicity, language abilities, family ties, educational background, garb, and (at times) medical history.

This is yet another of Li's innovative works. His earlier publications include his participation in a first-of-its-kind, native-language folktale collection (Jugui et al. 2012) with extensive notes providing metadata, including the tale's performance context and multiple versions of the same tale, rather than condensing them into a single ideal text. With his wife, Jugui (Limusishiden and Jugui 2011), he has created an ethnographic novel detailing several generations of her family's history, as well as another study discussing a host of topics ranging from material culture to jokelore (Limusishiden and Stuart 2011).

This most recent addition to Limusishiden's burgeoning corpus is an excellent example of the work and role of ethnic minority organic intellectuals in twenty-first century China. Gramsci 1992 [1971] defines organic intellectuals as a "thinking and organizing element of a particular fundamental social class," before stating that such intellectuals

are distinguished less by their profession, which may be any job characteristic of their class, than by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong (3).

In western China's diverse ethnoscape, however, the socio-political discourse from both above and below focuses more on ethnicity than
on somewhat dubious class distinctions. This tendency to understand people as 'organically' belonging to a single ethnic group, and to privilege that distinction above all others is extremely important. It is fair to suggest that Limusishiden's body of work seeks to direct the ideas of his ethnic group to issues of cultural preservation in ways that are less-frequently protected in China's extensive intangible cultural heritage projects, including language preservation (Limusishiden and Dede 2012), and preservation of the most basic material cultural practices, many of which are dimly understood – if at all – by the youngest generations.

In the present volume, Dr. Li focuses on photographs as a visual record of the unprecedented technological, social, and political changes the Mongghul have experienced over the past fifty years. It does not claim to present the earliest photographs from the Huzhu Mongghul area. The works of Zhuang Xueben (Zhuang et al. 2009) most likely take that honor. Dr. Li's diligence in documenting, collecting, and studying the incipient moment of public photographic consumption provides unique insight into the lived experience of technological change in the post-Liberation period. Close examination of the portraits and accompanying captions reveals extraordinary evolution in clothing, education, and festival experiences. The latest and most recent pictures - several are from personally owned digital cameras - are poignant testimony to technological advances.

As if it was not enough merely to present such images, this work artfully and compellingly blurs the lines between several established academic (and less-than-academic) genres including ethnography, coffee table book, and historical record, placing the visual record at the center of analysis. Among Western anthropologists, photographs are more frequently supplement or detail, rather than the focus of study. They are also used to argue a scholar's stance on certain phenomena. For example, Schein's writing (1999) on the modern life of ethnic minorities in Southeast China uses the photograph as a mere artifact illustrating her points about modernity. Meanwhile, photographs, in their interaction with cultural norms and religious ideas, are also a treasure of great value in local communities.
The photographs Schein describes seeing in the homes of her informants, photographs that feature bikini-clad women, are read as symbolizing modernity in distinctly Western terms. In contrast, Brown's suggestion that indigenous cultures - problematic as that term may be when used in relation to China like their Western counterparts, have always been interested in the possibilities of new technology and have never deliberately appropriated it without considering its impact on customary culture (2007:78).

Indeed, this book shows that local ethnic minority groups also have found ways to sometimes incorporate the new technology of photography into their unique traditional religio-cultural worldviews and provides more than one hundred images to illustrate precisely this point. The portraits show people in their best finery, and with their friends. They are glimpses into moments of rest and relaxation, while the captions provide insight into the labor that characterized the life between these fossilized moments of respite.

*Mongghul Photographs* also has great value as a model and teaching tool - a visual aid and supplement to teach people about their own cultures. The visual material can also stimulate intense conversations about social changes as a family's collection is shown from oldest to newest photograph. It is an inspiring model. For example, while reading an earlier copy of this book, I showed it to an elderly Qinghai native. He was interested enough that he brought out several of his family’s oldest images and talked to me about them. For students planning to engage in native ethnography, this book is an inspiration for a new style of work that can greatly enhance our understanding of the experiences of communities in China in the post-Liberation period.
PHOTOGRAPHS, POWER, AND CULTURAL RESILIENCY IN THE ETERNAL PRESENT

Rin chen rdo rje (University of Virginia)

Photographs are imbued with multiple meanings that are embedded in locals’ present life and past experience. This is especially the case for indigenous populations where illiteracy often privileges immediate forms of culture, such as photographs, as opposed to abstract cultural values. In this regard, photographs effectively communicate local memories and local forms of knowledge.

Comfort in life, as expressed in the early twenty-first century by locals building new homes, renovating old homes, furnishing homes with new furniture and modern appliances, as purchasing modern vehicles, is clearly much desired and sought after, often in an intensely competitive context. At the same time, local knowledge and memories of the past are major factors constituting distinct cultural identity and help locals make sense of their existence and themselves. Dr. Limusishiden tells us that the first photographers in his home area were from outside the Mongghul area and consequently, we might conclude that outsider influence changed Mongghul life. Nevertheless, such influence is always multidimensional. For local people, the photos kept in their homes were a way of telling stories and the lived aspects of their community interfacing with modernity. The acts of taking and keeping photographs both directly and indirectly, facilitates remembering and interpreting the past in a way that they can control through their ownership. Photographs, as reminders and representations, suggest meaningfulness and power in an unfamiliar, ever-changing world. After the mid-twentieth century, having a photo album or photo board was also an indicator of status.

This collection of photos catalogues, to the extent possible, when the photograph was taken, the location, the subject of the photograph, and the photographer. This provides a visual record of
time and place – a pictorial glimpse into the lives of Mongghul villagers in a historical sense that also helps us gauge socioeconomic and cultural changes. As with any historical account, what is assembled and presented is only one of many facets of the past. Other factors explain what is not seen, including the local custom of burning photos of the deceased, and the general difficulty of accessing old photos at homes beyond, in this case, those kept by Dr. Limusishiden, his relatives, and immediate contacts.

Leafing through the pages of this publication, one is struck by changes the images chronicle and, corresponding changes in the worlds of the local villagers that these images represent. This is further testimony to the value of Dr. Limusishiden's work with photos and records of interviews with subjects focusing on portraits, people, and the changes in Mongghul lives. It thus captures the distinctions between contemporary Mongghul society and its own past vis-à-vis that of other neighbors, such as the Tibetans, e.g., in clothing and personal adornment. This material poses many questions about the past. We can imagine how conservative the society was and, therefore, how deeply it was impacted by powerful, sweeping modern influences. As Timothy Thurston noted, this publication is indeed a visual archive posing countless questions, many of which may never be answered. This adds additional meaning and interest.

Standing where we are now, we observe photos of old Mongghul life and are immediately intrigued by the fascinating details of life the photos reveal. These images are more complex than the viewer might first assume, inlaid as they are with nostalgic, aesthetic, socio-economic, and cultural values.

A few anecdotes from my own life may help readers better grasp the social context of the photos. I had my first photo taken in 1995 when I graduated from Grade Six in primary school. It was a black and white headshot required by the local education bureau. I was delighted with this first photo, which cost two or three RMB, the same sum my parents paid for book fees for a regular semester when I was enrolled in Grade One in the village school in 1990. My parents had been reluctant to pay the book fees since cash was rarely used locally. In the 1990s, even a well-off family in the local area rarely accumulated annual cash income exceeding one hundred RMB.
Clearly then, the cost of photographs made them a luxury to rural residents.

Local wealthy families who travelled widely often had a clock and photos or a photo board hung on the wall in the main living room of their home. The photos were obvious indication that the family was well off. This was commonly understood. Most families had no photos of anyone in the family. The same was true for the Mongghul area. Dr. Limusishiden tells us that, in particular, those with photos of themselves and their families had government jobs and were thus well off.

My family did not have a family photo until my brother brought his then girlfriend (now his wife of fifteen years), to meet my parents in the fall of 1999. For this occasion, my family stopped the usual family chores – plowing and other farm work – and donned new or clean clothes. My future sister-in-law brought gifts to each of my family members – clothes and large quantities of candies.

I want to pause to comment on candy, since at that time the socioeconomic and cultural significance of candies to the locals paralleled that of photos. Although currently, we think of candies as something to delight and reward children, at that time, candies were generally exchanged only between adults and elderly people. At the time of my brother’s girlfriend’s first visit, candies were fine gifts.  

Like candies, photos and photo-taking were not taken lightly in the villages in the 1990s and earlier. My future sister-in-law brought a camera and took photos of each of us on our own, as well as group pictures. This was a high priority of her visit. Two or three days were devoted to family photo-taking and many villagers were envious. It was one of the few main topics of village gossip for the year. My family relished seeing themselves in the photos and kept them as pleasant reminders of the past. Photo-taking helped strengthened the bond between my family and my brother’s girlfriend. It was an important family event, the memory of which we continue to cherish.

In 2014, my fifteen-year-old nephew uses an iPhone to take photos. Both his parents use smart phones for the same purpose. The

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8 However, when I was a child, bla ma and monks gave candies to devotees – and in some areas, were still doing so in 2014.
two digital cameras his family owns are rarely used. Selfies and family photos are taken for granted, and shared via phones and computers. In the early twenty-first century, photo boards and photo albums are already seen as relics.

These anecdotes testify to the fast-paced changes to local cultures and lifestyles. Before the late 1990s, there was, of course, change, but it proceeded at a slow pace. Today, the pace is rapid. Locals manage the transitions with varying degrees of success.

The gulf between academia and the cultures they study is often very wide and merits comment. Most research is conducted on the basis of academic interest and value – both to the academy in which and for which the research is formulated, and the individuals doing the research. Academic practice thus calls into question the concerns of the academic community and how well they reflect, align with, advocate for suit – or do not – local cultures. This chasm between the local and academia may create a dialogue that does not proceed on equal terms. We should not fall victim to our perceived and then imposed images of impoverished, yet cheerful-looking locals. Cultures can be over-romanticized, which overlooks the struggles and successes of their lives. Local communities deserve much overdue credit for their cultural resilience and their ability to creatively incorporate technologies into traditional ways. It is these intricacies, triumphs, and tragedies that are so intimately and powerfully communicated in this picture book by a local in the midst of rapid, chaotic change.
PHOTOGRAPHS
Photo boards in Yanshuu's home.

The first photo was taken in Yanshuu's (my mother's cousin) home, Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township, Huzhu County by 'Phags pa don 'grub on 7 October 2012. The board was fixed on a side wall of the main room. Photo 2 was on a table and leaning against the wall in the main room.
These photos of photo boards were taken in Qilunbog's (my maternal uncle) home, Yomajaa Village by 'Phags pa don 'grub on 7 October 2012. The two photo boards were separately fixed on two sides of the home's main room. Tassels decorated each photo board.
This photo was taken on the Fifteenth Day of the First Lunar Month in 1978 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town during an annual love song meeting. Fifty-three (b. 1954), a farmer from Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township with a middle school education, has four children. The woman is Fifty-three's illiterate wife, Durijixji (b. 1956). Her parents' home is in Limang Village, in the same township as her husband's home. She married and moved into Fifty-three's village when she was eighteen.

I first joined the Fifteenth Day of the First Lunar Month Meeting in Weiyuan Town in about 1977. People crowded the streets. Many Mongghul came from surrounding areas wearing colorful Mongghul clothing. Daxi9 (qinqiang)10 'Shaanxi-style folksongs', were performed on a large stage in the town's western outskirts. However, few people watched the opera performances, preferring to parade back and forth on the streets among the huge crowd, or make small purchases. It was a much-anticipated opportunity for Mongghul to display their colorful, embroidered clothing. Young people tried to

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9 "Daxi narrate historical or legendary incidents, or romantic stories involving rich maidens and talented scholars ..." (Fletcher 2001:366).
10 Qinqiang is thought of have originated during the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC). It also known as Shaanxi Opera and is considered to be one of the oldest forms of Chinese operas (Huang 2009:256).
meet their lovers and elders came to meet their relatives. Some sat on the ground drinking liquor and singing love songs.

By 2009, this festival was much diminished. Fewer and fewer people participated. Today, it is rare to see Mongghul clothing, unless there is an officially organized shehuo (local Chinese song and dance performances) or Mongghul anzhog 'circle dance performance'. Instead, the festival has become a time for shopping.

Before 1949, there was a platform in Weiyuan Town that local Chinese called Turentai 'Mongghul platform' because Huzhu area Mongghul gathered there for hua'er\(^\text{11}\) 'love song' meetings. Many songs were sung only in Mongghul.

In this photo, Durijixji wears a dalimog 'round-brimmed hat' that is usually green or blue. Plastic flowers are attached to the hat so that they stand upright. A towel was padded inside the hat to avoid injuring the wearer, and to prevent sweat flowing down the face on hot summer days. She wears long silver earrings. Her gown is a xosuu deel edged with red, yellow, green, blue, and purple (five-colored) long sleeves. A guguazi 'sleeveless short gown' is worn over the xosuu. A colorful rectangular piece of embroidery called diudiuri 'pocket' is sewn on the right upper part of the guguazi's right upper part. She wears a qandazi (decoration made with three or four square-shaped embroidered sections) which hangs on her right thigh from the sash.

Fifty-three wears a sheep-skin robe featuring a cloth cover and edge decorated with dangzihua 'woolen cloth'.

\(^{11}\) Lowry (2011:93) describes hua'er:

Flower songs (hua'er), a type of folk song common in northwestern China, are sometimes classified by Chinese researchers as shan’ge (mountain songs). Flower songs are sung at local festivals held in rural areas of Gansu and Qinghai provinces and in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region... The Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, located in southwestern Gansu province, is an area where flower songs and so-called flower song festivals (hua'er hui) are especially prevalent. The area is home to approximately sixteen ethnic groups, including Chinese, Hui (Chinese Muslims), and others. As song traditions that involve people of many ethnicities in the region, flower songs employ local Chinese dialects (though most participants are not Chinese), intermingling vocabulary and grammar of the Tu, Salar, and Tibetan languages.
Durijisishiden and friends.

Durijisishiden is on the far right, in the front row. We did not learn where the photo was taken, nor when and who took it.
Foreign tourists in Shgeayili Village in the 1980s.

Durijisishiden took this photo in Shgeayili Village in the 1980s when foreign tourists began visiting Mongghul areas.
Qijiu, Changminjii, and Srang.

This photo was taken in the winter of 1985 in Fifty-three's village. The photographer was a man with an official job in Weiyuan Town.

The boy on the woman's lap is Fifty-three's second son, Qijiu (b. 1978), who was ill at the time. The village purghan 'deity' had, through a spirit medium, ordered Fifty-three's family to put a chain around Qijiu's neck and lock it to protect him from illness. The chain was removed when he was ten and at an age when his parents thought he was old and strong enough to withstand attack from evils. Fifty-three's village purghan is Longwang 'Dragon King'. There are three sedaned Dragon King purghan in the village temple - White Dragon, Yellow Dragon, and Black Dragon. Many boys wore locked chains around their necks years ago, particularly first-born sons who are traditionally regarded as the most important. Few boys wore such chains in 2009. Qijiu attended junior middle school, and then became a village farmer.

The woman is Fifty-three's mother, Changminjii (1930-2006). Her parents' home and husband's home are in the same village. The boy standing by Changminjii is Fifty-three's older son, Srang (b. 1976), who has worked in the National Tax Bureau in Huzhu since graduating from Northwest Nationalities University in 1999.
Grandparents' love for their grandchildren is key to making a big family harmonious. As Schram (2006 [1954-1961]:247) mentioned:

As I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.
Srang and Fifty-Three.

This photo was taken in summer 1976 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. Srang (b. 1956) on the left, is a farmer and from the same village as Fifty-three. Srang received only a primary school education. He and Fifty-three wear Mongghul *japenzi* 'short sleeveless gown with a front garment', embroidered Mongghul sashes, and wide trousers. Srang wears shoes with plastic soles and green vamps, called *qiuhai* 'autumn shoes'. Fifty-three wore shoes made of cloth and flax. At the time the photo was taken, cloth could be bought from local shops run by the government in Weiyuan and township seats. Around 1958, once shops were opened in township seats, Mongghul women began sewing *basi hai* 'cloth shoes'.

The embroidered tobacco bags in the sashes reflect a time when many Mongghul men smoked throughout the day. Owning an excellent, prepared pipe was important for a man. When two men met, they would sit together, and start to chat, exchange pipes and tobacco bags, examine each other's pipes and tobacco bags, and smoke using their companion's pipe. A tobacco bag was a man's personal treasure, sewn by a sister, wife, or lover. The middle and
lower sections were embroidered and attached to the bag's opening. were one or two strings of coral, agate, Qing Dynasty copper coins, and a hook used to clean the pipe's brass bowl.

