

## **Expressed Space and Acting Body The Tibetan Tradition Revealing in the Pilgrimage to MORDUO Holy Mountain**

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### **Abstract:**

Based on long-term anthropological fieldwork and textual comparison, researching the legends, the mountain records, the writing and the pilgrimage, this paper analyzes MORDUO faith of the people in DANBA region and the expression about their interaction with the Han society. Taking the local case as an example, it tries to analyze the spatial relationship due to the belief presented in the indigenous knowledge, and focus on the distinction and correlation of the views between sacred space and secular space showing in local believers' usual or annual circumambulation around the holy mountain, that is to highlight the internal and external perceives to different spaces reflected in the circumambulation.

**Key words:** Morduo holy mountain, Pilgrimage, Space, Body

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## 1. BACKGROUND

Modern China is a multi-ethnic country in whose interior exists diverse ethnic groups and multiple different cultural traditions. These traditions are revealed in different life styles and various types of expression. When they meet, there will be a variety of correspondence and contrast, which lead to the relationship of "expressing and being expressed" in the cultural and historical relevance.

In the long history of East Asian continent, different cultural groups appeared one after another, whose expressing systems were different, including oral instruction, writing, recitation, practicing, drawing, musical Composing, inscribing on monuments, ritualization and so on. The differences lay in not only external forms but also internal values. In the entire East Asian region, although various empires ruled in turns, it still has maintained a long-term multi-pattern situation

Since modern times, with the break-up of Qing Empire, and continuous attack from the West, the multiple pattern structure of East Asian changed. Huaxia-centered opinion in politics appeared in advance, hereafter, being followed by the trend, utilization of west in Chinese form (Chinese learning as fundamental structure, Western learning as practical use) in culture. Thus, on the expression, emerged the "Literatural Center" highlighting writing and social change, that is, scholars intended to translate the English words such as nation, literature and history into modern Chinese core conceptions Ming zu (Guo Jia), Wen Xue and Li Shi and so on, and thus built a giant new cultural system on such bases. In this new system, the former multiple pattern—multi-ethnic, multi-language, multi-form—ethnic narrations have gradually been defined and simplified into a narrow frame of national narration, elitist writing and written texts spreading. The former cultural expression, that is, expressing, transmission, implement, extending and so on, including oral instructions, practicing, even faith and virtues, were all compressed into a mono-discourse pattern, namely, a kind of knowledge type of aesthetic politicalizing.

Influenced by this, the new Chinese literature, characterized by utilization of west in Chinese form (or Chinese utilization in Western form), both as the thought and the power, was involved in the process of practical nationalizing, and then turned its round to rewrite its own history under the instructions of new literary conceptions, to deduce the re-recognized ethnic culture and literature, which covering ideas, writing, criticism and history, by dividing Han and non-Han (minorities), on a standpoint of Huaxia-centered.

Many Western literary ideas have influenced Chinese literature ever since the New Cultural Movement. They can be concluded into three aspects briefly:

Four catalogues of works: Poetry, Novel, Prose, and Drama;

Four elements of criticism: Writer, Work, Reader, and World;

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Four steps of evolution: Primitive---Slave---Feudal---Capital

(Communist —— wait to be realized)

As a copy of Western Europe society, this literary schema has influenced not only the modern Huaxia literary recognition, but also the cultural re-writing on SI YI (the expression referring to ethnic minorities in remote in Chinese tradition ).

Up to now, reflecting the diversity of Chinese mainland literary on the standpoint of co-existence of the multiple pattern, it is necessary to re-evaluate this schema and its influences. Such a re-evaluation can be achieved both from macroscopic angle or detailed way. This article, focuses on studying the Tibetan’ pilgrimage to the sacred mountain through analyzing *the Song of Morduo Mountain* popularing in Kangba area from the object , viewpoints, expression ,action and the like in a detailed way.

## 2. THREE OBJECTS: MOUNTAIN, GOD, PEOPLE

*Sacred Morduo, the great and honored god,*

*the highest peak of Yong Zhong mountains,*

....

