MANGGHUER EMBROIDERY: A VANISHING TRADITION

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ABSTRACT
Visits were undertaken in the years 2001 and 2002 to Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province, China to research and document Mangghuer embroidery. This research is summarized in terms of the history of Mangghuer embroidery, tools and materials, embroidery techniques, embroidered items, and embroidery's significance in Mangghuer women's lives. The materials are illustrated with numerous photographs.

KEYWORDS
embroidery, Mangghuer, Minhe, Monguor, Qinghai, Tu

INTRODUCTION

Embroidery was an appreciated art in Imperial China and used to decorate the robes, palaces, and homes of the rich and powerful, and continued to be used in similar ways in the early twenty-first century (Demick 2012):

In 2011, Chinese bought more Lamborghinis and Rolls-Royces than anybody else in the world. In time for Chinese New Year this month, Rolls is unveiling a "Year of the Dragon" model with hand-embroidered versions of mythical animals on leather headrests. Prices start at $1.6 million.

However, alongside embroidery adding to the grandeur and magnificence of the elites, embroidery was also produced and consumed in much more modest circumstances. While many city and urban dwellers were poor, they also embellished their environment with embroidery, particularly for special occasions.

Much material in various languages on Chinese embroidery exists. A Google search for the term 'embroidery in China' on 4 January 2012 returned 280,000 hits. However, this literature often focuses on describing the most well-known embroidery-producing areas, e.g., Suzhou, Guangdong, Sichuan, and Hunan (Wang 1987, Chung 1979, Bertin-Guest 2003, Jiangsu Handicraft Art Society 1986, Zuo Hanzhong 1994). This obscures the abundance of embroidery produced in rural China, especially among ethnic minorities who have long, rich traditions of embroidery, including hand-sewn costumes, hats, and other objects of use. Wang (1987:14) mentions:

...the Miao, the Mongolians, the Uyghurs, the Yi, the Li, the Aini and others, who with their different historical background and traditions, besides making special textiles for consumption at home, also produced a great variety of exquisite and useful embroideries with a charm of their own.

According to Minick and Jiao (1966:18), "Tiaohua ("cross-stitch embroidery") is a traditional Miao technique practiced over a thousand years." And Prunner (1983:52) writes:

Die Schönheit der Webereien, Stickereien und Batiken der Völker des Südens hat bereits in der Song-Zeit (10. – 13. Jh.) die Aufmerksamkeit der Chinesen erregt, als derartige Arbeiten als
Tributgaben (zongbu) an der chinesischen Hof kamen...

The beauty of weaving, embroidery and batik of the peoples of the South was already established in the Song Dynasty (10th – 13th centuries), and attracted the attention of the Chinese, when such works came as tribute gifts (zongbu) to the Chinese court...

Folk embroidery impresses with its naiveté and impressive artistic ensembles, made all the more notable when bearing in mind that many of the makers received no formal training. Especially astonishing is how this beautiful tradition of folk embroidery – including silk embroidery – was carried out and maintained to this day, even in remote, and relatively poor regions along the eastern outskirts of the Tibetan Plateau – among the Mangghuer (Tu) people of Sanchuan in Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province.

My first contact with Mangghuer embroidery came in 1999 when I joined the seminar on the Languages and Peoples of Qinghai while studying at the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki. At the end of the course, I wrote about the wedding ceremonies of Chinese families in Jingning Village, Gan'gou Township, Minhe County, on the basis of an article by Hu and Stuart (1992a), which noted that ceremonies in this area seemed to be similar to wedding rituals of Mangghuer living in southern Minhe County.

While reading related materials, I found mention of the bride and her family preparing embroidered articles as presents for the groom’s relatives. However, the material I had access to lacked detailed information about these embroidered wedding gifts and the Mangghuer embroidery tradition, and there were no pictures. In my youth, I had created a number of embroidered articles – hangings, pillow covers, and initials on sheets, towels, and pillowcases. This partially explains my interest in embroidery. My curiosity thus aroused, I decided to visit the Mangghuer to learn more about their embroidery, local circumstances, possibilities of finding assistants and informants, and creating a network of contacts.

While preparing for my first trip in 2001 I received a message from Dr. Kevin Stuart, an American researcher who had been living in China since 1984. I thank him for the success of my investigation and for helping make my visits in Qinghai possible. He also had a personal collection of Mangghuer embroidery that I was able to photograph, scan, and study. I also had excellent local assistants, including Zhu Yongzhong from the Sanchuan Development Association (SDA) and Wen Xiangcheng in 2001, and Ma Taohua and Zhu Chunhua in 2002. They all appreciated the importance of my work and tried to help me in every way possible. I am very grateful to them. All these individuals speak Mangghuer, Chinese, and English, which was essential for me because the old women in the villages spoke Mangghuer, which I did not understand, and my Chinese was very poor.

During my 2001 and 2002 visits, I interviewed women between the ages of sixty and eighty, and their daughters and granddaughters to learn about their embroidery; embroidery implements they used in their youth, and how and where they acquired them; what objects they had embroidered and for whom; and to better understand the importance of embroidery in their lives. Everyone I met was very positive about my study. The women enthusiastically showed their embroidered items to me and described them. A Mangghuer widower in Chenjia Village showed me beautiful embroidered items that had been created by his wife.
When did Mangghuer begin to decorate their costumes with embroidery? How old is their embroidery tradition? Answers to these questions are difficult, but the technique and also the designs are of a very high level, suggesting development over many generations.

The Russian explorer Grigory (Grigorij) Nikolayevich Potanin (1835-1920) mentions in his travelogue (1893) that he and his wife participated in a Mangghuer wedding and were told that the bride had personally made the embroidered pillows displayed on the *kang* for the benefit of the wedding guests. During the wedding, embroidered gifts were given to members of the groom's family, and the groom's family also gave gifts (380):

Подарки заключались в кусках материи и в расшитых шелком квадратиках, нашиваемых на подушки.

The gifts consisted of pieces of cloth and silk embroidered squares sewn on pillows.

In Schram's study (1932:48) of Monguor weddings we find:

Les femmes en particulier s'intéressent fort aux cadeaux; elles examinant les étoffes et le fini des broderies, surtout celles des manches et des deux bouts des ceintures. On travaille souvent des mois et des mois à ces pieces. L'examen achevé on amène la fiancée.

The women in particular are very interested in gifts; they examine materials and the beauty of embroidered objects, especially the sleeves and the ends of the belts, the preparation of which has required months and months. When the inspection is finished, the bride is brought in.

A description of an embroidered item appears in Stuart and Hu's (1992:75) article on Mangghuer funerals, "The boy and girl with plate-and-liquor-flagon motif also are embroidered on stuffed pillow ends, and this pillow is used in the coffin, under the head of the corpse."

Traditionally, there is much singing at Mangghuer weddings, and I asked the interviewees if the songs mention embroidery. No one remembered any songs mentioning embroidery. In an article by Qi et al. (1999:89-90) concerning wedding ceremonies in Minhe County, however, a song called Embroidering Flowers [Xiu lianhua] is mentioned. While it lacks information about making embroidery, 'embroidering flowers' is repeated as a refrain.

The interviewees also did not know anything about the history of their embroidery, but certain objects were said to be very old – "from the ancestors." Some items that no longer had a present model – for example, previously used multi-colored, embroidered 'fake sleeves' or a wedding outfit, which could only be admired at the exhibition at the Culture Center in Guanting Town, where a traditional Mangghuer festive outfit with an apron, collar, and head ornament were on display.

**Tools and Materials**

In embroidery we use needles, fabric, thread, pincushions, thimbles, and paper design patterns (Lü Jinlianmei) (F1).  

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1 'F' refers to 'Figure'. Jennifer Lai took photographs 6, 37, 40, and 49, Raisa Luomi took 5 and 11, and SDA took 8, 19, 21, 30, 44, 53, 54, 55, and 57. I took the others.
Clothes and shoes were generally made of cotton but silk was also common, if available, in embroidery. Many interviewees told me, however, that their families had been very poor; consequently, they used cotton instead of silk. Both fabrics and threads were purchased from peddlers, and later in stores. La Neia² (b. 1923) said that when she was a child there were no shops; they first appeared in the 1970s.

According to Deng Sangmei (b. 1924), hemp was cultivated in her home village and thread was spun from it and used for weaving bags and sewing shoe soles. Only one interviewee said her home had possessed a loom, which was used to weave fabrics for bags and sleeping pads. Only men wove with looms in Sanchuan.

Zhu Guobao (b. 1929) reported that when she was preparing woolen thread and fabric, she borrowed a drop spindle from her husband’s brother. The weight was of stone and the shaft was of wood.

It was not easy to find a loom in the village. I found looms far from our village. Looms were used to weave fabrics for bags. We used sheep wool to make thread. We prepared bed clothes and outerwear with this thread. We used these clothes even when we were working in the field. We used white cloth to make socks, but we did not know how to knit socks from yarn. Few people knew (Lü Jinlianmei).

Figure 1. Nuo Shuangxihua’s sewing tools: thimble, threader, scissors, and embroidered pincushion with needles.

² My notes contain this entry, but it is surely a mistake. Mr. Zhu Yongzhong suggested it might be Lu Nuer or La Erhua.
Many interviewees reported that it was difficult to obtain thread, and that silk was especially expensive (F2). Sometimes gold-coated thread acquired from monks was used.

Figure 2. An Liumei kept silk threads inside an old book. On the right is a stiff paper template for a pillow end panel.

The peddler purchased cotton thread from very far away, maybe from Lanzhou or elsewhere. At that time, thread and needles were expensive, unlike today (Lü Jinlianmei).

Threads were sold in bundles consisting of twenty-five different colors. The price of a bundle was one yuan. A bundle of five different colors could be bought for this price in 2001. Interviewees stated that colors remained unchanged (F3).
If a suitable color was unavailable, white fabric and thread were dyed (F4). All dyes were derived from plants before the invention of aniline dyes in England in 1856 and their entry into China around 1870 (Garrett 1997:15). The interviewees also reported that, in their youth, plant leaves and old sunflower seeds were used in dying.

A black or blue dye was made by boiling sunflower seeds for twenty minutes. It was used especially for dyeing fabrics. Vegetable-based dye was more permanent than synthetic dyes, and also faded nicely over the years. Interviewees reported that synthetically dyed fabric and thread began losing color in ten years' time. Commercial dyeing powder was bought from peddlers.

The needles were straight and very short – two to three centimeters long – so that they would not bend when pushed through a thick layer of fabrics. They were expensive. La Neia reported that when she had no mother "nor anyone else," she borrowed a needle and thread from her friends, or stole wheat or eggs from home in order to buy supplies from peddlers. She first bought items at age twelve and was very pleased to go by herself to make purchases from the peddlers. She had some money at this age because she was already a skilled sewer and had made embroidery for other girls. Even so, she could not afford an entire package of needles, because it was too expensive. Each 'pack' contained twenty-five needles, and the price was five 'coins'. Eggs were a common medium of exchange when supplies were obtained from peddlers.

Needles were kept in beautifully embroidered pincushions (F5) when not in use, which also displayed the maker's embroidery skills because it hung from a button on the woman's dress, where it was easily accessible.
Figure 4. Old apron in appliqué. The background and appliqué fabrics were colored with vegetable dyes that have faded nicely over time (K. Stuart’s collection).