Tobacco pipes were twenty to thirty centimeters in length and the mouthpiece was agate or common stone. Tobacco bowls were often made of brass and the stem was sheep, yak, or goat bone, as well as precious wood.

Prior to 1958, there were no matches or lighters in the Mongghul area, consequently, pipes were lit with flint and tinder. Men often kept twisted pieces of sesame straw inside their sashes. The straw was removed, lit, and then snuffed out once they finished smoking.

Tobacco for home use was locally grown in a small plot inside or outside the family courtyard. Tobacco was also bought in shops.

In 2009, only some men born before 1944 did not prefer modern cigarettes, regardless of the quality or price. Instead, they smoked local tobacco. In the countryside, it was also extremely rare to find embroidered tobacco bags and pipes used by men who were proud of them. For example, in my natal Tughuan Village, Danma Town only Father and one of his uncles smoked using a pipe. Other smokers preferred cigarettes.
Nangbog and Quanjii.\textsuperscript{12}

Nangbog (1942-2000) was from Pudang Village, Danma Town, illiterate, and a farmer. He had four sons and four daughters, and was my paternal grandfather's sister's son. His elder brother is a monk in Rgulang Monastery.\textsuperscript{13} His younger brother was given to another clan's family because they had no son. Nangbog died of a cerebral hemorrhage in 2000. The woman in this photo is his illiterate wife, Quanjii (b. 1942).

This photo was taken in 1963 in Weiyuan Town at the Huzhu State Photo Studio when they attended the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month Meeting. Quanjii's parents' home is in the same village as her husband's home.

When I scanned this photo at her home on 6 November 2008, Quanjii was suffering from hypertension. She lived with her first son in her old home. Her other three sons had moved out to separate homes.

Quanjii's hat is an aimozi 'ear hat' or spenuva 'four pieces'. Both men and women wear this hat. In 1963, at the time the photo was taken, this hat was a sign of wealth. It is round and decorated with yellow or silver-white patterns. Its low brim has four hanging

\textsuperscript{12} This photo was damaged beyond restoration.

\textsuperscript{13} Rgulang (Youningsi; Dgon lung dgon pa) is a historically important monastery located in Sitan Village, Wushi Town, Huzhu County.
pieces long enough to cover the ears on cold days. These four pieces may be folded and put inside the fur lined hat during warmer weather. Only relatively better-off families could afford such a hat. Nangbog's hat is a *funiga maligha* 'fox hat'. Skillful Mongghul tailors made such hats. Early on snowy winter mornings, men went to mountains and hillsides to catch fox because of the value of fox pelts, and also because they considered it entertaining. A fox's trail was followed to its burrow, where the fox was suffocated with smoke from burning straw at the den opening. By 2009, when a fox-skin sold for about 700 RMB, fox had almost disappeared in Mongghul areas.
Quanjii and Qixihua.

In this photo, Quanjii holds a bottle as Qixihua (1968-1995) adds straw to the fire. They are distilling *miinliu* 'local highland barley liquor' in Qixihua's parents' home.

In the summer of 1984, Li Jiuyan, a Mongghul reporter for *Qinghai Daily*, came to Qixihua's parents' home and took this picture to illustrate how Mongghul made *miinliu* liquor. Qixihua was born in Pudang Village. Around 1995, after a dispute with her husband at his home in Rdangyan Village, Wushi Town, she committed suicide.

Mongghul make liquor using both barley and wheat. Women generally make the liquor and often taste the first course of distilling. A Mongghul family, in the past, distilled three to four times a year, and more frequently if there were such festivities as weddings.

By 2009, few Mongghul households distilled liquor, other than those in remote areas of Wushi Town, Songduo and Hongyazigou townships, Huzhu County; and Dala Mongghul Township, Ledu Region. The main purpose of distilling in 2009 was to present it to guests and important people as a special gift.
Nanjariduriji, Lamudinjiri, and Liminkuari.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu State Photo Studio in the winter of 1960 when Lamudinjiri went to Weiyuan Town to pay the annual state grain tax. Lamudinjiri took his two sons with him. It was the boys' first visit there. The boy to the left is Nanjariduriji (b. 1950), from Shdangja Village, Danma Town. At the age of eight, he was sent to study in Huarin Primary School in a neighbor village. Four years later after graduating, he dropped out because of an eye infection. He stayed at home for six years, farming and herding sheep. Then, from 1968-1970, he worked in the Huzhu Beishan 'North Mountain' Forest Mill, located in today's Jiading Town, Huzhu County.

In 1971, he was assigned to the Huzhu Farmhouse Factory, Weiyuan Town and worked there until 1979, when he returned to work in the Huzhu Beishan Forest Mill as an official employee. During this time he frequently drank liquor, had high blood pressure, and subsequently had a
cerebral hemorrhage. Fortunately, he was treated and recovered, though his speech was slow and slurred. He retired from the forest mill in January 1998, and returned home. He no longer drinks. instead, he piously kowtows and burns incense at the village temple.


Lamudinjiri was initially reluctant to take his sons with him to be photographed out of concern about them making the twenty kilometer trek to the town. However, the two sons insisted and were finally allowed to sit on bags of grain loaded on a wooden cart drawn by a horse. Lamudinjiri took them to the Huzhu State Photo Studio for this photo.

Nanjariduriji and Liminkuari wear their shduri guudi 'long, thick woolen garment' with sash. Their caps are zhozhozidii maligha. Zhozhozi suggests a cloth visor that may be easily gripped. Villagers were able to purchase such caps from state run shops. After about 1990, Mongghul men increasingly disliked wearing hats.

Lamudinjiri wears a black zhanmog maligha 'felt hat', short guudi, and a pair of woolen pants with a loose crotch and baggy seat. The black felt hat was worn in the Haliqi area, including Danma, Donggou, Weiyuan, Dongshan, Taizi, and Wufeng. Young men wore white hats while older men wore black hats. This type of hat disappeared around the 1980s in the Haliqi area. At that time, in Fulaan Nara (Wushi, Hongyazigou, and Songduo townships, Huzhu County; and the Shdara area, Ledu Region) most men wore white felt hats - black felt hats were rare. By 2009, only a few very old men in the Fulaan Nara area still wore white felt hats.

Lamudinjiri was a famous Mongghul singer. At one time, he had a white beard, which explains the respectful name Qighaan Sghalidii Aadee 'White Bearded Grandfather'.

When I was about six or seven, my father wore a white felt hat daily. He was probably the last man who wore such a hat in our village and neighbor villages. My mother sometimes said, "Please don't wear your white felt hat. No one wears one except you. I'm embarrassed to see you wear it in public." Father soon replaced it with a modern one bought from a shop.
Nanjariduriji, Rnqaxji, and Lamudinjiri.

Nanjariduriji stands behind his parents in this photograph, taken in the winter 1975, that features a lake backdrop. His mother, Rnqaxji (1926-1994), was an illiterate farmer. She wears a Mongghul black decorated felt hat, 14 *shduri guudii* 'long, warm sheep wool robe', and *yangzidii hai* 'embroidered and tassel-tipped colorful shoes'. Her parents were from Qulang Village, Danma Town.

Nanjariduriji wears a Sun Yatsen (Mao) suit. After 1970, tailors began working in the Huzhu area. Cloth was bought from state run shops and tailors were paid to make Sun Yatsen suits.

Rnqaxji and her husband, Lamudinjiri, visited their son who was working at the Huzhu Farmhouse Factory, Weiyuan Town. Nanjariduriji took his parents to the Huzhu Photo Studio where this photo was taken.

Rnqaxji died one night from an illness that made her unable to urinate.

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14 Mongghul women often kept sewing needles inside their hats.
Rnqaxji at her home in Shgeayili Village in 1970.

Rnqaxji (b. 1941), illiterate, from Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township. This photo was taken in 1970 at her home in Shgeayili Village.
Liminkuari in his dormitory in Geermu in 1971 when he was a soldier.
In this photo, taken in 1977, Nanjariduriji's first son, Warimasirang (1971-2011), is standing, his ears covered by his hat. He graduated from a junior middle school, was a farmer, and my sister's husband. In 2011, he died in a car accident in Geermu (Golmud), Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. The baby is Diizangxji (b. 1974), who later married and moved into her Tibetan husband's home in East Danma Village, Danma Town.

In November 1977, Nanjariduriji's wife, Wuxihua (b. 1950), went to visit her husband who worked in the Huzhu Farmhouse Factory in Weiyuan Town with her two children. The couple then went to the Huzhu Photo Studio and had this picture taken of their two children.

Nanjariduriji made the cart in the Farmhouse Factory. After 2000, baby carriages seen in Mongghul villages were bought from shops.
Lamudinjiri in Weiyuan Town in 1958.

Lamudinjiri had this picture taken in the Huzhu State Photo Studio in Weiyuan Town in the winter of 1958 when turned in the mandatory state grain tax.
Lamudinjiri and Rnqaxji in 1984 at Wutai Mountain.

Lamudinjiri and his wife, Rnqaxji, were on pilgrimage at a temple at Wutai Mountain, Shanxi Province after visiting Beijing in May 1984. They each hold a string of prayer beads in their right hands.
Lamudinjiri and Rnqaxji in Beijing in May 1984.
Nanjariduriji and Danzhuu in 1982 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in the autumn of 1972 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town when Danzhuu went to visit Nanjariduriji, who was working in the Huzhu Farmhouse Factory. Nanjariduriji (left) stands next to his wife's brother, Danzhuu (b. 1952), who is from the same village as Nanjariduriji: Shdangja Village, Danma Town. Danzhuu attended a primary school in his village school and is a farmer. Danzhuu wears a Sun Yatsen suit.
Lamudinjiri on pilgrimage in Lhasa in August 1992.

In this photo taken in 1971, Rnqaxji is the woman in the front. The older man is her husband, Lamudinjiri, and next to him is their grandson, Seventy-eight (b. 1964), who attended the primary school in his village. He is a farmer. His wife died in 2006 from liver cancer. In 2010, Seventy-eight was living with his two children. Seventy-eight wears a white hindazi 'Mongghul style shirt that buttons on the right side'.

The man on the left in the back row is Nanjariduriji. Next to Nanjariduriji is his younger brother, Liminkuari. At the time of the photograph, Liminkuari was a soldier in Geermu.

In the summer of 1971, Liminkuari was sent from Geermu to Xining, where his family visited him. This photo with its Nanjing Changjiang River Bridge backdrop, was taken in a Xining photo shop.

In about 1980, my mother made cloth buttons on some Mongghul clothes for our family members.
Liminkuari and Gisinen in Weiyuan in 1972.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the winter of 1972. The soldier with a five-pointed star on his cap is Liminkuari. Gisinen (b. 1953) was a barefoot doctor from the same village as Liminkuari. This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the winter of 1972.

In this photo taken at a photo studio in Geermu in the autumn of 1973, the soldier is Liminkuari and the older man is his father, Lamudinjiri, who had gone to visit his son.
Wuxihua, Bayajii, and Nanjariduriji in 1982 at the Beishan Forest Mill in Huzhu.

This photo of Nanjariduriji and his wife was taken in about May 1982 at the Huzhu Beishan Forest Mill, located in today’s Jiading Tibetan Town, Huzhu County, where Nanjariduriji worked as an official employee. Nanjariduriji's workmate owned a camera and took this photo. Wuxihua holds Bayajii, her youngest daughter.
Lei Xiangchun, Nanjariduriji, and Gisinen in 1982 near the Beishan Forest Mill.

From left: Lei Xiangchun (b. 1947), Chinese, from Lanjia Village, Weiyuan Town; Nanjariduriji; and Gisinen (b. 1950), Mongghul, from Pudang Village, Danma Town. Gisinen graduated from Qinghai University with a major in finance and accounting. The three were colleagues at the Huzhu Beishan Forest Mill at the time this photo was taken in 1982 near the mill.
Qishidensirang, Nanjariduriji, and Gisinen at the Bei-shan Forest Mill.

This picture was taken by a worker at the Huzhu Beishan Forest Mill in May 1982. Nanjariduriji is in the center. To his right is Gisinen (b. 1954). Qishidensirang (b. 1969), Gisinen's younger brother, is to the left of Nanjariduriji. Nanjariduriji and Gisinen wear Mongghul guguazi.
Nangnangbog in Beijing in 1956.

Nangnangbog (1922-2000) was born in Tughuan Village, Danma Town. He was a shepherd until he was about thirteen. He was then sent to study Chinese in an old-style private school in Buja Village, Danma Town. Nangnangbog was the first person to receive a Chinese language education in Tughuan Village. He then worked in Huzhu Government Health and Education Section in Weiyuan Town.

In 1958, he was classified as a Rightist and jailed on a farm in the Xiangride area, Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Three years later, he was released and became a farmer in his home village.

This photo was taken in Beijing on 19 June 1956 when Nangnangbog was sent there by the Huzhu Government. During the same trip, he visited Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Tianjin Municipality.

Nangnangbog wears Mongghul *ham* 'boots' with cloth legging reaching the knee. The trousers legs are stuffed into the boots. He wears an expensive *chuula* 'long robe'. *Chuula* were often made in Tibetan areas using wool fabric and are generally dark red, warm, and durable, and may be used as a raincoat. Nangnangbog's grandfather bought this *chuula* from a Tibetan. Only his family in Tughuan Village owned a *chuula* at the time the photo was taken. Having a *chuula* signified wealth.

The inscription at the right corner of the top of the photo reads 56, 6, 19 首京 '19 June 1956 in Beijing'.
Limuzhunmaa in 1962 in Huzhu.

Limuzhunmaa (b. 1942) is my father. He is an illiterate farmer and from Tughuan Village, Danma Town and has limited competence in the Huzhu Chinese dialect. As a child, he frequently visited village homes at night and on rainy days to listen to Mongghul folklore. In 1966, the village administrative committee sent him to Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province where he did roadwork for six months. In 1977, he was sent to Banma County, Guoluo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, where he worked in the timber industry for a year.

This photo was taken in 1962 on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in 1962 at the Huzhu State Photo Studio in Weiyuan Town. It was the first time he had had a photo of himself taken. The nikii 'sheepskin robe' is a traditional Mongghul robe. Cloth was difficult to buy in shops at that time; consequently, only the lower trim was decorated with black cloth while the remaining part was sheepskin. Unlined sheepskin was worn before cloth was sold in Mongghul areas. Covering such skin robes with cloth makes them heavier. Limuzhunmaa said a difference between the Tibetan and Mongghul skin robes is that the Mongghul version features a narrow, small collar while the Tibetan version has a large, wide collar. In his youth, many Mongghul wore such robes in winter. An embroidered pocket cover on his right upper chest is visible.

Originally, this photo had two people, but after the death of his cousin, Father cut away his image.
Limuzhunmaa in Weiyuan Town in 1963.\textsuperscript{16}

This picture was taken in 1963 on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in Weiyuan Town at the Huzhu State Photo Studio. Originally, it showed Limuzhunmaa and a fellow villager. After the latter died, Limuzhunmaa cut his image from the picture because he thought it was bad luck to be in the same photo with a dead man. Father wears an aimozi 'sheepskin lined robe covered with black cloth'.

\textsuperscript{16} This photo was damaged beyond restoration.
Limuzhunmaa in Guoluo in 1977.

The next two photos were taken in Banma County, Guoluo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in February 1977. Limuzhunmaa's administrative village had sent him to Banma to do lumber work. In the photo with other workmates, Limuzhunmaa is first on the left in the back row. Two other Mongghul from other villages in Danma Town are also in this photo.

Hgarimuxji (~1942 - ~1984), the woman on the left, was an illiterate farmer who married and moved into her husband's home in Tughuan Village. She was from Slidii Village, Danma Town, and one of Limuzhunmaa's cousin's wives. Her husband had been a monk. After her death in 1984 from uterine cancer, her husband resumed his life as a monk in Mantuu Lamasery in today's Danma Town. He died in about 1990.

The other woman is my mother, Saihua (b. 1945), who married and then moved into Tughuan Village, Danma Town from Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township. She gave birth to seven children. Her first-born, a son, lived less than a month. The sixth child was also a son and died at the age of four from diarrhea.

Saihua is an illiterate farmer who has limited competence in the local Chinese dialect. Saihua enjoys television programs featuring Mongghul or herders caring for their sheep and yaks on the grassland. She also enjoys 'Animal World'. These programs appeal to her because of their largely self-explanatory nature. Her limited Chinese makes understanding Chinese-language programs difficult.

When she was younger, Saihua enjoyed singing ghadani dog 'love songs' with other women in the fields when they weeded.

The little boy between Hgarimuxji and Saihua in the photo is my youngest brother, Danjansirang (b. 1977), who received a senior middle school education. He is a farmer. The other boy is my younger brother, Niidosirang (b. 1974), who graduated from Northwest Normal University in 1995 and taught in Huzhu County in 2012.