*on this magic peak,*

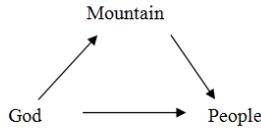
*if you could visit, pilgrimage, serve the god, insert the praying flags,*

*all your wishes can come true.*

—From *Morduo Mountain Topography*

This quotation comes from a hymn on the Morduo mountain in the bi-lingual (Han-Tibetan Languages) *Morduo Mountain Topography* published in recent years.

Morduo Mountain, with altitude of 4,500 meters, a famous sacred mountain in Kangba area, is located at the cross between Da Jinchuan River and Xiao Jinchuan River. Its influence covers hundreds of villages in Danba, Kangding, Xiaojin and so on. Most of people in these areas are Tibetan, but their languages, traditions, customs and belief are quite different. For a long time, Sacred Morduo Mountain is the main center of local cultural and educational tradition, but the relevant legends and practical action are different. With the development of tourism in recent years, the external Han-people-centered narration is getting involved in the local narration gradually through borrowing and re-writing the local tradition. If we want to detect the origins, we need to go back to the Morduo and its relevant objects and thread; and in order to find the inner connection, we might as well regard them as a related cause-and-effect structure, that is,



## 2.1 The Mountain.

In the geographical distribution in Eastern Asia, different from the central plains and the eastern coastal in China, located in the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau in the west of China, it is mountainous region for its high altitude. Particularly, the Hengduan Mountains area --- locating on the west of Min Mountain and east of Nu River, is typical continuous mountain area due to the river cuttings and huge falls. Danba county, where Morduo locates, is called Kang Area culturally, and belongs to Min Mountain-Qiong Lai high mountainous area geographically. The height between the highest and lowest reaches 4100m. More than 70% of the whole area is high mountains over 3500 meters. In this environment, the daily life of local people has an indispensable relationship with mountains from birth to death, no matter agriculture affairs or livestock. When all these reflected on culture, Image of Mountain appears.

Compared with other famous sacred mountains in Tibetan areas, such as Meli snow Mountain (6740m), Gangdese Mountain (7095m), Nyainqentanglha Mountain(7177m), Morduo is not outstanding whether its altitude or steep. On July10th, 2008 according to the lunar calendar, when we came to the foot of Morduo, we were surprised to find it so ordinary for its narrow valleys and by the contrast of the crowded mountains around. It's incredible that it is the leader of sacred mountains in Kang Area. That caused the following topic.

## 2.2 The GOD of Morduo.

There are two aspects in the sacred mountains belief popular among the local people in Tibetan areas, namely, believing there are spirits in mountains and the mountains themselves are spirits. As time gone by, people in Danba combined the two into one. On one hand, the Mountain God Morduo was the most outstanding one among the gods for its boundless supernatural power, so it was regarded as the leader; On the other hand, as the incarnation of the Mountain God Morduo, Sacred Mountain Morduo thus had the concrete embodiment, ordinary people could feel it and also would be blessed by making pilgrimage around it and gradually it won the worship from people of all the directions. Later, the local believers built temples at the foot of mountain, and hanging the drawing of the God Mountain Morduo to worship. So, the God, the mountain, and the temple are interacted together, which forms a more complete worship system for the God Morduo:

Morduo Mountain God → Morduo Sacred Mountain → Morduo God Temple: Making pilgrimage to Morduo

Of course, God is worshiped by people, temple is built by people, and the pilgrimage to the mountain still be made by people. All of these show that both the origin and embodiment of Morduo as Mountain God or Sacred Mountain are involved in the main local cultural and educational traditions, that is, human cultural system having close relation with natural beliefs.