Figure 5. Pincushion with plum blossom design embroidered in sa technique. Made by La Neia (author’s collection).
The Mangghuer did not use metal pins but, instead, templates were usually fastened on the fabric with a few stitches. At times, small sharp pieces of stiff paper were put through the template and the fabric under it to keep the template in place.

No special embroidery scissors were used. Scissors with round handles, of different sizes were used.

The thimble – a sewing ring – was important. It was impossible to sew without a thimble because the layers of fabric in thick soles of shoes for bound feet had to be attached with needle and thread and were up to two centimeters thick.

The Mangghuer thimble differs from its Western counterparts by not covering the tip of the finger but being shaped more like a ring. It is a one centimeter wide metal ring, with small dents in the surface that prevent the needle from slipping out of position when sewing through fabric. The ring is closed or open with overlapping ends to fit around the finger. It is worn around the second joint of the third finger and not often taken off (F6).

When I was a child, I put it on my finger and now I cannot take it off (La Neia).

The needle threader (see F1) was rare – only two interviewees had one. It is small, gun-shaped, and very different from what I have seen used in the West.

Figure 6. La Neia’s thimble.
Mangghuer did not use rectangular embroidery frames traditionally used in Chinese embroidery. They preferred embroidery hoops, where the fabric is tightened between a pair of concentric circular rings. Round hoops are light and easy to handle (F7).

Figure 7. Zhang Xihua doing *duoke* using a hoop.

Patterns were usually adapted from the mother or friends, but some women drew and cut them themselves, after looking at other's works. Li Xinghua (b. 1940) told me that, in her village, flower designs were made by moistening flowers, which were then glued on newspaper or yellow paper burnt as offering to deities or the ancestors and cut along the contours for a pattern.

Templates made out of stiff paper are very practical in preparing pillow ends: the template allows the same motif to be reversed for a mirror-image (F8). None of the interviewees said they bought paper templates; instead, they made them themselves. Some skilled cutters in the village were also asked to make templates.
The design was traced on cloth using various methods. The most expert embroiderers drew designs directly on the fabric. If a paper template was used, it was placed on the cloth and the pattern contours were drawn with ash. The template could also be left below the embroidery as support material.

Paste was needed to fasten two or more layers of cloth onto each other when a stable embroidery base was necessary, for example, in shoes, apron pockets, pillow ends, soles, and insoles. If a paper template was left under the embroidery pattern, it was fixed to the bottom fabric with paste or by tacking with thread. The paste was prepared by boiling flour and water until they formed a mixture of appropriate thickness. Preparation required twenty to fifty minutes, and required constant stirring.
EMBROIDERY TECHNIQUES

Sa Technique

The oldest interviewees reported that they had used only the sa technique, which consisted mostly of satin stitches with different variations. There were also other stitches: chain stitch, stem stitches, cross stitches, Pekinese stitches, knot stitches, and gold work (F9). The metal-coated thread for gold work was bought from the monks. Beautiful 'dog's tooth' stitching was applied while finishing pillow ends, where the embroidered pattern was 'framed' with cotton cloth, along with ordinary back stitches and cross stitches.

Figure 9. Example of sa technique that mainly includes satin stitches with variations (K. Stuart's collection).
**Appliqué technique**

Decorative *appliqué* was evident in old aprons where the base fabric is decorated by sewing designs on it cut from a separate fabric (F10).

Figure 10. Example of *appliqué* on an old apron pocket. The fabric is decorated by sewing designs cut from separate fabric (K. Stuart’s collection).

**Woke Technique**

The interviewees born in the 1960s and 1970s also reported using the *woke* technique, which is a mixture of Romanian couching, also known as Oriental couching, and Bokhara couching where the slanting stitches are arranged to form lines across the laid threads, e.g., in large flowers and leaves (Webb 2006). This technique began to be popular in the 1970s and was common in flat pillowcases and various hangings. In Mangghuer embroidery, the stitches are sewn extremely tightly with a single strand of thread (F11). When worked with lustrous cotton, the embroidery is very attractive. Making it was very laborious and time consuming and it thus fairly soon went out of use when another new technique appeared.
Duoke Technique

The duoke technique is a fast and very impressive embroidery technique that is also known as punch stitchery or Russian punch needle stitch (F12). It was introduced to the Mangghuer in the 1980s. I was unaware of this technique in 2002, as were the textile lecturers at Helsinki University whom I consulted. I later found Punch Needle Marketplace on the Internet, and learned of its popularity in the USA.

The duoke tool featured on Punch Needle Marketplace consists of a needle and a handle. The Mangghuer, however, worked with only a needle that is very different from an ordinary sewing needle. The duoke needle is hollow and the eye is at the tip of the needle, as in a sewing machine needle. The thread passes through the hollow needle, and sewing work is done from the reverse side of the work following the pattern. The surface is thus filled so that the needle is ‘topstitched’ through the fabric, with each injection leaving a small loop beneath the fabric. The loops of about one millimeter in length are very close together, producing a soft, terry-like surface. As already mentioned, the Mangghuer used a needle without a handle and also an electric punch machine with batteries, which also are available online. In the early 2000s, duoke had replaced both antecedent techniques.

Khuleghsi ganger Technique

Khuleghsi ganger technique is another modern technique used by the Mangghuer, similar to Core-wrapping Embroidery (Wang 1987). Instead, however, of thick thread for ‘padding’ the Mangghuer use a thin sliver of bamboo, which is closely covered by small stitches in horizontal rows (F13). The stitches must be worked tightly together and can be seen on the reverse side of the item. When a row is finished the bamboo sliver is removed and placed closely adjacent to the earlier row, and another row is started. The result of the khuleghsi ganger technique is a soft surface of loops resembling the duoke technique. This technique is only used in insoles.
Cross-stitch Technique

Cross-stitch embroidery is currently popular among the Mangghuer, especially in sewing insoles (F14). The Mangghuer do not use a fabric where the threads are 'pre-calculated' (e.g., canvas). Instead, the fabric is drawn into two-three millimeter squares with a ballpoint pen and then the pattern is sewn on it. I have photos from more than fifty cross-stitch insoles and the patterns are all different.
Life of Mangghuer Women and Embroidery in Different Life Stages

Mangghuer women did embroidery throughout their lives until a few decades ago. Young girls learned to make and embroider clothes and shoes, followed by preparing wedding gifts and items for her trousseau, and then made clothes for her family and in-laws. When a daughter-in-law gradually began doing the heaviest chores, her mother-in-law concentrated on caring for the grandchildren and, finally finished her last embroidery, the burial clothes for herself and her husband.

Childhood – Learning to Embroider

Learning embroidery skills began at the age of five to fifteen, but the most common starting age was twelve. Lü Jinlianmei told me that she was a skilled embroiderer by the age of eight, even though she had started sewing at the age of seven. The girl's first teacher was usually the mother, or if the mother had died when the daughter was very young, a grandmother, aunts, older siblings, or friends advised her. If there was no guide, others were observed.

The brightness and warmth of summer encouraged sewing. Poverty meant oil was not burnt in the evening for sewing work.
I could sew only during the daytime. We had just a little oil, and we could not make shoes or other clothing accessories under lamplight. Sometimes my mother made shoes in the moonlight (Lü Jinlianmei).

The first embroidered articles were made for oneself, "because they were not yet very good." One woman told me she made a pillow for herself, and another said she made an embroidered collar for a dress. If the mother had died, the girl made her own shoes, thus her first embroidered articles were often shoes for bound feet, which were very demanding to make. (F15)

First, I made a pair of shoes for myself. Some girls embroidered collars, but I did not because my family was very poor. It was not easy to find cotton fabric to make shoes. Most families in our village were poor; there were just a few wealthy ones (Nuo Shuangxihua, b. 1931).

Figure 15. Ma Tianxi's shoes for bound feet. The vamp's size is about fifteen centimeters and made of black cotton with black ties and embroidered in silk showing motifs of butterfly and begonia. The sole, which is about two centimeters high, is made of densely layered, stitched cotton.

The Han Chinese tradition of binding women's feet to resemble 'lotus buds' probably started after the fall of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The style was introduced at the court quickly and spread gradually until it was prevalent throughout the country. During the Qing Dynasty an attempt was made to stop foot binding – the feet of Manchu women were not bound – but it was not until the late 1800s that the custom began to fall into disuse and was eventually banned in 1912 by the new Nationalist Government. However, actual attempts were not made to ban foot binding in Sanchuan until the

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4 Dr. Stuart said (summer 2001) that, to his knowledge, the Mangghuer were the only Mongol-related people who bound girls' feet.
The old tradition, however, did not change overnight, and continued in remote Mangghuer areas. Mothers worried that a daughter with unbound feet would remain unmarried.

My feet were bound when I was six years old. My parents helped bind them. If I did not bind them tightly enough, my mother scolded me. After my mother's death, I bound them myself. My feet were already very small when my mother died (Ku Yingchunlan, b. 1920).

Youth – Trousseau and Wedding Gifts

After the basics of embroidery skills were mastered, girls began preparing trousseau and wedding gifts, regardless of whether or not a marriage had been arranged. The trousseau consisted of clothes or fabrics for the bride's own use, sometimes for her entire lifetime, or at least for the first few years of marriage – "for eating", as one interviewee said, i.e., without putting a strain on her husband's family's economy.

Some girls began preparing their trousseau at the age of twelve, because it often required three to five years. Female family members contributed to this work, because the eventual bride required a wide range of embroidered items for her own use and for gifts to be given at the wedding to the groom and his relatives. These works demonstrated the bride's needlework dexterity and worthiness as a bride to her future groom and his mother.

The apron was an important item in the bride's trousseau in the early twentieth century. Interviewees reported that a girl could not marry without it (F16). Other articles included pillows with embroidered ends, clothes, shoes, and a wedding dress, if the family could afford it. None of the interviewees I consulted had a wedding dress; however, a woman's outfit reproduced according to an old Mangghuer festival costume was on display at the Guanting Culture Center.

Interviewees prepared up to several tens of embroidered items as gifts to be distributed at the wedding to the groom and his family. Decorative items of this type included pillows with embroidered ends, clothes, boots, and soles. Wallets and festive sashes were less common. A bride from a poor family brought only fabric to the groom's home, and used it to make clothes for herself.

The trousseau items and the wedding gifts were completed and stored in a wooden trousseau chest until the bride went to the groom's home (F17).

An Liumei (b. 1941) said that most brides had a trousseau chest and stated that her father gave her such a chest when she was twelve. Some interviewees borrowed a chest because they lacked one of their own. The chests were painted red or black, and decorated with paintings of various colorful floral motifs. Rich girls usually had two chests while poor brides had only one chest, or none. The chests and the items inside were displayed to wedding guests during the wedding ritual, and the bride was not present at this time.

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Zhu Haishan was a Tibetan Buddhist monk from Sanchuan’s Puba Valley. He had close ties to the Republican government and its representatives, including the ninth Panchen Lama, and carried out a series of modernizing reforms in Sanchuan that included building schools and a library, anti-Japanese propaganda, and anti-footbinding campaigns. He was born sometime in the late nineteenth century and died sometime in the mid-twentieth century. See Zhu and Stuart (1996) and Roche and Wen (2013) for more.
Figure 16. Apron with a detachable pocket. The designs depicting auspicious symbols of peonies, butterflies, peaches, pomegranates, and Buddha's hand, have been finely embroidered in sa technique (K. Stuart's collection).