This photo was taken in a potato field in July 1980 in Tughuan Village by a commercial photographer who visited the village.
Srangxji in Danma Town on the twelfth day of 1983.

Limuzhunmaa’s mother, Srangxji (1923-1987), was from Szanghuali Village, Donggou Township. She was an illiterate farmer. Grandmother was a well-known singer, having learned folksongs from her parents and elderly women in her village before she married and moved into Tughuan Village. Srangxji enjoyed participating in weddings and festivals where she joyously sang and danced. She was also a skillful organizer and most joyful when she was about to attend a wedding or festival.

Srangxji was popular because of her energy, social skills, and knowledge of traditional Mongghul folk medicine that she had learned from her parents and mother-in-law. She gave birth to twelve children, half of whom died before the age of five. Three of the survivors were sons.

This photo was taken by a commercial photographer in the Danma Town seat on the twelfth day of 1983 during the annual Danma Love Song Meeting, which is the largest Mongghul festival in the Mongghul area. It is held on the eleventh to fifteenth days of the sixth lunar month in East Danma Village, where the town seat is located. Many Mongghul attend because, apart from the central location of Danma Village in the Huzhu Mongghul area, it is also a time of relative leisure. Historically, Mongghul attended, clad in their best clothing, enjoying the opportunity to display themselves in their finest garments. Youths came to seek lovers while older people came to meet relatives and friends. On such occasions, a husband and wife who attended together might have separately searched for a lover.

Before about 1990, nearly all Mongghul who attended enjoyed the festival day and night, singing love songs and drinking. Meanwhile, Chinese and Hui operated small restaurants or sold daily commodities. After 1990, fewer Mongghul wore Mongghul clothing and many began selling clothes and snacks, and running restaurants. The festival attendees were also fewer because many young people were working outside the area.

In this photo, Srangxji wears yangzidii hai.
During love song meetings, women from Fulaan Nara often removed their newly embroidered colorful shoes when encountering muddy ground. They then carried their shoes on their shoulders and walked barefoot. The Danma Love Song Meeting is held in the Huzhu Mongghul area during the rainy season.

This family photograph was taken in the Danma Town government seat during the Danma Love Song Meeting in 1979 in a commercial photo shop. The first girl (left) is Warimaka (b. 1974) from Shdangja Village, Danma Town. When she reached marriageable age, a husband came to live in her home. Her mother, Sishijinsuu (b. 1954), is behind her with a baby. She divorced Warimaka's father, remarried, and moved into her second's husband's home in another area. The girl with her mouth open is Zhunmaaqog (b. 1974), the first daughter of my younger paternal uncle. Her primary school education was in Slidii Village, Danma Town. She is my younger paternal uncle's first daughter. She later married and moved to Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township. The woman sitting on a chair is Srangxji, Limuzhunmaa's mother. The girl next to Srangxji is Zhunmaasuu (b. 1968), the first daughter of Limuzhunmaa's older sister. Zhunmaasuu is an illiterate farmer. She eventually married and moved to Luxuu Village, Donggou Township.

The first woman in the back row on the left is Sishijinsuu. She holds her second daughter, Fushinjii (b. 1977), who later married and moved to Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township. The other woman is Jiraqog (b. 1940), Limuzhunmaa's older sister, who married and moved to Zhuarishidi Village, Danma Town. She is Zhunmaasuu's mother.

Her husband is Mongghul, but does not speak Mongghul. His parents' home is in Dongdatan Township, Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province. Limited farming land and poverty encouraged Mongghul men there to marry Mongghul women and move into their homes.
This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in August 1978 when I was ten years old. It is my first photo. My older brother and another two older cousins decided to go to Weiyuan Town to take a picture one day. They secretly discussed how not to take me there, since they thought I was too young. I overheard their discussion, and pleaded with them to take me. They refused. I cried. Mother also did not agree that I should go and beat me. I continued crying until finally they all agreed that I could go.

We put some barley bread in our shirt pouches early the next morning, left, and reached Weiyuan Town about four hours later after a twenty kilometer walk. After finding a photo shop, we were told to sit on a short bench, had our photos taken in turn, and then told to get the pictures the next morning. We then walked four kilometers to Yomajaa Village, Donggou Township where Mother's parents' lived. Early the next morning, we returned to Weiyuan Town and each got four copies of our individual photograph. We were excited because this was our first time to have photos of ourselves, and we had walked to Weiyuan Town unescorted by adults.

In this photo I wear a Mongghul style white *hindazi* 'shirt', which buttons on the right side. At that time, Mongghul children wore *hindazi* and *zhuyozi* 'warm clothes buttoning on the right side' regardless of the weather. I was hot in summer and cold in winter. Cloth was rarely purchased owing to poverty. Clothes were generally washed only once a year in summer when it was warm. They were never washed in winter. There were only two sets of clothes worn in a year. As a consequence, clothes were very dirty and lice were common.
Limudanzhuuu in 1978 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio in August 1978 in Weiyuan Town. Limudanzhuuu (b. 1966) is my older brother and this is his first photo. After graduating from the Inner Mongolia Forestry College, Huhehaote (Hohhot) in 1990, he was assigned to work in Nuomuhong Village, Zongjia Town, Dulan County, Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Five years later, he moved his job to the Huzhu County Forest Bureau with me and two of our cousins. This is Limudanzhuuu’s first picture.

The first photo (right) was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town ahead of my graduation from Slidii Primary School (1978-1982) when I was fifteen years old in 1982. The school organized students to go to Weiyuan Town to have our photos taken for use in our diplomas. The school hired a van to take us to the Huzhu Photo Studio. Each student paid three RMB to pay for the van and pictures.

The second photo (left) was taken in the summer of 1988 at the Drum Tower Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town to commemorate my graduation from Huzhu Nationalities Middle School (1985-1988). Because I would soon graduate, I gave copies of my photo to classmates and friends.
Limusishiden in the winter of 1995 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in the winter of 1995 at the Drum Tower Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. I had accompanied my sister who needed to have her photo taken because she was soon to marry. Her photo was used in her marriage certificate.
Limusishiden in 1982 on the Danma riverbank by Slidii Bridge.

My graduation picture from Slidii Primary School where I studied five years, was taken on 21 June 1982 on the Danma River bank by the Slidii Bridge, about two kilometers from the school. Two photographers from Weiyuan Town were asked to take the photos. Students paid the photo expenses. The inscription at the top of the photo reads 松德小学五年级毕业合影 82, 6, 21 'Grade Five Students Graduation Group Photo of Songde Primary School 21 June 1982'.

First in the front row (left to right) is Zhang Chengxiang (b. ~1970), a Mongghul from Njaa Village, Danma Town. His Chinese ancestors married Mongghul and then changed their nationality to Tu. Zhang discontinued his study after graduating from primary school and later became a driver for a coalmine in Qilian County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He understands Mongghul, but rarely speaks it. His mother and grandmother are Mongghul. The girl next to him is Zhang Fengqing (b. 1968), Zhang Chengxiang's father's younger sister. She stopped attending school after primary school. The bareheaded boy is Shdanba (b. 1968), a Mongghul from Tughuan Village. He dropped out from Danma Middle School and became a farmer.

The first person in the middle row (left to right) is Gagog (b. 1968), a Mongghul from Pudang Village. He stopped study after primary school and became a farmer. Next is a teacher, Zhang Yongqing (b. 1952). He is Mongghul whose paternal ancestors were Chinese. His parents are from Njaa Mongghul Village. His mother is Mongghul, and later the family claimed Tu nationality. In 2009, he was a minban teacher. The man next to Zhang Yongqing is a teacher,

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18 According to Mongghul culture, only the first or most beloved son is given this name, which means 'Little Brother' based on the local Chinese dialect. The first or most beloved daughter is called Gajii 'Little Sister'.
19 Unofficial or 'community' teacher with a low salary.
Cao Ji'an, Chinese, from Caojiayao Village, Donggou Township. The fourth person is a Chinese teacher surnamed Shang from East Danma Village. The fifth person in this row, the boy next to Teacher Shang, is Xie Xianzhen (b. 1969), a Chinese from Slidii Village. He stopped schooling after graduating from primary school and is a farmer. His family was originally from Shaanxi Province. His great-grandfather came to Huzhu to do business, eventually bought fields in Slidii Village, and settled there.

The first person in the back row (left to right) is Wei Detai (b. 1968), a Chinese from Lawaa Village. He stopped study after graduating from primary school and is a farmer. The second boy is my cousin, Li Hongkui (1969-2010), a Mongghul from Tughuan Village. He graduated from Xi’an Sports College in 1992 and was then assigned to work in the Huzhu Culture Bureau. In 2010, Li Hongkai died from cancer of the duodenum. I am the third boy. The fourth boy is Guo Qifa (b. 1967), a Chinese, from Lawaa Village, who discontinued study after graduating from primary school. He is a farmer. The fifth boy is Wang Yongfeng (b. 1967), a Mongghul. His ancestors were Chinese who moved to Pudang Village from Datong Hui and Mongghul Autonomous County. He speaks the local Chinese dialect and understands Mongghul. He is a farmer. The sixth boy is Chen Qingming (b. 1968), a Mongghul. The seventh is Qi Jianlin (b. 1969), a Mongghul from Lawaa Village. He completed primary school and became a farmer.
Qiyansuu, Rnqanhua, and Sangjixji in 1990 in Wei-yuan Town.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town on the second day of the second lunar month in 1990. My younger sister (left), Qiyansuu (b. 1971), is illiterate and a farmer. She married and then moved to Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township to live in her husband's home. Two years later she divorced, remarried, and moved to her second husband's home in Shdangja Village, Danma Town, just opposite our natal village - Tughuan.

Rnqanhua (center, b. 1970) is an illiterate farmer from Tughuan Village. She married and moved to Qilian County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Sangjixji (right, b. 1972) is from Tughuan Village. Also illiterate and a farmer, she married and moved to Durishidii Village, Weiyuan Town.

These women are representative of the last generation of Mongghul women who, with rare exception, received no schooling.
Limudiijnjiri, Dala, Zangdii, and Limurinqan on pilgrimage at Labrang Monastery.

The inscription at the top of the photo reads 拉卜楞寺留影 84,7,24 日 'Photograph of Labrang Monastery on 24 July 1984'. On 24 July 1984, the four men went on pilgrimage by bus to Labrang Monastery, Xiahe County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province.

Left to right:
Limudiijnjiri (1912-1992), Father's father's oldest brother, from Tughuan Village. This was the only time he left Huzhu in his life. He had two wives, a practice that, at that time, was culturally acceptable.

Dala (1900 -1985) was an illiterate farmer from Slidii Village and Limuzhunmaa's relative.

Zangdii (1915-2005), also an illiterate farmer, was Limuzhunmaa's father's sister's husband. He was a locally renowned Mongghul folklore teller. He learned folklore from his father.

Limurinqan (1936-1990) was Father's cousin, illiterate, a farmer, and an alcoholic. He died in an accident when he was intoxicated.

In this photo, Durijisishiden (1938-2009) from Shge ayili Village, Donggou Township, is third from the left in the front row. In August 1979, cadres from Xining visited Huzhu government officials and took this picture with their camera of Durijisishiden and his colleagues in Weiyuan Town.

Durijisishiden, started primary school in 1950. Later, he attended a middle school affiliated with today's Qinghai Nationalities University. After graduating from university, he was assigned to work in today's Donggou Township. Subsequently, he worked as a school head, and later became a township head in Huzhu County. In 1977, he was selected as the first Huzhu County government leader. He moved to Xining in 1981 to work on the Qinghai Province Ethnic Affairs Committee. He published numerous articles in Chinese reflecting Mongghul life and is one of the first Mongghul writers from Huzhu County.
Rnqaxji wears a headdress in 1980 in Weiyuan Town (front and rear views).

These photos were taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio in the summer of 1980. Rnqaxji (b. 1941) is Durijisishiden's illiterate wife. She wears a niudaari 'headdress'. In 1934, the ruling Ma Family Government forced Mongghul women to stop wearing their distinctive clothing, consequently, niudaari soon disappeared. Niudaari included Tughuan niudaari, boqi 'winnowing tray', niudaari, njasi 'plow' niudaari, and shge 'big' niudaari. The Tughuan niudaari was worn only by women living under the jurisdiction of Tughuan Living Buddha. The niudaari was made of paper and easily damaged by rain, which is why local Chinese passersby urged each other to hurry once they saw Mongghul women running back home from the fields - this was a sign of imminent rain. Rnqaxji wears the shge niudaari.

Huzhu County officials asked the woman surnamed Dong in the photo to pose wearing a felt hat and sit to the right of Rnqaxji, who stands in the center wearing niudaari. Ms. Dong was from Jiading Town, Huzhu County. She died some years before 2010. She was a well-known embroiderer and, as this photo attests, was still able to make niudaari. She was asked to make the niudaari that Rnqaxji wears in this photo and in previous photos. At the time of this photograph in 1980, the niudaari had been on the wane for almost fifty years. Local county officials asked Ms. Dong to make the niudaari to better remember them. Rnqaxji was then asked to wear it for the photograph, which was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the summer of 1980.

Durijisishiden took this photo in his home village of Shgeayili, Donggou Township in the winter of 1985. Mongghul men historically gathered at a sunny site by a wall, or on a straw pile to spend long winter days when they were free from farming. They talked, smoked, gossiped, and enjoyed the sunshine. After 2000, relationships between parents and sons and daughters-in-law were often strained. The older generation could no longer control the younger generations as increasing numbers of young people left the village seeking work and income. Older people also left to find such poorly paid jobs as door-keepers and street cleaners in Xining City. It is unusual to see a group of old people sitting together in villages in winter today.
This photo was taken at the Party's Ninth National Congress on 24 April 1969. Chairman Mao shakes hands with Lü Cunjie, who said a reporter gave her this photo. Lin Biao (1907-1971) stands to Chairman Mao's right. Later, Lü Cunjie welcomed and talked to Hu Yaobang (1915-1989) during his visit to Huzhu County on 24 August 1986. She also welcomed and chatted with Jiang Zeming during his visit to Huzhu on 17 July 1993.

Lü Cunjie (b. 1939) is from Xranghuali Village, Wushi Town, Huzhu County. Her family was so poor when she was a child that she and her elder sister had no pants to wear until they were eight. When she was about thirteen, she attended a night class focused on eliminating illiteracy. Meanwhile, she participated in her village's self-organized folk dance team and visited neighboring villages to perform folk dance.

She married when she was about eighteen and moved to the home of her husband, Li Shengrong, in Binkangghuali Mongghul Village, Songduo Township. Later, she was selected to become a militia company deputy commander and Women's Federation head of the second natural village of her husband's administrative village. In Beijing, as a Mongghul representative, she participated in the Party's National People's Congress. She was selected to be a National People's Congress delegate to the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses of the Communist Party of China held in August of 1973 and in August of 1977, respectively. She continued to hold the title of Alternate Member, Central Committee, Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, Communist Party of China. She said, "I saw Chairman Mao Zedong ten times."
Lü Cunjie wears a black lamb-skin hat.

Lü Cunjie wearing a black lamb-skin-hat. While the date and places are unknown, it can be assumed from the hat that she was married (only married women wear such hats). In the second photo, she wears a Chairman Mao badge and holds a book of Chairman Mao's quotations.
Laichai in 1957 in Lanzhou City, Gansu Province.

The inscription at the top of the right side of the photo reads 西北民族院留念五七，元旦 'Photograph of Northwest Nationalities College, New Year's Day 1957'. On 1 January 1957, while a student in the cadre training class, Laichai had this photo taken in a photo shop in Lanzhou. He wears a fox-fur hat and embroidered Mongghul sash.

Laichai (b. 1930) is a local Chinese who, along with his cousins, changed his nationality to Tu. His father and a few other clan members moved to today's Tughuan Village, Danma Town from today's Changning area in Datong Hui and Mongghul Autonomous County before 1949. At that time, a Tughuan larang 'administrative division managed by incarnation lamas' compound courtyard was built by Tughuan Living Buddha because he had much farm land in the Tughuan area. Some poor people came to live in the courtyard and became zhuangtou 'outsiders' who make a livelihood by farming the Living Buddha's land. Laichai's family moved to Huzhu because of intense poverty. Years later, they moved to neighboring Pudang Village because of a conflict between his family and the larang. By 2008, the original family had increased to more than fifteen households, had intermarried with Mongghul, all spoke Mongghul, and all wore Mongghul clothes. Many chose to be cremated after death, in keeping with Mongghul custom.