### 2.3 Thus, naturally, the PEOPLE would be the next topic.

It's very difficult to detect the cause and time for the local people to worship and make pilgrimage to the Morduo Mountain due to lack of documents. We can only outline and restore its basic contour by combining the limited materials, oral legends and field work we did there. At the beginning of this chapter, the quotation from *Morduo Mountain Topography* indicates that people's wishes can come true if they worship Morduo through visiting, making pilgrimage, serving the God and inserting the praying flags and so on. Furthermore, the pilgrimage the local people made to Morduo is related to a more complicated belief tradition, so there are many ways to worship the God: from daily lha bsang and worship to major and minor trips around the mountain according to festivals, from serving the family God, local God to making pilgrimage to the leader god of mountains near and far. The journey of pilgrimage can be finished by oneself or accompanied by families, clans or relatives and friends. In the summer of 2008, in Jiaju village, Aunt Amei told me that villagers here should make pilgrimage to sacred mountain for at least 3 times in their lives: the first for father, the second for mother, the third for themselves (praying for blessings, accumulating merits and virtues). And the local Tibetan cannot make sure how many times they would make trips around Morduo Mountain.....

### 3. THREE VIEWPOINTS OF TIBETAN, HAN AND BODHISATTVA

*“At this moment, there were three different spectaculars in three different observers: Tathagta and Bodhisattva saw that the Padmasambhava and Jiudumu arriving in Tibet to bless it with infinite and merciful bright power; the people from central plains saw that Princess Wencheng was married to the King of Tibet; the Tibetan people saw that the intelligent and courageous hero, Geer and others taking some betrothal gifts to Tang Empire to welcome Princess Wencheng.....”*

—from *King and His Ministers of Tibet*

The pilgrimage for the Sacred Morduo Mountain mainly exists in Ganzi and Aba of Tibetan area, Sichuan. And it has close relationship with sacred mountain belief and mountain god tradition before the origination of Ben religion and after the Buddhism introduction to Tibet in the whole Tibetan area. The author of *King and His Ministers of Tibet* exemplifying Princess Wencheng's marriage, indicates that different people have different views on the same event due to their own standpoints. In the same way, the status, standpoint and view of different participants should first be taken into considerations if one wants to achieve a full understanding of the spreading, texts and practices of the *Song of Morduo*.

First, the viewpoint of Tibetan.

*Diwu Jiaofa* (第吴教法) *History* and some other documents demonstrate that Tibetan are popularly in awe of natural gods and believe in them for a long time. e.g,

*“There is sky god in the sky, and lu god under the ground, year god in the air, zan god in the rock, local god in local, water god in the water, wood god in the wood, family god in family, town god in the town, oven god in oven, gate god in gate, clan god for clan, body god in body, man god for man, women god for woman, field god in field, horse god for horse, sheep god for sheep, goat god for goat, ..... All in all, gods exist in everything of the world.”<sup>1</sup>*

Besides, according to *Dunhuang Version for Tubo History*, these natural gods are integrated and exist mutually and function orderly.

*“Pine trees are the tallest and greatest among so many different trees; Tsangpo is the longest among so many rivers; and Yalaxiangbo sacred mountain holds the highest position among so many mountains.”<sup>2</sup>*

Jiarong area, where the Morduo locates, is particular in the sacred mountain belief. On one hand, it influenced by the division of the greatest mountain god (or the highest sacred place) in the whole Tibet areas, on the other hand, it still keeps its own particular local belief system.

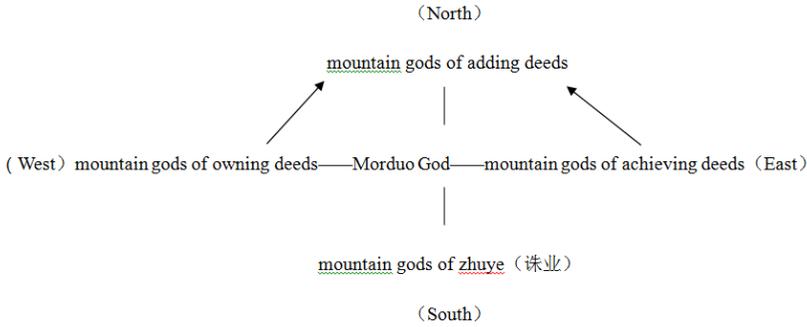
According to the traditional belief in Danba, as the leader of the gods, Morduo is respected and protected by more than 200 mountain gods around, that is to say, it leads a complete family spectrum tree surrounded by so many other mountain gods. For example, Sigule, known as Siguniang Mountain for its beautiful scenery by outside, is higher than Morduo in altitude.