Figure 17. Trousseau chest from Minzhu Village.
I had only one trousseau chest, where I put my clothes, shoes, and long pillows. I could not show them to the guests myself, but I heard guests saying that some of the items were good; some of the items were not so good (Zhu Guobao, b. 1929).

When I visited, many interviewees told me that they had given their chests to relatives when they married, or had discarded them. Ku Yingchunlan said that she had refused an offer to sell her chest.

The interviewees’ reports revealed that their parents arranged their marriages, and spouses were generally from other villages. Potanin mentions that the girl was definitely from another village, because the natal village belonged to a single extended family. However, marriage within the same large village is acceptable when the bride and groom are unrelated or not closely related. Historically, the girl had to have small feet and had to know how to embroider. A beautiful face was unimportant.

Generally, a rich man married a rich girl and poor married poor. Parents helped their children find a spouse. They could not see each other before the wedding (Nuo Shuangxihua, b. 1931).

The interviewees remembered the arrival of the bridal entourage at the groom’s home. It was an important moment for the future daughter-in-law because the trousseau chests were opened and all the contents displayed for the wedding guests, who then rated her skills. Exquisite embroidery helped to gain the mother-in-law’s approval.

When the gifts made by the bride were distributed, the groom usually received a pair of boots with embroidered soles and heel supports, and often clothes, and sometimes a wallet or a sash. In-laws were given pillow ends, clothes, or boots. Pillow ends were given to the uncles and other guests.

In the late 1880s, the groom’s relatives gave gifts of fabrics and pillows decorated with embroidered ends to the bride’s relatives. This custom was discontinued between that time and the time when my interviewees married.

Adulthood – Embroidered Gifts for the Family

Some interviewees told me that after marrying, and if time allowed, they continued making embroidered sock soles, heel supports, pillow ends, and pockets for aprons or vests. They also helped their husband’s sisters make embroidered items, because a beautiful trousseau of a relative was also an honor for the daughter-in-law.

Some of the items that I found most attractive were the hats mothers embroidered for their sons. The Mangghuer traditionally highly value sons, who represent the future of the family, and bear responsibility for parents and ancestors. Giving birth to a son also gave new power and prestige to the mother in her husband’s home. Without sons, a woman was considered primarily an economic burden. It is thus understandable that embroidered hats made for the boys were labor intensive and beautiful.

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6 For example, Zhu Yongzhong (personal communication, 2012) quotes a male resident of Xiakou Village: "My father’s younger sister married a man and moved into his home in the Xie Family group. He lives about a half kilometer from her natal home in the same village. She is from the Laozhuang group.”
Old Age – Burial Clothing

At the age of about sixty, a woman gradually begins preparing coffin clothing for herself and her husband. She may be helped by her daughters or daughter-in-law. I hesitated at first to ask interviewees about articles related to funerals. However, death is not a sensitive subject. As Stuart and Hu (1992b:68) note, "Death for the Minhe Tu is not an end but merely the conclusion of one revolution of an endlessly spinning wheel of existence." All the interviewed women were delighted to show me their beautiful funeral clothing. This clothing was usually wrapped in a scarf and stored in a locked cupboard on the kang. They also put on the costumes so that I was able to take photographs.

Xin Youfang (b. 1940) said that embroidered coffin accessories were used only after 1950, and earlier, she said, ordinary clothes and pillows were used. Only embroidered shoes, pillow ends or pillow covers, and chin rests are used today, in the 2000s.

EMBROIDERED ITEMS OF THE MANGGHUER

Footwear

A Mangghuer woman traditionally made footwear for herself and for her husband. Shoes for women were for bound feet and men's shoes were short boots with thin cotton soles. In 2001, buying shoes was widespread among the Mangghuer, although hand-made shoes were common in mountain villages.  

Shoes for Bound Feet

Women, born 1920 to 1940, used khuzhutai hai 'hook shoes' for bound feet. Mangghuer shoes for bound feet differ from the 'lotus shoes' of Chinese women in model and size. The ideal shoe size of Chinese women was seven to thirteen centimeters measured from tip to heel, and the shoe tip often tapered downward. The sole of the Mangghuer women's shoes ranged from twelve centimeters upwards, depending on how tightly the feet were bound in childhood, and the shoe tip curled upwards, hence the term 'hook shoes' (F18).

Chinese lotus shoes, Manchu women’s platform shoes, and Mongol women’s shoes with an upturned tip (as can be seen in the Museum of Mongolian Costumes in Ulaan Baatar in Mongolia) all seem to have influenced Mangghuer shoes. Jackson notes (2000:49) that Manchu women were not permitted to adopt the Chinese custom of foot binding, thus the platform shoe was a Manchu woman's unique response to foot binding. Feet elevated on platforms made it appear that the wearer had bound feet when she walked, wobbling a bit, in her long gown.

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7 There were traditionally plains and mountain villages, and mountain villages were both poorer and more conservative.
Figure 18. Shoes for bound feet embroidered with silk on cotton fabric. The thick sole is stitched by hand with hemp yarn (Chenjia Village).

A Mangghuer shoe's thick platform sole was made by pasting several layers of cotton fabric and stitching them together with thread. The soles were 1.5 to two centimeters thick. The uppers were usually made of black cotton fabric and embroidered in different colors with silk thread. A heel flap facilitated pulling the shoe on the foot and the shoe could be strapped around the ankle with ribbons.

Normally, we used left-over cotton from trousers to make footwear. The cloth was poor quality and the cotton was from another place. Sometimes we dyed the fabric green, and then used it to make shoes. We bought dye from peddlers. Sunflowers were also used for dyeing (Lü Jinlianmei).

The hook shoes – also made for the coffin – were usually embroidered with colorful flowers. However, I noticed an embroidered spider on one grandmother's shoes. When I asked her why she had chosen a spider motif, she replied, "I think it’s so beautiful!"

Ankle Covers

The shaghai jier 'ankle cover' is an embroidered item that is tied above the mouth of Mangghuer women's little shoes for bound feet to cover the white cloth wrapped around the ankle (F19). This embroidery should have a strip for tying.
Figure 19. Ankle covers by Zhu Changminghua. Embroidery with black thread on blue cotton is framed with black edging. The design shows tiny butterflies and a pattern, reminiscent of an endless knot.

Boots and Socks

I saw only one pair of old fabric boots still in use in a village in Puba. The lady of the house brushed most of the mud off the boots, to allow me to study them in more detail. The boots were about twenty-five centimeters tall, made from black cotton, and had cotton lining. The sole and the heelpiece were embroidered (F20).

Figure 20. Short boots in black cotton with a thin sole, from Puba Village. The sole and the heel pieces are embroidered with floral designs in back stitch.
The boot soles consisted of three or four layers of fabric. The top black cotton cloth was embroidered in green thread with floral motif (F21), and the heel, as well, with a flower, a Chinese cabbage, a gourd, and so on. Sometimes the heel pieces were made of white cloth and the embroidery thread was either green or colorful cotton thread (F22).

Figure 21. Embroidered soles made by Nuo Shuangxihua. The floral design is finely embroidered in green thread with tiny back stitches, barely visible to the naked eye.
Lü Jinlianmei told me that they used white cloth when making socks, but did not know how to knit them from thread. Only a few people knew how to do that. Nowadays, socks bought from shops are strengthened with leftover embroidered soles and heel pieces (F23).

Figure 22. Three heel pieces embroidered in sa technique with multicolored or green thread with floral designs and another three with monochrome thread in Pekinese stitch with gourd and butterfly designs (K. Stuart's collection).

Figure 23. Modern utilization of leftover embroidered soles and heel pieces (K. Stuart's collection).
**Homemade Shoes**

In the early 2000s, men, women, and children have flat shoes. The women's and children's shoes are strapped with a ribbon and button, or are buckled. Such shoes were made entirely of fabric and embroidered in earlier times (F24 and F25). Nowadays, it is possible to buy a white plastic sole and attach an embroidered fabric cover. Such shoes feature very little embroidery and only a small floral motif in satin stitches is embroidered on the upper edge (F26). Men's black canvas shoes lack embroidery.

Figure 24. Homemade woman’s shoes with full cotton soles stitched with hemp thread (Minzhu Village).

Figure 25. Homemade child's shoes with fully embroidered soles (Chenjia Village).
Insoles

Insoles are commonly used in shoes with a hard plastic bottom, which were previously used as outer soles. Women prepare insoles when they have leisure time. The insoles consist of three or four layers of fabric that are combined either by embroidering through the fabric layers, or the top fabric is first embroidered and fixed to the layers and finished with a lining fabric, for example, with a sewing machine. The edges are finished with a fabric strip, which is attached either by hand or by machine. While embroidering insoles, duoke technique (F27) and cross stitches (F28) are currently used, but I also saw some pairs of beautiful insoles embroidered with satin stitches (F29) and with khuleghsi ganger technique (F30).
Figure 27. Eye-catching floral designs on insoles embroidered in *duoke* technique (Puba Village, author’s collection).

Figure 28. Insoles with different patterns executed in cross-stitch (Zhujia Village, author’s collection).
Figure 29. Insoles with refined figures and colors, worked in sa technique (Jingning Village).

Figure 30. Two pairs of colorful insoles in khuleghsi ganger technique (Nongchang Village).
Pillows and Pillow Ends

The old fashion pillow or 'long pillow', is about forty centimeters long, tube-shaped, and has square-shaped ends of about eighteen centimeters. The pillow itself is made of simple cotton fabric but the ends are beautifully embroidered. Long pillows are still used in some homes (F31).

Figure 31. Long pillow in cotton with an embroidered end panel depicting a crane and a butterfly among lotus flowers (Minzhu Village).

I saw many embroidered long pillow end panels, because they have been traditional wedding gifts. A pair of ends with complementary motifs is usually attached with a thread and when needed, may be fixed to a pillow.

Foundation cloth was cotton or silk, while the embroidery thread was almost always silk. The color of the base fabric was unimportant and might be black, red, green, or bright yellow. The color of the fabric should, however, highlight the colors of the embroidered pattern. In pillow ends only the sa technique is used (F32).

The embroidery designs were usually large, colorful flowers, birds, and butterflies, which most women mentioned as favorites. The peony was by far the most popular of the flowers.

When the pattern is completed, it is framed, generally by black, but sometimes with red cotton cloth. The frame is a three to four centimeter wide fabric strip adorned with dog’s-tooth stitching, which combines the pattern and the border. The back is covered with glossy red paper. As some of the pillow ends were several decades old and passed in a family from one bride to another, the red backing paper of some pillow ends was torn.
Figure 32. Pillow end depicting a flower and a butterfly embroidered in sa technique with refined colors. The embroidered silk end panel and the black cotton frame are combined with cross-stitches and beautiful dog's-tooth stitches (Puba Village, author's collection).

Modern pillows are flat, and their ruffle-edged uppers are purchased or manufactured in white fabric. They are also embroidered: the earlier ones with woke technique (F33), but solely with duoke technique more recently (F34).

Figure 33. Modern flat pillow case embroidered in woke technique (Puba Village, author's collection).
Aprons and Apron Pockets

The Mangghuer apron was historically commonly worn. It was diamond-shaped and covered the chest and stomach (F35). Garret (1977) suggests that this model is developed from accessories of the Ming Dynasty, such as Chinese women used into the early twentieth century. The apron has a narrow top, slightly less than ten centimeters in width, and widens at the base to a semi-circular bottom. Fabric strings are tied around the neck and the waist.

Figure 35. Apron with detachable pocket, made by Zhao Xiulan.
A striking detail of the Mangghuer apron is a large pocket on the lower part, beautifully embroidered with various-colored threads. The model is usually a huge flower with butterflies, but there may also be geometric patterns, or mice, cats, or rabbits in the edging fabric. When the pocket was worn out from everyday use, it was removed and discarded and a new pocket was sewn on it. Such aprons are now rarely used, although I saw a few aprons and about ten old pockets.

Pockets for Sleeveless Jackets

Instead of the traditional apron, women may wear a sleeveless jacket or vest covering the chest and back, reaching to the waist and buttoned on the right side (F36). An embroidered pocket is sewn on the jacket and can be removed when necessary and replaced with a new one. A pincushion often hangs from the jacket button. Because the use of jackets has decreased, I saw many exquisitely embroidered, unfinished pockets (F37, F38, and F39).

Figure 36. Vest/Sleeveless jacket with a detachable embroidered pocket and a pincushion (Chenjia Village).
Figure 37. Pocket for a sleeveless jacket made by Nuo Shuangxihua. Exquisite embroidery depicting a phoenix and a peacock with peony and lotus flowers. The bottom piece features four small designs outlined with gold thread in Pekinese stitch. The motifs include (1) Buddha's hand and pomegranates, (2) butterfly and peony, (3) butterfly and lotus, and (4) begonia and cat.

Figures 38 (left) and 39 (right). (Left) detail from an unfinished vest pocket with embroidered phoenix and goldfish surrounded by flowers and butterflies. (Right) The reverse side of the pocket, showing the backing with small leftover pieces of cotton fabric (K. Stuart's collection).
Pincushions

A pincushion consists of a soft, padded cushion for the needles, and a pull-on hood (F40). The hood is covered with silk and embroidered, with a different motif on both sides. There is a long loop at the top of the interior part that passes through the hood, which is pulled down to cover the needles so they do not prick the carrier.

Figure 40. Pincushion made by La Neia.

Collars

A collar was a luxury item that daughters of poor families did not make. It was attached to either a short festive jacket or to a vest. A vest collar was made of simple cotton fabric or embroidered. The collar of a festive jacket was always embroidered (F41).

Figure 41. The collar of a festive jacket is made of yellow silk, embroidered in silk with floral motifs and lined with black cotton cloth (Guanting Culture Center collection).
Sleeve Decorations

Until the 1950s, women sewed 'fake sleeves' to their dresses. The sleeves were sewn of six to seven strips of different colors, giving the illusion that several gowns were worn. A wider strip in the middle was beautifully embroidered. I did not see any old 'fake sleeves' while interviewing, but in the Guanting Culture Center I saw new ones, made after old models (F42).

Figure 42. 'Fake sleeves' in a woman's dress, one pair decorated with embroidery (Guanting Culture Center collection).

Head Ornaments

Embroidered and bead-embellished head ornaments were worn on the forehead during weddings and on special occasions. I saw such a head ornament in the exhibition room in the Guanting Culture Center (F43), and another was introduced to me by Xin Youfang (b. 1940) in Baojia Village, who had prepared it a week before her wedding.

Figure 43. Head ornament (Guanting Culture Center collection).
Wallets

Wallets were usually wedding gifts, prepared by the bride. A wallet is about seven by twenty centimeters and has three folds (F44 and F45). The upper material is usually plain cotton fabric, and occasionally corduroy. Phoenixes, flowers, Chinese cabbages, and other themes were embroidered on the surface with back stitches using, commonly, green single core thread, although other colors were also used. The three inside pockets were embroidered in silk with motifs of flowers, Buddha’s hand (fingered citron), butterflies, mice, and so on. The pocket mouths were finished with impressive dogteeth stitches and the edgings of the whole wallet were usually lined with a separate fabric strip sewn in back stitches or cross stitches.

Figures 44 (left) and 45 (right). (Left) an old wallet with three folds is closed with press-studs. The motifs of the wallet made by Li Baoshou include peonies on both sides and a pomegranate in the center. (Right) a wallet with three folds is decorated with narcissus, Buddha’s hand, and a cat. The pocket is lined in dog’s-tooth stitch and the edges with zigzag stitch (K. Stuart’s collection).
Sashes

A long sash worn by men on ceremonial occasions was also an important wedding gift to the groom. It was about ten by 180 centimeters and made of plain cotton cloth with intricately embroidered ends featuring different patterns on both sides. An embroidered bag might also be attached to the sash (F46).

Figure 46. A man's festive sash. The ends of the sash are embroidered, with different patterns on both sides. The detachable pocket reflects the same flower motifs (Guanting Culture Center collection).

Caps

Caps made by mothers for their sons were very similar to caps used by Chinese emperors in ancient times (F47). The domed part of the hat is made of six pieces, and two red ribbons hang from the top, instead of a silk tassel used in an emperor's cap. The Mangghuer used to place an old Chinese coin on the top of the hat under the knot.
Xin Youfang described making and decorating the hat:

First you cut six pieces and fix them together with small sticks. Then you make an edging strip and cut the models for flowers. Then you take a needle and thread and sew the flowers. Putting a coin above the hat under the knot is an old custom. Only this kind of coin can be used. Around the coin there are zigzag stitches. The knot above the coin brings health; it is some sort of prayer to the gods. The two ribbons hanging from the hat are purely decorative, as well as the sequins. Hats were made for children three years of age and older, and could be used as long as you wanted, even in old age. Hats, of course, were different in size. It took me about five days to make a hat.

Fan Holders

Fans are used in some villages during Nadun festivals in summer and Yanguo Festivals in winter. Men dance during Nadun for many hours and emphasize their steps by moving fans to the rhythm of drumbeats. When resting, the fan is slipped into the fan holder that hangs from the button of the costume. The fan holder is embroidered in silk thread on cotton fabric with different motifs on both sides (48).
Covers and Wall Hangings

Modern embroidery is represented by covers and wall hangings, embroidered using duoke technique. Quilts and pillows are folded on the kang neatly against the wall, and covered with an embroidered cloth when not in use. There may be three or four such bundles side by side, depending on how many people sleep on the kang (F49). Covers can also be used in front of an open shelf of a kitchen cabinet or on the TV to protect it from dust. The Mangghuer do not use tablecloths.

Figure 49. Modern embroidery is represented in the house of La Neia by covers and wall hangings, embroidered using duoke technique. The motifs from left to right: goldfish and flowers, tiger with peaches, and phoenix and peacock with flowers.
If the family has a young daughter-in-law, the back wall of the *kang* might be decorated with a long embroidered hanging, about one meter high and 2.5 meters long, made by the daughter-in-law for her trousseau and brought into her new home (F50 and F51).

Figure 50. Wall hanging in *duoke* technique featuring numerous auspicious symbols in the center pattern: Mandarin ducks, peonies, lotus, and Chinese characters stating *xingfu* (happiness) in the center, and *ronghuafugui* (prosperity) on the sides. Made by Jinzimei.

The material of covers and wall hangings is white cotton cloth and the embroidery thread is single unmercerized cotton thread with luminescent colors. The designs are larger and more diverse than in objects embroidered with the traditional *sa* technique, which consists mostly of flowers, birds, and butterflies. The covers and the hangings are often decorated with a variety of such longevity symbols as cranes and pine trees, with big flowers and goldfishes. More modern designs include panda bears and Disney-style fawns *a la* Bambi. There were also Chinese characters wishing good luck and long life.

Figure 51. A multicolored cover made in Chenjia Village, featuring many auspicious symbols embroidered in *duoke* technique: cranes, bats, butterflies, different flowers and the character *shuang xi* 'double happiness'.

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8 While examining Mangghuer embroidery motifs, I realized that there were many patterns such as pomegranates, lotuses, peaches, mandarin ducks, cranes, pines, bamboo, and so on that are symbols of fertility, prosperity, harmonious marriage, and longevity in the Chinese context. However, when I asked the women who made such embroidery, they told me they did them because they regarded them as beautiful.
Burial Clothing

The coffin clothing (F52) includes long and short jackets, a pillow, shoes, possibly a chin rest, a hat for men, and a black headscarf for women.

Figure 52. Burial set for Zhu Changminghua: shoes for bound feet, a chin rest, and a long pillow with end panels with flower motif, all embroidered in sa technique with silk.

The deceased might be dressed in more than one gown, e.g., Nuo Shuangxihua showed me two long and three short funeral gowns, one of which was padded, because it is believed the deceased may become cold on the way to the afterlife. The colors of the gowns are blue, brown, black, bright red, or pink. An Liumei said the gown material should be valuable silk from “a good silk area,” preferably from Sichuan (F53).
Figure 53. A couple from Heyan Village dressed in their funeral attire: short and long gowns of silk brocade. The woman’s shoes are embroidered with a floral motif on the tip. The man’s shoes are plain and black. The woman wears a black scarf and the man a felt hat.

The coffin pillow was a long pillow with embroidered ends, if the interviewees themselves made it (F54). If young daughters-in-law prepared the pillow, it was flat with an embroidered cover (F55). According to the Mangghuer, the coffin pillow must not include images of animals, birds, or butterflies. Generally, there were only flowers or a flower vase – a Chinese pictorial symbol for peace – with a boy on one side and a girl on the other, who escort the deceased to the afterlife. One holds a teapot, and the other holds a bowl or a tray with a big loaf of bread or steamed buns. The long pillow’s fabric is cotton or silk and the colors are black, blue, brown, bright red, or yellow. The flat pillowcase is plain white cotton.
Figure 54. Nuo Shuangxihua’s long burial pillow with a design of a flower vase – a symbol of peace – and a boy on one side and a girl on the other, who escort the deceased to the afterlife. One holds a teapot, and the other holds a bowl or a tray with a big loaf of bread or steamed buns.

Figure 55. A flat pillowcase for a funeral, worked in duoke technique by Ma Xiuying.
Among the flat shoes for the coffin, only one large flower was embroidered on the tip of the shoe. Men’s funeral shoes are not embroidered (F56). A one or two yuan banknote was put into empty shoes, because it is believed empty shoes bring bad luck. Those who dress the deceased then took the money.

Figure 56. Black funeral shoes for men and two pairs of shoes for women with feet that were bound in the 1940s and then unbound in the 1950s. Heyan Village.

The funeral items in some villages include a small cushion to be put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed (F57). The chin rest is a small cylindrical cushion with a diameter of five to six centimeters. It will be put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed. The cushion itself is made of silk, and attached to round ends embroidered with flower patterns. A one yuan banknote was also put in the chin rest.

Figure 57. A chin rest – a small cylindrical cushion – is put under the chin of the deceased to keep the mouth closed. The material is silk brocade and the end panels are embroidered with a flower motif. Made by An Liumei.
**Storing Embroidered Items**

Old, embroidered articles prepared for the coffin were kept in a large cupboard standing on the *kang*, the modern 'trousseau chest'. The upper cabinets often had glass doors, through which beautifully folded thick silk quilts, often received as a wedding gift, were visible. The lower part of the cabinet was locked, but from this stash the women took out a bundle, which included beautiful ends of old long pillows, unfinished apron pockets and clothes made for their funeral. I photographed them and then these items were folded, carefully wrapped in a large scarf that was tied, and then the bundle was returned to the closet and locked up.

**Embroidery's Significance**

In many traditional communities, craftsmanship and particularly sewing skills are part of a woman's virtue in addition to skills related to the household. Crafts provide practical benefit to the maker and a way to creatively express experiences enriching everyday life. The skill to sew and embroider among the Mangghuer has also had a particularly important role from the point of view of the community as well as of women. If a girl could not do embroidery it was difficult for her to find a husband who was considered an appropriate match based on the families' social position and economic condition.

While girls were instructed from childhood in the making of handicrafts, not all were equally adept. If a girl's embroidery work was poor and her family could afford it, skilled embroiders were hired. In the community, however, this was not viewed favorably because it meant a waste of resources. "In this case, one had to give thread and fabric to the maker, which meant the cost was twice as much thread and fabric as doing it yourself," recalled Lü Jinlianmei.

It was very important that the girl could embroider, because she had to prepare gifts for her wedding. If she could not, her parents were forced to buy embroidered items for the wedding, which was a waste of money. But if she had small feet, and she could make beautiful embroidery, then when the girl reached her groom's home the guests said, "Oh, that's a decent girl." If she did not know how to embroider, it was very difficult for her to find a husband (Zhu Guobao).

Skilled embroiderers were etched in the mind of other women so deeply that they were remembered after death. While admiring Li Baoshou's (b. 1936) embroidery I commented that she must be the best embroiderer in the village, to which Li Baoshou replied, "No, I'm not the best in this village. The best one was another grandmother, but she is dead."

**A Vanishing Tradition**

The embroidered Mangghuer items were not only necessities – and thus economically important – but also significant demonstrations of a woman's virtue, which gave her higher status in her local community. These embroidered items acquired value and were transferred from generation to generation, from bride to bride. However, in the late twentieth century, when the articles for the wedding became something very different – flat pillows, covers and wall hangings – embroidered pillow ends lost their value. Mangghuer embroidery adapted to new challenges with new embroidery
techniques, such as *woke*, *duoke*, and *khulegshi ganger*. Cross-stitch embroidery also gained new use in insoles.

Along with social and economic changes, girls have little time or interest in embroidery because of the time they spend watching TV, doing household chores, and doing school homework. However, in 2001 and 2002 in mountain villages, girls who had finished schooling still prepared *duoke*-embroidered items for their wedding, even though embroidered fabrics and other items were available in local shops. And whenever women had time, they prepared embroidered insoles and fabric shoes.

Embroidery has, for good reason, been the pride of Mangghuer culture and, in being passed through generations, has continued social relevance, reinforcing Mangghuer identity. Modernization, however, is progressing so rapidly that many of these traditional items and skills will soon vanish.

Take this pillow end (F58), so that it will remain, far away in your country, because nobody here among us cares about it anymore. After we are gone, it will be discarded (Bao Sibeihua, b. 1919).

Figure 58. Bao Sibeihua’s pillow ends.
APPENDIX ONE: CONSULTANTS

An Liumei, Guanting Village, b. 1941 in Anjia Village.
Bao Shiyuemei, b. 1932, Chenjia Village.
Bao Sibeihua, b. 1919, Nongchang Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Deng Sangmei, Wushi Village, b. 1924 in Dengjia Village.
Deng Xinzhuanmei, b. 1941, Nanjierghai Village.
Dou Guanbaonuer, Wanzi Village, b. 1921 in Doujia Village.
Du Jinbaohua, b. 1929, Chenjiaola Village.
Hai Tao (male), b. 1946, Chenjia Village.
Jinzimei, b. 1983, Puba Village.
Ku Yingchunlan, Guanzhong Village, b. 1920 in Xiakou Village.
La Neia, Lijia Village, b. 1923 in Jingning Village. Han nationality.
Li Baoshou, b. 1936, Xiela Village.
Lü Jinlianmei, b. 1922, Nongchang Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Lü Yingqing, b. 1920, Wangjia Village.
Ma Fanglan, b. 1945, Damajia Village. Hui nationality.
Ma Hanme, Jingning Village, b. 1920 in Kemuchuer Ling Village, started embroidery at the age of five. Han nationality.
Ma Luguya, b. 1941, Heyan Village. Hui nationality, spoke Chinese.
Ma Tianxi, b. 1930, Nongchang Village.
Ma Xiuying, b. 1964, Puba Village.
Nuo Shuangxihua, Zhujia Village, b. 1931 in Nuojia Village. Gave me a ring and "adopted" me as her little sister.
Qi Wenlan, b. ?, Chenjia Village.
Qiao Dongmei, b. 1916, Minzhu Village, started embroidery at the age of seven.
Wang Dongmeihua, b. 1919, Wenjia Village.
Wu Lanyou, b. 1919, Qianjin Village.
Xie Yongshouhua, b. 1931, Luantashi Village.
Xin Youfang, Baojia Village, b. 1940 in Xinjia Village.
Ying Zihua, b. 1935, Baojia Village.
Zan Yulan, b. 1920, Luantashi Village.
Zhang Chongsunhua, b. 1942 (in Keiximian Village in Gansu province), Heyan Village, started embroidery at the age of eight.
Zhang Xihua, b. 1982, Heyan Village.
Zhang Yinghua, Chenjiaola Village, b. 1944 in Keiximian, Gansu Province.
Zhao Guiyan, b. 1962, Xiela Village.
Zhao Jiniuhua, b. 1936, Shanzhaojia Village.
Zhao Xiuhua, b. 1949, Baojia Village, started embroidery at the age of eight.
Zhao Xiulan, b. 1936, Guanting Village.
Zhu Changminghua, b. 1920, Heyan Village.

9 All consultants are Mangghuer and female unless otherwise indicated.
10 I am now uncertain if this is the name of the mother (b. 1916) or her daughter.

**APPENDIX TWO: MOTIFS**

**Animals**

bat - cover/ hanging  
bird - sole, insole, hat, wallet, pillowcase, pillow ends  
butterfly - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, collar, sole, insole, heel piece, shoes, head ornament, hat, wallet, pillowcase, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends  
cat - vest pocket, pillow ends  
caterpillar - vest pocket  
crane - apron pocket, cover/ hanging  
deer - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, wallet, vest pocket  
dragon - hanging, hat, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, pillow ends  
dragonfly - vest pocket, pillowcase  
duck - vest pocket, pillow ends  
fawn - cover/ hanging  
fish - apron pocket, shoes, sash ends, vest pocket, pillow ends  
goldfishes - cover/ hanging  
lion - vest pocket, pillow ends  
magpie - cover/ hanging  
Mandarin ducks - cover/ hanging, pillowcase  
monkey - pillow ends  
mouse - wallet  
panda - cover  
peacock - cover/ hanging, pillowcase  
peacock's tail - shoes for bound feet  
pheasant - cover/ hanging, wallet, vest pocket, pillow ends  
phoenix - cover/ hanging, insoles, wallet, vest pocket, pillowcase, pillow ends  
rabbit - apron pocket  
spider - shoes for bound feet  
tiger - cover/ hanging  
toad - apron pocket

**Plants**

bamboo - cover/ hanging, pillow end  
Buddha's hand\(^{11}\) - apron pocket, fan holder, shoes for bound feet, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, sash,

\(^{11}\) This is also known as 'finger lemon flower' (http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=379850, accessed 14 March 2012).
vest pocket, pillow ends
cherry blossom - cover/ hanging, pillow ends
Chinese cabbage - apron pocket, heel pieces
chrysanthemum - cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, sash, hat, pillow ends for funeral, pillow case, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends
flower - boot heel pieces, insole, wallet, vest pocket, pillowcase
grape - cover/ hanging, pillow cover, pincushion, fan holder, pillowcase
lily - pillow ends
lotus - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, collar, sole, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, hat, wallet, pillow ends for funeral, chin rest, pillowcase, sash pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends
narcissus - cover/ hanging, heel pieces, shoes for bound feet, wallet, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
carnation - vest pocket, pillowcase
peach - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, insoles, vest pocket, pillow ends
peony - apron pocket, cover/ hanging, pincushion, collar, sole, insoles, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, head ornament, wallet, hat, pillow ends for funeral, chin rest, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
pine - cover/ hanging
plum blossom - cover/ hanging, pincushion, fan holder, heel pieces, shoes, shoes for bound feet, hat, pillowcase, vest pocket, pillow ends
plum tree - pillowcase, sash, cover/ hanging
pomegranate - pincushion, fan holder, shoes for bound feet hat, wallet, sash, vest pocket, pillow ends
rose - pillow case, sash pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends

Others

bamboo tube with rods - heel pieces
boy and girl carrying tea and bread - pillow ends and pillowcases for funeral
cash - apron pocket, vest pocket, pillow ends
clouds - cover/ hanging
endless knot - shoes for bound feet
flower basket/ vase - cover/ hanging, pillow cover
Gold Mountain - pillow end
gourd - heel pieces
heart - apron pocket, insoles
lozenge - insoles in khuleghsi ganger stitching
mountain - cover/ hanging
ruyi scepter - heel pieces
scrolls - wallet, heel pieces
Silver Mountain - pillow end
sun - cover/ hanging
vajra - vest pocket, pillow ends
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¹ The xylograph is kept at the Zhongguo shehui kexuyuan minzu xue yu renlei xue yanjiusuo tushuguan 'Library of the Research Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' located on the campus of Minzu University, Beijing. A low quality scan is kept by the China Tibetology Research Center in Beijing.


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__. 1999b. Sde ba chos rje bstan ’dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho’i rnam thar thar dad pa’i sgo ’byed བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་[Biography of Dewa Chöjé Tendzin Lozang Gyatso, d. 1638] in Mdo smad grub brgyud bstan pa’i shing rta ba chen po phyag na pad+mo yab rje bla ma skal ldan rgya mtho’i gsung ’bum [Collected Works of Kelden Gyatso], vol 1 Gangs can skal bzang dpe tshogs བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་. Lan kru’u གུས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པོ་Arrays. Kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་བོད་ལ་འདོད་པའི་འོད་གསུམ་. Kan su’u Nationalities Press, 180-255.


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² The title is actually a journal name and the original French article gives both 1891 and 1896 for years.


Selected Non-English Terms

'a ཉ
'Bras spungs ཉནས་་ཞ་བ
'Bras spungs Sgo mang ཉནས་་ཞ་བས་་བ
'Bri ཉི
'cham ཉར
'don chos spyod ཉནས་་ཞ་བབ་
'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa ཉནས་་ཞ་བས་་བུ་ལ་་བ
'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba ཉནས་་ཞ་བ་་བུ་ལ་་བས་་བ
'Dzam gling spyi bsang ཉནས་ཞིོ་བས་་བ
'dzin grwa gong nas bzhes srol yod ཉནས་ཞིོ་བས་་བུ་ལ་་བས་་བུ
'e ren ཉི
'Gag rdo rtags ཉནས་་ཞ་བབ
'gro ཉི
'Jigs med ye shes grags pa ཉནས་ཞིོ་བས་་བ
'Ju lag ཉལ
'tshogs gleng ཉནས་་ཞ་བབ
A Chaoyang 阿朝阳
A Jinlu 阿进录
A khu 'Jigs med 阿朱玛雅
A khu Blo gros 阿觉烈
A lags Brag dkar tshang 阿與阿木在
A mdo 阿蒙
A myes Ba rdzong 阿們巴宗
A myes Btsan rgod 阿們巴登
A myes Gnyan chen 阿們格言辰
A Rong 阿榮
Āchá 阿柴
ahong 阿匈
Alai 阿来
Alashan 阿拉善
An Liumei 安六梅
Anjia 安家
Āxià 阿夏
Ba bOng chos rje ཉནས་་ཞ་བ ཉནས་་ཞ་བ
Ba bzang ཉནས་་ཞ་བ
Ba rdzong ri lang ཉནས་་ཞ་བ ཉནས་་ཞ་བ
Ba yan rdzong ཉནས་་ཞ་བ
Badaoshan 八达山
bagua 八卦
baihu 百户
Baima Si 白马寺
Baima Tianjiang 白马天将
Ban de rgyal ཉནས་་ཞིོ
Ban Guo 班果
Bang rgya ཉནས་་ཞིོ
bankang 板炕
Bao Shiyuemei 鲍十月梅
Bao Sibeihua 鲍四辈花
Bao Yizhi 鲍义志
Bao'an, Bonan 保安
baobei 宝贝
Baojia 保家
Bazangou 巴藏沟
Bāzhōu/ Bazhou 巴州
bca' yig chen mo ཉནས་་ཞིོ་བ་རུ་་བ
Bcu ba'i lnga mchod ཉནས་་ཞིོ་བ་འ་ག་མ་མཉ
Beijing 北京
Ben Chengfang 贲成芳
Binkangghuali, Benkanggou 本康沟
bgro gleng ཉནས་་ཞིོ
Bi Yanjun 毕艳君
Bingling Si 炳灵寺
binkang/ Binkang, 'bum kbang ཉནས་་ཞིོ
benkang 本康
Bis ba mi pham ngag dbang zla ba ཉནས་་ཞིོ་བ
Trengwa ཉནས་་ཞིོ
bka' ཉནས་་ཞིོ
bka' bcu ཉནས་་ཞིོ
bka’ rgya ma
Bka’ rtse stong
Bkra shis ’bum 'khyil
Bkra shis lhun po
Bkra shis sgo mang
Bla brang
Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil
bla ma
bla ma dge skos rnams nyis thad ka thad ka’i
rgyug len pa dang / gsar du ’jog pa
sogs being bsuk gyi do dam gang drag
byed
bla ma gzhung las pa
bla ma khri pa
bla spyi sogs khag bzhi
blo
Blo brtan rdo rje
Blo bzang ’jam pa’i tshul khrims, Wang Khutugtu
Blo bzang bstan ’dzin
Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho
Blo bzang snyan grags
Blo bzang tshul khrims dar rgyas rgya mtsho
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho, Lcang skya IV
blo rigs
blo rtags gnyis
blon po
Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos
lugs zhib ’jug tshan pa’i ’bras spungs
dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs
chung
Datong

Dbyen bsduṃs

de’i ’phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la

Deng Sangmei

Deng Xinzhuangmei

Dengjia

Dga’ ldan

Dga’ ldan byams pa gling

Dga’ ldan pho brang

dge ldan bstan ’bar ma’i dbus skul

Dge

Dge ldan

Dge lugs

dge skos

dge skul

Dgon lung (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺，Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)

Dgon lung bca’ yig chen mo

Dgon lung byams pa gling

dgon pa spyi

dgon pa’i sgrigs ’og tu yod do cog

Dgra lha bcu gsum

Dgu

Dgu chu

didi 的的

dka’ bcu rab ’byams pa
don ’bcsu

dka’ rab ’byams
dka’ ram

dka’ rams
Dpal ldan dar rgyas བདཔལ་ལྡན་དར་རྒྱས།
Dpal rtse rgyal བདཔལ་རྟེ་རྒྱལ།
Dpal snar thang gi bca’ yig ’dul khrims dngos བདཔལ་སྲས་ལྟང་གི་བཅའ་ཡིག་འདུལ་མི་མས་དངོས་བོར་བ
Dpung nge ri lang དཔོང་ངེ་རི་ལང།
Dri med yon tan ཉི་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན།
Dur mchod དུར་མཆོད།
Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代
Dus chen ཕུས་ཆེན།
Duwa, Duowa 多哇
Dwags po དབགས་པོ།
E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花
E’erdän 额尔丹
Ershisanhao 二十三号
Fala 法拉
Fan 幡
Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟
Farishidin, Xingjia 星家
Faxian 法显
Fojiao 佛教
Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡
Fujia, Hulijia 吃李家
g.yang གཡང།
g.yang ’bod གཡང་འབོད།
G. yang can rdo rje ག.ཡང་ཅན་རྡོ་རྗེ།
g.yo sgyu’i sbyor ba ག.ཡོ་སྒྲུ་འི་སྙོར་འབྲེལ།
gab gzhags གབ་གཞགས།
gab gzhags na thong གབ་གཞགས་ན་ཐོང།
Gamaka 桂马卡
Gan’gou, Gangou 甘沟
Ganda 干大
Ganjia 甘家
Gannan 甘南
Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃
Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志
Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏
Ganzhou 甘州
Gaochang 高昌
Gaodian 高店
Gāozū 高祖
Gar rtse sdong གར་རྟེ་ཤོང་།
Gashari 条沙日
Gcan tsha གཅན་ཚ།
Gcan tsha གཅན་ཚ།, Jianzha 尖扎
Gdugs dkar གདུགས་དཀར།
Ge sar ལེ་སར།
Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po ལེ་སར་དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ།
Ge sar tshi me ལེ་སར་ཚི་མེ།
Gélètè 格勒特
Gérilètú 格日勒图
Glang dar ma གླང་དར་མ།
Gling bsres གླིང་བཤེརི་བཞི།
Gling bsres ba གླིང་བཤེརི་བ་
Gling bsres dka’ bceu གླིང་བཤེརི་དཀའ་བུ་
Gling bza’ thar mdo skyid གླིང་བཟའ་ཐར་མདོ་སྦྱིད་།
glo ལོ།
Glu rol ཤུརོ།
gnas bdag ལོག་བདག།
gnyan ལོན།
Gnyan chen ལོན་ཆེན།
Gnyan po smad cha dmar can ལོན་པོ་ཞབ་ཆ་དམར་ཅན།
Gnyan po’i sgar thog ལོན་པོའི་སྒར་ཐག་།
Gnyan thog གཉན་འོག
Gnyan thog 'bro g གཉན་འོག་འབྲུག
Gnyan thog la kha གཉན་འོག་ལ་ཁ
Gnyan thog mkhar གཉན་འོག་མཁར
Go bu me khrin གཞི་མེ་ཁ
Go bu me tu hu sun khrin གཞི་མེ་ཐུ་ཧུ་སུན་ཁ
Go thang གོ་ཐང
Go'u sde གོ་ུ་སྲེ་
Gol su གོལ་སུ
Gong sa rin po che གོང་ས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
Gossku ཆེས་ཀུན།
Gru kha'i རྒྱ་ཁའི།
grwa 'gyed དྲ་འབྱེད།
grwa rgyun དྲ་རྒྱུན།
grwa skor དྲ་སྒོར།
grwa tshang bla ma དྲ་ཚང་བླ་མ།
Gsang bdag གསང་བདག།
Gsang phu གསང་ཕུ།
gsar གཤར།
Gser chen gzhung གྲེས་ཆེན་གཞུང།
Gser khog གྲེས་ཁོག།
gser yig གྲེས་ཡིག།
gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang གྲེས་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོའི་མཚན་བོད།
gtam dpe བཟམ་དཔེ།
gtor ma བཐོར་མ།
Guan Laoye 官老爷
Guangdong 广东
Guanting 官亭
Guanyin Pusa 观音菩萨
Guanzhong 宫中
Guide 贡德
Guihuacheng 归化城
Guishe erjiang 龟蛇二将
Guisui-Suiyuan 归绥绥远
Guō’ěrdü’ō 郭尔朵
Guō’ěrdü’ō dīdì’ 郭尔朵的的
Guōlóng 郭隆
Guomari 郭麻日
Gushan 古都
Gusiluo 嘎斯啰
Gyang bzhi 嘎桑布
Gyen 'dzi ri lang 嘎桑德里郎
Gyi ling mkhar 嘎喜林玛克
Gza' brgyad 嘎扎布杰
Gza' mchog 嘎扎摩格
Gzhung las pa 嘎桑洛巴
Ha Mingzong 哈明宗
Hai Tao 海涛
Haidong 海东
Hainan 海南
Haixi 海西
Haja, Hajia 哈家
Halazhigou 哈拉直沟
Hami 哈密
Hàn, Han 汉
Handi, Hantai 旱台
Hanyu Pinyin 汉语拼音
Haomen he 浩門河
Har gdong khang tshan 哈尔墩康汗山
Hara Bulog, Heiguan 黑泉
Hé-Huáng 河湟
Hé'ér 合儿
Hè'ér 贺尔
Hebei 河北
Heidinggou 黑顶沟
Heihu Linggunang 黑虎灵光
Heima Zushi 黑马祖师
Heishui 黑水
Hejia 何家
Helang Yexian 何朗业贤
Henan 河南

1 [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]
Heqing 合庆
Heyan 河沿
Hézhōu 河州
Hgarilang, Huangcaogou 黄草沟
Hgunbin, Kumbum, Sku 'bum Byams pa gling
Hézhōu 黄州，Ta'er 塔尔
Honghua 宏化
Hongnai 红崖
Hóngwǔ, Hongwu 洪武
Hóngyá 红崖
Hongyazigou 红崖子沟
hor, Hor ᴵ
Hor bza' hu sun khrin ᴴ
hor chen ᴵ
Hor dor nag po ᴵ
Hor dor rta ᴵ
Hor dor rta nag po gnyan po smad char dmar can ᴵ
Hor gnyan po mung khe gan ᴵ
Hor nag ᴵ
Hor o chi go bu me thu me lun ꧰
ger ᴵ
hor rgya hୡ
hor rgyal ᴵ
Hor se chen ᴵ
Hor spun zla ᴵ
Hor tho lung ᴵ
Hu Fang 胡芳
Hu su ho 胡思何
Hu Yanhong 胡艳红
Huáng 湖
Huangdi 皇帝
Huangfan 黄番
Huangnan 黄南
Huangnan zangzu zizhizhou tongjiju 黄南藏族自治州统计局
Huangshui 湖水
Huangsi 黄寺
Huangyuan 湖原
Huangzhong 湖中
Huáre 华热
Huarin, Hualin 淮林
Huhehaote 呼和浩特
Hui 回
Hulijia 胡李家
Hún 湖
Hunan 湖南
Huoju Jiangjun 火炉将军
Húśijìng 胡斯井
Hùzhù, Huzhu 互助
Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian 互助土族自治县
Hxin, Hashi 哈什
ja khang ᴶ
Janba, Wangjia 江家
Janba Taiga, Zhanjiazi 江家台
Jangja, Zhangjia 张家
Jangwarima, Yatou 崖头
Jí 吉
Jiading 加定
Jiajia 贾加
Jiang Kexin 姜可欣
Jiangsu 江苏
Jianwen 建文
Jianzha 尖扎
jìashen 家神
Jidi Majia 吉狄马加
Jielong 结龙
Jihua shengyu 计划生育
jihua shengyu bangongshi 计划生育办公室
Jiirinbuqii, Tsong kha pa ᴶ Zongkaba 宗喀巴
Jilog, Jiaoluo 角落
jin 市斤
Jin Yù 金玉
Jinbu, Junbu 军部
Jindan dao 金丹道
Jingning 静宁
Jinzimei 金子梅
Jishi 积石
Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘
jo bo .Repositories
juan 卷
Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科
ka beu ཀ་བུ
Ka dar skyid ཀ་དར་སྐྱིད
ka par nas bshad pa ཀ་པར་ནས་བཤད་པ
Ka rab ཀ་རབ
Kaile meiyou 开了没有
Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军
Kan lho མཁན་ལོ
Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州
kang 坑
Kängxi, Kangxi 康熙
Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭
kha btags བཀྲ་ཤིས, hada 哈达
Khams རྒྱུན་སྐར།
Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee 金鹏王多杰
khri ba bla brang བཀྲི་བ་bla བྲང་།
khrid བི་དེ།
Khu lung བུ་ལུང་།
khya dus ཚུ་ནས་།
Khyod gang la song rgyu གཉོན་པོའི་སློང་རྒྱུ།
Khyod kha sang gang du song གཊ་བྲ་སོང་དགེ་བཤེས།
kla glo རྡོ་རློག་།
kla klo རྡོ་རློ་།
Klu 'bum tshe ring བོད་སྦྱིས་རིང་།
Klu rol བོད་།
klu rtsed རོ་དེ།
Klu'i རི།
klu'u ri རི་།
Ko'u mol ri lang རྒན་མོ་ལུང་།
Kong Lingling 孔林林
Krang co hrin འོ་བུ་ཞི་།
Ku Yingchunlan 厨迎春兰
Kun dga' bkra shis ཁུན་དག་བཀྲ་ཤིས་།
bun slong སློང་།
Kuòduān 阔端
Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场
kyu 亲切
La བ།
La Erhua 啪二花
La Nuer, Ernü 啪二女
lab rtse བྲ་ཏོས་།
Lailiao meiyou 来了没有
Lajia 啪家
Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘
Lamaguan 喇嘛官
Langja, Langjia 浪加
Lanzhou 兰州
Lāoyā 老鸦
Lao yeshan 老爷山
laozhă 老者
Laozhuang 老庄
Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)
Lawa 拉哇
lba བ།
Lcags mo tshe ring རྒྱུན་ཚེ་གྲོ།
Lcang skya རྒྱུན་།
Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje རྒྱུན་ཐོ་རྒྱུན་།
Ledu 乐都
Lha babs བོ་བས།
Lha btsun Mthu stobs nyi ma བོ་བསོན་མཐུ་ཟོབས་སྤྱོད་།
lha bzo ba བོ་བོ།
Lha mo skyid རྒྱུན་།
lha pa, Lha pa བོ་།
lha rams pa བོ་ར་པ།
lha rams pa dge bshes རོ་བོ་བོད་ཐེས།
lha rtsed རོ་དེ།
Lha sa སྣང་
lha'i sgrub thabs སྣང་ཉི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས
Lho nub du skra gea ལོ་འབ་དེ་སྒྲ་གེ་མ་
Lhor phur bu ལོ་ར་ཕུར་བུ།
Li 里
Li Baoshou 李保寿
Li Cunxiao 李存孝
Li Dechun 李得春
Li Fumei 李富梅
Li Jinwang 李晋王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用
Li Jinwang 李晋王
Li Lizong 李立遵
Li Peng 李鹏
Li Qingchuan 李青川
Li Xianluo 李贤德
Li Xinghua 李兴花
Li Yaozu 李耀祖
Li Yuanhao 李元昊
Li yul 里玉
Li Zhanguo 李占国
Li Zhanzhong 李占忠
Li Zhonglin 李钟霖
Li Zhuoma 李卓玛
liang 里
Liangcheng 凉成
Liangzhou, Liangzhou 凉州
Li àodong 辽东
Liaoning 辽宁, 辽宁
libai si 礼拜寺
Lijia 李家
Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春
Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝
Lintao 临洮
Liu Daxian 刘大先
Liuja, Liu jia 柳家
Lizong 立遵
lkugs pa ཞུན་པར།
lnga ར་།
Lnga mchod རང་མཆོད།
Lo brgya ལོ་བོར་གྱིས།
Lo lha ལོ་ལྷ།
Lo ལོ།
Lo sar ལོ་སར།
long ལོང་།
Long Deli 隆德里
Longhu 龙壶
Longshuo 龙朔
Longwang 龙王
Longwang duo de difang Hezhou, Niangniang duo de difang Xining 龙王多的地方河州, 娘娘多的地方西宁
Lóngwù 隆务
Longwu 隆吾
ltu-tchinbu ṿга-чинбу
Lù 魯
Lu ba go go རུ་བ་གོ་གོ
Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren 鲁班圣人
Lü Jinlianmei 鲁全莲梅
Lü Shengshou 鲁生寿
Lü Yingqing 鲁英青
Lu Zhankui 鲁占奎
Luantashi, Luanshitou 乱石头
lugs srol ཞུན་སློ།
Lun hu khrin ལོུན་ཧུ། མཆོད།
lung rigs རུང་རིགས།
Lūshījīa 鲁失佳
Ma Fanglan 马芳兰
Ma Guangxing 马光星
Ma Guorui 马国瑞
Ma gzhi dam 马哲民
Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo 马罕莫
Ma Jun 马钧
Ma ling yis 马令易
Ma Luguya 马录古亚
Ma ni skad ci, Manikacha 马尼格查
Ma Qiuchen 马秋晨
ma song 马松
Ma Taohua 马桃花
Ma Tianxi 马天喜
Ma Wei 马伟
Ma Xiaochen 马晓晨
Ma Xiuchen 马喜晨
Ma Youyi 马有义
Ma Yulan 马玉澜
Ma Zhan'ao 马占鳌
Majia 马家
Majiazi 马家子
man ngag 马恩
mao 毛
Mao Qiaohui 毛巧晖
Maohe 毛河
Maqang Tugun, Baiya 白亚
mchod pa 马朝普
Mchod rten dkar po 马朝普丹科
Mchog sgrub mtsho 马朝普
Mdo 马都
Mdo smad 马都
Mdo smad chos byung 马都宗
mدو smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo
dgon lung gi chos sde chen po
mdzad btags 马都普
mdzod thag 马都
Ménggù'er 蒙古尔
Mengudzhu 门都, 猛, 蒙克祖, muivggae jiu
Menyuan 门源
Mgar stong rtsan 马尔斯丹
Mgar stong rtsan yul zung 马尔斯丹玉宗
Mgo 'dug tsho ba 马尔多吉
Na tsha go bkal mtshams good

Nag chu ང་ཚ། གོ་བ'ལ་མཚམས་གཅོད
Nag chu'i kha ང་ཚ། བོའི་ཁ
Nag po spyod pa skor gsum

Nag po skor gsum ངག་པོ་སོར་གཅོད
nang chen བོད་པ།
nang so བོད་པ།
Nang sog བོད་པ།
Nanjia, Anjia 安家
Nanjaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头
Nanmengxia 南门峡
Nanmuge 南木哥
Nansan, Nanshan 南山
Nanshan 南山
nenjengui, yanjiangui 眼见鬼
Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ཐོག་མཚར་ལ་འགྲོ་ནས
Nga a khu tshang la song nas ཐོག་མཚར་ལ་སོང་ནས
Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho གང་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་མཚོ
Ngag dbang mkyen rab rgya mtsho གང་དབང་མཁྲིན་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Nian Gengyao 年羹尧
Nianbo 禮伯
Nianduhu 年都乎
Niangniang 娘娘
Nijia 吕家
Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 宁波府千户守备
Ningxià, Ningxia 宁夏
Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟
Niutou Wang 牛头王
go mon han བོན་དབང
Nongchang 农场
Nongcun heizu yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保障
Nor lda bkra shis ནོར་ཐུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས

Nub byang du nyi ma ཉུབ་བོད་དུ་གོ་ལྟངས་དུ་གོ་ལྟངས།
Nub du zla ba ཉུབ་དུ་ཞྭ་བ།
Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 邵双喜花
Nuojia, Ejia 郭家
nye 'brel ཉེ་བོའི་སྤེན་པ།
Nye srung ཉེ་སྤེན་པ།
Nyia ma 'dzin རྡོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ།
Nyia ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho རྡོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་མཚོ
O chi go bu me thu me lun གོ་འཛིན་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ཐུན
O chi hu su གོ་འཛིན་མེ་སུ་
PaA ren གོ་འཛིན་རེ
Pad spungs དཔེ་སྤེན་པ།
Pe dpa' ri lang བེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང
Pe hu བེ་ཧུ།
Pen hwa ri lang བེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང
Per nyia ma 'dzin བེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང་འཛིན་པ།
Per nyia ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya mtsho བེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང་སོར་གཅོད
pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs བོད་འཇོག་འདུས་འདུན་དཔོང་ཚོགས

phan theb བན་ཤེབ
phas thi བན་ཤེབ
pho brang བོ་སྒྲང་
phrug བོ་ཞུང་
phug tshangs kyi gtam བོ་གཅིག་སྤེལ་གྲོམ་
Phun tshogs བོ་གཅིག་སྤེལ་
phyag བོ་གཅིག་
phying བོ་གཅིག་
Phyug rtse chos rje བོ་གཅིག་རྒྱས་ཆོས་རྒྱས།
Pin rkya tshi me བོ་གཅིག་མེ་སོང་།
Ping'an 平安
Pinyin 汉语
po tho གོ་ཐུ།
po ti lnya གོ་ཐུ་ཐུ་།
Pochu mixin 破除迷信
rgyugs རྒྱུགས
rgyugs len pa རྒྱུགས་ལེན་པ།
Ri lang རི་ལང་
Ri lang bcu gnyis རི་ལང་བསྟེན་འ网通
Ri stag རྩ་ི་སྒན།
rigs རིགས།
rigs lam pa རིགས་ལེན་པ།
rigs lung byed mkhan རིགས་ི་ཉོད་དབང་མཁན།
Rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་གྲོལ་མ།
ris med རི་མེད།
Riyue Dalang 日月大郎
rjes gnang རྫེས་གནང་
rka རྫ་
Rka gsar རྫ་གསར།
Rka gsar dgon dga’ ldan ’dus bzung chos gling རྫ་གསར་དགོན་དགའ་༠བཟང་ཆོས་0ིང།
rlung rta རྲུང་རྩ་
Rma chu རྫ་ཆུ།
Rma chu’i rab kha dngul ri’i sa bsang gri spyod རབ་ཀྱི་བར་ཁ་དངུལ་རི་ཟིན་བཟང་གྲི་ཤོག་
Rma lho རྫ་ལོ།
RMB, Renminbi 人民币
rrnam ’grel རྗེ་བཙུམ།
nram gzhag རྭ་སྒང་།
Rnam rgyal རྭ་སྒང་།
rnbuqii, rin po che རྡོ་རྡོ་འཆེ།
ren bo che 仁波切
renboqie
Rong bo རོང་བོ།
Rong bo nang so རོང་བོ་ནང་སོ།
Rong zom རོང་ཞོང་།
ronghuafugui 荣华富贵
Rta ‘gying རྟ་འགྱིང་།
rta chen po རྟ་ཆེན་པོ།
Rta mgrün རྟ་མྲྣུ་།
rta gsal khyab རྟ་གསལ་ཉིད་།
rtsam pa རྟ་མ་པ།
Rtse khog 绺ས་ཁག་
shags ngan ཤགས་ངན
Shahai 沙海
Shānbèi 陕北
Shancheng 山城
Shandong 山东
Shanghai 上海
Shangzhai 上寨
Shānxī, Shanxi 山西
Shanzhaojia 山赵家
Shanzhou 邯州
Shao Yundong 邵云东
Shaowa 勺哇
Shar Bla ma སིད། བླ་མ་
shar སྣ
Shatangchuan 沙塘川
Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni 释迦摩尼
Shdangjia, Dongjia 东家
Shdara Tang, Dalantan 达拉滩
shen jian 神剑
shenfu 神甫
sheng 升
Shenjiao 教神
sheqi 蛇旗
Shgeayili, Dazhuang 大庄
Shi Cunwu 师存武
Shi’er Wei Zushi 十二位祖师
shibei 石碑
Shina 史纳
Shing bza’ བཟུ་བྱེ་
Shíyá 石崖
sho ma བོ་མ་
shor ba བོ་བ་
shuang xi 双喜
Shuangma Tongzi 双马童子
Shuangshu 双树
Shuillian Dong 水帘洞
Shuimogou 水磨沟
Sichuan 四川
skabs bzhi pa སྲེམས་བཞི་པ
Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho སླེབས་བཙན་བུ་བཟན་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas སླེབས་བཙན་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་རྒྱས་
Skal ldan rgya mtsho སླེབས་ལྡན་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
Sko tshi me ངོ་ཐི་མེ་
skor ru མོར།
skra ka ཞ་ཀ
skra phab ཞ་པབ
Sku 'bum ཞུ་ཐུམ
Sku 'bum byams pa gling ཞུ་ཐུམ་བཟང་པ་གཞན
Skya rgya, Jiajia 贡加
Skyabs 'gro སྨྲ་བོར
Skyid shod sprul sku སྨཱད་ཤོད་སྲུལ་བུ།
skyor སྨར
skyor dpon སྨོར་ཐོན
Smad pa སྨད་པ།
smad phyogs སྨད་ཕྱོགས།
smeen, Sier 寺尔
Smeen, Ximi 西米
Smin grol སྨིན་གྲོལ།
Smin grol no min han སྨིན་གྲོལ་ནོ་མིན་ཧན།
Smon lam, smon lam སྨོན་ལམ།
smyung gnas སྨྲུང་གནས།
sna tshogs 'di སྨཾ་ཐོགས་འདི།
sngags 'chang སྨངས་འཆང།
sngags pa སྨངས་པ།
Snying bo rgyal སྨིང་བོ་རྒྱལ།
Snying mo སྨིང་མོ།
Snying rje tshogs pa སྨིང་རྒྱུ་ཐོགས་པ།
Sog སོག།
Sog rdzong སོག རྡོུང།
Sog rgya སོག་རྒྱ་
sog yul སོག་ཡུལ།
Song Ying 宋颖
song སོང་
Songchang Suzun (Sizhun?) 聋昌厮均
Songduo 松多
Songjia 宋家
Songpan 松潘
Songrang, Xunrang 逊让
Spun zla hor gyi rgyal po 斯腾拉八尺
spyi 'jog 斯人
spyi rdzas 斯人
srang 斯朗
srul 斯楞
Srong btsan sgam po 斯朗桑则
srung ma 斯朗马
Stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po 斯坦格治
Stag lha rgyal 斯坦拉
Stobs ldan 斯托勒
Su Shan 苏珊
Sughuangghuali, Suobugou 苏卜沟
suitou 倍头
Suiyuan 绥远
Sum pa 素玛
Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor 素玛勒巴宜尔
Sun Wukong 孙悟空
Sunbu, Songbu 松布
Suojie Longwang 锁脚龙王
Suojie Ye 锁脚爷
Suonan 索南
Suonan Cuo 索南措
Suzhou 苏州
Suzhou Xinzhi 苏州新志
tA si 塔希
Ta'er si 塔尔寺
Taishan 泰山
Taizi 台子
Tang Xiaoping 汤晓青
Táng, Tang 唐
tangka 唐卡, thang ka 堆嘎

Tangraa, Tangla 塔拉
Tangseng 唐僧
thal 'phen 帕僧
thal 'phreng 帕僧
thal srog 帕僧
thal zog 帕僧
thang ka 堆嘎
theb 堆
Ther gang nnyi wi 拇欠谷维
ther gang nnyi wi na thong 拇欠谷维
Thu me lun 頭梅倫
Thu'u bkwan 頭譜門
Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nnyi ma 拇欠谷門
thun mong ma yin pa 拇欠谷門
thun mong pa 拇欠門
Tianjia 田家
Tianjin 天津
tianqi 天旗
Tiantang 天堂
Tianyoude 天佑德
Tiānzhù, Tianzhu 天助
To'u pa tsi 猛普侍
Tongren 同仁
tongzi 竹子
tsakra bcu gsum gi sngags bzog 拇欠谷門

tsampa, rtsam pa 堆玛
tsha bzhed 逗瑪
tsha gad 逗玛
tsha gra 逗玛
Tsha lu ma byin gi song 倆 Cornwall
Tsha lu ma ster gi song 倆 Cornwall
tsha ri 逗玛
tsha 逗玛
tsha rting 逗玛
tshab grwa 逗玛
tshad ma sde bdun 甜善寺
_tshang_ རང̈
Tshe hrin yan བྷེ་ཐོ་ཝ
Tshe ring དེ་ཝ།
Tshe ring don ’grub དེ་ཝ།ཝ ངེ་ཝ་འཝ།
Tshe ring skyid དེ་ཝ། ཝཝ།
tshi me ཐྷཝ་ཝ།
tshig nyen མཝ། ཝཝ།
tshig sgra rgyas pa མཝ་སྨི་ཝ། ཝཝ།
tsho ba ཐྷ་ཝ།
Tsho ཐྷ།
Tsho kha ཐྷ་ཁ།
tshogs མཝ། ཝཝ།
tshogs lang མཝ། ཝཝ།
tshogs langs lugs bzhin མཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ།
Tshwa mtsho ཝབ་རྗེ།
Tsi tsong ཝྷ་ཝ།
Tso ri ri lang ཝྷ་ཝ། ཝྷ་ཝ།
Tso shi ri lang ཝྷ་ཝ། ཝྷ་ཝ།
Tsong kha ཝྷ་ཁ།
Tsong kha pa ཝྷ་ཁ་པ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝས། ཝས། ཝྷཝ།
Tsong kha pa ཝྷ་ཁ་པ།, Zongkaba 宗喀巴
_tszurhajichi_ 促尔哈齐奇
Tū, Tu 土
Tūdá 土达
Tūfán, Tufan 吐番
Tughuan, Tuguan 土官
Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官 娘娘
Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山
Tūhún 吐浑
Tuihún 退浑
Tūmín, Tumin 土民
Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊
Tūrén, Turen 土人
tūsī, tusi 土司
Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)
Tūyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑

Tūzú, Tuzu 土族
Tuzuyu 土族语
Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)
Wang, wang 王
Wang chen khri བྷཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ། ཝཝ།
Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花
Wang skyA ཝཝ། ཝཝ།
Wang Tusi 汪土司
Wang Wenyuan 王文艳
Wang Yanzhang 王彦章
Wang Yongqing 王永庆
Wàng Yúnfēng 王云风
Wangjia 王家
Wànli 万历
Wanzi 湾子
Wāqúsìlī 瓦渠四里
Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计划生育局
Wēiyuán, Weiyuan 威远
Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈
Wen Xiping 文喜萍
Wenbu 温逋
Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主
Wenjia 文家
Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望
Wu Jiexun 吴解勋
Wu Lanyou 吴兰友
Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪
Wujia 吴家
Wulan 乌兰
Wushi 五十
Wushi 梧释
Wushi xiang 五十郞
Wutun 吾屯
Wutun 五屯
Wuyangbu 威远堡
Wuyue Dangwu 五月当午
Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午
Xianjiang, xianjiang, Shancheng, shancheng 山城
Xi'an 西安
Xia 夏
Xia Guo 夏国
Xiahe 夏河
Xiakou 峡口
Xianbei 鲜卑
Xianrenmin weishengyuan 县人民医院
Xianrenmin yiyuan 县人民医院
Xiaosi 小寺
Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发
Xie 谢
Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花
Xiejia 谢家
Xielia 协拉
Xiera, Xiela 协拉
Xifan 西番
Xikouwai 西口外
Xin 辛
Xin Youfang 辛有芳
Xing Haiyan 邢海燕
Xing Quancheng 星全成
Xing Yonggui 邢永贵
Xing'er 杏儿
xingfu 幸福
Xining, Xining 西宁, 西宁
Xining Zhi 西宁志
Xinjia 辛家
Xinxia 辛峡
Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花
Xiwanzi 西湾子
Xiyingzi 西营子
Xu Xiufu 徐秀福
Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄
Xuanhua 宣化
Xuanzang 玄奘
Xuanzong 宣宗
Xue Wenhua 薛文华
Xunhua 循化
Yá'ér 崖尔
Yan Guoliang 阎国良
Yáng 杨
Yang Chun 杨春
Yang Jì tsho ba ャンジツョ・バ
Yang Xia 杨霞
Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛
Yangja, Yangjia 杨家
Yangjia 杨家
Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化
Yangzi, Changjiang 长江
Yar klung tsang po イャルクルンツァンポ
Yar sko tsho ba イャルスコーチョ・バ
Ye su khe 依素辉
Yí 羿
Yi Lang 衣郎
yig cha gsar ba イィガサルバ
yig rgyugs イィルグイス
Yigongcheng 移公城
Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜
Ying Zihua 英子花
Yingzōng 英宗
yinyang 阴阳
Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家
Yon tan 'od イオンタンオド
Yon tan rgya mtsho イオンタン・ル・ブト
 Yöngchang 永昌
 Yöngdèng 永登
 Yönglè, Yongle 永乐, 永乐
Yongning 永宁
Yongzheng 雍正
Yònúng 佑宁
Youning si 佑亭寺
Yuan, yuan 元
yue 月
Yul shul 肃肃
yul srol 肃肃
Yun ci dmag 修饰
Zan Yulan 赞玉兰
Zanza 赞扎
zao 冬
zaoren 枣仁
Zeku 泽库
Zelin 泽林
zha ngo 诛
zhal ngo 诛
Zhalute 扎鲁特
Zhang blon bzhi 陈簿璧
Zhang Chongsunhua 张崇孙华
Zheng Dezu 张得祖
Zhang Xiang 张翔
Zhang Xihua 张喜花
Zhang Yinghua 张英花
Zhang Yongjun 张永俊
Zhangjiakou 张家口
Zhao Guilan 赵桂兰
Zhao Jinzhua 赵金子花
Zhao Xiuhua 赵秀花
Zhao Xiulan 赵秀兰
Zhao Yongxiang 赵永祥
Zhaomuchuan 赵木川
Zhejiang 浙江
zhihui qianshi 指挥佥事
Zhili 直隶
Zhong Jingwen 钟进文
Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei 张淑梅
zhongdouju 种痘局
Zhu Bajie 猪八戒
Zhu Changminghua 朱长命花
Zhu Chunhua 朱春花
zhu dar 诛
Zhu Ernuer, Ernū 朱二女
Zhu Guobao 朱国宝
Zhu Hai Shan 朱海洋
Zhu Jinxiu 朱金秀
Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰
Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠
Zhuang Xueben 庄学本
Zhuanglàng 庄浪
Zhujia 朱家
Zhuoni 卓尼
Zi ling 岳翎
zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum
  gyi ring la 聖樞列宣授神央互事
Zla po byed 诛
Zo wi ne ni 制
Zongge 宗哥
Zonggecheng 宗哥城
zongjia 天子
zur skol 祖师
Zushi 祖師