Laichai herded sheep from the time he was a young child until the age of eighteen, when he became a soldier in the area of Binxian, Shaanxi Province. In 1952, he was sent to study for two years in a cadre training class in today's Qinghai Nationalities University. He was then assigned to work in today's Danma Town as a cadre. In 1956, he joined a cadre training class for a year in today's Northwest Nationalities University, Lanzhou City, and was then assigned to work in today's Wushi Town, and Taizi and Songduo townships. He retired in June 1983 and devoted his time to herding sheep and planting trees on the hillside behind his home.
Sixty-two and Limukari in about 1968 in Weiyuan Town.

Limukari (b. 1935) is Laichai’s wife, an illiterate Mongghul farmer. Her parents' home is in Pudang Village. The boy is her first son, Sixty-two (b. 1965), who became a primary school teacher in Wushi Town. This photo was taken in summer in about 1968 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. The ribbon on Limukari's chest indicates that she was attending an official meeting of *pinxiazhongnong*\(^{20}\) in Weiyuan Town.

\(^{20}\) During *Tudigaige 'The Land Reform Movement'* (1952), her husband's (Laichai's) family was put in the *pinxiazhongnong* 'poor middle peasant' category.
Limukari, Laichai, and Qihua in about 1985 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in about 1985. Laichai (on the far right) wears a straw hat and Limukari (on the far left) Their daughter, Qihua (b. 1975), also appears in the photo. Qihua received a senior middle school education, married, and moved to Rangghuali Mongghul Village, Donggou Township. In November 2008 when I collected these photos in her parents’ home in Pudang Village, she was operating a bread shop in Weiyuan Town with her husband.
Laichai in a photo studio in Lanzhou City in 1956.

This photo was taken in a photo studio in 1956 when Laichai studied in a cadre training class in Lanzhou City, Gansu Province.
Laichai and Wang Dexin in Lanzhou City in 1956.

The inscription on the top of the photo reads 篁州市二參觀留念 1956,11 'This photo was taken while visiting Lanzhou City in November 1956'. Laichai and his father, Wang Dexin (1896-1958), had this photo taken in the Wuquan Mountain Photo Shop when Wang Dexin visited his son who was studying in a cadre training class. Wang Dexin wore traditional Mongghul clothes.
Xi Yuanmin, Sughuasirang, Laichai, Lamuxja, and Srangjaxi in 1984 in Laichai’s village home.

This photo was taken at Laichai’s home in the summer of 1984 when a Mongghul reporter for the Qinghai Daily visited his home. Those in the photo came to his home to drink mūnliu. Left to right: Xi Yuanmin (b. 1940), Mongghul, is from Dongshan Township, and was an official in Huzhu County. The older man with a white beard and holding a small liquor cup is Sughuasirang (~1892 - ~1984). He was an illiterate farmer, a well-known Mongghul singer, an orator, and from the same village as Laichai’s. The third man sitting and smiling in the corner is Laichai. The fourth is Lamuxja (b. 1938), an illiterate farmer from Laichai’s village, and a Mongghul singer. The fifth man is Srangjaxi (b. 1940) an illiterate farmer, a silversmith, also from Pudang Village.
Jugui and junior middle school classmates at Wushi Middle School in 1985.

My wife, Jugui (Lu Wanfang, b. 1969), is a Mongghul native of Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town. She began studying in Qanza Village at the age of eight. In 1978, she began an additional two years of study at Sitan Primary School. In 1982, she started junior middle school in Wushi Town. Three years later, she entered Huzhu Nationalities Middle School in Weiyuan. She graduated in 1994 from the Architectural Engineering Department, Qinghai University, in Xining City. She is the first university graduate from her village.

Jugui, fifth from left in the front row, had this photo taken in the summer of 1985 when she and her classmates completed junior middle school at Wushi Middle School, Wushi Town. Photographers from the Huzhu Photo Studio were invited to her school to take pictures.
Jugui and junior middle school classmates at Wushi Middle School in 1985.

Jugui (fourth from left) had this picture taken with her female classmates in 1985, at the same time as the previous photo in the courtyard of Wushi Middle School, which included both junior and senior middle school sections. Each student paid ten to twenty RMB for the graduation pictures. Prior to 1980, most students in Wushi Middle School were local Chinese from the south of Hongyazigou Township.
This photo was taken by a commercial photographer in the summer of about 1984 during the Danma Love Song Meeting. The man in this photo with a tower and bridge backdrop is Jiutenbog (b. 1957), an illiterate farmer from Shdangja Village, Danma Town. The woman is his wife, Jiraxji (b. 1957), an illiterate farmer whose natal home is in Gurija Village, Danma Town. She married and moved into Jiutenbog's home when she was eighteen. Her round-hat was bought in a local shop. Mongghul women at that time preferred to wear such hats at festivals. Locals considered hats manufactured in Tianjin to be the most famous in China. She holds her daughter, Sishijinsuu (b. 1980). The boy is their son, Zhuujari (b. 1976), who studied for three years in a village primary school. Sishijinsuu is illiterate. She eventually married and moved to her husband's home in Pudang Village.

Jiutenbog and his son wear Sun Yatsen suits. From about 1956 cloth was available for purchase in local shops in. Sewing shops appeared in the local area from about 1975. Afterwards, men increasingly began to wear such modern clothing.

They all wear *basi hai* 'cloth shoes', with cloth and flax soles featuring uppers made of black cloth. After local shops appeared, people could easily purchase the sort of hats Jiutenbog and his son wear.
These two photos were taken in the summer of 1982. The first shows Jiutenbog (left) and a fellow villager, Hiihubog (1957-1998), an illiterate farmer, with their new bicycles. It was taken on the roadside in front of their village, Shdangja, by two Chinese passersby who brought them a copy a couple of days later. Each paid five RMB for a photo. Hiihubog eventually died from alcohol abuse.

At that time, locals regarded the Flying Pigeon brand, made in Shanghai, to be the best quality bicycle. Bicycles were first introduced to local areas in about 1982. A bicycle was priced at about 200 RMB at local state-run shops. Only relatively well-off families could afford one. Owning a bicycle raised one's status.

At this time, there were only one or two motorcycles in a township, and these were operated by senior township officials. Over a period of about ten years, motorcycles largely replaced horses and mules.

By 2009, bicycles were rarely seen in the Mongghul countryside, having been replaced by motorcycles and cars. On average, a Mongghul village had one or two cars.

The second photo was taken at the same time. Jiutenbog and Hiihubog had put their bicycles aside and entered a canola field, thinking the yellow blossoms would provide a nice background.
Jiutenbog and Zhuujari in 1982 in Weiyuan Town.

Jiutenbog and Zhuujari had this photo taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the summer of 1982. The two had gone to Weiyuan Town on the family bicycle to purchase tools for their home.
Jiutenbog and his wife, Jiraxji, had this picture taken in the winter of 1975, the year they married, in the Huzhu Photo Studio during a festival on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in Weiyuan Town. Jiraxji wore boyin suuga 'long silver earrings'. At that time, every bride's family asked for boyin suuga from the groom as part of the brideprice. These were then worn at festivals and during visits to their parents' home.

In November 2008 when Jugui and I scanned this photo, few women wore such traditional silver earrings in the Mongghul area. Women regarded such earrings as troublesome, old-fashioned, and heavy. Some women sold their boyin suuga, or put them inside their dowry chests. Today, there are few silversmiths in Mongghul areas. This is a dramatic break from the past, when many women kept such jewelry all their lives and later passed it on to their daughters, daughters-in-law, or granddaughters.

Gagog and Niidog went to Weiyuan Town to shop one summer day in 1986 and had this photo taken in Huzhu People's Photo Studio. Gagog (b. 1968), right, is from Pudang Village, Songde Administrative Village, Danma Town. He attended Slidii Primary School and then did farm work. He also did migrant labor outside the village. His mother died when he was a young child. Gagog is Laichai's cousin, and was once classified as Han.

The other man in this photo is Niidog (b. 1969), who was educated through primary school. He is a farmer. He also regularly leaves the village to do seasonal labor construction work and collect caterpillar fungus. His father is a silversmith.
This is Gagog's family. On the left Shujuji (b. 1964), an illiterate farmer, and one of Gagog's elder sisters. Shujuji married and moved into her husband's home in Sughua Village, Danma Town. Next is Gagog, fourteen years old in this photo, which was taken at his home on a summer's day in 1982 by a commercial photographer who had come to the village. Seated is Gagog's father, Wang Zhengbiao (1926-1992), an illiterate farmer who died from a leg infection. Gagog's younger brother, Snbog (b. 1970), has a primary school education, divorced his Mongghul wife, and later married a Tibetan woman from Lhasa while doing seasonal labor. At the time I scanned this photo in Gagog's home on 6 November 2008, Snbog and his wife had returned to Lhasa because she was unaccustomed to local life. On the right is Chunhua (b. 1966), Gagog's sister, a farmer, and educated through primary school. Later, she married and moved into her husband's home in East Danma Village, Danma Town.

After 1995, it became increasingly common for Mongghul to do seasonal work in Lhasa, and marry Tibetan women, some of whom then moved into Mongghul homes. After just a few years, some spoke excellent Mongghul.
Shujujii, Chunhua, and Liushihua during the Danma Love Song Meeting in 1984.

In 1984, a commercial photographer took this picture of Shujujii, Chunhua (center), and Liushihua (right, b. 1962) during the Danma Love Song Meeting in the Danma Town seat. Liushihua is illiterate, a farmer, and one of Gagog's elder sisters. She married and moved into her husband's home in Gumang Village, Wushi Town.
Gunbuxji and Chunhua in 1980 in Pudang Village.

This photo was taken in about 1980 in Pudang Village by a commercial photographer. Gunbuxji (left, b. 1967) is an illiterate farmer and Gagog's father's sister's daughter. She is from Pudang Village, Danma Town. Gunbuxji married and moved into her husband's home in East Danma Village, Danma Town. Chunhua is on the right. I could not identify the girl in the center.

Before 1980, many Mongghul girls wore Mongghul clothing in summer and autumn, as illustrated in this photo. Their hair was plaited into two long braids the ends of which were tied with *tuushang* 'hair string', which was usually black and purchased from local shops or peddlers who regularly visited the villages. Most peddlers were from Tianshui and Gangu areas, Gansu Province where frequent droughts and severe poverty were common. The peddlers also sold colorful thread because Mongghul women needed plenty of thread for embroidery. When I was a child, peddlers often asked local families if they could stay with them overnight. This was particularly true in winter because of the frigid weather. In warmer weather, they often spent the nights outside sleeping, for example, by straw piles. Some families allowed them to stay overnight and treated them to supper. Such host families were then given a small simple tobacco pipe, sewing needles, or a small bunch of embroidery threads in return the next morning before the peddlers left. In the year 2000, peddlers from Tianshui and Gangu in Gansu Province could still be seen in the Huzhu area carrying two boxes on a shoulder pole, walking through villages, and selling small items.

The three girls wear headdresses called *logxji* 'towel', made at home using a combination of red, white, black, and blue cloth from towels bought from local shops. The front part was generally sewn with red while the back part was sewn with blue. Colorful embroidered decoration was made between the red and blue sections. Colorful string often secured the *logxji* from atop the head to under the braids at the back of the neck.
Shuujii and Durijixji in 1983 during the Danma Love Song Meeting.

In 1983, Shuujii (left) and Durijixji (b. 1966) were photographed during the Danma Love Song Meeting by a commercial photographer. Durijixji, a farmer, has a junior middle school education. After she married, she continued to live in her natal village. They wear long robes and no hats - typical Mongghul dress for girls and young unmarried women. By the year 2000, such costumes were no longer seen in Mongghul areas.
Chunhua, Gunbuxji, Shuujii, Durijixji, Liushihu, and Gajii in 1984 during a love song meeting.

The photograph was taken in the summer of 1984 by a commercial photographer during the Danma Love Song Meeting. Left to right are Chunhua, Gunbuxji, Shuujii, Durijixji, Liushihu, and Gajii (b. 1966) - all from Pudang Village. Gajii is an illiterate farmer. She married and moved into her husband's home in Shdangja Village, Danma Town.

Shuujii and Liushihu wear hats that signal they are married. The fourth woman from the left, Durijixji, wears a fox-fur hat and is unmarried. It is culturally acceptable for unmarried women to wear such hats when having photos taken and participating in festivals. The other three are probably unmarried because they do not wear hats.
The brothers, Gagog and Snbog, in their village in 1983.

On a summer's day in 1983, a commercial photographer took this photo of Gagog, the taller boy wearing a white shirt, and his younger brother, Snbog, in their village.
Tayixji and her daughter in 1974 in Gumang Village.

Tayixji (b. 1954), an illiterate farmer, holds her daughter, Gagog's eldest sister. Tayixji eventually married and moved into her husband's home in Gumang Village, Wushi Town. This photo was taken in 1974 in Gumang Village by a commercial photographer.
Gagog, Zhao Yongkuo, and Danjankuari in Pudang Village in 1984.

In about 1984, a commercial photographer took this photo in Pudang Village. From left to right are Gagog, Zhao Yongkuo (1951-2012), and Danjankuari (b. 1965) are all from Pudang Village, Danma Town. Zhao Yongkuo was illiterate. Danjankuari finished primary school.
Danzhuu, Limuxji, Lama, Changbog, and Limuxja in their home village in 1958.

This Mongghul family picture was taken in 1958 in Danzhuu's village when officials came to inspect. Left to right: Danzhuu (b. 1947) from today's Riyue 'Sun-Moon' Township, Huangyuan County, Xining City. His family was very poor while living in Maqang Village, Hongyazigou Township, Huzhu County. A Tibetan from the Riyue area visited Maqang and told Danzhuu's father, "My hometown is a wonderful place with much farmland and nice weather. Your family will have a happy life if you come there with me." The Tibetan man was so eloquent and persuasive that the family sold their home, and moved there. They were disappointed after arriving to find little farmland, few people, and a bad climate that was more severe than in their former home. The family lived in a tent on a hillside and led a hard life, particularly during the very cold winter.

Danzhuu was born in a tent in the year they lived in the Riyue area. The family then moved back to Maqang Village in Huzhu, but

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21 Some residents of Maqang, Hongyazigou Township speak a Qinghai Chinese dialect not spoken in other areas and often marry Mongghul women from near their village, who speak the Karilang Mongghul dialect. Maqang villagers are registered as Tu.
then they had no home, food, or farmland. Later, a relative arranged for them to be servants of a wealthy family in Shdangja Village, Danma Town, where they herded sheep and did farm work and household chores for the family. In 1958, the local administrative village gave the family a house and farmland. In 2010, the family was still living in Shdangja Village.

Danzhuu was sent to study in nearby Huarin Village Primary School for six years. He was then sent to the preparatory class of the current Qinghai Nationalities University, Xining City, where he studied for three years at the junior middle school level and two years at the senior middle school level. He then studied at the college level for two years. He was assigned to work in Jianzha County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture as a Chinese language teacher. Fifteen years later, he was assigned to the Huzhu Culture Center where he worked as an editor for the journal *Tuzuzhige 'Mongghul Song'*. He began collecting and publishing Mongghul folklore in the Chinese language in various journals at this time. He was later assigned to work in the Danma Town government.

In November 2008, at the time I scanned his family photos at his home, he was retired and caring for his grandchildren. He piously prayed in his village temple every day. He told me that his biggest regret was not learning how to write Mongghul folklore in Mongghul.

Limuxji (second from left; 1914-1996) sits on a chair and wears an *aimozi*. She was an illiterate farmer. Her parents' home was Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. The little boy wearing a white shirt is Danzhuu's younger brother (b. 1952). His mother wanted him to be a monk and named him Lama (monk), however, when the family was about to send him to a monastery in 1958, the policy of Doing Away with Superstition was implemented and monks were forced out of the monasteries. Lama continued to use this name. He is an illiterate farmer.

The fourth man holding prayer beads is Danzhuu's father (1908-1968), Changbog, an illiterate farmer. The man standing behind the little girl is Danzhuu's older brother (1932-2005), Limuxja, also an illiterate farmer. The little girl is Limuxja's daughter, who died from illness at an early age.
Danzhuu and his wife, Qiyansuu, in Shdangja Village in 1972.

Danzhuu and his wife, Qiyansuu (b. 1952). Qiyansuu is an illiterate Tibetan farmer from East Danma Village, Danma Town. This photo was taken in Danzhuu's home in Shdangja Village in 1972.
Mo Zilong, Danzhuu, and An Shengsheng in 2000 in Danma Town.