According to *Morduo Mountain Topography* and other documents, Morduo and its guard mountains formed a following system:

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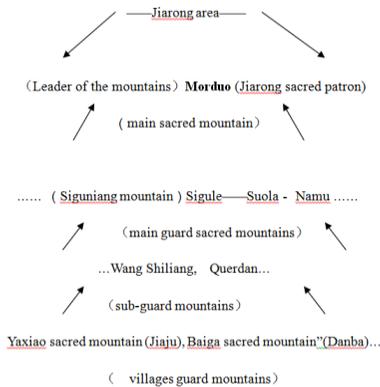
<sup>1</sup> Zhoula. *The Culture Feature and Function of Tibetan Worship Sacred Mountains*(J), Central Ethnical University Journal, 2006(4).

<sup>2</sup> *Dunhuang Version for Tubo History*, cited from Wang Yao, *A General Study on Tibet*. Shanxi Education Press, 2004.



Nevertheless, each main sacred guard mountain has its own sub-guards, and this system is also related to other gods in local people’s daily life. Thus, a more detailed multi-structure system formed.

Morduo gods syste

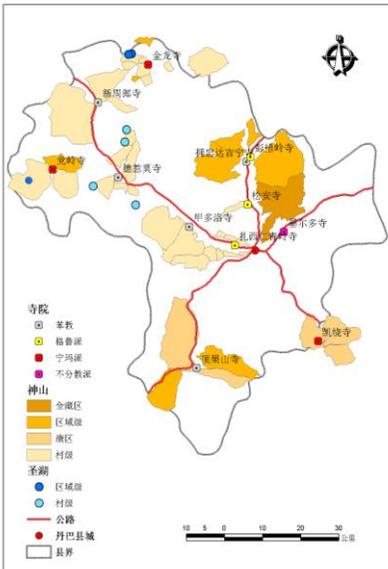


In the early of July, 2008, June Tushu, according to Tibet calendar, we surveyed the local people’s yearly pilgrim around Morduo in Danba. In order to get a full understanding of the relevant aspects and places of the pilgrim, we decided to make investigations in villages separately. We found that villagers’ attitude towards Morduo Sacred Mountain and its pilgrim is a kind of folk cultural unconsciousness as well as a kind of spiritual centripetal force and pursuit to the mountain nearby in Jiaju, Suopo, and Donggu. Some Tibetan told us legends about the Sacred Mountain Morduo and its unique events, such as, how the dry pool on the mountain formed and why people need to pilgrim it regularly. Uncle Abu, a famous offering master in Suopo introduced that *Inviting Mountain God* ritual is an important event among the relevant ceremonies. In their village, main gods are invited in turn by chanting sutras, first gods of their own village, then Jiarong, Kang and Tibetan areas at last. In this structure, as a local main god, Morduo can be regarded as a sacred medium god between the local and the whole Tibetan area.

The conviction and pilgrimage to Morduo have been observed for many generations, but the interpretation from outside world has begun to permeate in this system along with the communication with different ethnics in recent years.

Take the interpretation from Han society as an example. It is a kind of cultural re-writing the Sacred Mountain Morduo System into the Siguniang Mountain centered system due to the necessity of tourism development. At present, one can easily get much publicity information about Siguniang Mountain viewed as the queen of Shu mountain, a charming place deserved to trip, as long as you search *Siguniang Mountain* on Internet or any other tourism company website. An integrated resorts schema, divided by the district of Sichuan province, featured with significant altitude and charming scenery, King Gongga mountain and Queen Siguniang mountain, comes into being. Such a schema covers and substitutes Morduo God for Siguniang Mountain and then makes it a new district *National Scenery Resorts Area*, removes the divinity away from snow mountains for Tibetan with Han's secular eyes. In fact, it is an arbitrary re-writing of the sacred mountains system of Jiarong, cutting off the continuity of local culture gradually instead.