On the left is Mo Zilong (b. ~1953), a local Chinese born in West Danma Village, Danma Town. When I was eleven to fifteen, Mo regularly showed films in villages. My friends and I were fascinated by films and would walk to see the films regardless of the distance. Several films dubbed in Mongghul were very popular in Mongghul villages. In January 1981, a Mongghul dubbed film - *The Tearful Snow-capped Mountain* - was created by Xi Yuanlin, Dong Siyuan, Qiao Zhiliang, Lin Zongxian, and others. In July 1989, the films *Iron Heart* and *Blood in Dongchang* were dubbed in Mongghul and screened in Mongghul villages. In a decade, about twenty-two films dubbed in Mongghul were shown in Mongghul villages. These films included *Glittering Red-Stars, Kindling Mountain Village, Full Happiness Gate, Princess Tana, Expertly Making Money, A Six-Jin County Leader, Hometown Voice, Dreaming of an Official Post, Peacock Princess, Emei Flying Bandit, Ahun's New Story, The Little Black Box, White-Dragon Sword, A Female Incarnation Lama* (two parts), *Yao Mountain Spring*, and *A Petty Officer*. In addition, there was an educational film – *Scientifically Raising Swine* - and a documentary - *Mongghul Customs*.23

When I was thirteen, *The Tearful Snowy Capped Mountain* was shown one cold winter evening on Slidii Village's threshing ground. Almost everyone from my village put on warm clothes and went to see the film. In 1981, many elders, particularly women, could not understand Chinese, particularly women. Mongghul were surprised to see a film in their language.

Danzhuu (right front), worked at the Danma Culture Center in 1999. An Shengsheng (center, b. 1971) from Lasizikoori Village,

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22 One *jin* = a half kilogram.

Danma Town is a local Chinese and worked as a secretary in the Huzhu Courthouse, Weiyuan Town in 2009.
Qiyansuu, Rnqanzhuma, Seventy-eight, Danzhuu, and Ruzangzhuma in 1982 at the Danma Love Song Meeting.

This family photo was taken by a photographer from the Huzhu Photo Studio during the Danma Love Song Meeting in the summer of 1982. The woman sitting on a bench holding a baby is Danzhuu's wife, Qiyansuu, who is Tibetan, but wears Mongghul clothes because her husband is Mongghul and her husband's village is a Mongghul village. The baby is Danzhuu's second daughter, Rnqanzhuma (b. 1979), who later married and moved into her husband's home in Liuja Village, Danma Town. She has a primary school education and is a farmer. The boy by Qiyansuu wearing a white shirt is Danzhuu's son, Seventy-eight (b. 1972). He received a primary school education in his village school and is a farmer. Next to Seventy-eight is Danzhuu's oldest daughter, Ruzangzhuma (b. 1974). When she was four, she fell off the roof of her house while playing, injured a knee, was mistreated in a Xining hospital, and limped until I performed surgery in Xining in 2007. She now walks well. She married and moved into her husband's home in Pudang Village, Danma Town. The man behind Ruzangzhuma is Danzhuu.
Danzhuu, Qishijadanzhuu, Durijiqishija, Gagog, Gisinen, and Danjan in Xining City in 1977.

This was taken in a photo studio in Xining City in about 1977 when a group of Mongghul met in Xining. Front row, left to right: Danzhuu has a pen in his left upper chest pocket. At the time this photo was taken, only educated people or government employees wore pens this way. The second is Qishijadanzhuu (1934-1988) of Tughuan Village, Wushi Town, who was a driver. The third is Durijiqishija (b. 1942), Qishijadanzhuu's younger brother, and a cadre in the procuratorate in Gangcha County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

Back row, left to right: Gagog (b. 1944) is from Tughuan Village, Wushi Town, and a government employee in Tongde County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Next is Gisinen (1948-1998) of Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township. He was a farmer. The third is Qishijadanzhuu's youngest brother, Danjan (b. 1948) of Tughuan Village, Wushi Town, who worked in a pressboard factory.
Jiuja and Zhumanbin in 1984 at the Danma Love Song Meeting.

This photo was taken in the summer of 1984 during the Danma Love Song Meeting by a commercial photographer. The woman in Tibetan dress is Jiuja (b. 1950), the elder sister of Danzhuu's wife. Jiuja, whose natal home is in East Danma Village, married a man from her own village. Her dress is typical of the local Tibetan style. She is an illiterate farmer. The man next to her is her husband, Zhumanbin (b. 1949), a Tibetan. He was a driver and worked in Tianjun County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Jiuja's and Zhumanbin's mothers were both Mongghul. Tibetan men in the village mostly marry Mongghul women from local villages. Women in such families speak Mongghul to each other, while men generally speak only the local Chinese dialect, though most understand some Mongghul. Mongghul women who marry and move into a Tibetan home may later wear Tibetan clothes.
Yang Shenglian in front of her home in the autumn of 1980.

This was the only photo ever taken of Yang Shenglian (1911 - ~1982), a local Chinese woman from Njaa Village, Danma Town. Her parents were from Warima Village in the same town. She was illiterate and a farmer. She began speaking Mongghul after marrying and moving into a Mongghul home in Njaa Village. Her son, an official in Weiyuan Town, took this photo outside the front gate of her home in the autumn of 1980. She suffered from liruu 'tracheitis'. 

![Image of Yang Shenglian in front of her home in the autumn of 1980.](image-url)
Danjansuu and Schin in Weiyuan Town in 1960.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu State Photo Studio in 1960 in Weiyuan Town when Danjansuu (b. 1936) rode a horse from her village to visit her husband, Schin (1909-1978). Danjansuu was born in Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town. She is illiterate. Her mother ran away from home when Danjansuu was very young, and married a Chinese man in Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province. Her father never remarried. She is her father's only child and lived with her father and her father's three unmarried sisters. When she was young, she did heavy farm work and herded sheep. When she was eighteen, *tulighui juuligha*\(^{24}\) was held for her.

Schin was from Smeen Village, Wushi Town, and sent to be a monk in Rgulang Monastery when he was seven. He learned scriptures, copied many scriptures by hand, and served as a housekeeper for a high-ranking incarnation lama in Rgulang Monastery. In 1958, under the policy of Abolishing Superstition, he and many others left the monasteries. Soon thereafter, he was invited to work in Weiyuan Town as leader of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Meanwhile, he married Danjansuu. He died in 1978, probably from liver cancer.

The baby girl held by Danjansuu died when she was two years old.

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\(^{24}\) Lit: head put-on. A traditional Mongghul ritual for a girl who remains in the home in which she was born and takes lovers and bears children. Her children are generally unacknowledged by their fathers, and bear her family clan name.
Schin in Weiyuan Town in 1960.

This picture of Schin was taken in about 1960 in the Huzhu State Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town.
Schin with county Mongghul leaders in Weiyuan Town in 1961.

This photograph is of Schin with other county Mongghul leaders in Weiyuan Town in 1961.
Sixty-nine, a locally famous singer, in Yomajaa Natural Village in 1980.

Sixty-nine (1908-1983), Danjansuu’s father, was illiterate, and a well-known Mongghul folk singer from Yomajaa Natural Village, where he was born. His parents took him and his siblings to live in the present Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town after his home was destroyed in a renming.²⁵ Sixty-nine was in Yomajaa Natural Village in the summer of 1980 when a commercial photograph took this photo at his home.²⁶ The photo above is with his grandson.

²⁵ Historically, a home might have been destroyed in the course of demanding compensation for a dead daughter. In 2008, the renming system continued in Mongghul areas but with significant alterations. If a young woman commits suicide in her husband’s home by, for example, hanging herself, drinking pesticide, or drowning after being maltreated by her husband’s family, the husband's side sends a man to the woman’s parents’ home to inform them of the death. A meeting is then held in the dead wife’s parents’ home. Several representatives from among maternal uncles, brothers, and men of the same clan visit the dead woman’s husband’s home to take revenge. In deference to the legal system, avengers dare not destroy the home nor ask for compensation as they once did. Rather, they insist that the family invite many monks to chant for the deceased. A feast must be provided to all mourners, and five to ten RMB must be given to participants on the morning that the corpse is moved to the cremation ground, all of which entail heavy expense. The dead woman’s side is also conscious that the woman’s children will be cared for by the father and this tempers their behavior (Limusishiden and Jugui 2011:24).

²⁶ This photo was used as the backcover for Limusishiden and Jugui (2011).
Gaga, Gaga's daughter, and Limuxji in 1977 in Weiyuan Town.\(^{27}\)

This photograph was taken in the summer of 1977 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. It was Gaga and Limuxji’s first photo. Gaga (left, b. 1954) is an illiterate, Mongghul farmer originally from Jilog Village, Danma Town. She married and moved into her husband’s home in Warima Village,\(^{28}\) Danma Town. The child is her daughter. The other Mongghul woman is Limuxji (b. 1954), also illiterate. Her parent’s home is Bojashiwu, a Mongghul village at the foot of the Chileb Mountains, Donggou Township. All Mongghul women in the village wear Tibetan clothes. Limuxji married and moved into her husband’s home in Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town. Limuxji wears Tibetan clothes even though she lives in a Mongghul home, because this was a condition of the marriage.

\(^{27}\) This photo was damaged beyond restoration.

\(^{28}\) A village with Tibetan, Mongghul, and Chinese residents. Mongghul women who marry and move into this village are asked to wear Tibetan dress because the village historically is considered to be a Tibetan village, though only a few old Tibetans spoke Tibetan in 2009. Several very old people could speak Tibetan, Mongghul, and the local Chinese dialect.

This photograph was taken at Kumbum/Ta'er Monastery in August 1982. Danjansuu is on the far left. Gao Yulan (second left, 1940-2009), a local Chinese woman, was an illiterate farmer from Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town. She spoke Mongghul. The child, Gao Yulan's daughter, Feng Lan (b. 1974), studied for three years in primary school. Later, she married and moved into her husband's home in Tangchuan Town, Huzhu County. Gao Yulan wore a Tibetan robe provided by the commercial photographer. Limuxji is on the right.
Zhunmaasu and Kanzhuxji in 1975 in the Wushi Town Government Office yard.

Zhunmaasu (left, b. 1955) was born in Qanza Village, Wushi Town and was a well-known embroiderer when she was younger. She herded sheep on the mountains near her village before being appointed head of her natural village in 1974, due to her eloquence and organizational skills. There have been few Mongghul women village heads. After four years of successful village management in 1977, she was transferred to Wushi Town and appointed Party vice-secretary. She was assigned to the Danma Town government office in 1984 as a leader of the Women's Federation. In 1987, she was transferred to the Donggou Township Woman's Federation where she worked as a leader. During her time as a government employee, she attended training in various locations, including Beijing. She thus learned to read and write some Chinese. In 2003, she was forced into early retirement because of high blood pressure that limited her vision. She then returned to her husband's home in Yomajaa Natural Village. She told me she regretted not being educated as a child, which she felt would have given her more success than only having good social skills and being a Mongghul woman.

Kanzhuxji (right, b.1956) is originally from Gugun Village, Danma Town. She married and moved into her husband's home in Binkangghuali Village, Songduo Township. She retired in 2006.

Men from the Propaganda Department, Qinghai Provincial Party Committee inspected Zanghgua Village (the seat of Wushi Town) in July 1975, where the Wushi Town seat is located. This photo was taken in the Wushi Town government office yard when Zhunmaasu was the head of her village.
Zhunmaasuu in 1975 in the Wushi Town Government Office yard.

The background, location, and time of this photo are the same as for the previous photo.
Zhunmaasuu, Dong Shenglan, and Ding Xiumei in 1976 in Weiyuan Town.

Zhunmaasuu (center) had this photo taken in 1976 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town prior to visiting Beijing as a representative of the Mongghul people. Zhunmasuu's traditional Mongghul mengu suuga are long enough to touch the upper part of her chest. Xjiuniuri 'rectangular piece of embroidery' was sewn on a shirt at the mid-upper front.

To the left is Dong Shenglan (b. 1956), an illiterate farmer. Her parents' home is in Shdangja Village and her husband's home is in Hgarilang Village, Danma Town. She had worked a couple of years in Wushi Town as a temporary cadre. Later, she returned to her home because she was unable to make her job a permanent one. She wears embroidery that was rarely seen in Mongghul areas in the year 2000.

The Chinese woman on the right is Ding Xiumei (b. 1956). Her parents settled in Gurija Mongghul Village, Danma Town from Tianjin Municipality before 1950. She grew up in Gurija Village and speaks Mongghul. She retired in 2005.

29 This photo was used as a front cover for Schram (2006 [1954-1961]).

This photo was taken on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month in 1976 when Zhunmaasuu was in Tiananmen Square during her visit to Beijing, as arranged by the Huzhu government. She said, "It was cheap to buy things in Beijing when I was there because minorities had privileges."
Zhunmaasuu and classmates in 1978 in Huangnan Prefecture.

In 1978, Zhunmaasuu (far right) was sent to participate in a training class in the Wuqi Cadre School, Jianzha County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. In this photograph, Zhunmaasuu is with her classmates at the time they completed the training class in the summer of 1978. Teachers asked the photographer to come to the school to take photos.
Zhunmaasuu at the Summer Palace in Beijing in 1981.

In 1981, Zhunmaasuu was sent to Beijing by Qinghai Nationalities University. She studied there from 1981 to 1982 in a training class. The photo was taken in the Summer Palace. The inscription at the bottom of the photo reads 北京颐和园留影 1981 'Photo taken at the Summer Palace, Beijing in 1981'.
Zhunmaasuu in 1981 at Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

In 1981, Zhunmaasuu visited Beijing. She had been sent by Qinghai Nationalities University, where she studied from 1981 to 1982 in a training class. The inscription at the bottom of the photo reads "Photo taken in Tiananmen Square in 1981".
Zhunmaasuu and Women Federation members in 1984 in Weiyuan Town.

On 28 June 1984, Zhunmaasuu participated in the Tenth Huzhu County Women's Federation Meeting, Weiyuan Town. Zhunmaasuu (fourth from left, back row) was the leader of Danma Township. This group photo was taken in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio after the meeting. Some Mongghul women representatives from Mongghul villages in Danma Township are featured. The inscription at the top of this photo reads 出席互助县十届妇代会丹麻乡代表合影留念 一九八四, 六, 廿八 'Taken for the Danma Township representatives of Huzhu County's Tenth Women's Federation Meeting, 28 June 1984'.
Zhunmaasuu and Women Federation members in 1987 in Weiyuan Town.

On 5 September 1987, Zhunmaasuu participated in the Huzhu County's Eleventh Women Federation Meeting held in Weiyuan Town. Zhunmaasuu (fourth from left, back row) was head of the Donggou Township representatives. The photo was taken in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio after the meeting. Two women representatives dressed in Mongghul clothes and from Mongghul villages attended the meeting. The inscription on the top of the photo reads 出席县十一届妇女代表大会东沟代表团留影八七,九,五 'Taken for the Donggou Township representatives of the County's Eleventh Women's Federation Meeting, 5 September 1987'. 
文布县妇女代表大会
参加代表田巴影、江九玉
Zhaxi and Rnqan in 1961 in Yomajaa Natural Village.

This photo was taken in Zhaxi’s (left, b. 1957) home in the summer of 1961 when a photographer from the Huzhu State Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town came to his village. Zhaxi was born in Yomajaa Natural Village, Wushi Town, and studied for four years in his village's primary school. He is Zhunmaasu's husband and Danjansuu's son. He herded sheep before, at the age of eighteen, he moved to work in a cement factory in Xining, a job arranged by his father. In 1979, Zhaxi took a job in Huzhu Foodstuff Bureau in Huzhu County in 1979. In 2002, as China's enterprise reform took shape, his work unit went bankrupt. He then returned to his village to live with Zhunmaasu.

The other boy is Rnqan (right, b. 1957), Zhaxi's relative.

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30 This photo was used for the front cover for Limusishiden and Jugui (2011).
Zhaxi in Xining City in 1979 during the time he worked in a cement factory.

Zhaxi had this picture taken in October 1979 at the Xiaoqiao Photo Studio, Xining City, during the period he worked at the cement factory.
Xnsijii in 1984 at the Danma Town Government Office yard.

This photo was taken in the summer of 1984 by a commercial photographer when Xnsijii visited her daughter, Zhunmaasuu, at the Danma Town Government offices where she worked. Xnsijii (1925-1991) parent's home was in today's Bazanggou\textsuperscript{31} Township, Ping'an Region, Haidong City. She was Zhunmaasuu's mother. Her family was poor when she was very young. She often accompanied her parents to today's Shdara (Dala) Township, Ledu Region to beg. Later, she married and moved into her husband's home in the Shdara area. She had four daughters and no sons. Consequently, a boy from the Shdara area married one of her daughters and moved into her home. Searching for relief from poverty, the family moved to today's Qanza Village, Sitan Administrative Village, Wushi Town and did agricultural work for Tughuan Living Buddha.

\textsuperscript{31} It borders Hongyazigou Township, Huzhu County. Historically, many Mongghul lived in Bazanggou Township and in neighboring Ping'an Region. In 2010, only a few old people spoke Mongghul in a few villages in the Bazanggou area.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town, in the winter of 1978 of Jinhua (b. 1953), an illiterate farmer. Her parent's home is in Xuangwa Village, Wushi Town. She married and moved to her husband's home in Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. She has two daughters and one son who, by 2009, were all married. Jinhua wears a fox-fur hat, *boyin suuga*, *xriga* 'coral and turquoise necklace'. *Xriga* were rarely seen in the Huzhu area in 2010.
Kanzhuxji and Jinhua in Weiyuan Town in 1977.

This photo was taken in the summer of 1977 in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town while the two young women were visiting a relative who was being treated for a bone fracture in Huzhu People's Hospital. Kanzhuxji (left, b. 1955), Jinhua's illiterate youngest sister, married and moved to Hxin Village, Songduo Township from Xuangwa Village, Wushi Town. She lived in her husband's village for a few years. The couple later moved to Henan Mongol Autonomous County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture when her husband was assigned a government job after having been a soldier.

Several years later, Kanzhuxji's husband was promoted and assigned to work in Tongren Town, Huangnan Prefecture's government seat. Soon after they moved there, he committed suicide. A few years later, her only son committed suicide after graduating from college in Xining. Kanzhuxji lives with her daughter in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and receives a small government stipend.

Jinhua (right) is her older sister.

Their hats are made of white felt. The upper part is decorated with dark cloth. Such hats were only worn in Fulaan Nara. In the Haliqi area, young women wore black felt hats decorated with colorful or bright cloth.
Nanjaxji, Jinhua, Lirihga Niruuzhaxi, and Seventy-five in Weiyuan Town in 1990.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the summer of 1990. Jinhua sits next to her husband. Their two children stand on either side. Jinhua wears a hat with plastic flowers inserted in the front edge - something only young women did. Flowers decorate only this sort of round hat. The girl is Nanjaxji (b. 1982), who finished junior middle school and then stopped because her brother was studying at Qinghai University Affiliated Medical Collage in Xining. The parents were pressed for money and sent her to work in restaurants in Xining to help meet her brother's educational expenses. She met a local Chinese man from an eastern suburb of Xining and they married in 2008.

Jinhua's husband, Lirihga Niruuzhaxi (b. 1952), is illiterate and a farmer. Jinhua is his second wife. His first wife died in labor at his home. He first ventured outside his home area in 2009, when his daughter, Nanjaxji, invited him to sightsee in Jiangxi Province where she was working with her husband, and paid his travel expense.

The boy is Seventy-five (b. 1980), who graduated from Qinghai University Affiliated Medical College. Unable to find an official job, he became a pharmaceutical salesman in Xining.
Danjan, Mamadii, and Lashizi at the Xining Railway Station in 1985.

Front row, left to right: Danjan (1924-1997) was Lirihga Niruuzhaxi’s father. He was an illiterate a farmer, a traditional folksong singer, a tailor, a weaver, and a soldier in Ma Bufang’s army in Lanzhou. He spoke the local Chinese dialect. He died in 1997 from a cerebral hemorrhage. The second is Mamadii from Jangja Village, who studied in today’s Qinghai Nationalities University. The third is Lashizi (~1935-1994) of Jangja Village, who is an illiterate farmer. The three older men wearing zhuyozi and sashes were in Xining to buy butter to use in rebuilding their village purghan. The photo was taken at the Xining Railway Station in February of 1985. Seeing a train was a dream for many local people at this time. The three young men behind the three older men are their relatives.

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

Lansuu (1928-1993) was an illiterate farmer who never left her home area. Her parents' home was in Jangja Village. This photo was taken by a visiting commercial photographer in about 1985 at her home in Niuqi Village, Hongyazigou Township. Lansuu wears a white felt Mongghul hat with a black cloth upper part. She also wears embroidered yangzidii shoes.

Historically, Niuqi Village was considered dangerous by outsiders and many households were shunned by others because they were thought to house modaya - a ghost-like half-deity with seventy-two manifestations that prefers to live in rich people's homes. It is believed to manifest as a cat and be visible to members of the family that venerate it. It becomes very faithful and loyal to its masters in the home it lives in. It sincerely helps its masters when they ask it to bring things from other homes. It can bring anything except coins; modaya find them too heavy to move. It also worries that visitors will take something from its master's home and can cause disaster and death.
Danjan, Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's father at harvest time in 1976 in Jangja Village.

Danjan, the father of Lirihga Niruuzhaxi, from Janga Village, Hongyazigou Township. This photo was taken during harvest time in 1976 in Jangja Village by a reporter who was with the Hongyazigou Township officials who had come to inspect.
Zhualima, Gajii, Qijang, and Danjan in 1968 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in about 1968 at the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. Danjan and his relatives visited Zhualima and Qijang, who were working in Weiyuan Town. Front row, left to right: Zhualima (b. 1933). Her parent's home is in Fashidin, in the south of Hongyazigou Township. It is a Mongghul enclave encircled by Chinese villages. By 2009, only men born before about 1960 could speak Mongghul. Nevertheless, Mongghul-speaking young women often married village men. Zhualima's husband's family lives in Danja Village, Wushi Town.

Zhualima is well-known among Mongghul because, though illiterate and a farmer, she was selected to be a cadre in her husband's village. Under a policy seeking to increase the number of Mongghul cadres, especially Mongghul women, she was sent to today's Qinghai Nationalities University. She later became vice-secretary of the Huzhu County Communist Party.

The woman next to Zhualima is Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's mother's mother.33 On the right is Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's mother's younger sister, Gajii. Her age is unknown. Gajii's husband's family lived in Zhankari Village, Songduo Township. Gajii was unmarried at the time of this photo.

In the back row is Qijang (~1924-1993), a Mongghul from Danjan Village, Wushi Town. He was Zhualima's husband and an official at the Huzhu County Courthouse.

Danjan, Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's father, wears a lambskin hat.

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33 I did not learn her name.
Sunduu, his son, Sairang, and a radio in 1975 in Niuqi Village.

This photo was taken in the summer of 1975 by a commercial photographer near some trees that provide a good background. Lirihga Niruuzhaxi’s relative, Sunduu (b. 1952), holds a radio. At the time the photo was taken, such radios had just appeared in Mongghul villages, and Mongghul were proud to own such a device. Sunduu attended junior middle school in Niuqi Village, Hongyazigou Township. He wears an edged white felt hat.

Sairang (b. 1972), Sunduu’s son, wears hindazi, a traditional Mongghul shirt that Mongghul have stopped wearing. The right front part and sleeves are edged with black cloth. Sairang received a junior middle school education, and is a farmer.
Hiilun, Rnqan, Zhualimasuu, and Changminjii look at a selection of Chairman Mao's writings.

When township officials came to inspect and took this photo, villagers were divided into several groups in the fields to earnestly study excerpts from Mao's writings.34

On the left is Hiilun (1935-2004) wearing a white felt hat and a laxjang 'white woven gown made of sheep and goat wool'. A wooden shovel handle rests against his left shoulder. He was illiterate, a local folksong singer, and from Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township.

Next to Hiilun is Rnqan (1943-1998), who also holds a shovel. He was an illiterate farmer from Jangja Village. The woman looking at the book is Zhualimasuu (1924-1995), Liriagenda Niruuzhaxi's mother, whose parent's home was in Fashidin Village. At the time this picture was taken, she was head of her village's Woman's Federation. She died from esophageal cancer in 1995. Digestive system cancer is common among Huzhu Mongghul.

The woman on the right wearing a scarf and silver earrings is Changminjii (1944-1978), an illiterate farmer. Her parents' home was in Xranghuali Ama Village, while her husband's home was in Jangja Village. She died in childbirth.

34 I did not learn the date this photograph was taken.

Danjan Zhualima (b. 1951) is Lirihga Niruuzhaxi’s elder sister, from Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. She married and moved into her husband’s home in Fashidin Village. She is an illiterate farmer and has a son and a daughter, both of whom received a junior middle school education and are now farmers.

This photo was taken by a commercial photographer in Shangzhai Village (a Chinese village), Hongyazigou Township on the thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1992. The village holds an annual festival on that day that features opera performances on a stage without love song singing. The audience is mostly local, although some Mongghul from nearby areas do attend.

This photo was taken in Shangzhai Village, Hongyazigou Township on the thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1993 during an annual festival featuring opera performances on a stage. Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's younger sister, Szairangsuu (left, b. 1956), is an illiterate farmer. She married, and moved from Jangja Village into her husband's home in Fashidin Village. She has two daughters and a son. One daughter is a primary school teacher; the other two are farmers.

Sjii (center, b. 1958) lives in her husband's home in La Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. She received a senior middle school education, and worked as a driver and policewoman in Huzhu County. On the right is Danjan Zhualima, Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's elder sister. Danjan Zhualima and Szairangsuu are sisters and originally from Jangja Village. They later married and moved to Fashidin Village. Their husbands are brothers.

This photo was taken in Shangzhai Village, Hongyazigou Township on the thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1993, a time the village holds an annual festival that features local opera performances on a stage.

The three women are Lirihga Niruuzhaxi's sisters: Szairangsuu (left), Lancui (center), and Danjan Zhualima (right). Lancui (b. 1960) constantly cried when she was a baby. Her village purghan informed her father that Srangxji (Lancui's former Mongghul name) needed a gandada 'dry father' or 'godfather'. Her father then put her in his lambskin robe pouch early one morning, walked down a lane leading out of the village, and met a Chinese man from nearby Laoyinzhuang Village, a Chinese community. Her father immediately knelt and told the man that he was his daughter's godfather.

The Chinese man accepted this request and led them to his home where he gave the baby a new Chinese name - Lancui. Lancui visited her 'dry father's' home during festivals and when his family had such important undertakings as weddings and funerals. She ended the relationship after she married and moved into her husband's home in Niuqi Village.

Schram described this relationship this way:

This relationship resembles that of an adoptive father. The child is considered related to the godfather's family. During the New Year period and other important festivals, the child visits their godfather, displaying the affection and respect shown a maternal uncle. The godfather maintains a protective interest in the child and is expected to help in such things as arranging marriage. The relationship does not entail full adoption, in which case the child is taken into the family (2006 [1954-1961]:233).

The photo was taken by commercial photographers in 1994, during the Festival of Tughuan Hurin-Shzin (lit: Tughuan Twenty-Ninth), held annually in Tughuan Village, Wushi Town on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth lunar month. The photo features Limusishiji (b. 1970), an illiterate farmer, and her sons. Her natal home is in Huarin Village, Wushi Town. Her husband's home is in Kuaxi, Hongyazigou Township. Gisinen (left, b. 1988) became a monk at Kumbum (Sku 'bum, Ta'er) Monastery. Limuxja (right, b. 1990) became a farmer after graduating from junior middle school.

Tughuan Hurin-Shzin is also held annually in Fulaan Nara Tughuan Village on the twenty-eight and twenty-ninth days of the sixth lunar month. Early on the twenty-ninth day, Tughuan residents visit the temple where Tirijiijinbu is enshrined. Village men carry Tughuan Nengneng, a sedan-deity purghan, to the temple. All villagers worship Tirijiijinbu. They burn incense, light lamps, offer one or two RMB notes, prostrate, and circumambulate the temple. Villagers ask Tughuan Nengneng (Niangniang) if they should visit Rgulang and invite monks to the village to chant scriptures. They also
ask if they should go to a holy mountain peak to burn incense, offer sheep, and prostrate to ensure that drought and hailstones do not damage the village's crops.

After breakfast, visitors come to the village from other Mongghul areas to venerate Tirijiijinbu by burning incense, lighting lamps, prostrating, and circumambulating the temple. Chinese and Hui peddlers\textsuperscript{35} sell noodles, \textit{rangpi},\textsuperscript{36} clothes, farming tools, and such items as bowls, pots, scoops, and sickles. Mongghul sit in a circle along the Wushi River banks drinking liquor and singing \textit{ghadani dog} 'mountain songs'.

\textsuperscript{35} Mongghul peddlers were common in about 1998.
\textsuperscript{36}A local snack made from wheat flour and potato starch that is cooked, cut into long thin strips, and spiced with vinegar, oily powdered chili, and leek.
Limusishiji and Layinsuu at a festival in Tughuan Village.

Taken in 1997 against the photographer's backdrop of a car, this photo is of Limusishiji and her daughter, Layinsuu (b. 1992) during the Festival of Tughuan Hurin-Shzin (lit: Tughuan Twenty-Ninth), which is held annually in Tughuan Village, Wushi Town on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth lunar month.

This photo was taken in 1982 by a commercial photographer during the Tughuan Hurin-Shzin (Tughuan Twenty-Nine) Festival held in Fulaan Nara Tughuan Village on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth lunar month in 1982.

Left to right: Jirahua (b. 1963), an illiterate farmer, holds her baby son, Rnqanniruu (b. 1986). Her parent's home is in Hxin Village, Songduo Township, and her husband's home is in Huarin Village, Wushi Town.

In 2009, Rnqanniruu was a third year law student at Chang'an University, Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province. A government loan paid part of Rnqanniruu's university expenses. His father is a carpenter. A disabled uncle also lived with his family.

The young girl with flowers in her hat is Sangrijinsuu (b. 1973), the daughter of Jirahua's elder sister. Her parents' home is in Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. Her husband's home is in Huarin Village, Wushi Town. Sangrijinsuu is an illiterate farmer and suffers from rheumatoid arthritis.

Zhunmaasuu (b. 1965) is on the right. She has a primary school education, is a farmer, and is Jirahua's younger sister. She married Sangrijinsuu's husband's uncle and moved into his home in Huarin Village, Wushi Town.
Lamuxji in 1984 in Weiyuan.

This photo was taken in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town in the autumn of 1984. Lamuxji (b. 1964) is an illiterate farmer from Jisang Village, Weiyuan Town. Her husband's home is in Lughuari Village, Taizi Township.
Zhualimaxji in 1978 in Lughuari Village.

This photo was taken in the summer of 1978 by a commercial photographer who came to the village. Zhualimaxji (b. 1956) wore new, colorful Mongghul dress for this picture taken with her baby. She is an illiterate farmer. Her parents’ home is in Lughuari Village, Taizi Township. She married and moved into her husband's home in the same village. She wears long silver earrings. One end of her embroidered sash is near her left thigh. The other sash end is visible at her waist. The towel on the side of her right thigh is for decoration.

There were few Mongghul villages in Taizi Township in 2010. Lughuari was the biggest Mongghul village in the township and located in a large mountain valley. Lughuari Valley has several small subsidiary villages in small valleys. A big reservoir is located in the valley center. Willows and pine trees have been planted around the reservoir. In May 2009 when I was there scanning photos, the whole valley was green. A new hard surface road had been built and led to each village. Some old men were fishing in a reservoir, which held very clean water. Chickens and ducks from local households roved about, searching for food from the grass in the valley. Villagers said Lughuari Village maintained aspects of traditional Mongghul culture. People lived harmoniously in the mountain valley and there were very few conflicts. Lughuari Valley residents seemed to enjoy their lives more than people in other areas.

This photo was taken at the Drum Tower Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town during the Spring Festival of 1984 when Jibiijii made her first visit to her parents' home after being married for a year. Jibiijii (b. 1962) is an illiterate farmer. She married and moved into her husband's home in Lughuari Village, Taizi Township from her parents' home in Jisang Village, Weiyuan Town. Jibiijii stands beside her younger sister.
Fifty and Zojii in 1990 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in 1990 on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month in the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town during a festival. Fifty (1922-2003) was an illiterate farmer, a cadre in his administrative village for some years, and a Mongghul folksong singer. He was from Lughuari Village. Zojii (1919-1995), his wife, was also an illiterate farmer. Her parents' home was in Lughuari Village. Zojii died from tracheitis.
Fifty with his fine horse in the summer of 1986 in Lughuari Village.

These two photos of Fifty with his fine horse were taken in the summer of 1986 in Lughuari Village by a commercial photographer. In keeping with Mongghul custom, Fifty bought a fine horse when he was in his sixties, after finishing his duty of arranging his sons' marriages and building households for each. His horse is equipped with a fine Beijing-made saddle and bridle, tassels, and collar of small bells. Fifty enjoyed displaying himself while mounted on his horse, riding in and out of Lughuari Valley. He kept himself busy caring for his horse. Having a fine, well-equipped horse was considered glorious, and was the desire of many Mongghul men, but only those of well-to-do families could realize such a dream.
Fifty in Weiyuan Town in 1957.