Objectively speaking, such a re-writing shouldn't be regarded as an intentional damage outsiders made to local culture, it just utilitarian development of tourism. The purpose is to create a new and attractive resort in Ganzi by publicizing the beautiful scenery of Siguniang Mountain. However, unexpectedly to the government, this propaganda itself has become a re-construction to local traditions from the outside, which unavoidably leads to the counter-expressing and misplacement between Tibetan and Han ways.



(The sacred mountain in Danba)



(Morduo God Mountain and Xiaojin river)

There is an introduction to Siguniang Mountain on *China Tourism Website*: “Siguniang Mountain is a magic and beautiful place.....scenery is variable in different seasons, the magnificent and steep mountains, the sun-rising and sun-setting, the forests, the grass, the streams..... all attracted mountaineers from different countries. It is called Chinese Alps.”

There is a personal blog in *Sichuan Tourism* in BBS, Sina. He writes:

*“Among the four girls, the 4<sup>th</sup> is the most beautiful one. When she was in her 16, she has already been in a good shape, and her eyes like the shining stars, and with a very beautiful face. Every morning, she sings on her way to carry water and it is a great delight to hear her sweet and pleasant sound. Her three elder sisters all love her very much, for she is the youngest and smartest one. She lives with her sisters happily.....*

*From then on, the local people believe in the tale of Siguniang Mountains, and called them Sigelarouda favorably, means protection mountain god.”*

By contrast, this personal blog still tries to keep the divinity of Siguniang Mountains and their guards more or less by remaining the old name *Sigelarouda*. But in pure Han’s websites, it is just a charming place with splendid natural sceneries, a Chinese Alps that attracted mountaineers from home and abroad.

According to a roughly collection, I find there are more than 10 versions of the legends about Siguniang Mountains in Han’s propaganda. Most of them mainly concentrate on the plot of four girls, emphasizing their beauty, smart, braveness, and then try to make a connection between the virtual four girls with the actual four mountains, which intends to arouse the curiosity of tourists, they always would like to tell which one is the fourth girl, or which one is the most beautiful....

In the winter of 2003, I did field work in Siguniang Mountain. After arriving at Chaping valley from Rilong town, I asked a local Tibetan guide for the original name of the mountain. “Sigule.” He responded with three syllables without thinking. I asked him again, “Sigule.” He answered clearly. I wrote them down in similar Chinese : Si-Gu-Le (思古勒). And I continued to ask:

*“What’s the meaning?”*

*“Sacred mountain.”*

*“Sacred mountain?”*

*“Yes, great sacred mountain.”*

*“Not... ‘four girls’?”*

*“No.....”*

*He thought for a while, “It’s ‘Sigule’, great sacred mountain.”*

Sigule is Jiarong Tibetan language, means *escort minister*. It was mentioned in *Jiarong Tibetan History*, written by a Tibetan scholar. He translates Sigule into Si goula. But He emphasized that when it was used to refer the sacred mountains in Rilong, it should be called “Sigoularoula”. “Sigoul” means “protect”, “Roula” means “mountain god”. So “Sigoularoula” means “to protect the mountain god”. Who needs its protection? Of course, the greatest Sacred Mountain in Jiarong Tibetan --- Morduo!

Divinity comes from sacred mountain. Why the topic of divinity just has relationship with the Tibetan people and Han? It is necessary to extend to the god’s angle, i.e., Bodhisattva’s viewpoint that we have quoted in *King and His Ministers of Tibet*.

In this book, Awang Luosang Jiacao, the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai distinguished three different viewpoints by setting the Tibetan King Songtsan Gampo married Princess Wencheng as an example. Different from both secular Han and Tibet, *Tathagata* and Bodhisattva had participated in the event actually and what they see is particular due to their benevolent light and created another history of Padmasambhava and Jiudumu arriving in Tubo to bless people here.

Then what is the viewpoint of Bodhisattva for Sacred Mountain Morduo? I dare not to speculate. We once interviewed two living buddhas from Dingguo mount temple and Songan temple when we did field work in Danba. Due to the different convictions, there are differences between Ben religion and Huang religion about the interpretation of the sacred mountain Morduo, but both of the expressing is quite far away from secular Han’s version as to the viewpoint of divinity.

The living buddha from Dingguo mount temple emphasized the popular meaning of sacred mountains in Tibetan, and believed one mountain can be sacred because of the arriving of gods as well as admitted by famous monk. And believers can improve their deeds by pilgrimage and praying wheel. The living buddha from Songan temple interpreted the worship to mountain god is not the outmost goal in Buddhism relief, all the natural gods---including mountains, waters, trees and lands have the divinity, but they are not Bodhisattva, all of them cannot escape away from the Six Wheel of Karma, and if they want to go to the Heaven, they have to follow Tathagata to cultivate themselves. There are more mysterious stories about Morduo in the hymns of praise in *Morduo Mountain Topography*. It predicts, the world people living would come into the last decay final 500 years. And at that time, and every sacred place in Tibetan would be in disaster but for Mordou, which would become to a magic place for Padmasambhava. He and his fellows sing:

*“When the final 500 years comes*

*In this holy torture place*

*the sacred power of Buddha would spread*

*all the lives live in the dark*

---

*to expel the cloudy from the sun...*"

This prose, can be regarded as a divine work of the *Song of Morduo*. We might as well view it as a kind of divinity literature if we want to interpret Tibetan narration aroused by Sacred Mountain Morduo with the present literary idea.

#### 4. THREE ABHISAMKHARAS: WORD, MIND AND BODY

*"In 628 AD, when Gengashengen, the 1<sup>st</sup> living Buddha of Dingguo temple, was born, his father saw the mountains and trees in Zhuriquiong valley worship his son on bended knees in his dream, which predicts Gengashengen and his successors have an indissoluble bond with mountains and trees.....After the living Buddha got the respects from the local people with his great performances and good virtues, the first thing he did was to set Riga Festival in order to protect animals and trees, that is, to "close mountain".*

—from *Riga Festival in Dingguo Mountain*

Many expressing called literature in Tibetan areas, because of its divinity, or being related to divinity, have special local styles and functions. According to the sayings of abhisamkhara in Buddhism, it can be generally classified into three kinds: practice of word, practice of mind and practice of body.

For the first one, practice of word, in which words are involved, narrations about Morduo cover books by writers and scholars as well as oral folk instructions. In Tibetan written literature, this tradition can at least date back to *Morduo Mountain Topography* in Tibetan language, and it has been carried on to the present day with the help of the writings in Chinese by writers as Alai and the others. For example:

"Ben and Tibetan Buddhism believers think, they can accumulate merits and virtues by going round the mountain Morduo." But now, "you see how culture has been deteriorating while scenes of desolation meet the eyes everywhere in nature."<sup>3</sup>

On one side, this narration expresses worries to the change, on the other side, it also records the influence that the sacred mountain worship has on the local people's behaviors. Alai's Chinese writings, with his vivid plot and smooth sentences, turn the oral stories in Tibetan areas into written ones that can be easily accepted by people in other communities: "In ancient times, gods frequented the earth freely.....at that time, centered around Himalaya Mountain, every direction has 99,000 sacred mountains."

After introducing the gods competition related to Morduo, Alai continues to describe,

*"Every participant has an appointed seat when the meeting starts, only one special seat decorated with carved dragons and precious stones is vacant." ".....Suddenly, the sky*

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<sup>3</sup> Alai. *The Ladder of Earth*[M], People's Literature Publish Press, 2001.

*becomes darker, all the gods look up at the sky: another mountain god in leopard skin arrives on a floating cloud, and strides into the meeting hall with distinguished-looking.”*

*Obviously, this special god is Morduo Mountain God. At last, after 81-day competition, he won finally, and became the king of all gods.<sup>4</sup>*

If attention is only given to written literature, Alai's translation undoubtedly provided a vivid story about the origin of Morduo, the sacred mountain. But if we go beyond the limit of the written form, or with the help of the clues implied in the writing words, we can easily find the hidden sense in practice layer, namely, practice of the body about Morduo belief: going around the mountain, pilgrimage, accumulating virtues. It cannot be simply explained by applying some theories such as art comes from life, reader criticism and reception aesthetics and so on. Faced with the legends and practice about mountain god from local people, you can say it coming from life, but it is also related to belief, and can be said as part of our life. The belief and worship to sacred mountain means more than speaking or publishing. It means practice. Why? Because all the things in the world are of one. Belief and worship to the sacred mountain, by specific ways of speaking and behaving, will influence people's both mentally and physically; then the restricted body and mind with good virtues will repay the mountain and god by fostering the divine nature to ensure the descent of mankind, hence the cause-effect circle related to virtue and evil. The so-called "literature" is just one of the circles or chains, a kind of abhisamkhara.

As far as our limited field work about this project is concerned, the outstanding example related to the practice of body and mind about sacred mountain belief in Danba is the Riga festival in Dingguo Mountain. Dingguo Mountain is in Donggu, Danba county, with an altitude of more than 3000 meters. The famous Ben Temple Yongzhongzuoqinling is on the mountain. As mentioned above, it is said that about 1300 years ago, after the first living buddha Gengashenggen (628AD--?) took over the temple, the first thing he did was to set Riga festival, i.e., to close the mountain, in the popular words today, which means to protect nature, environment and bio-diversity.

In the summer of 2008, we visited Danba, interviewed the living buddha of Dingguo mountain temple. According to the materials he and his assistants provided, the contents and the procedure of Riga festival are as follows:

Sacred Mountains system—

Middle part: Gaixuenaze on the Dingguo Mountain; East: sacred mountain -Yongzhongnaze; West: sacred mountain - Yonglan; South: sacred mountain -Yala; North: sacred mountain Jiarikajiangni.

Worship activities—

<sup>4</sup> Alai. *The Ladder of Earth*[M], People's Literature Publish Press, 2001.

A. On April 15<sup>th</sup> (the lunar calendar): people start to sacrifice goods to these sacred mountains. First activities like sorcerer's dance in a trance are held to pray that grain crops can escape from all the natural disasters when they are in the fields. Then a lot of Duoerma and Ganluwan in animal shapes made of Zanba and flour will be burned on the sacrificial altars of these sacred mountains (when holding sacrificial ceremony for every sacred mountain, their images, made of Zanba, are put on beautiful clothes to please the mountain gods).

B. On May 15<sup>th</sup>, villagers gather to "Gaixuenaze" to put up praying flags representing safety to avert catastrophe; and pray no disaster shall fall on them while the monks are chanting sutras. After the ceremony is over, activities like horse-riding competition are held on the pasture to entertain god and people themselves.

Seen from a broad view, like Morduo Fair, Riga festival is not only limited to pilgrimage once a year, but related to a more extensive protection system of sacred mountains. According to local religious customs:

a). After "Riga festival", people cannot go hunting and cutting woods on the mountains until the end of twelfth lunar month, even picking firewood is forbidden. People who want to build houses with woods have to get ratification of the local temple and act under the temple's supervision.

b). Dzigettai and argali who are regarded as the saddle animals of mountain gods are absolutely forbidden to be taken as prey. After coming back from hunting, one must "pay a life for a life", that is, if people kill one *moschus moschiferus*, they have to make 1000 Duoerma of *moschus moschiferus* images and put them on the sacrificial altar, meanwhile, monks chant sutras to redeem the lost soul.

C. Qianghuo and Dahuang (2 medicinal herbs) are forbidden to dig for people will dig very big holes when taking them, which will hurt the body of the sacred mountains.

Among them, the fact that the prohibition about digging medicinal herbs is effective is due to the local people's special recognition and conviction to sacred mountains, i.e., mountain and god are in one: stones are bones, the springs are blood, the mud is the body, the flowers and trees are clothes...

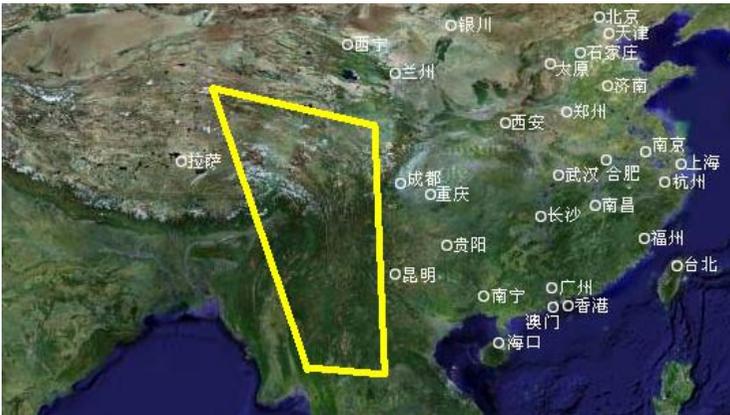
If we say Morduo stories which are spread and practiced in Jiarong, Tibet have divine nature, this belief is the practice in the bottom of people's mind. In the ancient Chinese poetics, there are such ideas: it is in light of the heart, "the motion is moved in the heart and takes shape in words; if words are not sufficient, singing can be better; if sighing is not sufficient, songs can be better; if songs are still not sufficient, motions can be expressed with hands, by dancing, with feet, by springing". This is what is emphasized later as the practice of the heart.

Let's turn back to the Tibetan customs. Personal practice has close relationship with sacred mountain belief. It is not only about stories or hymns of praise, but also about various practices for caring the "sacred mountains and saint lakes". As for me, all these are valuable

cultural heritages and social resources. Fortunately, more and more ecologists are showing growing concern to this. After careful comparison and contrast with a global vision, they make a judgment and draw many impressive conclusions, for example:

*“The colorful culture in the mountainous areas of Southwest China is amazing. 70% of the mountainous regions of Southwest China are Tibetan areas.”*

*“Cultural deposits of Tibetan traditions are rich. The widely believed Tibetan Buddhism doctrines encourage respecting life and nature, and sacred mountains and saint lakes can be seen in every Tibetan village and temple. All generations of inhabitants have been protecting these sacred mountains and saint lakes, accumulating a lot of valuable native knowledge and modes of managing the natural resources and utilizing the land sustainably, which have become the quintessence of the traditional culture. Sacred mountains and saint lakes have been protecting wild animals and plants and their breeding and living sites. Many forests and wild animals in the sacred mountains and saint lakes survived the large-scale business cutting at the end of last century. Some of these areas now are with the most primitive ecological system where people and nature get along very well.”*



(Morduo mountain area and biological diversity and ecological fragile region in Western China)

Nowadays, as time goes by, Chinese classical literary theory has suffered from “aphasia” for many years. General interpretation to literature has been being dominated by modern discourse from western countries. At the same time, local ethnical diversity has been being influenced and shadowed by a mono-mode. All these are the basic problems we must pay attention to when we discuss ethnical literature and the conception of multi-ethnic literary history, for facing to so many different historical and realistic situations, you have to ask once again: What’s literature? Does it just have the only one source and core?

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## GLOSSARY

Alain	阿来
Danba	丹巴
Dunhuang	敦煌
Huaxia	华夏
Jiarong	嘉绒
Ma Xueliang	马学良
Morduo	墨尔多
Quedan	雀丹
Wang Yao	王尧
Xu Xinjian	徐新建
Zanba	糌粑
Zhoula	周拉
Siguniang	四姑娘