In this photo, taken in the winter of 1957 at the Huzhu State Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town during a shopping trip, Fifty wears a Mongghul *nikii* 'lamb-skin robe' that differs from those in Danma and Wushi. The collar and front part are edged with fox fur or synthetic wool. This is not seen on collars in Danma and Wushi areas.
Cairangdunzhi in 1985 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in 1985 at the Drum Tower Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town during the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month. Cairangdunzhi (b. 1963) attended Yomajaa Primary School, Donggou Township, is a farmer, and is from Jinbughuali Natural Village, Yomajaa Administrative Village, Donggou Township. He wears a fox-fur hat and a zhuyozi. A fox hat and a zhuyozi were rare in Danma and Wushi areas where men wore long robes if they wore a fox-fur hat.

Jinbughuali Village has thirty households and is located atop a mountain. Historically, people moved to the current Jinbughuali Village from their original home in Yomajaa Village, which is located by the roadside at the foot of a mountain. The move made it more convenient to cultivate mountainside fields. Jinbughuali Ama 'Jinbu Valley Entrance' is considered to have a high concentration of evils because corpses are cremated at the entrance leading to Jinbughuali Village.
Lamuyinsuu and her baby in 1985 in Weiyuan Town.

Lamuyinsuu (b. 1966), an illiterate farmer, went to Weiyuan Town in July 1985 to have a photo taken of herself and her baby at the Drum Tower Photo Studio. Her parent's home is in Huarin Village, Danma Town. She married and moved into her husband's home in Jinbughuali Village, Donggou Township.
Lamuyinsuu and her husband, Cairangdunzhi, in Wei-yuan Town in 1985.

Lamuyinsuu and her husband, Cairangdunzhi, had this photo taken in 1985 during a festival on the Fifteenth Day of the First Lunar Month in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town.

This photo of Warimasirang (b. 1965) wearing a fox-fur hat and zhuyozi was taken in 1985 in the Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town on the Second Day of the Second Lunar Month when he participated in a festival held on that day with his older brother, Cairangdunzhi. Warimasirang graduated from Donggou Township Middle School and is a farmer. He married when he was eighteen and moved into his wife's home in Hara Bulog Village in the same township because his wife's family had no sons.
Zhualimaxji and Sixty-nine in 1975 in Weiyuan Town.

This photo was taken in the winter of 1975 at the Huzhu Photo Studio, Weiyuan Town. Zhualimaxji (1942-2008) was an illiterate farmer, skilled Mongghul embroiderer, and folksong singer. She participated in numerous weddings and funerals\(^\text{37}\) to sing what she had learned from her mother and grandmother. Her parents' home was in Yomajaa Natural Village, Donggou Township. Her husband's home was in Jinhughuali Village, Donggou Township.

Sixty-nine (b. 1940) was Zhualimaxji's husband and an illiterate farmer. He did seasonal work in the Tanggula and Lenghu areas, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and in Menyuan and Qilian counties, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He is a Mongghul folksong singer and folktale teller. In 2009, he was living with one of his sons, daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren and kept busy herding sheep. In this photo, Sixty-nine wears an embroidered tobacco bag in his sash. Sixty-nine stopped smoking his pipe in 2000 and now smokes only cigarettes.

\(^{37}\) Traditionally, many songs were sung at weddings and many lamentations were sung at funerals.
MONGGHUL IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Lamusishiji and Dangzin in Maqang Tugun Village in 2012.

I took this photo in December 2012, during Diinquari in Maqang Tugun Village. The photo shows Lamusishiji (b. 1939), with her great-grandson, Dangzin (b. 2009).

Lamusishiji's parent's home is in Maqang Tugun Village, Shdara (Dala) Mongghul Township, Ledu Region, Haidong City. When Lamusishiji, who is illiterate, was eighteen when she married and moved into her husband's home in Hxin Village, Songduo Township, Huzhu County. Three years later she divorced. A year later, she married a man living in Tughuan Village, Wushi Town. After realizing that her husband was unkind and a thief, she left him and lived with her parents. A couple of years later, she went to live in a man's home in Maridang Village, Songduo Township. Her former husband in Tughuan Village then produced a fake marriage certificate and accused Lamusishiji of leaving him and illegally marrying another man. The man she was then living with worried that his family would be accused and punished, and then asked Lamusishiji to leave. In 2012, Lamusishiji returned to her parent's home where she lived with her only son. One daughter is married and lives in Tughuan Village, Wushi Town and a second daughter is married and lives in Maridang Village, Songduo Township.

Diinquari (Tibetan: Das mchog) refers to a commemoration ritual for Jiirinbuqii, (Rje rim po che/ Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge lugs Sect of Tibetan Buddhism). Diinquari is held annually in the Shdazi area from the twenty-fourth day of the tenth lunar month to the first day of the eleventh month. It normally lasts seven days, or eight days if the tenth lunar month has thirty days. Participating villages include Maqang Tugun, Fangtuu, Shgeayili, Lashizi Kayari, and Handi, Dala Mongghul Township, Ledu Region; Yangja, Gaodian Town, Ledu Region; and Walighuan (Bagushan) and Kuaxi (Huzichang) in Hongyazigou Township, Huzhu County. The two villages, Handi and Kuaxi, historically were a single village and jointly hold Diinquari as one village.
Zhaxi, Walighuan Danzhuu, and two young men in Maqang Tugun Village in 2012.

I took this photo during Diinquari in Maqang Tugun Village on 10 December 2012. The two young men on the left are from Walighuan Village, Hongyazigou Township, but I did not record their names and ages. Next is Zhaxi (b. 1941), an illiterate farmer from Walighuan Village. He wears a lamb-skin hat and a long cloth robe. Walighuan Danzhuu (right, b. 1943) is from Maqang Tugun Village. When he was ten years old, he was sent to be a monk in Quurisang Srishiji Monastery located in today's Songduo Township, Huzhu County, where he was given the name Tankii. In 1958, under the policy of Eradicating Superstitions, he returned to his village and married a woman from Binkangghuali Village, Songduo Township, Huzhu County. He has three sons and two daughters.
Gajii, Jiraxji, Diixjinsuu, and Qaxjaxji in Maqang Tugun Village in 2012.

This photo was taken in Maqang Tugun Village during Diinquari on 10 December 2012. Gajii (left, b. 1957) is an illiterate farmer. Her parent's home is in Shgeayili Village and her husband's home is in Maqang Tugun Village, Shdara Mongghul Township, Ledu Region. When Gajii was twenty-two, she married and moved into her husband's home. Her husband died from stomach cancer when she was thirty-three years old. In 2012 she had not remarried. One of her sons was a monk in Rgulang Monastery and the other son was a farmer with whom she lived, along with her daughter-in-law and grandchildren. One of her daughters was married and lived with her husband in Fangtuu Village, until they divorced. A year and a half later, she was murdered by her ex-husband. The younger woman wearing Mongghul clothes is Gajii’s daughter-in-law, Jiraxji (b. 1989), who studied for three years in primary school. Her parent's home is in Fangtuu Village. The third woman is Diixjinsuu (b. 1991) whose parent's home is in Fangtuu Village. After graduating from junior middle school study, she found work in a restaurant in Xining City. Qaxjaxji (right, b. 1991), is also from Fangtuu Village and also found work in a restaurant in Xining City after completing junior middle school study.
Zhualimaxji and Jirahua in Maqang Tugun Village in 2012.

Zhualimaxji (left, b. 1993) is a Mongghul woman whose natal home is in Handi Village, Shdara Mongghul Township, Ledu Region. A junior middle school graduate, she married and moved into her Mongghul husband's home in Fangtuu Village. She did not wear Mongghul clothes at this most important Mongghul festival in their hometown, though she lives in Fangtuu Village.

Jirahua (right, b. 1993) studied in primary school for three years and then married and moved into her Mongghul husband's home in Binkangghuali Village, Songduo Township, Huzhu County. I took this photo during Diinquari held in Maqang Tugun on 10 December 2012.
APPENDIX: FILMS WITH MONGGHUL AUDIO

- Ahun's New Story, Ahun xinzhuan 阿混新传
- Blood in Dongchang, Dongchangxue 东厂血
- Dreaming of an Official Post, Wushameng 乌纱梦
- Emei Flying Bandit, Emei feidao 峨嵋飞盗
- Expertly Making Money, Shengcaiyoudao 生财有道
- A Female Incarnate Lama (two parts), Nǚhuofo 女活佛
- Full Happiness Gate, Xiyingmen 喜盈门
- Glittering Red-Stars, Shanshan de hongxing 闪闪的红星
- Hometown Voice, Xiangyin 乡音
- Iron Heart, Tieshi xinchang 铁石心肠
- Kindling Mountain Village, Shanzhai huozhong 山寨火种
- The Little Black Box, Heixia diexueji 黑匣碟血记
- Mongghul Customs, Tuzu fengqing 土族风情
- Peacock Princess, Kongque gongzhu 孔雀公主
- A Petty Officer, Qipin zhimaguan 七品芝麻官
- Princess Tana, Yusuigongqing 玉碎宫倾
- Scientifically Raising Swine, Kexue yangzhu 科学养猪
- A Six-Jin County Leader, Liujin xianzhang 六斤县长
- The Tearful Snowy Capped Mountain, Xueshanlei 雪山泪
- White-Dragon Sword, Bailongjian 白龙剑
- Yao Mountain Spring, Yaoshanchun 瑶山春
REFERENCES


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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

A

Aba 阿巴 (Rnga ba) Tibetan and Qiang羌 Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

aimozi (ermaozi 耳帽子), ear-hat, a round hat decorated with light yellow or silver patterns. It has a low brim with four sections that are long enough to cover the ears on cold days. These four pieces fold up inside the fur lined hat during warmer weather

Alternate Member of the Central Committee, Tenth and Eleventh congresses of the Communist Party of China, Zhongguo gongchandang dishi shiyi zhongyang weiyuanhui houbu weiyuan 中国共产党第十，十一中央委员会候补委员

An Shengsheng 安生胜, a person's name

anzhog (anzhao 安召), circle dance widely performed in Mongghul areas in a household, around the small flower plot in the courtyard center or in front of the household gate, if a wedding is being held. It is also performed in lanes or on threshing grounds in winter during the New Year period. Typically, one or two male singers lead the singing and dancers while others (mostly women) follow. The dancers first bend forward while swinging their arms left and right twice, then turn their bodies with their arms stretched into the air. Several songs may accompany the dance.

B

Banma 班玛 (Pad ma 保玛) County, Guoluo (Gilog, Mgo log, Guoluo, Golok) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

barefoot doctor, chijiao yisheng 赤脚医生
basi hai, cloth shoes
Bazanggou 巴藏沟 Township, Ping'an Region, Haidong City
Beijing 北京, China's capital
Beishan 北山, area that includes today's Jiading Town and Bazha Township, Huzhu County
Beishan Forest Mill, Beishan linchang 北山林场
Binkangghuali (Benkanggou 本康沟) Village, Songduo Township
Binxian 彬县 County, Shaanxi Province
Bojashiwu (Baojiashiwo 保家石窝) Village, Donggou Township
boqi (boji 簸箕), winnowing tray
boyin suuga, long silver earrings
Buja (Bujia 补家) Village, Danma Town

C
Caijiabu 蔡家堡 Township, Huzhu County
Cairangdunzhi, a person's name
Cao Ji'an 曹继安, a person's name
Caojiayao 曹家窑 Village, Donggou Township
Chang'an 长安 Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province
Chang'an University, Chang'an daxue 长安大学
Changbog (Changbao 长宝), a person's name
Changminjii (Chang Mingjie 长命姐), a person's name
Changning 长 宁 Township, Datong Hui and Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County
Chen Qingming 陈青明, a person's name
Chileb (Longwang Shan 龙王山) Mountains
Chunhua 春花, a person's name
chuula, long robe

D
Dala 达拉 Mongghul Township, Ledu Region; a person's name
dalimog (dalimao 大礼帽) round hat, usually green and blue
Dangzihuа, p'u lu, phrug 毯, woolen cloth
Dangzin, a person's name
Danja Village, Wushi Town
Danjan, a person's name
Danjan Zhualima, a person's name
Danjankuari, a person's name
Danjansirang, a person's name
Danjansuu, a person's name
Danma 丹麻 Town, Huzhu County
Danma Love Song Meeting, Danma xi 丹麻戏
Danma Middle School, Danma zhongxue 丹麻中学
Danma River, Danma he 丹麻河
Danma Town Government Office, Danmazhen zhengfu 丹麻镇政府
Danzzhuu, a person's name
Dasilu 大寺路 Village, Weiyuan Town
Data Office, Ziliaoshi 资料室
Datong 大通 Hui and Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County
daxi 大戏 (qinqiang 秦腔), folksong style common in Shaanxi Province
Delingha 德令哈 City, the capital of Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Diinquari, dus mchog odus
Diixjinsuu, a person's name
Diizangxji, a person's name
Ding Xiumei 丁秀梅, a person's name
diudiuri, pocket
Doing Away with Superstition, Pochu mixin 破除迷信
Dong 东, surname
Dongdatan 东大滩 Township, Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province
Donggou 东沟 Township, Huzhu County
Donggou Township Middle School, Donggou zhongxue 东沟中学
Dongjie 东街 Street, Weiyuan Town
Dongshan 东山 Township, Huzhu County
Dong Shenglan 东生兰, a person's name
Drum Tower Photo Studio, Gulou zhaoxiangguan 鼓楼照相馆
Dulan 都兰 County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Durijiqishija, a person's name
Durijisishiden (Dong Siyuan 董思源), a person's name
Durijixji, a person's name
Durishidii (Duoshidai 多士代) Village, Weiyuan Town
F
Eradicating Superstitions, pochu mixin 破除迷信
Fangtuu (Qianbangou 前半沟) Village, Ledu Region
Fashidin (Xingjia 星家) Village, Hongyazigou Township
Feng Lan 凤兰, a person's name
Fifteenth Day of the First Lunar Month, Zhengyue shiwu 正月十五
Fifty (Wushi 五十), a person's name
Fifty-three (Wushisan 五十三), a person's name
Flying Pigeon (Feige 飞鸽), bicycle brand
Fulaan Nara (Red Sun), place name
funiga maligha, fox-skin hat
Fushinjii, a person's name
**G**

Gaga, a person's name

Gagog (Gage 小哥, Little Brother), only the first or most beloved son is given this name

Gajii (Gajie 小姐, Little Sister), only the first or most beloved girl is given this name

*gandada* (dry father), surrogate father

Gangcha 刚察 County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Gangu 甘谷 County, Gansu Province

Gannan 甘南 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Gansu 甘肃 Province

Gaodian 高店 Township, Ledu Region

Gao Yulan 高玉兰, a person's name

Gayuai, a person's name

Geermu 格尔木 (Golmud) City, Qinghai Province

*ghadani dog* (*hua'er* 花儿), songs often featuring romantic content

Gisinen, a person's name

*guguazi*, sleeveless short gown

Gugun Village, Danma Town

Gulou 鼓楼, Drum Tower

Gumang Village, Wushi Town

Gunbuxji, a person's name

Guo Qifa 郭启发, a person's name

Guoluo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Guoluo zangzu zizhizhou 果洛藏族自治州

Gurija (Qiaojigou 乔吉沟) Village, Danma Town

**H**

Haibei 海北 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Haidong 海东 City
Hainan 海南 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Haixi 海西 Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Haliqi, place name
ham, boots
Han 汉, nationality in China
Handi (Hantai 旱台) Village, Ledu Region
Hangzhou 杭州 City, Zhejiang Province
Hara Bulog (Heiquan 黑泉) Village, Donggou Township
Henan 河南 Province
Henan 河南 Mongol Autonomous County
Hgarilang Village, Danma Town
Hgarimuxji, a person's name
Hiihubog, a person's name
Hiilun, a person's name
hindazi, Mongghul shirt buttoning on the right side
Hongyazigou 红崖子沟 Township, Huzhu County
hua'er 花儿, love song
hua'er hui 花儿会 flower song meeting
Huangnan 黄南 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Huangyuan 湟源 County, Xining City
Huarin (Hualin 桦林) villages, Danma and Wushi towns
Huhehaote 呼和浩特 (Hohhot) City, capital of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region
Hui 回, Islamic ethnic group in China
Huzhu 互助 Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County
Huzhu County Archives, Huzhu danganju 互助档案局
Huzhu County Forest Bureau, Huzhuxian linyeju 互助县林业局
Huzhu County People's Hospital, Huzhuxian renmin yiyuan 互助县人民医院
Huzhu Courthouse, Huzhu fayuan 互助法院
Huzhu Culture Bureau, Huzhu wenhuaju 互助文化局
Huzhu Culture Center, Huzhu wenhuazhan 互助文化站
Huzhu Department Store, Huzhu baihuo gongsi 互助百货公司
Huzhu Foodstuff Bureau, Huzhu liangshiju 互助粮食局
Huzhu Farmhouse Factory, Huzhu nongjichang 互助农机
Huzhu Government Health and Education Section, Huzhu zhengfu weisheng jiaoyu ke 互助政府卫生科
Huzhu Grocery Company, Huzhu shipin gongsi 互助食品公司
Huzhu Nationalities Middle School, Huzhuxian minzu zhongxue 互助县民族中学
Huzhu Number One Middle School, Huzhu diyi zhongxue 互助第一中学
Huzhu People's Photo Studio, Huzhu renmin zhaoxiang-guan 互助人民照相馆
Huzhu Photo Studio, Huzhu zhaoxiangguan 互助照相馆
Huzhu State Photo Studio, Huzhu guoying zhaoxiangguan 互助国营照相馆
Hxin Village, Songduo Township

I

Inner Mongolia Forestry College, Neimenggu linxueyuan 内蒙古林学院

J

Jangja (Zhangjia 张家) Village, Hongyazigou Township
japenzi, short sleeveless gown with a front garment
Jiading 加定 Town, Huzhu County
Jiangxi 江西 Province
Jianzha 尖扎 County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
jiao 角, 0.1 RMB
Jibiijii, a person's name
Jiirinbuqii, Rje rin po che / Tsong kha pa 量尺
Jilog (Jiaoluo 角落) Village, Danma Town
Jinbughuali Village, Donggou Township
Jinbughuali Ama, Donggou Township
Jinhua, a person's name
Jirahua, a person's name
Jiraqog, a person's name
Jiraxji, a person's name
Jisang (Jijiawan 吉家湾) Village, Weiyuan Town
Jiuja, a person's name
Jiutenbog, a person's name
Jugui (Lu Wanfang 鲁万芳), a person's name
Kanzhuxji, a person's name
Kuaxi (Huzichang 胡子场) Village, Hongyazigou Township
Kumbum (Sku 'bum byams pa gling 布久無量寶炬林, Ta'ersi 塔尔寺) Monastery, Huangzhong County, Xining City
La Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township
Labrang (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil 拉卜楞寺; Labuleng si 拉卜楞寺) Monastery, Gansu Province
Laichai (Wang Zhengqing 王正清), a person's name
lama 喇嘛, monk
Lamudinjiri, a person's name
Lamuxja, a person's name
Lamuxji, a person's name
Lamusishiji, a person's name
Lamuyinsuu, a person's name
Lancui, a person's name
Lanjia 兰家 Village, Weiyuan Town
Lansuu, a person's name
Lanzhou 城, capital of Gansu Province
Laoye 老爷 Temple, located at the center of Dasilu Village, Weiyuan Town
Laoyingzhuang 老营庄 Village, Hongyazigou Township
larang, administrative division managed by incarnation lamas
Lashizi, a person's name
Lashizi Kayari Village, Ledu Region
Lawaa (lawa 拉哇) Village, Danma Town
laxjang, white woven gown made of sheep and goat wool
Lazhuang 拉庄 Village, Danma Town
Ledu 乐都 Region
Lei Xiangchun 雷向春, a person's name
Lenghu 冷湖, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Lhasa (Lasa 拉萨) City, capital of Tibet
Li Hongkui 李洪奎, a person's name
Limang Village, Donggou Township
Liminkuari, a person's name
Limudanzhuu, a person's name
Limudiinjiri, a person's name
Limukari, a person's name
Limurinqan, a person's name
Limusishiden (Li Dechun 李得春), a person's name
Limusishiji, a person's name
Limuxja, a person's name
Limuxji, a person's name
Lamuyinsuu, a person's name
Limuzhunmaa, a person's name
Lin Biao 林彪, a person's name
Lin Zongxian 林宗显, a person's name
Li Jiuyan 李九燕, a person's name
Li Shengrong 李生荣, a person's name
Linxia 临夏 Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province
Lirihu Niruuzhaxi, a person's name
liruu, tracheitis
Liuja (Liu jia 柳家) Village, Danma Town
Liu Shihua 六十花, a person's name
Liu Shijiu 六十九, a person's name
Longwang 龙王 (Dragon King), male purghan
logxjii, towel that can be bought from local shops or made at home using a combination of red, white, black, and blue cloths
Lü Cunjie 吕存姐, a person's name
Lughuari (Dacaizigou 大菜子沟) Village, Taizi Township
Luxuu (Luoshao 落少) Village, Donggou Township

M
Ma Bufang 马步芳, warlord (1903-1975) and member of the 'Ma Dynasty' that controlled much of northwest China from the 1860s to 1949
Mamadii, a person's name
Mantu (Mantou 曼头), Monastery, Danma Town
Mao suit, Sun Yatsen suit, Zhongshanzhuang 中山装
Mao Zedong 毛泽东
Maqang (Majuan 马圈) Village, Wushi Town
Maqang Tugun (Baiya 白崖) Village, Ledu Region
Maridang (Madong 麻洞) Village, Songduo Township
mengu suuga, silver earrings
Menyuan 门源 County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
miinliu (mingliu 酿馏), locally made highland barley liquor
militia company deputy commander (minbinlian fulianzhang 民兵连副连长)
minban 民办, unofficial or 'community' teacher paid a low salary
modaya (maodaye 猫大爷), ghost-like, half-deity with seventy-two manifestations
Mongghul (Tu 土族, Monguor, Mangghuer), ethnic group in China
Mo Zilong 莫自龙, a person's name

N
Nangbog, a person's name
Nangnangbog, a person's name
Nanjaxji, a person's name
Nanjing Changjiang 南京长江 River Bridge, a bridge in Nanjing City
National People's Congress Delegate, Tenth and Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of China, Zhongguo Gongchandang dishi shiyi quanguo renmin daibiao dahui daibiao 中国共产党第十，十一全国人民代表大会代表
National Tax Bureau, Guoshuiju 国税局
Nengneng (Niangniang 娘娘), female deity
Niidog, a person's name
Niidosirang (Li Deyuan 李得元), a person's name
nikii, sheepskin robe
Ningxia 宁夏 Hui Autonomous Region
niudaari, traditional Mongghul headdress for women
Niuqi (Liushuigou 流水沟) Village, Hongyazigou Township
Njaa (Wenjia 温家) Village, Danma Town
njasi, plow
Northwest Normal University, Xibei shifan daxue 西北师范大学
Northwest Nationalities University, Xibei minzu daxue 西北民族大学
Nuomuhong 诺木洪，Dulan County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Organization Bureau (Zuzhibu 组织部)

'Phags pa don 'grub борбагдаан донгру

Party's National People's Congress, Dangde quanguo renmin daibiao dahui 党的全国人民代表大会

Party's Ninth National Congress, Dangde dijiujie quanguo daibiao dahui 党的第九届全国人民代表大会

Ping'an 平安 Region, Haidong City

pinxiazhongnong 贫下中农, poor middle peasant category

procuratorate (jianchayuan 检察院)

Propaganda Department (Xuanchuanbu 宣传部)

Pudang (Pudonggou 普洞沟) Village, Danma Town

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

Qandazi, decoration made with three to four square shaped embroidered parts that hangs from a woman's sash on her right thigh

Qanza (Qianzuo 前座) Village, Wushi Town

Qaxjaxji, a person's name

Qi Jianlin 祁建林, a person's name

Qiao Zhiliang 乔志良, a person's name

Qighaan Sghalidii Aadee, White Beard Grandfather

Qihua, a person's name

Qijang, a person's name

Qijiu, a person's name

Qilian 祁连 County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Qinghai Province

Qinghai Daily (Qinghai ribao 青海日报), newspaper name

Qinghai Nationalities University, Qinghai minzu daxue 青海民族大学

Qinghai Provincial Ethnic Affairs Committee, Qinghaisheng minzu shiwu weiyuanhui 青海省民族事务委员会

Qinghai Provincial Party Committee, Qinghai shengwei 青海省委

Qinghai University, Qinghai daxue 青海大学

Qinghai University Affiliated Medical College, Qinghai daxue fushu yixueyuan 青海大学附属医学院

Qishijadanzhuu, a person's name

qiuhai, autumn shoes

Qixihua, a person's name

Qiyansuu, a person's name

Quanjii, a person's name

Qulang Village, Danma Town

Quurisang Srishiji (Huayuansi 花园寺; Dpa yon dgon), Monastery, Huzhu County

R

Rangghuali Village, Donggou Township

rangpi, local snack made from wheat flour and potato starch

Rdangyan Village, Wushi Town

renming 人命, destruction of a home in the course of demanding compensation for a dead daughter from her husband's family

Rgulang (Youningsi 佑宁寺; Dgon lung dgon pa), Monastery, Huzhu County

Rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ a person's name

Riyue 日月 Township, Huangyuan County, Xining City

RMB 元, a Chinese currency unit
Rnqan, a person's name
Rnqanhua, a person's name
Rnqanniruu, a person's name
Rnqanzhuma, a person's name
Ruzangzhuma, a person's name
Rnqaxji, a person's name

S

Saihua, a person's name
Sairang, a person's name
Salar (Sala 撒拉) Muslim ethnic group in China
Sangjixji, a person's name
Sangrijinsuu, a person's name
Schin, a person's name

Second Day of the Second Lunar Month (Eryueer 二月二)
Seagull (Hai ou 海鸥), camera made in Shanghai
selection of Chairman Mao's works, Mao Zedong xuanji 毛泽东选集

Seventy-eight, Qishiba 七十八, a person's name
Seventy-five, Qishiwu 七十五, a person's name
Shaanxi 陕西 Province
Shandong 山东 Province
Shang 高, surname
shan'ge 山歌 'mountain songs', type of folksong
Shanghai 上海 Municipality
Shanghai Wangkai Photo Studio, Shanghai wangkai zhaoxiangguan 上海王凯照相馆
Shanxi 山西 Province
Shangzhai 上寨 Village, Hongyazigou Township
Shdanba, a person's name
Shdangja (Dongjia 东家) Village, Danma Town
Shdara (Dala 达拉) Mongghul Township, Ledu Region, Haidong City
Shdazi, area in Huzhu and Ledu counties
*shduri guudi*, long woolen thick garment
Shehuo 社火, local Chinese song and dance performance
*shge*, big
Shgeayili (Dazhuang 大庄) Village, Huzhu and Ledu counties
Shuujii (Shoujie 寿姐), a person's name
Sichuan 四川 Province
Sishijinsuu, a person's name
Sitan 寺滩 Village, Wushi Town
Sitan Primary School, Sitan xiaoxue 寺滩小学
Sixty-two (Liushiai, Liushier 六十二), a person's name
Sixty-nine, Liushijiu 六十九, a person's name
Sjii (Sijie 四姐), a person's name
Slidii (Songde 松德) Village, Danma Town
Slidii Bridge, Songde qiao 松德桥
Slidii Primary School, Songde xiaoxue 松德小学
Smeen (Ximi 西米) Village, Wushi Town
Snbog (Shengbao 生宝), a person's name
Songduo 松多 Township, Huzhu County
*spenuwa* (four pieces), round hat
Srang, a person's name
Srangjaxi, a person's name
Srangxji, a person's name
Sughua (Suobutan 索卜滩) Village, Danma Town
Sughuasirang, a person's name
Summer Palace (Yiheyuan 颐和园), landmark in Beijing
Sunduu, a person's name
Sun Yatsen suit, Mao suit, Zhongshanzhuang 中山装
Szairangsuu, a person's name
Szanghuali (Nianxian 念先) Village, Donggou Township
Tankii, a person's name
Taizi 台子 Township, Huzhu County
Tanggula 唐古拉, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Tayixji, a person's name
Tiananmen 天安门 Square
Tianjin 天津 Municipality
Tianjun 天峻 County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Tianshui 天水 City, Gansu Province
Tianzhu 天祝 Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province
Tirijiijinbu (Thu’u ru gcen po རྒྱུན་པོ་, a deity venerated in Tughuan Village, Wushi Town
Tongde 同德 County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Tongren 同仁 County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Tudigaige 土地改革, Land Reform Movement
Tughuan, villages in Wushi and Danma towns
Tughuan Hurin-Shzin (Tughuan Twenty-Nine), annual Mongghul festival held in Fulaan Nara Tughuan Village on the twenty-eight and twenty-ninth days of the sixth lunar month
tulighui juuligha (head put-on), traditional Mongghul ritual for a girl who remains in the home in which she was born and takes lovers and bears children
Turentai 土人台 (Mongghul platform), Huzhu area Mongghul gathered at a platform for love song meetings in the pre-1950 era
tuushang (tousheng 头绳), hair string
Tuzuzhige 土族之歌, Mongghul Song, a journal once issued in Huzhu County

W
Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山) Village, Hongyazigou Township
Walighuan Danzhuu, a person's name
Wang Dexin 王德新, a person's name
Wangkai 王凯, a Shanghai photo shop
Wang Rongguo 王荣国, a person's name
Wanshou 万寿, a famous hill in Beijing
Wang Yongan 王永安, a person's name
Wang Yongfeng 王永峰, a person's name
Wang Zhengbiao 王正彪, a person's name
Warima (Wama 哇麻) Village, Danma Town
Warimaka, a person's name
Warimarinzin, a person's name
Warimasirang, a person's name
Wei Detai 魏得泰, a person's name
Weiyuan 威远 Town, Huzhu County seat
West Lake, Xihu 西湖
Women's Federation, Fulian 妇联
Wufeng 五峰 Township, Huzhu County
Wuqi 五七, cadre school during the Cultural Revolution
Wuquan 五泉 Mountain, Lanzhou City
Wuquan Mountain Photo Shop, Wuquanshan zhaoxiang guan 五泉山照相馆
Wushi 五十 Town, Huzhu County; a person's name
Wushi Middle School, Wushi zhongxue 五十中学
Wutai 五台 Mountain, Shanxi Province
Wuxihua, a person's name
Xiahe 夏河 County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province
Xiangride 香日德, Dulan County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Xi'an 西安 City, capital of Shaanxi Province
Xi'an Sports College, Xi'an tiyu xueyuan 西安体育学院
Xiaoqiao 小桥 District, Xining City
Xiaoqiao Photo Studio, Xiaoqiao zhaoxiangguan 小桥照相馆
Xie Xianzhen 谢先珍, a person's name
Xining 西宁 City, capital of Qinghai Province
Xining People's Photo Studio, Xining renmin zhaoxiang-guan 西宁人民照相馆
Xining Railway Station, Xining huochezhan 西宁火车站
Xi Yuanlin 席元麟, a person's name
Xi Yuanmin 席元明, a person's name
xjiuniuri, piece of rectangular embroidery sewn on a shirt at the mid-upper front
Xnsijii (Xinsijie 星四姐), a person's name
xosuu deel, gown edged with red, yellow, green, and blue and featuring long sleeves of five-colors
Xranghuali (Shagoushan 沙沟山) Village, Wushi Town
Xranghuali Ama Village, Wushi Town
xriga, coral and turquoise necklace
Xuangwa (Beizhuang 北庄) Village, Wushi Town
Y
Yangja (Yangjia 杨家) Village, Ledu Region
Yang Shenglian 杨生莲, a person's name
yangzidii hai, embroidered and tassel-tipped colorful shoes
Yomajaa (Yaomajia 姚麻家) villages, Wushi Town and Donggou Township

Z

Zangdii, a person's name
Zanghgua (Sangshige 桑士哥) Village, Wushi Town
Zhang Chengxiang 张成祥, a person's name
Zhang Fengqing 张凤琴, a person's name
Zhang Yongqing 张永庆, a person's name
Zhankari Village, Songduo Township
zhanmog maligha, felt hat
Zhao Yongkuo 赵永廓, a person's name
Zhaxi, a person's name
Zhejiang 浙江 Province
Zhinzan, a person's name
zhozhozidii maligha, a cap with a cloth visor that can easily be held
zhuangtou 庄头, person hired by a landlord
Zhualima, a person's name
Zhualimasuu, a person's name
Zhualimaxji, a person's name
Zhuang Xueben 庄学本, a person's name
Zhuarishidi (Zhuashitu 抓什图, Baizhade 白扎德, Zhade 扎德, 白抓子) Village, Danma Town
Zhumanbin, a person's name
Zhunmaaqog, a person's name
Zhunmaasuu, a person's name
Zhuujari, a person's name
zhuyozi, warm clothes for the upper body buttoning on the right side
Zibo 淄博 City, Shandong Province
Zojii, a person's name

Zongjia 宗加 Town, Dulan County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture