



The Author in Tibetan costume
holding prayer wheel and skull drum.

CUSTOMS
AND SUPERSTITIONS
OF TIBETANS

Marion H. Duncan

LONDON:
THE MITRE PRESS
52 Lincolns Inn Field, W.C.2.

© MARION H. DUNCAN, 1964
200, E. Luray Avenue,
Alexandria, Virginia.

951.3
3910
C

DEDICATED first to my wife and children who shared with courage and fortitude the sunshine and shadow of my Tibetan experiences. Dedicated secondly to many noble Tibetan friends who are scattered throughout all of Eastern Tibet. I love and honour them in spite of their faults which they hold in common with all mankind. However, these failings have embittered invading Chinese troops who soon memorialized their experiences in the following chant.

Chiangka men teo chan pu deh

In the Chiangka doors one cannot stand upright,

Hsiang chien ren ray pu deh

One dare not anger Hsiangchien men lest they fight,

Litang tsamba chih pu deh

Litang parched barley, one cannot eat,

Batang ia teo kao pu deh

The Batang slave-wives are prone to cheat,

Hokeo hsien hua hsing pu deh

And the gossip from Hokeo is never right.

Contents

	Page
<i>Introduction</i>	11
I The Cool Country	13
II Celestial and Terrestrial	21
III A Virile People	27
IV Houses of Clay	35
V The Land of Tsamba and Buttered Tea	46
VI Three in One Clothing	53
VII Occupations	62
VIII The Life of the Night	78
IX Born in a Stable	83
X Marriage Takes Place at Night	86
XI The Land of Medicine	99
XII The Kingdom of the Dead	110
XIII Playgrounds Inside a Wall of Glaciers	120
XIV Yonnehcham or Harvest Festival	128
XV New Year Festivals	143
XVI New Year Dances	155
XVII Monks and Monasteries	165
XVIII Prayer and Pilgrimage	181
XIX Charms, Curses and Courtesies in the Ghost Country	189
XX Idols, Incarnations, and Incantations	198
XXI Temples and Teachings in the Land of Religion	208
XXII Nomads in the Snow Country	216
XXIII Law and Government	231
XXIV Animals and Birds	239
 APPENDICES:	
I The Story of Gar	251
II Stories from Batang	252
III The Horba River Legend	257
IV A Tibetan Thanksgiving Ceremony at Gartock	258
V The Prayer Dance Procession	260

List of Illustrations

1.	The Author in Tibetan Costume Holding Prayer Wheel and Skull Drum	<i>Frontispiece</i> <i>Facing Page</i>
2.	Tshongpon Pass Fifteen Miles East of Batang	16
3.	Typical Tibetan Valley Near Tachienlu	16
4.	Batang	17
5.	Yangtze River Five Miles South of Batang	17
6.	Sompo Lama and Family With Servants	32
7.	Tibetans of Batang	32
8.	Building the Foundations of the Orphanage Home	33
9.	Building the Walls of a Home	33
10.	Placing the Timbers of the House	48
11.	A Castle West of Tachienlu	48
12.	Yak-cake Plastered Tibetan Home	49
13.	Well-to-do Batang Women	49
14.	Ploughing with Yak at Batang	64
15.	Drying Paper Sheets at Derge	64
16.	Thrangoh Monastery near Jyekundo holding Exor- cising Service	65
17.	Tibetan Graveyard near Gartok in Kham	65
18.	Harvest Festival Dancing Ground near Batang	80
19.	The Yardee at Harvest Festival Dances	80
20.	The Jyagar Rawa at Harvest Dances at Batang	81
21.	Drama of Nangsa where Nangsa is taught to work	81
22.	Drama of Nangsa with Lord of Rinang and Nangsa	96
23.	Nangsa Drama with Nangsa taking boat over river	96
24.	Nangsa Drama with the Lord of Rinang preparing for war	97
25.	Songtsan Gampo Drama with Chinese Emperor greeting ministers	97
26.	Songtsan Gampo Drama with Minister Gar con- sulting the astrologer	112
27.	Songtsan Gampo Drama with Gar preparing to take Princess to Lhasa	112
28.	The Monastery Band at the New Year Festival Dances	113
29.	The Choje at the New Year Festival Dances	113
30.	The Alaka at the New Year Festival Dances	128
31.	The Atsara at the New Year Festival Dances	128
32.	The Jeebalojeh at the New Year Festival Dances	129

List of Illustrations (Contd.)

	<i>Facing Page</i>
33. The Chojong at the New Year Festival Dances	129
34. The Alaka worship Chamba at the New Year Festival Dances	144
35. The burning of the demons at the New Year Festival Dances	144
36. Red Hat Monastery at Shiwu near Jyekundo	145
37. Yellow Hat Monastery at Litang	145
38. Prayer Service at Derge in the Sakya Monastery	160
39. Pehyee Monastery belongs to the Red Hat Sect	160
40. Residence of Living Buddha at Batang	161
41. The Abbot of Litang Monastery (not an incarnation)	161
42. Acolytes or Benchung at morning prayer lessons at Gartok Temple	176
43. Derge Chorden Gateway	176
44. Engraver carving "Om Mani Padme Hum" on flat stone	177
45. Living Buddha of Jyekundo leads "power giving ceremony".	177
46. Living Buddha of Jyekundo blesses people with silver platter	192
47. Idol of Padma Sambawa at Dzochon Monastery	192
48. Idol of Chenrezig the God of Love at Leh south of Batang	193
49. The Zhedah of Gartok	193
50. Main Temple of Derge Monastery	208
51. God of Love Temple in Litang Monastery	208
52. Chordens in cave at Lamdah Ferry over Yangtze north of Jyekundo	209
53. Three nomad women — front view jewellery	209
54. Nomadic bazaar at Jyekundo	224
55. Our camp at 15,600 feet at Tshongpon Pass	224
56. Yak at Lamdah Ferry on the Yangtze river bank	225
57. The Lammargeier and my children John and Marian at Batang	225

Introduction

**"In speaking if one knows the proper words he is a wise man,
In eating if one knows the proper food he is a doctor."**

In these days of exact knowledge when so much of the earth's surface has become commonplace, there are few spots whose mystery lures the spirits of men as does Central Asia; and in Central Asia the most intense interest is concentrated on its hub — Tibet. Pacing the Polar Regions as a land of dangers and difficulties, unconquered Tibet holds challenges that still cost the lives of brave men in the fields of missionary endeavour, of travel and exploration, and in the realm of its hidden jewels — the thoughts and religious beliefs of a strange people.

It is our hope that this book will present some of the unknown facts in the inner life of the Tibetans that others may be aroused to study Tibet and its people. We do not boast that what is given will approach in an exhaustive manner the subjects which are treated; but we have tried to give personal glimpses of Tibetan life as revealed in the rounds of human activity and thought.

The materials of this volume have been gathered from the Tibetan province of Kham and the present Chinese province of Sikang during twelve full years of residence as a missionary, traveller and explorer. These two provinces and the Chinese province of Chinghai comprise Eastern Tibet. The inhabitants are Tibetans with a sprinkling of a few other nationalities. Ninety-nine per cent of this book's contents were gleaned by conversation, observation and original research from the Tibetans while living with all classes from prince to pauper.

Political views expressed are not the personal thoughts of the author but are the concensus of opinion founded by numerous conversations between the years from 1921 to 1936 with many people of both high and low degree throughout the Tibetan Frontier. Other men with a different background might secure contradictory opinions from the same area. Communist control since 1951 and 1952 has created its own reactions.

In striving for absolute accuracy of statement and in attempting to state all facts concisely, we have had constantly in mind the Tibetan Standard of good writing, "To be free from the faults of More, Less and Mistake".

Finally, this book is the product of my too numerous to mention Tibetan friends who through the years told me freely and frankly all things which I wanted to know. Among the most prominent of these were my Tibetan teachers — Alay, Tsenden, Atring, Lhashi, Gezongondu, Liu Chia Chu, and Peh Shang Wen. From their retentive memories came the proverbs heading each chapter and scattered throughout the text, the songs and superstitions, as well as the explanations of events and ceremonies as they occurred.

Marion H. Duncan

CHAPTER I

The Cool Country

The land, rivers, weather, mountains, lakes,
soil and minerals, springs.

"Although one's country may be like goat's horns, it is comfortable; and even if one's inheritance is swamp, it must be plowed."

EVERY country has attached to it fanciful and flowery names. Tibet is no exception. Rather it is unusually supplied with titles, the vast majority being found only in her literature and but little known to the common people. The Cool Country, the Glacier Field, the Snow Country, the Kingdom of the Dead, the Ghost Land, the Land that is surrounded by a Wall of Glaciers, the Country that is possessed with Religion, the Secret Land, the Land of Medicine, and Medicine Valleys that clothe the Icy Land are the frequently used names which are descriptive of Tibet and its people.

An examination of these titles will show forth four distinct attributes of Tibet. Tibet was a secret land for it is only within comparatively recent years that travellers have penetrated its borders oftener than once a century. Its own people realize that their country is cold and inhospitable where death stalks beside each person. They exult that their mountain heights have medicinal plants whose healing virtues are prized by many nations. Finally, the Tibetans egotistically flatter themselves that they possess the only true religion.

These four features are sufficient to clothe Tibet with a romanticism and picturesqueness that has attracted adventurous spirits who have risked the rigors of cold and starvation to solve the mystery of her rivers. Many have faced the bitterness of icy winds to scale her frosted peaks. Some have braved the breathless exhaustion of glaciated passes to map her barren trails. A number have dared the dangers of fanatical priests and wild nomadic tribes that her people might discard degraded superstitions and purify a relentless religion.

Much discussion has centred around the origin of the name Tibet. Perhaps a solution lies in the Tibetan name for their own country which is "Böt". What more natural for a Tibetan when asked "What is this land?" than to reply, "Ti Böt", or "this is Böt". "Ti Böt" in pronunciation is practically sounded Tibet."

Forty days travel from the nearest railway under the shadows of hoary peaks around whose bases countless pilgrims trod one comes into Eastern Tibet — a land of parallel rivers. Eastern Tibet is conceived as being that portion of the Tibetan plateau which lies east of the 94th degree of longitude and includes Kham which was always rather an indefinite area. Kham is a general term which now embraces much of the former Chinese provinces of Sikang (Illus. No. 3) and Chinghai with areas of Free Tibet drained by middle or upper courses of the Yangtze, Mekong, Salween, Irrawady and Brahmaputra rivers.

Rising over the passes of western Szechwan one plunges down into the gorges of the Tung, then up over still higher heights into the Yalung defiles with other ups and downs before reaching the canyons of their parent stream the Yangtze (Ilus. No. 5) whose source is an immense female yak spewing out a stream of water far up beyond the centre of Tibet. After a thousand miles the Yangtze emerges as a stream, two hundred yards wide in the dry season, but expanding to a thousand feet in the rains and tumbling through mile high gorges as the "river of golden sands". In these canyons the rushing waters roll huge rocks through lashing rapids with the sound of distant thunder.

Ascending from the banks of the Yangtze in the southeast at six thousand feet one puffs over a thousand foot pass between snowy walls and dives down to the red foaming waters of the Mekong, whose hundred yard width of deep channelled waters have come hundreds of miles through blood-coloured clays and sandstones. Along its banks are salt wells that supply most of eastern Tibet with salt; and the people who evaporate this reddish salt lead the same area in number of great double-chinned goiters.

Again braving troubled waters and frosted heights one drops from a three miles ascent down to one mile above sea-level where the broader, gentler Salween winds amongst forested mountains. Twice more in the extreme southeast one will climb up and down over narrow mountain ranges into the courses of the Irrawady and Brahmaputra. In the extreme north one would run into the S curves of the upper Hoang Ho — China's Sorrow.

Rising in unknown glaciers and lakes, these eight corrosions, in dropping from sixteen thousand feet (or higher) to six thousand feet, with precipitous defiles capped by snow and ice, radiate like

the spokes of a wheel from Tibet — the Hub of Asia. Many of the glaciated peaks which separate these winding rivers thrust their silver tips from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand feet above sea-level, reaching the clear skies of wind-scarred Tibet.

Although there are but a few days in summer and winter without some sunshine, yet Tibet is a country of diversified weather. While crops ripen in the valleys snow will fall in the mountains. On August 2nd of 1929 a blinding blizzard threatened the lives of the caravan upon the Tshongpon La, a pass over sixteen thousand feet high (Illus. No. 2). A day later down in the valley of Batang, about eight thousand five hundred feet altitude, the caravan men listened to the songs of the flailers pounding out the wheat under sweltering skies (Illus. No. 4). The hot sun and the thin air, with superheated mountain tops suddenly cooled by snows aid in creating powerful winds that threaten to hurl one from the narrow chasm trails. Blowing steadily from late morning until after sundown the winds bring rain in summer and dust in winter.

The thin air causes great differences between sun and shade, between day and night, and between summer and winter. Roasting under a temperature of 125 degrees Fahrenheit in the sun one can step into the shade with only 85 degrees in the summer. In winter, naked babies playing in the sunshine will crawl inside their mother's sheepskin bosom when clouds cover the sky or when mother takes baby into the home for the preparation of a meal. In winter one can sweat at ninety or freeze at thirty within a few hours.

The relation of altitude to the climate is well understood by the Tibetan. He has noticed the delay in the ripening of crops as height increases and likewise the longer season as shown by later frosts in the lower valleys. This knowledge is reflected in the familiar quotation that "the cutting of the white harvest (wheat and barley) drives upward, the cutting of the dark harvest (buckwheat and millet) drives downward".

The summer heat is tempered by heavy rains in Eastern Tibet. Most of the twenty to forty-five inches of rainfall drops from the first of June to the last of October. Spring and autumn, with their light rains, cloudless skies and mild days, are times of paradise. The dry, blistery winter with its biting blasts and rainless skies give little comfort in the daytime and less at night when only furs will preserve the marrow in the bones as the thermometer drops to thirty below zero on the mountain heights; although it is more pleasant at fifteen degrees above in the deep sheltered valleys.

Seasons as far as man is concerned are directed by governmental decree in Tibet and high officials regulate their dress by law. The

25th of the tenth month (the last of November), inaugurated by the Tsongkhapa butter festival, is the beginning of winter and wearing of heavy clothing dates from that period. Change from heavy to light clothing such as silks takes place the 8th day of the third Tibetan month which is about the first of April. Since the seasons vary considerably, because of the different altitudes, hardships in the change of clothing are dependent upon one's height above sea-level.

The searing winds are fiercest upon the mountain passes so that the traveller is happy as he surmounts the top which impels him to place another stone or a bit of wool upon the huge pile of rocks crowned by ragged prayer flags and tufts of wool. As he shouts, "Oh Lha Je Lo Lo Lo" or "Victory to the Divine Spirits" he knows the spirit of the mountain has been good to him and has let him cross safely in spite of freezing winds and icy paths. The winds not only skip over the deep, dark ravines and sweep the passes, but when the sun is hidden or clouds darken the sky, the lower air of the valleys, being warmer, is forced upward, and then the cooler blasts from the snowy peaks rush downward with a moaning howl which cools in summer but in winter forces fine dry dust into the tightest houses.

Poison air is said to exist upon the higher passes and deadly vapours can be seen to rise upward; garlic is chewed to overcome them. Since the air on the sixteen thousand foot passes is only half as dense as at sea-level, often producing headaches, nausea, dizziness, and for the weak sometimes collapse of the heart, one can understand the basis for the belief in poison vapours. Nor does the Tibetan like loud noises, whistling and firing of guns as he crosses the passes lest the spirits be angered and dispatch a blizzard to hinder him, or rain to swell the river which he must always cross as he descends to the valley.

All of the snow-tipped peaks are the abode of divinity. The higher and more isolated the peak the more important is the Spirit who dwells there. Guarding Batang and rising out of its valley to the northeast are the Three Sisters, two of them over nineteen thousand feet above sea-level. Far to the northeast within the curve of the Yellow River a snow peak twenty thousand feet or more, A Nyi Ma Chen or Ma Chen Pom Ra is the gathering place for the Gods of the World. The deity residing there is the protector of the nomads who live upon the vast surrounding plains. It is related that King Gesar, who is worshipped as the God of War, gathered together all the jewels of the world and divided them amongst the snow peaks but gave the finest jewel the "Yang" to Machenpomra. This peak is also considered to be the local guardian deity for the



PLATE 2. Tshongpon La is a 16500 foot pass east of Batang showing peaks of granite. The centre one about 18500 feet high is where the merchant perished in the episode by which the peak was named.



PLATE 3. Typical Tibetan valley three days west of Tachienlu. The time is November and stock graze the barren fields bordered by trees with scrub on the mountain sides. The altitude is 12000 feet.



PLATE 4. Batang (seen here from the southeast) is the largest lay city in eastern Tibet outside of Tachienlu. This valley is the paradise of Tibet in climate and variety of food supply.



PLATE 5. In low water season the Yangtze River, a day's journey below Batang, shows its extensive yellow sands which are washed for gold causing the Chinese to call it "River of Golden Sands". This photo was taken before sunrise when the mists and haze are rising up the sides of the mountains. Altitude 8000 feet.

eastern part of the world. Offerings of incense and food are burnt in home and temple to the deities inhabiting any peak to secure their good will and to avoid their wrath.

Northeast of Batang near Kantze is the noble snow-god peak of Khawalaring, about 19,000 feet high, which is reputed to have a black lion running around its point. It is the local Zhedah or guardian deity of the Hor Tribes whose beautiful queen once dwelled with her big-eared brother the abbot, and incarnation of Kantze monastery. To the southeast near Tachienlu, the port of entry for eastern Tibets' sea trade, mighty 24,500 feet high Minya Gongka is the guardian of Minya valleys. Almost an equal distance northeast of Tachienlu is Zhara about 20,000 feet in altitude, with a snowy tip resembling the crown of a hat and ten surrounding lakes for a brim. Zhara was the guardian deity for the late King of Chala and his unfortunate people. Southwest from Batang near Atuntze on the Mekong-Salween divide is the famous Khawagarpo the Mountain of Silver Snow, which protects the destiny of the monastery of Atuntze and its clients.

All guardian peak deities are pictured as beautiful glorified personages riding a spirit steed amidst airy, icy cones which is to be seen upon the walls of local monastic temples. One may see the figure of Machenpomra on the vestibule walls of Sakya temples along the Yalung and of Khawagarpo on the walls of the Gelugpa temple in Ge or Atuntze.

King Gesar earned his title as God of War by his legendary exploits. He was not satisfied merely with the placid task of distributing jewels but showed his prowess by shooting three powerful arrows through a grey limestone ridge of the Merchant's Pass or Tshongpon La. If one climbs the pass from the east going west toward Batang, one can see the holes to this day. King Gesar was not the only daring adventurer to cross this pass for its name came from a merchant who bet two yak that he could climb the stony tip to the southeast. He accomplished the feat for he waved from the top but was lost to sight in the descent. He never showed up again doubtless having angered the local deity who caused him to perish amongst the rocks.

The mountain spirits are worshipped by the building of stone altars on nearby peaks into which are thrust poles adorned with prayer flags, tufts of wool and banners. Sometimes copper tridents and other sacred copper objects are made and inserted in the altars on long shafts of wood. Incense will be burned at these altars at festival times as a pleasing fragrance to the gods of the mountains. In the sixth month on the third day small fir trees are stuck in the corner of the Litang houses to gratify the local mountain deities.

Prayer flags are tied to the branches, tufts of wool are stuck upon the twigs and white stones clustered around the base of these trees. Horse races are held at this time and in the olden days there were archery contests of skill and strength. Pilgrimages are also made around the sacred snow peaks. Pilgrims, to gain additional merit, may drive animals ahead of them so that if they survive they are redeemed from slaughter for life.

Lakes, large and small, are fairly common over central and western Tibet and there are a considerable number of small ones in Eastern Tibet, with at least one large body of water — the Kokonor, which is some two thousand square miles in area. Certain lakes were considered sacred in religious history and still are held in awe by priest and laymen as the dwelling place of divinity, or of such fabulous animals as the “golden frog of Lob Lake”. The world is flat and Tibet is the centre floating upon a vast ocean; lakes are openings down to this immense mass of water. The larger lakes are considered to have been created by supernatural means. Most lakes are landlocked with their waters salty which gives them a blue silk colour. The salt and sometimes the soda content leads to the belief that the waters are poisonous; some are not fit for tea and may make the drinker ill.

The Kokonor Lake basin was once a vast plain, while the lake itself was an underground one in the vicinity of Lhasa. It was transplanted to its present site by a deity so that a temple could be properly constructed upon the old location. The workmen had found, in building the temple, that what they did in the day disappeared at night. After the Kokonor burst out in its present location the rising waters kept flooding the plain until a great bird dropped the island now in its centre to plug up the hole which led to the ocean.

The most sacred lakes are in western Tibet named the Mapam whose blue-green waters are supposed to be of a hundred different kinds. The huge snow mountain near it is reputed to have a hundred other mountains tied together for its subjects while upon its top is a wonderful glass chorden or altar. These lakes are considered to be one unified body of water into which the Bon priests of ancient times threw gold offerings which poisoned the water.

Many of the smaller lakes are also sacred such as the horse-shoe shaped lake at the Pang La which is located near the old Sino-Tibetan boundary stone on the Yangtze-Mekong divide southeast of Batang. This Pang Tso some five miles in circumference is filled with springs and its shores are almost encircled by white marble prayer-stone piles placed there by pious pilgrims as they walked around the lake with prayer-wheels twirling to the tune of “Om

Mani Padme Hum". The waters and shores of this lake are the refuge of thousands of wild fowl and animals who allow one to approach closer than anywhere else except at some monasteries which specialize in feeding and protecting wild life in their neighbourhood. A small lake north of Lhasa is called the "Watery Mind of the Gods". Whoever gazes in this lake can read his past, present and future. This is not a popular lake.

Clay is the predominating soil. The dry and eroded mountains have never grown much vegetation to provide humus. Many of the rolling plains are of red slaty clay while a loam soil of slight depth exists as alluvial deposits in low valleys. Loess covers parts of northeast Tibet drifting south to Kanze. Limestone gullies seem to be the favourite location for the immense evergreen spruce and fir forests. Both limestone and granite are the outcropping ridges and peaks of the highest and most rugged mountains. Marble of the purest white is carved into fine prayer slabs three days south of Batang. Limestone is burnt near the same city for whitewash to whiten the walls of homes. Along the Mekong are slate and shale hillsides which become dangerous trail-slides of mud and stone during the heavy rains. A half day's journey above Batang are lumps of lead upon a hillside which are used for the making of bullets. Stone resembling lava is also seen south of Batang upon a once fertile section of plain which was covered with an avalanche of earth following a catastrophe of earthquake and fire.

Coal outcrops at Litang and other places. Gold is mined in many a stream throughout Tibet. At least a dozen valleys east of the Yangtze river have gold-washing areas. There is said to be an iron deposit two days south of Tsakalo which is the great salt-well district along the lower Mekong. Copper and iron are said to be mined near Derge furnishing metal for the bells and for instruments of war manufactured there. Tibetans are very reticent about the minerals saying in regard to gold that nuggets are the seed and should not be disturbed else there will be no crop of gold dust to be washed from the rivers. Furthermore, reports of a gold field brings in hordes of Chinese who callously tear up fertile fields for the precious metal. The greatest resource of Tibet is probably her white gold or waterpower, unmeasurable in quantity, which is poured out from the highest peaks in the world through the great rivers and their tributaries on to the plains of India and China.

Tibet is a land overflowing with springs, which enable many a bit of ground far up in the mountains to be irrigated when the erratic monsoon retards its rainfall, or in winter when there is no rain, furnishes water for the home. One series of springs halfway between Batang and Derge pours out a small river at least six

thousand gallons a minute. Very few streams go dry in the rainless winter because of the powerful springs along their courses.

Springs have two lives. There is the visible, living water forcing a gushing outlet. Then there is the demon spirit which lives within them. Walls are erected behind the outlet of the spring for worship and to honour the spirit with a home. The demon of a spring caused our cook to develop paralysis in the knee because he had washed a cup in the water during the time of the annual harvest dance when all spirits are supposed to be propitiated instead of insulted. The hot spring demons differ from the cold ones because they move with ten frightful attendants and carry mischief wherever they go. Bathing is taboo at certain times, especially for women, who dare not visit the baths at the time of their monthly period. Incense of fragrant juniper is burned to the spring spirits who are believed to have the power of causing disease and other calamities. This spirit demon called a Lu has the head of a human and the body of a serpent. He may locate in an unusual rock, or a tree growing out of a rock so that such places are plastered up or formed into an altar to confine him. Lu guard treasure and have the power to cause rain at the wrong time or other disasters when angry. Within our yard at Batang was an altar built over an unusual rock which was said to be the home of a Lu or snake demon. Upon this altar the former owners had yearly burnt cedar branches sprinkled with barley and other grains. We refused to do this and the death later of our oldest boy was claimed by our neighbours to have been caused by neglect of the proper rites.

Most of the hot springs are charged with sulphur and other minerals. If they are in a favourable location near a centre of population houses may be built over them where the people will take occasional baths. However, one sun-baked nomad who lived near some housed-in baths swore he had not taken a bath in his sixty-five years. Hot springs may issue forth along the edge of rivers as did a new one in the big Batang river during the winter of 1926, probably the product of an earthquake tremor which take place a few times each year. This spring like many others was too hot without the addition of cold water which was easily done in this case by using stones to channel in some of the cool river water.

CHAPTER II

Celestial and Terrestrial

Comets, rain, rainbows, thunderstorms, snow,
hail, earthquake, winds, the world, sun and
moon, stars.

*"Where there is much voice of the dragon there is no rain in
the clouds. If she talks much the maiden will have no wedding
feast."*

UNUSUAL sounds and sights have created superstitions which have their counterpart in other lands. "When the earth roars or strange noises in the ground are heard, the earth is said to be weeping because war is going to appear." Such noises were reported to have been heard in 1925 and there was plenty of fighting during that year in parts of China. "When there are earthquakes, Chinese soldiers will come;" as there are tribal revolts every year somewhere along the border, Chinese soldiers are arriving continually. "Clouds of dust upon the mountain without any visible cause such as wind, rain and clouds indicate that a famine will visit the people;" however, famine never visits Tibet as she is self-sufficient in food production. Such sayings are of the type which are always answered from the natural course of events.

Every celestial object is carefully watched and recorded. Comets are considered to be signs of evil events. Halley's Comet in 1910 was seen by all and war predicted; the Chinese Revolution and the uprising of the Tibetans against the Chinese was the answer. Preceding the burning of Batang in 1921, weird lights for several nights had travelled up and down the fields, sometimes merging into one mass and again dividing into separate rays.

"Red clouds in the morning bring rain, Red clouds in the evening bring heat." "Rain will fall if there are flocks of swifts in the sky, or if the parrots are whistling much of the time." "When the sky is covered with clouds and ants go running over the top of the ground, rain will fall." "If there are clouds in the east in the morning there will be rain that very morning." Sultriness, presence of many flies around the house, intense desire to sleep, sweating of copper vessels,

seeing numerous snakes, all are signs of impending rain. Halos around the sun or moon foretell rain; such halos are called the tents of the sun or moon. "If the ends of the rainbow come down to the water, it will rain some more; if the rainbow tips rest upon the mountains, it will not rain any more." Tibetans in the deep valleys near the Burma Border have noted that when "the elephant grass is in bloom it is the end of the rains."

"Rainbows are a fleeting object whose coming is as if by magic and whose going is like the receding shadow when the sun rises;" they are the source of many a saying. Rainbows are almost universally seen in the east, but if by chance one does show up in the west, it is an omen of evil to come; very small ones then will foretell war or the arrival of enemies. Rainbows around the sun are a sign that the planets and stars are in a favourable position for prospering in business. In November of 1923 when the Rana-lama, a Living Buddha in command of marauders, was burning houses across the Yangtze River in sight of Batang. (Illus. No. 4) two magnificent rainbows completely encircled the sun in the southwest. These were a sign that this warrior-priest would come no further in threatening the city; and, he actually retreated. Two rainbows appearing reversed, one over the other, indicate calamities too awful to predict. One such burst forth in sight of us over Dawo in August of 1935; two reversed rainbows and a third below them. The Communists ravaged and slaughtered in Eastern Tibet within the following year.

Thunderstorms, which are common during the summer, sound unusually loud and threatening in such high altitudes. Lightning flashes are extraordinarily brilliant. Lightning skipping from mountain to mountain across the sky with no thunder or very little thunder signifies that the Gods are battling and soon the people will follow in their trail. If one is struck by lightning it is considered to be a retribution for sins committed in a former existence. The good person struck by lightning dies quickly with little suffering but the evil pass away in agony. Thunder is believed to be a dragon who boils iron in his vitals and then spews out the lightning. The observation that people struck by lightning have been burnt leads to the supposition that it is a stream of red fire out of the mouth of thunder. The roll of thunder is the voice of the dragon who comes up out of the sea surrounding the world; however, others claim that the dragon produces the rumbling sound by rolling a huge round jewel over the mountains.

In the winter when the sky is overcast, and the crows caw continuously, there is likelihood of snow. Snow on the mountains near Batang, and this is true also of other narrow deep valleys will cause frost in spring or fall, if the nights are clear. This gives rise to the

saying that "snow on the mountains without clouds in the sky, brings frost and the killing of vegetables." One day when snow, hail, rain and sunshine followed each other quickly in September on the high Litang plain, one of the men in speaking of the almost instantaneous changes said, "The horse cannot come, To the calling bird." High mountains, condensing swirling snowstorms around their peaks in winter, often cause the only drizzles of the valleys in the ordinarily bone-dry period of November to March. Although warm winters portend that the crops in the following summer will be poor, yet the exceptionally warm winter of 1926-27 in Batang did not bring but little variation from the average harvest. Irrigation takes care of lessened rainfall in the valleys and the mountains extract sufficient moisture from the monsoon for barley and turnips in the heights.

Hail is frequent and feared. It is supposed to be caused by eight kinds of devils that exist in three series. These demons are attended to by special hail-preventing lamas who receive gifts from the farmers for their services. The power of these priests is not doubted if they fail to prevent hail; they are only blamed for indolence. Ashe, a female landlord, was very wrothy when hail destroyed her buckwheat during the fall of 1922 in Batang, and cried angrily, "I paid out good money to that hail-preventing lama and the scoundrel was too lazy to attend to his work." Hail may fall during any month of precipitation which is from the first of March to the last of November, but it is feared mostly when the crops are ripening in the low valleys during June and September, and during August in the higher altitudes. The size is frequently that of peas but hail as large as one's thumbnail is not uncommon. The rapid cooling of the air which causes sudden and heavy drops of rain are often mixed with hail in all stages from watery to hard white pellets.

Hail will fall, if the sky is covered with clouds when the extreme southern and northern points between the mountains are remarkably clear, because then the ghost deity of the sky is rising up to look around. If noises are made upon the mountain by a traveller, hail may descend because he is angering the deity of the area.

Slight tremors come several times a year in eastern Tibet but only at long intervals does the huge elephant, who supports the earth, tired of merely shaking his tail and lifting his foot, shake himself or lie down, which causes a death-dealing earthquake. The Tibetan, whenever he even thinks of an earthquake, prays, "Earth do not move, stones do not move, elephant do not destroy the fabric of the earth."

A severe earthquake occurred to the north of Tachienlu in 1922 when great cracks and faulting of the earth appeared around Dawo. The clay-walled heavy-timbered houses destroyed whole families

as they fell. At least one French Catholic priest was killed and a few hundred Tibetans and Chinese, although the severe earthquake area was limited and the population not heavy. Damaged and ruined houses were still visible fifteen years later.

Around Batang tremblings occur each year but only three shocks were heavy enough to cause anxiety. One took place the day after the terrible Japanese earthquake in September of 1923, another in the summer of 1925 and a third in the month of April of 1926. The buildings trembled, the furniture rattled, the timbers creaked and seemingly solidly placed rocks upon the sides of cliffs rolled down. The quake of April 1926 loosened a mass of heavy rocks above the large irrigation ditch east of Batang which carried a long section of trestle work into the river and misplaced the remainder of it.

However, within the last hundred years the elephant really rolled over about April 15th 1869 when two out of three people in Batang were killed. Old Gegen Tsenden, a priest in his early youth and later a teacher to the Americans, remembered distinctly as a boy of ten while other aged inhabitants verified his testimony as to the severity and destruction. The centre of the shock was Batang but damage was caused five day's journey away or about seventy-five miles. The report was soon noised abroad that Batang was completely destroyed. The first shock, which seems to have been the biggest one, took place at night and lasted for several seconds. Seventy-five distinct quiverings continued during the next day with slight shakings for two to three years afterwards which kept the people in a constant state of alarm. The earth cracked. Landslides blocked the roads. The mud houses were flattened. Fires broke out and licked up what the quake had left. Disease came in to conquer many not buried or burnt to death. Here and there were survivors who promptly fled to the mountains and camped in the open.

The Batang people had plenty of warning for this earthquake, signs which they did not heed. Human excreta in the monastery toilet boiled over and splattered the walls. A musk deer came down from the eastern mountains, ran through the streets and fled up the western hillside. Wild animals are always rated a bad sign when they are bold enough to appear on city streets. The moon, too, on the 15th of April suffered a partial eclipse. Lastly, a comet appeared in the east, visible at night for a whole year before the earthquake.

Tibet is a land of sunshine, but at night, when the sky is cloudy, or in the shadow of high mountains, winds arise almost instantly and threaten to blow the traveller over the precipice; but let the sun rise, or let the wayfarer turn the corner into the brilliant sunshine, and the calm is oppressive. Tiny cyclones which form in the deep valleys gathering up leaves and dust, are said to be tiny ghosts and

“Om Mani Padme Hum” is mumbled for protection. The worst products of wind-storms are the fine dust and sand which becomes so thick that one can not see one’s own hand and so penetrating that it sifts even into the inside of a camera. Lights in such a storm blaze as in a fog. One can merely sit and survive.

There are five spheres earth, water, fire, atmosphere, and light which lies beyond the atmosphere. The world floats upon a vast body of water like a boat upon the ocean. Lakes are rifts in this land, seeping up from below. In the centre of the world is a huge mountain peak “Rerob” whose height no man can conceive and whose top is invisible. This mountain is the abode of the gods whose palaces, the thirty-three heavens, are arranged in series from the first to the highest. The souls, who have gone higher than the tenth palace, have reached salvation and will not die. Souls in the first ten heavens will be reborn on earth as animals or human beings. Around this central mountain are seven golden peaks; and outside of these are seven lakes which completely surrounds the sacred golden mountain as it overshadows and canopies over the seven lesser golden peaks. In the beginning of time there was only wind “Dorje Jyehdrang” (the Victorious thunderbolt) and later from this wind arose water. Part of the water collected together so compactly that it formed the earth the “Wangchen Serjyi Zhichog” or “the arising source of the great golden power”.

The sun and moon are placed on each side of the world. Each direction is conceived as of a certain colour or jewel; the north is yellow gold, the west is ruby red, the east is clear crystal and the south is sapphire blue. The time of day is expressed by stating the position of the sun above the horizon. The year is divided into twelve lunar months, the unlucky days are dropped and an extra month is added. Dropping unlucky days which come irregularly cause some months to have 29 days and the remainder thirty days so the calculation of the calendar is complicated astrology. Irrespective of logic the extra month always makes the spring season in which it falls a month longer. The extra month is placed after the fourth month as that is a lucky month and so this extra fourth month causes a double fourth month’s spring twice in five years.* So says the Tibetan!

One of the commonest phrases used by the Tibetan when he thinks of undertaking anything of more than routine importance is “Karma Dar” (consult or look at the stars). The astrology of the stars is a profitable business for the lamas. Consulting the stars is the first step in almost every movement of life. The stars must be favourable if one is to travel, to build a home, to marry, to undertake a war, to plant a field, to start a new business, to begin the yearly

harvest, or to undertake anything beyond the simplest daily round of eating and sleeping. One cannot be born, get a name, or be transmigrated without the effect and position of the stars being determined. The appearance of a new star or the falling of numerous stars may presage the birth of a great man or of some other important event sometimes good, sometimes evil depending upon other circumstances at that time. The stars are to a certain extent deified or even humanized; for instance the third star in the Dipper has on its upper borders another barely visible star which is reputed to be its secret son.

* Others claim that seven months are added every nineteen years. The Tibetan year does not correspond exactly with the Chinese year.

CHAPTER III

A Virile People

The Djong or Mosu, other tribes, the Mongol,
the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Nomad.

*Every land has its own dialect,
Each priest has his own religious custom,
Each ruler has his own governing laws."*

MANY years ago, farther back than the oldest inhabitant ever heard his grandfather talk about, some say it was over two hundred years ago, Eastern Tibet was settled by a race of people who were called Jyang or locally Djong. My Tibetan teacher Gezong Tsetring says that his family has been in Batang for thirteen generations and that they came in with the family of the Prince who ruled the Batang area until a generation ago. Probably this advent of the Prince would set the death date of the Djong whom the Chinese call Mosu. Relics and bones of these Djong exist in graves beneath the clay which brickmakers dig out of the hillsides some six to eight feet beneath the surface. The depth and character of these graves prove that they are not of the present Chinese or Tibetans. The local Batang people say that the remnants of these people who buried their dead with pottery and weapons now live south of Yen-Gin or Tsakalo seven days away. The sides and tops of these ancient graves are lined with flat stones, which is not true of other tombs.

The Tibetans swept like a storm out of the north and drove the various tribes of gentler folk on south into the valleys of northern Yunnan and Burma where they still live in clannish exclusiveness, a timid, suspicious group of tribes some of whom were strong enough to force their enemies into allowing them to retain certain villages of their own within Tibetan territory. South of Tsakalo the Mosu will be in one village and the Tibetans in another, a queer alternation, which both respect. The Mosu are more slender and finer featured than the Tibetan. They have kept their own language, customs and dress distinct but have accepted a modified Lamaism which is incrustated with their former religious beliefs.

The Mosu is but the principal one of many aboriginal tribes often loosely called by the Tibetans under the general head of Djong, who have drifted southward or been partly absorbed by the warlike Tibetans. The Lolo, the Minya, the Lesu, the many small tribes of northern Burma and Assam, and other remnants have felt the pressure from the north of once nomadic Tibetan tribes who have not been averse to accepting the easier agricultural life of warmer river valleys. These tribes have kept their languages and most of their cultural identities but being weaker could not help absorbing as well as giving some cultural features including religious ideas from their neighbours — the Tibetans on one side and the Chinese on the other. These tribes except the Minya live on the southern and southeastern fringes of the Tibetan Plateau with most of their people spreading beyond into the adjoining hills and valleys. The Minya retain a large area between Tachienlu and Litang, and have absorbed so much of Tibetan culture that they are not easily distinguished by the novice.

In the extreme northeast is the Mongol who has drifted from his difficult desert life into the more fertile Tibetan pastures around the Kokonor. Mongol armies in the distant past have penetrated into Lhasa and because of such intercourse all of Mongolia bows at the feet of the Dalai Lama acknowledging him as their religious lord. Racially the Mongol is close to the Tibetan and their cultural standards are similar so they tend to live together with a fair measure of harmony. Descriptions of the Mongols in the Kokonor region have not been creditable. They are usually represented as a people weak and subservient, oppressed by the powerful Golok tribes and fettered by Chinese exactions. It is not unlikely that these emigrants are really weaker Mongol elements who have come southward under two pressures, the first being their more warlike Mongol neighbours, and the second the starving life of the Gobi desert. Their numbers are not great, with probably less than ten thousand upon the Tibetan plateau.

The Chinese have not been successful in colonizing nor in governing the country of Tibet. They settled as colonizers only in the larger towns upon the edge of the Tibetan Plateau. They ruled the Chinese and Mongols around the Kokonor which was incorporated into the province of Chinghai. Away from this section the wild Golok submitted when within gunshot of a large armed force who must go out each year to collect the taxes. When the troops withdrew to their garrisoned towns the Golok whirled away into freedom and brigandage. The Mohammedan Chinese, however, yearly put more pressure upon the unruly tribe and in time the mere force of numbers will conquer them.

The southeastern part of Tibet east of the Yangtze river which is a part of the Chinese province of Sikang yields obedience to the Chinese in the settled districts but away from the towns the submission is nominal and spotty. It seems evident here that "At a large river crossing, the ferrymen are unyielding; at the seat of a great king the ministers are rigorous." In many districts Chinese dare not venture and only large caravans travel safely. West of the Yangtze, Eastern Tibet was under the direct and quite efficient control of the Lhasa Dalai Lama up to the time of the recent Chinese conquest. He maintained his independence from 1912 gradually extending his territory from the Mekong to the Yangtze river. West of the Yangtze no Chinese were allowed to settle.

The Tibetan Plateau is high and cold for the agriculturally inclined Chinese who have thrived in small groups in a few places only to be gradually absorbed by marriage into the Tibetan population. By means of standing garrisons and small coteries of Shansi merchants the Chinese have kept a small minority in the larger towns except the entry city of Tachienlu or Kangting, whose contact is so close and intimate, that half of this town's inhabitants are Celestials; the other half are Tibetan lamas with some traders and discordant half-breed elements. However, step outside of the city, and one is in Eastern Tibet. It has been easier up to the present time for the Chinese to migrate to more favourable lands south and north of their country than to seek a living westward in the heights of Tibet.

The Chinese have not possessed China except through the process of assimilation and after many generations their reproducing power will absorb the Eastern Tibetans. The Chinese have not annihilated the original settlers of the lands they now possess. Those who would not be absorbed by intermarriage have been edged to the less desirable hill country. The Chinese by the irresistible power of overwhelming numbers will probably continue to rule most if not all of Eastern Tibet. In the course of time they will either absorb or push into the hills the Tibetans and other tribes in that area. The Chinese themselves will not be absorbed; they cling with the teeth of a bulldog to their pride, their racial inheritance, their customs and their religion; they will not learn the language of the people among whom they happen to reside. They are the native and the Tibetan becomes the foreigner. Like milk which always retains its colour regardless of the water poured into it, so the Chinese no matter how much his blood is diluted by other races is still a Chinese. The Tibetans have a proverb which pointedly illustrates this attitude of non-conformability — "You may beat a Chinaman

but will he learn Tibetan, You may beat a snake but can he put forth hands and feet.”

As the ruling power the Chinese have shown great astuteness if not force and energy. They pit one tribe against another and consolidate the gain if not this year, then the next by another similar manoeuvre. When the magistrates sent out have been able men and just, the Chinese sovereignty is preferred by the Eastern Tibetan to that of the Lhasa hierarchy whose officials have been apt pupils in severity but not in justice of their former Chinese rulers; for China had nominal control of Tibet for some two hundred years until 1912 when Central Tibet was able to regain her freedom under the able and wise 13th Dalai Lama.

Weak, grasping officials of the last thirty years have alienated much of the respect given to Chinese rulers in the past. They barely rule the ground upon which they tread, drawing contempt and ridicule a day's journey from a settled garrison town. The country districts under lama abbotts, tribal chiefs and village headman are governed according to the old code of laws and customs which have been the mode for generations. Some of the rulers displaced by corrupt Chinese officials include the Derge Prince who represents the 47th generation and the Batang Prince who is the thirteenth of his line. The first still has some power under a Chinese magistrate while the second is a fugitive in Lhasa. Under the present disorganized and spotty government old feuds have been revived and tribal wars continue to the annihilation of families and the weakening of tribes. When living Buddhas such as the Rana-lama and the Gonka-lama war with each other, waiting twenty years to settle old grudges, one cannot wonder that the common people resurrect former hatreds. The Chinese rulers, helpless, sit blandly looking on and wait until unexplorable time presents an opportunity to improve their power.

The Chinese are admitted to be less exacting in their tax requisitions, more just in their courts, and more lenient in their treatment of the people than Tibetan officials. This may be a matter of policy and weakness rather than an outgrowth of culture. Whether good or bad in their rule the Chinese are an alien people with an arrogant disposition toward the Tibetan who loves his Chinese overlord as he does the insects who live in his matted hair and greasy sheepskin, putting up with both because he can't get rid of them and killing either one with the same callousness. We might truthfully say that the Tibetan loves the Chinese with the same fervor that the Indian loves the English.

Basically the Tibetan wants to be independent and have the freedom which he had under his old petty princes who used to govern

their little feudatories before Chao Erh Feng took away their seals in the encroaching invasions of 1905. At that time all of Eastern Tibet and much of what is now independent Tibet was organized for a few years into magistracies, held in power by blood, until disintegrated by the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The former petty princes ruled states with from five thousand to about fifty thousand families. They were independent in home affairs but rendered tribute to the Manchu Emperors who exercised a very nominal suzerainty in external relations whenever tribal wars broke out. Politically under the Manchus, these princes bowed to the religious power of the Dalai Lama by whom they were confirmed in office and who had a strong influence upon their policies, restraining their war-like tendencies and curbing the desires of ambition. Perhaps the love of old habits and old forms may be the basis for the wish to return to the former system but like old wine and old friends, "the old order changeth giving place to the new."

Chinese soldiers and merchants, with a few artisans who have come into the larger towns, have married Tibetan women and in the course of time have created a small but active mixed class of Sino-Tibetans who straddle the fence in their attitude socially and politically (Illus. No. 7). The males dress as Chinese and the females as Tibetans; both sexes when times are peaceful, assuming the role they dress, but in times of war and political dissension switching rapidly to the favourable side, which sometimes requires adroit manoeuvring. This half-breed class are coming more and more into a commanding position in the political life of the Chinese part of eastern Tibet. On the whole they prefer an independent provincial status under the Chinese Republic, but not as part of another province nor one ruled by Chinese just beyond the Tibetan Plateau, which has been their fate for many years. The new province of Sikang in which they took a leading part was enlarged to include enough Chinese territory so that the war lord who had been governing the province could have enough taxes and military support from his Chinese constituency to hold the Tibetan in check. Forced to linger near the Border lest he lose his seat, the warlord cannot be criticized too severely as he is constantly harassed by other warlords; but, regardless of who is the ruler, the Sino-Tibetan group as well as the pure Tibetans will be restless under the present set-up. At most the Tibetan will give only grudging obedience, even in the garrisoned towns, while the outlying districts will continue in a half rebellious attitude yielding taxes at the point of guns from large armed forces, which they recover by ambushing and robbing small bands of Chinese soldiers and civilians so that the loss of Chinese rifles and men amounts to a considerable number each

year. However, there seems to be plenty of men still available in overcrowded China.

Ninety-five per cent of the population are Tibetan whose general appearance is closely reminiscent of the American Indian, at least this is true of the people in Kham or Eastern Tibet. Tall and well-formed, often six feet or more in height, with high cheek bones, bronzed skin, dark eyes with little slant, hair frequently curly but generally fairly straight, and coarse, scanty hair on face and body, broad but not flattened nose, the Kham Tibetan has that air of confidence and independence which is only seen in a mountainous people who risk death daily with the elements.

Big-boned and large in body with the digestive power of goats, the Tibetan has the endurance which high altitude and wintry blasts cannot weaken. The puny have long since been weeded out through the centuries. "A real man does not sit in comfort, A goat stays not on a level place," typifies his virile qualities. Morally they are superior to the more civilized plains-people to the south and east. Mentally, if not their equal, it is because they have not had time and opportunity to develop a higher civilization because of the intense toil required to live among the high mountains. They have not pursued the vices of more civilized races to excess and in the blood dilution which follows in contact with other races to the south and east they have given strength of body and mind.

Undoubtedly the purest Tibetan type exists among the nomads, who, in periods of invasion, can easily retreat among their mountain fastnesses and whose habits of life are not such as to make their women attractive to outside races. Of the million people in Eastern Tibet less than a third live wholly upon their flocks but a vast majority of the remainder obtain part or most of their livelihood from their herds of yak, cattle, sheep or goats (Illus. No. 6).

The nomads are divided into tribes ruled by chiefs whose powers are not absolute but exercised with the advice of the leading men in council and according to ancient laws and customs. Each tribe has certain tracts of land for their own use and encroachments upon their grazing territory creates disputes and war. Travellers passing through are supposed to pay tribute, or hire guides, or make a contribution of some kind to the tribal prince. These tribal tracts are extensive, probably the smallest having the size of a township forty square miles or more. Injury to the least of its members is an insult to the whole tribe and revenged by them.

Every autumn about the time of the Indian Summer, when there is glorious weather for a short period before the onset of winter, the entire tribe convenes at the council grounds where the guns are counted, the flocks numbered, the causes of grievances investigated,



PLATE 6. Sompö Lama, the man in the foreign hat is a renegade incarnation who has married the woman and had the three smaller Tibetans pictured here. He and his four nomadic followers shown here live by robbery and oppression of the Tibetan villages a few days south of Batang.



PLATE 7. Tibetans of Batang ranging in rank from the nobility to the beggar class and dressed in styles from the nomadic to the city costume with some showing Chinese influence in blood and dress.

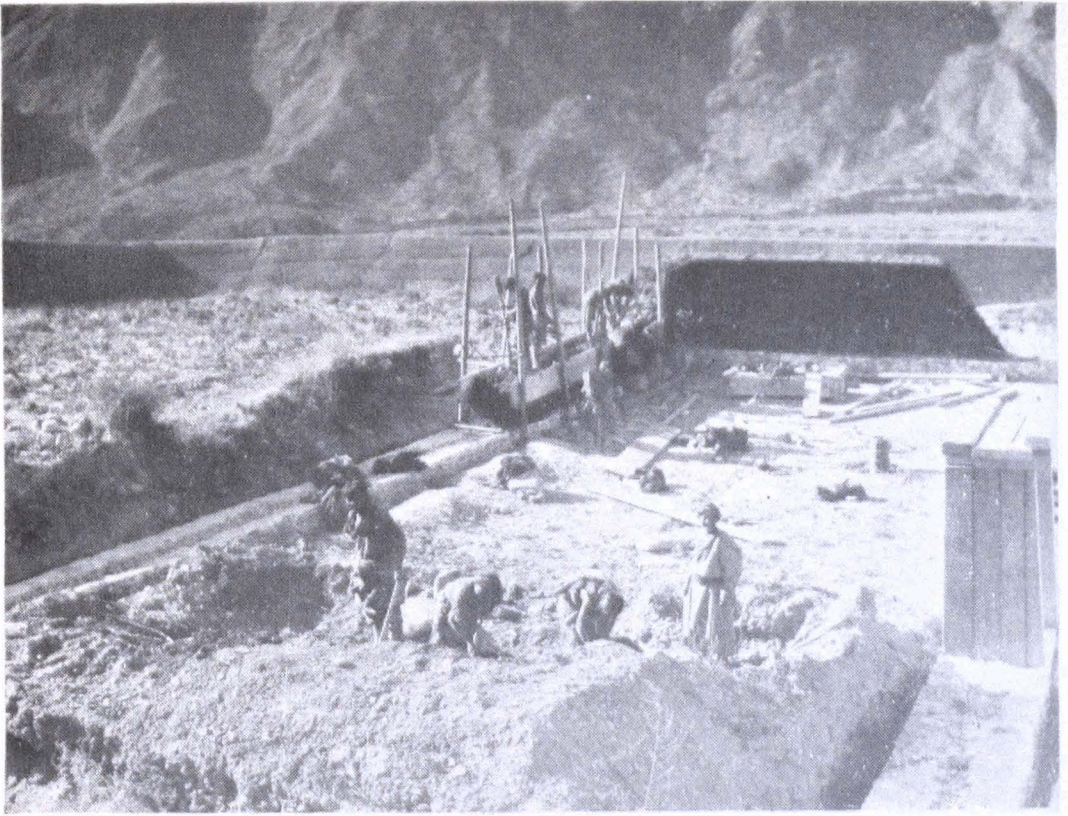


PLATE 8. In building a house first a low stone foundation is laid, then wet dirt is poured into a broad framework and tamped down solid. Doors and windows are set in at the proper time.



PLATE 9. The walls slowly rise around the doors and windows which are prepared by carpenters beforehand. This is the orphanage building at Batang.

plans for revenge laid against any other tribe who may have slain or robbed one of their number, and other affairs of whatever nature are surveyed with appropriate action to be taken. Undoubtedly plots to raid a neighbouring tribe are planned here and the exactions of Chinese officials or of Tibetan governors are given attention. World-wide conquest in the days of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan were the results of such tribal gatherings as are still held in Tibet and perhaps many an ambitious young chief today, as he surveys a vast plain filled with the tents and herds of his people in one group, is so impressed by his visible power that he is restrained only by the older men from attempting another far-flung conquest. A raid into another district with the loss of a man, or with indifferent success for the effort expended, probably cools his ardour.

Sprawling on the grassy plain in a sheltered vale like a huge black spider with its burly yak tethered row by row in front, flanked by bunched sheep and goats on one side and horses on the other, the nomad tent is a scene of prosperity. Saddled, hobbled horses graze nearby ready for quick mounting. Beyond them are the mastiffs restrained by short iron chains but ever watchful. Blackened, greasy women in sheepskins waddle to and fro, caring for the stock, collecting yak dung chips for fuel or weaving cloth. The men are usually inside drinking tea and sniffing snuff, and if outside are working leather while keeping an eye on the valley for visitors. Life seems carefree and easy but the nomad must be watchful lest a stranger sweep down upon him unawares and take away his possessions.

While the original Tibetan was and is a nomad, yet at least two thirds of them now obtain some or all of their living by agriculture in the lower elevations. The pure nomad trades his butter, cheese, meat, hides and the other products of his animals for the grain, vegetables, nuts and fruits of the valley dwellers. Each pities the other; the farmer is happy that he does not have the hardships of tent and altitude while the nomad is glad that he has not the toil and uncertainty of raising crops. Altitude and rugged terrain keep each from encroaching upon the domain of the other. There is no pressure of population, not over one person to the square mile so they live in peaceful association. The line between them is not fixed. The purely agricultural element is small, most families having some stock and some of the nomads having settled winter homes with a small cultivated acreage. Nomads and agriculturists intermarry freely and regard each other as of the same racial stock.

Indeed, some tribes are composed of part nomads and part farmers who meet as a unit in social festivals, in communal monasteries and in yearly fairs.

* Political conditions now somewhat different since communists assumed control.

CHAPTER IV

Houses of Clay

The Tibetan Home, visiting a home, kitchen, the stove, stable, unwanted guests, storeroom, god-room, other rooms, roof, building a house, the interior, the exterior, location of villages.

*"If one does not lodge overnight,
One knows not how thick are the fleas."*

UNDERTAKING the building of a house is a serious affair for a good omen is of paramount importance. A Batang gentleman began the building of a home after his old one had been burnt by the Chinese during a Tibetan uprising in 1921. Of course he had presented the usual hunk of butter and portion of tea to the astrologer priest for an auspicious day to commence building. However, he was doubly blessed. As the big timbers were about to be placed into position, patches of cloud in the five colours were scattered throughout an otherwise clear sky. He built a big house for he was not restricted like the people of Gartok where ordinary folk can only build one story high lest a higher edifice emulate and overshadow the local temple which would be displeasing to the deities. The Gartok monastery is built upon a plain. If built upon a high promontory such a restriction would not have been necessary. Litang is cursed with the same handicap and the homes near the monastic buildings are low and dammed up with filth while the houses farther out and lower down on the plain are two and three stories high. (Illus. No. 37).

Where there is an alluvial plain or a fertile valley nestling among the mountains, one will find a few houses built close together for mutual defense against probable robbers, and a temple upon an eminence nearby. Huge walnut trees shade the buildings. Pear trees grow nearby in scattered groups. If the settlement is in a forested ravine the dark green of spruce trees stretching upward to glistening peaks makes "every prospect pleasing" until one arrives close to the yellow and white buildings when one can see cow-packs plastered on the walls to dry and other filth amidst the muddy lanes,

and then one knows that "only man is vile". (Illus. No. 12). When one enters dung-covered courtyards where unkempt animals switch away swarms of flies, and climbs into smoky dirty rooms, one wishes that the distant vision could have been kept forever.

The houses if possible face the lucky south direction. They are square or rectangular with few windows all concentrated upon the second floor with none on the sides built against a cliff or rising ground. There is but one door massive and thick, which is further protected by a walled courtyard whose size varies with the wealth and number of animals belonging to the householder. The courtyard walls, often ten feet high, will be lined with stacks of cordwood if forests are nigh. Forests eliminate the need for cow-pats drying upon walls permitting more manure for fertilizing of fields. Open sheds are usually built against the courtyard walls which creates a favourite shelter during the loading of caravan animals.

As one draws near a Tibetan home all of the dogs herald the approach. Blackened shutters in the narrow slitted windows reveal dark shaggy heads. Children, ragged in sheepskins, thrust grimy faces above the low parapet of the roof where tattered prayer rags from tottering sticks are thrust into a motley mass near a white cone on the northeast corner. From this cone's sooty tip there curls faint wisps of pale smoke. Through the opened doorway of the courtyard can be seen a huge black mastiff (so tied that one can just pass him without being bitten) who lunges with such force while barking with foaming jaws, that one fearfully wonders if the chain will hold as the timbers creak and groan.

While hesitating, with a fear of safety, out comes the landlord with palms stretched upward and speaking a vain rebuke to the dog. "Galeh" or "One has had a difficult journey," politely, says he to which one answers by "no." "Please come inside," is the invitation to dismount as he holds the horse and ties him. While the host collars the mastiff one steps quickly past taking care also not to bump the head against the door frame. Treading cautiously for the first floor is the stable and toilet, one sees a faint light from above showing a notched log about fifteen feet long. Hugging this pole with both hands and placing the feet sideways upon the chipped steps, six inches wide and nine inches apart, one ascends from the yawning cavern. Wealthy homes will have a slippery stairway with a wobbly wooden railing or a yak-hair rope banister. Occasionally a notched log stairway will be forty feet long when it leads to an upper story in a temple or bypasses two stories in a palatial home.

Upstairs one is now in a passageway leading around the rooms below a central open skylight ten to sixty feet square. This skylight often extends from the roof to the basement but in this household

of average size it goes down only to the second floor. On the second floor there may be latticed windows giving more light to the gloomy rooms. Ushered into the kitchen one is seated upon yak-skin mattresses stuffed with deer hair placed in the far corner by the window. The good wife wipes a silver-lined bowl and likewise the low red-varnished table with a black pot-rag, pokes up the embers and soon pours out a bubbling hot bowl of buttered tea. The entire family stand before one respectfully awaiting one's slightest desire. One must rise and insist that at least the host sit down. When he does it is on a low stool or on the floor at one's feet .

The large red bowl of parched barley flour is set before one. After the tea has lightly cooled, the butter is blown back and long noisy sips are taken. Scarcely is the bowl set down before it is filled to the brim again. The snuff horn is offered, a small portion is shaken on the left thumbnail and sniffed up one nostril at a time. Dried or fresh fruit is placed upon the table which one is urged to eat. If the host is a person of rank and he desires to honour his guest he will peel the fruit and hand it to him. If the family are wealthy there is always a separate room to receive guests.

The kitchen is spacious with low wooden benches along the wall where space is available. These benches are about a foot high and three feet wide, serving as seats by day and couches at night. A huge wooden water-cask stands in the corner by the stove. There may be an eighteen inch high table and a shallow iron pan filled with charcoal to help warm the room. The teapot is often nested in the charcoal to keep the tea hot. However, there is sometimes a separate clay pot whose interior is filled with hot ashes and a few live coals, and whose top is fitted to support the clay teapot. Tibetans affirm that tea from a clay teapot tastes better than from a copper or brass pot. If the home is a poor one an iron kettle, a clay teapot, and a wooden churn is all that is needed to start housekeeping. Each person carries his own wooden bowl which he licks clean after using and places in the capacious folds of his cloak. The baked clay pots are cheap, costing about five cents but of course easily broken. Iron and copper vessels are expensive, selling at five dollars or more. From the use of both clay and metal vessels has come the proverb "In buying a baked clay pot the price of an iron pot is soon squandered." Metal utensils are passed down from generation to generation. The display of copper and brass platters, dragon-mouthed teapots, and silver-lined bowls, upon shelves along the wall, are a matter of pride to the housewife who keeps them shining like burnished gold.

The kitchen is the centre of hospitality for here is the stove around which the family dines, loafs and sleeps. Before the stove is built,

the astrologer is consulted for the auspicious day of construction. When it is finished friends bring presents of food and ceremonial scarves or "Kadoh" as symbols of good will and good luck. The size of the stove varies with the family home but it usually has four pot holes, whose only lids are the cooking utensils.

The stove is made of stone and fire-clay, built up solid from the floor to a height of two or more feet. The top will be three to five feet square. A fire box for each two pot holes may be fed from one side or the whole stove may be fed from the front. A hole at the rear in the top will take care of the smoke which has not already escaped from around the crevices where the pots fit into the pot holes. The smoke wanders around the room choking the family, blackening the walls and ceiling; but, if sufficient in quantity, eventually finding the hole in the roof above the stove; there is no other chimney except for the poor when the doorway is the chimney. Perhaps because there is no chimney the Tibetans have the basis for the saying that a smoke represents a family or a home. Sometimes the foot square hole and the door provide the only light besides what comes from the uncertain flames. In rainy weather the vent in the roof is closed which makes the room fit Longfellow's lines, "The day is cold and dark and dreary".

The size of the firepot where wood or yak cakes are burnt, prohibits a large fire, but great heat is applied to the kettles since they are in direct contact with the flames. Firewood is usually holm oak started by means of pine slivers or yak cakes which are a mixture of yak dung. When gathered fresh it is mixed with straw, twigs or grass and dried by plastering upon the walls of houses or spread upon the grass in masses the size and shape of pancakes. Yak cakes are such an important element in Tibetan economy that it is used to demonstrate usefulness, when not dependent upon shape or beauty, by the saying that "Cattle dung has two sides, Buckwheat has three corners". When the fire roars, as occasionally happens, it is a portent that a guest will come. A guest is always welcome for it brings an interlude into otherwise dull days. But the guest must never leave without drinking at least a bowl of tea no matter how weak it is and compliments the host upon the excellency of his tea although he will answer that the tea is poor from lack of butter.

The stove is usually near the middle of an outside wall which it adjoins so that three sides are available for the use of individuals who gather here for meals or comfort. The stove's own heat has hardened the dark clay, and repair is rarely needed. Above the stove is a design upon the wall. There are some variations but the commonest carving is that of nine jewels which are encased in flaming fire signifying the prosperity and happiness of the family. Below

these jewels is the lotus flower which acts as the resting base. The jewels are bound by a ceremonial scarf whose ends extend out on each side in graceful curves. Near the peak of the flaming fire-jewels, on each side, is a kitten called the jewel-cat. The god of all wealth carries a cat from whose mouth a jewel is spouted at the wish of his master so this hearth kitten represents the power of creative wealth. Above the jewelled flames are sun and moon representing the "light" elements.

Looking around near the stove one can see stalks of grain, tufts of wool, sprigs of pine, and other emblems of the fruits of toil, bound by a cord to the supporting house-posts near the ceiling. Tools of the field rest in the corners. The very poorest people will have the idols, their bag of tsamba, the few ragged sheepskins and hair blankets beside the stove, as they have but one room. Upon the walls of both rich and poor homes are roundish white imprints of floured fingers and dabs of butter extending in a white ring around the walls, about shoulder high. These dots are termed "Yangtee" which means "happiness or good luck spots". These white sacred symbols stand out vividly against the blackened walls.

People are not the only inhabitants of the home. Yak, horses, donkeys, sheep, goats, pigs and cattle will send up fresh fumes from the first floor stable. Thieves make outdoor staking costly unless someone is sleeping with them. However, sometimes thieves will dig through the thick wall spending several hours working on the hard clay, throw meat to the dog who is accustomed to barking all night at the moon, creep through the hole, and unbar the door to lead out the animals. Daylight finds them miles away upon the mountains. The home is also the chicken house where the fowls roost upon any unused railing or the bars in the skylight. Dogs and cats wander in and out at will. The rivalry between the animals has brought out the saying "If there is no dog the hog gets the bones. And if there is no cock the donkey brays the time".

Last but not least are the unwanted guests, little creatures which are forever with the Tibetans, whether rich or poor, young or old. These four comrades are head lice, body lice, bedbugs and fleas. The head lice are controlled only by dressing the hair regularly with butter which suffocates them. Sheepskins are ideal homes for cooties or body lice. The pious pick them out and carefully deposit them to one side lest they die but most people prefer to sin and crack them between the teeth. Bedbugs are safe in the dark wooden joints of the bed benches and floors, following the family to the roof in the summer and wintering in the blackened timbers above the stove. These three work quietly and soothingly but the nimble flea jumps and stabs here and there with pain; preferring dog meat but not averse

to tender human steak as beggars cannot be choosers; strangely they instinctively avoid some people.

One must go out into the hallway to reach all other rooms except the storeroom, whose entrance is as close as possible to the stove. Here are the leather bags of tsamba and flour, the joints of meat hanging from the rafters, the stomachs of butter suspended on the posts, the yak-hair sacks of dried turnips, and bunches of peppers from the red-pepper tree. Here the cat has free access to keep the rats wary, for unground grain is kept in large wooden bins and only converted into tsamba about once a month. In this room are the granite grind-stones used for grinding the parched barley if there is lack of a stream to turn larger stones in a mill.

The next most important room, where the gods are kept, is not open to the public. Other treasures are also stored in this room and the door usually locked. The lock may be plastered with fresh dung which after drying would betray attempts at entry. The poor family may only have a simple idol or two in the kitchen on a shelf where offerings are made upon special occasions; and a white cone on the roof where a few twigs of juniper are burnt each morning to please the local spirits. From an unpainted clay figure in a dusty kitchen corner, the objects of worship will graduate to a magnificent array of golden gilded idols filling one side of a large room adorned with red and gold paint. The other sides of such a room will be niched with recesses for the bulky one hundred and eight volumes of the Buddhist Bible — the Kangyur. The godroom of a noble family or of a prince will often surpass the temples of all except the larger monasteries. If an enemy succeeds in raiding the household he will be certain to visit the god-room not only to take away any treasures but also to despoil the figures even if they are the same gods he himself worships. Such an act adds insult to injury and demonstrates the deadly hatred of a feud.

The god-room if possible is located upon the third floor apart from the bustle of the kitchen; or if there is an old grandparent, usually a grandmother, who has retired from the sensual world, here may be her room for meditation and prayer. Sitting crossed-legged upon a felt pad, dressed in an old sheepskin, and with shaved head, many an old granny is discovered twirling a prayer wheel while she mumbles with trembling lips the ageless prayer of "Om Mani Padme Hum". Her sole daily duties may be the dispatching of the white juniper smoke from the frosted cone as she gazes eastward, the burning of incense at a blackened square altar, or the sticking of wool tufts upon the evergreen branches which are thrust into the parapet.

As one sits dreamily drinking the yellow globuled tea, the curiosity regarding other locked rooms is solved when the people from outside tasks return in the greying twilight. Tenants or relations from grandfather to grandson including all of the brothers and sisters with servants and slaves open the doors of overflow kitchens and sleeping rooms. A princely home may contain the equivalent in number of a small village in inhabitants, all of whom add strength and prestige to the family.

The flat clay roof is an important part of the living quarters. Part of it may be roofed into an open shed where grain is stored after being flailed on the unprotected portion. Here are the incense cones for worship, and in such places as Litang, little fir tree-tops, tied with coloured thread and decorated with prayer flags and tufts of wool are stuck into the parapet crevices to insure the favour of local deities. On the roof the family gathers to eat, work and sleep in summer or on sunny days. Besides being the centre of harvesting its light and space are used in a multitude of tasks such as weaving, working leather, hunting lice and religious exercises. Lastly the roof makes an ideal grandstand for the watching of parades whether religious or political.

Timber can be had for the cutting where it is plentiful. If scarce a gift to the local chieftain who conserves the supply will secure what is needed. Cutting and transportation for the average man is done by the builder aided by friends and relatives. To secure space when there is so much waste and unused land, will involve a gift to the local headman or the monastic abbot in Tibetan areas. Where the Chinese have control the officials have been following the policy of granting unused land tax-free for the first three to five years in order to encourage settlers. Titles are not very secure and proved by witnesses rather than by records.

Clay and stone, like timber, is free for the labour. If the prospective builder does not have enough relatives nearby, he must hire other people and these labourers are paid with food and clothing after tedious bargaining. No metal nails and very few wooden pins are used in the construction of a building; all joints being dove-tailed so that the labour of the owner in wood, stone and clay may constitute the entire expense.

After consulting the astrologer for an auspicious day to begin, the timber is felled by chopping with crude axes, trimmed and barked. When dried out the logs are slid down the mountain side to the nearest stream where it is floated as close as possible to the site and the remainder of the way carried on the shoulders of men. At the site of the new house the loose top dirt is removed and a stone foundation laid upon the hard clay pan or rock which is often near the sur-

face. Now two wide boards are lashed with ropes and poles to form a mold for a wall upon the stone (Illus. No. 8). Into this wet clay is poured and tamped down to the sound of heavy grunts and rhythmical chants. The timbers for windows and doors are planed with axes and placed in position as the walls rise. Walls are usually three feet thick at the bottom and taper to a foot at the top of the second story. Only the poorest homes will be made of sun-dried brick or of stone which a single person can make unaided. Above the second story additional height is gained by the use of sun-dried brick which have been molded in shape a foot long and eight inches square, or where timber is plentiful by well-fitted logs about eight inches in diameter. Palaces are rarely above four stories high with walls six feet thick at the bottom.

Walls and timbers are largely independent of each other so that a wall can fall and the house will still stand. Another wall can be built to replace it with little inconvenience. The inside of the house may burn out and the fire-proof walls be left for a new interior. Stone walls cinked with clay cannot be pierced by thieves but require constant repair. The log-cabin sections must be high enough so that raiders cannot set fire to the home without being exposed to gunfire.

The timber framework is entirely trimmed and fitted in sections before it is raised on a lucky day selected by the astrologer. This raising requires a large group of men who do the work in one day. (Illus. No. 10). The timbers are large, supporting posts being eight to twelve inches in diameter, because of the heavy clay roof. The cross-beams are so placed that the top of the former tree points to the east, and the butt or root end aims at the west. If a mistake is made and later discovered the house will be torn down and the timbers properly reset, else happiness will not come to the family.

Upon the eight to twelve inch crossbeams are laid the three to four-inch diameter poles which support split wood sticks, over which fine brush is spread and then topped with red clay. Dampened and pounded with flails as inch upon inch of clay is added, the roof hardens under the sun as it is built. The clay is built up from four to six inches thick. If well beaten and properly laid such a roof needs only the filling of cracks and the smoothing of eroded spots, each year, before the onset of the heavy rains, to keep it perfectly waterproof. The clay becomes so hard that when dry it can be dented only with a heavy pick.

The homes of the poor have clay floors pounded like the roof but the better class lay a heavy plank floor upon the clay. Partitions are either tamped clay, clay bricks, clay-plastered interwoven branches, or solid wood panelling. Windows may have decorative stone mul-

lions on top and sides; or red, corniced piled timbers on the top. The walls may be left bare or given a thin lime plaster coating which is then figured with various designs. Regardless of the finish the kitchen walls will soon blacken from the smoke. The wood panelling of the wealthy homes is painted in vermilion, gold, turquoise green or salt sea-blue colours with designs featuring the lotus flower, the swastika and other good-omened figures. Reception floors may be painted with imported Chinese varnishes and kept smooth by woollen pads moved by the feet.

Although sweeping of the ordinary clay floor is infrequent, at the advent of a guest a fearful dust is raised. If one asks them to cease they think that one is merely being polite and not wishing to cause them trouble. After lengthy explanation if the host does permit the debris to lay quietly, it is only to believe as he scratches his head, that one either prefers dirt or has a new superstition. When the floor is swept the dirt is thrust behind the door, there to remain until the day before New Years, when it is deposited at the junction of three or more roads.

The standard Tibetan home will have three stories (Illus. No. 13). The first floor is the stable, characterized by slops and smells, and where the manure accumulates to be removed yearly in the fall before the planting of wheat and barley. The proverb that "If a dog digs a hole in the ground of the stable, bad luck will come" illustrates its condition. The stable is also the cesspool for the family toilet unless a small room with a hole in the floor is built to overhang the outside wall so as to let the droppings pile up outside. The second floor is the living quarters. The third story is the roof flanked by a half-open shed with possibly a small enclosed room which is used as storage for tools in winter and unthreshed grain in summer. In winter the third story is barren and cold, when hospitality and fellowship rule the second story, especially the kitchen where one can sit cross-legged for hours with the host, drinking tea, twirling beads, sniffing snuff, snoring in cat-naps or just sitting still with no one objecting.

Erected as a fort for times of danger, cool in summer and warm in winter, a home may cost from five hundred rupees (or about one hundred dollars in American money) to ten thousand rupees or more depending upon the amount of work done by the owner himself and upon the size of the structure. The unit of measurement is the square of eight or nine Tibetan feet (a Tibetan foot is about fourteen inches). At the corner of each square is a post as a part of the framework, even along the clay wall. Sixteen squares is a regulation-sized home but the castles of princes will have such an area in the kitchen alone. Two of the largest castles in eastern Tibet will

illustrate the size of a chieftain's home: one is ten by eleven squares a total of 110 and four stories or sixty feet high; another is thirteen squares each way or a total of 169 squares, and with five stories in two sections joined by an open courtyard. In such castles the walls at the bottom being seven feet thick are able to stand considerable pounding of three inch cannon whose shells will penetrate less than four feet of tamped clay (Illus. No. 11). One of these castles had the largest notched log stairway ever observed, a pole twelve inches in diameter, forty feet long, and twenty seven steps which left a goodly length at the top without steps, this portion projecting beyond the upper landing place.

Reticent as one's host may be about questions regarding certain parts of the homes' interior, one can finally refuse more tea and prepare to depart in order to view the outside more closely. The stranger, especially if he is a man of means, will leave a gift for the wife (it is always easier to present a coin to the women who in most cases handle the money-bag) as compensation for the trouble caused to her, since the host has only sat and drank tea with the guest.

As one leaves the host sends out one member of the family to hold the dog and dispatches another to bring the horse who all this time has been feeding upon a bunch of dried grass. Down the notched pole, through the dungeon-like stable, and past the gasping dog, one goes as if from purgatory out into the blinding sunlight. Glancing upward the red-painted doors and windows stand out in bold relief against the yellow-clay walls. The timbers above the door and windows are piled from two to eight layers high; each succeeding upper piece projecting out six inches above the lower one giving the effect of a stairway upside down. In pretentious buildings the eaves will be built up the same way but most homes have only a coping of clay over flat stones made into a parapet six inches to two feet high.

The colour of the clay walls may indicate the social standing of the owner and, if he has any pride of ancestry, he will see that his home is painted the proper colour regardless of his poverty. A prince must have his home of solid white. Nobility in the Batang area must show yellow walls with broad white bands a foot wide and about six inches apart running from the eaves to the ground. Ordinary folk must be satisfied with solid clay — yellow unless they desire to leave them the original muddy clay colour.

Certain localities have distinctive features on the outside to classify the tribal group. In the Minya area between Kangting and Hokeo the walls show white-stone ox-heads, sometimes as many as six, interspersed by round white stones resembling moons. The ox-

heads face the mountains to repel the ghost spirits of yak who have died on the range (Illus. No. 12). Yak spirits, like those of men, have a tendency to return home where, as may all ghosts, they might harm either the household or the animals. White borders are painted on three sides of the windows with the top framework showing eight or nine white disks. At Beru near Derge many of the houses are of reddish-yellow clay paint with white stripes resembling radishes ready to thrust their tips to the ground.

Tibetan settlements whether lay or monastic are either located at the mouth of small mountain torrents, on the banks of large streams, or beside an eternal spring. Water supply which cannot be cut off, when besieged by enemies, is an essential (Illus. No. 13). Alluvial plains have been built up by streams and here enough fertile land creates a village. Terracing of mountain sides has been done with skill by farmers who utilize ever-flowing springs. Villages dependent upon agriculture are below thirteen thousand feet altitude but settlements maintained by trade or nomadic supplies exist around fourteen thousand feet with a few places in the neighbourhood of fifteen thousand feet above sea-level.

Many villages are located near monasteries where the village monks are registered. Even nomad monks are enrolled in a fixed monastery giving stability to an otherwise roving third of the Tibetan population. Settlements composed of those who serve the monks naturally grows up and then, when enlarged by other inhabitants, may become an administrative centre. Regardless of the strength which any village may have to repel an enemy, it is the castle-like monastic temple which is the final refuge and fort during a siege. With grain stored from many a years surplus and always built beside a large stream or spring which cannot be cut off, the monastery often withstands any force brought against it when armed only with rifles and small cannon.

CHAPTER V

The Land of Tsamba and Buttered Tea

Foods, tsamba, tea, milk, alcoholic beverages, meat, turnips, other grains and vegetables, wild foods, fruits and nuts, one day's meals.

*"Eating too much white honey makes the liver sick,
Speaking many words is like blowing a goat's horn."*

KILLING animals is a great sin yet the Tibetan nomad living off his herds must of necessity be a great meat eater and a great sinner. He eats it raw when dried, and at best partly cooked from lack of fuel and the lowered boiling point of water because of the high altitude at which he lives. Animals are not killed for meat when young as it is not economically wise so that most of the meat comes from matured animals or those past their usefulness. The meat of old age is not tender but after being frozen and hanging in the shade for a year or two drying and ripening it becomes somewhat tenderized. Cutting off a long strip and putting one end into the mouth, a quick stroke of a knife past the nose is the Tibetan method of cutting up and eating the carcass.

Cold outdoor exercise and a huge frame creates an enormous appetite. For one man to demolish a goat or a lamb at a sitting washing it down with a dozen bowls of tea is not unusual although he may take two hours in eating. The ordinary person is reported to drink from twenty to fifty bowls (a bowl is about the size of a teacup) of tea in a day. The chief foods for the nomad are yak beef, mutton, barley, tea and turnips. The diet is limited not by choice but by necessity for only near the most fertile and lower valleys can he exchange his herd's products for a variety of fruits and vegetables. Other grains besides barley with other meats are additional foods for the valley dwellers. Here one will hear frequently the singsong counting of the number of "Dre" (or quart measure) with the raising of the voice every tenth measure at the end of every harvest. The nomad balances his hunks of strong butter or chunks of blackened meat with a stone measure "Sang" when bartering for the grain of the valleys.

Tsamba is the bread of Tibet. After the husk of the barley is removed by pounding in a mortar with a pointed, rounded stone, the grain shows bluish-black. The drier the grain the blacker is its colour. The grains of barley are then popped or parched in an open kettle over a brisk fire, the cook stirring it with a stick whose end is bound in rags dipped in grease. This greasy stick is so essential and cheap that it is never borrowed, to attempt to do so involves loss of pride and brings bad luck. Some of this popped barley is eaten dry but most of it is taken to the mill and ground into fine flour. In this state it is called "Tsamba". This too may be eaten dry but usually it is mixed with buttered tea and squeezed into a brown adhesive ball called "Aloh". In eating Aloh it is bitten off at the small finger end of the clenched palm. It is very tasteful, especially if a little sugar is added which the Tibetans do not have. Popped grains of barley are carried in the blouse and single grains thrown into the mouth with skilled aim while walking along the road or conversing with a friend. A few handfuls of popped barley with a stretch of raw dried yak beef makes a good lunch when travelling or out hunting; and it is ready without fire or other preparation. In general, grain is expensive and only given to animals when other food is not sufficient or impossible to obtain.

Tea is the beverage of Tibet. Its importance is illustrated in the chant, "Dogs and thunder must have voice, Men and horses must have class, Tea and beer must have strength." Practically all of the tea used in Eastern Tibet is grown and prepared at Yachow (Ya-an) eight stages east of Tachienlu (Kangting). Some three hundred coolies a day come into Tachienlu carrying in most cases ten to thirteen bales (150 to 200 pounds) although up to 23 bales may be carried by one man. The eight stages are stretched into twenty or more days with the men living mostly on corn cakes. The tea is baled at Yachow into four catty ($5\frac{1}{3}$ pounds) bricks about a foot long and six by four inches. Twelve bricks are bound in a wet yak skin which makes a half-yak load. This is sufficient tea to last an ordinary family for a year.

This brick tea, besides tea leaves, consists of twigs and leaves of other plants all bound tightly under pressure and by the use of rice water. Tibetans demand this kind because of its cheapness and, having been raised upon it, prefer its taste to any other kind. This tea, according to its curing and the leaves of other plants, is divided into three classes — red, yellow and lucky head. Red and Yellow are named from the colour they produce when thrown into the water. They are the cheaper grades costing in Batang three rupees (60 cents) a brick while the lucky head is a yellow tea selling at four and a half rupees a brick. The red tea is preferred by most of the

people because it colours quickly, but if it is used continuously for a great length of time it produces pain in the eyes. The residents of the settled towns prefer the yellow tea. Poor people who cannot afford tea use the bark of a red-wood shrub probably the acacia catechu.

In the making of tea the cold water is brought to boiling and the leaves cast in. This is boiled a few minutes and then strained into a long churn with a bamboo strainer which takes out the coarser parts of leaves and twigs. Butter and salt and maybe a little soda is added. This mixture is vigorously churned until foamy yellow. Then it is drawn off hot into a copper, or clay, teapot and drunk with noisy sucking after first flipping tea droplets with the forefinger to the gods of the four quarters. A caravan never starts without drinking tea and woeful is the day if it is too wet to build a fire or if water is lacking. Dried yak cakes or wood are carried to overcome the first and the day shortened or lengthened to avoid the second. When other food is lacking buttered tea will constitute a good meal. Tea leaves are not carelessly tossed away but may be saved for the next meal; or, if not used, will be placed in a pile upon the hearth; if camping in the open the leaves are piled upon the fire stones as an offering to the spirits; still later when dried out they are thrust into the fire.

All milk soon sours after milking because of the unclean bucket so that the Tibetans hardly know the taste of sweet milk. Sour milk may be drunk but it is generally made into butter by shaking in a skin; it may also be permitted to sour into cheese; in one of its forms it is called Zho now sold in America as Yogurt. The butter stored in the stomachs of animals grows stronger with age; although fresh butter is more desirable yet none is wasted but used as it is, regardless of strength and smell. Yak hairs besides other less desirable refuse, acquired in the course of manufacture, impart solidity and lower the melting point of both butter and cheese. Cheese may be used in the cream form mixed with tsamba, or molded in the more usual form of little squares which are strung on yak-cords and dried until they become so hard that only much soaking and mastication will reduce them. A string of cheese-squares makes an invigorating chew on the march. Milk and its products are called "white or pure foods" and are considered most suitable for hermits and for those engaged in fasting. Flesh of any kind is rated as "black food" and its consumption is sinful.

Beer made from barley malt is a favourite drink and whiskey, distilled from beer and known as "Aroh", is the bane of many. In brewing beer barley grain is soaked and cooled. Yeast is added and left standing a few days until fermentation sets in. Then water is

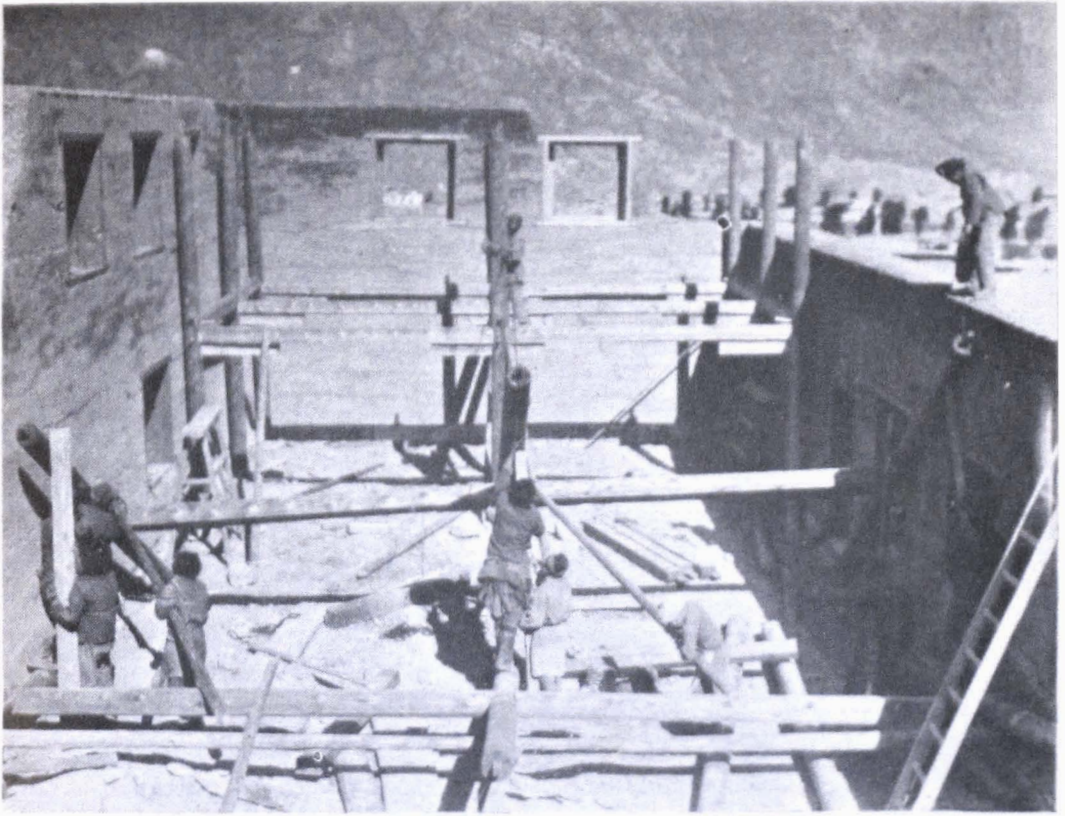


PLATE 10. Placing joined timbers inside the almost completed clay walls of the orphanage building at Batang.



PLATE 11. Two days west of Tachienlu is this castle which can withstand a prolonged siege because its water supply cannot be cut off. Barley is ripening in the right foreground in August.

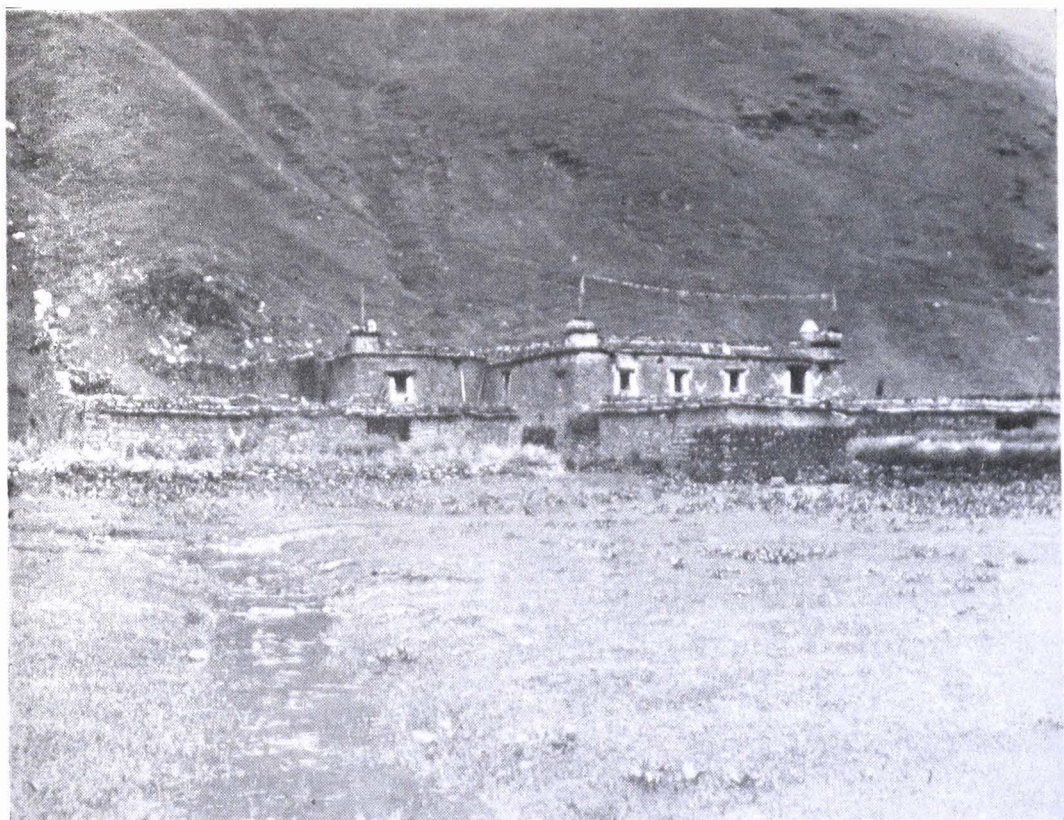


PLATE 12. Two days west of Tachienlu is this home where prayer flags flap on a line between two incense cones. White stones in V-shape for yak spirits are imbedded in walls whose lower halves are blotched by yak cakes being dried for fuel.



PLATE 13. Batang women from the small landowner and merchant class are dressed in their best clothes. Woman on the right is the wife of a Chinese merchant. On the left is Lhashi with her daughter. Lhashi was a teacher in the school and my wife's personal teacher. She wrote out for me hundreds of love songs and proverbs from memory which were published later.

poured on the mash and later drawn off. No festival occasions are complete without beer called "Chang" but the use of "Aroh" is frowned upon as sinful. Class distinctions are artfully expressed in "If the master is drunk with beer it is called honourable drunkenness, If the servant is drunk with beer it's drinking the blood of poverty." Wine is imported mostly from Yunnan province by the wealthy. When drinking, a little of the liquor is spilled to the ghosts below; the finger is also thrust into the liquid and withdrawn, and the droplets clinging to the finger are snapped off to the gods above.

In spite of the taint of sin connected with the eating of meat it is classed with parched barley (tsamba) as the staff of life and to provide a comparative basis in song and proverb. A common trait of Tibetan employers similar to those of other nations is well marked in, "His food wages are lacking parched barley and meat, But wage promises are more numerous than hairs." Yak, sheep and goats furnish the meat. Fowl and pigs are rarely eaten as few keep them. Fish is never eaten. The wild flesh of deer and antelope are appreciated provided someone else does the killing. It is the custom for everyone who comes forward and helps in the skinning of the animal regardless of who killed it to obtain a share of the meat. Mutton is the cheapest meat and rare is the household in town or country that has not at least a few sheep while the wealthy have many hundreds. In such a cool country, mutton whether from sheep or goat, lacks the strong characteristic odour found in many lands. Meat is boiled, seared over the coals, or dried and eaten raw. Noodles boiled with meat, flavoured by dried cheese with a few turnips thrown in, is a common dish not to be despised.

After a raiding party has made an unwelcome call carrying off all animals and grain, turnips are the staff of life until the next harvest or until a flock can be built up again. Dried turnips are too bulky to carry and too cheap to steal so turnip soup saves from starvation. Turnips grow easily at as high an altitude as does barley, and never completely fails either on the stoniest soil nor in the driest weather. A half donkey-load of dried, sliced turnips will cost a rupee or a little more.

Wheat seems to have been introduced into Batang about two hundred years ago. It grows up to about twelve thousand feet of altitude depending upon the latitude, whereas barley will mature a thousand to fifteen hundred feet higher. Ground into flour and made into dough, then cut into chunks or slices, wheat is used in stews, noodles, or fried in hot fats to make palatable crullers. Millet and buckwheat grow in the lower river valleys around seven to ten thousand feet as a second crop following barley and wheat; or

as the only crop in non-irrigated areas. Buckwheat flour makes fine white pancakes while millet cooked dry takes the place of tsamba, or is used as thickening in stews. Peas are common in less fertile districts and are good when parched, or when boiled after soaking and then mixed with sour milk. Oats are produced in some of the higher altitudes as a subsidiary crop and makes fine oatmeal porridge. In some of the lowest and more fertile valleys below nine thousand feet, potatoes and corn with a variety of Chinese vegetables such as cabbage, beans, radishes and Osun furnish diversity of menu to the settled agricultural people. Osun seems to be a cross between Swiss chard and the ordinary cabbage; one eats the thickened root-stalk.

The Chinese believe that if they do not have rice, their diet is barren; and so if the average Tibetan does not have tsamba, their life is hard indeed. A bag of tsamba (80 lbs.) costing around six rupees with a brick of tea at three rupees and a hunk of butter at one rupee will provide the average person with good eats for a month.

After long deprivation in winter of the cultivated green vegetables, all classes welcome the advent of nettles in the early spring. Nettles may be the main menu of the poor who have by this time almost exhausted the grain from last year's harvest. One Tibetan said he had eaten so much of the prickly stalks that he turned green and the greenish caste of his starved countenance confirmed his speech. The nettles are made into a soup, thickened with a handful of tsamba, or boiled with turnips, which furnish enough nourishment to save many people the last two months before harvest. There are reputed to be three kinds of nettles, one being called after the famous hermit-poet Milarapa who lived upon the nettles that grew by his cave for long periods of time when the offerings of the faithful were not forthcoming.

Yellow and red raspberries are picked upon the mountainside in mid-summer. In late July a small blue berry known as "Dresee" is widely gathered. Wild apples and wild grapes are not scorned by the poorer people. Mushrooms are gathered, strung upon cords, and hung under the eaves to dry; they are sliced and used for soups.

The most intriguing wild food is the "Droma", a small globular root slightly sweet to the taste, some say resembling sweet potatoes and others beans, so its taste must be a cross between these two. Dug up on plains twelve to fifteen thousand feet above the sea, they are the diet of the steppe bears in the spring when they come out lean from their winter hibernation. Dried, washed and boiled in water they are eaten with butter or with rice. Droma are the conventional present in the spring at festival seasons; and are important at wed-

dings as the first food given to the bride when she arrives at the groom's home upon the betrothal night.

The average Tibetan is starved for fruit during most of the year. The wealthy buy dry pithy pears, bitter apricots, dried yellow-red persimmons, and wrinkled vinegar-flavoured oranges from Yunnan province as their fruit diet for nine months of the year. The poor, especially the children, grab green fruit such as the hard, sweet peaches from the trees in all stages of the fruit's growth so that few trees ever ripen their product. English walnuts are clubbed green from the trees by the owners to prevent them from being lost to the hungry boys and girls, who are wise enough to peel off the bitter, inner skin.

Upon rising, which is usually at daybreak, as soon as a fire can be built, there is the drinking of tea. A little later the well-to-do eat some tsamba with buttered tea; those who are poor and the priests wait until the sun has reached the zenith. Then the poor will eat buckwheat cakes and buttered tea; at this time the wealthy will enjoy wheat-flour noodles with ground meat. While eating if a spider drops from the ceiling on his silken thread, a spray of tsamba is flicked at him; if the spider climbs back up it is good luck for the family, but if he continues on down then evil is nearby. About the middle of the afternoon the working people will refresh themselves with some grain soup; the leisure class will consume noodles, cheese, and meat balls wrapped in wheat dough. At the end of daylight barley or millet soup is taken with copious draughts of tea. Tsamba may be substituted by all classes for the heavy food in all of these meals.

The above menus really represent a common variety of diet for the town dweller during a prosperous year. The nomad will be fortunate if his flocks yield surplus meat so he can barter for enough tsamba to eat it twice a day with his meat and cheese. Anytime during the day buttered tea will be sipped by those who have access to it. Where the Chinese have penetrated, many of their dishes will be prepared in the rich Tibetan families, the favourite being noodles and ground meat. There are no famines but sometimes robbery and extreme poverty cause turnips and nettles to be the diet which prevents transmigration of the soul.

Two strange food customs are; the storing of animal entrails mixed with blood and other odd parts in stomachs to ripen; and slicing off only a part of the skin of fruits before drying them in the hot sun.

Lastly, the Tibetan, like other primitive people during the festival seasons, gorges himself day and night with the best of food and drink (including strong drink) which he is able to buy, even if he

may have to ration himself for the remainder of the year. He forgets his own adage that, "Whoever knows how to make a little be sufficient, There will be no exhaustion of such a one's resources".

CHAPTER VI

Three in One Clothing

Cloaks, breeches, boots, belts, shirts and vest, gowns, dress of priests, hats, hair, jewellery, cosmetics, babies' clothing, children's clothing, accessories, blouse baggage, washing, animal adornment.

*"The unchanging diet are turnip soup and nettle greens,
The unvariable clothing are grey wool and goatskin."*

A POPULAR American saying speaks of wearing a hair shirt but few Americans have ever seen one; whereas the very poorest Tibetans have never had anything else to wear. Yak hair woven into cloth and made into a tent makes a durable home; if sewn into a cloak it wears a life-time for beggar and serf. In the uplands the average person of either sex has one garment to wear the year round — a heavy sheepskin cloak with the skinny side out (Illus. No. 6). Changes of temperature in Tibet are sudden and radical; and so are the changes of wearing apparel. When warm one slips the arms out of the sleeves and ties them around one's middle which leaves the upper part of the body bare. Then during the sudden coldness of winds, rain, hail, or shade it is easy to cover up and keep healthy. As will be seen the cloak is a versatile garment serving three purposes — as day clothing, night clothing, and as baggage carrier.

Grey white is such an universal colour for laymen and women whether in wool or sheepskin that the term "grey white" is used to designate the lay people. If one has means the summer attire may be, instead of sheepskin, a grey or red cloak of wool; the red shade, if used, depends upon the rank, or whether laymen or priest. Cloaks made of Chinese blue cotton or black silk lined with lambskin are worn by some of the city people. As a rule, colour and texture of clothing is strictly regulated by the rank of the individual regardless of wealth; a class distinction which is more frequently violated in Eastern Tibet under Chinese rule than in the parts governed by Lhasa.

Women weave the hair and wool cloth for the cloaks but men work the heavy sheepskins into the proper softness. Either a sheep-

skin, or a woollen cloak will cost about eight rupees (one dollar sixty cents gold), and will wear with care, at least a year. A cloak of yak-hair cloth, or goat-skin will cost around four rupees each but will not be as warm as the others. With the hardest kind of usage two wool suits will last a year which is the allowance for slaves, besides a pair of boots and food.

The cloak resembles the American bathrobe. It is made slightly longer than the wearer with sleeves also longer than the arms. During the day it is shortened at the belt to hang around the knees for men and the ankles for women. It is let down at night with the arms out of the sleeves which gives sufficient covering if a sheepskin for the severest weather, inside or outside of a house or tent.

If one has the means or is travelling, breeches made of any material from raw dirty grey silk to sheepskin will be worn. Breeches of sheepskin are tailored to fit skin-tight but baggy when of other material. The higher the social rank the less exposure of the body; the poor are careless about an exposure of the person where the rich would be ashamed. The wealthier the individual and the more important the social occasion, regardless of the weather, the greater the number of pieces of clothing worn.

Boots are the second most important article of apparel. Many children and the poor in the lower valleys go barefooted all the year. Cloaks may be trimmed with blue cloth or otter fur but it is the boot which secures the greatest assemblage of colours. The sole is soft yellow yak-skin, with black yak-skin leather for the uppers and terminating in a pointed turned-up toe. Blocks of green velvet and red corduroy cloth form the sides with the tops in red broadcloth. Braids of red, blue and green silk threads are sewn in the centre of the front from toe to ankle. Around the calves the boots are tied with many-hued straps woven of silk or cotton thread. Such boots are the commonest type for men but also sometimes are worn by women. The plainest boots worn largely by the more dignified class of men but never by women are manufactured of ordinary black leather with a stiff leather sole; some styles are ankle some knee high. Men of the highest rank may wear a fine white quilted cloth boot with stiff white sole turned up at the toe like a sledge runner; from the top of the toes there leads up the front, braids of many colours.

The regulation boot for women is the prettiest but clumsiest of them all. Pure white wool serge is quilted for the foot to which is attached a white paper sole an inch thick. Two stiff parallel ridges form the toe. The legs are bright red broadcloth with a band of fine grey wool at the top. The boot straps are of the most gaudy red, green and blue silk threads woven into bands an inch wide. It is

heel-less like most of the styles and the wearers shuffle along in a clumping tread (Illus. No. 13).

When the poor wear boots they lack much of the brilliant colouring of the well-to-do, and may be made of the plainest and poorest grey cloth with only one thickness of hand-worked leather for a sole.

All soft leather soles whether on plain or fine boots are of a single skin thickness and thong attached on the outside as if the uppers had been stuck into them. When worn out the sole is removed easily and a new one substituted. Leather is carried for this purpose when travelling. Boots will cost from six to forty rupees. Working people go barefooted except in the coldest weather and upon festival days. In wet snow or in rain all classes, when walking, remove their boots as the thongs used in sewing the soles pull out quickly when wet, and later the wet leather will dry hard. The feet of most Tibetans are calloused so hard and thick that treading through the snow or stumbling over rocks is endurable. Callosities of various kinds are common, as few wear the heel-less woollen knit socks, since boots are completely lined inside with white wool cloth.

Bright red is the universal colour of the striped belts although the women may have intricately designed black ones. The belts being ten to twelve feet long encircle the waist several times. Belts are essential since cloaks are buttonless, although roomy, so that edges can overlap to the right for both men and women, at least a foot. Men's belts, about six inches wide, are twisted around the waist like a rope, and supports flint and dagger on the side. The sword scabbard is thrust into the belt which curls around it like a snake. The women have a friend hold the outer end while they smoothly wind themselves round and round inside their eight inch wide silk or cotton belt with great care. The women also, wear a separate jewelled silver belt to support flint case and toiletries. The spacious many-layered belt of the women gives them excellent protection, and support to the abdomen, in such a climate of varied heat and cold.

Men of rank wear continuously, and poor men at festivals, a shirt of raw originally pale yellow (but washing to grey) silk; or if this is not obtainable, a white cotton-cloth one. Women, however, demand shirts of all the brilliant colours, wearing as many as six on festival days, one over the other, each of a different hue. At such times they also put on more than one gown with an apron, besides inside apparel, so that the hot summer festival is a trial of suffering imposed by pride and wealth. The long silk sleeves are turned up to show the colours and the many thicknesses at the neck flash conspicuously. The many shirts form such a thick roll at the neck that the usual silver buttons of half rupees or of Chinese twenty cent

pieces are left to dangle loosely; silver buttons are a show of wealth in prosperity and a cash reserve in time of need. These silver buttons may be replaced for both men and women by the intricately-knotted Chinese cloth-button.

Since the rainbow-coloured silk shirts would not show to advantage with the customary cloak, the women share with priests the wearing of a skirt-vest. Ladies of means have them of black silk, and the poor of dark red wool, often patterned, and always pleated into numerous folds. While the skirt section is voluminous the upper or vest part is sleeve-less which permits freedom of movement for the arms with little exposure. Consequently the skirt-vest is a favourite style of workdress. To dress up, this gown is topped by an apron of silk embroidered with dragons and tied at the waist. Another dress apron is of narrow silk bands of different colours for the rich, and for the poor one just as beautiful but of many-hued bands of finely woven wool cloth. Sometimes a short silk or woollen cloak will be thrown over the shoulders when needed. Dandies among both men and women like red wool cloth spotted with green and yellow crosses; or white cloth with red crosses.

Priests have a one-style outfit of a fixed red shade—a deep bright red for the ordinary monks; with a yellow satin jacket for living Buddhas and abbots. It is a two-piece suit, the main part being a very full skirt reaching to the ankles with a second knee-length outer skirt attached to a vest; the other piece being a long rectangular shawl so wound around the left shoulder and underneath the right arm that both arms are fairly free and still can be snuggled beneath the last lap; in this position the outside end can be quickly pulled from the left shoulder and held by the right hand as a sign of respect in the presence of a superior.

The boots of the priest are more somber in tone than those of laymen, usually of solid red cloth for the uppers. Priests do not ordinarily wear hats, except that incarnations on parade or when travelling don golden metalled, broad brimmed, low crowned hats with a spike on top. At home the ordinary monk protects his head with his shawl; on the road he may wear civilian attire, that is when trading or on the war-path but not when on pilgrimage.

Hats on the men and jewellery on the women indicate the tribe or the district of the wearer although this is not an infallible test. Moreover hats like boots have restricted usage as shown in the proverb "Hat on the head turns the rain, Boots on the feet turn the thorns". Outside of the rifle the hat is the first foreign article bought by the men and the soft foreign felt of foreign make is rapidly superseding the picturesque native headgear for general wear. Tibetan hats vary from broad-brimmed, very low-crowned

grey felt roughly matted, to a red fox skin wound around the head with the fluffy tail dangling on one side. Noble men and women place on the top of a mass of hair-braids — a round skull-shaped brown felt with ear tabs, the whole lined with otter fur and distinguished by a difference in the gold decoration and a slight variation in contour for the sexes. Men of the nomadic Lingkashi tribe have a more square-shaped red cap, lined with white curly lambskin it is two-layered, the outer can be pulled down over neck and ears. The grey felt home-made hats assume a variety of forms depending upon the skill of the maker but the wide-brimmed pancakes predominate. Contact with the Chinese has caused some to wind the thirty odd yards of narrow blue cotton cloth, which constitutes a bolt, into a turban which, when it has served its purpose as a hat, can be transformed into clothes or gradually used up as patches on the old suit.

For a head covering most Tibetans are satisfied with just their own thick coarse hair which some lengthen and thicken by the addition of horse-hair and black thread, until longer than the body; and by making an inch and a half thick braid, it has saved many a man's life by absorbing the force of a heavy sword stroke. Men stud this rope-like braid with silver rings set with corals, turquoises, and ivory thumb rings so placed that they show a half circlet of red, white and blue at the forehead. The hat, when worn, and always the queue, is unrolled by both men and women when coming into the presence of a person of rank, or of a lama, or when entering into a temple.

The woman contends with the man in making the hair a crowning glory but, unlike the man who is eagerly sought when his hair is curly, the woman with curls tries to butter and comb them out straight, for it is bad luck to marry such a woman. Women dress their hair in many ways and as the hair holds much of the jewellery, the style may signify her tribe. If from Batang she will hold it together with a woollen cord at the back of the head, or braid it into one large braid mixed with red, pink or blue yarns; this braid will end in a pair of blue silk tassels bound in silver wire which adorns the forehead at a jaunty angle when the whole length is wound around the head. (Illus. No. 13). Country women near Batang may braid their tresses into thirty or forty tails with the tips gathered by yarns and tied to blue silk tassels; this network may hang down the back or be wound into a turban around the head. The hair may be braided into the sacred one hundred and eight tails or more (one woman had one hundred and sixty one), gathered at the ends and finished with jewellery in a number of styles. It is a task of several hours to dress the hair and it is not done oftener than necessary. However, in the course of time either to smooth

the hair which becomes rumpled in sleep, or to suffocate the increasing number of lice, the hair is unwound, combed, rebuttered, and re-braided for another period. Such a need is seized upon by friends to gather at hot springs for bathing, washing of clothes, and enlivened by a picnic dinner.

When the cuckoo sings in the spring the maiden says it is time to bore her ears for earrings. This is done with a large needle. The hole is kept open by thread and gradually enlarged. The maiden demands her earrings at about the same age (ten years on up) that the youth desires a sword to put in his belt. Men hang a standardized heavy silver or gold earring with a dangling turquoise from the left ear only, while the women have several styles for both ears. Turquoise is the most popular stone partly because of its cheapness and partly because it is believed to neutralize poison. In the Derge principality the women flash round discs of yellow amber with a small red coral in the centre. This is worn on the forehead. The Washi gentler sex wear a fortune of jewellery, earrings, finger rings, silver bangles from the waist, and then crown themselves with dinner-plate size plaques carved in the lotus design. These huge discs are of solid gold, or of silver, or silver with gold centres; they are clapped on each side and back of the head, and suspended down the back in a triangular group. All of the gold and silver plates, each one said to represent a lover, have corals and turquoise set in diverse designs. As many as six plaques are worn by the wives of chiefs. Nor must one forget the front of these nomadic women which is studded with bracelets, silver or gold charm-boxes, amulets, precious metallated belts, jewelled flint and toilet cases, and sometimes a narrow jewelled band between the eyes and down the nose. Their entire body is a blaze of colour except their bare feet which are blistered from stiff, unyielding boots which are either too large or too small.

The method of wearing jewellery may indicate the rank of the wearer. Only nobles, those above the fifth rank corresponding to colonel in the army, are permitted to adorn their head with a small gold charm-box tied with a double top-not of hair.

Carrying a fortune in jewels may seem incongruous with old dirty clothes and smudged face but wearing them is not only a safeguard from thieves but an unbreakable custom. However, wearing fine clothes constantly with their jewellery, rather than old clothes, is considered an extravagance hinted at in "At all times eating the delicacies of feasts, In all seasons wearing one's best clothes".

The bulging flowing sleeves and undulating folds of the skirts are graceful in line and action. When either sex contemplate active exercise they must first fold up their sleeves which have a constant

habit of coming down. The Tibetans have become so graceful in lifting up the arm, shaking it and pushing back the sleeve that this movement has become part of the rhythm of the dance. In the dramas it is the signal for action, the resolving to carry a purpose through to completion, like the taking off of one's coat in America.

Buttery fingers after drinking tea are wiped on the clothing or the skin, especially the face and hands to protect them from the peeling winds. For the same purpose women smear their faces with honey which soon collects black soot from the stove's smoke, blackening their faces like those of witches. Sometimes a red cutch (obtained from a plant) which dries to a dark colour is used instead of honey. Such a black face bordered with brown, most common in winter, certainly would make them less attractive to the lusty monks whose lasciviousness has been given as the reason for the blackened faces. It is less known that, at the New Year season when all of the monks are supposed to return to the monastery and women are admitted for the New Year Dances (one of the few times during the year when women are permitted to be inside the monastic walls), it is the custom to wash the faces clean which allows priestly gazing on rosy cheeks and bewitching eyes.

Because so many infants die, clothes for the newborn babe are not made except among the very well-to-do who do not permit their children to run naked. Babies up to three years will have no clothes of their own, playing naked in the hot sun and then thrust into their parent's blouses in the cooler shade. The head of an otherwise nude little tot will often show above the collar of the father or mother, peeping out with wondering eyes, its feet resting upon the belt and its arms around its parent's neck. Tucked in the front of the blouse when resting or nursing, the child will be swung around to the back when the parent is walking or working.

In the country districts boys and girls up to the age of ten may be seen running naked; although the advent of strangers may cause them to don their ragged sheepskins which are usually the cast-off and reduced garments of their elders. Children of both the rich and poor classes dress in the same style and design as their parents, only as would be expected, with much less variety and less pieces. (Illus. No. 6). As the child grows older it approaches nearer to adults in clothing and adornments.

Each Tibetan carries with him many of the things more settled people leave at home. Foreign matches are only becoming known in the larger towns. On the road and in the country the steel and flint with a bit of tuff hang in a pouch from the left side of the belt. Men search carefully along the road in certain areas when they travel, for the hard flint stones which will strike on the curved steel

attached to the bottom of the stiff leather pouch whose insides have the stones and fuse. Those able to afford it have a toilet set which is worn suspended from neck or belt. These have nicely formed silver hair-tweezers, tooth-pick, ear and nose pickers, and finger-nail cleaners, all on separate silver chains hanging from an ornamented circular disc. A small knife or dagger with a pair of silver, bone, or carved wooden chopsticks will occupy triple holes in a case that dangles from the right side of the belt. A snuff-horn may be inside the blouse. Pen and ink-case for those who write may be on the belt, while one must not forget the bowl which rests inside the blouse all day long, when not in use. The tsamba bowl is more important than the purse bag for which many poor have no need.

Except priests, who around the monastery may not even carry their own bowls, men and boys of all ages carry a sword in their belts. The sword will vary in length and quality but few have less than a foot-long blade and some are nearer three feet. Some swords have a sharp point to thrust as well as to cut. The heavier swords will be used not only for defense but to chop slender wood and brush, for the cutting of meat and leather, and for anything for which Americans use knives and hatchets. Some Tibetans will wear two swords, a large one for heavy head cutting and a smaller one for thrusting in close work. On the road the traveller will carry a rifle slung over the shoulder. Beyond the muzzle extends two antelope horns (or wooden imitations) as resting prongs to insure steady firing of the rifle. If the gun is a muzzle-loader of Tibetan make, then bags of home-made lead balls and pouches of black powder will also swing from the shoulder. Both men and women carry one or more "Ga-oo" or charm boxes of gold, silver or copper. The men hang theirs from the right shoulder and the women from the neck, those of the ladies being much smaller and more finely made.

Last but not least is the use of the capacious blouse formed by the cloak above the belt to contain what a handbag holds for a woman and a satchel for the men in other lands. Not only personal trinkets but articles of food and things to sell are stowed in this expandable interior. Part of a brick of tea, a bag of tsamba, a hunk of hirsute butter wrapped in a leaf, a slab of beef or mutton, perhaps a few turnips with smaller packages of salt and condiments find a resting place here when a Tibetan goes out to field or mountain. When going to market a fowl or a small live pig may be most conveniently carried inside the blouse. Sometimes the bulging Tibetan rolls along with his burdens like a barrel on stilts; sometimes he is so loaded that he has to be assisted in mounting his horse.

Change of clothing for most people takes place when the old ones are worn out and they may last a long time with the constant patching. Even the well-to-do may have only one shirt which they will not wear on the rare days when it is washed. Hot springs are the favourite laundries but most women must be content with rivers where the clothes are clubbed with flat roundish paddles on rounded granite rocks. They may be worked also with the feet. Soap is unknown, the substitute being a soapy root mixed with wood lye. The scarcity of fuel which means scanty supplies of hot water, the cold winds and the general inclemency of weather in winter offer a good excuse for infrequent bathing or washing of clothes. Then for the Tibetans, lacking much hair on the body and only rarely sweating, with a cool dry climate, frequent bathing is less necessary than for those living in a hot climate. Mixed bathing is common especially among relatives and friends. Lacking soap, sand and soaking are used to take off most of the dirt which has one advantage in that one person is just as clean as another.

Decorations are not confined to their bodies for the young gallant ties two scarlet tassels around the neck of his horse. Even the plodding plow-yak may have a red tassel around its neck (Illus. No. 14). Dogs may wear a red collar which not only adds a bit of colour but is said to aid in protecting the throat against the slashing of wolves. The Tibetan too knows the effect of cold in winter and forgoes the use of the saddle pads for his own mattress to leave them upon his horse when high among the mountains at night.

CHAPTER VII

Occupations

"A rough workman must do it nine times."

Farming, butchering, hunting, fishing, blacksmithing, silver-smithing, lumbering and carpentering, tailoring, weaving, tanning and shoemaking, wall-building, painting and sculpturing, papermaking and printing, pottery-making, begging, gentleman.

*"The one who eats the barley,
Is the one who bears the bag."*

Living so close to the soil, the life of the Tibetan is inextricably bound up with the spirits of earth and stream. Before the first breaking of the ground, priests consult the stars to select the propitious day when the first ploughing should be done for the coming season. Then, by lot a member of the gentry is chosen to plough the first field before anyone else dares to start. Quite often this is a week or more before the others are prepared to sow. In Batang the seeding season coincides with the spring winds so that there has arisen the belief that "When wind strikes the man, Warmth pierces the soil". As seed does not scatter well in wind a lama is employed to blow back the breezes. Farming has its division of labour. Men invariably do the ploughing with or without a woman leading the Dzo (a half-cow half-yak male beast). Either sex may sow the seed although sometimes a priest may perform this task. In some places to insure a good crop, red and white prayer flags painted with Tibetanized Sanskrit characters are stuck in the field while the ploughing and sowing are taking place. In other localities a priest may erect a tent in which to chant blessings for the crop; during this rite he will sow blest seed in small amounts over each field.

The Tibetan plough is an iron point or more often a short pointed wooden paddle wedged in the end of a hollowed wooden stick dropped from a beam about ten feet long (Illus. No. 14). To this beam the Dzo are hitched at the front by a naked wooden yoke

if horned Dzo are used, and by a felt padded wooden yoke if hornless Dzo are pulling. The plough is guided by two hands resting upon a cross piece, which tops a two foot upright whose lower end is attached to the beam. The soil is merely stirred and any manure only partly covered. The ploughman whistles as he ploughs to keep the Dzo moving guiding them around the ends by shouts and a long leather attached to either the nose or the horn of one Dzo. Most fields are irregular in shape but if not the ploughman starting at one side ploughs back and forth across the field so that he ends at a corner which enables him to plough a demon out of his field. Light and portable the plough jumps around stones and roots rarely breaking but wearing rapidly. It is carried to and from work by the ploughman as he drives his Dzo before him. The ploughman each day ploughs an acre for which he receives his food in addition to a rupee and a half.

Barley is the king of the grains followed by wheat, millet, buckwheat and oats with some corn in the lowest valleys. The commonest of the five varieties of barley has a loose husk covering a shiny grain, reddish-yellow when fresh, but drying to a faded yellowish blue-black, yet pronounced black in the colour scheme. It is the hardiest of all the grains growing up to 13,500 feet, depending upon the latitude. All of the grains must be sown thickly, as birds, mostly crows and pigeons, are said to eat a third of the seed. In the richer soils ten to twelve fold is harvested but in the mountain districts they obtain less than half of this yield.

The average grain is not neglected by religion. Lamas may erect tents decorated with prayer flags, as the grain comes through the ground, in order to hold a ceremony for blessing the crop; in a ritual using butter-adorned tsamba cones and reading from the abridged Kangyur known as the Bum. They also draw designs on the ground such as wheels, swastikas and other sacred figures. After three days of reading and exorcism of evil spirits, the tsamba offerings are cast upon the ground to the assembled deities. As usual beggars grab these offerings from the ground with no ill effect to themselves and no detriment to the efficacy of the ceremony. Later, while the Bum or even volumes of the Kangyur are carried through the fields of growing grain, a few handfuls of blest seeds are broadcast to thwart and to insure a bountiful harvest. Rust is also controlled by lamas in the employ of the rich farmers chanting prayers in their homes. Every Tiger Year during the month of April a goatskin is thrown into the river after three days of religious rites. The people follow this ceremony with the firing of guns and the driving of blest sticks in the ground of the fields. Auspicious signs are noted such as when the cuckoo spreads its

wings in the fourth month it is a sign of a good harvest for the bird is levelling or measuring the grain. This measuring is called Dri Ka Jeh.

In the low valleys, where two crops can be obtained, irrigation is common. Where irrigation is available it is also used upon the higher plains during drought. Farmers considered the cold glacier water is not as nourishing as the rainfall and the fullest heads are not developed unless a heavy rain soaks the ground shortly before the harvest time.

The women do the hardest work which is weeding the crops by hand. They start out at dawn with a bag of tsamba and a claypot of tea, or maybe only thin gruel with no tea, plodding in bare feet upon the hardened dirt paths dividing the fields. They spend the day in back-breaking work stirring the soil with a small hoe in the right hand and pulling weeds with the left. They know that if they "Loaf long in the morning, They must rush far into the evening", so they spend only a short time drinking tea.

Women have the filthy work of carrying, in baskets upon their back, the manure which has accumulated during the past year in the ground floor of the house. Neighbours help each other so as to make it a one-day job for all will clean up and feast when the distasteful task is finished. If an outsider should come into the home during this time he will be seized by the women and forced to pay a forfeit of money which will be used by the group to buy extra meat for their final meal. When the family fields are far from the home the manure is piled high in a nearby field and later removed to their own land in which donkeys share with the women as burden bearers.

Women usually irrigate the fields, every month or less at first, but shortening the time until watering again takes place every few days as the grain grows higher and the sun hotter. However, when the grain is ripe the men appear again and assist the women to cut the stalks with a sickle, tie it into bundles and carry them to the top floor of the home. Harvest may last all summer long beginning about the first of June in the low two-crop valleys and ending in the late September high up in the nearby one-crop mountain fields. Hand work makes it necessary for the wealthier families of Batang and other two-crop areas to secure year after year skilled poorer relatives and friends from the upper districts to cut and flail the crop. The owner of many fields recognizes that "If one would gather his own harvest, Ask for men with the harvest odour".

After the removal of the crop the richer farmers are supposed to permit the poor to glean their fields. The poor have the right to



PLATE 14. After the wheat harvest breaking the ground for the buckwheat sowing. The ploughman guides his Dzo or half yak—half cow with whistle and stick at Batang. The month is July.

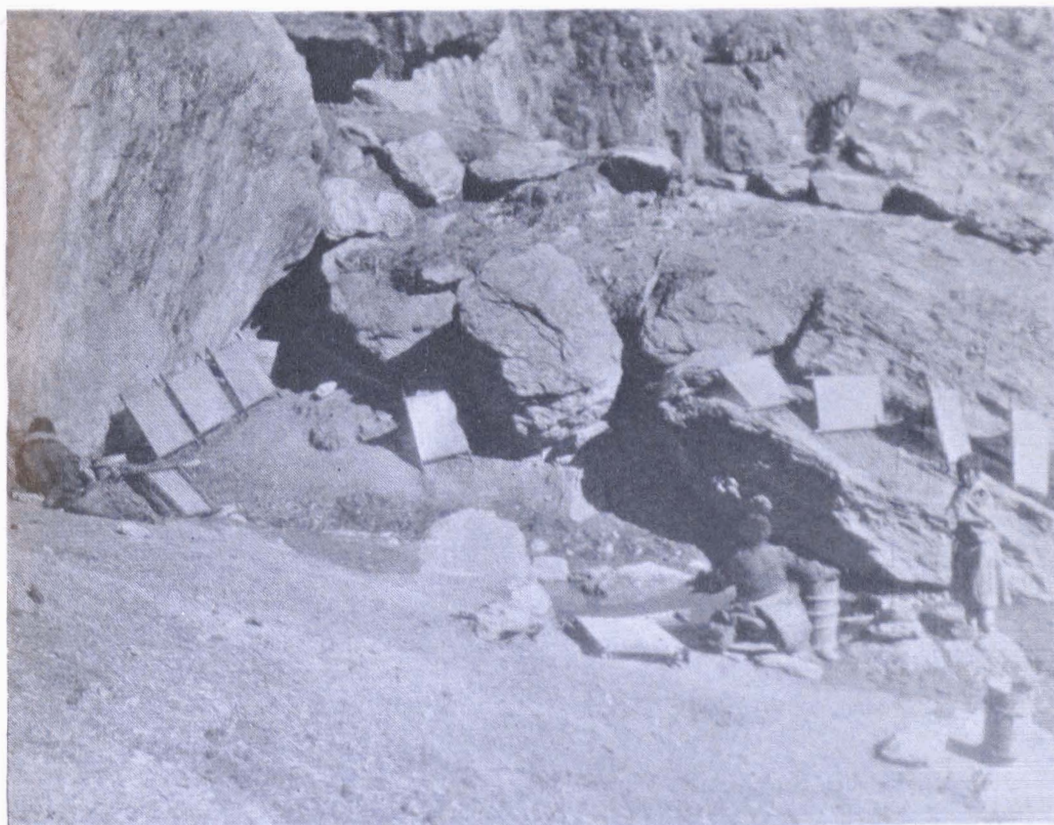


PLATE 15. After the root pulp has been washed and spread thinly on cloth stretched between frames it is dried in the sun assuming the form of paper sheets. This is an important business at Derge.

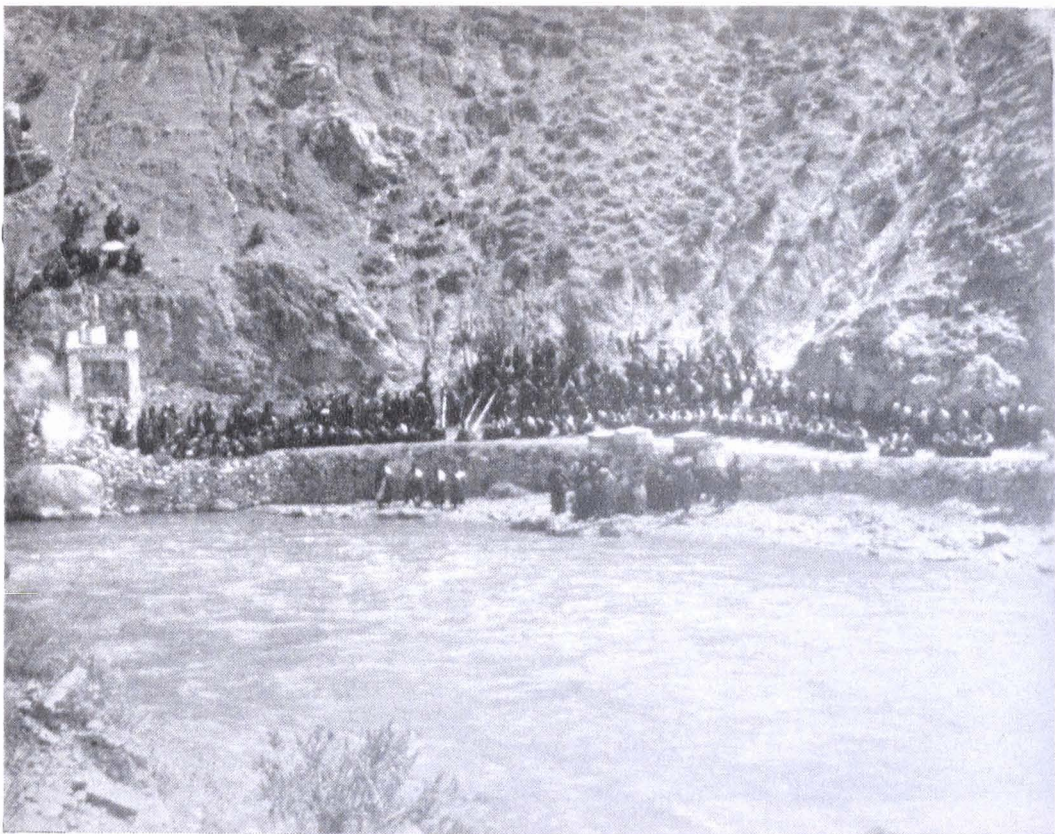


PLATE 16. Exorcising ceremony near Jyekundo at Thrangoh Monastery which is three miles south of the city. Here was being held a great fair between the nomads and the city merchants. This ceremony was for the propitiation of demons and the insuring a good harvest. It was held during the latter part of May 1935 at the seed sowing period.

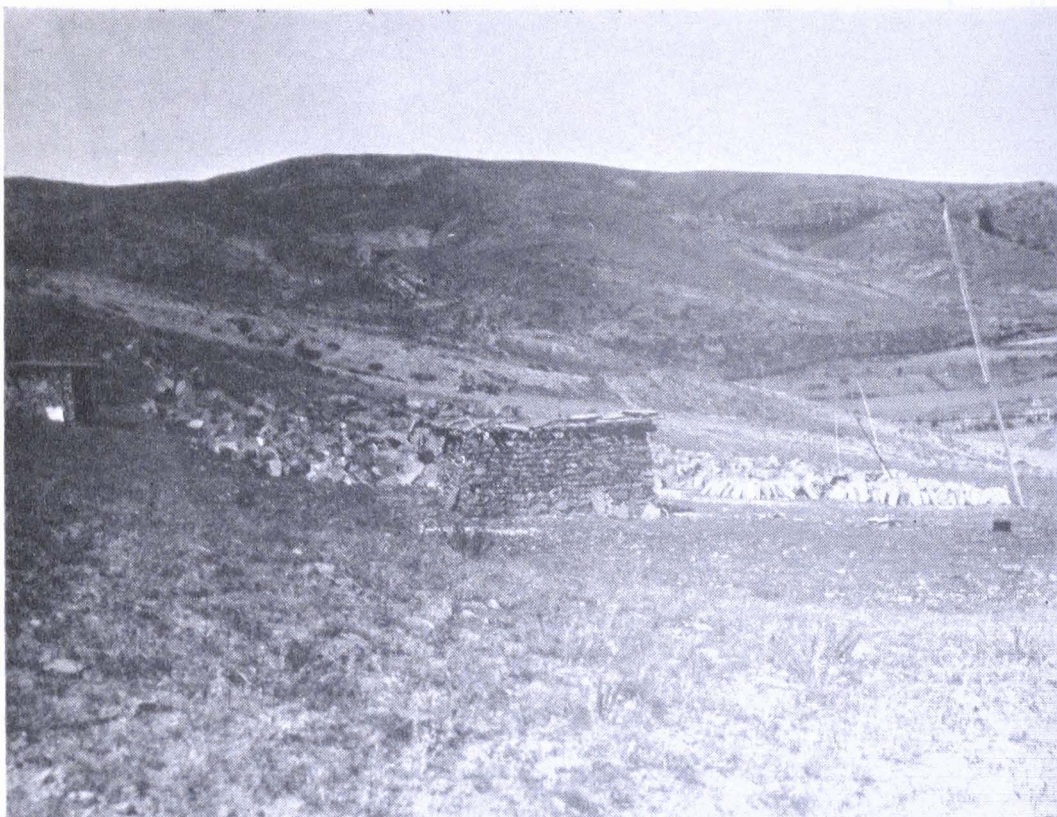


PLATE 17. A Tibetan graveyard southeast of Gartok some fifteen miles distant. Here bone fragments after cremation are enclosed within prayer stone slabs and guarded by prayer flags. Nearby is tsa-tsa hut where bone fragments encased in clay cones may be deposited.

glean in any fields after the owner has waived his rights or gleaned in it.

Itinerating priests and strolling beggars always appear at harvest time with drum and bell; in addition some carry a gaily decorated charm umbrella adorned with coins, shells, jewels and other trinkets. After uttering prayers and incantations during which they rattle their decorated skull-drums and tinkle their bells or twirl their tasselled umbrellas, they receive small bundles of grain from the owners of the fields. Most of these itinerant folk seem to be of the Red Cap sect and they follow the harvest from the lowest valleys to the highest plateaus. They likely originated the local belief "that when magpie picks at the bark in the upper part of the tree the country people's harvest will be good, but if the magpie picks at the bark in the lower part of the tree the Batang harvest will be best".

The heads of the grain are severed from the stalks, dried and swept into piles. Young men line up on one side of the pile and an equal number of girls on the other. Striking the grain alternately with flails in unison, the young men sing one line of a song and the women answer with the second line and so on to the end. With one set of flails always in the air and the other on the grain they harmonize their strokes with chanted songs making the harvest a season of happy labour.

Women winnow the grain whistling a few plaintive notes for the wind to blow the chaff away. After being cleaned the grain is spread out to dry, occasionally being stirred by the bare feet of the women. The dry grain is stored in bags or bins, and the straw is twisted into bundles for animal feed in winter. It is ground in mills when needed for flour.

Buckwheat and millet succeed barley and wheat in two-crop valleys but it is a sole crop in the mountains. Buckwheat is beaten out with two-pronged wooden forks to a two-measured chant of "Om mani Padme Ori" a variation of the six syllable prayer of "Om Mani Padme Hum". Then as the cold season comes on brush fires of the old fences are followed by new brush fences which completes the circle of farming for the year.

In the two-crop valleys the second crop of millet or buckwheat is sometimes killed by frost. To avoid this loss priests are hired to delay the coming of frost. Lest the spirits of the region become angry and send the frost quickly, corpses are not exposed to the gaze of heaven but temporarily buried in the home, and exhumed after the harvest for the final methods of disposal. Even the falling down of a live person, which might be attributed to a stroke, can anger the spirits to send killing frost, so everyone is careful not to

fall or die outside lest the family be blamed and punished by the community. Wickedness of the individual will increase the danger of frost. A very wicked man died at the bad hour of sun-down, clouds overshadowed the sky as the funeral procession started out and the next night a heavy frost, unusual at such an early time, killed the buckwheat.

“If there are plenty of Dresu (a blue-black berry that grows on a bush), the buckwheat will be good.” Another peculiar saying is that “If the buckwheat is good there will be much sickness, while if the buckwheat is poor there will be little sickness” may be based upon the bad effects which follows the long continued eating of buckwheat cakes which would occur after a bountiful buckwheat harvest as it is cheaper then. Millet has seemed to create few superstitions if killed by frost, which is probably due to less use of it as grain for man and also to its continued high value as a food for animals which is not true of frosted buckwheat, which then has little food value for man or beast.

Wheat is less commonly raised than barley so it becomes a food used more by the wealthy. It must be grown at a lower altitude since it requires a longer season and it does not return as great a yield as barley. The saying is “When one wheat stalk grows two heads, it is a sign of a bountiful harvest”.

Dried turnips are often the only food to save from starvation when robbers steal the other more valuable provisions of the home. Turnips and peas constitute the two principal Tibetan vegetables although peas, along with barley, wheat, buckwheat and millet, is rated as one of the five standard grains. Peas when harvested are twisted at the root end and placed head downward on the ground in rows to dry while the farmer sings “Oh La Sho Be, Oh La Ze Zhing Oh”.

The Tibetan farmer is not lacking in humour and shrewdness. He calls the long worm-like head of the wild millet “Dog-tails”. He often lightens his toil with merry jest or song, of a startling frank nature, at the expense of the opposite sex. The woman will reply, and back and forth they banter each other applying chants and skits from memory, often parodying or extemporizing until one side has exhausted its powers. Although the farmer may not understand the chemistry of soils, he knows that water washes out or causes certain conditions in soils for he chants “If an irrigated field becomes sick, the sickness never dies”.

“Whether the man be rich or poor, he must be reliable, Whether the meat be large or small, it must be nourishing.”

The butcher, the hunter, the fisher and the heretic (non-believer in Gautama Buddha) are classed in the same category. In the

dramatic plays of the harvest festival and in the New Year Religious dances these four classes are the villains. They must all spend considerable time in Hell after death to overcome the sins of taking life. People, therefore, avoid eating with a butcher or even talking to him very much lest the sins of the butcher descend upon them.

To avoid the shedding of blood (a greater sin than other types of killing) it is the practise to choke the animal to death either by twisting a rope, tightened by a stick, around its nose or throat, or encasing the head in a leather sack. These methods force blood through the body, causing the meat to be dark, although after death some blood is caught in a vessel by puncturing the chest. Small animals may be killed by hanging. All animals are skinned, even hogs. As hogs in the Tibetan areas are of the black razor-back variety, their bony frames may be blown up by forcing air through a hollow tube inserted under the skin at the legs. Made plump by the air, which has penetrated the fat cells, the hair is more easily scraped off, and the meat is less angular.

“Digging for a marmot, Turning out a badger” shows how familiar the hunter is with the characteristics of wild animals and with hunting which the Tibetan loves by nature but not by religion. The monks protect all animals near a monastery and sometimes they become so tame that they will feed out of the hands of the keepers. Neither punishment so severe as to cause the loss of a hand or foot, nor the fear of hell, restrains the Tibetan from hunting. His heart is well illustrated in the proverb “While the mouth is repeating the name of Buddha, The eyes afar off are hunting the white pheasant”.

Large animals are hunted with the rude home-made Tibetan gun and since it is muzzle-loaded the hunter must take careful aim, within one hundred yards, to kill. The hunter rarely shoots at a moving animal. The skin goes to the owner of the rifle regardless of who handles the gun. Whoever helps skin an animal gets a portion of the meat. Traps are set for pheasants and small deer, especially the musk deer. A slip-loop of cord is hidden in a small hole dug in a much travelled pathway, covered by twigs and dust; the other end of the cord is attached to a young tree or shrub bent down. When the foot of the unwary animal or bird steps on the trigger twig of the hidden pit, the tree top flies upward, suspending the victim helplessly in the air where the trapper, if some flesh-eating beast has not arrived first, finds his game.

“If a planet seizes the sun and moon, who can intervene between them, If water carries away the golden king fish, what can be of help.”

Because of the coldness and swiftness of the water few fish are found in the rivers and lakes. Lakes are also so salty or brackish that they are unfavourable abodes for fish. Forbidden by the religious laws, fishing is rare and is usually done only by outsiders. Nets may be used but more often a barbed, but loosely fastened, four-pronged spear-head, curving inward when pulled upward, with a long handle is hurled into the unwary fish. Ten fish a day is considered a good catch. Priests disapprove more of the nets than the spear; in some places they buy up the nets and forbid their use again. The sin of catching fish may affect a large area, the angry spirits of the locality sending storms of rain, hail or snow. Traders who must cross high passes or ford deep rivers are especially careful not to fish or permit fishing by members of their party.

“Away from home, no hammer to beat the big iron, At home there is a round stone to pound the teapot.”

Blacksmiths rank low, just above butchers, since they fashion weapons of death, and lower than corpse-bearers who are concerned with handling the dead and not the causing of death. Silversmiths and pottery-makers rank higher, their occupations being degrading by association, the silversmith in decorating guns and swords, and pottery-makers causing the death of insects when working clay as well as the dirtiness of their work.

A room of the home or a small tent separated from the nomad camp is the usual shop. The only light is from the door and the blackened, half-naked smith, glaring with piercing eyes from blackened face shaded by ebony, rumpled hair, and with skin dropping sooty drops of sweat, is not unlike Vulcan at his forge in Hades. The blacksmith sits crosslegged before a rude bellows made from a three foot length of hollowed log with the ends bound in yak-skin. It is worked by a piston which forces air out through a hole near the middle at the bottom into a nest of charcoal or of sheep-dung, which gives the hottest flame among fires of animal refuse. The smith has made his own rude set of different sized hammers, tongs and punches. His home-made anvil, a rude square piece of iron set in a short stump of wood, is no harder than his products. When a large object, requiring intense heat and a large anvil is to be made, a huge granite rock outside is substituted. The smith is employed largely in the making of hoes, and other agricultural implements, but in spare time he fashions guns and swords.

“Pure gold needs no further refinement, Buttered tea no other seasoning.”

The equipment of the silversmith is similar to but more delicate than that of the blacksmith. Handling only precious metals he also develops a higher skill. He fashions jewellery, inlays bowls with

silver, makes silver utensils for the wealthy, works fine silver or gold filigree into many objects made of iron or copper such as saddles, swords, guns, charm boxes, and objects used in temple worship. His designs are standardized although now and then one has courageous originality in varying age-long customs, but he dare not change certain religious ideas.

“It is easy to talk to a poor man, It is easy to cut the poplar tree.”

Since Tibetan home-walls are of tamped clay or sun-dried bricks and the timbers largely of barked logs or poles the need for skilled carpenters, especially in the homes of the poor, is not great. Logs and boards in the larger proportion of buildings are dressed rudely by axes. The easy-working evergreen woods as fir, spruce or pine are the universal timbers with walnut reserved for the making of furniture in the better-class homes. Oak and birch are used for certain kinds of utensils and for tools where toughness and resiliency are required.

Gangs of lumbermen go up to fourteen thousand feet or thereabouts where the evergreens grow, fell the trees, trim and bark them and then leave the logs to dry out. Later they carry the logs to slides where the timbers speed at a terrific pace downward to a river which floats them as near as possible to the contemplated building area. Swimmers tow the logs ashore and then carry them on the shoulders to the site unless the poles are light enough to be half carried and half dragged by yak.

Axes only are used in cutting down trees as the saws are models after those of the Chinese with the blades at right angles to the handles and are small, like buck-saws. Besides axes—planes, ink marker, chisel, and hatchet are almost the whole of the average carpenter's tools. As the iron is not hard almost a fourth of the worker's time is spent in sharpening his tools.

The poor homes are built entirely by the owner and his neighbours. Only those with means employ carpenters whose occupational skills were likely handed down from Indian and Chinese carpenters. Quite good work is done in the fine furnishing and close fitting of timbers, in the elaborate wood-cutting of the decorations, and the delicate tracings of the latticed windows. Timbers are locked by notches, wedges and wooden pins, with iron nails used only in palaces of the wealthy. All timbers are cut and fitted before a single post is raised while doors and windows are prepared before the clay walls are built (Illus. Nos. 8, 9 and 10).

Both lumbermen and carpenters are kept busy not so much in building construction as in the manufacture of furniture, tools, household utensils, and for the numerous articles made of wood

in all phases of a primitive life. Wood is cheaper and easier to mould than iron. The woodworker's products range from benches, low tables, cupboards, water casks, dippers, tsamba bowls, spoons, troughs, prayer wheels, writing slates and all things used in what might be called a pioneer economy which does not come in contact with fire. Tsamba bowls are made from Ba, a wood of beautiful knots which neutralizes poison. Most of the other articles are made from the species of trees mentioned as being used in house building and furniture.

The ordinary carpenter will receive his food and lodging with an extra compensation of not over three-fourths of a rupee a day, or more likely that equivalent in butter, meat or grain. Because carpenters are few he is protected by the unruly Tibetans and plies his trade safely in the wildest districts.

“Hat on the head turns the rain, Boots on the feet turn the thorns.”

Tailoring like carpentering is an honourable occupation, and also as a trade is restricted to men, although women in some cases do make their own fine clothes and repair them. The making of clothes requires strength rather than skill for the garments of the nomads and of the poor elsewhere are of sheepskin. Even the wealthy use heavy woollen clothing for every-day wear. Perhaps this trade fell to men because it can be done sitting down and at home, for Tibetan men like the American Indian are disinclined to exertion. However, even among Tibetans independent of the need to work, men are not ashamed to be seen sewing on a garment which indicates tailoring is a high grade occupation. Perhaps repair is more common than the making of new clothes and this is carried to such an extreme among the poor that the patches, which are placed on the outside, hide the original cloth.

The needle of the tailor may be of home-made iron and not very sharply pointed. The thimble is of leather, dried and hard, which is worn like a ring near the end of the finger. A good tailor will make a woollen or sheepskin cloak, which is the universal garment, within two days. Thin leather thongs will be used for sewing sheepskins, and twisted wool thread, if Chinese cotton thread is not available, for the thick cloaks of red or grey woollen cloth.

“Wearing it in the sun the colour fades, Wearing it in rain the colour washes out,” testifies to the instability of some Tibetan dyes. The average Tibetan wears homespun and the weaving and dyeing are done by women. Women clean and card the wool, spin it into threads and then weave it into cloth about a foot wide and a hundred feet in length. Most of the cloth is the natural familiar dirty grey but for the better garments it is dyed some shade of red,

dark red for the wealthy and wine-red or yellow for the monks. For the sporty it may have square yellow crosses on a background of red or green and other combinations.

Rude wooden looms whose poles are tied together by thongs, with a wooden shuttle, constitute the Tibetan weaving machine. The wool of cloth and rugs is heavy grey wool thread and the warp will be the manifold colours for conventional designs. Rugs are made in thirty inch widths and about four feet long. Large rugs are created by sewing smaller ones together, or the woof is extended for a few inches and a second rug of the same or different design continued. Lack of larger looms and patterns causes them to resort to this stratagem; and since rugs are used for sleeping mats and not for floors the small size is the regulative demand. It is customary to sew a red border around the rug which not only makes it larger but also protects the edge from wear. As homes are dark weaving is usually done in the open upon the grassy plains or on the roof.

The dyes in the past have been the native herbal or mineral ones, but now much imported stuff is used. The imported dyes are not considered as good but more convenient to handle. The designs take in all of the colours of the rainbow and are religious in motive; featuring phoenix, swastika, dragon, lotus flower, vase, knots, wheel of life and other sacred symbols.

Rugs are valued according to texture, size and design with the best from sixty rupees (12 dollars) to eighty rupees and the average about thirty. Woollen cloth is sold by the stretched out two-arm length which always creates a controversy as to who shall measure the cloth, which varies in price but eight rupees buys enough for the regular-sized cloak. There is a rug-like cloth for blankets woven in ten inch strips, with the design so divided that it fits into a harmonious whole making a blanket six by five feet, when sewed together.

“Teaching one who will not listen, Is like tanning a dry hide.” Although tanning of leather is considered a low trade because it involves the handling of a bloody hide, yet shoe making is worthily performed by the poor nobility. A hide is first soaked in water for five or six days to loosen the hair which, along with the fat, is then scraped off. Afterwards the hide is kneaded with the hands and feet until all of the water is worked out of it. Now butter and oil are kneaded into it as it dries in the sun. The hide is left in the sun until the butter is thoroughly absorbed and afterwards folded up and left to soak a short time. Again it is rubbed and stretched with hands and feet, or put in a leather sack and kneaded with the feet. After being thoroughly worked for a long time it is hung up

and whacked with a club, or two persons pull and stretch it back and forth, until dry and soft. If plenty of oil has been employed and sufficient kneading is done, the skin will stay soft. This leather may be used in its natural state for bags, etc., or dyed red, yellow, or black for use in boots and other personal needs.

In the preparation of lambskins for clothing, damp beer malt is put inside the skin until the hide is fairly wet, then the fat is removed with stone or dull knife. After being rubbed fairly dry it is oiled with butter and thoroughly kneaded again. To remove the dirt and odour it is moistened once more with malt, washed with soaproot, rinsed and laid out in the sun. When much of the moisture is gone it is folded and rubbed completely dry. If worked sufficiently and buttered properly a lambskin treated in the above fashion will never harden but remain soft, pliable and clean. Lambskins are used to line the broadcloth or silk garments of the well-to-do. Tibetans have little use for stiff leather, even the sole of the ordinary boot being of pliable leather.

High boots are worn by all classes, but much leather is required if cloth is not used for the tops. The poor make and repair their own but shoemakers are hired to measure the feet and make the boots to fit for those with means. Shoe-makers also do all types of leather-work in saddlery, gun-equipment and the countless varieties of leather goods used in a primitive society.

“The fairly round stone is the troublesome one of the wall, As the crooked stick is the bothersome one of the load.”

Only a dry climate will stabilize the use of tamped walls for the permanent sides of a home. A rupee for eight feet of wall one foot wide and four feet high is such a low price that wall builders are of the poorest people. Heavy boards a foot wide and twenty feet long are set up and bound by poles and ropes. The dirt is poured damp between the boards which are gradually lifted higher by means of ropes to three or more stories. Tamped by large-headed poles to the tune of rhythmic prayer-chants, the earth soon dries harder than sun-burnt brick. (Illus. No. 8).

Gangs of women and men working together build first a stone foundation about a foot above the surface of the ground. Upon this is built the clay-tamped wall, a sun-burnt brick wall or a stone wall cemented by clay. Cooking and eating their food beside a nearby fire, the wall-builders of both sexes are a happy, rough lot ready with ribald jest for the curious stranger but obsequious to their employer.

“That made by the use of skill, Is very pleasing to others.”

The occupations previously studied have been followed largely by laymen but in the trades which include the fine arts one finds

that the priestly class are common workers. Outside painting of a home requires little skill as it consists in the pouring out from a teapot, down the wall, of a watery mixture of clay in the desired colour, except ochers may be used for variations, and lime for a white wash. Soot paints the inside of most homes but for the wealthy homes and for temples a skilled mixer of paints is employed.

There is a saying that as regards the best paint, "If the father mixes the paint, it is not suitable for the son to use," indicating that it takes a long time to properly grind and mix the ingredients. The ground-up pigments which come from earths, minerals and herbs, are mixed with water and a hot, thin glue in the proportions necessary to produce the shade desired. The mixture is then stirred and macerated with pestle and mortar. The basic colours whether ocher or copper have already been pounded fine for the Tibetan recognizes the virtue of fineness in paints.

If the owner can afford paint sometimes the first coat is put on before the timbers are erected. If kept properly painted, so dry is Tibet, fir timbers are practically indestructible. Even unpainted timbers, if so sheltered that they can dry out after rains, which occur only in summer, will last a lifetime, but if unprotected the soft timbers will not last ten years.

Colour of a house has more significance in Tibet than in most countries. Plebeians must be content with plain yellow-clay colour while the gentry may put white stripes down their outside walls. Monasteries are dominantly white except the godhouse for the fiercest demons which is dark red. A bright yellow is the house colour of royalty and incarnated priests. Black signifies devils, ghosts or evil spirits. Somber grey or faded colours denote grief or age.

The monastery is the centre of the fine arts in painting and sculpturing. Most of these artists are monks. Laymen may chisel out prayers on stone but the creation of idols and scrolls, which are all religious in theme, are the work of lamas. The curse of death or other penalty for deviation from prescribed forms has stifled creative art for centuries. The artists strive more for brilliance in colouring rather than fineness in detail. The unlettered nomad appreciates colour more than fine lines.

"To the wise signs are truly sufficient, To the dumb-heads even words are useless."

Tibetan books are built to last forever. Insects, eating at the paper die, for the small shrub of the Daphne family, used in the making of paper, is poisonous. The paper is thick and durable, sometimes thickened by pasting several sheets together. In the best

books the paper is inked and the words written by hand with a sharpened bamboo stick in silver and gold. The leaves are then encased in inch boards sometimes inked and bound in silk with the whole tied by a stout leather thong fastened by a steel or silver buckle. Often two and one half feet in length, six to eight inches wide and the same in height, such a book will weigh ten to fifteen pounds. Eight books make a load for a mule after boxing, so that a caravan of some fourteen animals is needed to carry the Kahgyur of 108 volumes; and about 28 loads for the Tangyur of 225 volumes. Many of the better books are illuminated by drawings of god figures and demons upon the title pages. Incidentally a set of the Kahgyur costs about 2,000 rupees.

In the making of paper the bark is soaked and the outer dark layer peeled off. The whitish-yellow interior is stewed with wood lye and the resulting soft mass macerated on a stone until the pulp resembles soggy paper. This is taken to the edge of a stream, washed and then strained thinly upon a sheet of cheese-cloth which is stretched within a rectangular framework about two by two and a half feet in size (Illus. No. 15). Placed in the sun the product dries in a few hours with bright sunshine but longer during cloudy days. When dry and hard it is peeled off the cloth and smoothed with a stone to make the best writing paper. The thinner sheets are used in letter writing, selling for about eight sheets to one rupee. The thicker and coarser sheets are used mostly in books and cost about four sheets to the rupee. The paper is sized by sprinkling upon them milk and water in the proportion of one to ten parts.

The cost of making paper is largely labour as the materials are gathered upon the mountainside. The black ink is produced by the use of charcoal from pine knots which is pulverized and mixed with sugar and glue. Other colours are created by the using of ground ochers or metallic pigments instead of charcoal. In the making of books, if walnut boards are used instead of pine, the cost is increased so that only the finer volumes are bound in walnut. Painting the boards in red ink also raises the price.

In printing establishments the need of a large building to house the wooden blocks and the carving of the walnut blocks causes printing establishments to be scattered and scarce. Litang monastery has a set of blocks for the Kahgyur but printing has ceased due to the expense of paper since bark must be brought from a distance of two or more day's journey. Only Derge now prints the Kahgyur in Eastern Tibet, and then only in the seventh and eighth months. Derge also prints other volumes during the fifth and sixth months, rotating certain books in alternate years. To house the

blocks of the Kahgyur in Litang a building requiring a floor space fifty by fifty feet and fifteen feet high was built. There are ten long cases. Each case has eleven sections and each section is four feet in length. This makes a case forty-four feet long, twelve feet high and about two and a half feet wide. The aisles between the cases are about three feet wide. Each block is one and a half by nine by thirty inches, is numbered and the attendant was very careful to see that we placed the block back in its rightful place; for once misplaced it would be hard to locate among fifty thousand other blocks. Each wooden block is carved on both sides.

Many a rich man has the Kahgyur in his house. The presence of books confers a blessing upon the home. Even the mere reading of books by laymen, whether the text is understood or not is efficacious. If the Kahgyur is written in red it is 108 times more potent than those printed in black ink; those in silver 108 times more efficacious than those in red ink; and gold charactered books are 108 times more powerful in influence than silver-written ones. Gold hand-written volumes are very rare but the first few sheets of the better bound books are often written in silver and gold.

“In buying many earthen pots, an iron pot is soon squandered.”

The pottery maker belongs to a low but an essentially important craft. His round wooden wheel turns on a rude knob resting in the greased hole of a flat square board placed upon the ground beside his pile of clay. His skilled fingers so quickly shape the clay teapots that their labour cost is extraordinarily low. Clay and the brush wood to burn the pots are to be had for the gathering. Teapots are his chief utensil used even by the rich for clay pots impart a better flavour to tea than copper.

“A man is not a beggar because of his country, But not knowing how to work makes him a beggar.”

Begging is an occupation in Tibet. The idiot, the halt, the insane, the blind, the aged and the orphan are expected to beg for a living. The competition is keen but one never turns a beggar away as it is a work of merit to give. However, the amount given is often so small, a bit of barley and a drop of tea, that unless one has the strength to cover enough homes, he will not obtain enough food to maintain normal strength to walk the rounds on the morrow. Thus when beggars become sick, or enfeebled by age, they slowly starve to death. At festival periods they are given larger amounts of food, sometimes money and ragged clothing so that these days are days of brightness and feasting for them as well as for the general populace. In begging for a gift they plead, “Please, Precious Jewel, it is merit, Long Life,”; and upon the receipt of the

present they reply, "Thank You"; and if the donation is substantial they add "The Gods are Victorious".

On rare occasions some wealthy man gives the beggars a public feed to appease or win the favour of the demons of disease who are attacking some member of his family; or it may be to win merit for a noble deed in order to overcome the inherited sins of his soul. For this general feed the host selects a public place where a great kettle of food such as barley or millet soup is prepared. All who come are fed what they can eat. As they gorge themselves, sitting around the fire in a circle, they chant Mani or Blessing Prayers for the benefit of their host.

Beggars are not the only ones who beg. Some do it for merit and even wealthy men will go on begging pilgrimages. As they are not dependent upon the gift they are satisfied with anything. They will also give something if it is begged of them in order to secure a present from everyone they approach, as they seem to achieve special merit when they secure a donation from every person. From a merit beggar I often requested the sale, at a fair price, of some jewellery which I could not buy easily, as a requisite for giving to them, a request which they seemed willing to grant.

Children who grow up to live through begging acquire a beggar heart and develop into prostitutes if female, and into soldiers or thieves if male. Sometimes orphan children are saved from these fates by being taken into the homes of the rich as slaves.

"If we don't do hard work, We can't eat easy food." Only the independent gentry defy this local proverb. With five or six fields worked by his women the average Tibetan landed-gentleman can spend his days in loafing, drinking tea or home-brewed liquor, gambling for small stakes, talking with his neighbour gentlemen friends, or if lucky acting as a small official looking after the few affairs of state. The younger gentlemen will also feud or rob in another district for diversion but the older, especially those past forty five will start praying to balance the sins of their younger, lustier days.

Even if a man is so poor that "all he owns is the smoke of his own fire" yet if born of the nobility or of the landed gentry, he is accorded certain privileges and given sinecures which enable him to live. Without loss of dignity gentlemen are permitted to make shoes, sew clothes, paint or mold, make silver ornaments, trade, or hold office. Necessity and lack of richer relatives may at least degrade him to more menial tasks but poor indeed is he if he must carry wood and water which are considered female occupations. Before becoming a carrier of wood or water he will take up fight-

ing or robbing his enemies. Only the poor (gentlemen and full-fledged monks are exempt) carry burdens upon his back.

An indigent gentleman may without loss of face take the distasteful sinecure of interpreter for Chinese officials who recognize that "When a nobleman speaks all listen, When the son of a cur howls, all howl".

CHAPTER VIII

The Life of the Night

The night, bed-clothing, early to bed, dreams, sitting and sleeping positions, night travelling, story-telling, the *Pride of the Turtle*, Tibetan Songs, wandering minstrels.

*"Those who care not for comfort can do a hundred deeds,
Those who cannot stand poverty cannot do one deed."*

THE approach of night is not looked upon with pleasure by the Tibetan. Under the cover of darkness appears a multitude of fears;—the fear of robbers who may have been lying in a nearby ravine or forest waiting for the coming of night to rob and mistreat; the dread of ghosts that run amok seeking whom they may devour; and scarcely least, the uncomfortable bed, unyielding to the wearied frame, and thronged with an army of depredators who crawl and bite, and suck the blood of their restless victims. Only the sick loll in bed as the well bounce out with the awakening.

The Tibetan strips and sleeps naked. On the road his saddle pads will be his mattress and his clothing his coverlets. At home this may be supplemented by deer-hair, domestic animal hair, or wool stuffed cushions to sleep upon and blankets of wool or padded Chinese cotton for covers. Pillows are comparatively unknown, the boots or some other part of the clothing being used under the head, or nothing at all. Cushions and other bedding are spread upon the floors of pine or upon pine boards resting upon saw-horses. The numerous cracks in the rough lumber secrets a horde of insects. Lice become so numerous as to be unbearable so that "In the day if one wants to sleep in the sun, In the night time one must pluck lice by the stars". Bedding is spread out upon the roof in the hot sunshine to heat out the insects and leisure hours are spent hunting one's tiny bed-fellows. Sleeping upon the ground among the nomads causes much rheumatism while the householders are so accustomed to hard floors that soft beds induce sleeplessness. Tibetans taken to a foreign hospital and put into beds with springs and mattresses will be found sleeping on the floor in the morning.

The home is gloomy and eerie at night as the sole light may be from the flickering flames of the stove-hole around whose warmth will be gathered the family sitting cross-legged waiting for the last meal to cook or perhaps for only the rich nourishment of buttered tea. When pine forests are close by pine slivers are lighted and hung suspended upon a swinging iron platter above the head near the stove; or if means justify a clay-saucer butter-lamp with a tiny wick will furnish an uncertain light. Lighted pine sticks are carried around the home when needed but their spluttering cast-off coals must be stamped out lest they set fire to the home, especially at harvest time when straw lies everywhere.

In general the Tibetan is early to bed and early to rise, retiring at darkness and rising at daybreak. He believes that "Rising early in the morning is like obtaining a horse, Going asleep late at night is like the losing of a cow." It is a bad sign to sleep in the daytime as well as giving the impression of laziness. One's sleep should be broken only "If there is no cock the donkey brays the time," the bark of dogs and the customary noises made by livestock. Sleeplessness is a bad omen and considered a portend of death. Before retiring for the night a prostration is performed before one's tutelary deity and also the first thing in the morning upon arising. This deity may or may not be represented by an idol in the home.

Each person sleeps alone if there is sufficient covering but the children are usually piled together into an adhesive mass. In winter the floors are the favourite sleeping places. It is thought that stronger people will take vitality from the weaker if they sleep together; especially dangerous, is sleeping with the sick. In spite of this belief, diseases transmitted by close sleeping contact such as leprosy and relapsing fever have their victims particularly among the poor who must snuggle close for warmth from lack of bed clothing.

Dreams are thought to be a confirmation of the past or a glimpse into the future. Dreams which come in the early part of the night are considered to be scenes or acts that impressed themselves upon the mind during the day and are not so prophetic; dreams in the latter part of the night warn of events that decidedly are true or will come to pass. Dreams where one rises in the air or floats in space are said to be due to a lack of oil or fat in the menu. When one gets plenty of fats, as butter, such dreams will not appear. When not properly fed the wind in a person's body will cause dreams and other disorders.

When one dreams of corpses, filth, blood, or slaughter, wealth will arise. A Tibetan teacher dreamed that while passing through

the basement of his home, excreta from the toilet above fell on him (easily possible); the next day he was paid his wages unexpectedly for the month. If one dreams of another person dying or of himself dying it is evidence of a hearty meal the previous evening and probably is a preparation for an early death.

Sitting cross-legged is a favourite position for all classes both lay and clerical. One can gain merit by sleeping in this position and monks practice this attitude. Hermits and ascetics are supposed to sit and sleep in this position and if possible die while in this holy posture. Laymen, however, do not make a practice of such a sleeping position although old people often fall asleep while sitting cross-legged.

Few people go abroad at night unless when travelling and even then they plan to reach their camping place, or an inn before dark. It is difficult to secure entrance into a home after dark as thieves and robbers often use the ruse of being benighted travellers, to get inside the home. As there are no recognised inns except in the few large cities, traders and travellers seek any home which will receive them. Those who go out into the night are lovers keeping a tryst, the escort of a betrothed maiden taking her to the feast, or robbers seeking loot. All others stay at home. Travellers leaving an inn or a home at night are escorted to the outer gate and the door locked after them lest the party leaving let robber accomplices into the home.

While sitting around the blazing stove in the twinkling firelight waiting for the final nourishment of the day someone often lets fall a proverb, tells a story or sings verses of a love song which Tibetans with a retentive memory have learned by heart from a parent. Sometimes hundreds of verses can be chanted with no repetition. The songs tell a story usually of love or of war, and sometimes each stanza is a story of its own. Two friends may engage in a stanza or a verse-song contest, the first party chanting a verse regarding the love affair of his friend who answers with another verse in a similar strain until one has exhausted his memory or his ability to compose.

The stories recited around the fireplace generally illustrate a moral such as the tale about the Pride of the Turtle, the pride which led to his destruction. 'Once upon a time there was a turtle who was very proud of himself and who liked to travel to strange parts. It took him a long time to reach any place because of his slow gait so he hit upon a plan of obtaining the help of others. He approached two Brahmany ducks one day as they came down to the pond where he lived. He praised their strength in speeding through the air and asked if they would take him along with them

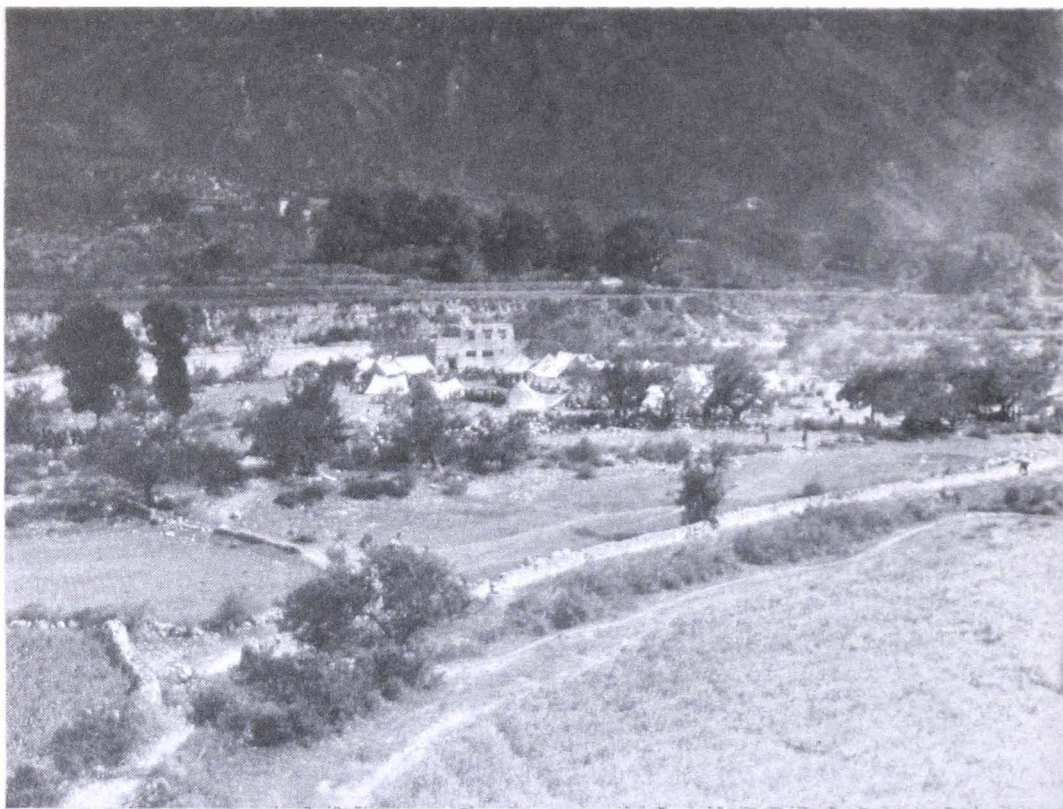


PLATE 18. The dancing grounds of the Harvest Festival or Yonnehcham lies across the big Batang river a mile southwest of Batang. The local incarnated abbot dwells temporarily in the house which is also used as a dressing room by the players.



PLATE 19. First preliminary of the Batang Harvest Festival called Yardee includes six men called Trashee Zhohpa who dress in black-figured white cloaks. The principal attendants in the background include Jheluh the two doughnut-hatted men.

PLATE 21. Drama of Nangsa. The servant woman to the left teaches Nangsa, the wife of the younger Lord of Rinang or Drahpa Samdrub, how to work in the fields while the servants watch in amusement.

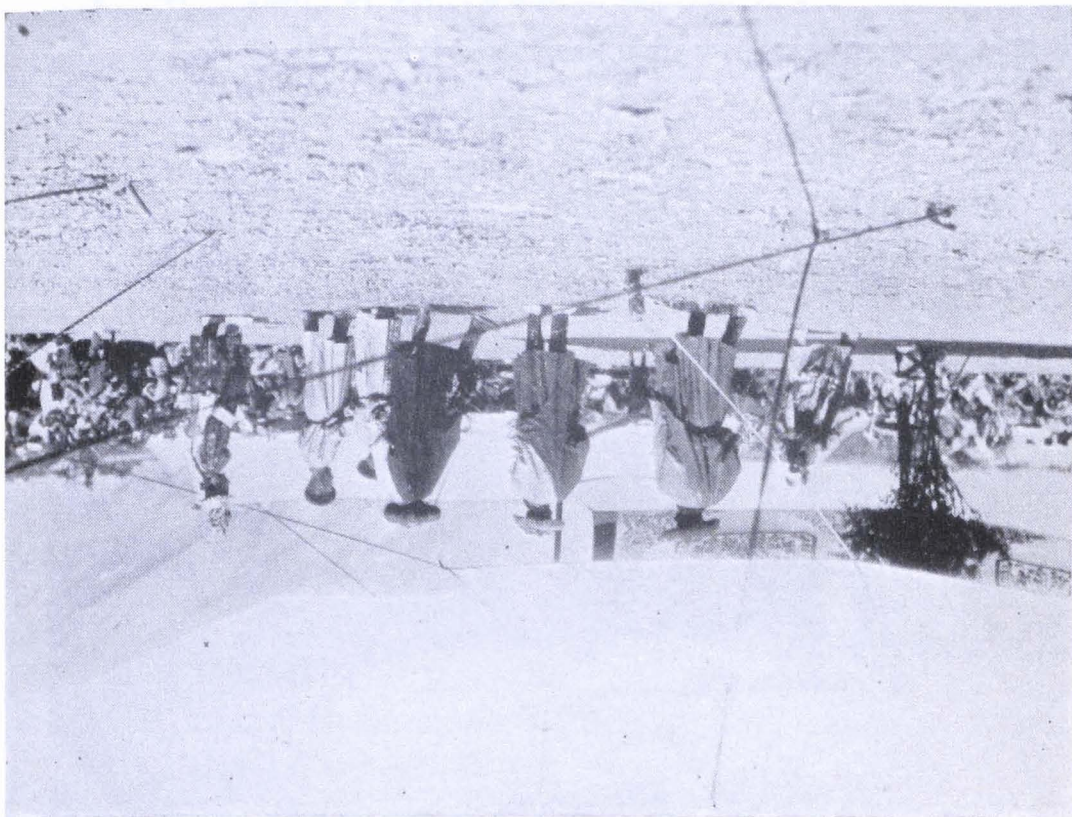
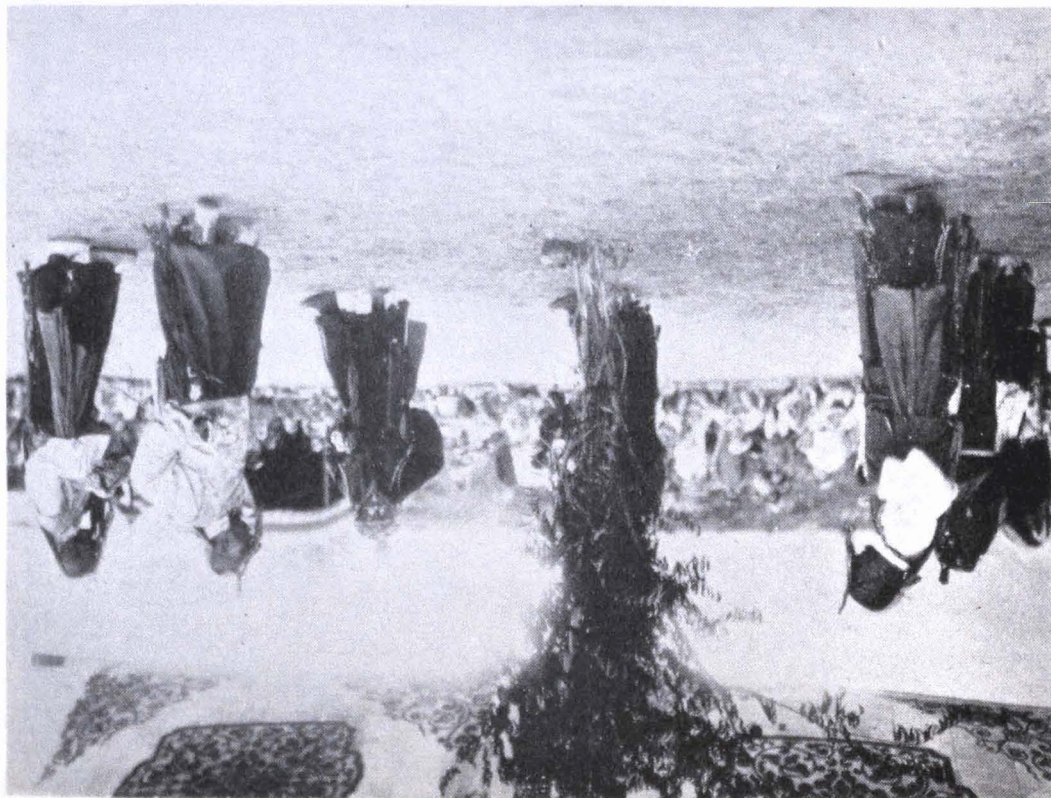


PLATE 20. The second preliminary of the Yonecham are the Jyagarawa in white fantastic masks with the leader chanting prior to the characteristic whirling dances, which are performed throughout the plays.



to a distant land. The ducks agreed and secured a stick which the turtle grasped in the middle. Then each of the two ducks took an end in their beaks and flew off. All went well for a long time and the turtle gazed with astonishment at the wondrous scenes of strange lands, but also proud of his ability to secure such transport. After some time the ducks flew over a field where some farmers were working. One farmer said to his friend, "What is that which the ducks are carrying, it looks like an old piece of scrap leather from a boot". Upon hearing these words the turtle was mortified and forgetting his position called out, "This is not a boot-sole, but me the turtle". As the turtle spoke the words, the stick slipped out of his mouth and he was killed in the fall to the ground. The moral is obvious in that "pride goes before a fall".

Tibetan songs are built around exploits in love and war which usually take place at night—war in robber raids and feudal attacks by setting fire to the home and shooting the fleeing by the light of the fire; love-by such a custom as often occurs during a holiday season, when a swain will seize the hat or snatch off a ring from his chosen maiden and running away call out to her the place where she must meet him for a liaison in the shades of night to redeem her property.

Dingtze chanted about Dendru when both were leaving a city where they had stayed for some time and during their sojourn had temporary wives. Each line has six syllables in Tibetan.

Dendru at the time of coming,
Thought a coral would be enough.
Dendru at the point of going,
Looking up and down and thinking,
Dendru thought a child would be coming,
Dendru gave the girl sixty rupees".

To this taunt Dendru answered in similar verse which also revealed a liaison.

"Dingtze from the Sining Border,
Said that he would quickly return.
For Segah is said to be sick,
That she will grow big this year".

The Tibetan song may merely be a chant of former days and not made up for the occasion but it will reflect the heart of the singer as he carols in a high minor key which ends with a long drawn wailing note.

"If one desires a star of heaven,
Place a ladder and one may get in.
If one desires the heart-breaking goddess,
One must use the most precious of jewels".

“Either there must be beautiful hair,
 Or one must be pretty in body;
 If not beautiful of hair or body,
 Then there must be quality of birth”.

Most of the Tibetan songs are in four lines with an occasional breaking of this rhythm. The lines may be chanted in a rapid sing-song voice but will always end up on the high drawn-out note which the novice does not easily imitate. Kings and priests are censored in the songs which have been handed down as in the following when a lama is said to chant to his black-tent sweetheart:-

“Wild black-tent dog A-He-Je-Wa,
 Wiser than a man in wisdom,
 Bark not when I arrive at midnight,
 Bark not when I return at daybreak”.

The affection between the lovers who hunt lice in each other's hair and crack them is illustrated in the chant:-

Off the head of loving mistress,
 If one picks the head lice,
 With the nits scattered here and there,
 They are sweeter than grapes”.

Happy are all when wandering minstrels, in their constant touring trips, arrive at the home of the headman for it means an evening of dance and song. The usual minstrel party is composed of one man and two women. Each dances and plays an instrument, the man a violin and the women pairs of cymbals. As they play they shuffle and sway in the deepening darkness while with sad voices they chant songs of lovers or the deeds of warriors in the long ago. After a long stretch of dance and song they are insistent in passing around a platter for coins or food to which all persons of means dare not lose face by failing to contribute. On other evenings bands of maidens who belong to the same social group or club will ask for the privilege of dancing in one's home, knowing they will be fed and given presents for their graceful dancing to the tune of flute and violin played by young men enticed to aid them. The plaintiveness of the music and the wailing rhythm of their singing cause one to reflect back to stories of mediaeval days when troubadours went from castle to castle and knighthood was in flower.

CHAPTER IX

Born in a Stable

Birth—an incident, mortality, the birth, superstitions of birth.

*"Teeth come in at the eighth month.
Crawling is at the ninth month."*

MOST Tibetan women toil hard all day carrying water from the river, or wood from the forest, or working in the fields which has given them such strength that the birth of a child is an incident in their life and not a burden to be dreaded. The poorer women leave their birth-bed to care for their baby and to continue in the duties of the household. Women who carry wood for a living have been known to give birth to their baby upon the mountainside, to arise, and with their baby in their bosom and the load of wood upon their back, carry both down to the village. A Tibetan teacher related how he surprised a woman unattended giving birth to a baby by the side of the field where she had been working, and afterwards watched her carry the baby home. However it is usual for a close relative, friend or a midwife to serve at the birth of children.

The mortality among infants is heavy. Sixty per cent die under two years of age and of those remaining then, forty per cent die before reaching the age of five years. No definite figures are available but careful observations and estimates from Tibetan teachers have been used. Checking up with a large group of neighbours and acquaintances it was discovered that every family had lost one or more children under two years of age. One of the teachers lost two children in infancy and another teacher two out of three. A cow woman had borne nine children and only two lived beyond five years of age; one was still living, as the other had died at the age of twelve. Large families are rare although Tibetan women bear many children. It is unusual to find five children living out of a large number of births. Women begin bearing about eighteen (maturing late and marrying soon afterwards). Births come regularly, about every two years, with one or more miscarriages.

Bearing usually ceases a few years earlier than those of women in lower altitudes. It is so unusual for women late in the forties to bear that one woman who produced a child at forty nine was looked upon with wonder. This last baby, which came several years after she had her last child, was later discovered to be a living Buddha. When one considers the conditions surrounding birth, the high altitude, ignorance and filth in the up-bringing of infants and the general living conditions for children, the fearful mortality will be understood.

When the cries and contortions of the wife indicate the bringing forth of a child, the husband flees to a neighbour's, in accordance with custom. As birth is considered unclean the mother usually goes to the dirtiest place, often the stable, for the delivery and the oldest rags (which have been washed in cold water) are used. The cord is cut with an ordinary meat knife and tied with a yak-hair string or a piece of stout rag. If a foot protrudes first it is pricked with a needle and pushed back in so the infant will squirm around and come forth as it should—head first.

After birth some butter is placed in the mouth to neutralize the phlegm and acid present. The body is not washed nor greased with butter but merely wrapped in a woollen cloth. Relatives come and present butter, a bit of which is rubbed upon the fontanelle, which is not washed until it closes, lest evil spirits enter and harm the child. A hood may be worn to further protect the fontanelle. Upon the navel is placed a mixture of barley flour and butter.

After the child is born incense and butter lamps are lighted by the mother-in-law. Incense may again be burnt at the end of the month when the mother is allowed to touch the stove which she has not been allowed to approach lest disaster come to the home; nor has she been permitted to visit at the neighbours during that period since she is unclean and an omen of evil.

The hip and back bones of the yak are ground up, mixed with other food and fed to the mother so her own pelvic bones will unite together again. In some places fish soup is drunk to aid her in the recovery of her strength.

Birth marks are ascribed to visiting at a blacksmith's shop before the child is born, so pregnant women avoid such a place if possible. Women with child will not handle weapons of war lest a birthmark be produced upon the unborn infant. A child which is shedding its teeth around the age of seven or eight years old is taught not to show the vacancies, where the teeth have come out, to a pregnant woman, as the infant in the womb can steal the other child's tooth which will not come through until the baby is born.

It is less of a disgrace to have an illegitimate child than to have none at all; so few women are childless. Exposure of babies is very rare but may be done if the baby is sickly, deformed or if the mother is unable because of poverty to care for it; however in this last event she is usually able to find someone who will adopt the child, or bring it up as a slave. Exposure of an infant is not considered as a serious sin, as one can ease the conscience by saying that the child died of itself since no violence was used against it.

Twins are difficult especially for the poor. Some consider that twins are unlucky as one is pretty sure to die due to the hard conditions surrounding the raising of children. Tibetans love their children as much as any other people but do not know how to care for them. The grandmother will spend her leisure stuffing barley gruel or pouring buttered tea into its mouth to satisfy it, or will let the infant suck her tongue to keep it quiet. Grandmothers or older children have the care of many babies when the mother is at work, and work is the lot of all but the wealthy women. Intense grief is shown at the death of an infant but the mother imputes it to fate and soon consoles herself. Then the duties of livelihood forbids long mourning; there are other mouths to be fed and another infant will soon be born to replace the lost child.

When a woman loses her baby she may get the baby shirt of a friend's child which is living and put it on her next child so it too will survive. If two friends become pregnant at the same time, the one to bring forth her child first, will send remnants of her food and drink to the other woman. By eating or drinking this the second woman will give birth to her child within a few days.

If a pregnant woman dies the child is cut out of her and the corpses are disposed of separately. If the child were left inside it would turn into a demon who would haunt the household or the vicinity, and bring disaster of some kind to the community. Malpresentation is invariably fatal. Women have been known to suffer four or five days in this condition before succumbing.

Lastly an interesting superstition is that if a new star is seen, a great or a good man will be born; and likewise if a great or a good man passes away, a star dies. A star was said to have fallen when the Ritri Lama, a holy hermit dwelling in the mountains near Batang, passed into the beyond.

CHAPTER X

Marriage Takes Place at Night

A business transaction, divorce, forms of marriage, marriage and morality, blood relationship, age in marriage, the matchmaker and the astrologer, betrothal wedding, fetching the bride, the wedding supper, consummation of the marriage, marriage of Monks.

"The middle of the day has come and breakfast has not been eaten. The half of a man's life is past and a wife has not been taken."

Marriage among the rich Tibetans is largely a financial transaction. However, the poor just agree to live together, buy a few clay pots and start housekeeping; if they do not get along they divide the pots (if they have not already been broken) and move apart ready for the next spouse. Not so with the wealthy for the bride must bring a dowry to augment the inheritance of the groom; likewise, divorce is difficult as the property must be properly divided according to a number of factors. The detached view of marriage among a people with such a materialistic background is reflected in the proverb that "When in one incarnation there are two spouses. It is two funeral processions for one corpse." This refers to the fact that the second spouse serves the same purpose as the first but it costs two funerals. Then the importance of property comes out in the saying that, "It is requisite to tighten the girth of an empty saddle, It is necessary for a dowry-less girl to be beautiful."

Since marriage is not a civil nor a religious procedure, but arranged by the two parties privately if poor, and by the families when rich, it follows that divorce has the same trend, with no laws requiring that certain causes be present for the parties to separate. Naturally it is usually for the same reasons as prevail in most countries, but can be effected at will if the parties will submit to the inevitable social criticism and divide their property. If the bride wants the divorce she can not get it unless the husband is willing and then she is lucky to obtain what she put into the union;

and if the husband desires the separation he is fortunate to keep a fair share of what he inherited. Divorces like the marriages take go-betweens and days of talk; the conferences may be drawn out for a year or longer. If the craving for separation is mutual each takes out what he or she put in and all is peaceful. Sometimes a divorce is easily arranged as happened when two sets of parents each with a son and daughter married their offspring. This required no exchange of property. After some years the two sets of young people became dissatisfied with the spouse chosen by their parents so after conferences they forced their parents to let them separate. Then the young people married the mates of their own choice.

Another incident illustrates the property angle. A young man was betrothed to a girl who was killed by robbers before the consummation of the marriage. The property however, as is always the case, had been turned over at the time of the betrothal. The young man now demanded the younger sister since he could not afford to return the marriage dowry. To avoid this loss as well as incurring the disbursement of another dowry the younger sister was betrothed to the young man. As the girl was only fourteen at the time she remained in her father's home until she attained the age of puberty three years later.

Divorce has other angles when children are involved. The husband in a wealthy family died leaving no children. The problem was what to do with the wife and how to carry on the family line as the only brother was a monk. Rather than send the widow back to her parents with the return of the dowry (and possibly some additional property) the brother monk renounced his vows to marry a woman whom he had not wanted who was some years older than he. However, the marriage proved to be satisfactory with several children growing to adulthood while a fair degree of compatibility honoured the union.

Polyandry is flaunted by sensational seeking foreigners as the prevalent form of marriage. Although polyandry is more frequent among the nomads where there is a slight minority of females, yet a careful investigation of all classes of Tibetans proves that monogamy is the commonest form of marriage. As a general average it will be found that out of ten marriages, seven will be monogamous, one polygamous and the other two polyandrous. The poor are monogamous; as marriage is largely a business transaction, the other forms exist mostly among the propertied. In order to avoid any division of the inheritance a woman will marry brothers, often two, but sometimes as many as five; and a man will marry sisters rarely more than two. There are less women

than men as the hardships of life cause a higher death rate among female babies, especially among the nomads. If a family is all girls a youth is adopted to marry the oldest daughter, and any of her sisters who cannot be married to a good family. Another form of polygamy is found when a wealthy man desires more than one wife and can support a concubine whom he may purchase from a poor family or he uses one of the female slaves of the household. If the female slave has children then the connection becomes more than casual. Travellers and traders will often contract a temporary marriage in the city where they are residing. If no children are born the separation is easy; but if children arrive the man will either support the child or leave the woman a substantial sum of money. Later, the woman may find a home for her child with another family who are childless, or desire to adopt the child, as a future spouse for son or daughter.

As at least one son will become a monk (and there are rarely more than two sons in a family), a wife is not often troubled with more than one husband at a time. Occasionally she will have to marry one after the other, the younger brothers as they grow up. If the younger brothers do not desire to share the older brother's wife, they are free to leave the home where they are always entitled to support, in lieu of a share of the inheritance. They may take a woman of their own who is called a secret wife since she is kept outside of the family home in another dwelling. The secret wife, however, does not receive her support from her husband's family property, but from the outside earnings of her husband or from means of her own. All children born of a polyandrous marriage, irrespectively of the real father, are considered the offspring of the oldest brother, the younger brothers are labelled uncles.

As a rule, in a polyandrous marriage, only one brother will be home at one time; the others will absent themselves upon trading trips. It is the custom for the brother at home to hang his false braid of hair or a boot outside the bedroom door as a sign to the others that he is with the wife. The story is related that once a brother hung his boot upon the door latch as a sign he was inside. A hungry rat gnawed the boot strap in two letting the boot fall to the floor from where it was carried away by the family dog. Another brother not seeing any sign surprised the other with the common wife. Upon investigating the cause they discovered the displacement of the boot. There upon they cursed the rat and dog, pronouncing upon the male rat that he should die soon after copulation and the dog that he should have difficulty separating after union. The position of junior husbands is not an enviable one since wife and work have been allotted to them, so a proverb

has evolved out of their position, "The junior husbands do not dance from pleasure, They dance as if suffering from burning feet".

The custom of loaning wife or daughter to a guest is not unknown and is practised to some extent, but it is not considered good form. Such a loan is not usually to an absolute stranger but only to some friend or relative passing through on a trading trip. When two men who are not relatives have a common wife they are an object of reproach. Another custom is that of asking one's landlady to secure a woman for a temporary marriage, but it is taboo inviting her to serve as such for her own guests.

Since divorce is easy when little or no property is at stake, it happens that some of the poor have several marriages. The high death rate also tends to the same end by widowing one of the spouses. Because of the stigma attached to barrenness, women try seriously to obtain a husband which has created the adage that "A woman is happy with an ugly husband" since she is not likely to lose him. While women may divorce their husband he is usually the aggressor in seeking a separation. Our gardener who was in his forties was living with his third wife while he was her second husband; his first wife had divorced him and his second one had died. Surplus women will sometimes attach themselves to a wealthy family where they will work for board and room until they can pick up a husband. One such had a child by her wealthy host but they quarrelled. He could not cast her out, until her child happened to pass away, when he was able to thrust her out without criticism; the privileges of the child was the important element. The obligation toward children makes marriage more binding and its chief claim to sacredness.

A wealthy man remarked that in his city of two thousand people there were not four chaste women. In spite of such a possible fact and the general variety of marriage relations, chastity is considered a virtue to be sought and kept. It is a greivous sin to commit fornication or adultery and fearful punishments in hells are shown for those erring. Furthermore, in spite of lax thinking sometimes fights and murder result from violations of the other's sex rights. A husband injured by his wife's infidelity with another bided his time for months. With one bullet from an ambush he shot the man to death and wounded his wife, lining them up as he had planned. A husband has the right to slice off the tip of his wife's nose if she is caught in a lustful act. Such a woman may wear a black patch to hide what is missing. Divorce because of immorality is less rare among those who have children. If divorce, because of the husband's wishes, results when there are children,

the father takes the boys and the mother the girls; in such an event the mother not only gets the return of her dowry but also half of the husband's inheritance. If only the wife desires separation without blame on the part of the husband, she takes no children with her and pays heart balm to her spouse. If both seek separation the property and children are divided by agreement. Efforts are always made to protect the children. In every divorce the decision of the middlemen and assessors, who must be called in regarding property and children, is final.

It is a general principle that those related by blood shall not marry. Marriage of first cousins is considered a shameful act; but it is quite common and decent to marry the brother or sister of a dead spouse. First cousins on the father's side who marry, commit a greater breach of morality than if on the mother's side. When people more closely related than first cousins marry, it is the cause of evil talk, and other people say that they are like animals. Neither is it good custom for the father to take a dead son's wife, or the son to marry his widowed stepmother or his father's widowed plural wives, although such cases are known.

As a general rule, Tibetan girls (who are married soon after attaining the age of puberty), mature late in this cold land, at the age of seventeen or eighteen years. Youths mature a year or more later and may marry then but more commonly wait until they are past twenty-one. It is not unusual for the bride to be several years, (three to ten), older than the groom, especially upon remarriage. As people with property try to mate their children with those of like means, the age element is minor and must often be disregarded. A widow who has a child, which proves that she is fertile, has little difficulty in securing a younger husband. One young man who married such a woman with the expectation of her being able to bear him children was bitterly disappointed. After several years he divorced her and married a girl younger than himself who bore him offspring.

When a young man's family contemplate matrimony for their son a middleman or matchmaker is employed to interview the parents of the young girl under consideration. It is affirmed that in the olden days the prospective groom and bride were not consulted. A youth, however, sometimes ran away before the betrothal ceremony if he did not like the girl; the girl might take poison if she did not fancy the young man. Nowadays the respective parents are more inclined to casually ask the young man or girl if he or she like each other. If disapproval is registered by either, it is easy to find that such a marriage would be unlucky before affairs have gone far enough to be embarrassing. If the

betrothal does not take place before a mature age the young people are more certain to make their wishes known. One young man would not take the girl selected. After two years the dowry and a sum in addition, agreed upon in conference between the two families, was sent back and the young man permitted to marry the girl of his choice.

Courtship, whether it leads to marriage or not, is as evident as in other lands. A young man may frequently lay his head upon the lap of his sweetheart who will pick lice out of his hair and perhaps bite the "critter" with her teeth recalling the maxim that "Biting a louse is not very nourishing as food, but it certainly is a satisfaction to the soul." If the couple are estranged friends indicate this fact by saying "Gezonglhamo is no longer picking lice out of Yishiyozeh's head".

After the matchmaker has asked the girl's parents for the maiden, her parents sagely answer that they will consult the astrologer priest to determine whether the union will be blessed or not. At this point a statement, with a present of money to the priest by parents not desiring the youth, will cause the divining cleric to forecast evil which would be an adequate reason for declining the offer without loss of face to the other party.

If the soothsayer says that the forecast is auspicious the maiden's parents give a favourable answer to the matchmaker; but if the union is not favoured by the stars the reply is that only evil would result from the match. Astrological consultation is very important, for some years are more unlucky than others. It is said that "If a woman born in the snake year opens her mouth, For every time she opens it, a husband is crammed in." The meaning, which gossips say has been proved by events indicate that her husbands will die because she is fated to be unlucky. Naturally a woman born in such a year has difficulty in securing a husband.

Sometimes both parties have the forecast taken separately; sometimes together; sometimes only the girl's parents will have the divination made. The priest is given a present and a ceremonial scarf for his services. In the process of the forecasting, the years of the boy's and girl's births are compared and any unusual events of their births and lives are taken into astrological consideration.

When the maidens parents have informed the matchmaker that the horoscope is favourable, then the go-between informs the parents of the young man; now in their turn they must visit the fortune-teller monk who will consult the stars for a favourable day and hour. Upon the propitious day the friends, relatives, or the matchmaker take a white scarf and a pitcher of beer to the home of the maiden. These tokens are presented to the parents of

the girl. If accepted, it sanctions the union. The girl is now declared by the male side to be theirs; her parents cannot now refuse to give their daughter without incurring the wrath of the youth's family which would lead to quarrells, feuds and murders. This act corresponds to betrothal.

Sometimes the betrothal act takes place when the boy and girl are very young, even mere babies; more often it occurs when the marrying parties are past the age of maturity.

Now the family of the youth consult the stars again through the priest; it is to determine the date and hour of the wedding. The girl's family are informed of the outcome which means another scarf for the family and more beer for the go-between. The two households now confer together and prepare for the wedding.

All is hustle and excitement. Where hot springs are nearby it means a day's visit to them by the bride and bridesmaids who bathe, picnic and spend hours braiding each other's hair for the coming event.

The time of the wedding is invariably forecast at a late hour of the night. Night lends exceptional glamour to the festivities and the huge crowds are less dense, for the smaller children have fallen asleep. People of all classes are allowed to crowd in where the ceremonies are performed; and they pack in like sardines in oil.

In the evening of the ceremony women relatives of the bride, those who have borne children (barren women would be bad luck for future posterity), and are from the well-bred class, arrive to dress the bride's hair. Both houses are decorated but the groom's, where most of the festivities will take place, far outshines the home of the bride. Sometimes the bride's home is only cleaned and food for the guests prepared. The greater the wealth and rank of the groom the more elaborate the ornamentation.

In the preparation of the groom's house the place is first thoroughly cleaned. Ceremonial scarfs are hung around the rooms and beautiful designs are freshly floured upon the walls. In the kitchen "Yang Tee" or dabs of flour on the forefingers are imprint-upon the sooty walls; and also door designs, such as that of the cat with a jewel in its mouth, signifying wealth; and likenesses of the sun, moon, swastikas and jewels are drawn. A "Dah Dar" or a little flag fastened to an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours will be made and hung up.

The guest room, where the escort, who go to bring the bride (a relic of ancient capture), and the higher ranking guests will wait with the groom, blazes with brilliant designs, paintings of deities, coloured scarfs, and prayer pennants.

The reception room where the bride and her wedding party will be entertained has, however, the utmost in adornment. Here small tables have been joined to form a long banquet table and each seat is covered with a gaudy rug. The seat where only the bride can sit is determined by the day upon which the wedding occurs according to the astrological reading. Each day has an auspicious position, either at the head, foot or in the middle. In this event the bride sat at the head, on the left, which was the west side, amidst a background of gay drapings, pictures and scarves. Her seat is a fine white rug, marked with a swastika (the emblem of good luck) topping a number of rugs which placed her higher than the others so that she commanded the whole room.

Shortly before the forecasted hour set for the leading of the bride from her home one to three men ordinarily are sent from the home of the groom to fetch the bride. For a prince, a large company, as many as a hundred—the larger the number the higher the rank of the participants, are dispatched. This escort is preceded by two men bearing lights. Only close friends or relatives are sent and when the bride is from a far country, as has happened in the marriage of a king or prince, the company may spend months or years enroute. Twenty-five men went to Lhasa a two months journey to bring the bride for the former prince of Batang. A famous king of Tibet who lived about 625 A.D. dispatched several hundred men to Peking for his Chinese bride and they were over two years coming and going. The escorts carry many ceremonial scarves of white, and one of red silk "Sung Dee" which has been consecrated by the priest for the occasion. Of course the richer the family the greater the fee to obtain a "Sung Dee" and the higher the rank of the lama who blesses it.

When the escort arrive at the maiden's home they must be entertained. They drink a little tea or whiskey and eat a little food while the bride is being outfitted for the journey. It is the custom for the groom to furnish fine garments when he later sends for her to come permanently to his home for the consummation of the marriage. When she dresses for this betrothal wedding ceremony she may wear her own fine clothes, borrow from a richer family if she is poor, or wear those the groom has bought for her later use without any embarrassment. The question of the clothes she wears has all been arranged in advance.

At the arrival of the groom's escort the crowd, which has been coming for some time, quickly swells, until every nook and cranny of the bride's home is jammed with people. There is a constant tug of war amongst the crowd for the best view and a cloud of dust is raised which almost suffocates. The stench of filthy clothes, the

sweat of unwashed bodies, and the aroma of ancient buttered tea would overpower the fastidious.

When the hour for leading the bride away has arrived, the escort solemnly arise and hang their white scarves, one on the stove, one on the central house pillar and one on each of the parents. The leader of the escort also places a white scarf and the red silk "Sung Dee" around the shoulders of the bride. Both the buxom bridesmaids and the other members of the escort have been waiting for this last act. With screams and shouts they struggle for possession of the lucky red scarf, swaying back and forth in the wedged mass of humanity. In the melee the scarf parts and in this case, as is usually true because of their strength, the males have the large half. This signifies that the husband will dominate in this family and good luck will be with his side of the house rather than with the bride's.

At the moment the white scarf was thrown around the shoulders of the bride, she began to howl mournfully and to prostrate herself flat on the ground, thrice to the altar stove, thrice to her father and thrice to her mother. Then the red scarf goes around her and she punctures the yelling and grunting of the combatants with wailing cries but does not assist in the struggle for the larger half.

Still weeping, the bride by main force is pulled through the crowd, who move inch by inch through the door as one mass, expanding into the wider freedom of the street. Here the escort are given ceremonial scarfs and presents by the bride's family. As the procession starts forward they are held up by three parties in this order, the bridesmaids, the relatives and the neighbours. Each party carries what is called a perfection cup of beer whose edge is decorated with three tiny pats of butter. The bride thrusts a finger into each cup and snaps the clinging droplets as an offering to the gods while she is presented a white scarf. To each group the groom escort gives a ceremonial scarf of white in return and tribute money of a rupee or more.

The bride continues to weep as she moves slowly with the groom's escort and her bridesmaids, and pressed by the crowd toward her new home. Suddenly melancholy calling rends the air as the cry "Good luck stay with us" resounds three times from the roof of the bride's home. The wailing of the bride now increases but soon declines, gradually ceasing as she approaches nearer to her husband's home. Her tears have dried before she enters.

When the unruly procession nears the home of the groom the words "Good Luck come to us" are heard loudly three times from the roof of his home. As the party draws nearer, again three parties hold up the cavalcade. The neighbours, friends and

relatives of the groom present beer and scarves as was done at the bride's home but this time the passage money is paid by the bride. The groom bought her passage from the claims of her people and now she must buy her way into the ranks of his people. Released once more the procession moves on. Just outside the door a person in ragged sheepskin and fearsome mask springs from a hiding place and with a diabolical yell throws a handful of grain at the frightened bride. This demonstration chases away the ghosts who would otherwise enter the house with the party and cause possible illness.

At the bottom of the stairs the party is met by a friend sent by the groom. He holds a vessel of grain, a few rupees and a white scarf of invitation to persuade the bride to ascend. Immediately and roughly the crowd pounce upon him trying to seize his offerings for whoever secures a portion is assured of good fortune while those who fail are ashamed. The girls because of their aprons usually obtain the grain and the men secure the money. If the marrying couple are old the party do not scramble but divide the offerings among themselves, but when young as in this case, the young people grab and retain. This custom is a substitution of the ancient usage where the distance was great enough, as among nomads, to require the riding of horses. Then the bride arrived on a horse (a mule would not be used as he can produce no offspring) and she always refused to dismount at the tent of the groom until gifts had been given to persuade her. Now she and her escort are given presents to induce them to ascend the stairs.

At the top of the stairway the bride is met by a maiden from the groom's family. This girl has been selected beforehand. Her parents must be alive and her birth-year in harmony with that of the bride either in the same year or in a year not antagonistic, as divined by the lama astrologer. She is dressed in fine clothes. In one hand she carries a "Chima" or cone of butter-decorated barley-flour setting in a deep dish and in the other hand she holds a "Dah Dar" or arrow wrapped in a scarf. Giving these two emblems to the bride she welcomes her with these words, "Dra Shee De Layh Peen Sum Tsoh, Deh Dang De Wa Tok Ba Sho." Translated she said, "Now may you receive health and treasure; Luck, peace and goodness without measure." After this greeting the bride hands back the barley dish and scarf.

The crowd is packed tighter, if that is possible here than at the bride's home. Finally by brute force the bride is shoved into the kitchen where she prostrates herself three times each before the hearth of the stove, before the house-gods and each of the parents. The bridesmaids duplicate the previous acts of the groom's escort

and hang white scarfs, one each on the stove, the idol altar, the central pillar and each parent.

Now the bride is conducted into the decorated dining room and seated upon the swastika-adorned rug. The bridesmaids and women guests sit down upon her side, and the males upon the opposite, seating themselves without any particular order except for the bridesmaids who sit next to the bride one on each side. The first food offered is a dish of wild and tiny root with a sweetish flavour called "Drohma" which the bride must taste to make herself tasty. Then she partakes of a grain soup called "chen" followed by tea, whiskey, noodles and other foods. The guests follow her example while the motley crowd press in to see and tease. While the bride eats, the more daring will call out "To know whether food is tasty sample it in the mouth, To see if she is ardent measure her by the body".

The bride modestly keeps her eyes downcast during the feast. She eats very little to indicate that she will be cheap to feed during the coming years. The guests with lascivious innuendos and crude raillery do their utmost to cause her to laugh and to answer them, but all they can get is a smile and a blush; not so the bridesmaids who protect her and with sharp tongue reply to her tormentors.

Drinking liquor makes the guests more jovial with some becoming drunk. Other guests are fed in other rooms but as the crowd thins they come into the guest room to join in baiting the bride. The night passes in such revelry, and early before the greyness of dawn, the groom presents gifts to the bridal party who escort the girl back to her parent's home. As the bride leaves she takes a ring off her finger and ties it in a scarf which she places on her seat. It is taken up later and given to the groom who either wears it or places it in a safe place, as he desires.

And where is the groom during the wedding feast? In pursuance of custom he stays as a person ashamed in his room and does not see the bride. He is visited by a few close friends in his hiding place until his escort returns after delivering his bride to her home. Then he is unceremoniously pulled into the banquet room by his male friends who force him to drink the dregs of liquor left in his wife's bowl. If he is at all inclined to drink he is lucky to escape being made drunk in the convivial bachelor party which lasts until after daybreak. Before the affair is over they smear butter on each other's faces and compel one another to eat and drink all of the food and drink that remains.

After the bride is escorted to her home she may stay there for a varying period of time depending upon her age and the desires of her husband. Sometimes it is for some years, if this betrothal-



PLATE 22. Drama of Nangsa. The Lord of Rinang pleads with his wife not to enter a convent and become a nun.



PLATE 23. Drama of Nangsa. Nangsa in her flight from the pursuing Lord of Rinang (in background) is ferried across the river by the boatmen. Then she escapes in her recently acquired nun's costume.



PLATE 24. Drama of Nangsa. The angry Lord of Rinang gathers his troops to assault the monastery which shelters his wife Nangsa. Here they whirl in a dance prior to the advance.

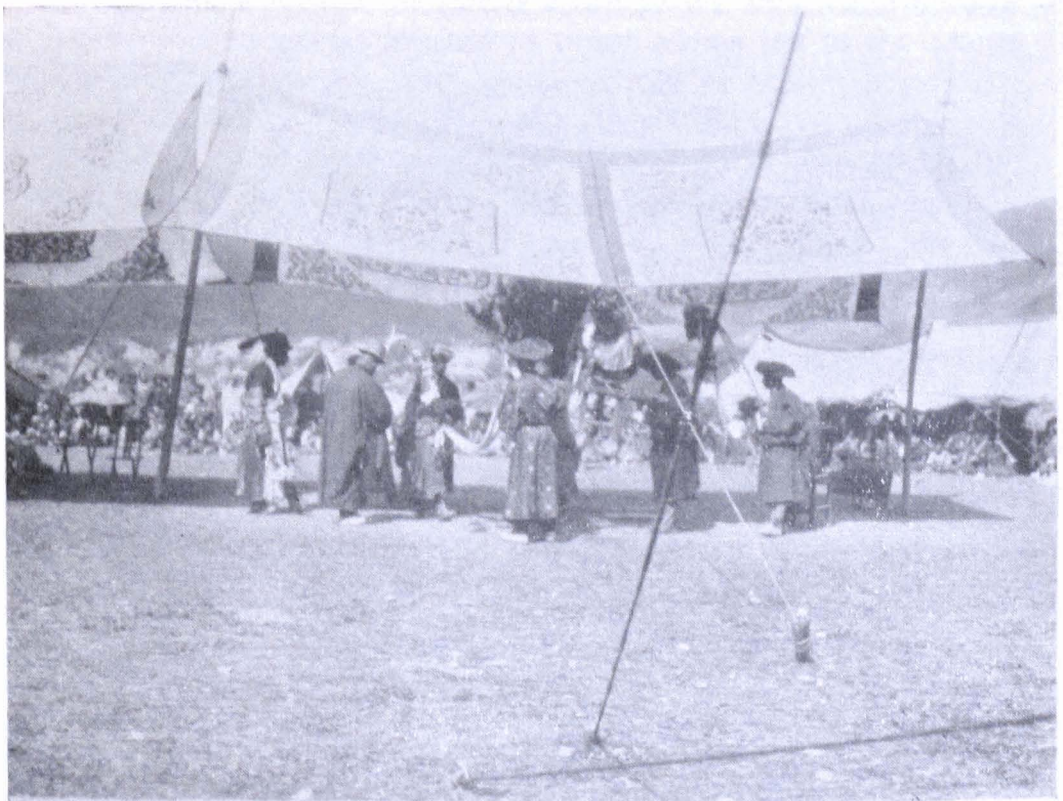


PLATE 25. Drama of Songtsan Gampo. The Chinese Emperor Thang Jhung arrives in a sedan chair to greet the ministers from many countries including the famous Gar from Tibet. Gar is on the extreme left and comes as do the others to seek the hand of the Emperor's daughter for their master.

wedding ceremony has taken place when she is fourteen or fifteen years old, but more often it is only a month or two. An auspicious time, for the final sending after the bride, is selected. There is no ceremony. The groom dispatches the fine clothes which he bought for her by means of his escort who quietly conduct the bride to her husband's home.

When the first child is born to the couple, her parents will present the bride with jewelry, especially earrings; and give to the family of the groom a field, if they are well-to-do. This is part of the agreed dowry and naturally among the poor the ceremony and presents as described above, while similar in details, are commensurate with the economic position of the families involved.

There are many variations in ceremony among different sections and tribes but all are fundamental in the arrangement by parents with dowry for the bride, the element of capture, and the final severance of the bride from her parents to become a part of the husband's family. Farther north in Jyekundo the bride holding a barley-flour offering and the groom grasping a ceremonial banner circle a pot of incense in which is thrown grain and other food. As they circle they mumble prayers with the double significance of a common hearth and religious unity. The ceremony may take place during the daytime but all of the important features involving middlemen, forecasting and feasting still prevail.

In the olden days an arrow adorned with a white scarf was an important variation in the marriage ceremony. When the bride was leaving for her parent's home after the night's ceremony at the house of the groom, a man dressed in white wool or white silk cloth garments and a huge wool hat would be sent upon the roof of the groom's home. Waving the scarfed arrow in the direction of the bride's home he would shout "Yang Sho" or "Come happiness, Come blessings." Ability to see the bride's home was not vital for this calling was to prevent the bride from taking any blessings back with her.

Laymen labelled "Black Heads" because they leave their hair long which is in marked contrast to the shaven bare yellow polls of the priests are not the only ones who marry. Both the Red Hats and the Black Hats marry and raise families without restrictions other than they must leave their families and be celibate while on service at their monasteries. The so-called reform of these sects created the Yellow Hats who distinguished their order from the others by forbidding marriage to the clergy.

However, now and then, a Yellow Hat monk takes a wife and then he must leave his calling, unless he is a man of rank or wealth when he is permitted to escape excommunication. The

escapades of such men are ignored and their wives are merely labelled sweethearts. Even so they receive a sly dig in sayings such as "A parish priest living in the house, Beats the drum with the back of his heel." Such men present problems to the ecclesiastical authorities both here and hereafter. Ge Lama, who was the official but largely non-resident Abbot and incarnation of Atuntze Monastery, openly lived with various wives and had a sweetheart in every town, even if he was a widely travelled man. Because he was a scandal to his immediate lama friends he spent much time in other parts. He died while in his early forties from over-indulgence in Yunnan wine which gave rise to the report that he would not be reincarnated. His rebirth was delayed but eventually was discovered. All of his sweethearts and wives considered it an honour to have lived with him; and his last wife, who was well-to-do, paid his debts. Since many monks do not take their final vows until forty or above, and some never, there is much secret violation of the rules of chastity which they are supposed to have kept from their ordination as acolytes in early youth. Unchaste monks have a high-placed example in the person of the lusty sixth Dalai Lama, who lived around 1700 A.D. Lewd lamas are credited with great sensuality else they would not have renounced their vows, and they have brought out the statement that the fallen priest can pierce a dry skin.

CHAPTER XI

The Land of Medicine

Causes of sickness, diagnosis, remedies, religious exorcism, a healing of the sick ceremony, a special pestilence ceremony, signs of illness in house, superstitions of sickness, exposure of sick, kinds of diseases, the scapegoat, doctors.

"Too much food is poison, Too much talk is alloy."

THE Tibetans consider that sickness may be caused by one of four things; lack of food, lack of proper clothing, struck by a celestial body, or attacked by evil spirits; the last being the root of most diseases. One may not have food with which to combat the wind which constantly arises within the body; for this reason it is common practise to force food upon the patient. They easily see that frostbite or snow blindness can come from lack of proper equipment. Only rarely does lightning or a planet strike a person; so that demons are believed to be at the bottom of most ailments. Because demons are the cause of most diseases and the exorcising of demons is the field of the priesthood, the doctoring of patients has largely fallen to the clergy.

The diagnosis of the Lama-physician is not for the purpose of discovering the cause of the disease but to ascertain its location and how it has affected the body. Two things are universally observed, the pulse and the urine. With the fingers of both hands, one set above the other and the tips of the fingers opposite each other, the monk feels the pulse in both wrist and forearm. They note the pulsations with regard to their variations, their flowing and strength, and the sensations made upon the different finger-tips. The doctor will likewise note the colour of the face, the sweateness of the patient and the condition of the tongue. They ask about the condition of the bowels and various factors relating to the feces. They secure urine in a bowl and stir it to note the effect of the agitation. They note the froth and the shape it assumes, the colour and the consistency.

The lama-doctor will then consult a medical volume which lists four thousand and forty diseases diagnosed and differentiated according to the various symptoms noted and discovered, along the lines just stated, particularly in reference to the pulse which is considered the most important source of symptoms and yet the hardest to correctly diagnose. Many absurd diseases and their symptoms have been devised from the actions of the pulse. Some doctors who have a reputation for skill in urine testing and diagnosis are said to taste it in their examination.

Medicines may be prescribed which will consist of drugs known to them or remedies learned from the Chinese and Indians. Herbs such as rhubarb and aconite; parts of trees and grasses; musk and nutmeg; finely ground up jewels and scrapings from the six medicinal metals of gold, silver, copper, iron, brass and zinc; such things as hairs from a tiger, scorpion legs, refuse from the body of a holy living Buddha and blessed slips of paper-prayers on which a holy priest has spit; all these will be pounded up fine, mixed with barley flour and made into pills which may be coloured red. A large quantity of such ingredients and other material may be brewed into a tea and swallowed by the bowl. Sugar and syrup are often used as vehicles for taking medicine. In certain areas shrewd old people may practise medicine but in most localities it is priests who are the recognized authority, and they are quick to order religious ceremonies to cast out the demon which is causing the illness. The monk may order red rags to be tied around the part of the body in pain as devils causing pain have an aversion to red and will leave the aching part.

Camphor is used for a number of diseases and with charms is a sure cure for smallpox. Some use camphor to reduce fever and treat lung trouble. Others claim that the best method in a smallpox epidemic is to get scrapings from a person sick with the disease and make them into snuff to be inhaled by other members of the family in order to protect them. Sugar is considered efficacious in pneumonia. Naram or quitch grass is useful in diarrhea and as an antidote against poison. Urine is used as a medicine. Animal dung is good for wounds. Musk is rated as a potent remedy for various obscure epidemic diseases and as a base for other cures. Salt is taboo in some diseases. Eggs will not be eaten as the life in the unborn chicken would be destroyed and a sin would be committed. During sickness posture is considered to be important and patients will ask as to which side the right or the left, that they should sleep on.

Tell a woolly, dirt-encrusted nomad to wash his body with soap and water for the itch and one receives a glance of unbelief. One

man protested stoutly against taking off a rabbit skin adhering so tightly to the wound that it was difficult to tell rabbit skin from human; after the wound was opened up and healed he came back with a present of thanks. For an aching tooth a stone of white quartz is heated hot, a few mustard seeds being placed upon the stone. Then the hot stone is held close to the aching tooth causing the worm, which is considered the source of all toothaches, to fall out upon the stone. One can see or feel the hole in the tooth; what else but a worm could bore a hole like that in such a solid material! "Without reality there is no fault" is featured in the axiom that "Without eyes there will be no film defect, Without teeth there will be no decay worm".

Viewing the foreigner the Tibetan cries "Outside man how do you get such a white skin; do you wash in milk and if not let me have the medicine which will make my skin white". Another demands, "Liver is the seat of courage and you can give me some medicine for my liver so I can face my enemies without so much fear".

Knives are warmed in the mouth and then stuck into the painful spot to let out blood. Butter, water and dust may be blown upon a sore with the mouth, and charms recited as a knife is thrust into the wound, or the knife thrust may be omitted. Others use the hot knives solely to cure rheumatism. Fractures are bound up tight and rigid with the aid of sticks on each side of the bone which has elements of sense but pressure and friction break the skin so that the end is usually infection and death. Spitting upon aching parts may be used to kill the pain.

For slight ailments medical priests bring from Lhasa pills made from the excretions of the Dalai Lama. These or other ingredients which have been duly blessed by the Dalai Lama may be swallowed to prevent or cure ailments. Pills containing bits of the very precious jewel Ring Chen Ree Bu are popularly supposed to cure a sickness and to save from Hell. Tablets of fire-scarred ground-up bones of holy priests are highly potent in diseases. Furthermore, the placing of the hands of holy monks upon the head of the sick will cure them. Charms written on paper and rolled into pills, or burnt and the ashes swallowed, are good for fainting and apoplexy. These two misfortunes are considered to be the result of a stroke from the planets, or from heaven; a sort of unseen lightning sent down because of the god's displeasure. In the final analysis all diseases are listed under the heading of misfortune; and in conjunction with loss of wealth, death, and other kinds of disasters are caused by the sins of a previous existence as well as the trans-

gressions of this life; hence there is no escape from a certain amount of calamity.

If the patient has a wild look during his sickness he is not likely to recover. In any event when pills, both native and foreign herbs have failed, when charms have proved useless, the final resort is to religious exorcism, if it has not already been going on in conjunction with the remedies. Medicine is the human means and prayers are the divine instrument for recovery.

Rheumatism or some other obscure disease may be ascribed to the derangement of the wind or what is called "Lung" which is said to be one of the humours of the body. The Tibetans also discovered that certain actions bring on disease such as Gonorrhoea but the cure they use, the drinking of whiskey, sometimes almost kills the afflicted. Headache and neuralgia are very common which is indicated by black cloth lama-blest patches worn upon the temples. If one is wealthy one may be able to buy the marvellous curing properties of the rare concretions or stone pills resembling gall stones found in elephants. The healing of an illness may be aided by the "freeing of life"; in this rite an animal, preferably a sheep is bought from the butcher above the market price, a red tassel inserted in a pierced ear and the beast turned loose to die of old age; whosoever kills such an animal commits a great sin.

The number of priests called in naturally depends upon the seriousness of the ailment and upon the wealth of the family, varying from one lama to the whole monastic force. This is for an ordinary demon-expelling disease ceremony. If these fail and the person can afford it, a huge religious rite is organized which will cost as much as a year's wages for a labourer, or more. If one is too poor for this then he will have to die, as lama doctors do not often give medical services free. Priests who are relatives and friends will help out gratis. The dying whose disease is caused by a demon are truly between the devil and the deep sea for corpses are usually thrown in the river. However, the desire for life is so powerful and the belief in the power of the monks to cast out the disease-demon is so strong that the last bit of property may be given to be healed.

When an illness attacks a member of the family, divination may be resorted to, and if the prognosis is bad, priests are summoned at once. Upon their arrival at the home the monks read certain prescribed texts, tinkle bells, shake the thunderbolt, make offerings and execute the regulation movements of the fingers with the object of drawing out the disease demon from the body of the afflicted. During the ceremony a peculiar-shaped gold jar of life is placed upon the person's head three times, while the lama chants

a prayer. This is called power consecration and is supposed to give the sick the necessary strength to overcome the working of the disease-demon.

Red-robed priests of the Sakya sect at Jyekundo held a service in a room for a man far advanced in the last stages of tuberculosis. This ceremony will illustrate the type of the usual procedure in all sects although possibly not as elaborate as at times as this man was poor and could not afford a large number of priests. On the first day a number of clay cones composed of moistened yellow clay were set in shallow saucers with loose barley grains arranged around them. Then dorma or cone-shaped offerings were moulded of ground parched barley flour, adorned with round dabs of butter and placed before the four priests who started chanting. After a time the sick man was summoned and during the continuation of the chanting his head was touched with a dorje or thunderbolt (an article made of brass and shaped like a miniature dumb-bell). Pills that had been blest were fed to him. Holy water from a teapot, with a peacock feather in it, was first sprinkled and then poured upon his head. A bell was rung at intervals and power was given to him to recover. The second day was a repetition of the first except in addition he was compelled to eat some of the hard barley grains, and rice grains were sown in his hair. He declared on the third day that he was no better.

The final desperate ceremony for casting out the disease-demon was then undertaken. The four priests lit over a hundred butter lamps and mumbled a long chant. An image of a man six or seven inches high was made which was dressed in brightly coloured cloth. The sick man sat with them and the disease-demon was enticed into the image. When the prayers and the bell ringing reached crescendo the scapegoat image was taken out and cast into a field. Dogs started to eat the image but a beggar beat them off and ate the image himself. He was in such a miserable state that one more demon or disease would make little difference.

The miniature substitute image referred to above was dressed in rags taken from clothing which had been worn by the sick man while things which he had used such as money, bowl, food, etc., were placed before the figure so as to fool the disease-demon into entering it. Sometimes only a drawing of the sick person is used. When it is cast away the fake image is placed in a circle of willow branches stuck in the ground (undoubtedly to represent a dwelling) and the whole then abandoned with a fearful blare of trumpets and the grumbling of prayers. It is a ransom to the Lord of the Dead for the soul of the afflicted.

Sometimes in the onset of the disease several hundred offerings of various shapes are made; some are carried to friends and neighbours to eat while others are placed before the household gods and then eaten by the family. This is in the nature of a propitiation offering to the spirits of the disease. In other ceremonies of this nature made to the flesh-eating blood-drinking demons or "Drah Bee Lha" red wooden slivers representing flesh and blood are attached to the outside of the dorma offerings. This red wood is produced by thrusting a splinter of the red demon tree known as "Dre Mar" into butter and boiling until the wood turns a red colour. However, to mild deities white offerings are made, either out of pure butter or butter smeared over tsamba, to secure their help and co-operation. There are also black and yellow offerings for special purposes. Black offerings are for ghosts and yellow for certain other spirits not covered by the other three colours. Sometimes yellow wood is piled up in two crossed-triangles and the offerings burned inside of this form.

A little used special ceremony is held at the monastery when a disaster such as a pestilence has been ravaging the country (Illus. No. 16). After a long service in the temple followed by a series of blasts upon the great copper trumpets, the red-robed yellow-hatted lamas burst out, headed by the black-hatted chief wizard whose eyes are shaded by black tassels hanging down from the front of his hat. The chief wizard carries a dorge (symbolic thunderbolt element of power) in his right hand. The other monks carry symbolic daggers or "Purba" to stab or coerce demons. Both a huge dorma and a small one are brought out and placed upon benches in the outer courtyard. With the lamas forming a semicircle around the head exorcist in this outer court, there is prolonged groaning chants, the muttering of charms, blowing of trumpets and the clanging of cymbals. At the end "Seh Shem", an offering of tea or liquor, is poured out.

Now at this moment there appears upon the steps of the temple a handsome youth in regal gowns who for the time being receives the incarnation of the guardian deity of this area, known as "Trin Leh Gye Bo". The youth sitting upon a stool acts as one possessed of a demon, quivering and trembling, swaying back and forth, violently bowing and staring with fixed eyes. He is given drink but takes little. Handfuls of grain are thrown into his face which becomes puffy and red. Clouds of incense are also blown into his face. When he seems fully possessed with the spirit he is dragged stumbling and reeling a few steps farther and again seated with a continuation of the rocking back and forth, and the jerking of limbs. Thus advancing by short spurts and displaying strange

demoniac antics each time when seated upon the stool, the youth passes through the courtyard. While monks carry the dormas this incarnated youth is escorted by other lamas to an open spot just outside the western monastic gate. Here the entire assemblage with the standardized incantations and music cast the dormas into a fire where it is seized and torn to bits by the lay bystanders. The priests now retire, with the youth seemingly exhausted, back to the courtyard where a painting of the guardian deity is hung. Offerings and prayers follow with a final retirement into the temple where the lamas are served with hot buttered tea and tsamba.

One can know when there is serious sickness in a home by seeing three or four stones about six inches in diameter, placed one on top of the other besides a pile of ashes, just outside the outer doorway. To disregard this warning and enter such a home brings down the curses and harsh treatment of the family upon the intruder since it is believed one may bring in other evil spirits which may cause the sick to become more seriously ill than before. For one to throw down these stones, unless the patient is well or dead, is also liable to cause the sick to become worse or die.

It is affirmed that a violent attack of illness foretells the arrival of a visitor and one educated Tibetan claimed this had happened in two instances, once for himself and once for his father. Strangers visiting in a home where one is slightly ill may cause the sickness to become serious. Harelips or other deformities are considered the result of sin such as speaking evil of one's friends by the parents of the harelip child. Every household keeps on hand cedar branches, a dorma of barley which has been offered up for a year before idols, priests hair, and bits of priestly clothing which have been consecrated; these are burned in serious illness and the sick are caused to smell of the odour. The ashes are then placed outside the door as mentioned in the previous paragraph and are supposed to imply that the evil disease-demon has been expelled. In certain diseases the sick are kept awake by any means during the daytime lest the disease-demon take their life when they are asleep.

Sickness is often harshly treated. If there is an epidemic of disease the sick may be thrust out upon the mountain with only a little food and drink; and when this is exhausted they die. Sometimes they are placed in a sheltered spot and food thrown to them from a distance by the terror-stricken relatives. Exposure of the old when sick is more common among the poor nomads who have difficulty caring for the helpless aged. Less rarely will an unwanted infant be exposed in a cave. Cold and wolves soon end the suffer-

ings of those exposed. Exposure is not considered the committing of a sin as the exposed died of themselves.

The survival of the fittest have produced a robust race of Tibetans. Illness is often the result of filth, and the diseases which do occur are usually those which require healthful surroundings and careful nursing for the healing of the patient. Nursing is an art they have not yet discovered while ignorance and poverty forestall cleanliness. The intense cold of winter and the coolness of summer combined with scant population and isolation retard the spread of disease. Relapsing fever did not reach some villages, distant a few days journey, for two or three years after its appearance at Batang in 1923.

In 1921 measles killed half of the small children in Batang. Smallpox is a decimating disease and its scars are commonly seen. Before vaccination was proved by the results of foreign medical practise the sick and the well would eat together under the belief that such contact would lessen the severity of the attack if one were stricken. Scabs from the sick used to be thrust up the nostril of the well as a preventative. Another disease, that of Malaria, weakens thousands who succumb more easily to other illnesses. Relapsing fever killed its hundreds unless within reach of the foreign remedy of Neosalvarsan. Typhoid fever is almost unknown and dysentery exists but is not common in the lower river valleys. Cholera from China does not advance above six thousand feet being stopped there as if by a stone-wall.

Pneumonia (although rare) because of the high altitude with its lack of oxygen and from improper nursing, is invariably fatal. Tuberculosis aided by filth and inadequate diet but retarded by the climate and open-air life of the people is quite common. Everyone has a cold when the manure is carried out of the stable once a year since the stable is usually the first floor of every home. Few Tibetans have escaped attacks of worms which cause such pain that the patient bends double in agony; these are white intestinal worms about six inches long and even children have harboured thirty or more of these creatures. Worms is occasionally a cause of death either by vomiting and strangulation or by perforation of the bowel.

Wounds are easily infected. For this reason dog bites are greatly feared. When feuds exist knives are sunk in the ground of trails, with a half inch sticking up, which is ideal for piercing through the soft-soled boots when trod upon. The slight wounds which result frequently cause death because of tetanus infection. It is said that the flesh as well as the soup of a black chicken are very potent in

the healing of wounds. Soaking the wound in animal dung is also tried.

Afflictions of the skin are legion ranging from itch to sore eyes. Ringworm is common caused by sleeping with stock to guard them or to keep warm. All kinds of deformities abound but such afflicted are neglected in their infancy and usually die while young. Goitres big as muskmelons are very common in some areas especially in the red clay and shale regions adjoining the Mekong river but seem to be less common in the limestone areas of the Yangtze. Apoplexy afflicts many after forty-five years of age; the attacks may be averted by the wearing of the nine-lined onyx stone which wards off the wrath of heaven or "Nam Dree". The wearing of precious stones with eyes in them will protect against both sun-stroke and apoplexy.

Sexual diseases are more prevalent in the cities than in the country but probably not more common than in many other lands. A Tibetan teacher carefully estimated that six out of ten men had a venereal disease at some time in their life. Women must also frequently be infected for it is a common saying that girls who attain puberty without carnal relations ought to be beaten by the headman. Again, isolation and climate retard the spread of these diseases. Most of these cases have been brought in or are associated with Chinese soldiers; the word for "Chinese" being part of the name given to venereal diseases.

Since the Tibetan does not understand the effect of high altitudes, the exhaustion and suffocation caused by high passes is believed due to poisonous vapours. Likewise, disease is often attributed to the ghost of a dead person whose body has not been properly disposed of and for whom the proper rites were not chanted. One of our teachers had a brother who was seized by the ghost of a chum recently killed by robbers when upon a trading mission. The seizure made the man temporarily insane and he ran amuck, striking a priest from the robber country, in the thigh with a knife.

In times of epidemics when large numbers of people are dying, such as in the relapsing fever epidemic in Batang during 1924, strenuous measures are undertaken. Power granting ceremonies are held during which sips of liquid made of medicines imported from Lhasa will be given to the people as a protection against the pestilence; of course only to those who have made a substantial gift to the priesthood. If this fails the lamas and people seek a scapegoat to carry away the disease. This is not easy but finally some beggar or a destitute individual is found who, partly through pressure and partly through the rewards given, consents to exile

himself. He thinks that "It is better to be a beggar for three years than to die".

The scape goat (in this case a man about thirty-five years of age) is dressed in the clothing and equipment given to him by persons apprehensive of taking the disease. Practically everyone else gives something to him either money or an article of use, so as to have a part in his taking the feared illness to some other place. One presents a pair of boots, another a new cloak, and in a short time he has a new outfit such as he never had before. It is not all finery for he must wear a black four-sided paper-made hat which has an eye painted on each side and a black flag with a white eye centre is elevated from the middle of the hat. He must also wear (he can discard such parts later) a black goatskin neckband. One side of his face is whitewashed and the other side blackened with charcoal.

He is taken to the monastery where he casts dice with the chief Tantrik or exorcist priest dressed in black cape and hat. During the throwing of the dice the other lamas go through the elaborate disease-demon casting-out ceremony with the usual monotonous chant and the blare of many instruments. In this case the demon is not induced to go into the dorma offering nor a fake image but to enter the body of the human scapegoat.

In the dice-throwing contest the odds are against him for the dice are loaded. The victim has just one dice which is black and with just one dot on each side. The Tantrik priest has a white dice with six spots on each side. The lama must always win. The dice are large about two inches in diameter made of wheat flour and the black one is coloured with the soot from pine knots. The dice are cast upon a black yak skin. After his inevitable defeat the scapegoat is disconsolate and ashamed as he has promised to depart if defeated in the dice game. He turns his back to the victor and while he sits with saddened countenance the trumpets blare louder than ever, the people shout, swords are waved in the air; and guns are fired. The demon of disease has entered the body of the victim and he must depart.

For this occasion the people are dressed in the old style of the good old days. They stage a dance to attract other demons who may be in the vicinity and these demons will be forced by the exorcising power of the lamaistic ceremony to escort their fellow demon now lodged in the body of the human scapegoat.

Amid great excitement the scapegoat is escorted out of the city on foot and chased to his donkey tied some distance away. He hastily mounts the donkey and rides off. The people hurl dust after him as he is now considered a devil. Outside the city wall the lamas throw toward the retiring demon-man, but into a prepared

fire, nine barley dorma pyramid offerings for the purpose of preventing the return of the disease-demon and any other devils who may be escorting him.

As long as the victim wears the scapegoat costume he is recognized and each place gives him money and food to depart to another place. Sooner or later he tires of his role and the abuse which is heaped upon him for he must live out in the open and be friendless. He discards his outfit and returns to normal life again. He must stay away from the locality which first cast him out for three years; if he should return within that time he is violently expelled. After three years he may quietly return in an ordinary costume.

The scapegoat expelled in August 1924 from Batang, received over a hundred rupees in money (six months wages for a labourer) besides his donkey and clothing. He went south to Tsakalo, seven days' journey away; but the relapsing fever continued to assail the people of Batang and gradually spread to outlying districts including Tsakalo. The scapegoat in the course of his wanderings may die from anxiety and it is somewhat hoped that he will since it forecasts that the ceremony is more effective but no means are taken to hasten his death since the demon of disease is supposed to have been taken away in any event.

In the treatment of diseases the monk-doctors are divided into three classes; the first class physician heals at once, the second class will cure in three months but if a third class doctor treats one, a hundred other diseases will appear. This saying came into being when the author was complimented upon his medical skill after a successful treatment. He apologetically replied that he was only a third class doctor. The dismay of the patient so alarmed him that he sought the cause and was given the proverb above by one of his men. The author never posed as a third class doctor thereafter but let his deeds speak for themselves.

CHAPTER XII

The Kingdom of the Dead

Old age, significance of death, after death, the soul placard, corpse disposal, throwing into the river, burial, burning, feeding the vultures, mummies, other after death ritual, violent deaths, funeral feasts, death customs and beliefs.

*“Alive, one's thoughts are white,
When dead, one's bones are white.”*

“As the Lotus flower in the water, knows not the cause of its wavering, so man knows not his destiny;” hence the Tibetan, after the age of forty-five, knows that his life will not last much longer and begins to think of his next existence. He places a rosary upon his right wrist, walks with solemn and thoughtful mien, and when one passes him the sound of monotonous mumbling is heard. He is ejaculating the sacred six-letter formula “Om Mani Padme Hum”. From now on he is seen circling prayer stone piles in his spare moments. He gives up the pleasures of war and the chase. He gradually ceases to attend harvest festivals and goes more and more into retirement. He ceases killing flies and fleas. He observes studiously all fast days, meditating upon the sins of his youth, prays for salvation and deliverance from the wheel of life, and as the years roll by turns over the direction of all his worldly affairs to his children. Slowly, inexorably he becomes a hermit in the midst of ceaseless activity.

A common epithet for persons grown old is one of contempt, “You miserable antique.” This, of course, is usually applied to old beggars whose life is hard indeed. An old shepherd, when too feeble to watch the flocks upon the hillside, was forced to beg. Rendered more feeble by poor food he soon became too sick to make his daily rounds and slowly starved to death. He probably often bitterly repeated in those last few months the familiar saying, “When the three, old men, old dogs, old horses, cannot do any work, others are not pleased.” The old shepherd knew that he was but little better treated than the old among poverty-stricken

nomads, who, when no longer able to feed their aged parents, take them out upon the mountainside, deposit some food beside them and abandon them for ever. If the family is of sufficient means the parents can spend their final years in prayer and meditation in a room of the home. Old people with sound teeth and black hair are considered omens of ill-luck as ordinarily teeth decay and the hair turns grey.

Those who survive to around eighty years of age are thrown into a new cycle of time as the regular cycle is sixty years; such people soon attain a reputation of being older than they actually are. This is invariably the case if the aged retire into a hermitage, into a cave or into a small secluded house by the wayside. Few persons can calculate and these aged, having lost account of time, and to gain food or notoriety, let the impression of their great age be run into fabulous years. These aged actually remember only their birth-animal year. One old lady, living in a hut near a stone-prayer pile, was reputed to be a hundred and forty some years of age. She was said to have the power to ride through the air at night and to have other faculties of a witch. To those able to calculate her birth year properly she was past eighty and her figure verified her age.

The average length of life is very low and few live beyond sixty. Men live not only an active life but feuds and wars take their toll. Medical treatment of a modern type is unknown and comforts are impossible, except for the very few wealthy. Most of those people past seventy are rich women. Infant mortality is so high that the average length of life must be under thirty years or about the same as other Oriental people. With such shortness of life it is evident why those around forty-five think they are old and begin to prepare for the grave. From this age upward the Tibetan fully realizes his own adage that "The lives of all living beings, Is like unto bubbles of water".

To the Tibetan, death viewed dispassionately, is a necessary process that bridges the transference of the soul from a worn-out vehicle to a new one, most aptly illustrated when aged Father Time at the New Year hands his sickle to a rosy bright-eyed youngster. Death is a break or an obstruction in the continued existence of the soul which must wander in the Bardo (a vague region) for an indefinite period before being reborn in the body of a new being which may be human, animal, insect, god, or demon. The form which it will assume depends upon the previous Karma, or balance of deeds and misdeeds through the ages, which prevail at the time of death and re-birth.

The lama is the most important functionary in sickness and death. In sickness he is already performing the ceremony to cure the patient, and if hope of recovery is gone or the patient dies suddenly, the priest immediately switches over into the ritual for the dead. In this rite the monk sets into motion the elaborate ceremonies to entice the soul of the deceased from the body, plucking out a hair to let out the soul. Immediately after death the priests are asked to pray for the deceased without charge but following this prayer the continuance of ritual depends upon the gifts of the family. Among the poor, on the third day is held the soul-placard ceremony and this is burnt in the evening. The rich have the soul-placard rite on the seventh day and every seventh day this is repeated six more times which requires forty-nine days for completion. People of more moderate means will have a shortened service, perhaps only two, the last being on the fourteenth day. The chanting text will be changed and regulated according to the length of the ceremonies.

The object of the after-death ceremonies is to erase the sins of the deceased and to direct the soul out of the body through the dark regions of Bardo, or the middle regions, into being reborn as a man or as a god rather than in the lower form. To insure this transfer the name of the deceased is written upon a placard or Gyang—an umbrella-figured shield with charm words and topped by a ceremonial scarf. The first rites are to entice the soul to leave the body and enter the placard. During the chanting the son of the deceased holds the placard in his hand and while gazing at it prostrates himself before it. This ceremony lasts about half an hour. Food of the kind which the deceased was accustomed to eat is presented to the placard and at the end of the ritual the food is taken out and burned. If there is more than one ceremony the placard is kept to the last ritual, being used in the same manner every seven days, but at the last ceremony this placard is burnt with the food and the ashes cast upon water. If the placard were left in the house the ghost soul of the dead would haunt the home. Having been enticed into the placard, this new abode must be destroyed to set the soul free. For women the ceremonial interval is six days.

The number of lamas in such a ceremony will depend upon the wealth of the family and the tendency is to spend more than the family can afford. The priests of a large monastery will receive a day's wages from a wealthy man to perform rites for the day. In full regalia the whole monastic form will exorcise in unison for the rich whereas the very poor may have to be content with the family monk aided by two friends who will receive little more than



PLATE 26. Drama of King Songtsan Gampo. The Tibetan Minister Gar consults an astrologer regarding recognition of the Chinese Princess among the three hundred maidens. Gar is in disguise.



PLATE 27. Drama of King Songtsan Gampo. The Minister Gar having chosen the Chinese Princess out of three hundred maidens was performed awarded the Princess to be wife of King Songtsan Gampo. He prepares to begin the long journey in the sedan chair in the left background to Tibet.



PLATE 28. The New Year Festival at Batang. The band consists of two long copper horns and two musette oboes. These "devil dances" take place at the big monastery about a quarter of a mile west of Batang.



PLATE 29. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Chojeh or "Big Devil" who is the Lord of the Dead comes out with a retinue of eleven "demons" or followers to give a stately dance.

their food. The more elaborate the rites the greater the prospect for a good rebirth.

As the corpse is of no use after the soul has departed and to insure that the soul will not be able to return to its old abode, the body is usually rapidly destroyed. Some contend that the soul will not be reborn into a new body until the old has been disposed of in some way. The body is to be returned to the elements — earth, air, water, wood, and fire; and it should be completely disintegrated. The soul may return to the home after wandering around, on the third day, the seventh day and every seventh day until the forty-ninth. The soul-placard is for the residence of the soul until burnt which may not be until the forty-ninth day. On the third day after death, the rich will contribute two hundred to two thousand rupees for the entire monastic force to perform a religious service.

In most cases the corpse is disposed of within a few hours. When the body has been removed the room is swept and washed. Then, upon the bed is placed four things—a butter lamp, a burden carrying pack saddle, a book (the Jedong), and the Tsa-tsa (conical figures of clay). With the disposal of the corpse, regardless of the method employed, a prayer flag of the six letter formula (Om Mani Padme Hum) is erected to say continuous pleas for the dead with every breath of the wind.

An old astrologer, usually not a priest, forecasts the correct hour for the disposal of the body which may be one of five methods; throwing into a river, burial, burning, feeding to vultures, and converting into a mummy.

If the family is a poor one and a large river is nearby the favourite method is to throw the body into that stream. A destitute man is hired, or a friend if no one else is available to carry the corpse, which is thrown in at night more often than daytime, as the astrologer seeks such a time so the sky will not behold it. The naked body is tied together with the knees drawn up under the chin in a sitting position. After placing it in a huge basket, a cloak is cast upon the whole load and the bearer hoists the burden upon his back. Trudging along slowly in the inky darkness he arrives, in time, at the edge of the swirling river. The remains is tumbled out upon the ground. If it is to be hacked up a wooden stick shaped like a cross is used to mark it and then the pieces are cut off with a sword and thrown into the river. If the body is to go in as a unit, the hair only is unbraided, and the nude corpse is pushed into the rushing waters. Braided hair might obstruct the release of the soul from the body. The large carp of the rivers assisted by the pounding rapids soon reduce the body to fragments of bone

which settle in quiet waters where one may see them upon a clear day.

Corpse-bearers retain the ordinary clothing of the deceased as their reward which may be supplemented by coins, food, and all of the whiskey which they can drink. The other clothing and the personal belongings used constantly as bowl, jewellery and other accessories, especially if the deceased was rich, are given to the monastery or high priest who are permitted to sell them for the benefit of the clergy; if the family sold them it would be considered an unclean and unsuitable act. Naturally this does not embrace heirlooms of silk dresses and jewellery which are handed down from generation to generation.

Disposing of the corpse by burial or burning is more costly, especially burning because of the priestly ceremonies attendant upon these methods, and the fuel required. The body may be buried permanently but more often it is put under ground for the purpose of later burning it, after it has dried out and an auspicious time for cremation has been found as determined by an astrologer-priest. Our wealthy neighbour saved the body of her father for twenty years, burying it in the ground floor of her home until her mother had passed away. The mother was buried only a few months, to reduce the fluid of her body, when the two corpses were exhumed together.

When buried the old astrologer usually a layman selects the spot. The corpse is roped into a sitting position with the knees under the chin and the arms encircling the forelegs. Thus trussed the body is wrapped in an old cloak and deposited sitting into a shallow hole which is topped by a chorden-shaped mound. Some consider that burial is an enormous sin because it produces thousands of worms which, after feeding upon the corpse, die afterwards from lack of food. However, feeding the body to birds or fishes is solely a work of merit.

The time of burning and the place are selected by the astrologer. Sometimes the ceremony is near the home, sometimes far out upon the hillside within a wooded vale. The burning of our neighbour's parents who had been exhumed from their stable-grounds within their home took place in a field beside their house. On the proper day at the auspicious hour two piles of crossed cordwood were built and the bones encased within them. The body of the father was quite a small bunch of shrivelled bones and hence did not require as large a mass of wood as for the mother. Two tents for ten lamas were erected to the south of the pyre some fifty feet away. Here the monks grumbled out rolls of sonorous phrases while ringing hand-bells and shaking brass thunder-bolts. Now

and then some would pound drums or blow shrill, blaring thigh-bone trumpets. From time to time bowls of grain or liquids would be taken from the hands of the leading priests by orderlies and thrown upon the burning pyres which had been fired at the beginning of the ceremony. Juniper branches were hurled upon the corpses. Butter-barley dorma or offerings, which had been resting upon a table between the priests and the pyres, were added to the flames after the proper incantations. With such fuel the fire burned with intense heat so that attendants had difficulty approaching close enough to hurl the grain upon the pyres. The lamaistic ritual continued until the wood was consumed, when the ashes were searched for remnants of bones by the relatives. Some bones were found and they were ground up into meal and then they would be mixed either with barley to be fed to animals or with clay to be moulded into cone-shaped figures to be placed in chordens (Illus. No. 43). However, at other times when mixed with finely ground grain it is poured into a bowl of water. This bowl is diluted with many bowls of water from a river and cast into it until all is carried away.

When there is no large river or lake nearby, then the corpses of the great majority are fed to the vultures. The inhabitants of a village will use a common feeding ground and this place becomes the resort of huge grey vultures whose bare heads and greasy hooked beaks are grewsome sights. It is amazing how quickly they detect the approach of another feast.

No stigma is attached to the bearers of corpses in most places although they are of the poorest class as the contact with the dead is considered filthy. In small villages and in the country districts there are no set class of corpse-bearers so that friends and relatives perform this service. In isolated districts with little population the body may merely be exposed upon the hillside where vultures, crows, and after nightfall, wolves dismember the remains. This is not a very effective method and much time is required for the obliteration of the body.

Generally the body is tightly tied between two stakes set well apart. After marking the body by a criss-crossed stick the body-bearers cut out chunks of flesh with heavy knives. The bones are hacked apart and broken with axes. Bones are also smashed between stones but inevitably parts are left which are carefully gathered. These remnants may be burnt nearby or pounded finely, mixed with flour and then fed to the birds.

The dismembering grounds are usually distinctly marked yet may be nothing but a bare grassy plot with the proper stakes and stones. The most elaborate one seen was near Gartok in Mark-

ham. Here was a box-like shrine in whose recess was the figures of the horse-headed deity Da Dreen (Damdrin) whose neighing is supposed to frighten away the enemies of Buddhism and its adherents. Besides the shrine were two prayer poles adorned with prayer rags and two stone tablets with lamaistic prayers upon them. In front of the idol were two stakes, about seven feet apart, with short ropes attached to them for the purpose of stretching tautly a corpse when placed upon the flat stones which formed a pavement between the two stakes. Before the idol was a pot with incense sticks and here large bone fragments not eaten by the vultures were burned.

In this same province another corpse feeding ground was identified only by the two prayer-flag poles with the letters "Om Mani Padme Hum" cut in huge letters on the grassy hillside turf. Near a third village were two stone altars with a number of stone-markers. These stone-markers carved with prayers were about a foot square and two inches thick. Several of each were thrust into the ground in a small circle about four feet in diameter, each circle indicating a dead person. There were not less than a hundred and fifty of these enclosures and some of them had fragments of bones inside, fragments remaining from the dismemberment of the body. Others with ashes and bits of charred wood mixed with the bone fragments indicated that there had been burning of the bone portions which had remained after the vultures were fed. (Illus. No. 17). A fourth area in the Anyoh valley near Tachienlu, called locally a Da Joh had a group of poles stuck in the ground in the shape of a triangle. From the tips waved wind-horse flags as if radiantly praying for the souls of the deceased.

Mummifying is the rarest method of corpse disposal as it is restricted to Living Buddhas and Saints. When these men are righteous they may be mummified but otherwise they are cremated after death. One incarnation Ge Lama who died from the effects of drink and who had been a great lover of women was cremated in a kiln with an elaborate ceremony shortly after death. The kiln was erected within the monastic walls in a large courtyard. It was built of clay in the shape of a furnace but with doors on each side facing the four directions of the universe. The corpse was placed inside with wood piled around it and the confined fire created terrific heat. The ritual was similar to the one previously described when participated in by the entire monastic force. Ge Lama's remaining ashes were encased in a small chorden, which was placed within the temple where the pious who did not know him would fall down and worship.

The dead bodies of righteous incarnations and of very holy lamas need not be purified by fire but will be moulded directly into idols. A holy monk died at Yen Gin, six days south of Batang. His corpse was given very costly treatment. It was salted and dried out, the face rounded with mud and gilded, and finally wrapped in costly silks. Bound into a sitting position and accompanied by a retinue the remains of the saint were carried in a sedan chair to Batang where crowds of people and a great concourse of lamas escorted the procession to the monastery. In the monastery a chorden (Illus. No. 43) of clay and wood was built around the body with the face exposed behind a piece of glass. After gilding the chorden in copper and gold it was placed upon a dais in a corner with other idol figures. His fame as a deity will grow with the years and possibly miracles will be worked before his shrine.

When a saint is cremated his body remnants are mixed with clay, shaped into an idol and placed in a temple. At other times the last fragments may be moulded into small human figures and used in charm boxes as a protection against disease, devils and death; such figures may even be used in the charm boxes carried for the warding off of hostile bullets.

When the initial death ceremonies have been finished they may be repeated for three years, each year upon the death anniversary, but without a soul placard. After this no more ritual is considered necessary as the soul is supposed either to have entered paradise or been reborn. An old astrologer, usually a layman for this time, is called in and he inquires about the deceased's tutelary deity and his birth-god. By a book which has each year allied with these factors and set forth in order, he is able to indicate where the rebirth will take place and what form the rebirth will be. This old astrologer makes a picture or a clay idol of the dead and this is carefully guarded in the home or in the monastery with which the family is connected.

The ghosts of suicides are supposed to haunt people at night for which special rites are needed as is also necessary for men who are killed by violence. Special prayer-poles swathed in prayer-flags are placed at the spot where men are killed by robbers to guard passing travellers from harm and to appease the spirits of the slain who may still be in the vicinity. A member of a magistrate's escort was murdered by robbers six miles east of Batang in 1927. It was soon noised abroad that his widow was a demon and she was thereafter avoided. He was her third husband who had died a violent death and she was looked upon as a man-killer. A woman who has lost two or three husbands, especially if under unnatural cir-

cumstances, has a difficult time marrying again because of this belief. She is called a Da Zen or one who has eaten him.

Funeral ceremonies are simple and the expense small when the deceased is a child or poor in goods but among those who have a little property and for those still higher in the financial scale there is a tendency to impoverishment. Friends come and call on the family of the dead to leave gifts according to their rank and means. This at best will care for only a part of the funeral costs. The proverb "On the day of the father's death, One's belly is filled as it has never been filled" shows how much goes into the funeral feast given to all who have brought gifts. This feast follows the disposal of the corpse, no matter what the method. The gift bringers, however small their gift, must be invited and at the tables are seated according to their rank.

On the death of a near relative the survivors neither cut their hair nor wash their faces for a certain period of time depending upon the nearness of the relationship and the grief of the mourners. No works for the dead or even the living will be undertaken at the time of the new moon called the Da Noh or Black Moon as such may lead to disaster.

When a person at Batang dies at the time of the buckwheat seeding in midsummer and on until the time of harvest he is buried in the basement of the home until gathering of the crop has been completed. The heavens must not see the corpse lest the spirits be angered and send an early frost, or hail to destroy the ripening crop. About 1924 frost killed the ripening buckwheat because a man died suddenly while crossing a bridge leaving his body exposed unwittingly to the sky. If a corpse must be moved into the open the danger may be overcome by placing grain on the coffin or an iron kettle is laid upon the lid.

A farmer is careful not to leave one irrigation plot of a field unseeded lest this oversight cause the death of a member of the family. The father of our school janitor died the year one plot of their field was accidentally left unsown.

If people talk much about a person whether that conversation be good or evil, that one will perish. Sleeplessness is also a bad sign. A member of the missionary staff was troubled with insomnia and his death soon afterward corroborated the truth of this omen.

Sometimes small, hard, glittering particles are found in the ashes of certain, but not all holy priests. If a sick person before dying eats one of these pellets, called Ringseh or Pehdung, he will not go to Hell. Such a pellet is often kept in a charm box to divert bullets from the wearer.

All Tibetans desire to pass on under favourable conditions such as in attitudes of prayer or at peace with the world lest a final sin be the deciding factor in the type of their forthcoming rebirth. Hence, "At the point of leaving, quarrel not with mother, At the point of death, eat not the flesh of yak".

CHAPTER XIII

Playing inside a Wall of Glaciers

Pleasure, holidays, the fourth months, fasting, drinking, games, archery, horse-racing, dancing, musical instruments, games of children, picnics, Tsongkhapa's Festival, painting houses.

*"To know whether food is tasty, sample it in the mouth,
To see if she is charming, measure her by the body."*

LIKE every land, holidays for the Tibetan bring the greatest concentrations of pleasure but unlike many countries, all holidays, if not directly religious, have pleasing of the spirits as an indirect background and even the simplest picnicking is shrouded with taboos and inhibitions. Nevertheless the sin-bound people and the merit-seeking priests, rich and poor, young and old forget the terrific hardships of the struggle for existence and the seeking of release from the circle of desire and abandon themselves to the pleasures of the flesh for a season. There are a scant few who have "seen it all" or have reached the vows of strictest abstinence-period but others, unable to secure full enjoyment because of poverty or health, will at least feast their eyes.

Holidays are not numerous. Life is hard and poverty so general that there are not the funds to indulge. The holidays are wisely grouped in accordance with the cycles of nature. The heralding of spring at the beginning of the New Year and the autumn thanksgiving for the harvest in the fall are the two principal festivals. The birth and death of Gautama Buddha and the anniversary of the death of Tsongkhapa have created the two minor holiday occasions.

The two major festivals are great enough to demand detailed treatment so that they will be discussed in the next three chapters but the two minor ones will be described here. The world-renouncing Gautama little knew that he would assume divinity and be worshipped with special ceremonies, else he might have arranged his three chief events in separate months; for his anniversaries are crowded into the fourth Tibetan month in which he was born, renounced the world and died. This month, which will occur

about May of the foreign calendar, is the time to ransom life. Animals that cost little are saved, as a life is a life, and the merit is the same; which makes birds, fish, sheep and goats the preferred stock. Small fish are bought (they are caught for such sales) and put back into the river. Roosters are sent to the chief priest who lets them loose in the monastic grounds where their bright red and white feathers are wasted on other males until they die in undesired bachelorhood. Goats and sheep have their ears punctured, with bright-coloured thread or cloth tied in the holes that all may know that their life has been redeemed. However, since these animals are sent out to browse upon the hillsides with the regular flocks, their protective rags are soon torn off or worn loose with the healing of the punctures, so that sooner or later they run the same risk again. At least they never seem to die of old age.

One sin committed in the fourth month is equivalent to a hundred thousand sins in any other month. Good deeds count just as heavily. One circling of the prayer-stone mani piles has the same efficacy as a hundred thousand at other times, so that on the last day of the fourth month crowds make a continuous procession around the mani piles. When there are thirteen months in the year the Tibetan calendar runs the extra month, which occurs about two years out of five, as a 'second' fourth month which doubles the time for great sinning and great merit. Such years are a delight to the virtuous and a scourge to the evil-doer.

Because of the merit of the fourth month pious men and women fast at this time in honour of Gautama Buddha. From the eighth to the fifteenth they retire to a holy or a quiet spot where they meditate and pray, eating no flesh and abstaining from all food and drink every other day. Some carry out this programme for a period of sixteen days but others satisfy their conscience in much shorter periods. Four days seems to be the favourite session but all arrange their schedule so as to fast on the fifteenth day which is likewise the favourite day for circling the monastery while twirling their prayer-wheels. Fasting is largely confined to the older folks when practised in connection with their devotions of circling the monastery but the younger people will resort to picnicking, singing and dancing when tired of strictly religious works.

Even fasting is made into a sort of holiday. Congenial groups of men and women will go half a day's journey to some hermitage or isolated temple. They sit cross-legged abstaining absolutely from conversation praying the six-syllable prayer "Om Mani Padme Hum" continuously, and occasionally prostrating themselves before their deities. They fast on the even and eat twice on the odd days except the last the fifteenth when they go two days

if possible unless they have a different schedule which does not include that day. On the eating days only soup is taken in the morning, but at noon a substantial meal is eaten of wheat, milk and vegetable products. The sociability and intercourse of the eating days compensates for the sacrifices of the fasting day especially as it often leads to more intimate relations afterwards. The extra fourth month in the proper years doubles the period when fasting is indicated and for the young people additional time for their frivolity of dancing and feasting. Of course the very poor obtain no value except as a casual spectator for they must struggle daily in arduous labour to provide enough tsamba and tea for themselves and family. They know that "If one is without any soup on earth, Of what use is a ladle in heaven".

Drinking is a form of recreation, when a holiday custom allows those with a continual thirst to go from house to house and be treated with chang (beer) at every home. Whiskey is expensive and mostly indulged in by the rich or men up in years whose declining strength needs the cup that cheers. A certain few of course believe that "If one likes to drink whiskey one must get drunk, If one loves a sweetheart one must think of her." Tea drinking is developed into a pleasure by those with leisure when they will sit, drink buttered tea, gossip, and gamble every day but especially upon feast days when those who have money spend sizable sums on games of chance.

Dominos called Ba or Boh, the Chinese Mahjong, Chinese red and black-spotted yellow playing cards, Chinese chess, throwing dice by hand or rolled around in a cup which is then inverted — bets placed and then lifted, and throwing copper cash or pennies, — all these are some of the chief games. The stakes are low but continuous playing often demands considerable sums.

Young men demonstrate their strength and skill by betting upon which side can knock down yak horns the greatest number of times. Sets of two yak-horns are thrust by their tips into soft ground at varying distances apart but usually averaging about seventy-five feet. Equal numbers most frequently four to a side hurl stones about the size of the fist. The number of stones likewise varies but most often four are used. The side which knocks over the greatest number of yak horns in an agreed number of throws wins and collects the forfeit which may be money or food such as a bowl of noodles.

Archery is becoming a lost skill with the advent of the rifle and the few contests held each year are decreasing in number. Riding at full speed on horseback arrows are shot through rings, usually two, set a certain distance apart. Considerable skill and practise

are required to centre both rings for the horses gallop at full speed down the course. Sometimes for variation an arrow is shot through the first target and a second target is used for the shooting of the muzzle-loading flint-firing home-made gun.

Horse races are still held in many places modified according to local custom. Nomads at their annual round-ups have horse races and so do certain of the larger populated centres. All clean outdoor sports, but especially horse-racing, are pleasing to the local deities who, if a horse finishes riderless, are said to have ridden him to victory for the Tibetan does not understand how the horse would otherwise continue. Some races seem to be primarily a contest of endurance. At Tachienlu in 1932 a horse race up a gradual incline covered with brush resulted in most horses not finishing for eventually there was but one path through the high, thick scrub. Prizes of ceremonial scarfs, pieces of silk cloth, and towels were given to all that finished even if they wound up leading their exhausted beasts. There was little betting and the only enticement for such a crowd and exhibition was the fact that the local deity resided on the mountain whose northern slope was used for the race.

Dancing and singing are the favourite of the young men and women. Each performs as a unit with no embracing and only occasionally grasping hands to rapidly circle a measure, or to move up and down in a line. Each stamps and swings in a small orbit, the men at one end and the women at the other, or each set on opposite halves of a circle. The waving of their long silken sleeves, which extend beyond their hands almost to the ground, while moving their feet to the accompaniment of a singsong chant in a wailing minor key, has a lure and charm which only those who understand the life and soul of the people appreciate. Social dancing may be indulged in at all seasons but most often the people are in the mood and dressed for such pleasure at the time of the great religious festivals. Some ten days before the New Year festivities of 1923 men and women of middle age formed a circle in the market place of Batang and danced to the tune of cymbals. After some dancing a cup of wine whose edge was smeared with butter was handed to the leader of the men and the leader of the women who danced and tossed the wine upon the ground. Then after this libation to the local deities, the cups were refilled and each dancer in turn drank of the wine. Following this a gauze ceremonial scarf was hung around the neck of each person. After some more dancing the group dispersed.

The rhythm of the social dancing may be maintained solely by the chanting of the participants but if possible a violinist, and often

a flutist playing the Chinese flute known as Geling or the Tibetan-made Lu-ou, are among the invited guests so their services can be utilized. The instrument players may join in the dance if they wish. Even a string of Chinese Chu Ru La bells and a banjo may be used to improve the monotonous see-saws of the violin.

Of the musical instruments which may be native to the Tibetans, that is the drum, the thigh-bone trumpet, bells and violin, the last is by far the most popular. Known as Biwa the most primitive violins are the last several inches of the butt end of a huge wild yak horn. The smaller end is left open and the larger end is covered with snake-skin. Horsehair and sheep gut strings are stretched from the wooden handle attached to the horn. The bow strings are of horse-hair. Of late years among the valley dwellers a section of bamboo may replace the yak-horn. Although limited in tones the notes of this violin are plaintive and sweet.

The Tibetan flute is a section of bamboo, wood, or of clay. The jew's harp is also made of split bamboo; this last is the common musical toy of children and is locally called Bingbama. A stringed instrument from China under the name of Dra Nyen has a peg head shaped like a bird and resembles a banjo or guitar; it is played with bamboo picks or the fingers. Bell-metal cymbals of small size are used by wandering minstrels in their dancing. Cymbals six inches in diameter are called Ding Ding Shok and the twelve inch ones Buh Chol.

The largest number of musical instruments used by the Tibetans are found in the religious worship. The most common are bells cast in the neighbourhood of Derge out of an alloy which includes copper and silver. Bells of various sizes some wholly of iron and brass are used on lead animals for the rest of the caravan to follow and on certain beasts in each herd so as to easily locate them when out to grass. Bell-metal bells, called Dreebu, with a dorge or thunderbolt for a handle, are indispensable in the exorcism of spirits, and are the only ones highly engraved with sacred symbols.

The person who dies a violent death by execution, robbery or suicide may have the femoral bone converted into a thigh-bone trumpet "Gang Dung" provided the corpse is not claimed by relatives. A human being deprived of any part which had not been permitted to decay or be destroyed might be missing such a part in the next life provided he was lucky enough to come back to earth without spending many rebirths in hell tortures. Devils turn tail and flee to the tall spruce when a thigh-bone trumpet is blown, or when the skull-drum "Jang De Ou" of similar origin is shaken. The skull-drum with the two halves of a human skull reversed top

to top may have a section of the victim's skin for the drumheads and the sides highy painted in death-heads and snakes.

The drums "Nga" are a numerous tribe large and small ranging from huge bass drums, which pound out the devil-dance music at New Year's time, and also are the pace-setter at the Harvest Festival, to the skull-drums just mentioned. Kettle-drums "Ka Nga" riding the backs of dancers at New Years, like most of the others, have drum heads of yak skin which is thicker and tougher than that of cattle.

There are musettes horns and trumpets, picturesque and potent, probably all originally from China or India except one—the thigh-bone which harks back to the days of human sacrifices by the Bon religionists. Likely the victim's bones were made into various instruments after his flesh had satisfied the evil spirits. "Raw Dong" are the huge copper, engraved horns about eight feet long, requiring two men, one to blow and the other to carry. They are always played in pairs and their blaring sonorous tones resemble the distant roaring of lions (Illus. No. 28). A foot and a half long, white bell-metal, gold engraved, trumpets "Gya Ling", giving a clear, high note, are also played in pairs, being thrust skyward in the misty morning air with an attitude of defiance, like Jewish trumpeters before the walls of Jericho. Last of all are the white, left-whorled conch-shells "Dong Gah" imported from India. These instruments bleat "Whan Whan" in shrill weird tones that penetrate to the darkest recesses of devil dungeons in earth or sky. The right-whorled conch-shells are very rare and most potent in the exorcising of demons; one is supposed to be in the Sakya Monastery south of Lhasa.

Undoubtedly the original Tibetan musical instruments were very primitive; even today the few metal ones of copper, brass and silver either pure or in alloys are limited to such manufacturing places as Derge which makes some of the smaller ones. Most of the metal instruments come from China or India. Every monastery has a complete set and the larger ones many sets of all the regular instruments required in worship. Wealthy families also have many which they generously loan for festival dances when they are personally invited. The Tibetan nomads still make flutes and violins of yak-horns while the various bone instruments are likewise indigenous today.

The children play games in accordance with the season of the year. Throwing at yak horns is a winter sport and so is guarding the rocks both of which require the soft dirt of fields. One boy in guarding the rocks endeavours to touch or kick anyone of several youths who dart in and out to pluck one of the stones; in

doing this if anyone is touched he must take his turn in guarding the pile of rocks. Girls have a favourite game in the spring called Tema Jyoh. A Chinese cash piece or a round flat stone has a few feathers tied to it so as to keep a flat side of the coin or stone upright. The Tema is kicked by the foot, mostly by the side of the foot, into the air, in front, behind, and over the shoulder as many as a hundred and eight times (number of volumes in the sacred scriptures) before the tema touches the ground; this requires great skill and extraordinary quickness. Boys and girls use small stones to play jackstones, or simply throw the stones together to show their steadiness in taking them up one by one without moving the others.

Shepherd boys are soon expert with the use of a yak-hair rope sling, guiding their animals with ease in any direction. Girls jump with ropes and make dolls of wood, clay and rags. Skipping stones on water and at marks as well as wrestling and running are boyish diversions. A string of boys headed by the largest will be a line of sheep and the lone youth acting as wolf will attempt to seize the tail member while the line whirls around and twists with the head facing and blocking the wolf. When the wolf succeeds in seizing the tail-sheep this boy succeeds the wolf who takes a place near the head of the line.

The favourite of all games played all the year round is throwing walnuts, Chinese cash or flat stones at a hole made in the ground. Standing back about eight or ten feet or even farther each casts toward the hole. Two or more persons play and the first cast determines the order of precedence in the succeeding plays, the one who comes nearest the hole in the first cast starting each round. All of the coins of the first cast are collected by the thrower who was nearest to the hole and then he throws all of these coins toward the hole. What goes into the hole are his permanently and he also has the choice of using a shooter coin for casting, with the object of striking one of the other player's first throws; if he hits that coin it is his. If he fails to hit, the remaining coins are picked up and given to the next in line player who throws and so on until all have had their turn, or all of the coins are won by falling in the hole, or hit by a shooter-coin. If a shooter-coin falls in the hole the shooter loses it to the remaining coin-pot but if the shooter-coin does not fall in the hole it is picked up by the shooter to use. When the coins are all won the game starts over again. When coins or walnuts are used it is a game for keeps but the very poor boys with merely stones have just as much fun. The walnut victor usually shares part of his winnings with the others in a walnut feast.

Those who have means and leisure will take frequent picnics in the summer which will be held in little groves of trees where the plaintive moan of the violin entice the pattering of youthful feet until the wee hours of the morning. Noodles topped with shredded meat will be gorged hourly and the picnickers will stagger home from weariness and gluttony refreshed by swallows from a yak-horn of whiskey.

The second minor festival, that of celebrating Tsongkhapa's death, comes toward the close of the year on the 25th of the 10th Tibetan month, usually about the first of our December. These are cool, clear days with brilliant moon light nights when the stars seem to be deep wells of fire and one can read large print out of doors without artificial light. This festival is proclaimed as the official beginning of winter. The importance of this season to the Yellow Hat Sect is shown in the saying that "The Place of hope is at the palace of Gahlden, The direction or prayer is to Tsongkhapa".

During the day a grain-meat soup is presented to relatives and friends. When darkness falls every household lights as many butter-lamps as it can afford, and poor is the home indeed which does not have at least one, placing them upon the roof, or in an upper window. The lamps are allowed to burn out which takes about an hour. At the monasteries hundreds of butter lamps are placed around the ledge of the temple roof. In the inky darkness they are a crown of flickering stars suspended above an almost invisible temple.

At the Tsongkhapa festival season the outer walls of homes are supposed to be repainted. This consists of the required colour mixed into a watery solution which is poured out of a teapot down the surface of the clay walls, beginning at the eaves. This solution streaks into a solid mass of colour as it spreads. The colour used is fixed according to the social standing of the individual and the type of building. Palaces of princes must be solid white. The nobility and those connected by official position with the court put on an undercoat of yellow-red clay solution and then eighteen inch bands of white lime six feet apart. The rest of the laity refresh their yellow-clay colour, if they can afford it. Monasteries and the various buildings composing it have their set colours which vary with the nature of the building and the sect which inhabits it. This has been discussed in Chapter 21. One can recognize the sect of the monastery by the colour scheme as one can recognize the social standing of the individual by the colour of his house irrespective of its size and other appurtenances.

CHAPTER XIV

Yonnehcham or Harvest Festival

The organization, the time, preparation, the Festival Grounds at Batang, camping rules, eating, type of dance, the costumes, the band, the sequence-first preliminary, origin of the Yenecham, Yenechsam idol, second preliminary, types of drama, features of the pageants, staging, Translated Story of Namse, the Drama of Songtsengambo, the translated story, the finale, dancing for gifts, dancing of the women.

*"A sign is sufficient to those who comprehend,
Designs are needed for those who don't understand."*

IN contrast to the New Year Festival dances, when only lamas participate, black heads or laymen have equal privileges with the monks. However, since most of the costumes are usually loaned by the abbot of the local monastery, and the dances are held under his sponsorship, the religious influence is predominant.

The dances are organized into a permanent association with officers. Membership is without regard to social or religious standing, some of the top players being from the poorest homes, just a little above the beggar class. Entrance depends on dramatic ability, not wealth, and all must be voted into the association. No women are allowed, the female parts being played by slender youths; the dress of men and women (as in ordinary life) being so much alike that a hat or crown adorned with flowers on the head indicates that the player is a woman.

This second greatest festival of the year (to the children and the pleasure-loving it is the chief) the Yonnehcham (Dance of the offerers or sacrificers) comes after the twenty-eighth of the seventh Tibetan month which is usually around the first half of September. A hundred days before this date the pious priests remain inside lest they trample and unintentionally kill the numerous worms and crawling insects of summer. At this time monks are supposed to take only a hundred steps in any direction. If an urgent call comes for a priest to leave he goes to his superior and prostrating himself, asks permission to break his retirement. His superior prays, reads



PLATE 30. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Alaka are the true clowns of the New Year Dances. They dance, tell jokes, collect fees for chants, escort the players, fire guns to kill the Nyam corpse and keep the crowd in good humour.

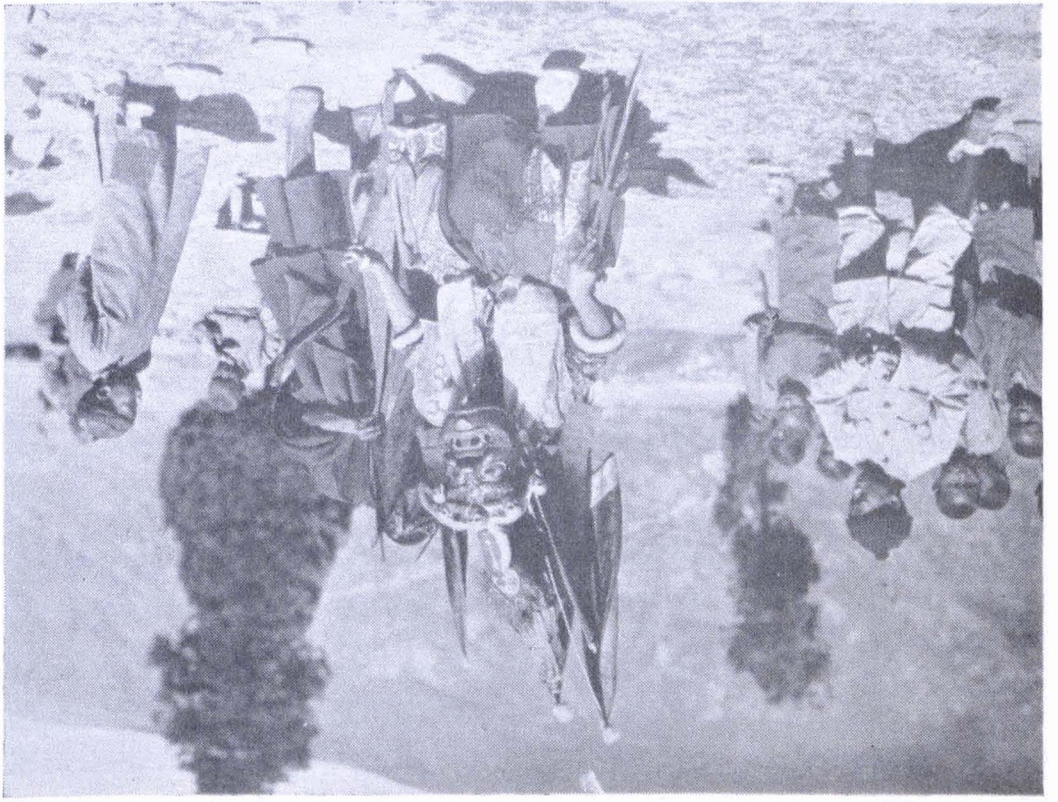


PLATE 31. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Atsara are caricatures of Indian Brahmin priests and they stage a quiet, monotonous dance.

PLATE 32. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Jeebalojeh or "little devils" as we called them, dance on the third day. Using shields they perform with vigorous steps and motions.



PLATE 33. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Chojong, or Defender of Buddhism against its enemies, has to rest after a violent menacing dance. In this interval an attendant makes repairs.



scripture and blesses the supplicant; now he is free from the sin of travelling a great distance. Upon his return the monk repeats the prostration to his superior and receives a benediction.

Furthermore at this time there is supposed to be no quarrelling nor anger, especially among the monks. Articles which have been borrowed are returned; to keep them longer would be bad luck. The buckwheat which was planted about a month and a half before is ready to bloom. In the two-crop areas the wheat-barley harvest has been a good one and in the one-crop regions it has begun to ripen. There is always the prospect of hail or of an early frost. The spirits of the locality must be kept in good humour lest they send hail or frost to injure the ripening crops. Special care is taken to see that the sky does not behold a corpse. The dead are buried in a stable temporarily for if cast into the river on a dark night, there is moonlight or starlight, or at the least certain spirits abroad to become angry. Woe is for all if one should drop dead in the fields; special services at the monastery might not avert the calamities of hail or frost. Also, prayer flags are erected or renewed and new silk cylinder banners at the tops of temples are substituted for old ragged ones.

The Yonnehcham is usually held some distance from any settled locality and since only the larger monasteries hold them people come from several days distance to witness and enjoy. For some two weeks before the event, after it is decided to have the festival (which is not held if there is war or great disorder in the country), there is great bustle and excitement. Days are spent in practise by the participants upon the dancing ground. The prospective spectators prepare food and carry tents, tables, chairs, rugs, bedding, kettles, tea barrels, benches, and all of the other paraphernalia needed for cooking and camping two weeks in the open with comfort.

The Festival grounds at Batang are upon the west side of the larger Batang or Monastery river just below its junction with the smaller stream from the east (Illus. No. 18). Here a mile and a half below the city a mushroom village springs up within a few days to disappear still more quickly a fortnight later. Clay-mortared stoves are repaired or new ones built. The wealthy families set up a tent for their own exclusive use but the poor may band together and rent a tent at five to ten rupees the season or attend only in the daytime. Tents cost from one to two hundred rupees to make and many a poor family uses the shelter of a more affluent relative or friend; for hospitality is rampant at this season. Most of the tents are of white cotton-cloth trimmed in blue figures at the corners and edges, but a few heavy black yak-hair tents are always set up

by nomadic attendants. Even the Living Buddha-Abbot of the local monastery with his clerics moves to the festival grounds where his subjects have built him a rough dwelling for use and to store the expensive costumes of the dancers.

The tents are arranged in a huge semi-circle around a central fly under which the acting takes place. Each tent numbers from ten to thirty occupants all dressed in their best clothes, their own if they have them, but if not, borrowed from those who have. The wealthy take pride in loaning their secondary dresses to poor friends and relatives. It is the custom, for those who have, to put on nice clothes the first day and then upon each succeeding day to dress in finer and more brilliantly coloured costumes until the final day when the eye is supposed to be dazzled with the glory of the silks. It takes a hard heart among the more shabbily dressed males to withstand the amorous, alluring glances of the rainbow adorned maidens whose attraction becomes more irresistible as the days continue with the result that many a tryst is kept under the shining stars.

There is a Lhasa saying that when "three Batang people get together there is a fight." Such a remark is founded upon the reality that the people of Kham are the best soldiers of Tibet. With such a belligerent people crowded into a small space at the Yonnehcham, unique rules have grown up to insure a moderate amount of peacefulness. Co-operation is the keyword for "Those who eat together, must agree in counsel". Each group has one or more treasurers who buys the food and collects the money for supplies. He is given power backed by the group to enforce his decisions. He does this by fines of money or by a punishment known as "rolling the thighs." In this last procedure the victim is thrown to the ground upon his stomach and pinned down. With joyous yells and riotous laughter strong arms grab the rolling pin or a large round stick kept for the purpose and roll it up and down the buttocks from knee to thighs, a hefty party on each end exercising enough weight and pressure so as to cause the culprit to pay cash if he has any. Men and women are treated alike. The money fines for shirking the communal work range from one fourth of a rupee to a rupee. Similar fines are imposed for quarrelling with either outsiders or members of the group, for sleeping with wife or husband, going home and not sleeping in the community tent, sleeping in the day-time or too late in the morning, eating by oneself, or even showing a lack of zest in the group life. If a member commits adultery or fornication and it is discovered a heavy fine of ten to fifteen rupees is imposed. As the fines are thrown into the common fund to purchase food there is extreme watchful-

ness to collect as many fines as possible for the slightest infraction of the group's rules or those of established society; especially from those who have the most money.

Each tent has at least one huge outdoor stove whose fire-pots all day long are crowned with pots and kettles steaming with noodles, meat-balls, tea and steamed wheat-bread. The burden of cooking which falls upon the older women, is heavy, for someone is eating all of the time. A constant flow of noodles boiled in fat pork and meat-balls of beef with raw highly seasoned sliced vegetables as side dishes goes into the tents. This combination is a favourite dish, varied by the rich with many other foods, but scanty in quality for the poorest who most of the time retire to a spot under the scrubby trees where they munch on their circular board-like wheat-bread called Gokway and guzzle their reddish-yellow buttered tea.

Vendors of boiled corn, sticks of sorghum, chunks of fat pork, noodles, popcorn, peanuts, bean curd, green peaches, fresh walnuts, and pumpkin seeds do a prosperous business even with the poorest children who manage to obtain a little money from some source. Before the festival ends the grassy grounds are hidden under a motley blanket of chewed stalks, corncobs, seed-pods and shells. Toilets do not exist and the custom of using the nearby bushes make moonlight strolls unwise without a light since one dare not plant one's foot down without looking. It is only the shortness of the festival and the hotness of the sun which prevent an epidemic among the big crowds who gather during the five days of drama dancing.

The nearest foreign approach to the scene is the American county fairs. "Champ, Champ" go thousands of jaws as sorghum stalks are split open and the pulp sucked out. When the sorghum supply is exhausted, green corn-stalks are substituted. "Crack, Crack" and English walnut shells are opened with the teeth while the munching of corn-cobs resembles a threshing horde at dinner. Peasants in sheepskin or pleated skirts come in for the day, have their fill of pleasure and stagger home in the fading twilight. Those who stay the night carouse with ribald songs, waste their money in games of chance (usually two dice under a bowl), court the women and guzzle fiery Arok (whiskey) until they are overcome. These debaucheries keep them drowsy until the middle of the next forenoon when the thump of drum and the ringing siren call of the dancers arouses their sporting blood again. The actors must wait until the drama dancing is over when most drown their weariness in one grand, hilarious drunk.

The Yonnehcham performances assume a more boisterous character than that of the ordinary pleasure dancing. Hopping hand-springing, swinging the arms with rapid stepping forward and backward over a wide area, spinning violently like insane dervishes, and whirling in unison around a great circle, the actors move as a mechanical tumult of grace and energy.

The players are dressed appropriately to their parts in heavy costumes of silk and wool which are usually worn over their everyday clothes. They sweat profusely. The heavy costumes, the hot sun, and the immense energy required for the whirling dances cause the whole drama to become a contest of physical endurance. It is the hardest work of the year for the players, whether from the idle rich or the shifless poor, but such is the honour of their position, that no one complains. Paints and cosmetics are not used extensively, mostly black soot on the face for the villains, and a little ashes for the beggars. Colour and quality of the clothing, with masks, characterize the part. Red is the sign of the warrior while yellow is the dress of kings. Black indicates those who are evil or belong to the evil spirit realm. Beggars are dressed in rough grey cloth. White and green are reserved for fairies and messengers. Most of the costumes are rented from the monastery, being used with different masks in the New Year Festival dancing; but some are owned by the player's association. As the dramas are only seven in number, with three or four being played every year, there is no need for many costumes. The dramas dealing with former times of religious and historical events need but a few types of dress to picture accurately the simpler apparel of ancient history.

The music is furnished by a two-piece orchestra—a pair of large brass cymbals and a big drum suspended in a frame above the beater who sits upon the rug-covered ground. The strokes vary with the event. The approach of the players calls for a rapid, light regular beating of the drum with steady clanging of the cymbal followed by slow, regular fluttering measures. This last rhythm—a lingering cadence, is likewise used when the actors are hopping around before they recite their parts; it is also used to fill in intervals between speeches and dances.

The band ceases for the recitations which are delivered in a rapid, unintelligible tone beginning and ending in a high-pitched cry. Phrased in polite and classical Tibetan, except the comic colloquial interludes, it is not supposed to be understood. The people follow the course of the play by the pantomime and movements of the actors, as the general details and course of the drama are well known.

After a bit of recitation, the actors, whether one or many on the scene, circle in a spinning dance mostly to the measure of two heavy beats interspersed with a lighter—"heavy-light-heavy-light" measure. This is repeated twice and then followed by two beats, one heavy and one light; after this three heavy beats in succession. The cymbals are clanged in unison with the drum. Sometimes for variety in the dancing the measure is changed to two light strokes followed by eight heavy beats and then repeated as long as needed or desired.

The acting of the drama starts late in the morning, "to dance early in the morning would cause the summer to flee away." The play continues until the sun drops over the mountain when the drum is suddenly hushed and the players rush for the dressing room. In foreign time the start is about ten in the morning; and four in the afternoon is the end.

The opening for each day is the same except for what is called "the gathering together" or "Yardee" which is much prolonged upon the first day. However the "Finale" is only performed on the last day as it has no direct connection to each separate drama nor to each day's dancing.

The first act of the "preliminary" is the Trashee Zhohpa composed of six men who come out advancing slowly holding rosettes in their right hands (Illus. No. 19). A huge black-figured white wool cape is over their shoulders. On their heads are goatskin masks with orange faces figured in black for eyes, nose and mouth. The woolly side of the goatskins are outside and the long straggly hair gives a ghoulish effect. Darkhued tassels hang from their waists. Flashes of red and yellow silk peep out from underneath their capes and at their sleeves. Their customary red cloaks have been tied at the bottoms around their ankles causing a baggy Turkish trouser appearance. The leader is distinguished by a silk scarf adorning the front of his cape.

After whirling awhile they are joined by two JheLuh carrying staffs. They are clothed in blue and gold silk gowns, with yellow life-preserver-shaped hats ringing their heads. Behind these two JheLuh are two Lhamo (goddesses) — men dressed in Tibetan women's garments. These four are attended by five servants—two men and three women. The servants are wearing more somber tones in accordance with their rank; one man is distinguished by a red topnot and a string of bells while the second man has a tassel cone, the three women support conical-tipped spears of black hair upon their heads and wear red scarves over red cloaks.

After some dancing these first and second groups form a semi-circle; and then all make deep bows, first to the chief priest and

lastly to all of the circle of tents. The headman of the Trashee Zhohpa now offers a prayer to the demons for the prosperity of the country and all of its people. After this prayer the whole party dance and circle and chant with their chief, dancing part of the time in the central arena. After much whirling in a circle they depart.

The Trashee Zhopa represent a saint who did the work of six men. This saint lived near the great river Brahmaputra which runs through central Tibet. The people wished to build a bridge over this river so this holy man with a long white beard and in white gown, went everywhere soliciting gifts for it. Another version relates that when they started to build the bridge over the Brahmaputra river, ghosts or mountain demons tore down at night what the people had built in the daytime. Then the people sent to India for this saint known as Druh Tob Thang Thang because he was skilled in casting spells. The saint arrived and suggested that they institute a dance which so pleased the mountain demons that they came down to watch. While the demons were absent watching this dance the wily Tibetans rushed the erection of the bridge to completion. The demons, not having the power to demolish a finished structure, were foiled.

The dance given for the mountain demons at the building of the bridge over the Great River Brahmaputra was the originator of the present Harvest Festival. From this incident was derived the primary object of the Yonnehcham which is to propitiate the local mountain deities the "Zhedah" who in their enjoyment of the playing will be so pleased that they will not send any mischief upon the community, neither hail nor frost but sunshine and rain to make the crops good. Also by withholding diseases and other misfortunes the people will be blessed by the mountain spirits.

An idol of the saint Druh Tob Thang Thang (able to accomplish the utmost) whose advice enabled the people to build a bridge over the Great River is brought to the playgrounds and placed at the west end or head of the dancing tent, where he sits in state with offerings of food before him. He, too, enjoys the dances after his fashion.

After an interval six Jyagar Rawa, wearing black-faced masks with eyes, nose and mouth painted in white fantastic expressions, dance in, whirl and sing (Illus. No. 20). Their tight-fitting coloured vests partially hide loose silk shirts of many colours. Braided tassels and scarfs in different shades hang free from their belts. They, like their predecessors—the Trashee Zhohpa, have the baggy red trousers. Each carries a many-coloured rosette in his left hand. Scarves attached to the forehead of their masks cover the head

and hang down the back. The chief of this group is marked by plaques suspended from the left side of his belt and by a larger mask displaying red silk tassels.

After a short concert the two Jheluh and their attendants again appear and join the Jyagar Rawa. The Jheluh have exchanged their doughnut hats for a one-sided pan-shaped affair and also carry a staff. The two groups intermingle in a circle, and dance for a time. Then they stand still while two parties, one from each group, take the centre. They dance, bow to one another, and finally recite in a high singsong key. They retire and another pair perform. When all have taken their turn, the Jheluh with their retinue depart.

The Jyagar Rawa disappear by each one circling, dancing, reciting and whirling off the stage until all are gone. Every player, before retiring, bows down before the chief priest of the local monastery. Previous to their act the Jyagar Rawa had come out and scattered barley, milk, beer and water upon the ground as an offering to the Zhedah or local mountain demons who must be fed as well as entertained. The number six in each of these groups of dancers is emblematic of the saint who could accomplish the work of six men and who, as represented by his idol, is still implored for help in the exorcising of demons.

The names of these dancers have a meaning which is not known to most people and is not clear to the others. From the spelling the word Trashee Zhohpa would mean "the source of prosperity" which is logical as they represent a saint who possessed the strength of six men. The Jyagar Rawa is more obscure in meaning but possibly is the "circle of India" and with the Jheluh may signify the embassy sent to India requesting the presence of the famous saint.

The dramas may be conveniently divided into two types — religious and historical. The religious plays depict primarily the conflict between the old Bonistic devil-worship and the newer teaching of Gautama Buddha. The old Bon sect is not ranked as religion but as sin and is represented in the plays by an evil man or woman (she-devil) while the present Lamaism is portrayed by priests and enlightened men and women. The religious plays are all mythical in incident; on the other hand the historical dramas are based upon some past scene of Tibetan history, usually of the Golden Age. The historical plays are founded upon truths around which are woven romantic and fanciful episodes glorifying the hero.

Singing, rapid recitation of passages and whirling are the principal features of these pageants. The dramatizing of the acts has been adapted to harmonize with the primitive mind of the audience and

the crude equipment at hand. This has enabled the players to reproduce more adequately the ancient court scenes of their famous rulers, the ceremonies of their religion and the normal life of everyday Tibetan living, all of which were rough and simple. Although more impressed by the pageantry of court scenes, yet like all peoples the most enjoyable scenes are those which intimately portray their daily life by using the local dialect in which native humour is prominent. The humour, rough and coarse, is genuine, realistic and natural. The language is the everyday phrasing with no censorship.

The staging and properties used are often very crude but this does not detract from the act after one understands the symbols; the crudeness merely adds charm, quaintness and uniqueness. A home is indicated by an airy hut of branches stuck into the ground. A scene in the open is shown by a chair surrounded by branches thrust here and there in the earth. A boat is an enormous skirt of brilliantly banded cloth worn by front and rear men, whose legs propel the boat in spurts, while they paddle with long poles; the passengers walk inside the skirt between the two oarsmen. A hill or a place, higher than the encircling land, is a chair on which the observer stands. An individual ready to ascend to the hereafter will mount a chair. A horse is a willow branch ridden astride by a horseman. Animals are represented by their head masks, worn by the actors. The characterization of "keen eyes" has been changed from shading the eyes with the hand to a more detracting form when the observer mounts a chair and uses a modern telescope with which to discover the unfortunate victim in a distant land.

The dramas are long and drawn out. A short one takes a day, and the long plays two or more days to act. In the presentation the actors display great feeling which stirs the sympathy of the spectators who weep and laugh with equal ease. The pantomimes of home life with homely wit and puns are given between the regular acts of the drama. It is these humorous by-plays which are considered the most enjoyable especially by the children, who crowd in so close, that whips are beat upon the ground in front of them, to force them back.

The colourful part is the costuming, the delightful is the dancing and the tiresome is the recitation which is either sung in a long wailing note or repeated so rapidly that it sounds like a machine-gun in action.

One of the popular religious dramas is that of Nangsa or the Emancipated Princess which was enacted in the fall of 1926. In detail when acted this drama is translated as follows:

“Many years ago a merchant seller of barley called Yodechen had a wife who gave birth to a very beautiful baby girl who was baptized in due time and named Nangsa.

The King of Rinang, Draha Samdruh orders five hundred horses prepared for an expedition; he commands the priests to hold the usual annual religious service at the monastery, and to kill off all the evil spirits, which is done on the 29th of the 12th month.

Nangsa goes to see the religious dances at the monastery where the King beholds her. He sends two nuns, who have come to the festival, to arrange marriage with the girl. They talk with the girl who, on returning home, is ashamed to tell her parents of the King's proposal. The King sends his men to bring the girl, but her parents refuse to give her to them, so they seize Nangsa while she is out playing.

Nangsa becomes the wife of the King, but the sister of the King, who rules the household, is not pleased. The sister treats the young wife cruelly, degrading her by forcing her to work in the fields with the servants (Illus. No. 21). Two priests come to the fields where the Queen is working, bless the crop and beg some grain. Nangsa gives them some according to the Tibetan custom and for this gift the old she-devil of a sister-in-law whips her.

A Buddha dressed as a monkey visits the Queen and consoles her by reciting how lovely religious works are and how demoralizing is the wickedness of the world.

The sister tells her brother what his wife has done which makes him so angry that he kills Nangsa. A son is left motherless and he is cared for by the King. The people, who loved the Queen, send a messenger to the Lord of the Dead, who is given rich presents by the messenger, until he consents to the petition that Nangsa be brought back to life. Nangsa is now told by the Lord of the Dead to become a nun and devote her life to religion. She promises that she will not live in the world and commit worldly deeds.

When Nangsa comes back to life the corpse watchers and carriers are frightened. They run off and report the matter to the King. The Queen's son goes to see his mother and implores her not to become a nun but to return to him. To his pleas are added those of the King who has repented of his deed and of his court life (Illus. No. 22). Nangsa replies that she will not come to the King's palace but she will return to her parent's home. On returning to her father's house her relatives and friends are highly gratified to see her. The King still seeks to persuade her to return to his palace so she flees from her home.

Nangsa in her flight comes to a big river where two boatmen ferry her over, being given a jewel as a reward (Illus. No. 23). Up the mountain she climbs, finally arriving at a hermitage. A young priest meets her here and declares that she is too young and beautiful to become a nun, (after Nangsa has expressed a desire to enter religious orders). Because she would not yield to his advances, the priest drives her away with stones one of which renders her unconscious. Other monks arrive on the scene and after she revives they find out what she desires to do. They all declare that she is too beautiful to become a nun and demand that she tell who she is. Nangsa finally reveals that she is the wife of King Drahpa Samdruh but because of the cruelty of his sister she has run off. The priests are frightened when they hear this, fearing that the King may kill them, if they initiate her into the religious orders of the nunnery. However, she finally prevails upon them to let her take the veil.

The Lord of Rinang upon hearing that she has become a nun is very angry (Illus. No. 24). He leads his army of soldiers to the monastery, beats down the door and is on the point of killing the priests when his wife begs that he kill her instead. The supplication of the wife cause the King to relent and repent. He becomes so reconciled to his wife being a nun that he abdicates his throne in favour of his son and enters the priesthood. All are happy over the outcome of the story”.

We have in this play a typical conflict between the old Bon religionists, bloodthirsty and cruel as shown by the King and his sister, and the new Buddhism, with its emphasis upon retirement from the world and against the taking of life, as represented by Nangsa and the priests. The new religion conquers the old, imposing its monastic obligations upon those in high places, superseding the old acts of blood-shed in war and in the chase, with pious meditation and retirement from the lusts of the flesh.

King Songtsan Gampo was the Solomon of Tibet, the most famous of their rulers. He lived around 645 A.D. His reign is featured in a historical drama given in 1929, in which the written text is adapted to suit the stage to a greater degree than in most of the other plays. Perhaps the drama was put in writing after the play had been enacted many times.

King Songtsan Gampo's reign was noted for two great events, the first being the introduction of letters into Tibet, whose people before this were without learning. The King had sent one of his famous ministers Thonmi to India. Thonmi resided there for several, (some say seven), years mastering the Hindu language and making an alphabet for the Tibetan tongue. When he returned

to Tibet he brought back his alphabet and a number of Buddhist books. He taught what he had learned to some of the richer young men who in return became the teachers of others. In this manner education became general and Tibetan literature began its vagrant course.

The King also sent another famous minister Gar for a different purpose to China. This brings us to the translation of the drama.

“King Songtsan Gampo dispatched his favourite minister Gar, about the year 650 A.D. to the court of the Emperor Tai’jung or Thang Jhung for the purpose of securing a wife from among the princesses of the celestial household. When the minister from Tibet arrived at the court of the Emperor he found many suitors there from other lands,—India, Persia, Turkestan and Mongolia (Illus. No. 25). All of these countries had sent rich embassies to secure the hand of the Emperor’s daughter; but the Tibetan King being poor could not send the rich presents such as had been received from the Kings of these other countries. All the Tibetan minister bore was a letter with a small present. Letters and presents were exchanged between the Emperor of China and the King of Tibet three times in the course of negotiations.

Emperor Tai’jung decided not to give his daughter to the richest but to the wisest, although the mother of the princess thought that she should be given to the wealthiest. The Emperor proposed a test for the ministers of the different countries to decide who should take his daughter for marriage to their respective king. This statement was given to the ministers from the four corners of the earth. They all agreed to this trial of wits.

A hundred mares and their colts were gathered together loose in a corral and the ministers were told to separate each mother with her own colt. None of them except the wily Gar from Tibet could think of a method to identify the colts with their rightful mother in such a medley. Gar put all of the colts in a separate pen from their dams for a day and then turned them in to their mothers. Each naturally went straight to its own mother for milk. Thus Gar was able to separate each colt with its own rightful parent. The Tibetan minister thereupon claimed the girl but the Emperor put him off as he did not want the poor barbaric King of Tibet to have his daughter; and also, the other ministers protested the test as unfair. Another test was devised in which the Chinese Emperor agreed to abide by the result.

In his second test logs of sandalwood were cut into two pieces with the ends as nearly equal in size as possible. The ambassadors were told to indicate which was the root and which was the top end. No one could state definitely except Gar who hurled the logs

into a stream of water. The end which headed downstream was declared to be the root end by the clever Tibetan. Still the other ministers were not satisfied and demanded that another trial be made, to which the Emperor gladly agreed, as he feared their power.

Emperor Tai'jung asked the ambassadors to come to his palace and after he had given them a feast, they were told to find their way home alone. None could do so except Gar, who, previously baffled by the intricate maze of rooms, had brought a ball of yarn and had strung it out behind him as he came in. The Chinese ruler still refused to yield his daughter to the Tibetan King because he was urged by the other ambassadors to give them another chance. The Emperor now believed that Gar was the wisest of the ambassadors but his poverty repelled him.

In the next trial a huge turquoise pierced with an intricate labyrinth having only two openings was given to the ambassadors who were told to put a silken scarf through it, from one opening to the other. They all tried a long time but as the tunnel twisted and curved in all directions they were baffled. All except Gar. He procured a louse (probably one out of his own cloak as all Tibetans have them) tied a thread around the insect and thrust it into one of the openings forcing it to wind around through the passage until it emerged at the other end. Then Gar tied the scarf to the thread and pulled it through for it was a ceremonial scarf of thin and flimsy silk. Still, Emperor Tai'jung would not yield to his own promise although he was pleased with the wisdom of the Tibetan minister.

In what proved to be the final trial, the Emperor Tai'jung requested that the competitors pick out his daughter from a hundred maidens all dressed alike and seated in sedan chairs. None of the ministers had seen the girl and had no definite knowledge of her appearance. The hundred girls were assembled, dressed alike, having been chosen because they resembled each other in general features.

Previous to the assembly day the Tibetan minister afraid that he might fail in this final test, consulted with the woman seller of liquor with whom he had been living as a lover. The woman (she was also an astrologer) at first refused to aid him. (Illus. No. 26). She feared an astrologer of the Emperor for the seer was reputed able to discover any person that might aid one of the ambassadors in pointing out the princess. Finally after much pleading on the part of Gar the woman devised a sorcery-proof plan to help her persistent lover. She prepared a huge barrel, cut a small hole in it, spread chicken-feathers outside the barrel and all around the hole. Then she went inside the overturned barrel and speaking

through a long tube told the Tibetan minister that only the princess would smell good; and that if he took a bee and watched where the insect lighted he could pick out the princess. By this device Minister Gar was enabled to select the princess of Emperor Tai'jung from the other ninety-nine girls. Gar led the beautiful and sweet girl to his own country where she was given in marriage to his King Songtsengambo." (Illus. No. 27).

After the regular dramas are finished the final act is the entrance of the eleven players who represent the entire cast, that is the Jyagar Rawa, who repeat their preliminary entrance, give a short dance, prostrate themselves before the chief priest, and then scatter barley grains upon the dancing grounds, hurling the seeds high into the air as an offering.

The official end of the Yonnehcham is signaled by the bestowing of gifts. On the third day the Jyagar Rawa start the preliminary giving by bringing around bowls of rice on a tray presenting them to the tents to eat. This is only a form, and they in accordance with custom decline and thank them with a small formal reward of some two hundred tongyen or five cents in American money.

When the plays are finished, scarfs of white are put upon the idol at the head of the tent. Ceremonial scarfs also are hung upon the centre pole of the tent which represents the community home and altar, around the neck of the drummers, and around each player. While this is taking place gifts are being dispatched to the centre of the dancing ground beginning with the officials, and on down to the meanest tent. The presents will range from a load of brick tea to a few copper cash and always are accompanied by the inevitable ceremonial scarf. If the gift is not in accordance with the rank and means of the giver he is gently reminded of it. Groups of the actors now assemble to sing first before the chief priest of the local monastery who has given a liberal gift, and then on down the ranks, chanting a bit of the play in the prescribed fashion. The final act is the mounting of a chair by the chief clown who, as the list of the givers with the amount is read off, in a sing-song yell shouts a "Thank You" for the gift.

If all conditions are propitious, the women, from the best families in rank and wealth and whose lives have been free from scandal, engage in a dance. Women of the street and those who have participated in amorous intrigues, dare not intrude in this dance. This is a joyous religious expression for the bountiful harvest which the people feel is going to be theirs and it would be disastrous for anyone unclean to attempt to propitiate the local deities. The number of women eligible for this ceremonial dance is not large.

but it gives the women a part in the drama which has been hitherto solely dominated by the men. This dance lasts for about two hours.

When the dance of the ladies is finished, tents are taken down except for a few in use by the players who will remain some days longer. The players first use some of the receipts to pay the expenses of the drama; some to the monastery for rental of garments; and the remainder in a prolonged feast which with the drink that cheers may last several days. All then disperse, worn out and relieved from noise and confusion, yet so accustomed to it that the quietness of home life is like the return from a far country or the awakening from a pleasant dream.

Note: - The two above dramas and a third one in their complete translation are contained in the author's earlier work entitled "Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet" with ample illustrations of the plays.

CHAPTER XV

New Year Festivals

New Year Festival, time, meaning, preparation, eating, beggar's rights, lucky-day divination, lay dancing, New Year Dance preparation, arrival of guests, the dancing ground, the band, Chojeh—Lord of the Dead and his retinue, the Alaka, the Atsara, the dance music, the Bebo, the Black Hats, Masters of the Grave, the Devil-Corpse, prayers for the Dead, Goddesses of Immorality, the Deer Dancer, end of the first day.

"Trust not in the flesh; trust in religion."

THE most important religious festival of the Tibetan year are the Devil Dances of the New Year Season. The Tibetan New Year usually coincides with the Chinese, although there is sometimes a day's discrepancy for the ruling sect, — the Gelugba or Yellow Caps; while for the Red Caps or the older Nymaba, the time may vary several days. The New Year Festival is regularly kept at every large monastery unless the country is troubled by war or banditry, then it is eliminated or curtailed in splendour. Of course the regular religious New Year services are held within every monastery, but only the largest hold the public dances. The dances described here were held in the Gelugba monastery at Batang.

The Tibetan New Year comes in the last of the foreign January or the first part of February. It is the official coming of spring, the quickening of the new life of the new year and the springing of renewed hope in the heart; for the days are getting noticeably longer. The general meaning of the New Year Dances ties in with this idea. Called the Gudocham or "The Twenty-ninth Day's Dances," since the chief event occurs upon that day, the dancing actually begins on the twenty-eighth and ends upon the last day of the month—the thirtieth. The final dances of the New Year period occur upon the fifteenth of the first month and are labelled the Molham-cham or the Prayer Dance.

The general purpose of the Gudocham, held the last of the old year, is the exorcism of the demons or evil spirits which cause such evils as hail, floods, sickness, poverty or any kind of misfortune.

The demons are gathered under the control of the exorcising lamas, enticed or forced into a fearful yet beautiful figure, and then expelled or destroyed. Thus the elements of disaster are overcome; and upon the 15th of the first month of the New Year in the Molham-cham festivities, not only is the good will of the spirits retained, but it is a worship which hastens the advent of the coming Buddha—the God of Love. There is also the idea of beseeching the good spirits to assist them in overcoming or thwarting malicious spirits in any evil designs and to secure a prosperous year in harvest and good fortune of all kinds. It is a ceremonial prayer to the gods for their benediction.

The days before New Year are days of preparation. If there are hot springs near, baths are taken. Clothes are washed in the river, those owning only what they have on, cleanse one half at a time. Poor men at this time cut their hair and rebraid it, as it is not auspicious to leave the hair uncut longer than a year. The rich have already had their hair dressed as often as they desired or whenever the lice became too thick. Everyone strives to put on something new or a bit of finery even if it has to be borrowed from a neighbour. Tibetans are perfectly willing to loan their surplus fine clothes as it is a matter of pride to be able to display the fine clothes that they own. Women wash their faces and put on their cheeks a fresh coat of honey; and re-butter their hair to the discomfort of the tiny insect guests.

The home does not escape its yearly renovation. Shortly before the 28th and 29th the kitchen is thoroughly brushed—walls, floor and ceiling. The dirt is put behind the door. On the 29th this filth is taken up and dumped at the intersection of three roads. As this is the day when the evil spirits are being destroyed or chased away this act insures the home against ill-fortune for the New Year. The home is decorated with sacred emblems such as the swastika formed by dots of wheat or barley flour moistened with water and stuck on by finger tips. Sacred scripture formulas are written above the doorway on New Year's Day and a new scarf "KADOH" fastened to the kitchen stove.

Eating is another important part of the New Year. Eggs are hoarded to make noodles and grain becomes scarcer. All plan to gorge themselves, knowing full well they will look back upon this time with tender reminiscence in the lean days which are just ahead; at least for most of the people, until the next crop is harvested.

On New Year's Day relatives and friends are presented with bowls of soup called "Chien" which is made of barley, meat, butter and cheese. Two or three small sheep-head figures are made of



PLATE 34. The New Year Festival at Batang. The Alaka in cowmen's costumes stage mock worship and simulated scarf-offering to Chamba the God of Love.



PLATE 35. The New Year Festival at Batang. The devils enticed into a paper are suddenly thrust into the flame by a long pole before the assembled array of monks on the 29th of the first month



PLATE 36. The Red Hat Sakya Monastery of Shiwu two days northeast of Jyekundo is a striped painting upon the hillside above the nestling village.



PLATE 37. The Yellow Hat Gelugba Monastery of Litang is reputed to have 3000 monks registered from the six tribes which support it.

butter; one is taken to the ruler who gives a small present in return, and one is offered before the family altar. Prostrations are made before the chief priest of the monastery and a "Kadoh" is presented to him. Offerings are made in the temple. Juniper branches are burnt in large quantities sending up clouds of incense before the chorden or relic shrines. One may go to friends' houses and, upon being offered tsamba, will take a pinch of it to scatter skywards as an offering to the gods, and also taste a bit, wiping the fingers on the left shoulder for luck. Chang (beer) and tea are offered and one must sip a bit of one or the other. Friends are greeted with a "May you have the most perfect peace and happiness" and will respond with "May you have eternal happiness".

The beggars join in the general festivities for they have a claim upon everybody's generosity. They appear before the homes and chant "Mani" or "prayers" as well as wishing one the happiness of the season; and, unless they are given the gifts commensurate with one's rank and wealth they have the right to make themselves such a nuisance, not to mention the loss of face involved, that everyone is always glad to buy them off with the proper gift. Grateful is their thanks as they leave with their platter piled high with food.

During the New Year season, lucky days, and the proper direction in which one should travel on certain days, are divined. Every day has its lucky direction; to travel north on certain days may be unlucky but a southern or western course might be auspicious upon those days.

In the first month from the ninth day, dancing and feasting are the programme until the fifteenth, when the annual prayer dance is given at the monastery. Tibetan maidens dressed in their best clothes or in borrowed finery go to the homes of the better class and dance. They are served with refreshments and given presents of food or money as a reward for their dancing and songs. These girls are banded together in cliques or sororities known as Bu Tsa Bomo. Only those belonging to the same band dance together; consequently considerable rivalry and jealousy exist between these groups. Lastly, in advance of the actual dancing, priests appear at the different homes of the prominent people and invite them to come early to see the dances at the monastery.

Within the monastery from the twenty-fifth of the twelfth month until the twenty-ninth, demon-exorcising masses are carried on. The great dorma or offering for the demons is built. All priests must come to the monastery and register. Those sick send a scarf by a messenger and those who do not attend or send excuses are not considered a part of the monastery nor connected with it, being

either expelled or punished for non-registration. The 25th day of the 12th month is the first registration day.

Novices are all excited when the morning of the 28th arrives, but the experienced know that "come early" means about noon. Short days, cold weather and indifference to time contribute to such definition of early. The poor come first to witness the arrival of the rich. As one steps inside the huge eastern gate which is lined with a curious crowd of dark brown faces peeping from beneath shaggy locks of greasy black hair, an escort comes forward. This escorts consists of six gaudily dressed young monks whose gowns of red, blue and yellow silks, mixed in dazzling contrasts are worn over their own red woollen cloaks which can be seen below their knees. Upon their heads are leering masks of papier mache in pairs of yellow, green and grey colours. Since the masks have no openings for peering out, they are placed on top of the head with the faces toward the sky; as hats rather than masks. Around their waists are ropes of bells which jingle merrily as two of them lead the way, lashing out with whips, while the others keep the crowd from pressing too closely on the flanks and rear. The country people stare open-mouthed at the fair skinned, blonde haired, foreign children. "Tse Tse, they are children of the gods," are the exclamations on all sides.

One is either taken to tents, or to the balcony of one of the buildings facing the dancing grounds, and given seats in accordance with one's rank. Here older priests bring in food—peanuts, dried pomegranates, crullers, persimmons, walnuts and buttered tea. The minimum requirements of courtesy are satisfied by partaking of a little from each dish offered. People of high rank occupy other balconies, the greater the rank, the higher the seat, which unfortunately takes one farther from the spectacle. Around the dancing area is a vast crowd of people. It is a democratic assembly. Silken, bejewelled women of the town are pressed by country women in red-plaided skirts and yellow-spotted waists, while sheepskin gowned nomads squeeze into any vacant spot. The country men and women lean intimately upon each other's shoulders, or twine their arms about each other's necks. Red-cloaked priests and the khaki-coloured foreign uniforms of Tibetan soldiers are seen side by side, while peasants in grey wool crowd merchants in wine-coloured gowns trimmed with leopard skin. Jewellery is everywhere; in the ears and on the fingers, in the hair, and, among the very wealthy, in long chains of silver ornaments hanging down the back. The women are usually the most gorgeous with their sparkling blue or red silks, or brightly coloured woollens, although when a country swain comes around with fourteen silver rings and a

white ivory ring encircling a thick braid of hair, one stops to count the array of corals and turquoises.

The dancing ground is an open levelled space measuring about fifty by a hundred yards, surrounded by the dwellings of the monks, with the yellow-red palace of the abbot upon a commanding rise of ground. The dancers dress in the upper rooms of the temple and come out to the performing area in proper turn. The grounds are policed by tall stalwart monks armed with long whips, which they rarely use on the people, who usually respond to the cracking of the thongs in the air. Small urchins dive hither and thither through the audience and among the dancers to reach better positions. When the whips tickle their calves the crowd jeers them for their slowness. If the press becomes too great, sturdy lamas use long poles to force back the people.

After a long delay, when even the Tibetans have about lost their patience, there march out with stately stride four priests who carry long six-jointed brass horns; (Illus. No. 28) and two men who carry musette-oboës. Their coming has been indicated by the "whank, whank" of the conch shells foretelling the end of the religious ceremony, which rows of lamas within the temple have been holding since early morning as part of the ritual of coercing demons. Each of the huge trumpeting horns requires two men, one to bear the heavy front end and the other to blow the instrument. This band soon reaches its allotted place under an open tent in the northwest corner of the parade grounds. Just as the novice begins to think that this is the whole show, the band begins to play and the children running toward the temple indicate that more is coming. In a few minutes the rest of the band comes into view. Flanked by four monitors, who lash the legs of the too curious boys, two cymbalists and six drummers march slowly to the tent and group around the trumpeters. All of the band, except the cymbalists who have white capes, are dressed in their conventional red monk gowns, with yellow inner jackets and yellow, arched-tassel hats.

Another delay, the loud blare of the horns, the clang of cymbals, the treble of musettes, and the shrill screech of conch shells from the temple announce the approach of the first group of dancers. Eight monitors with two pilgrims (Alaka) and an incense bearer lead in the Chojeh and his retinue of twelve masked figures (Illus. No. 29). Since their hog-like face masks are topped with horns and skulls, one may for convenience call them the Big Devils. The hideousness of their masks contrasts vividly with their beautiful gowns of red, yellow and blue. The chief dancer is distinguished not only by a more gorgeous costume, but by a skull crowned standard with

a red tassel instead of a wooden cup with a two-ply scarf (the cup is supposed to be the top of a human skull) which all others have in their left hands. Each dancer carries in his right hand a scarfed red-tipped sword. Each scarf is different in colour and design.

The chief dancer called Chojeh represents the Lord of the Dead. He receives all departed spirits and then sends them to eternal bliss or to punishment for the proper period, before they are allowed to become incarnated in the world again. Chojeh wears a huge green mask with two enormous green horns projecting above each ear while five small yellow skulls are arranged in a crown between the horns. In the centre of the mask behind the skulls is a peacock plume. Three bulging eyes, including the eye of insight in the centre of the forehead, and a big-holed nose add to the ugliness of his aspect. Five dancers, including the Chojeh, have masks resembling the heads of bulls, the remainder have distorted human ones. The costumes of the other twelve resemble that of the chief with some variations; numbers three, six, seven, ten and eleven have horns; the others display merely a triangular perforated shield on a base on top of the head. The small skulls which signify identification with the dead vary in number; the first, second, third and twelfth dancers have five each and the others only three. All have a fringe of grey hair over the forehead of the masks.

The main differences in the dress are in the brilliant colouring. All gowns are of embroidered silk which have been put on over the red gown of everyday wear. The huge sleeves when unrolled extend almost to the ground. Down their backs are scarves which hang from the tops of the masks to the heels. Each gown has some predominating colour of red, blue or yellow except that of the Chojeh whose plaided grey and black is perhaps more in keeping with his character as Lord of the Dead. In addition the chief and number one have each an extra apron of embroidered gold with a devilish face in its centre. In spite of the somber colour of his gown the other trappings of the chief blaze out to make him the most brilliant figure.

The number one dancer represents Dadreen, a deity with a man's body but having the head of a horse which neighs fearfully to frighten beings who are mischievous to Buddhism. Another is Mantoseh, the King of the Noijin or mountain deities who guard the northern quarters. He is also the God of Wealth. Number three is Bedenlhamo, a goddess of terrifying aspect famous for her bloody and licentious deeds, but at the same time a constant and redoubtable championess of Buddhism. She has the severed corpse of a human being in her mouth. Chojong Dribajamsing, a terrible

female guardian deity, is the fourth; and the fifth is the goddess Behtse, who when propitiated protects her devotees. The tenth and eleventh are said to be Chuseen-representatives of a river crocodile who eats children. The dancers are in groups each with a different mask, costume and name. All are gods and goddesses in their most awful aspects and certain death to all opponents of Buddhism.

Chojeh and his court slowly circle the grounds three times, whirling and hopping on one foot. The waving of their long sleeved gowns enhances the gracefulness of their simple stepping. After the third turn they hop two by two back to the monastery chapel with the same loud crash of instruments that greeted their entrance. Now the Alaka, two pilgrims of the escort for Chojeh, who meanwhile have been moving among the crowd with long sheepskin bags collecting trifling gifts of thread, walnuts, needles and copper coins for blessings and prayers for the dead, move into the circle and dance (Illus. No. 30). They intersperse their dancing with rough play and coarse jokes which are more enjoyable to the spectators than any of the lively stepping. The Alaka sport black and white sheepskin gowns with the woolly side out, strings of beads with small charms attached, large black bells suspended from each side of the waist and masks of red wool. From each side of the masks hang huge brass rings with long tassels. One mask has grey hair to represent an aged person and the other black to typify a youth. Bow and arrows are slung over their shoulders and huge jewelled swords are thrust into their girdles. Their dance seems to be a comic interlude between the more serious acts. Even the occasional brandishing of a sword, as they whirled, appeared to be a mocking gesture, imitative of the Chojeh and his retinue.

The next dancers are the Atsara who are caricatures of Indian Brahman priests (Illus. No. 31). One is clothed in baggy red garments and the other in baggy blue. Three, huge, many coloured rosettes adorn each back. The sleeves are so long as to almost sweep the ground. Their dark, muddy-coloured masks, with yellow hair done up in a topknot, grin ludicrously toward the sky for the masks are mostly on top of their heads rather than over their faces. They are devoid of teeth and the open mouth is so large that the actors use it for sight. As they arrive, they have in their right hands bamboo rods painted red and yellow. They place these on end, on the ground before dancing, and when they retire they gather them up again. As they dance, they face in opposite directions, dancing close together.

The music of the dances is much the same, mostly a monotonous clanging of one pair of cymbals and the beating of one drum.

Now and then the whole band of drums, musettes and cymbals swell into one grand crescendo only to die away again to the tap of a single throbbing drum and the lone quivering cymbal. Most of the dancing is to a 4-1-2 series of beats which is repeated over and over again. The dancing follows the music, being quiet and gentle; until a crash of all the instruments, when the dancers whirl furiously.

Again, a red monitor escorts in another group. These are the two Bebo who typify the people of Nepal. They also carry striped bamboo rods upright in their right hands as did the Atsara whom they much resemble. Each flashes three brilliant rosettes on a grey and yellow striped gown. Their masks are a muddy, greenish yellow with dirty grey hair smoothed down flat without any top-knot. Their expression is more pleasant than that of the Atsara. They dance in stately fashion, both facing each other and in opposite directions, moving back and forth past one another, but farther apart than the Atsara. As they dance they hold the bamboo rods in their right hands and keep their left hands upon their hips. When they retire, the entire band departs to escort in a new group.

Soon the pleasing notes of musettes, the shrill screech of thigh-bone trumpets and the grumbling blare of the big brass horns announce the advent of the new procession. Behind the advancing band and the four gaily dressed whip monitors are seen the thirteen whirling Black Hats. There are supposed to be thirty-two of them but lack of equipment has reduced the number to thirteen.

All are dressed practically alike in black gowns trimmed with red, and yellow striped black sleeves that are long and triangular, and decorated with red, yellow and blue bands around the waist. Each has a flowing sash of yellow and black silk. Each wears a cape; some red, some yellow and the rest green. Long scarves hang down their backs suspended from the blue-black crowns of wide-brimmed blue hats to below the waist. The pumpkin-shaped crowns have the fronts painted with hideous three-eyed faces; and other eyes glare out from the back and sides of the crowns. Topping the crown is a rainbow coloured rosette supporting from its centre a white skull which in turn upholds a dorje around which droops a triangular shaped shield with a blue bulbous centre. All of these increase the height of the dancer to gigantic proportions. In fact the dancers are chosen from the tallest monks, rarely is one of them less than six feet tall and the hat increases their stature to nearly eight feet. The hat is further decorated by two long black braids, representing hair which dangles from either side. Their face is painted with a black dot on either cheek and one in the middle of the forehead. The most brilliant touch is the huge, red

satin apron whose centre is a bony face embroidered in white. The chief Black Hat is distinguished by a bone-apron.

The Black Hats are violent in their dancing, twirling in a huge circle from which they now and then hop to the centre in unison. When they meet in the centre they stand with one foot extended in front and resting on the heel, but only for an instant before they whirl and hop back to form their immense circle again. Their hands are very expressive, now furiously waving, now pointing menacingly toward an imaginary enemy. A three-sided ceremonial dagger in the right hand, with black scarf attached, and a skull cap or Goli in the left hand have exorcising power in the mystic meaning of the dance. The dance is a long one but they finally hop away in groups of two after making three slow circlings of the entire grounds. They retire with the same screech and blare of musical instruments which introduced them, the trumpeting horns as in all dances, giving a long dying note to signify departure.

The Black Hat is a reminiscence of the assassination of a Tibetan King called Langdarma who lived in the ninth century A.D. The Tibetans have the legend that a king before Langdarma, whose name was Rabajen, in his devotion to Buddhism caused a fine chorden or relic shrine to be built, before which all of the animals prostrated themselves in worship except the ox and the sheep. The ox in emnity vowed that he would be incarnated into a king that would destroy the shrine, whereupon the sheep, desiring to aid religion, said he would be reborn as a priest who would destroy the king. In due course of time the ox was reborn as Langdarma the first part of whose name means ox. He persecuted the Tibetan religionists and destroyed the chorden. The sheep was reborn as a priest and one day he donned the present Black Hat costume, hiding a bow and arrow in his long wide sleeves. In the course of a dance he approached the throne and pulling out the bow and arrow, shot the king. In honour of that event the priests to this day have danced using the same costume, only increasing the number of dancers. All of the dancers around the Lord of the Dead have developed through the centuries. Some of them have no particular significance or the meaning has been lost in the intervening centuries.

Following the Black Hats come the four Masters of the Grave known as Gireh Zheba escorted by the four guards. The Masters of the Grave are played by youthful monks about sixteen years of age. They are dressed in skin-tight white cloth painted to resemble skeletons. False tiger skin aprons, long blackish fingers and long toe nails add to their gruesomeness. Each one's death-head mask is topped by a row of five imitation skulls and draped by a rosette

supporting a peacock feather. Many coloured scarves stream down the back and one has the picture of a hideous corpse lined with satin.

The tall men of the Black Hat Dancers move in stately measures but it is the short thin skeleton dancers who are the epitome of formality and dignity in their movements. Every action is performed in the most precise and mechanical mode. The main movement consists in the flexing of one knee in the air while the dancer stands on one leg with the arms extended, one arm to the front and the other to the rear; then suddenly he puts the other down and sweeping the ground in a circle with his long bony fingers, whirls to face in the opposite direction. They repeat this performance almost endlessly until driven off by the monitors. They dance in pairs. Each pair, as a unit, faces in a direction opposite to the other.

While these skeleton dancers perform, the Nyam or corpse of a devil is brought out, and slaughtered by shots of the Tibetan rifles in the hands of the Alaka who crack crude, obscene jokes about the figure. The Nyam is a nude replica of a human being of the male sex complete even as to the privates, the whole made of meat, entrails, and blackened barley flour with the face painted white. This is undoubtedly the substitute for a human sacrifice of early centuries made at this time to propitiate the demons. Nyam means spirit or soul or human entity which is a further indication of its origin.

During all of the dances, but particularly at the time of the skeleton dance, the crowd, led by the Alaka, (Illus. No. 30) chant prayers for the dead. The uneven cadences of the mixed crowd rises and falls like the low whistling murmuring of the winds rustling through the leaves in the forest. The saying of prayers by the Alaka is most efficacious; and while the gruesome grave masters perform their straight-jacket dance, the Alaka are busy telling the crowd that they will say prayers for anyone's dead. As they move around the circle, here a son, giving a few walnuts, asks prayers for a brother; there a woman gives a needle for a child; and in another spot, a girl gives a bit of thread for a departed mother. As the Alaka receives the trifling gifts he murmurs the six syllable prayer, "Om Mani Padme Hum". Chanting this prayer during the dance of the skeletons is more potent than during the dances of the other groups so the Alaka reap an abundant harvest.

Then rush out in wild disorder the four Deemoh, two carrying black wooden hands, and two carrying red cloth objects resembling a person's entrails. They wear loose black coats and baggy pants trimmed with red. From the top of white inner waistcoat, paint-

ed partly red to represent the abdomen of women, protrude long white cloth breasts. The Deemoh personify sin. They are the goddesses of immorality, especially of sex life. Two have green masks and two have yellow, from which stream long, straggly strings of hair. One has a white cloth on top to indicate age. The fronts of their dresses are crossed by red and yellow sashes. Each has a string of bells thrown over the shoulder to add tempo and flashiness to the dancing.

Their dance is fitful and ragged. At times they make sudden jumps assuming sprawling positions; at times they push at the open air with opened palms. They extend their tits with their hands as they dance and in like manner stretch their straggly hair. After a period of furious dancing they rush off at great speed.

Immediately the Deer Dancer or Shawa whirls out to the arena. With a green, cow-faced mask and faded yellow gown trimmed in red and blue, he is more inhuman than most of the others if that is possible. He is supposed to be a messenger of the Lord of the Dead or Yama. His mask has four tusks, two upper and two lower, with teeth in the lower jaw. From the top project two horns with a network in between holding a mottled cloth. There are white spots on his mask to indicate tree blossoms. A red-edged cape with a blue centre and striped golden sash down the back sets off the lemon coloured gown. A decorated sword having a bloody tip with a pink streamer hanging from the handle is carried in his right hand, and a small, brown, patterned skull-cup is in his left hand.

After some preliminary dancing the Deer approaches the north where are laid out the paraphernalia for his act. Here is a dorje (thunderbolt) tied to a bell before a rug. Facing the north the Deer kneels on the rug, placing his sword and skull-cup (Goli) on the left. To slow music he passes his hands back and forth from the east to the west. His hand passings and twistings of the body are made in series of nines. He bows to the east and the west, and weaves his body with a circular motion toward the same directions. He dips his finger in an imaginary liquid and snaps it toward the north and south, probably doing obeisance to the Guardian Kings of those directions, as his body twistings were to the Kings of the east and west. The Shawa, after much swaying, rises only to kneel again, for three times in all. During the third kneeling he takes his sword and draws a figure on the ground before him. Then he grabs his sword and cup to dance back into the temple.

The whole crowd adjourns to the front of the temple. Here the eight monitors with maces precede the two Alaka who stand before the temple to chant poetically for the sake of a good harvest. Later

they crack a few jokes at each other's expense. Then the priests vanish into the temple to groan and chant, to pound drums and cymbals, to blow horns and to drink huge bowls of steaming tea topped by a feast of rice. The immense crowd slowly melts away to come again on the morrow. Thus, ends the first day.

CHAPTER XVI

New Year Dances

Preliminaries of the second day, the Deer Dance, the Dorchen, the Procession, evil spirits exorcised, the third day's festivities, the Gatruk Dance, the Procession, the Chojong, the Jee-balojeh dance, the Prayer dance, the Procession, Worship of Chamba, the cow-comedy act, Gyanoh Hashaug, the Drum dance, the Gatruk dance again, other dances, on the 29th of the First Month the burning of the Demons.

"At the fifteenth religious service, so great is the crush of people, that for one to come back alive is of greater wonder than the gods."

FOR the second day, which is the last day of the year, the preliminary dances are much the same except much shorter. First the Chojeh and his retinue, then the Atsara, followed by the Bebo, who give place to the Black Hats. This day the Black Hats have a more elaborate escort, being preceded by six gorgous monitors, four little princes in yellow gowns and red tasselled conical hats, and two golden gowned bearers of censers in company with the entire orchestra. Following this dance the Alaka again crack their jokes and scare the urchins with gunshots. Likewise, the skeleton ghosts and the wild women repeat their dance of yesterday; some say that the former are representative of the bearers of corpses such as carried away the body of the assassinated Langdarma, and the latter are wives of demons.

The Deer in due course, escorted by the whole band, appears in a ceremonial dance more elaborate and meaningful than that of the day before. On the north side of the circle has been laid an old flattened yak skin covering a moulded figure of barley flour and butter, which is supposed to be the corpse of a devil or Nyam. Beside the skin is a red pyramid of barley meal, some two inches high, called a Dorma.

After a few rounds of furious whirling, the Deer rushes to the yak skin and with his brandished sword hurls it to some distance. Continuing the prancing and swinging of his sword, he next rolls

back the sleeve of his bowl-carrying right hand to indicate that he has work to do. He kneels before the Nyam figure. He places his sword to the right of it and his bowl to the left. He makes many passes with his hands. Suddenly to the crashing music of the band he seizes the sword and stabs the barley devil. He rises and dances some more only to kneel again. Now after some further passes, he yanks out the intestines of the devil (long pieces of raw meat). The devil is shaped like and probably represents, a sacrificial human figure. Rising once more the Deer dances, and then a third time stoops to seize the dummy's black hair; and a little later his hands, each time tossing the part to one side of the circle. In this dismemberment ceremony the Shawa eliminates the Namshe or the soul of the demon spirit. Now nothing being left except the mutilated torso, the Deer whirls a few more times, is handed his sword and bowl, and dances to retirement.

The whole band rises and proceeds to the temple.

In a short time there is brought out a gruesome pyramidal figure fifteen feet tall. It is a three cornered structure of wood and paper with the lower half plastered with buttered barley. The upper half assumes an imitation chest and head section of a skeleton and is made only of wood and paper. This skeleton is frightful to behold. Bulging eyes quiver in a bony head. Heart and lungs, attached to fine wires, tremble in the opened front of the ribs. The whole, called a Dorchen or Great Barley Offering, is built upon an iron plate base having handles to be grasped by the hands. The priests carry it, frequently resting themselves by placing the whole structure upon a stand.

Arriving outside, before the temple door, the skeleton figure is placed upon the stand; and offerings are lined up on a table before it. These offerings consist of nine barley cubes, a copper vessel of water, a copper vessel of liquor, and a lotus-flowered pyramid of varicoloured butter two feet high.

The basic framework of the Dorchen is wood with paper glued to it having serrated edges. Barley flour kneaded with butter is used to thicken and decorate the framework. The paper part is very stiff and is painted red in diabolic curves surrounding skeleton heads in white. Each skull is a demon. The demons are coaxed into this figure on the 25th day of the 12th month, by the assembled monks, in an exorcising ceremony within the temple. The intense red and the bleached white may be a survival of the ancient days when human beings may have provided the ceremonial figure, for it is unquestionably the imitation of a human body; and likely a modern day substitute.

In a long imposing procession preceded by the trumpeters the pyramid figure is carried out by twenty lamas to the dancing ground. Following them are four monitors with bamboo rods, four princes, four censers, four food bearers (two grain and two tea), and lastly a group of four figures; the first is a yellow-cloaked, black-masked priest—the Abbot of the monastery, ringing a bell; with him is an attendant on each side and one behind carrying a rug. In the third section is the Chojeh (Illus. No. 29) with two followers, one holding an immense umbrella for his majesty and the other a stool. The Chojeh, rushing out with quivering shakes as if he had a fit, sits down on the stool from time to time as if exhausted from his trembling. Behind him comes the Deer, followed by the twelve devil attendants of the Chojeh, all whirling around the skeleton as it advances. In the last section is a large corps of eighteen drummers, twenty-five white cloaked cymbalists and a hundred and eighty-one priests. The chief cymbalist has a figured placard on his back and two Bebo attend him. On the parade ground the whole array surround the Chojeh in an immense semi-circle.

The Black-masked priest who is the chief wizard or exorcist, accompanied by his attendants, takes a position in front of the Chojeh, rings his bells and mutters incantations, to keep the demons in the skeleton figure under control. From time to time the attendants carrying grain and water give the Chief Wizard their offerings, which he takes and throws to the ground, after he has pronounced the proper spell. The Shawa (Deer) and the big devils dance; the cymbals clang; the drums boom; but at intervals the band ceases, to allow the dancers to dance and to groan in dismal tones. After a considerable period the musettes and thigh-bone trumpets send out shrill notes. Again the dancers whirl wildly, but they soon cease, while the band begins another serenade in the midst of which the pyramided skeleton is carried outside the west gate. It is followed by the whole procession which moves to the north where a pile of brush and straw has been prepared.

Outside the west gate the preceding ritual is continued; the devils and the Deer dancing to the playing of the band; the abbots' left hand rings a bell and his right hand shakes a dorje, as he chants spells. In a short time the dancers arrange themselves upon one side and with swaying bodies waft their skull cup towards the north. This is to show the demons the direction in which to flee to their king, the guardian of the north, who rules over the injurious spirits. The pile of brush and straw is set afire. The din of the band increases. With a fearful blast the pyramidal figure is cast before the fire on a rug. Boys pelt the head with stones. The

paper parts containing the Devil-heads are cast into the fire and the demon's abode (and also the demons unless they flee) are burnt up. The substantial sections are saved, but the barley and butter parts go into the stomachs of beggars whose living is always so meagre and their hunger so ravenous that more intimate contact with evil spirits does not alarm them. Theoretically the whole edifice should be destroyed but the gaining of merit by feeding the beggars, and the saving of the wooden parts for the next year's use is so valuable, that compromise is the rule.

Now the procession moves to the front of the temple where a huge picture of a copulating god and goddess, the god Dorjegejeh who is a fearful guise of the Lord of Death, hangs in front of the outer court. Before the picture are three pyramided butter offerings in red, yellow and green. Here further worship follows with music and incantation. The Big Devils and the Deer line up silently around the picture on the northern end while the abbot on the south end chants. When the Abbott casts grain before the Dorjegejeh, the Big Devils take grain from their bowls with the tips of their swords, and toss it toward the earth.

The evil spirits are driven out toward the north by the Gelugba or the Yellow Hats in this ceremony. (One day's journey to the north is a Nyimaba or Red Hat monastery who hold their services a little later and drive the evil spirits back toward the south. So the poor little devils are chased back and forth seeking whom they may devour). After much chanting by the priests the offerings are taken inside. Soon the picture is rolled up and taken within the temple; but the black priests continue chanting for a while before they too retire within the gloomy precincts of the godhouse. Their retirement completes the performance of the second day.

On the third day when the regular band parades outside it is followed by a new musical group consisting of two musettes and a drum corps of three youths wearing pancake hats of wool. A blue-gowned boy beats vigorously. A third monk in a yellow gown pounds two small gongs suspended in a rectangular frame. These three men station themselves upon the north side of the circle of people.

Soon the Gatrük (Dance of the youths) appear; eight youths not over sixteen years old dressed in the usual gaudy three coloured silks, with a huge rosette on the left shoulder. Their leader is identified by an extra rosette upon his back. Their flat doughnut-like hats have black fringes which fall down over the back and sides of the head. Each carries a white scarf in the left hand and a small scarfed axe in the right hand. They dance in unison in a straight line with great formality, the dance closely resembling that of the

skeletons. The music is furnished in one-two or two-four time by the three new musicians handling the kettle drum and the suspended gongs.

The Gatruk dance for an interminable time; while they are still on the field the Jeebalojev enter (Illus. No. 32). The Gatruk, who dance for the purpose of pleasing the good spirits in general as well as for the resident good spirits of the immediate region, must now leave to permit the Jeebalojev to dance which is for the purpose of driving the evil spirits away. In the procession of the Jeebalojev are the two Alaka preceding three monitors followed by two cymbalists, a gong beater, six men with drums strapped upon their backs, two more monitors, two yellow-hatted censer bearers, two Bebo, two Atsara, four Jeebalojev, four Deemoh, four Black Hats, and last of all the Chojong (which means Defender of Buddhism) with his immediate assistants — composed of two golden-metal hatted trident bearers and three red-gowned monks to carry a stool and assist the unwieldy Chojong to sit down. Each member of this retinue for the Chojong represents one hundred persons to aid in the defense of Buddhism.

Although this procession takes its name from the four Jeebalojev, the real figure is the Chojong (Illus. No. 33) who wears a mottled yellow gown and a red-nosed, red-faced mask surmounted by five small skulls, and a small shield with a few white rooster feathers in the centre. Also, two large flags and two small ones besides a one-cylinder banner flutter from the back of his mask, making his whole headgear a fearful mass of frightfulness. In his left hand is a bow and in his right hand a scarfed blood-tipped sword. Over his shoulder is suspended a quiver of arrows.

As the procession moves forward in stately fashion the Chojong, quivering violently, advances by such sudden rushes that the attendants have a hard time bringing up the chair, in which he sits down suddenly after each advance as if utterly exhausted. The Chojong frightens the crowd when he approaches closely and the people scurry away like alarmed rabbits.

The two trident bearers, who accompany the Chojong, carry three-pronged spears in their right hands, and round cloth-covered skull-drums in their left hands. The Gatruk are chased off the grounds by the monitors, whereupon the Chojong rushes out in a violent and menacing dance which soon exhausts him. He rests while the four Deemoh perform another of their licentious dances.

Following the Deemoh comes the dance of the four Jeebalojev composed of youths about twelve years old whose dress and equipment make them resemble little devils although they have no such function. Their name means the eight year old youths and as

part of the Chojong's retinue they share his work in defending Buddhism. Each carries a red-scarfed blood-tipped sword in his right hand and a scarfed-shield in his left. Their blood-red devil-faced masks have banners sticking out of their tops. As they dance, small bells sewed on the front of their boots increase the animation of their lively stepping. They thrust out their swords and shields in graceful curves. This is the last dance of the day and while it continues the other members of the procession retire, but the crowd, by whom brilliant sights are rarely seen, linger until the last little devil, vanishing one by one, has hopped within the temple doors. The motley crowd slowly meanders home as if satisfied that the devils of the old year have been expelled, destroyed or propitiated and there is no need to worry.

The final festivities of the New Year season takes place upon the fifteenth of the first month and is known as the Molham-cham or the Prayer Dance. While the Gudo-cham resembled a funeral, the Molham-cham partakes of a bridal ceremony. The chief feature is a procession while the dances seem as much for the purpose of pleasing the multitude as for the securing the good will of the spirits necessary for a successful year in all the phases of life. This prayer Dance is considered to be of greater importance than the Twenty-ninth Day Dances, which indicates the significance attached to the hastening the advent of the Coming God of Love from the west for whom the Molham-cham is held.

The procession consists of all the monks attached to the monastery who can get back from their various duties in surrounding country. A monastery may have a thousand monks registered on its books but only at the New Year period are there any more than a strong minority present at any one time. Dressed in the red clothes of their every-day wear and with the addition of a half-moon yellow fringed hat almost every lama carries an idol, an offering of grain or fruit, a picture of a god or goddess, or a musical instrument; or he acts the part of one of the dancers who performed fifteen days before.

The procession is not in the same order every year but there are a few stable elements with the same articles and dancers appearing in each year's procession. After a few bearers of articles there always appears the picture of the Guardians of the Four Directions. After another medley of receptacle-carrying monks will come a priest bearing the picture of Droma who is the goddess that saves the soul from transmigration. Still further along, or sometimes in front of the scroll of the goddess Droma, will be the painting of one or two deities, the actual one carried depending upon which deity is especially honoured during that year. In 1931 the likeness



PLATE 38. Sakyas monks of Derge move out into the bright sunshine for the regular prayer services of the morning. The temples have no heat and the temperature is below freezing inside but about twenty degrees above freezing outside in the sun.



PLATE 39. Pehyee Monastery eight days north of Batang and five miles from the Yangtze river belongs to the Red Cap sect. It has great beauty in setting and arrangement.

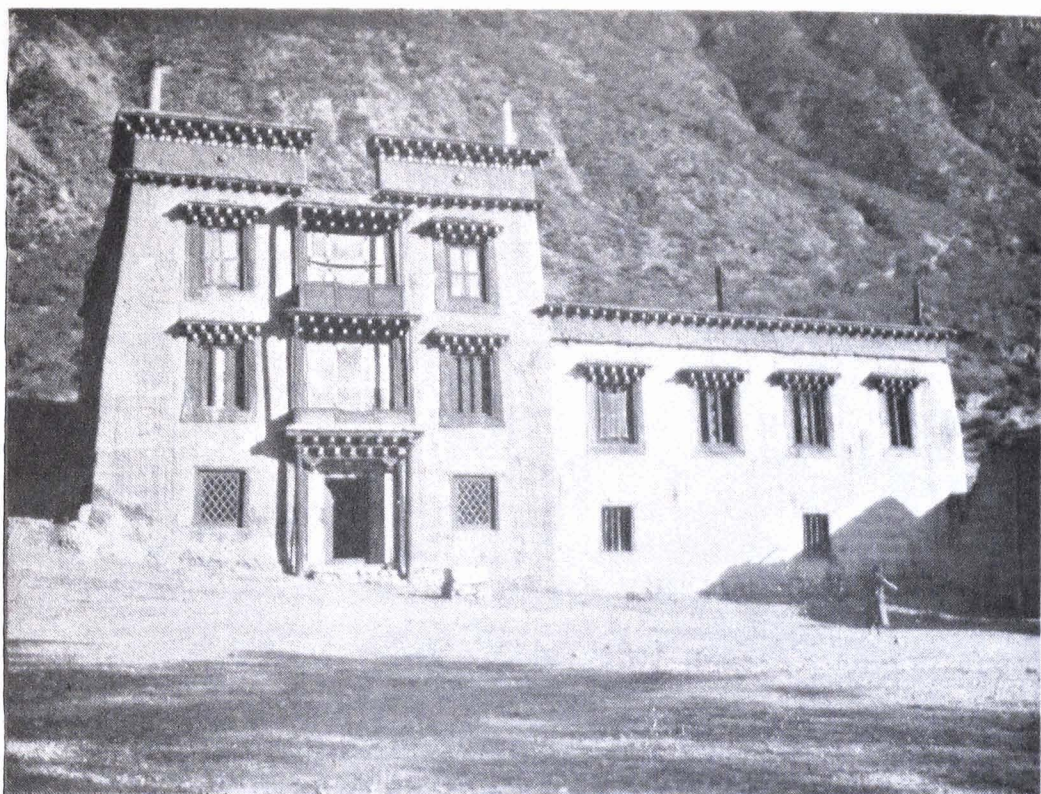


PLATE 40. The residence of the Living Buddha at Batang is painted in white and yellow colours with red trimmings. This dwelling is the average size for a minor incarnation.



PLATE 41. Although he was not an incarnation this monk was an able man and consequently was Abbot of the immense monastery of Litang for two years in the rotation rulership plan of that institution.

of Tsongkhapa was in the procession as that year, the iron sheep year, is particularly favoured by him. Near the end of the line will be the sedan chair containing the idol figure of the God of Love or Chamba who is worshipped in the dances which follow later. At the end of the whole array comes the Chojong, the Defender of Buddhism, surrounded by representatives of all the dancers who performed a half month before. The order of the rest of the procession depends largely upon the fancy of those who hand out the drum, the idol, the sword, the bowl or the banner (See Appendix V).

The whole procession moves in a slow, stately manner leaving the monastic grounds by the west gate, circling the monastery clock-wise to re-enter the west gate again. Back on the monastic dancing court the procession forms a three-quarter circle. The sedan chair idol of Chamba (Illus. No. 34) is placed on the north side of the court and facing the south with a table of offerings before it. The offerings are seven cups of clean water and butter barley pyramids.

Soon two priests walk slowly from the circle, stopping some fifty feet in front of the idol and prepare to worship him, the coming Buddha of Love. All of their movements are performed at a snail's pace and in a very mechanical manner. Long yellow gowns with their official yellow crescent-shaped hats have been added to their regular clothes of red. Arriving in position they place their yellow hats some six feet in front of them, stepping as if they were treading on eggs. Unfastening their golden cloaks they grasp them by the hems and stretch their hands to full length above their heads. Then touching their palms together they bring their hands down, touching their foreheads, lips and hearts (mind, speech and soul). Kneeling, they flatten themselves out, face down upon the ground, gradually stretching their arms full length before their heads with palm down. After lying for half a minute they slowly bring their arms back to their chests and inch by inch rise up. They make this full prostration of worship three times. Then folding their gowns, they place one foot and pick up their hats; in time they get them on their heads and in slow crawling time rejoin their comrade's ranks. This whole performance is repeated in its exactitude by the second group of three monks, except more quickly.

After these obeisances the greater part of the procession retires to the monastery leaving only the idol and the dancers to continue the performance. Soon two Alaka appear, one leading a cow and the other carrying a pail. Their approach is the cause of much laughter and the crowd surges into a more compact mass, to see and hear more clearly their clownish act. The Alaka fuss around

to properly place the cow and finally settle in front of the idol. The pail carrier pretends to wash his hands and then begins to milk on the wrong (left) side. When he has finished (although not actually milking) he pours out milk into two cups which they offer to members of the band, who one by one dip their second finger into the liquid, and snap a droplet into the air as an oblation to the gods, after which they present the Alaka with a scarf. Previous to offering participation in the droplet ceremony to the band, the Alaka had presented milk to the idol Chamba, snapping their fingers three times after dipping them in the liquid. Now the Alaka come around to all of the prominent spectators and present the milk. If the spectators do not snap droplets into the air, the Alaka do it for them. In return the spectators are obligated to give a small gift or a ceremonial scarf. Along with the Chinese officials we give copper cash.

Before the comic worship of the cowmen is finished, a saint of China called Gyanoh-Hashang (Gyanoh means China) who is reputed to have been driven out of Tibet and preached Buddhism in China years ago, comes out in a gown of lemon colour. He is figured with an extremely large yellow mask with a fatuous expression and a bald head. He is accompanied by two boys and two girls (played by boy monks) masked with pleasant, almost silly, yellow faces and dressed in golden silks. The children carry strings of bells and immediately tease the cowmen, who drive them away with thongs.

When the Gyanoh-Hashang and his children sit down the cowmen climax their milking stunt by a mock worship. They are probably trying to falsely instruct Hashang in the form of worship to be given Chamba. One faces the idol and the other faces his comrade standing between him and the idol. The one facing Chamba pretends to wash his hands, then bows to the God of Love. Taking a long white scarf he measures it to show Chamba how much he is getting but he does it incorrectly letting it slip in his hands as he stretches it out to arm's length, so that he counts three measures when there are only two. As he walks up to present it to Chamba the other intercepts him and returns the scarf to the worshipper by wrapping it around his neck (Illus. No. 34). Then the two reverse positions and the worship is repeated with increased mockery. The false measuring seems to be largely for the purpose of surpassing each other in the presentation of the largest offering to the idol.

The Alaka having been driven off, the Hashang stands in front of Chamba and bows three times. Each time as he bows down the children rush up to help him regain his upright position. Then all

form in a line from north to south with the Gyanoh-Hashang upon the north end. They dance in stately measures for a short time when the priest retires to his chair on the south edge of the circle leaving the children to form a square and dance with sweet, respectful gestures for a while longer. Finally, the four tiny satellites retire to present themselves before the upper class spectators for a gift. This whole dance seems to be a caricature of the worship and efforts of Hashang to instruct the Chinese in Lamaistic Buddhism, when he did not have the true knowledge of it and the methods of worship.

While Hashang's youths are collecting small gifts, there hop out, in long strides, six men with freshly painted drums strapped to their backs. They wildly swing their long drum-sticks as they do a circle dance to a clanging cymbal tune played by an old man with a cockade hat and a grey gown. At pausing—steps of the dance the drummers pound their own drums with alternate strokes of the drumsticks in each hand. The drummers are dressed in red or green cockade hats, in blue brocaded silk cloaks trimmed in red or yellow, and the ordinary Tibetan boots. Scarfs flutter in the wind from their drums and drumsticks.

After the drum dance which has no other meaning except that of entertainment, the Gatrük dance once more. In the course of this dance they face the west, stoop down and place their maple-leaf-shaped axes on the ground and touch their foreheads thrice with their right finger tips. Otherwise their movements are the same as those on the third day of the Gudo-cham.

When the Gatrük have finished their dance the Chojong, Atsara, Bebo, Deemoh, Black Hat and the Jeebalojeh in the order named stage short dances. Their dances are the same as before, a sort of climax to their much longer dances, except the Deemoh. The Deemoh, in addition to their previous voluptuous movements push their hands at imaginary images in the air as signals to be silent and then put their hands in their bosoms.

During the Molham-cham the mood of the audience is more bouyant and joyous than during the Gudo-cham some fifteen days before when was heard the mournful, rumbling voices of the people as they sang blessing-songs for the dead. To day the people linger as if loath to go, but finally the last Jeebalojeh rushes off the field with wild flourishes of their swords, and the crowd slowly wends its way homeward, satisfied that peace and prosperity will be their lot during the present year.

Nor was the Molham-cham exactly the last of the New Year Festivals. On the 29th of the first month as a sort of aftermath the demons who might have remained are annihilated. Another skeleton

figure like the one a month before but smaller is brought out accompanied by the Abbot and his retinue with nine Black Hats. The ceremony of destroying the demon-figure is similar to the former in many respects. There is in addition a long pole, with slips of paper attached to one end into which the evil spirits are enticed. At the crescendo of an incantation ceremony, the papers are thrust into the sudden spurt of a huge flame which is created by a bowlful of spirits hurled into a kettle of boiling butter (Illus. No. 35). Then the Dorma figure is taken out of the west gate and destroyed as before. Upon the return of the procession with the Abbot and Black Hats to the temple, the picture of Dorjegejeh again is hung down in front of the doorway for a period of time. The Black Masked Abbot recites once more, with the Black Hats assisting this time, instead of the Deer and the Big Devils as on the 29th of the last month in the old year. When this final exorcism is complete the relatively small crowd disperses.

On the nineteenth of the second month the Red Hats or Nyimaba monastery which is one day's journey north of Batang hold their devil casting out ceremony but instead of chasing them to the north, they expel them toward the south. It seems as if the two sects do many things in opposition and keep the evil spirits hopping back and forth between them.

CHAPTER XVII

Monks and Monasteries

The Three Hats, the Bon or Black Hats, the Red Hats or Nyingmaba, the Yellow Hats or Gelugba, number of lamas, monasteries, hermitages, monastic buildings, the monastic kitchen, the monastic organization, the temple, nunneries, monks, orders of monks, food of the lama, dress of the monk, education of the monk, education in Lhasa, the work assignments of the monks, leaving the priesthood, co-operation of sects.

*"Dust must not enter the pupil of the eye,
Lies must not go into Holy Religion."*

EXCEPT during important religious ceremonies the Tibetan priest called "Lama" shows only a shaved head, but when he dons a hat he is known by the colour he wears. The original Bon religionist wears a Black Hat. His first reformed friend likes Red Hats but the reformer of the Red Sect chose a Yellow Hat to distinguish his followers from the other two groups. These are the three main orders of Tibetan Lamaism but the Red and the Yellow have been split during the centuries of their existence into numerous sects; many of them the ordinary layman cannot name.

Before the enlightenment of Buddhism prior to the seventh century A.D. the first religion of Tibet was known in their language as Bon. It was a belief in the spirits of earth and sky and these spirits caused all of the good and evil in life. Dwelling in objects of nature as trees, rivers, mountains and celestial forms those that were evil spirits were to be propitiated and controlled, and the good were to be worshipped for their aid in thwarting the wicked demons. Demons were exorcised by incantations and sacrifices of animals, and in the earliest times of human beings. The chief function of the Bon priest was to control the spirits, especially the evil ones, for the avoidance of disaster and the assurance of prosperity. Despite centuries of accretions from Buddhism the religion of Tibet known as Lamaism, or doctrine of the Lama, is basically today as it was in the beginning.

Although Buddhism along with Tibetan writing was reported to have come into Tibet through the efforts of their King of the Golden Ages—Songtsan Gampo, its influence upon Bon did not immediately create Lamaism, for a century later the Wizard Padma Sambawa accepted the invitation of King Trisongdetsen to come to Tibet from India. Padma Sambawa, who is today worshipped by the Red Hats almost as much, if not more than Buddha, vanquished all of the chief devils of Tibet, appointing them as defenders of religion provided they were worshipped and fed (Illus. No. 47). This redoubtable devil-exorciser venerated the Bon belief with a magical type of Mahayana Buddhism, instituted the order of Lamas and started the old or Nyingmaba sect with its red hats and red cloaks upon its long, checkered career. (Illus. No. 36). Lamas could still marry although wives must be seen only at home. Heads were shaved — for the Black Hats wore their hair long and, like laymen, still adhere to this custom.

The new Lamaism survived the onslaught of Bon religionists and new sect-creating reformers, so absorbing the old Bon (however being modified in turn), that today the old Bon in its former purity has passed away, although still extant in a slightly modified form in isolated areas.

The new religion was firmly established by the translation of the Buddhist Scriptures under the rule of King Ngadohtriral or Ralpachan. This King is reputed to have been very enlightened, thinking only of the welfare of his subjects and the extension of religion. He is said to have divided all wealth of the country three times in the course of his reign. In the division each person had the same amount of property. However, in five or six years those who were rich before, became rich again, and those who were poor, became poor again. After the failure of the third division he gave up in despair and said, "those who were rich now had led a good life in a previous existence and, those who were poor had led an evil life in their former rebirth". He attributed to fate the failure of his efforts to equalize the wealth of the country and make all alike in happiness. The King, however, resisted the efforts of the ministers to oppress the people, whereupon the ministers secretly poisoned him.

Ralpachan was succeeded by his brother Langdarma whose three years reign, in which he persecuted vigorously the new Lamaism, was ended by his assassination at the hands of a priest. The exploits of this Lama, who was dressed in the guise of a Black Hat devil-dancer is commemorated today in the Black Hat Dance of the New Year Festival. The assassin dressed in black with a white lambskin lining, and riding a white horse blackened with soot easily

escaped by plunging into the Kyi river which whitened his horse, and then turning his coat inside out was able to elude his pursuers.

Langdarma's death was the last serious setback to Lamaism and from that time forward the new religion increased rapidly in numbers and power. However, the Red Hats did not reign indefinitely, for a new sect arose out of their ranks under the leadership of Atisha, who came from India about the middle of the eleventh century. The reform, which he led, developed into the present day Yellow Hats or Gelugba under a later leader known as Tsongkhapa, who is called the Luther of Buddhism. Tsongkhapa, known also as Lozongdraba, was born in Amdo near Kokonor Lake at Kumbum about 1355 A.D. He reorganized his followers into other monasteries and instituted a much stricter discipline of the monks, forbidding them to marry and imposing upon them a much greater number of vows than hitherto imposed upon the lamas. Tsongkhapa developed a more elaborate ritual for the temple and the exorcising services, part probably borrowed from Roman Catholic ritualism, as it seems certain that Tsongkhapa had contact with them in his youth. Tsongkhapa personally founded Gahlden monastery near Lhasa, and his followers founded the other great monasteries in and near that city. Today these monasteries are the most potent power, spiritually (and until 1952 politically) in Tibet.

The nephew of Tsongkhapa was installed as the first Grand Lama of the new Yellow Hat sect. His successors struggled vigorously to obtain the supreme power and eventually under the Fifth Dalai Lama, known as the Glorious Fifth, became the temporal ruler of Tibet. Since that time until the communists came, the head of the Gelugba sect, known as the Dalai Lama, has also been the political ruler of Tibet. With such prestige against them the Red Hats and Black Hats have declined in numbers and influence, but they still remain numerous in the more distant areas and are specially powerful in Eastern Tibet (Illus. Nos. 38 & 39). The reforms of these major groups were not the only splits but from time to time other leaders created offshoots, so that sects of varying shades abound between the Black and the Red, and the Red and Yellow. Some are little removed from the ancient Bon, while even the purest Yellow Hat sect retains so much of the ancient Bon belief and ritual that the lay population know little of the pure Buddhist philosophy. The people depend more upon the exorcising power of their lamas to subdue the demons who menace their life, than upon the doctrines of Gautama Buddha.

Each sect as it emerged must set itself apart by some new regulations lest it fall back into the mire from which it arose and be

merged again into its source, so the Gelugba or "The Virtuous Path" not only changed the colour of the head-dress, imposed celibacy and a higher code of morality but also gave to those who remained unreformed the name of Nyingmaba or "The Old Ones". However, the Gelugba as well as the Nyingmaba were not able to abolish the old Bon deities so they incorporated them into their systems by blending with Hindu deities or discovering them to be other forms, mostly terrific manifestations. The personal founders of the new sects in time became gods to be worshipped and today hold the chief place of honour in their temples, with the older deities still remaining although relegated to places of lesser importance. In order to survive, the oldest sects were compelled to establish monasteries, organize their priesthood, and institute elaborate ritualistic services.

It is the ambition and policy of every family in Tibet to have a member in the priesthood. The family which does not have a lama is either an outcast—as the corpse-carriers, butchers, and a few others, or accidentally deprived of representation. They are handicapped in several ways. They have no family representative in the exorcism of community demons, no close connection with the great religious festivals, no pull in the political government, and last but not least no financial tie-up with the chief property owners of the country—that is the monastic organization. This last factor is evident when one knows that the monk not only shares in the monastery by receiving food, shelter and protection, but if he does not have some priest-relative to inherit his property when he dies, all that he leaves goes to the monastery. Hence it is vital that a nephew be ordained to the priesthood to inherit his celibate monk-uncle's possessions. By such inheritance, by trading, and outright gifts, the monasteries have become immensely wealthy.

With a monk in almost every family it is safe to assume that there will be one lama to every three males or one to every six persons. Sometimes when there are many sons, more than one may enter the priesthood which will cover the rare family who does not have a priest.

With such an immense horde of lamas it would naturally follow that there are a large number of monasteries. Even the smallest village has a temple with a few monks in attendance, while the larger villages are the seat of huge religious establishments (Illus. Nos. 37 & 39). Often the monastery will occupy almost the whole of the populated centre with merely a few lay households. If the village has a thousand inhabitants, it will often have a monastery of equal numbers for the priestly establishment serves a district. The lamas from any district, which varies in size, or from a num-

ber of tribes, will be registered in one monastery; however, the whole number will not be in attendance much of the time since they must provide religious services in their own outlying villages. As each monk's name comes up in the register by rotation he will go out as calls come in from people for the various forms of religious service. This rotation will be broken only by special request and for sufficient reasons.

The largest monastery in Tibet is located at Lhasa; known as Drebung or Heap of Rice, it has an official number of 7,700 monks. Several other Tibetan monasteries have a registry of over five thousand. Two out of three monks from Batang attend Drebung which is heavily patronized by priests from Kham. One third of the Batang monks go to Gahlden although they formerly matri-culated at Sera; both of these have an official enrolment of lamas, the former with 3,300 and the latter with 5,500.

The monastery is distinguished from the hermitage by its large number of monks, its buildings and its activities. Usually the hermitage is part of the monastic establishment, although located some distance away upon the side of a mountain. The hermitage may have only one building a temple and never more than just a few small structures centred around the godhouse. Here the mystics retire for meditation, prayer and fasting. Sometimes there will be one, sometimes several gentle-faced monks who have retired altogether from this life's pursuits and engage wholly in supplication and contemplation. Their wants are supplied by friends who also gain merit by ministering to these hermits. Some of the more famous monasteries make a speciality of isolation, building cells upon the mountainside, where monks are incarcerated for varying periods of time. If the regime is followed out to the end they are first walled in for three months, then three years and three months, and finally for life. Few are willing to be imprisoned for life and these are held to be very holy.

The cells where the monks are walled in from outside contact exclude all light and the only means of access is a small opening where food is placed once a day. These cells have no proper drainage and must in time become fearfully foul. The solitary hermits eat no meat and eat but once a day at high noon, taking their food secretly as they are supposed to be ashamed at the necessity of taking food, for it is a yielding to the desires of the flesh. When the food is not removed for some time the walled-up door is broken down and after certain ceremonies have been finished the dead monk is removed. If possible the hermit dies while sitting in the accustomed Buddha (or crosslegged) position. His body may be embalmed and erected into an idol which is set up for worship.

Some of the retreats are decent-sized cells which are distinguished by their red colour, their solitary position and their air of quietness. Sometimes it is only a cave, or a protected ledge, upon the side of a cliff, and reached by a steep path up which the devotees toil to feed the hermit or to invoke his blessing. In 1932 a hermit lived in a cave on the face of a cliff into which had been built a comfortable cell out of timber. The cell was about two hundred feet above a raging river across from Tachienlu and reached by a rope bridge. The hermit had sworn to refrain from speaking for two years but he would listen to others and write any necessary answer upon paper. Of a cheerful urbane disposition he seemed to enjoy the notoriety and general quietness. Men and women daily climbed the dangerous stairway to bring him food and receive his blessing. He was a living example of the saying that "As cedar, if thrust into fire, yet the more its odour, So all holy men by suffering later achieve greatness".

To many of the hermits in time are reputed supernatural powers. One ascetic dwelling south of Batang was said to be able to crush stones in his hands and also to sit upon a blade of grass. Another near Derge was credited with the ability to fly in the air, especially at night. Hermits may dress in cotton garments but are able to withstand the cold by the practice of inducing internal warmth through inner contemplation. They are sought for occult advice and for insight into the future. Because of their sanctity and powers they are given equal or higher honours than the lesser incarnations. Although they do not hanker after worldly possessions yet through the receipt of gifts some become people of means, carefully hiding any goods they may accumulate. When they die their property usually goes to their home monastery, which naturally encourage someone of their number to enter into meditation or become incarcerated for life as a source of revenue.

Hermits expect to be reborn as incarnations. Some of them have been thus spiritualized by the lamaistic hierarchy. The most famous hermit was Milareba who lived about the middle of the eleventh century. Besides aiding in the founding of one of the most important sects—the Kargyuba, he also wrote a book of one hundred thousand songs. He lived in a cave, clothed in a thin cotton cloak and ate nettles. To this day a certain nettle, which has but little sting in its prickles, upon which he lived, is called "Milareba's nettle". The very poor who must pick this nettle for food are reminded of the saint and are consoled.

The monastic establishment like the hermitage (but to a greater extent) revolves around a temple where daily services are held. The temple is invariably higher than the other buildings and fairly

well centred in the monastery (Illus. No. 39). Sometimes the mansions and cells of the monks flank out along the sides around an open court, whose walls are frescoed with deities. The chief priest (especially the head abbot) and the lamas from rich families have fine homes (Illus. No. 40), but the poorest monks will share with others a small barren cell. The roof of the chief priest's house will be decorated by streamers floating from small hexagonal turrets; but even the poorest monk will be given a place to live for he must stay in the monastery.

The substantial homes of the well-to-do lamas will have a fine altar and richly carved idols in the god-room, which is always the most important room. The furnishings will be fine rugs, red-lacquered tables, deer-hair cushioned cots and latticed windows. The monk will eat out of a silver bowl and his gowns will be of the best broadcloth. The numerous gods and vessels for worship in his god-room will compare favourably or surpass those in small village temples. On the other hand the furnishings of the very poorest monk's rooms will be devoid of everything except the rudest clay figure of their tutelary deity presiding over a small chipped, unpainted table, a plain wooden bowl usually knicked, a clay teapot upon a small fire, a few trinkets and a pair of small ragged mats either of woven yak-hair or of felt.

Near the temple is a smaller building, usually to the right as one approaches the front, which contains the kitchen and the storage rooms for food. Here food and drink are prepared when services are held in the temple, quickly carried through a side door into the main auditorium, and distributed to the monks as they rest between periods of chanting. In the large monasteries the bronze kettles are of enormous size, so large that stairways and platforms must be built to reach them as they are perched upon the clay stoves. The stoves, at least five feet high, are fed by logs of wood or large cakes of dried yak manure, and support kettles three feet deep and six feet in diameter. Monks use long ladles to dip out the tea into churns, or more rarely the noodle stew, into wooden buckets. Except upon the great festival occasions only hot tea is served with dry tsamba so that usually but two kettles out of the four are in use. Blinded by the smoke, which must find its way out through the holes in the roof, and the hot steam from the boiling tea enveloping the attendants, there have been instances when a monk has fallen into the kettles and perished.

Upon the death of a wealthy person, when a large contribution is sent to the monastery for prayers, or upon the great festival occasions when the receipts are generous, many of the monks attached to the temple will participate in the religious service since

tea and grain will be bought to feed long rows of intoning lamas. On ordinary days produce from the monastic fields must be used. Immense bins and many hundreds of sacks must be used in storing the grain and butter received by the larger monasteries, which obtain their rent in kind from their tenants.

The head or abbot of the monastery is usually an incarnation of some deity or saint, but if there are none available, then some learned, able graduate monk is appointed by the Dalai Lama as abbot (Illus. No. 41). Chief among the assistants of the abbot is the treasurer who has charge not only of the fields which he rents to tenants on shares but also of the traders who drive the monastic strings of horses and mules long distances in the buying and selling of merchandise. The treasurer furthermore has the loaning of the religious funds which are lent at exorbitant rates of five to sixteen per cent a month depending upon the security advanced and the desperate need of the individual. As a rule the abbot does not tarnish his soul with business nor is he supposed to think about the financial condition of the monastery, especially if all is prosperous; and consequently the treasurer comes to have immense power which he invariably uses to enrich himself. He may become so powerful that none dare protest against his exactions until his oppressions lead to his violent death by obscure means. It is the duty likewise of the treasurer to contact families of wealth each year in the fourth moon and present to them a small gift, such as a bolt of cloth, and the family in return are obligated to give a much more expensive present, such as a horse or yak to the monastery.

Besides the abbot and treasurer, there are monitors or police who keep order, especially at the festivals; a steward in charge of the mess; and a custodian of property who has assistance to guard not only the utensils and other articles of value but also to show any visitors around the temple. Larger monasteries will have a more elaborate personnel but the above numbers suffices for the ordinary-sized establishment, except the menial positions of caring for the buildings, preparing the food, gathering wood, carrying water, and herding the pack animals. These muscular tasks fall to the poorest and least intellectual priests although some of this work may be performed by poverty-stricken lay men and women who live in tumble-down huts just outside the monastic gates.

The monastery is the haven of refuge for the criminal. A hundred feet from the Batang Monastery is a place called Jaoo-Gyatse-Pung "the life hell of a hundred steps" which once reached by the breaker of a law secures for him the protection of the lamas until his case is settled by mediators of the parties involved. As wealth

can settle for any deed, even murder, this right of refuge is more valuable for the rich than the poor.

Many of the monasteries keep their own armed monks to war against, or to protect themselves from, other monasteries, which may be of a different sect or even a sub-sect of their own denomination. Feuds between abbots, or the subjects involving the abbot, lead to besieging and burning of monasteries so that monks must be able to fight as well as pray. About the year 1925 the Yellow Cap Abbot of Batang sent an armed force to even the score against the Red Cap Namke Lama whose establishment was twenty miles away upon a high mountain range. It was reported that when the Chinese General Chao Erh Feng in 1905 besieged the Batang monastery the Namke Lama revealed the hiding place of the escaped Abbot who was then executed with his chief men for not submitting to the invading Chinese. A few of the Red Cap Lamas were now killed and six guns given as a ransom before the Yellow Cap armed force would retreat. This twenty year old dispute in its revival proved that rival monasteries would not forget an old feud. This brought the familiar remark by the common people that "If a great priest comes into a country he becomes the central source of war, If a great lord arrives in a country he stirs up distress in the kingdom".

Another illustration of the feuding spirit of monastic groups is further illustrated by the spasmodic war which continues between the Rana Lama and the Gonka Lama. The monastery of the former is eight days to the south of Batang upon the east side of the Yangtze River and the latter resides three days to the west of the Rana Lama upon the opposite side of the Yangtze in a castle-like stronghold. Both are of the Yellow Cap sect. Furthermore the Gonka Lama was the tutor of the more youthful Rana Lama but in spite of this connection since their people are hostile they must lead their forces against each other. The beginnings of the feud are obscure, some accidental killing in a plundering raid by young hot-bloods, or the cause may easily have been stated as in the proverb "When the women quarrel, The tribes' novices fight". Houses continue to be burnt upon each side at intervals and at least once, during a siege of the Gonka monastery, the greater part of the buildings were destroyed by fire.

The centre of the monastery is the temple (Illus. No. 42). It may be only a small chapel in a village attended by a few monks who live in it or in a small adjoining hut, and who have been assigned to it as their parish by the abbot of the district lamasery. Sometimes the temple is an immense group of buildings surrounded by the homes of thousands of monks. The village temple suffices for small

ordinary religious services but does not undertake the Festivals of the New Year and other great holidays of the Lama church. The village exercises some choice in the priests allotted to them as the village people must support the lamas. Usually they are local monks.

The temples are called "God-houses" which differentiate them from "solitary place" the original meaning of hermitage and of monastery. The monastery grew out of the hermitage when the number of monks increased so that the establishment must add many buildings to house the inmates. A monastery is supposed to be least a thousand paces from a town.

A temple is the repository of numerous gilded clay idols, ponderous board-bound books, chordens containing the relics of saints, paintings of deities and an enormous variety of equipment used in worship. Inside the temple, at the rear, lining the back wall and part of the sides is one mass of idol figures. The chief deity of the sect occupies the centre and is flanked upon each side by the founder of the sect, the tutelary deity of the monastery, or the figure of the Coming Buddha. Farther removed will be idols representing almost every known god and goddess, and often including the founders of other ancestral sects. One side wall will contain niches for books, and if the lamasery is a large one, an entire set of the sacred Buddhist scriptures the Kahgyur with its 108 volumes lining one side-wall. A few monasteries have also the complete set of the Tangyur which comprise 225 volumes of commentaries upon the Kahgyur. Other religious writings are invariably represented. In areas where there are no idols or books, and upon the front wall, are frescoes of deities in brilliant colouring. The deities are mostly of the frightful type who protect religion from its enemies. Scrolls of deities and of the sacred symbols of Lamaism hang from the ceilings or from the pillars which support the roof. In the vestibule to the left of the door is an immense prayer-barrel four to five feet in diameter and eight feet high, crammed full of the written prayer "Om Mani Padme Hum". The worshippers turn this barrel to the tinkle of a musical bell as they go in and out. Paintings of the Guardian Kings of the four Quarters or Directions adorn the walls of the vestibule. Sometimes there will also be room for frescoes to the local snow mountain deity and of the wheel of life. At other places a row of smaller prayer barrels circle the temple so that devotees can circumambulate to the right and whirl the barrels before they enter the temple door to prostrate before the idols.

Besides the main temple there will be in the large lamaseries other temples dedicated to some particular deity, the most com-

mon among the Yellow Hats being Chamba the God of Love, followed by the God of Mercy Chenrezig, (Illus. No. 48) by Droma the Goddess who saves from rebirth and by Tsongkhapa the Founder of the Gelugba sect. In the Litang Temple of Chamba worshippers have been so numerous that a depression shaped like the human figure when prostrate has been worn in the wooden spruce floor to the depth of four inches. Among the Red Hats a separate temple is certain to be dedicated to the wizard founder of their sect Padma Sambawa who in one god-house is an immense brass sitting figure 20 feet in height (Illus. No. 47) and elevated upon a base over ten feet high.

Temples are located by divination upon an auspicious spot, which invariably is one easy to defend, with an undivertable supply of water from a spring or a large river within or beside the walls. One immense monastery occupied the forked end of a long range whose contour resembled Ka the first letter of the Tibetan Alphabet, and this letter named the establishment Kadoh or the top of the Ka.

Lamaism emphasizes the male sex even to the extent that women are only allowed in the Lamaseries during the New Year and at a very few other festival occasions for worship in the temple; and permit the pious, who desire to obtain merit for the saving of life to present cocks (never hens) to the monastery. Yet Lamaism has its nunneries. These institutions, which are most common among the older sects, may be alone or in connection with a monastery. One nunnery of the Gelugba sect in Eastern Tibet has a male abbot (an incarnation) but he is not permitted to reside there at night. Generally most of the Gelugba nuns reside at home. Every old woman, even those who do not shave their head, partake of the nature and class of nuns as they are expected to spend much of their time twirling prayer wheels and muttering "Om Mani Padme Hum". It is considered better for the old women to shave their heads, which most do after sixty, although they are under no compulsion to do so. Those who become fully fledged nuns are under oath to keep 364 vows.

Nunneries are patterned after lamaseries but they are much more dilapidated and lack prestige with one exception. This is the Diamond Sow Goddess Incarnation of Samding Monastery upon the shores of Yamdok Lake. She alone among all women of Tibet has the privilege of riding in a sedan chair. She also is the only woman who does not have to be reborn as a man in order to progress upward in life's round of rebirths. Nunneries as a rule are farther removed from the main highways and occupy a more secluded spot

than monasteries; and will not be seen unless one makes a special trip to them.

The theoretical rule that monks should not come from families whose occupations include the making of weapons which take life, or are connected with the taking of life, is not carried out in practice any more than the regulation that those physically and mentally below normal are rejected. It is observed, however, that the deficient either cannot rise above the lowest grade or must confine their activities to serving the other monks as washers of pans and carriers of water. Acolytes crippled physically or mentally have been seen serving in the kitchen or carrying wood and water, and yet they were wearing the same monkish garments as those they served.

There are four distinct orders of lamas although sometimes there are other subdivisions. The Benchung (Illus. No. 42) have taken no vows and consist of the acolytes, the mentally and physically incompetent, and some whose mind and inclinations would not be a credit to the real priests but who find it impossible to leave definitely the monastic life. The next higher group is the Getsul who are under the restrictions of thirty-six vows. The vast majority of monks are in this group. Above them are the Gelong who must be over twenty years old and who are burdened with 253 vows. A few reach this rank and fewer still are those who attain the highest order known as Geshe which includes those who pass an examination for great learning which is the Tibetan equivalent of the college degree. The title of Geshe is often given to the very old monks as a title of respect, as similarly the title of lama is given to every monk, although only those who are the rank of Gelong or above are properly entitled to be called "Lama".

There is no fixed age for youth to enter the priesthood. Most boys take their entering present to the abbot in the company of their father when they are between the ages of eight and fourteen. After their gift is accepted and the youth enrolled his head is shaved and he begins to wear the clothes of a monk. If their home is nearby the boy-monk may live at home. In that event he will be seen going every morning to the monastery to study (Illus. No. 42) carrying his book of instructions and prayer ritual in a long wooden box slung over his shoulder. Otherwise the acolytes will live at the monastery, the poor Benchung taking service as a menial under an older priest who provides food and clothes as payment. The wealthy acolyte receives a favoured treatment becoming the personal attendant of the abbot or another high ranking lama or assigned to light religious duties of importance. Families of means supply food and clothing for their lama members while the poor

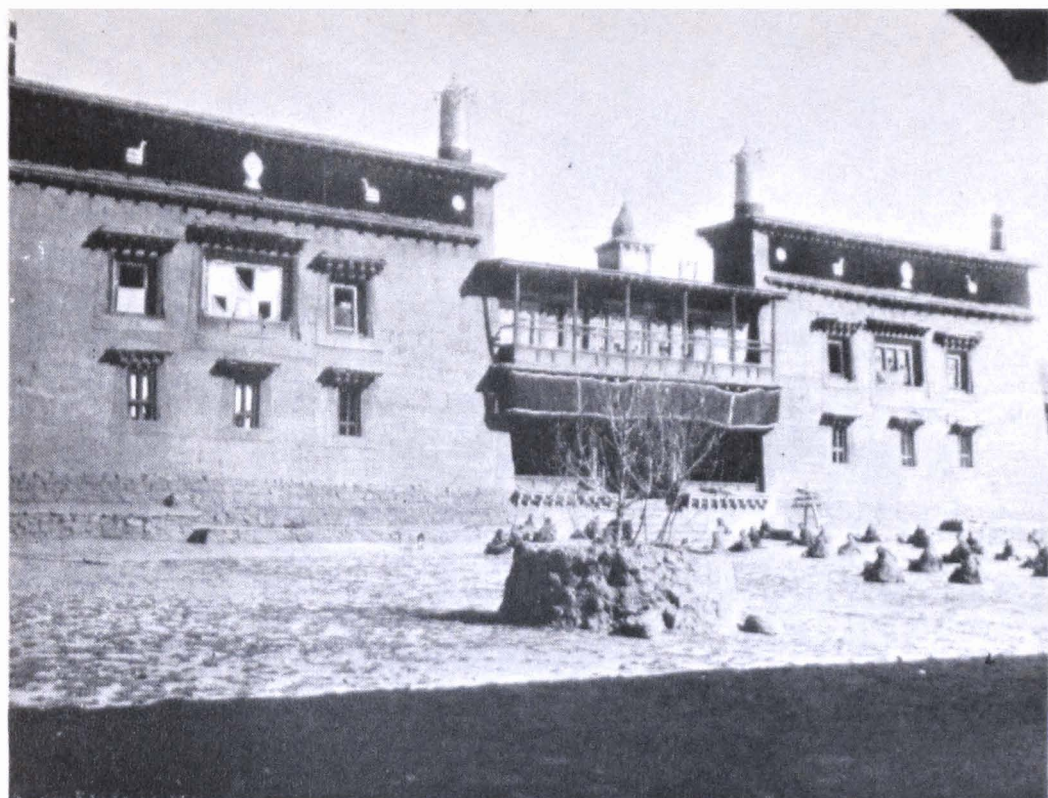


PLATE 42. Young monks called Benchung study their morning lessons in the warm sunshine before the main temple of the Gartok Gelugba monastery, in Eastern Tibet.

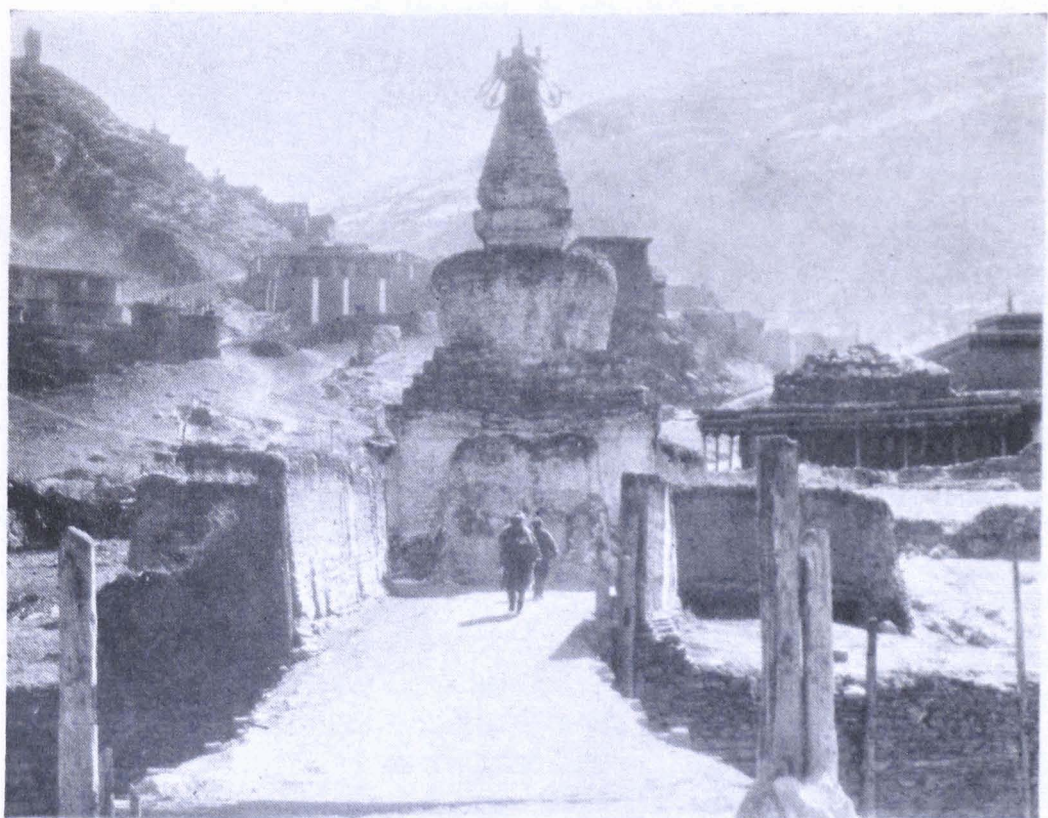


PLATE 43. The big chorden guards the river entrance from the west into the Derge Monastery. In right rear is a mani prayer pile with small prayer cylinders encircling it.



PLATE 44. Engraver in the valley west of Tachienlu which runs alongside the Menya Gongkar snow peak carves the sacred six syllable prayer "Om Mani Padme Hum" on a rock. He gets merit as well as being paid for it.



PLATE 45. The Living Buddha or incarnated priest sitting under the umbrella leads a "Power-giving" ceremony prior to blessing the multitude as he does in Plate 46.

priest must either obtain their food by work performed at the monastery or from some wealthier monk. Serving an older priest is not remunerative for both parties recognize that "Servant of a landlord gets his reward on earth, Servant of a priest gets his reward hereafter".

The chances for advancement in the monastic life are open to all with the sons of social position and rank having preferential treatment. However if the young monk has ability and is willing to apply himself he will in time secure the highest positions even as abbot of a monastery. Gahlden is not the only monastery in which ability is recognized although the proverb says "If a person has power in himself He can attain to the chair of Gahlden". Naturally those who have special talent are given the jobs of decorators, dancers, painters and sculptors for the religious festivals and in the ritualistic upkeep of the temple and its equipment.

The food of the lama is that of the ordinary layman except that he is not supposed to eat meat although very few and those mostly of the older group or those living as hermits observe this regulation. In some monasteries it is the rule to kill a yak each winter for every priest the beef being dried for use during the warmer part of the year. The monks do not do the actual killing, but are perfectly willing for the butcher to sin for them sinning which the lamas remit by special services. At the great festival seasons the priests feast upon a wide variety of food just as the laymen but for most of the year they are grateful for the daily buttered tea distributed by the monastery and the parched barley meal called tsamba furnished by their family or in return for religious services by clients who often pay with products of farm and steppe. When taking food in the temple halls where idols are present the monk places the end of his shawl in front of himself as a sign of penitence for such a sacrilege before the deities.

The stipulated dress for the monk is a bright dark red. The principal garment is a vest-gown with a secondary skirt dropping from the waist to just above the knees. The main skirt is quite voluminous and extends to within a few inches of the ground. The sleeveless vest portion may be of different colour and texture from the wool serge of the skirts. Abbots and incarnations may wear a rich silk vest of yellow and lower ranks reddish or dark brown silk vests. For public appearance and cold weather lamas have a long rectangular wool cloth draped in graceful folds like a shawl over the upper part of the body. This shawl wrapped around the shoulders and under the arm has a free end which is taken down from the left shoulder by the right hand to show respect to a superior as laymen by a similar courtesy let down their long hair.

Poor monks often go barefooted and all go bareheaded. Incarnations upon a journey will wear a round-crown wide-brimmed yellow hat, some of metal and others of papier mache. Keeping their heads constantly shaved smooth the monks have no trouble with head lice which makes life miserable for the "black heads" the name given to laymen because of their long black hair. Yellow hats by the Gelugpa and red hats by the Nyingmaba are worn only during certain ceremonies and parades.

The Benchung or acolyte (boy monks) must first learn to read. The more brilliant students are taught to write and to make simple arithmetical calculations. The acolytes have plenty of time to play and many are seen gambling—shooting copper cash or walnuts in secluded spots. Most of them merely learn to read without knowing the meaning of many words and to aid in religious ceremonies. The more ambitious in eastern Tibet plan to finish their education in their principal monasteries in order to qualify for leading a religious ceremony, to obtain higher positions in the lamasery and thus to receive better income. Acolytes of the Yellow Hats will complete their education in Lhasa, the Red Hats will go to Dzochen Gomba which is north of Derge, the Sakya will enter Derge Gomba and the Kargyuba will matriculate at Kadoh about two days southeast of Derge. These last three college monasteries are in the same general area between the Yangtze and Yalung rivers near the 31st degree of north latitude.

Every fall at the end of the rainy season about the middle of October young monks mostly between the ages of 15 and 20, set out from their homes in various localities to the larger centres of population where they form bands for safety's sake. Younger boys are usually the rich or the brilliant while the older are those who must accumulate funds over some years to finance the long two months' trip to Lhasa. The wealthy ride horses and the poor carry packs on their backs but all are armed with spears and swords to protect the supplies of money and goods with which to pay for a three year's sojourn in Lhasa.

At the time of arrival in Lhasa the young priests in most cases have not gone above the rank of acolyte or Bechung, although a few are in the second order of Getsul. Most of them know friends in this city of the gods who will aid them in entering the monastery of their choice. Each one is assigned to an older priest for training. The discipline is much more strict than it was in the home monastery. The regular course is three years for graduation but some do not finish in that time. In that event they have the privilege of leaving their name upon the register for a return within a stated number of years. Upon their return they start in where they

had left off. Their name is erased from the roll if they do not desire to come back or if they do not return within the stipulated time which they had settled upon when leaving. Then if they ever come back they must repeat the whole course and pay all of the fees.

A three-year student upon his return home, provided he has followed diligently the prescribed course, is prepared to conduct any sort of a ceremony. His usual wage is food, half of which he can carry away, and a half a rupee a day. If he has graduated he is qualified to lead a team of ten priests in a ceremony; and he is given a full rupee a day and a double allowance of food. This double allowance will support an acolyte as a servant. Even the Yellow Cap lama who has spent but a year in Lhasa is considered to be better equipped to participate in a religious ceremony than one who has only been trained in the home monastery.

A family may call in one or two particular priests for a ceremony but they must send to the monastery if a large number is required — which is true for most occasions. A committee of head lamas have charge of the assigning of the monks who are catalogued, and dispatched in rotation as the calls come in. One must take whoever is sent so that all have an equal chance to earn a living. Of course, older and graduate priests must lead the ceremony. If there are ten lamas one of them will be a graduate Geshe who receives double pay. In any group of priests there will be also a chant leader who secures one and a half the pay of a common monk.

Many who start out as monks do not finish in that career. Some return home to take the place of a dead brother, marrying the widow to carry on the family line; some find the lure of women, or of wealth too strong and leave of their own accord; and lastly some are expelled for habitual misconduct—usually for continued consorting with women. The incarnations, the wealthy, and those with high connections among the priesthood may live with a woman as her husband and escape punishment but not always the poor lama. When a priest is expelled, which is very rarely done, his lama garments are exchanged for a black goat-skin cloak and a white pyramid paper hat. One side of the face is blackened and the other side whitened. His hands are tied behind him and he is cast out of the south gate of the monastery to the tune of an evil religious ceremony in which his former brother-monks pray for him to have a short life. The monastic south gate is opened only upon this occasion and when casting out the sacrifice of a disease demon. The degraded monk may marry and perform the other duties of an ordinary layman but he is not expected to live long because of the spells said against him. He is very much ashamed

and departs to another place, if possible, for a considerable period of time.

Formal expulsions are extremely rare even among the Yellow Hats although they practise celibacy and their code of conduct for their monks is much higher than for the other (unreformed) sects. Since expulsion is the exception it follows that those who cannot live in accordance with the vows and rules of their sect quietly abandon their calling of their own free will or under persuasion. Fallen priests are known as 'Yellow Buttocks' which is enough ignominy without having their lives shortened by the chanting exorcisms of their fellow monks.

The differences between the various sects is not as great as it is between those of Christendom. Tibetans away from home accept the services of lamas from a sect differing from their own belief when monks of their own denomination are not available. The ancient leaders and saints of the religious orders are honoured by all sects although they differ in the degree of reverence shown. Padma Sambawa is recognized as the wizard who first conquered the demons but only the older sects give him the chief place in their temples. Atisa and Milareba are also widely known and honoured. It is only the latter saints as Tsongkhapa who receive worship solely from the sect which they founded. Most of the gods, goddesses and demons although sometimes under different names are worshipped by all sects. Even the Bon deities are not left out unworshipped by the latest reformed off-shoots.

Regardless of the sect, the monastery is the acknowledged centre of the social, religious and financial life of the community, marching in co-operation with the secular governing powers. The monastery is the place of refuge in war and the comforter of the distressed in time of peace. Last of all its monks guard the doors at all times to Heaven and to Hell.

CHAPTER XVIII

Prayer and Pilgrimage

Prayer, praying by sight, praying by natural forces, praying by recitation, other prayers, time of prayer, objects of prayer, meditation and prayer, prayer-stones as scapegoats, reading prayers, prayers for the dead, pilgrimage, animal pilgrims, times of pilgrimages, factors in pilgrimages, favourite places.

*"It is better to sit silent with a good heart,
Than to profess religion with an evil heart."*

PRAYER among the Tibetans has been elevated to a mechanical art. One must pray just as one must see the sky or feel the wind blow. Although prayer is considered to be much more effective when it comes from the heart, yet response from any sense of the body is sufficient to constitute prayer and to gain merit for the individual. The almost universal prayer is the sacred six syllable formula of "Om Mani Padme Hum" which is cast to the waiting ears of the Lamaistic pantheon of gods and goddesses billions of times a day. It is specially directed to the Dalai Lama as the earthly incarnation of Avalokitesvara — the God of Mercy who intercedes for all beings in the suffering wheel of life.

The eyes pray most. Seeing the prayer is just as efficacious as uttering it. Upon the face of the cliffs the bold letters of "Om Mani Padme Hum" bulge out in vivid relief. It is written in various colours, the Om is white, Ma is blue, Ni is yellow, Pad is green, Me is red, and Hum is black. Little moons are also painted with the letters. White stones piled into the shape of this formula stretch across the smooth grassy slope of a mountainside. Printed upon strips of cloth, dyed in five colours, it is attached to tall prayer-poles, stretched upon worn-out bamboo cables which are no longer able to bear the weight of men across the rivers, tied to short poles and stuck into the top of stone cairns upon passes and peaks, and lastly attached to cords that flutter from the vantage points of bridges. As the winds blow these inscribed strips of cloth, it is the utterance of prayers both for the erector and for those who see

them. However, stones outstrip cloth. This sacred prayer of six letters is carved by men upon slabs of stone (Illus. No. 44) and occasionally upon yak skulls and placed in square piles in the midst of a highway (Illus. No. 43). Passing travellers circle to the right of these piles which have a carved wooden pole in each centre. As the years roll on the number of piles increase in length until it may be a thousand feet long called "Ri Dri Mani" or prayer slabs may be heaped in one place until the mound is as large as a city block and higher than the height of two men. Temple rooms may be added and prayer barrels erected along the sides so that the pilgrim can add to his good works by prostration and the twirling of the barrels when he circles the "Mani pile". Such elaborate mounds constantly have devotees encircling them for each circumambulation prays every inscription of the six syllables for them. This enables the resident nearby to gain much more merit than the traveller who must wait for his return trip homeward before completing the circuit by walking on the other side which is still keeping the pile to the right. If one reverses this custom by keeping the stones to the left one turns every prayer in to a curse against himself, except to the Bon religionist who believes it is merit to encircle sacred objects counter-clockwise, or to the left.

Natural forces are harnessed for prayer. The words "Om Mani Padme Hum" are written upon long strips of paper which are then wrapped around a central cylinder core until the whole cylinder or barrel is filled. This is erected in the doorway of a temple where worshippers turn it as they go in and out to the tinkling of a bell which certifies to the completion of a revolution. In small cylinders the prayer-wheel is turned by hand during free moments or when walking along the road. In large barrels it is attached to water-wheels and erected over a swiftly running stream which grinds with ominous creaks the prayers day and night for the benefit of the builder. Sometimes a devout individual sits by the side of a stream dipping constantly a stone upon which is engraved the six-letter prayer and this prints the prayer upon the water which carries the sacred words for his benefit and for all those who use the waters. The prayer may be carved upon ice which later transmits its message to the stream. Small prayer-cylinders may be fitted with cups and set upon the tops of buildings or suspended around chordens where the winds turn them wafting the sacred phrase to the skies. Sometimes the six-syllables are written upon the shoulder-bones of sheep, which have been boiled clean of meat, and then these bones are hung by yak-hair cords to the lower limbs of evergreen trees where the wind rattles them to and fro, or perhaps passing travellers set them swinging.

The Lamaist is not satisfied with these more rapid praying devices but keeps his lips mumbling when he is not eating or talking. The shepherd as he guards his flocks twirls a prayer-wheel and mumbles "Om Mani Padme Hum" to pass away the tedium of watching. The trader rumbles this prayer as he drives his yak and mules upon the precipitous trails. The housewife rolls "Mani's" as she staggers under a cask of water from the riverside. Lumbermen lighten their load of logs with prayer. Harvesters strike their flails while chanting. The old mother groans out "Mani" as she laboriously climbs the stairs to the roof in the early dawn to light the evergreen twigs at the family's cone-shaped altar. In some localities as the twilight falls, the people shout prayers for an hour or two, their voices falling and rising with a steady, pounding cadence.

While most of the laity know only the six-letter prayer, the utterance of which is supposed to stop the rebirth of the six types of beings, the priests map use the prayer required for each separate deity. On prayer flags or "Darjo" the six syllable chant is the most common but others are occasionally used; these prayers are directed to Chenrezig the guardian of men, to Chanordorje the god of the demons, to Jambayyang the master of the gods, or to Padma Sambawa the demon-conquering wizard. The priests of the different sects use their own prayer, even if the laity are not so strict due to the dominance of the Yellow Sect. The Yellow Hats use "Om Mani Padme Hum" universally except for special exorcisms; the Red Caps also use this six-letter prayer but substitute a different one when appealing to the demon-conquering wizard Padma Sambawa. On the other hand if the Black Caps use "Om Mani Padme Hum" they say it in reverse; their commonly used prayer is "Om Matri Muy Sale Hdu" or "Ma Tri Ma Tree Zu".

Prayer is useful any and every day but it is especially efficacious in all sects during the first, eighth, fifteenth and twenty-fourth of every month. And as stated under the subject of fasting which is linked with prayer, during the fourth month the merit gained by prayer is doubled, and when the year has two "fourth months" the length of time is consequently doubled for securing double merit. Furthermore, prayer is indulged more widely at the period of the great festivals, especially at the New Year Dances, where it is combined with circling the monastery.

The fundamental basis of all religious and charitable deeds to the ordinary layman is the accumulation of merit "Gehwa" for the next life. So the mingled objectives of prayer centre around release from the round of existence and the endless succession of rebirths which curse all life. Release from this wheel of life will extinguish the individual ego and lead to amalgamation with the divine or

Nirvana. The more simple visualize Nirvana as a region of quietness, rest, and bliss for the individual soul, not the bliss of fulfillment of sensual desire, but the elimination of desire; they do not carry their thinking into the intricacies of extinction and the merging of the individual soul with the universal. In their misery and physical desires they have but faint hope that their prayers, and merit gained by other practices, will bridge the gap at the next rebirth but they do hope to attain a better rebirth than what they have now. Sins will have to be counterbalanced by good deeds; and since they do not know exactly how much evil has been accumulated by previous rebirths, which is judged, however, in general by the present social and economic standing, that is whether beggar, prince or incarnation, it is impossible for any to know how sufficient their prayers are toward attaining their goal. So they pray ceaselessly and by a multitude of methods to lay up the merit of as many prayers as possible to their credit.

Obtaining a better future existence, or the extinction of all future life are not the only objects of prayer. There are lower orders of desire such as the overcoming of one's enemies and being victorious in all wishes of this life, for which some pray. Prayer is even extended to vindictive ends when one prays an enemy to death. The enemy is informed that he is being prayed to death and so strong is the belief in this power that often the victim arranges his affairs and soon pines away. The Tibetan is so thoroughly imbued with the deadliness of the sin of taking life that, if an enemy has come to the point where he is willing to risk the punishment of such a crime by praying him to death, he gives up hope, believing that it is useless to fight against such a power, or fate.

Those who mutter constantly the six-syllable prayer sometimes sprout a new white tooth in the roof of the mouth which may last a month before it disappears. It is said that the chief priest of Batang, an incarnation known as Lakalama who is unusually saintly in character has a tooth in the back of his mouth which has a visible engraving of Buddha upon it.

Praying to injure an enemy is most effective when hair, nail parings, or other parts of the person have been obtained secretly. For this reason when a Tibetan has his head shaved, or his hair cut, he carefully keeps the cuttings and buries them in a secret place where they will not be found or burns them. The driver of a donkey caravan was very despondent when his queue was cut off by robbers not so much for the loss of the false hair and the rings which he could ill afford to lose, but because his enemy had him at a disadvantage by being in possession of some of his person.

Meditation and prayer are closely related and are considered almost indivisible when one is directing the thought to one's tutelary deity or attempting to induce a deity to become subservient to the will. Fasting is effective only by the use of meditation and prayer in connection with abstaining from food. Hermits are believed to be able to produce so much internal warmth by meditation and prayer that they can withstand intense cold. In meditation the breath is also held as long as possible to create a religious ecstasy.

During the fourth month of the year particularly, and at other periods of significance, those who have killed an animal or even a person will have a mystic prayer formula engraved upon a stone with a crude picture of the slain below it, which will help to expiate the sin of taking its life. These stones are placed upon a *mani-do-bum* or prayer-stone pile. The animals most commonly engraved are those of rats, snakes, cats (in some villages hogs), and sheep. Drawing of human beings killed would be covered or hidden in the stone-pile. Larger animals are usually slain by professional butchers who kill too many animals to expiate their sin, and anyway their profession dooms them to a lower, or at least an uncomfortable human, rebirth in the next incarnation.

Outside of the wealthy and the monks few can read. The wealthy employ a priest in their home to constantly read prayers. Such a monk occupies a warm place by the fire where he mumbles all day long, leaf after leaf of scripture. In many cases he does not understand what he is reading but this is not necessary. He is served fresh tea constantly and at meal time eats his fill of the best parched barley flour. When twilight approaches the housewife steps up to the family prayer-barrel and gives it a twirl which is the signal for the monk that his day's work is done; whereupon he puts away his book and girds himself for the heavy meal of the day. While the family priest seems to lead an easy existence as compared to monastic life, yet such home duties demands certain sacrifices for "The home priest rises with the crowing of the cock, While his landlord sleeps until the cow arises". Monks are not always employed, for if they are not available, laymen are hired which serves just as well, for the mere reading of the texts, as well as the hearing of them are efficacious. Indeed the mere presence of scriptures in the home are good fortune and bring merit to the family. Writing and books are held to be sacred and not to be desecrated; for in Tibet most of the manuscripts and much of the penmanship deals with religion.

Prayers are said for the dead. Besides this, the prayer "Om Mani Padme Hum" is carved upon stones at the cutting up ground for

corpses, and printed upon prayer-flags which, attached to staffs, decorate both the burial and dismembering places of the dead.

Next to prayer the most noteworthy factor in the religious expression of the Tibetan is pilgrimage for "When a great pious priest comes into a country, All six classes of beings turn to religion". Monks are expected to spend not only time in praying but in going to Lhasa on pilgrimage, whereas the average layman beset by the necessity of making a living, may have to choose some other place of pilgrimage. However it is as much the ambition of every Tibetan to go once in his lifetime to Lhasa or the "City of the Gods" as it is the aim of every Mohammedan to visit Mecca. All that is beautiful, most sacred and worth seeing in life is said to exist in Lhasa, so far above other places is it that one is made speechless by its wonders. This attitude is memorialized in the proverb "A boy having been to Lhasa has nothing to say, A girl having gone to fetch water has much to say". Residence in Lhasa is rated so highly that "It is better to be a dog in Lhasa, Than to be a man in any other country".

Tibetans make their pilgrimages the hard way, and the greater the hardship they endure the greater the merit received. Walking around a sacred monastery, city or Mani pile may not bring the merit that will wipe out the sins of this life but if one will measure his length upon the ground, there is a much better chance. In eastern Tibet along some of the main highways will occasionally be seen men prostrating themselves every foot of the way to Lhasa. It takes them three years. With hands encased in loose leather bags, knees protected by leather or wooden pads, their clothes shielded by a leather apron, and with a leather pad over their forehead and nose to save their face, they drop to their knees after touching their palmed hands to forehead, lips and heart, stretch out their arms and fall face downward full length upon the road. Marking with their finger-tips in the dust they rise up, advance to the mark and repeat the prostration meanwhile mumbling the six-syllable prayer. After several hours of this going down and getting up, the devotee piles up stones to designate the spot where he will start tomorrow, and seeks the nearest home or tent for food and shelter. Such pilgrims are not able to carry much food so they must depend upon begging to supply their wants. Lesser enthusiasts are satisfied with merely prostrating around a city, a temple or even a sacred mountain. These prostrating trips naturally secure the benefit of all the prayers which they encircle whether in barrel, on stone or in sacred volumes.

A pilgrim is known by the pack he wears if he is not prostrating. Upon his back are two yokes upside down fastened at the curve —

which is at the bottom. Between the yokes his sole belongings are bundled, surplus clothing, food and utensils. In his hand is a long-handled spear or perhaps only a stout staff. Pilgrims travel in groups for protection as strange tribes often rob them. The foot-sore pilgrim is not worried as much as the richer trader riding a horse for "On foot without a horse, sleep is pleasant".

Human beings are not the only ones who go on pilgrimage. Animals, especially sheep are driven around sacred objects usually mountains such as the Mountain of Silver Snow or Khawagarpo. This peak located in south-eastern Tibet is selected for such a pilgrimage in the sheep year and sheep which survive the arduous trip, part of it above the snow line, are marked by a red tag attached to their ear which designates they are sacred and not to be killed. Herds of yak may be driven around prayer-stone piles to guard them against disease and the attack of evil spirits.

Pilgrimages made during the fourth month are one hundred thousand times more potent than at other times so that this month is the favoured one. Holy places have their proper year in which pilgrimages are made for the securing of the most merit. As mentioned the sheep year is the favourite for the Khawagarpo Peak which commands the corner where China, Tibet and Burma meet between the Mekong and Salween rivers. Dorjetroleh, where hermits immure themselves for life in tiny mud huts, has its rush of visitors in the Tiger year. Some places are rarely visited, except in their year, such as the lake high up in the mountains to the east of Batang.

Begging adds to the merit of pilgrimages. Wealthy pilgrims will beg as they travel and are satisfied with the most trivial gift. Pilgrimages are not always undertaken of the party's own free will but are sometimes posed as a penance. The priest may order a pilgrimage for almost any sin, prescribing the place, the gift, whether by prostration or walking and the time. The Tibetan having committed some particular sin may decide for himself that the easiest way to overcome its demerits may be by piling up merit through a pilgrimage. There is no doubt but what the greater number of pilgrims combine trading with such a venture. Perhaps no people have their religion and every act of their life so intimately tied together as the Tibetan. Business, pleasure, war, and even crime are linked with religious practice and belief.

Every locality has its own favourite places of religious pilgrimages with Lhasa serving as the centre for all Tibet. The Mapham lakes are the choice of those in western Tibet, Khawagarpo is selected by those in south-east Tibet, the Kokonor is preferred by the people of the north-east but each locality has others besides these.

Indeed, every prayer-stone pile, every monastery and every hermit's cave serves to accumulate merit, and locally, are the countless cause of pilgrimages for longer or shorter distances. Any unusual feature of terrain affords the setting for a temple or shrine where the priestly settle and the pious gather. One of the best examples is the sacred shrine of Dorjetroleh, southwest of Batang about thirty miles, hidden in the Mekong-Yangtze divide. Here are two conical peaks about five hundred feet apart. In the saddle between them has been built a temple with a Rong-jen or self-evolved image. Upon the tips of the peaks are chordens with prayer flags and copper tridents. It takes about an hour of meditative walking to circle the peaks. Along this path are cells of hermits, some of them immured for life. Prayer-stones encumber the course of the path whose dust is constantly stirred by the feet of the faithful. Here far from the great trade routes, men constantly turn aside to seek merit for a better rebirth.

CHAPTER XIX

Charms, Curses and Courtesies in the Ghost Country

Charms, charm boxes, power-giving ceremony, oaths, treading the blood-red hide, curses, courtesies and greetings, ceremonial scarfs, the drinking of tea, the departing traveller, lover tricks, customs of conduct.

*"Giving Holy Promises has no meaning,
If the Holy Customs are not in accord."*

BELIEF in the miraculous, the unusual, and linking natural forces with unseen spirits are inborn in Tibetan thinking. The ordinary course of any action and of any disaster can be diverted from its objective if one has the proper protection. Most Tibetans wear one constantly, but no one would think of leaving home for any distance without wearing a charm to repel any specific injury or to thwart general disaster. An epidemic of disease will cause the populace to throng the monastery, to give gifts and to receive in return a talisman to ward off the demon bringing the illness. The variations of amulets are legion but they usually embrace the figure of a fierce deity with sacred texts and meaningless phrases reputed to have the power of safeguarding the wearer. Again the amulet may have bits of refuse from a holy lama who has been successful in coercing evil spirits. Charms ordinarily are protective in guarding the wearer against disease, bullets, drowning, dog-bites, attacks of cannibalistic demons, the dangers of the road, and enemies; however, a talisman may be aggressive, to bring harm to enemies or to insure good luck in enterprise. One form of charm is the unusual object which has miraculous power such as a "wishing money bag" which is made of a single musk deer-skin. Such a bag increases money put into it and has a high price being worth twenty rupees or more, when the ordinary bag would sell for only a rupee.

Although the charm may be a bit of prayer paper wrapped around hairs, dung, blood or other fantastic refuse, and worn around the neck or arm, yet it is more often enclosed in a receptacle called a "Ga-oo" which insures more permanency to the charm and less danger of loss. The Ga-oo is a metal charm box

usually oblong in shape (although some are round or star-shaped) and rounded at the top. The face has an open, latticed or glass-covered hole whose edges are richly carved with symbols generally the "eight lucky symbols". The eight lucky symbols are: - (1) the jewelled umbrella; (2) the golden fish; (3) the pot of treasure; (4) the excellent lotus; (5) the rare white conch-shell with whorls turning to the right; (6) the auspicious curled noose of love; (7) the royal standard of victory; (8) the golden wheel. The poor wear charm boxes of copper, those better-off have copper with a carved silver face, the well-to-do use silver with gold and the rich display solid-gold set with precious stones which insure strong bones.

Little brown babies will run naked dressed only in a cord tied with the sacred knot around the upper arm to ward off demons of disease and disaster. Men and women may work with bare chests but the cord with the cloth-bag charm or the charm-box dangles from their neck whether harvesting grain or watering fields. The warrior would not think of risking his life in battle until his charm-box, worn slung from a woven belt over his shoulder, had been properly filled and consecrated to divert the bullets. In the ordinary charm box which may be quite spacious, seven by ten inches and four inches wide, will be an idol, often the tutelary deity of the wearer or at least a terrific deity, with a paper package of blessed objects such as pills from a living Buddha, sacred prayer characters, hairs and bones of certain ferocious animals and insects, lucky designs on paper, and blessed knots. There may be relics and blessings from a number of holy lamas and incarnated priests with ceremonial scarfs to fill in the empty spaces and to hold the idol firmly in place. The idol may be seen peering out through the open front, or more often merely faces toward the front behind a silken curtain.

The more holy and powerful the priest the more efficacious the power of the charm. The Batang incarnation known as Laka Lama was so powerful through training and holy living that it was believed he had the power to project through the air incantations and prayers which would cause sickness, ill-luck and even death to enemies. His caravans and other property, because of this belief, were generally safe from robber attacks. However, the power of the charm must not be broken by committing a crime or an impious act. The warrior going into battle must not let a woman touch either him or his sword, else his charm will cease to ward off bullets. If a woman should touch either of these, he and his personal equipment must be consecrated over again, which means more money and more time.

Merit is not only accumulated by the erection of charms such as prayer flags but also by dispersing them to the winds as "wind-horses" which are cast into the air on the 25th of a month from a point of vantage, as a cliff. These wind-horse charms have the figure of a horse, with the Book of the Law upon its back, in the centre of the paper or cloth, while the remainder of the page is filled with the repetition of some sacred prayer formula. Dispersing these wind-horses brings good luck to the traveller and the whole country-side, besides merit to the sender.

At least once a year, usually at the New Year season, a power-giving ceremony "Ong-dru" is held at the monastery. For seven days the priests conduct a religious service in the main temple. On the seventh day the crowds gather in the courtyard before the main temple door and are roughly lined into double rows with their backs to each other. The Abbott comes out upon the porch and sits down upon a high yellow throne where he groans out a prayer formula in company with a retinue of several high-ranking lamas (Illus. No. 45). As the Abbott mutters the prayers from a book, bowls of grain are blessed, and then thrown out over the crowd who seize every grain, to either eat it or save it to burn in their homes that the demons of sickness may be scared away. Soon the monks pass through the crowded rows pouring out holy tea into the palms of extended hands for the people to sip and cleanse their mouths. Other priests collect needles, thread, corals, turquoises, beads, white net scarfs, and money, from the people. These priests likewise offer for sale knotted strips of silk rags which have been blessed. The price is a half rupee or a jewel of equal value; people tie these blest rags around their necks to ward off evil. Then the monks carry censors of gold among the crowd to purify the people but it outwardly has little effect on the sweaty smell of unwashed bodies and odour of rancid butter.

First the Abbott gives power to his chief priests and then comes down from his golden throne to perform a similar rite for the people. The Abbott slowly moves up and down the kneeling crowd. He is shielded by a huge yellow umbrella carried by a stout monk, and preceded by two musicians with trumpets of silver and gold having stops alternately capped with corals and turquoises (Illus. No. 46). He bears in his right hand a silver platter upon which rests a dorma or cone of barley tsamba encircled by a dark blue silk cloth and topped by a peacock feather. He lightly touches the top of each person's head with this platter which gives them the required power.

The power-giving ceremony differs slightly among the different sects. In a related sect the Incarnation or Abbott of the mon-

astery touches the head of the person lightly with the bottom of a silver teapot while another priest following behind pours holy water into the hands of the multitude who suck up some and dab the rest upon their head. Upon the following day the rich, who have not generally mingled with the common folk, and who can afford to give more than a half rupee which is a day's wage, are invited to the monastery. Here they receive power at a special ceremony which is more expensive and as a consequence considered more potent than that given to the proletariat.

So frequently is doubt thrown upon the statement of a speaker that the appeal to deities in support of one's words is widespread. Oaths are believed to have terrible power. So strong is this belief that "If one steals the horse of the king, Swearing on an oath will clear him". All seek to avoid the curse of another, even of a beggar who is quite free in his expressions if the proper gift is not given according to universal custom. Oaths are not merely used to clear oneself of an accusation but also to cause harm to another. One of the most potent is a formal curse which consists of hiding the name and effigy of an enemy in the ground and imploring some deity to kill him.

Those accused of theft will kneel and face the sun and swear by all the gods, devils and heavens above that if they are guilty may they be dead by tomorrow at this same time; and, if their opponent is lying, may he be dead by that time. When the ownership of an article is in dispute and both swear that they are telling the truth, a mediator allots to each, half of the article in value. If the owner of a contested field cannot be determined each of the disputants is made to take an oath; then the middleman divides the field equally between them. Sometimes when one man has an article which he claims to have bought and another affirms it has been stolen, and they cannot settle the case by talk or under oath, the two parties may throw dice to determine the owner. If the accuser wins he is given the article in dispute. If the defendant wins he not only retains the property but is given goods equal in value to the original by the accuser. Both believe in such a case that the gods will control the throwing of the dice to favour the rightful owner and that judgment should penalize the false accuser.

There are a variety of methods in the taking of oaths. The participants may burn a book and eat the ashes in the form of a soup. They may march under fixed swords or stacked guns, or even under volumes of the Buddhist Scriptures. The version known as the "Boom" (the hundred thousand prayers) is the most commonly used proving that the pen is as mighty as the sword in Tibet. Marching under implements of war and sacred books is



PLATE 46. The Living Buddha, sheltered by the royal umbrella and escorted by high-ranking priests, walks down the rows of people and gives them power with hands and consecrated silver platter.

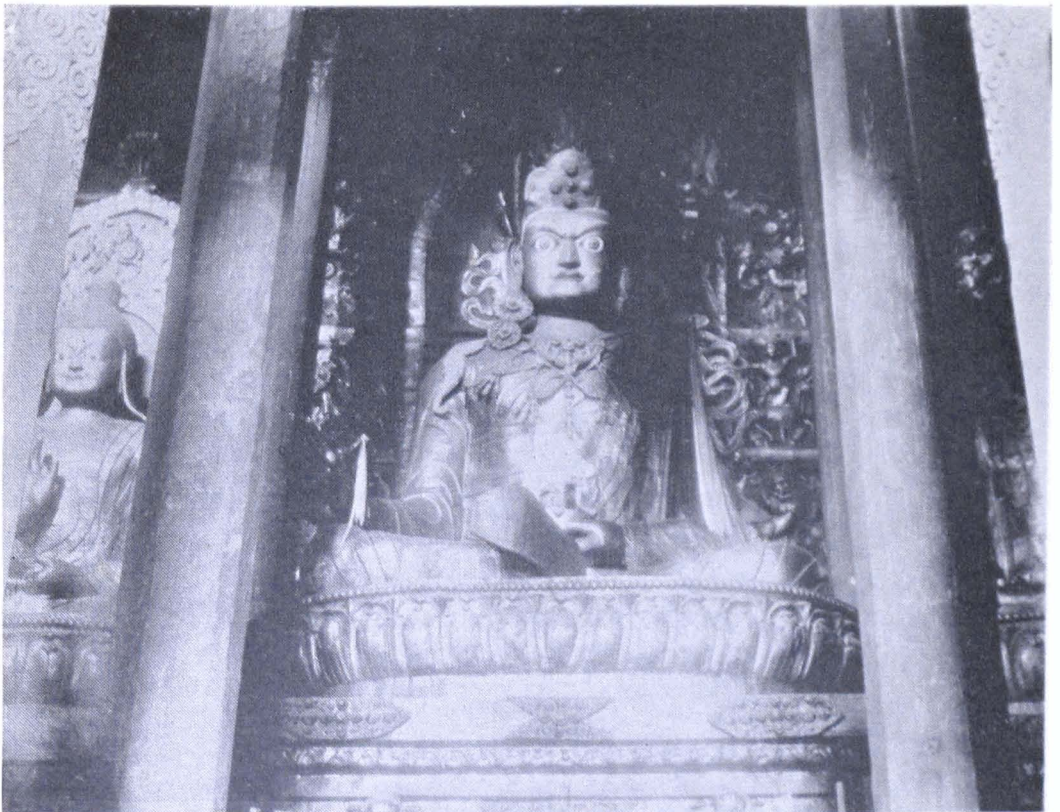


PLATE 47. At Dzochen Monastery two days northeast of Derge is this huge copper figure of the wizard Padma Sambawa who conquered the demons of Tibet. The idol is twenty feet high and fifteen feet wide with corals three inches in diameter. The base is a lotus flower design.

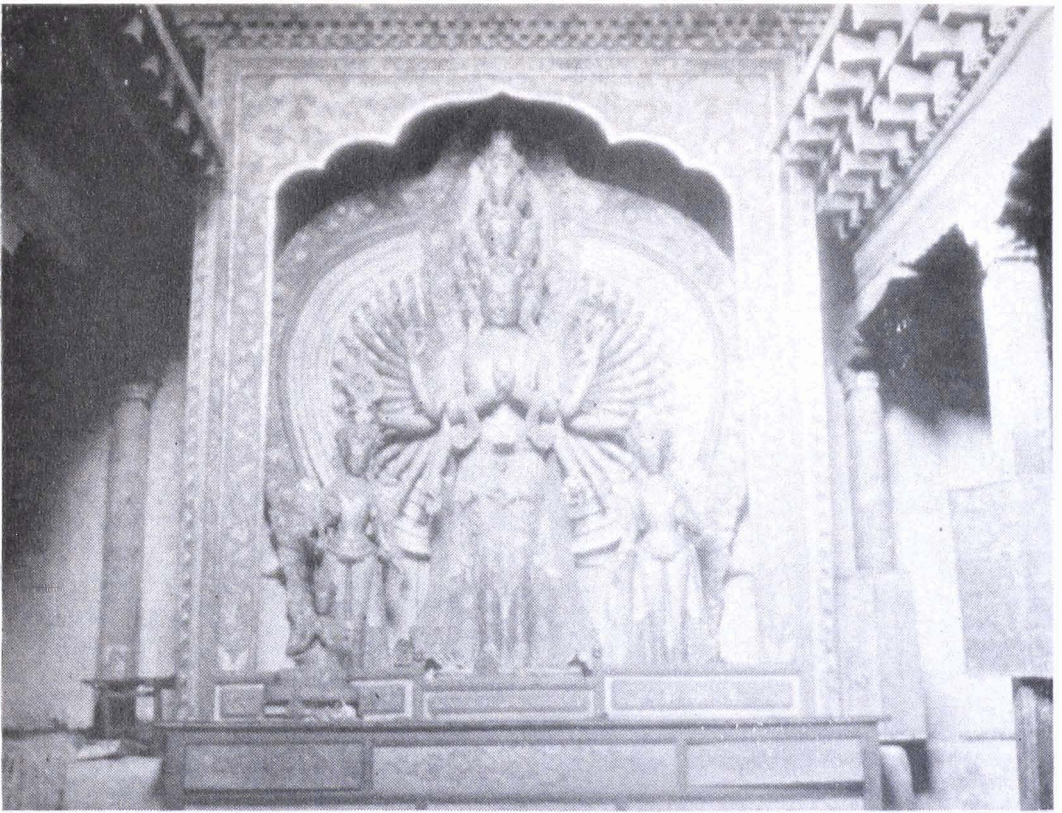


PLATE 48. Chenreze (Chenrezig) or the God of Mercy in Leh village, one day's journey south of Batang was recently repaired and repainted. He has a thousand hands with an eye in each hand.



PLATE 49. Scroll picturing the Zhedah or local protecting deity of Gartok. The Zhedah may be one of several gods but it is usually shown as a humanized spirit riding an animal, generally a horse. This one is Nampa Nangtze or Vairocana.

done by tribes when swearing to aid each other against a common enemy. Their mutual oath affirms that whoever does not live up to the agreement of helping one another "may they die under the sword or by the gun". Two people will swear to be friends and aid each other in all matters binding the friendship by a written contract which will then be burnt and the ashes stirred in tea of which both will drink. In such a contract when one is injured by a third party both take vengeance upon the offender. Sometimes such oaths are forced upon one party who breaks it as soon as the compelling party is unable to enforce the penalty.

Feuds are the occasion for some of the most binding oaths. A family, deciding to avenge themselves on an enemy, in order to bind the whole group into one unit and to fortify the heart of any wavering members, prepare to tread the blood-red hide of a yak. The yak is killed, skinned and the hide spread hair downward upon the ground. Blood from the yak is poured upon the skin and all immediately walk across it to get blood upon their boots. Then the walkers eat the flesh and off they go to take vengeance.

In cursing, the Tibetans not only utilize the names of their gods and refer to private parts of the human body but have some original ideas such as "I'll carry your sins" and "You corpse carrier" and "Breaker of the family line". The first refers to the principle of sin inheritance, the second to a despised occupation and the third is thrown at a barren woman. The utmost in the cursing of a person is attained when, after the utterance of the swear words, dust is hurled after the victim who is thereby labelled a devil of the most hated line.

The social status of a person determines the grade of the greeting. Class distinctions are carried to such a fine point that there is the common language for the ordinary person, with a number of word changes and honourific additions for the wealthy and noble classes, while the highest dignitaries of state and church rate a still higher and separate set of words known as the high honourific. These extra words and different phrases apply when one is addressing the person of rank, when speaking about his person, or his personal belongings. To use a lower grade of language or the common vernacular, to an individual of rank, is one form of insult.

When travelling, on meeting a poor trader, one finds the trader not only descending from his horse and giving way for one's passing but also taking down his queue, thrusting out his long tongue, scratching the side of his head with his left hand and projecting the thumb of his clenched right fist. He may ask in the polite language "Where is the master going?" or murmur "Gu Tse Ring" (Long life to the honourable sir). Equals meeting each other

will dismount and with both hands extended and palms upward, address each other in the honourific language if commoners; or they may merely salute each other with bows and words before riding on. Refusal to greet one another or any discourtesy indicates that the other party may be robbers and waiting for an opportunity to rob and slay. Such should be closely watched. Robbers and vagabonds will, however, usually give one a wide berth showing mutual distrust.

When two large parties sight each other in nomad country where robbery is a vocation, there is such fear and suspicion that two men from each side gallop ahead. While the rest of the caravans halt these advance parties meet midway where they consult and affirm lack of evil intentions, before motioning for the caravans to pass. Small parties in nomad country keep a sharp lookout and they will use the other side of a wide valley or take a side road to avoid the larger caravan who, confident of their strength, are less careful in scouting. Of course any force upon the warpath avoids showing their intentions and do not remain near a much travelled road.

Servants and underlings are very punctilious in speaking to their masters, unwinding their hair, holding their hat in their hands, ending every phrase with the polite "yes sir" or "Lhas-so" which they repeat, sucking in their breath at the end of every sentence; and as they talk, holding their head down fearful lest the air from their mouth pollute their lord's nostrils; "for the servant who does not know polite custom, his words will be like the horns of a yak". The custom of sucking in the breath and averting the head is also necessary when praying in the temples before deities, who likewise dislike a foul breath.

Almost as indispensable as the proper word is the use of the oblong silk (cloth or gauze) ceremonial scarf called the "Kadoh". In making a visit to a person of rank or to a stranger, one should carry this scarf whose proper presentation is a matter of rigid etiquette. Scarves are exchanged at an official call and in the giving of gifts. Equals place the scarves (varying from 2 to 4 feet long) for each other upon the outstretched palms, while the superior, after receiving the scarf at his feet or upon the table if seated, lays the return scarf upon the bowed head of the inferior. Gifts accompanied by the inevitable scarf from people of rank are brought in by a servant who being distinctly inferior creates no problem of etiquette to the recipient. Gifts may be cloth or food. One of the commonest presents is the carcass of a sheep which is delivered with only the skin and entrails removed and placed in a sitting position or obeisance position. It is unlucky to give a bowl empty

and if the gift is any kind of a receptacle, no matter how valuable, some food is placed within it. A messenger is sent ahead when one is visiting a party of rank or when a personage of high rank is approaching. The sooner a call is returned the greater the respect shown. If no other return for a gift is possible because of circumstances, such as the presentation of a red silk belt to the wife of your caravan leader, then a ceremonial scarf acknowledges the present. The proverb "If there is no reply when spoken to, the other is drunk; If there is no return food-gift to food, one is a beggar", is strictly adhered to.

When calling the visitor is either given snuff or tea or both. One must drink at least one full bowl of tea, first drinking a portion of the tea whereupon the bowl is immediately filled to the brim; and then is emptied when the visitor desires but must be drained before leaving. Each taking of tea causes the host, or a servant in a house of wealth, to grasp the teapot with both hands (one hand would be discourteous) and, shaking it with a rolling motion to mix the butter, to pour one's bowl full again. One must also be equally polite and hold one's bowl with both hands upward. Just before departing one empties one's bowl completely and thanking the host, rises immediately and withdraws. Inferiors leave with the face toward their host until out of the door while equals or superiors are escorted to the outer gate. Inferiors ask the host to please hold the mastiff who is chained just beyond reach of the doorway, a courtesy which the superior receives as a matter of course. At a formal feast or if one makes a number of visits in the day it is not easy to come away sober unless one is an abstainer for the host is urgent or the beautiful maidens who have the duty of pressing liquor upon the guest are too bewitching to be refused; it is their duty to keep demanding with smiles and clever innuendos to "drink it empty, please" and, regardless of protests, filling one's bowl again and again.

When one leaves for another land or is going to be absent for a long period elaborate preparations are made to escort one. Close friends, dressed in their finery, will walk or ride for a long distance, some going the first day's journey where they keep the departing guests awake much of the night singing and feasting. The neighbours, especially those of lower rank, who do not go far upon the road, gather in groups by the roadside with bowls of beer (or milk for the abstainer) which has three dabs of butter upon the edge of the bowl in such a position as to form the tips of a triangle if it was drawn across the top of the vessel. The traveller dips in a forefinger, snaps droplets in the air as offerings to the gods and then takes a sip. A present of money is given to the group by the

traveller who is purchasing himself from the claims of the people who will use the money to feast in his honour. The giving is not all on the side of the departing friend. Before his departure friends bring in parting gifts of jewellery, tsamba bowls, food and other supplies for the road, all of which aid the traveller in equipping himself for the long journey ahead. Parting friends who may never see each other again are compared to two birds ever present in all parts of Tibet in "The magpie goes east, The raven goes west".

Young men and women are accustomed to gathering for feasts and dances during the idle days of the year. If, in the course of the party, a young lady has been pleasing to an amorous swain and she shows favour to him, he will snatch her hat or other piece of her personal dress, such as a ring, and run away with it. As he flees he tells her where she can meet him after nightfall if she would recover her property. If she does not keep the tryst where she is expected to yield herself to him, what he has snatched becomes his personal possession.

To the foreigner who is accustomed to doing a number of physical tasks for himself it is not easy to live up to his position, where people of means must not do labour of any kind, even to the carrying of a parcel home from a shop. The laws of social position and courtesy require that one must give to beggars according to one's means, must hire others to perform all tasks, must be accompanied by servants or some sort of escort wherever one goes, and never to forget that the go-between is essential for innumerable transactions. The middle-man is necessary for big deals because of their importance and for the little ones lest one earn a reputation for meanness, or embarrass the seller in haggling too long for the lowest price. Tibetan society, although not nearly as finely divided and fixed as to duties and courtesies as the Indian, yet is rigidly set. One must not try the impossible for as the Tibetan proverb says, "A request is not granted if asked with an empty hand, Any more than a wet creeping vine will boil the tea". It is not bribery but courtesy to give a gift with a *Kadoh* when requesting a favour of whatsoever nature from another. One sends a present with the ceremonial scarf in asking for an escort upon the road, for permission to visit a temple, or to attend a funeral upon the death of a friend. Return gifts are made in many cases. The headman welcomes one as a visitor to his village with a present, which one returns with interest. One is invited to a funeral feast by the bereaved, which was made possible by the gifts presented by you and other grieving friends. One is ushered after a gift or scarf into the Abbot's inner quarters and fed by the temple monks. Even when sending a letter, a small gift or maybe a *Kadoh*, is dispatched

by the hand of the messenger, the letter mentioning what the present is. If the letter goes by post a gift will be enclosed if only a flower. A letter, too, may for official reasons deny a request—for instance to visit prohibited territory. However, the messenger may be told by word of mouth to extend the invitation to enter, which can be trusted in spite of the contradictions or modification in the written missive.

CHAPTER XX

Idols, Incarnations and Incantations

Idols-materials, dedication, size of idols, central figures in temples, paintings, self-evolved figures, Incarnation, tests for new incarnations, powers of an incarnation, Incantations, drouth incantation, the relapsing fever demon.

*"Religious laws are a silken cord,
The King's Decrees are a golden yoke."*

To the learned Tibetan the idol is merely the visual representation wherein the spirit of the god dwells but to the untutored mind it is the actual deity itself. Different sects when warring will often mutilate or desecrate the idols of the opposing force to show their contempt for the deity and their enemies for inability to protect themselves. Sometimes the motive is mercenary for the idol figure may be made of valuable metals such as copper, silver and gold; and often precious stones are hidden within its body, or used as eyes, or circling it as beads (Illus. No. 47). The ordinary idol has a wooden framework around which is moulded clay that is then painted with vari-coloured earths. Papier mache may be used for the face and hands or even the entire figure while in the wealthier temples some of the more precious idols are of copper, silver and even of solid gold. However, many times when it is believed to be of pure gold the figure is only gold painted over a baser metal such as copper and brass.

The newly-made figure does not automatically become the abode of divinity. A dedication ceremony must be held in which the idol is set aside as a dwelling for the god and the deity is invited, or perhaps coerced, by the proper incantations and prayer ceremonies to make the figure its home. Idols are not only for the principal deities but a holy man may be mummified after death and shaped into an idol before which the devout fall down and worship as they do before their ancient gods and goddesses. The dedication requires a few days and is a very solemn affair with several priests or even the whole monastic force in attendance.

Idols range in size from little figures an inch long carried in a miniature charm box to a several storied colossus which requires a special building to house it. Only the most high deities are honoured by giant figures, such as the God of Mercy (Illus. No. 48), the God of Love, Padma Sambawa (Illus. No. 47) Tsongkhapa, and Droma the goddess who saves from further rebirth. A newly built figure in Batang of the coming Buddha, or the God of Love, was two stories high and one had to climb into the second floor in order to see the head in the narrow alcove. Padma Sambawa in a Red Temple at Dzochen was resting upon a lotus-crowned base of coppered griffins (Illus. No. 47). The base was over ten feet high while the idol was another twenty feet high and fifteen feet wide. Corals, three inches across, decorated the figure on breast and forehead. Above was a huge bird, the phoenix. On each side was the smaller idol of a disciple. The whole group was pure copper brightly polished, creating a brilliant setting for the set jaw and stern piercing eyes of the Wizard who was famous for chasing demons (and incidentally women) and coercing them to do his will.

The central figure in a temple varies with the sect and the locality but always indicates the sect. The Gelugpa will honour Tsongkhapa and the Nyingmaba will glorify Padma Sambawa although both sects will have figures of the other's chief deity amongst their lesser divinities. All principal idols will be accompanied by smaller figures of less prominent gods and goddesses or of deified disciples. In the smaller temples the flanking figures will be merely little hand figures at the feet of the main idol. Female idols may be scantily draped. Fearful or terrific manifestations of the gods may be entirely covered and common folk are afraid to gaze upon them lest the demons become angry and harm them. For a bribe, attendants will scarcely unveil such a terrific deity and then they avert their face while the fearless foreigner gazes to his own destruction.

A scroll with the picture of a god must have the dedication ceremony after which it is much more sacred than an unhallowed painting, but even an undedicated painting is considered as having a close connection with divinity (Illus. No. 49). To sell an idol or a painting is almost equal to selling one's soul, a procedure dangerous to the ordinary layman, or a monk; at least it is a profane act inducing punishment. A sale can be made by an incarnation with less danger, although slyly denounced by pious monks, in spite of the fact that an incarnation in his own person partakes of the divine nature. Three to six months or longer may be spent in modelling a figure or in painting a scroll. Both are serious undertakings and rarely done except under the supervision of highly placed priests

or wealthy patrons who supply the materials and have the proper divinations made for all of the steps in such a venture.

All idols and paintings of deities have fixed designs in shape, posture, expression and colouring (Illus. No. 49). The evil are warlike with skulls and corpses littering their pathway while the mild (Illus. No. 48) have a kindly benevolent expression which wearies with its placid sameness. Unless the prescribed type is faithfully followed the artist, even though he may do it unintentionally or from lack of skill, takes the risk of being cursed by the deity he is making. A young artist of great skill in Batang who died an early death was said to have caused his demise by not keeping true to the fixed form in painting a deity; others less ignorant recognize that he died of tuberculosis which had killed some members of his family. The conventional designs are adhered to not only on paintings but also when carved on stone, imprinted upon clay by means of moulds, and in some cases these models are dipped into water, again and again, impressing the idol's shape upon it.

What is considered obscene to the occidental is accepted without question by the Tibetans, whose conception of the highest exaltation, or at other times of producing the greatest occult power in the control of demons, is found in the sexual embrace which is pictured in both benign and fearful figures wearing scant drapery. The goddess Droma in her role of rescuing one from the Wheel of Life is posed with accentuated nakedness. Silken banners, pine and walnut paddle-shaped boards, marble, granite, and paper are all used as bases for painting of deities. The artist will endeavour to obtain the impression of a Living Buddha's hand upon the back of his painting to sanctify it. The imprint of the Dalai Lama's and Panchen Lama's hands are particularly sought. Then a likeness of the artist in the attitude of adoration may be tucked into a corner of the scroll. Because of their sacred nature the scrolls will have silk covers, sometimes three, in conjunction with two narrow strips of silk embroidery, to hide the deity.

The most sacred idols are those which have sprung out of the earth fully formed, as did Minerva from the brow of Jupiter. These self-evolved figures are found only in special places; and these spots are usually high upon a cliff, or in caves. If the terrain permits they are enclosed in temples where they are protected from the elements and attended by monks who promote them as objects for long distance pilgrimage. These figures are the result of weathering which has shaped the rock into the semblance of a human body sitting in the conventional cross-legged fashion. Priests with the eye of artists and the minds of superstition, or of charlatanism, have improved the outlines into clever likenesses of deities. Some

of course are more perfectly formed than others. These divinely created figures, known as "Rong Gyen" or "self-evolved", have grown hoary with traditions during the passing centuries which have enhanced their value in inducing gifts from the pious.

The casual visitor does not often notice two of the unusual superstitions regarding idols. During ceremonies and in close worship of an idol figure the worshippers whether priest or laymen are careful to cover their mouth with their cloaks lest they offend the divinity by their foul breath. At this time worshippers do not eat garlic or onions. Secondly, many temples keep a perpetually burning or "life flame" before the principal deities. Huge pots of butter, or oil, have tiny wicks floating in them. These wicks are never allowed to go out and those who step near are warned to be careful of their breath lest the feeble flames are put out, which would be a calamity to the temple and not a small misfortune to the culprit. The God of Love, in the Litang Temple, has seven huge Life Jars, each a copper kettle two feet in diameter. In lighting a lamp or in placing an offering upon an idol's altar the worshipper first holds it up with both hands in front of himself before the image and then with bent body places the vessel upon the altar.

Tibetans consider that all life is made up of five elements: - fire, water, wind, earth and iron. Fire represents heat in the body, water is blood, iron is bone, earth is flesh, and wind is the breath. The effort of life is to resolve the body back to these elements again. In this principle lies the doctrine of rebirth or incarnation. Beings are reborn again and again until their final release.

Incarnations never die. They merely transfer their spirit from one fleshy receptacle, which is worn out, to another newly-born body that will in turn decay releasing its spirit which will again seek another living abode. Incarnations, or what is popularly known as Living Buddhas, are the final product of those who, by living a goodly life and by proper meditation upon the realities of existence, have attained freedom from the desires of the flesh to such an extent that they are delivered from the cycle of rebirth. However, in their compassionate desire to aid others to escape the sufferings of rebirth they forego the rest of Nirvana and the peaceful repose of the Divine to re-enter the world in the body of an infant in order to continue their own wheel of existence. The infant, through unusual occurrences at birth, and other tests is discovered to have received the spirit of the incarnation. As the divine Buddhas vary in their power and attributes so their earthly reincarnations differ in their holiness and in rank.

The highest respect is paid to incarnations and violations by them of the laws of chastity, drinking and even murder are con-

done if possible. However, some ecclesiastical authorities state that such acts may end the line of that particular incarnation, and that incarnations may be limited to a fixed number; in practise, although the reincarnation may be delayed because of sins, yet sooner or later their rebirth is found. The title of "Sangjeh" which is a common term for Gotama Buddha is given not only to the Dalai Lama but also to other high incarnations, but not to low incarnations and hermits who command the title of "Sir".

Reincarnation can work both ways, to a higher and to a lower form of life. Sins and righteousness, or the accumulated misdeeds and the good deeds of former lives, known as one's "Karma" determine one's rebirth. If the evil outweighs the good one can be gradually reborn in a miserable state such as that of a beggar or a cripple and so on down to lower and lower forms of animal life until Karma has been removed or modified whereupon one starts back up and in time is reborn as a human again. The reincarnations of deities claim to know in what being they previously existed and what they did in that period; and some of them claim to know where and what they will be and do in the future. The Batang Incarnation who recently passed on, claimed some years ago that he was not to be reincarnated again, that he was the last of the rebirths of the deified saint which he represents. However, after his passing the lamas will forecast and undoubtedly he will be reborn again as the prestige and money drawing power of an honored incarnation is tremendous. In another case sin did not alter the course of a "Living Buddha". The "Ge Lama", who was the incarnation at the head of the Ge or Atuntze monastery, was a rake and a drunkard. He lived with an unofficial wife and died during a drunken spree. Many claimed that he would not be reborn but his reincarnation took place, although delayed because of his misdeeds and lack of instructions from him as to where he would be found again. It is considered that enough merit is built up by some of the Living Buddhas to overcome the few evil rebirths and carry on the series. Such was the case of the Dalai Lamas the highest spiritual incarnations in Tibet with the possible exception of the Panchen Lamas. One of the early Dalai Lamas was notoriously evil but this did not stop the succession.

Although priests of learning and acumen are chosen to detect the presence of the soul of the deceased in a new infant, they must have some signs to guide them. In their search unusual occurrences such as the falling of a star, an eclipse, a comet, a peculiar combination of clouds, and even birth of a son by a woman in her old age, may indicate that the spirit of the previous Living Buddha has found a new home. The child must also show unusual physi-

cal marks as a sloping forehead, large protruding ears, and birth-marks, especially those resembling lotus flowers or some sacred symbol. The coming of unusual good fortune to an indigent family is noted as a possible sign if a boy is born to them at that time. Lastly the infant must have been born within a reasonable time after the decease of the previous incarnation.

One of the highest reincarnations is that known as "Chenrezee" who was doubly evolved, first appearing on earth as a ray of white light which issued forth from the left eye of Amitabha; and secondly being born as a youth of sixteen from a lotus bud. This deity is now incarnate in the Dalai Lama and is thus a protector of men, which is the basis for the prayers directed to the Dalai Lama. The God of Mercy is one of the most popular deities as evidenced by the knee grooves four inches deep worn into the floor of the Litang Temple by prostrating devotees.

The final test given to incarnations, if there is more than one candidate, is to place articles of the deceased before the child. These articles have been mixed with a number of miscellaneous objects of similar kind belonging to others. The child which picks out most accurately the personal belongings of the deceased is recognizing what was once his own and is installed as the reincarnation.

While every Tibetan is striving by prayers and other forms of merit to be reborn into at least one of the lower heavens, it is not always possible to escape from human or animal forms; he never knows where his past Karma in the form of misdeeds may send him. He does know what his evil works in this present life will do for him. A murderer will be in hell after his death to be reborn five hundred times each time dying a violent death, before he can hope to come to earth again. Woman ranks very low in the scale of birth, she must be reborn as a man before she can get started upon the road to Nirvana.

While comparatively high rank and wealth come to the family of lower incarnations much greater fortunes are bestowed upon families who produce a Dalai or Panchen Lama whose recognition must be carefully guarded lest imposters supplant the real heir. Their families from that time forth belong to the nobility. The care taken in the selection of incarnations is proved by the fact that most of them have come from poverty-stricken homes. The house in which is born a Dalai Lama is ever after honoured being marked through the succeeding generations by a knotted black yak-hair cylinder umbrella of victory which surmounts a short staff embedded in the roof.

The Living Buddhas are considered especially holy even their refuse being saved for pills and for charms. To them are inscribed unusual powers, one incarnation south of Batang being able to sit upon a blade of grass, to blow his enemies away with his breath and to crush rocks with his bare hands. Remnants of his body are very effective in sickness and in protection against all kinds of evil. Such relics are guarded with care. In the Red Cap Dzochén monastery there is kept one of Gautama Buddha's fingernails. It is big horn, oblong in shape, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and some forty-six inches long, the last foot toward the base being black and corrugated.

In theory, incarnations can do no wrong and none dare criticize them to their face. They are sought out to give protection in specially dangerous enterprises, to cast spells and discover secrets which others have failed to find. They alone are able to give power to the people in incantation ceremonies. Although he may not reside in that institution an incarnation, because of his position, is usually the abbot of a monastery. He is supposed to possess knowledge intuitively for "You don't need to teach the alphabet to Buddha, Nor do you need to give brilliant light to the sun".

Incarnations when abroad wear a round bowler papier mache hat lacquered in gold. He is also distinguished by his yellow garments, usually a vest and perhaps a scarf in addition to the usual red cloak and shawl of the monk. When riding a horse a yellow saddle pad designates the Living Buddha from amongst his numerous and obsequious attendants. The use of red ink is permitted to incarnate lamas and abbots of monasteries along with officials of Prime Ministerial rank and above.

While living Buddhas inherit property from their previous incarnations they can also add to this personal wealth. One of their most lucrative sources of income is when they are sought for divination. A nomad who had lost a cow came with confidence to the "Dree Gu" or Living Buddha of Litang monastery. Bowing low with unfurled queue and outcast tongue he proffered a half rupee begging that the honourable Dree Gu would "Moh Dob" or forecast as to the whereabouts of his cow, whether it was stolen, or merely strayed, and if stolen by whom, and where had it been taken. First the Living Buddha asked a number of questions. Then he took out his three dice, shook them and blew upon them, meanwhile whispering some words in a low and jumbled tone. Then he cast the dice in a bowl and looked at them. The result either did not satisfy or was uncertain so he did it again and still another time. Finally he looked up and said the cow was stolen and taken away to the south. The nomad asked the incarnation if he would

recover the animal. After more casting of the dice the Dree Gu replied that he would not. The cowman was disappointed but took the decision calmly, and seemed satisfied that the cow was not to be recovered and that its loss was a part of his fate. He would make no immediate further effort to find his cow which was probably taken by members of a neighbouring raiding tribe. If he found that this was true later he would be certain to bide his time and take revenge.

The priest has many methods of divination. Dice is one means much used because it is convenient. Another method is by Somo Deh or shoulder blade divination. The shoulder blade of a sheep is heated in the fire and the cracks studied to fathom the message. The poor often use this means without the expense of a Living Buddha divination provided they can find some older person who has become skilled in these matters.

Another means of divining the future was used by our two chairmen who took one piece of wood about two inches long and split it in half. An X mark was put on one side of both pieces. Then bowing down to a roadside shrine the wooden pieces were cast upon a rock. If the sides marked X fell upside together the trip was to be fortuitous. Evidently the pieces fell with the X's upward for they agreed to go on the trip with us.

Incantation determines the course of an action and marks the difference between profit and loss. A layman when asked to hire his animals to us consulted the incarnation who gave an unfavourable answer. Then a renegade priest, one who had broken his vows and taken two wives when he was pledged to remain celibate, was contacted as he was now a trader. Backed by a favourable forecast this former monk hired himself and animals for our use, even agreeing to take a road frequented by robbers as the divination had foretold a prosperous peaceful trip. The venture was fortunate but if he had been robbed he would not have lost faith in the power of the divining, but would have concluded that someone else's fortune was greater than his and that he had been fated to such ill-luck. He would do nothing except to use the power of his own priestly friends to recover what goods he could.

The casting of spells is closely related to the coercing of demons. Tsamba and cedar twigs are burnt upon a rock where a demon is lodged lest the household be harmed. The landowner with the muttering of prayers and spells does this in June when the demons or Lu come outside and again in December when the Lu retire inside.

The chief priest of Batang who is a Dree Gu was called upon to break a prolonged drouth during the summer of 1932. The

Chinese had done what they could by shutting the south gate of the city so that one had to walk around the city when coming from the south to enter; and had also forbidden the killing of hogs for meat. Still the drouth had continued. The monastic forces had been holding private rain-invoking services but with the signs of rain in the sky staged a final act in the town square. A sacred square of white lime was laid out and a triangle tower placed inside it. This tower was composed of thin sticks of wood placed one above the other to the height of a foot. Over this was placed a high iron tripod whose top would hold a pot. Cordwood for fuel evenly measured were piled upon a nearby table. Sticks of wood for replenishing the rail-fenced triangle were in an adjacent pile. Upon the table were bunches of grass, bowls of different grains and cone-shaped tsamba offerings spotted by small round lumps of butter. Lucky designs, such as swastikas and wheels, were drawn, by the use of lime, in the dust of the street. A chair for the chief exorciser who was to be the Batang incarnation, and benches for other monks, were placed close to the chalked square. A rolled-back canopy was ready to be stretched over the whole ceremony. First the priests within a neighbouring home groaned out incantations to the clanging of cymbals, the ringing of bells and the pounding of drums. After some hours they emerged for further chanting spells while the triangle was set afire and the offerings cast into the blaze to appease and propitiate the demons causing the heat and drouth. Rain fell within a day. Credit was given to the wily priests who had delayed their ceremony until the odds were in their favour for the falling of rain.

The ceremony of driving away the demon causing relapsing fever was not so successful as the one which coerced the drouth devil. Paldan Lhamo is said to have a bag full of demons. When she is not properly worshipped she releases one of these devils. In the summer of 1923 she let loose the demon of relapsing fever who rapidly caused a mortality of eighty per cent among those sick who were not treated by foreign medicine. The families of those afflicted hired coteries of lamas to chant prayers and conduct ceremonies to propitiate the evil disease-demon known as Kambama, the goddess of disease. These smaller group ceremonies were only rarely successful and the disease continued to spread and kill (Illus. No. 16). Eventually the disease entered the monastery until the entire force of monks were exorcising day and night. This proved of no avail and as a final resort a hideous image of Kambama was made from cloth, paper and wet barley. This figure was shaped like a human being and given a hideous blackened face outlined by varicoloured butter. Her general features were thinly

veiled by a ceremonial scarf except her great protruding red tongue. In front was a cartoon showing four adults and a child who substituted for those sick and were intended to deceive the goddess into thinking she had the living victims before her. The image, with heaped dormas of tsamba to appease her majesty, were placed upon a log raft from which projected carrying-poles. Short sticks supporting prayer flags were stuck into the bottom of the raft. Day-long services in the monastery coerced the goddess to enter the figure who, at the climax of the ceremony, was rapidly carried to the river's edge, escorted by about six Tibetans with ancient flintlocks. To the firing of guns the raft was set afloat upon the rushing waters which carried the demon downstream away from the city.

There is no feature of Tibetan religion so intimately unified as the incantations which coerce the divine deities so luridly represented by a multitude of idols, some helpful, some harmful, many of whom have their human counterparts in living incarnations. To their Living Buddhas are ascribed extraordinary powers in bending the will of protective deities so that they will thwart the machinations of the evil demons who are represented by idols but not by incarnations. These three elements, incantations, idols and incarnations are a solid platform in Tibetan Buddhism although they existed, long before its introduction, in the old Bon ceremonies and beliefs which have been taken almost without modification into Lamaism.

CHAPTER XXI

Temples and Teachings in the Land of Religion

Temples, tsatsa houses, chordens, self-evolved figures, Teachings — Fate, Rebirth and Works, Faith and Merit, Sin and Merit, Heaven and Hell.

*"If today I do not give alms to the beggars,
Of what use is my promise to build a temple."*

ONE versed in the various Tibetan sects can identify the principal denomination's temples by the colour scheme. The smaller sects and the subsects, having branched off from the main orders under the leadership of some famous teacher possessing some new idea or interpretation, do not carry their differences into their architectural conceptions. At least to the laymen, the colour of the temples is only distinctive for the main denominations. The smaller sects follow their parental origin in colour lines.

All temples face the lucky south and all major in the use of the primary colours. The Sakya sect paint their temples a solid red (Illus. No. 50). The homes of Sakya monks and other walls around the monastery are invariably a yellow base colour varied by stripes alternating in three colours, a blue-black, a red, and a white which are about a foot wide and running from bottom to the top. The Gelugba house their terrifying deities such as the guardians of localities and the defenders of Buddhism in solid red temples but their other god-houses will have the lower sections red or white and the upper portions red or yellow (Illus. No. 51). Gelugba walls and monk's homes are white except the residences of incarnations which are yellow with some upper parts in red. The Nyingmaba or red hat sect are red although one seen was really a mixture of orange and pink. The houses of the Nyingmaba lamas are white with sometimes the upper story red diversified by turquoise borders around the windows. One monastery of the Kargyuba sect was pure white throughout. A hermit retreat of unknown sect was white with blue stripes.

While the homes of the ordinary monks among the various sects will be of the standard colours for that denomination the houses

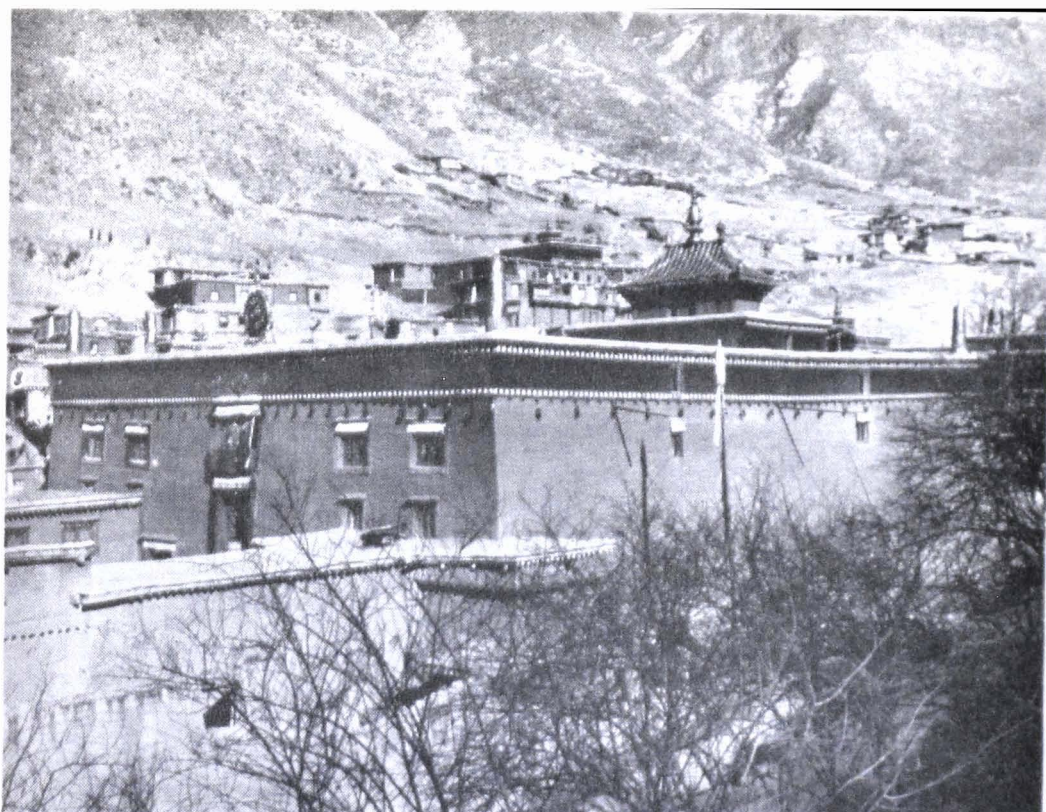


PLATE 50. In the foreground is the main temple of the Derge Monastery which belongs to the Sakya sect. Stripes characteristic of this sect distinguish some of the other buildings.



PLATE 51. The temple at Litang in which is housed the God of Love. Pilgrims use the porch which encircles the temple and twirl the continuous string of prayer wheels whose decorated exteriors can be seen about three feet above the pavement.

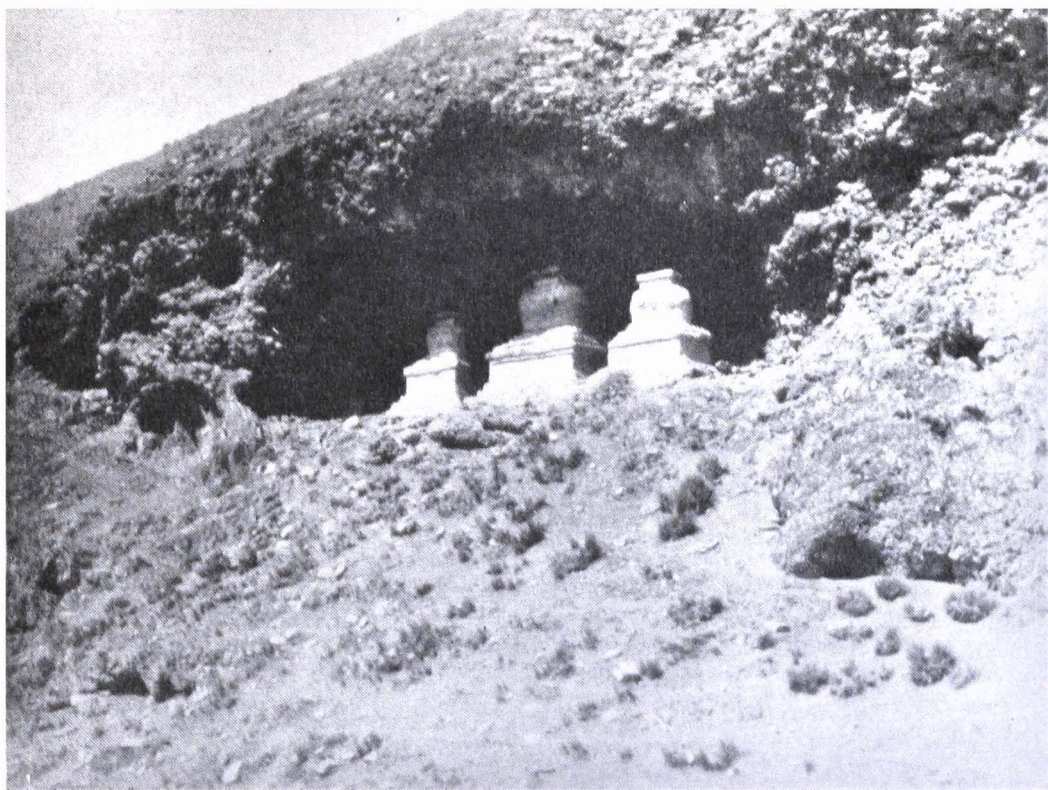


PLATE 52. In this cave facing the Yangtze river at Lamdah are three incomplete chordens. Upon the floor are countless relic cones as the cave seems to have substituted for a tsa-tsa house.



PLATE 53. Well-to-do nomad women from near Litang have cleaned their faces and put on their holiday dresses to have their picture taken. Poor women inenvy gossip that each little plate on their head represents a lover.

of the incarnations and abbots in common with lay princes will have the outer vestibules and doorways decorated in scenes of many tints. The door timbers will be richly embellished in red and gold designs. The outer vestibules and porches, usually on the end walls, feature two scenes: - one is the Mongolian leading the tiger, and the other is of the four friends, the elephant, the monkey, the hare and the magpie aiding each other. The Kings of the Four Quarters which are the invariable paintings upon the walls of temple porches are sometimes used on the identical walls of the wealthy and noble monks; as a rule they flank the elaborately gilded doorways.

The use of deer figures seems to be more prevalent among the Gelugba while the peacock is favoured by the Sakya and the Nyingmaba; however, there is much overlapping among them about the use of these animal images upon the walls and roofs of temples. It is not unlikely, at least to the laity, as some Tibetans have declared, that varied use of these animals is largely a matter of taste and finances rather than a means of showing religious belief and heritages. The same thing may be true in the Gelugba favouring the use of brass cylinders and yak hair umbrellas to which the Nyingmaba add the brass wheel as a central figure above the main door.

Uncertain as seems to be the roof insignia to differentiate sects there is no doubt but what the various divisions of Lamaism honour a different deity to the subordination of the other gods. However, it is common usage to place each other's deities in their temples but flanking or in a less conspicuous position to their own chief idol. The Nyingmaba, which means the "old ones", feature Padme Sambhawa the wizard (Illus. No. 47) who subjected demons to his will, while Chamba—the God of Love and Chenrezig—the God of Mercy (Illus. No. 48) occupy subordinate seats. The Gelugba, or the "virtuous positions" honour Chamba, Chenrezig and notably their founder Tsongkhapa; while they subject Padma Sambhawa to an even more subordinate position than their own secondary gods such as Drolma who saves from transmigration and Paldan Lhamo who is a stout defender of Buddhism. The Sakya, or the "grey yellowish earth ones" prefer to have Gautama Buddha dominate their temples, placing Chamba and Chenrezig in the principal minor positions.

The Gelugba sect has its headquarters in Lhasa where the ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, supported by that city's numerous and powerful monasteries, controls the education and directs the religious activities of all Gelugba monks. The Sakya were once directed from the Sakya monastery in Central Tibet but now consider

that their final religious authorities reside at Derge in the north-eastern part of the Tibetan plateau but a few day's journey from Dzochon which is held as the seat of the Nyingmaba sect. The Kargyuba denomination are said to have their educational finishing school at Katoh a few day's south of Derge. The transfer of their final educational authorities from central Tibet by all but the Gelugba sect was due to the hostility of the Gelugba or Yellow Hats who have dominated the political and religious thinking of Tibet for the last five centuries. The faith of the ruling petty prince has also harmonized with the faith of his people so that the Prince of Derge belongs to the Sakya sect who have their central monastic authority in the Derge Monastery. Although religious wars have been fought between the different Lamaistic sects they have lacked the wholesale slaughter and devastation peculiar to similar wars in many other lands. Tolerance amongst the various faiths has been remarkable. In most cases wars which seemingly revolved around religious issues had their underlying causes in feuds between powerful families and have taken place almost as easily between two princes of one faith as between two rulers of divergent belief.

The temple must share with two other edifices as symbols of Tibetan handiwork devoted to religious expression. These are the tsatsa houses and the chordens (Illus. No. 52). Tsatsa are objects made of clay with a few blest grains of barley stuck into the bottom, or perhaps clay mixed with either the ashes or the bone relics of one deceased. Tsatsa are commonly in the form of a bell but solid, others are moulded in the shape of a Buddha and still others are formed like idols and dorjes. Stamped out of wet clay by a metal form the tsatsa are placed in little square one-story buildings. Most frequently these are about six feet square with a window on one side through which the tsatsa are thrown until the tiny room is filled. Tsatsa are also placed under rock ledges, on chordens, in caves, or under roof eaves wherever there is shelter from rains. As the Tsatsa clay is brick-like in texture they last for decades before disintegrating in the comparatively dry climate. Tsatsa houses unless neglected are kept painted a pure white.

Much more conspicuous than the humble tsatsa houses, which are usually built near them, are the glossy white chordens whose towering cone-shaped spire may be seen in lonely grandeur often far from the haunts of men (Illus. No. 52). In grasslands, where timber is scarce and the building of monasteries impossible from lack of timber, one will see a chorden which may have an inner framework of timber but the remainder is built of stone and clay. Most of the chordens are solid but the larger ones are hollow god-houses with as many as three pyramidal rooms one above the

other. Sometimes the chorden will be large enough for a passageway to straddle a roadway and caravans will pass beneath it. The chorden has its counterpart in the stupas of India and Burma and like them is primarily a receptacle for relics. When a holy lama dies his fragmentary bones may be encased in a small earthen or metallic chorden within the monastery or buried inside a large one at some favoured point, either in the midst of a wide vale or upon a strategic height.

Basically the chorden represents the five elements into which the body is dissolved after death. The lowest section, square in shape with five terraced upper layers represents the earth; above it is the globe, like an inverted kettle, to typify water. Above this circular part which is slightly less in diameter than the square earth section, is a spire with thirteen discs corresponding to the thirteen Bodhisat heavens and portraying a triangular tongue of fire. Then a royal umbrella canopy supports the inverted moon crescent signifying air, while ether is the symbol of the tip featuring the sun ball tapering into space, with a spike-like shaft of light — the sign of Buddha. Chordens are usually kept white-washed.

Chordens are circumambulated daily by the pious with much rumbling of prayers to the spacing of beads in a rosary. Daily nearby spirals of incense are sent heavenward by monks regularly assigned to this task. Black chordens may be erected over the bodies of those dead who are believed to have been the abode of demons. The child of the Chinese princess, who was enroute to Lhasa to become the bride of King Songtsengambo, was born at the village of Dzong Ngen. Its father was the famous minister Gar who had command of the escort accompanying the princess from Peking to Lhasa. The child did not live long and Gar, claiming that it was the offspring of a demon and thus half-devil, had a black chorden erected over its corpse. Some historical reports say that Gar did not escape punishment by this clever ruse to cover up his intrigue.

The hollow chordens are fitted with rooms around whose walls sit idols, flanked by lurid paintings upon the wall-faces. They are thus miniature temples where the pious prostrate and burn incense as would be done in the larger monastic temples. The upper stories of such chordens are reached by notched log-ladders. Unless a monastery is nearby or the chorden is the only fixed shrine of a nomadic tribe, these temple chordens are often neglected, especially inside. The passage of years leaves both idols and frescoes dilapidated as if they were the remnants of a past civilization. Upon one outer side of the larger chordens, inserted into the face of the global section, is the picture of a deity.

Temples may vary in size from those of large monasteries, which are 150 feet square, and tents ninety by forty feet, to village structures less than twenty feet each way, and on down to ten feet square hollow chordens. Among all of these god-houses the most unique are those which shelter the Rong-Jen or self-evolved figures. These, too, range from the fifty foot square building which houses the great batholithic eight feet high figure of Namba Nongtseh (called Vairocana in India the chief of the Five Dhyani Buddhas presiding over the uppermost paradise) at Lhamdee to the tiny half submerged rock caverns near Tsakalo which contain the figures of Songtsengambo and his two wives. At Dzong Ngen between Lhamdee and Tsakalo are three other self-evolved gods supposed to be the famous Minister Gar, the Chinese Princess and their child (the last is the one over whose body was raised the black chorden mentioned previously).

Temples enclosing these Rong-Jen may have other than hand-made deities to flank the divine image and differ from ordinary temples only in the deeper effigies of human beings worn in the floor by countless prostrations. These Rong-Jen temples like the main monastic temples have the tall circular banner of victory fringed by braided yak-hair and crested by tridents. Here too is the square tower thrusting a knobby spire upward from the centre of the roof and in front near the edge a white cone pours spirals of slightly bluish smoke in a burnt offering of sweet juniper incense to the gods. Cords of yak-hair, supporting strips of cloth printed with prayers, stretch from poles at the four corners. Even evergreen branches adorned with prayer-rags beautify the roof for the spirits of the region.

Closely resembling some of the self-evolving figures are the brilliantly coloured carved images upon the walls of prominent rocks which are usually of granite composition. Life-size sitting figures of the wizard Padma Sambhawa, of the goddess Drolma and of the god Chenrezig are the most common deities carved on the faces of rocks and then painted. One such near Jyekundo had existed so long that it was reputed to be a Rong-Jen rather than man-made.

“Both in this world and when on the other side, If it is your fate you will be purified.” It is in the temples that one sees the setting for Tibetan thinking and teachings. As in the proverb above and also in “Happiness and sorrow come to the birds of heaven, Breaking and cracking come to all stones,” so we see in the Wheel of Life pictured upon the temple’s vestibule walls that existence is one continual round of desire from which there is no escape except for the fortunate few whose fate decrees that they shall be

as serene and peaceful as the god figures sitting calmly within the temple. Fate is the keystone. One must be reborn again and again having no choice, no free action of the will because of the unknowable and innumerable sins of previous existences. Bound by these unfathomed quantities the victim directs his thoughts to release from the round of life. His inexhaustible praying in whatsoever form is addressed to the God of Mercy to aid him in securing a better rebirth, or to the Goddess Drolma that the cord of continued life may be severed; much fainter is his supplication to the coming Buddha the God of Love for he knows not when this deity of helpfulness will come and bring man's life to perfectness. Lamaism has wandered from one maze of seeking perfect submergence into the Divine to perfect serenity in extinction until it is difficult for even the most learned to tell where he is headed but like every layman he knows certain outward observances must be kept and certain beliefs must be held up or else all is lost.

As stated a basic belief is rebirth and all of the ceremonies are directed around it, but at the same time one must live upon this earth. Hence certain mundane rituals must be performed to insure a reasonable success while one is alive now. Although the individual is exhorted to have faith in his tutelary deity (Illus. No. 49) and some of the more powerful gods and goddesses, yet, in the final analysis, faith is of no avail to overcome the unknown chain of events which caused the person to be in his present state. Only works can change the future rebirth. Hope of overcoming fate is bordered by despair; despair of not knowing what past rebirths have been and inability to ascertain the amount of good works to balance the accumulated evil; and also how far one's good deeds will advance the soul toward a better rebirth or to cause it to leave the cycle of existence. The more deplorable the present state the more hopeless is the thoughts of what the future life will be. Even those favoured by fortune or position are not certain that they are on the upgrade toward still better rebirths as they may have reached the end of the merits, accumulated by an ancestor in the far distant past, which has brought them their present favoured life; and they are not certain that their present good works will enable them to retain their rank in the next incarnation; nor lastly are they sure their present good deeds will not be overcome by some last minute rash act into which they may be forced by the fortunes of war, or other duties which they must perform as a member of society. The unknown factors of fate are well expressed in the saying that "The sling made of goat's hair, Hits the goat on the head".

Faith in one's tutelary deity is urged in one sentence with the next word demanding that the individual repeat the six syllable prayer. In conjunction with prayer one should sit in holy meditation and to properly meditate there must be abstinence from food and most of all from food produced by the taking of life. Ministering to those sitting in religious meditation is the highest form of alms aside from the saving of life, or the extension of life by gifts even to the filthiest beggar or the dumb animals; both of these acts produce merit. Pilgrimage to sacred shrines, worship by prostration before idols or around holy places, offerings in a multitude of forms, including both service and ceremonies to images and priests which might be more properly rated as in the realm of alms; all those acts, which aid the lama hierarchy, are fundamental in the buildup of merit. Hence, on the positive side the accumulation of merit is the end of the Tibetan's entire religious efforts. On the negative side in order to sustain one's physical life there is a multitude of acts devoted to the thwarting and control of demons. The New Year Dances for the expelling of evil spirits, the Fall Harvest Festival for the pleasing of both good and evil demons, the devil-exorcising ceremonies for the sick, the control of the spirits which bring rain, hail, and drouth, the charms and incantations, the forecasts and divinations, the curse-ceremony, all have but one object in view—the retention and comfort of the present physical life. Pared down to its barest essentials the Tibetan spends his life on the one hand fighting the evil spirits to maintain this life, and on the other hand building up merits for his soul that they may be conveyed to the betterment of his next physical existence, with the faint hope that somehow this fierce cycle of desire to live may be ended by Nirvana or nothingness.

To the average layman sin is the breaking of fixed laws and regulations, and not the failure to do one's duty in aiding others. However, caring for the less fortunate will build up merit which can counterbalance acts of sin. A multitude of works such as the countless forms of prayer, giving of alms, meditation, ministry to gods and lamas in and out of the temple, saving of life and pilgrimages are the principal methods in the accumulation of merit, which will not wipe out but balance the weight and number of sins. The violations of fundamental human rights, as everywhere, are also basic sins according to Tibetan thinking. There are some alterations from the standards of democratic thinking in that individuals are ranked; the robbing or killing of a nobleman or lama is a greater sin than if the party were a beggar. Such ideas of quality are carried over into the performance of merit; and service to a high priest means more than similar service to a poor lama. Some shrines are

more sacred than others. Saving the life of a person is of greater value than preserving the life of an animal although the animal may be the incarnation of a human being in suffering. Likewise, for a priest to sin is worse than a layman as he violates both his vows and discredits other monks; if possible his sin is hidden by his fellow lamas to avoid public disfavour. Merit also is easier to earn at certain seasons. Khawagarpo the Mountain of Silver Snow is visited most frequently in the sheep year. Dorjetroleh is a more popular shrine for pilgrimage in the tiger year.

Heaven and Hell are both temporary abodes of the soul and not eternal residences. They take on the elements of perpetuity in that hundreds of rebirths may be necessary to escape from Hell, and one may be reborn from one Heaven to another before entering Nirvana or going back to the earth; for there are many Heavens and many Hells, including places of torment. There is one series of eighteen Hells, nine hot and nine cold whose climatic tortures are mild compared to some of the places where one spends a rebirth such as the region where one is sawn asunder, torn upon the horns of wild yak, or having the entrails torn out piece by piece. In contrast to the fantastic and varied tortures of Hells the pleasures of the Heavens are not so well developed, with rest, peace and beautiful surroundings as the most prominent features. Heaven is not so much a reward for the virtuous as it is a pleasurable abode during one or more rebirths, awarded to those whose merits accumulated upon earth outnumber their sins; and one spends this particular rebirth in that long climb which finally enables the individual to leave the cycle of reincarnations and enter Nirvana. One can be born upon earth and even later descend for a time into Hell in the continuation of one incarnation but those born in Heaven are fairly certain to continue piling up merit until Nirvana (which may be conceived as a peaceful, endless non-individuality of the soul) is reached.

Sin and Merit, Heaven and Hell with life as a seemingly endless (because unknown) round of reincarnations or rebirths in which one is clutched by the thirsty devils of fleshly desires, while lurking in the nearby shadows threatening demons are ready to pounce upon one to make life short and miserable, these are the central cores of the ordinary Tibetan's life and thinking.

CHAPTER XXII

Nomads in the Snow Country

Nomads, tents, a camp, the tent's interior, home tasks, personal equipment, the shepherd and his work, jewellery of nomad women, night among nomads, the goatskin bellows, pasturing stock, bathing, hospitality, recreation, moving, the nomad and religion, trading and travelling, crossing rivers, the Annual Fairs, the Nomad.

*"Among nomads there is no falling off a horse,
Among valley dwellers there is no falling downstairs."*

The original Tibetan was a nomad and today the characteristic Tibetan is a nomad. Although in the eastern part of Tibet a larger half of the people are settled in villages and cultivate crops yet most of these families have animals. Every morning a shepherd collects the beasts from each household who give him a handful of tsamba for watching their stock upon the nearby hillsides. Many farmers have large numbers of cattle, sheep and horses which demand their own individual attention. In the summertime part of the family will take their herd far up into the mountains, pitch their tent and live the life of a nomad until winter when they seek the comfort and pastures of the lower valley where they live in their house until next spring.

This chapter is not written about these summer nomads but of those who live the year around in the huge black yak-hair tents, whose long guy ropes, cause the whole to resemble gigantic black spiders resting upon the grassy plain. Nomads' tents vary greatly in size. The tiniest are 5 x 5 feet cone-shaped ones where the silversmith plies his trade. On the edges of the encampments are some slightly larger where the sick are isolated with a bleating lamb for the disease demon to enter as a substitute for the ill person. Supplies of food and drink are placed near the tent and one can hear the exorcising prayers of the priest in the sick person's home tent.

The largest tents are always those of the chief or the prince of the tribe. He will have a kitchen and eating tent as much as 60 by 30 feet and twelve feet high. The reception and sleeping tent will be smaller about 40 by 20 feet. Temple tents where the nomad monks hold religious services holding as many as a hundred lamas

at a time will be only slightly smaller than the kitchen of the prince. The ordinary nomad will erect a tent about 30 by 15 feet and eight feet high at the ridge pole. Even the poorest family will have a 20 by 10 tent which considering the number of activities performed outside is ample in summer but crowded in winter especially in early spring when new-born lambs occupy a corner. A tent large enough to sleep in will be given to a beggar. So much a part of nomadic life is the tent that the Tibetan name for a tent is used to indicate the nomad.

The nomad has all of his stationary goods in his tent while the animals are staked in front beginning about ten feet from the front door flap. To the side will be tied the immense shaggy mastiffs whose blue eyes peering out beneath yellow eyebrows surrounded by long black locks inspire fear in the heart of strangers. Blue-eyed people are supposed to be able to see precious metals in the ground and these blue-eyed dogs are taught to see evil in all outsiders.

Most encampments have three or four tents but a camp may have from one to fifteen. Pasturage prohibits larger numbers for any period of time although hundreds will be pitched in a valley at the short festival seasons. As one approaches a nomad camp by riding down a grassy valley toward wisps of smoke curling from the ridge of the tent there is warning of the strangers. The people hear the shrill whistle of alarmed black-eyed yellowish marmots who scamper into deep holes before one reaches shot-gun range. The mastiffs, which weigh from eighty to a hundred pounds, begin lunging and barking. Their hoarse throaty woof and their plunging increases in rapidity and violence as one draws nearer. One wonders if the links will hold for sometimes they snap and the dog rushes out for the attack. By this time men have come out and walk toward one ready for war or peace. Their long swords are thrust out on each side of their waists and sometimes their rifles, either a Mauser, if well-to-do men, or a flintlock, if poor, are strapped to their backs.

The nomad as he detects gentry in the oncomers uncurls his long greasy pigtail, sticks out his tongue and holds out his hands palm upward. If the newcomer is of very high rank he will also scratch his left ear, and with right clenched fist, the thumb pointing skyward, shake his right arm up and down. While a servant or a member of the family stakes one's horse the nomad who may have a common name such as Gezong Tsering (Good merit long life) invites his guests inside. Gezong quiets the stock as all walk between the rows of snorting yak and past the clustering sheep toward the doorway. One eyes the raving mastiff whose red woolly

collar is not only for adorning his neck but also offering some protection against wolf fangs. But now out rushes the wife Gezong Lhashi (Good merit happy goddess) who promptly throws herself upon the mastiff bearing him to the ground where she hides his head with the voluminous folds of her cloak. One will move quickly past the growling dog, still smelling his frothy breath for there is only a little space to pass the brute. The host holds the curtain aside for all to go inside.

One must enter by a sort of hallway for a solid partition of yak-hair cloth joins up with the tent wall at one end, placed there to keep the wind from entering directly when the tent flap is parted or left open for convenient entrance and exit. In some tents this partition may be of clay, or yak dung. One moves to the left and then turns right.

It seems dark inside as only a narrow belt of light is let in between the two halves of the tent where they come up to the ridge pole. This aperture is left there to permit the smoke from the clay stove to escape, after it hovers for a while over the inmates. Beyond the stove one is offered seats of felt, or deer-hair cushions, crowned by a tiger-skin lined with satin, a rug reserved for men of rank and for lamas. Princes will be seated upon raised dais at the far end of the tent. Upon the stove rests one or more copper kettles; from one of them tea is ladled out into a clay teapot. The costly copper kettle is so important that a nomad household may be called "a kettle". The host grabs the teapot with both hands, keeping the left palm facing upward, swings the pot around to stir up the contents and immediately offers the guest some. The tea, yellow with butter, is hot so one sets his bowl down to cool a little. However, from time to time one is pressed to drink, the host using honorific language. One must drink at least one bowlful but no sooner is it emptied than the host fills it again and again. If the guest is a foreigner he likely does not carry his greasy bowl in his clothing so the hostess will pick one out from the family stock, wipe it with the greasy flap of her cloak, or if she wears a sheepskin, with the stove-rag, and one is supplied with a bowl rated as clean.

There can be seen trunks of clothing and goods piled around the edge of the tent to aid low walls of yak dung in keeping out the winds. Walls of yak dung are also constructed into courts and corrals for stock. Such walls a foot thick and sometimes over five feet high, may enclose a small camp, may be used as the basis for lining with clay to make a stove and an altar, and likewise to break the wind in exposed locations. Saddles and pads, ropes and sacks are piled along the tent sides flanking the family altar at the far

end opposite the doorway. Chests of equipment form the altar which has pictures of deities with seven bowls of water and seven other bowls of grain lined before them. As the guest one is away from the drafts of the door in the far corner where are tethered the lambs too young to run with the mother but taken out night and morning to feed. The lambs, cute and fearless, approach to sniff the oddly dressed stranger.

On the poles hang stomachs of butter, balls of cheese, squares of cheese strung on yak-hair cords, bushy yak-tails, hunks of meat, bags of peppers, skins of wool, twigs of juniper, leather thongs, copper vessels, and odds and ends. A pile of yak chips rests in the corner near the door. The rest of the floor space is a maze of felts and rugs to sit on, but which the family avoid trampling when seeking seats or serving guests. The wealthy tents have a few low tables upon which are placed silver-lined bowls and large red containers of tsamba.

The host offers snuff to all beginning with the guest. Each person shakes the cow-horn to secure a little pinch on the left thumb-nail which is held to the left nostril. Habitual users close the right nostril to secure a strong sniff. Conversation is leisurely, and broken by the taking of snuff at long intervals, and the sipping of tea. When asked about the scrolls the host in pointing to them does it the polite way by extending his hand palm upward with all five fingers close together. He also holds his head down lest he contaminate either you or the idol with his breath. At the end of every few words he says "LaSo" to exhibit his humility and he may hold out his tongue as you speak for the same reason. If he cannot accede to a request he will do it in such an indirect way that the stranger to his customs will not know he has been refused. When one leaves, a coin is given to the wife, unless the family is wealthy, when it may be given to a servant. If one's party is large this should not be neglected. Upon departing one is escorted out and aided to the saddle with the same courtesy as when received.

During the day youthful members of the family watch the yak and sheep upon the hillside while the older folks are busy at harder tasks. The women will prepare food, gather yak chips which are flattened upon the grass to dry, and prepare butter or cheese. Butter is churned by shaking in a skin bag. The men knead skins for cloaks or boots, grind powder for bullets, and confer at length on the best means to avenge the raids of an enemy. As wood or even brush is scarce or distant, nomads have classified the various kinds of animal dung as to their heating qualities. Sheep and goat droplets create the hottest flame and are used when charcial

is not available in smithy fires; horse manure is the poorest, burning quickly; yak dung retains its heat although a bellows is needed to bring it to proper flame, and it also has the additional merit of being the most plentiful and easily gathered.

Like pioneers everywhere the nomad guards his rifle as his best friend, carrying it slung over his back when away from his tent and resting it in a corner near his bedding when at home. He prefers a breach-loading rifle which he acquires by purchase if possible, if not, by theft or murder from a Chinese soldier. Most of these are German Mausers of 1888 model. If a modern rifle is not attainable he depends upon a home-made muzzle-loader which is fired by resting it upon two antelope horns which, when not in use, lie parallel with the barrel, with the points projecting like a double bayonet. These horns although capable of a wicked wound are not employed in thrusting, the nomad using his sword at close quarters. The Tibetan gun is a rounded rod of iron, roughly bored of no fixed diameter, the bullets being made to fit each gun. A curved wooden stock is attached to the rear end and also supports a rope of hemp or edelweiss which has been boiled in saltpetre. The bullets, cast from lead found upon the surface in various areas, are rammed upon a home-made powder of saltpetre, sulphur and charcoal. When all is ready the smoldering hemp is touched to a hole in the side of the barrel at its base to explode the powder. The average rifle is effective up to a hundred yards and the best about a hundred and fifty yards. Their accuracy varies considerably, all of them high and some wide, but when the bullet strikes it tears a fearful jagged gap in the victim.

Besides the rifle the nomad carries a single-edged sword about three feet long, so that it sticks out on both sides of his waist where it is twisted in his red-cloth belt. If he is one of the rare individuals to own some sort of pistol this will be hidden in his pouch or the cloak-recess which bulges above the belt. In this pouch will be found other sundry articles such as bowl, pipe and tobacco-bag, handkerchief and purse. His stone and flint will hang loosely from his left side and under his left shoulder will nestle a charm-box suspended from a woollen belt over the right shoulder. With his sheepskin cloak, suitable for comfortable sleeping, and food in his saddle bags, the nomad mounted upon his hardy pony is ready for a long campaign and capable of living off the country indefinitely. It was such virile men who enabled the great conquerors from Asia to sweep all before them in eastern Europe and Asia Minor during the Middle Ages.

As evening draws near the shepherd pulls out his sling and hurls stones at his yaks. Familiar with this procedure at this time the

yak come charging down the hillsides at a gallop. With bushy tails erect so that the plume hangs down, their mouths open and red tongues thrust out, snorting and grunting like pigs they seem to be an avalanche of maddened beasts whose huge bulks would sweep away the camp. But with expert precision at the edge of the tent they swing and wheel into a group near their tie-ropes. The herdsman single out each beast and pull it by the nose-ring to its place where a foreleg is fastened by a short rope to the long tie-rope at intervals of four feet apart. Tie-ropes vary but usually run about twenty feet long and are staked in parallel rows some ten feet apart. Now the women rush out with three gallon wooden buckets to milk. They get no help from the men unless the herd is large. The buckets are never washed and the yak-hair strainer covering one half of the top, and serving largely as an anti-splash device, is incrustated with sour flakes. The fresh milk soon sours into a cheesy flavour. Only part of the milk is taken from the Zomo or female yak and the remainder left for the calf who all day has been tied near the tent. Yak milk is very rich but rare is the animal which will give a gallon at a milking.

The sheep and goats have come down more slowly and have flocked together on one side. Having finished the yak the women use a small dipper which they hold in one hand as they strip with the other or more commonly they place the dipper on the ground and use both hands. In milking sheep and goats the women straddle the animal with their cheek resting upon a flank near the tail. As with the yak only part of the milk is taken and the young lambs are carried out from the tent for their share.

It is the nomad women rather than the village dwellers who constantly display all of their jewelry most of which has been handed down from deceased relatives or received as a wedding dowry, (Illus. No. 53). Their ornaments are worn all day long as they work, whether the task be gathering yak chips, milking, or weaving cloth. Ornaments will vary from diamond-shaped dinner-sized plates of gold and silver studded with designs mingled with immense eggs of roundish yellow amber and branched pieces of red coral. Sometimes crossed chains of silver and shell will be hung from the waist. Jewelry will be laid aside only when asleep.

At dusk the ponies are securely staked near the tent and the dogs are turned loose to roam up and down, to bay at the moon, or to assail strangers if they come within a hundred yards. Only strangers inside the tent are safe. The late traveller riding past must use his whip vigorously to drive off these mastiffs who by leaping have pulled many a rider from his seat. A latecomer if alone can be torn to pieces.

The animals outside gradually subside with only the chumping sound of cud-chewers and the occasional bleats of restless lambs breaking the silence, unless the moon comes up when the rah, rah of the mastiffs keep up until their throats in the icy cold are so hoarse that only a breath of hot air hisses past their ivory fangs. The nomad is not likely to disturb himself much when the rush and furious barking of dogs disclose travellers who can be seen going past; but if there is no sight of man, he grabs his gun and stealthily moves among his animals peering into the darkness for thieves who may try to creep in from several different directions at once.

The nomad eats a hearty meal for the evening and sits talking by the faintly flickering light of the yak chips which burn with a bluish flame, emitting a biting acrid fume little noticed by the habituated. Drinking buttered tea and smoking Chinese tobacco as he tells Tibetan fables or sings a high-pitched love-verse, the nomad lets the evening idle away while the wife feeds the fire and pours the tea. However, tent dwellers retire early and soon the guest has spread for him nearby, some felt pads by the wife. This is the hint that the family will retire. The nomad takes off his boots, unties his belt, slips his arms out of the sleeves to let the cloak drop to its full length and wraps the whole around him if the weather is cold, and if not he sleeps naked with the cloak thrown loosely over him. Each person may sleep alone, or pile in with someone else, male and female sometimes mixed indiscriminately together.

The healthy nomad rises early at the break of day. Although time is of little value, his bed is hard and the night creatures of several species are active so that dozing has its discomforts. The sun is his clock and daytime is usually told by starting the position of the sun as so far each side of the zenith, or that it is soon after daybreak, before sun-down, dusk or final darkness. Night-time is measured by bray of donkey if there is one and if not by the restlessness or other actions of their stock; if the nights are clear the height of the moon is useful. Time may also be computed by stating it as the smoking of a pipeful of tobacco, by the boiling of a pot of tea, by the time taken in walking a shorter or longer distance between two known points.

The morning chores are the duplication of the evening reinforced by cups of hot tea. The yak-chips (Jowa) smoulder through the night and are easily brought to heat in the morning by using a goatskin bellows. The body of a goatskin is sewn into the shape of a sack with one rear leg open into which is thrust an iron tube. The top of this sackskin is left open and held apart by the two hands. With a rotary motion it is closed and pressed down so

quickly that a blast of air comes out of the iron tube which has been thrust near an ember or into a pile of smoking dung. It is as difficult to eradicate a fire in a wall of yak-dung as it is in a peat-bed for if once left to spread it will smoulder and smoke for weeks until all is consumed.

In summer the nomad drives his herds high, to the snowline around 18,000 feet and in winter drops down to lower valleys, below thirteen to fifteen thousand feet if possible. Yak and sheep will paw away snow even if crusted and obtain sufficient grass to survive but horses have a difficult time if the snow is deep, and must sometimes be kept alive by balls of tsamba and scraps of meat. When horses after a few days of heavy snowfall start to eat each other's tails so that the hair is nibbled away the nomad knows he must drop to a lower altitude or feed them expensive barley or beef. Swales, where the coarse grass grows tall and is left untouched by the stock, who in summer prefer the thin wire-like blades of tundra-turf, are usually not covered by snow as precipitation is scant in winter. Such swales the nomad seeks to keep his stock fat. In some of these valleys hot springs bubble out of nearby rocks and then the animals do not need to chew ice. Sheep from a distance are driven to these mineral springs in the fall where they can drink their fill for some days, probably freeing them of worms and acting as a tonic.

Living in a rare atmosphere where blistering of the skin by sun and wind are commonplace, the nomad is not an extensive user of water. The only washing many of them secure is when clinging to his horse's tail he fords streams on foot, which he never does unless the water is too high to ride a horse safely. Where hot springs are close the whole family will soak themselves, men and women together once or twice a year before the New Year festivities or at other special occasions such as a marriage.

Like all isolated peoples if the stranger comes as a friend he is hospitably received although a large armed caravan may be attacked if it does not stick to established routes of travel. Tea is urged upon the guest (and on occasion even stronger drinks). His horse and all his belongings are safeguarded from thieves. Gifts will be presented to the newcomer who in accordance with his rank will leave a parting gift of equal or greater value. If visiting incarnate priests the guest may be shown special honour by the lama who will peel fruit with his own holy though unwashed hands and gives it to the visitor. In the presentation of gifts of grain, wool, butter, cloth and meat (when a large party is involved such an over-all present is necessary) a whole butchered sheep will be

brought in and stood up grotesquely on its legs as the proper procedure.

Recreation is not lacking in the seemingly drab life of the nomad. He pitches his tent near his home monastery at the New Year's season so he can attend the Devil Dances. He will attempt to be present at some near-by village for the annual harvest in the fall. Outside of the New Year Festival the biggest event for the nomad will be the annual mustering of his tribe. During the fine weather of fall just before the winter closes in, all the tents of the chief (who may have enough smokes or tents to be called a Prince) will gather in the widest plain. There will be a numbering of the strength of the tribe in men and animals, a survey of the losses of the past year from the raids of enemies, the mourning of tribesmen's deaths in forays, the laying of new plans to revenge their killing, and the projection of raids against Chinese or Tibetan despots or some weaker tribe. This time is marked by much feasting, the playing of games, contests in archery and horsemanship during horse-races, the dancing of youths and maidens which may result in marriages after the parents have arranged matters of finance, and not least the exorcising by the priests for the prosperity of the tribe in all of its affairs. If possible the round-up is held near warm springs which abound in many places. Here the animals are urged to drink and the people who wish may bathe. Great care is taken not to offend the tutelary deities of the locality and the springs and also protecting gods of the tribe. Lamas recite prayers with offerings to continue the good-will of these deities.

The movings of the nomad are his salvation for the encampment soon becomes a filthy place which may have some basis for the proverb in which the canny Chinese have a part, "If a Chinese sits three days in a place he gets rich, If a Tibetan sits three days in a place it is full of dung". In moving the nomad takes down his tent without disturbing the furniture and loads his numerous animals alongside. When he reaches the new camping spot he builds his new home from the inside out, first arranging his goods and lastly hoisting the tent-halves over and around them.

Constantly living next to nature at high altitudes the nomad looks upon the sun as his friend whereas hail and snow are enemies. These last are controlled by the deities of the locality whom he avoids angering in a variety of ways. These deities are reputed to live in the higher areas such as peaks and passes; in streams or in lakes. He is fearful lest the deities send rain which will make the river impassable when he must cross, or a snowstorm upon the pass about to be surmounted. Fish caught by the heretical Chinese or foreigner will be rescued and poured back into the stream.



PLATE 54. Three miles south of Jyekundo is held this nomadic fair yearly where the nomad exchanges his products for Chinese merchant goods mostly tea, cloth or cooking utensils. The main street of the bazaar is within the grouped tents in the background.



PLATE 55. The Washi, a nomadic tribe four days east of Batang, encamp near the summit of Tshongpon Pass at an altitude of about 15600 feet. The caravan of five hundred yaks carries tea and cloth, but the nomads ride the horses.



PLATE 56. The yak, the basis of Tibetan economy on plain and farm, are waiting for their loads to be shifted into the ferry boat which crosses the Yangtze river at Lamdah about three hundred miles from its source. The yak will be forced to swim the river.



PLATE 57. The King of the Tibetan skies is the Lammergeier which was shot by Fu Chuan and held up to be compared in size with my son John K. and my daughter Marian L. This picture was taken in the winter of 1929 in our front yard at Batang.

Angry protests are made over the killing of game especially the wild ass, the ancestor of the horse. Voices are lowered when the Tibetans approach the top of a pass and often only a mumbled prayer is voiced as the stone is cast upon the cairn at the top. Prostrations in series of threes will be made toward snow peaks; money will be paid to the priests to hold off a threatened rain as a caravan approaches a barely fordable river; and certain peculiarly-shaped heights are avoided as the abode of deity. All of these heights which laymen dare not climb have been marked as sacred by the erection of stone cairns in whose tops are stuck flame-curved copper-tridents, knobbed sun and crescent moon adorned with prayer flags and tufts of wool as offerings to the Zhedah or locality god. Where flat stones abound a few will be set up in tiny T-shaped towers as abodes for the spirits.

Each nomadic tent invariably has relatives in a regional monastery which has been erected at great expense near their winter quarters out of timber imported from forests distant often many days. The great Litang monastery serves several tribes who rotate every two years in the appointment of the ruling abbot. The nomad monks live in such sturdy edifices during winter but in summer follow the tribe to the grazing grounds in huge yak-hair tents where they can render immediate services for men and beasts. The monks will not only pray for the welfare of the tribe but prepare various enchantments and good-luck guiding symbols. At the Yangtze ferry of Dru Da Dru Tso were set up eleven white-washed stones a foot and a half apart in a straight line leading down the bank to the edge the last three stones extending into the water. On the shore opposite was a single white stone. Each stone's top was inscribed with a word to make a charm sentence, "Om A Da Ra Ni Tzi Wa Ni E Sa Ha". For the special use of the nomad the monks will make prayer flags which can be attached to the tent-ropes even if the camp is only for a night. Nomadic monasteries are the only cities the nomads have and they sometimes house several thousand monks.

Trading and travelling are an essential part of the nomad's life (Illus. Nos. 54 and 55). But he never makes a move whether moving his tent to new grazing grounds or going upon a long trading journey without consulting the astrologer priest, who determines the auspicious day and the lucky direction. Starting for a new site or upon a journey it is lucky if one first meets a person with a full vessel. Rather than meet someone with an empty vessel which would bring bad luck to the venture, a neighbour goes out with an empty cask, fills it with water and waits outside to meet the party as they sally forth. She receives a gift in return.

The poor nomad has a minimum subsistence property of fifty sheep, a half dozen yak and a horse so that trading gives him a few luxuries or a better gun to defend what little he has. He may also hire himself to drive burden-yak for his wealthy neighbour who may have a hundred yak, three thousand sheep and twenty horses. One man cannot load and drive over fifteen or twenty yak efficiently and the wealthy nomad must have sons or servants to utilize many of his animals. To secure the profits of transport, to insure that outsiders will not spy upon them for later raiding purposes, and lastly the natural dislike toward strangers trespassing upon their tribal territory, has made the nomads desirous of carrying goods through their own region. Caravans are permitted to travel along the main roads but if one would go through safely as to his person and securely as to his goods one should engage the nomads of that area. If fairly treated the nomad will live up to any agreement he makes and when the bargain is made will offer his sword or another personal part of his equipment to the other party to bind and guarantee the deal. They will make good any loss incurred through careless handling, theft, or accident.

Much time and argument are wasted upon the first day when the the nomad arrives to load one's goods and they are of unequal size or weight. Each of course desires the easiest to handle and carry. They are always late the first day even if they have promised to arrive at sunrise and the sun is high when they arrive. The sun gets higher and one is thinking about lunch when the melee ends after much lifting, sorting, and wrangling. The cases are matched in pairs, and garters from each nomad are placed on the loads by a bystander who does not know the various owners. The owners silently retrieve their garters and with them the loads which create groans or smiles.

Yaks are the chief caravan beasts and the day's journeys are very short. The yak being cattle are slow by nature in walking and they must graze half a day to obtain a sufficiency of the mossy grass which is their sole food. Every few days they are rested a day or more to regain strength and keep in flesh. The first day's journey is evident to the initiated for all travellers wear their best clothes which are afterward safely tucked in the baggage to be put on when they arrive at their journey's end or to attend any festivities en route.

Loads are light, the burly yak carrying about one hundred and twenty pounds net besides the light wooden pack saddle to which the load is tied by a single leather thong. Mules and horses carry some forty pounds more than yak. Donkey loads equal those of yak but they are used mostly to carry salt and wood. Sheep bear twenty

to thirty pounds and when they arrive at the market are generally sold.

The nomad having a constant struggle with nature will turn to robbery if he can do so with reasonable safety. He avoids stealing from those in his own tribe or district, but when passing through other areas, feels free to take what he can, secretly if possible, but openly if the other side is not well armed. As a result all nomads and caravans go fully armed ready for a fight. He has arranged his affairs at home in the event he does not return. He is gone for a long time, usually a month to a year. He averages ten miles a day; he has plenty of time to lay plans for robbing, revenging himself upon an enemy enroute or nearby and to set up a household where he markets his goods. Time on the road is just as well spent as time at home in the long cycles which govern the life of man. He reflects wisely that "If one thinks deeply one can think of everything, If one goes slowly one can come to every place".

The nomads by monopolizing the transport in their own tribal territory have helped create the system of transport known as Oolah in which both riding horses and pack animals are furnished by the nomad for a nominal fee to those travelling by official permit. Strictly speaking the riding horses are called Da-oo and the pack beasts are Oolah but this last term is often used for both kinds. Officials often abuse this right by paying nothing although the regulation charge is less than a fourth of regular hire rates. Except when a large force of troops is travelling officials have difficulty driving Oolah because of such abuse and hatred of officials is widespread. The name Oolah may have originated with the Mongolian tribe of Ourga which has the same meaning and this transport, which is a form of taxation and sometimes the only taxes paid by nomadic tribes, was used in early times among Mongols as well as Tibetans. Other taxes required of the nomads are often nominal and paid in kind. Use of Oolah requires that the traveller make an official call and present the official paper issued either by a Chinese or a Tibetan officer depending upon the overhead control. In emergencies or when demanded by an official, a servant is sent ahead carrying some part of the master's personal belongings such as his calling card, his whip, his horse-bell or a bullet from his gun. One custom in Central Tibet is to tie a yak-horn, a yak-tail and branches of thistles together, seal them and send them ahead so the animals for transport will be on hand at the proper time. These emblems signify that if the request is not granted the non-compliers will be whipped with the thistles, shot with a bullet or suffer some other form of punishment.

The nomad travelling realizes full well his precarious position when on the road. He prays enroute without ceasing, passes mani stone piles on the right, throws his votive stone upon the cairn at the top of the pass and when nearing administrative centres pays his respect with gifts to officials. Not the least of his troubles are the crossing of rivers. He fords them when the water is not higher than his horses flanks. Cantilever wooden bridges usually span the middle-sized streams or torrents tumbling down a ravine. At the larger rivers he is at the mercy of the river men. He knows that "At the large river crossing the ferrymen are violent, At the seat of a great king the ministers are rigorous".

There are three methods of crossing large rivers, by bamboo rope, skinboat and wooden barge. When the river is not over three hundred (or thereabout) feet wide and is too swift for safe crossing by coracle or barge, a cable is put across it. Where bamboo or rattan grows they are used but if not, then leather thongs will be substituted. Ten to twelve strips of bamboo ten to twenty feet long and three eighths of an inch wide are cut out of larger poles and fourteen of these braided into a strand one inch in diameter. Three of these strands may be rebraided into a single cable two and one half inches in diameter. The larger cables are used for horses and the smaller for men only. In crossing, a wedge or trough open at each end is placed over the cable. A leather thong tied to this, is formed into a seat or bound around the buttocks of the rider who is tied in tightly if scared. Many sit as in a swing and grasping their hands above the wedge, turn their face away to avoid splinters. When ready they are shoved off and the cable, which is higher at the starting end, slides the wedge by gravity to near the other side. Here the rider grabs the cable and pulls himself up the last few feet of incline as the cable sways low in the middle. A second lighter cable attached to the wedge is used to pull horses and baggage across.

The coracle or skin-boat ranges from a small almost round tub of two men capacity to a larger trapezoid top and oblong bottom in shape capable of carrying several men with their packs. The large ones seen in eastern Tibet are about 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet deep with a weight of about ninety pounds. The smallest ones are about 4 feet in diameter and will weigh about 50 pounds. Two large coracles are often tied together for additional safety, for transportation down a river upon a day's journey, or for large quantities of valuable goods. Yak skins are sewn with leather thongs around the framework of light willow limbs attached to a top four-sided framework of birch poles. The seams are calked with pitch. When too wet the skins will stretch and seep water so

after each trip the coracle is stood upright to dry. They are not hazardous when new and dry and skillfully handled but still dangerous enough to call forth the proverb that "Hunters of the snowy heights are of the same mind, Passengers in the skin boats are of the same heart".

The wooden barges are used in crossing the widest rivers, too wide for rope bridges and at ferries where the flow of goods makes it profitable to supplement the service possible by the use of coracles. The barges vary in size depending upon the availability of timber and the width of the river. They are built of three and four inch spruce planks, range from 35 to 75 feet long, 8 to 10 feet wide, and around four feet deep. Five to thirteen men are required to operate them as they must be pulled upstream against strong waters to points where the current sets across the stream and sweeps them to land at sandy beaches rather than at a cliff, as the hand oars are unable to propell the boat against the swift flow of the river. They are the only ferry for animals across the wide rivers although the larger beasts such as yak must swim even these streams. Of the crew two to three men are needed to guide the large steering oar 25 feet long. Side oars, some twenty feet long, aid in guiding the boat and forcing it ashore in quiet waters. The boats are divided into five to seven compartments with animals and baggage in all except the end ones.

In many sections at least in the more remote areas far from shops there is held every year a great annual fair to which the nomads bring in their products from herds and handwork to sell or trade for the manufactured articles of merchants and townspeople (Illus. No. 54). With very limited economy it is revealing what the nomad can make from his herds, the forests and the clay of his hillsides. There will be spruce casks for water and for cheese, birch-bark dippers, churns of fir wood for tea, ploughs and pack saddles of birch, rolls of brightly dyed woollen and yak-hair cloth, deer-hair cushions, felt pads, clay jars and teapots, saddle equipment of all kinds, yak-hair cloth bags, leather bags some coloured in red and decorated with silk braid, snuff and powder horns from the yak, and even gaily coloured clay flutes which play a plaintive tune of shepherd's delight. Food products are more simple as befits a pioneer type of life. In trade the merchants offer the gay, cheaply made beads of glass which look tawdry compared to the precious stones of amber, coral and turquoise; spangles of silver ornaments from the village silversmith, knives and swords from the blacksmith, thread and broadcloth from India, mirrors, needles, soap, hard candy, iron and other metallic wares, a few foreign toys, Italian hats, flashlights and last, but most important, tea from

China which may be the only luxury of many an impoverished nomad. Larger deals also take place in the sale of horses where seller and buyer conceal their hands in their long sleeves squeezing each finger to indicate their offer, one finger being in multiple of ones, two fingers in multiples of twos and so on. On the quiet there will be deals involving guns and ammunition going from the Chinese to the Tibetan side, in which the risk is great for the Chinese seller but the profits are in proportion.

As these fairs are invariably held beside a stream in the neighbourhood of a monastery, the priests stage a procession in robes of silk and gold to bless the gathering. To the sound of musical instruments and harmonious chanting the monks march to the edge of the water where offerings of grain and holy water are cast into the stream as an offering to the local deities that they may be favourable toward good harvests for the villagers and increased herds for the nomads during the coming year. The fair will last from four to seven days and during this time there is harmony between former enemies who have laid aside age-old feuds until the bazaar is ended. Past bitterness causes all to depart quickly and silently by daybreak after the fair is over so that all may be well on their way to the safety of their homes when the sun rises upon the littered encampment so full of jostling crowds the day before.

Simple in his life and pleasures the nomad lives a life of constant danger. Blizzards assail him on the high passes, freezing winds congeal him on icy heights, blistering sunshine sifts through the thin air and burns him almost black, and racing rivers threaten to engulf him for he must meet them all with his herds daily. Faithfully does he cling to his friends for help and they in turn must stick to him in the fight against both the elements and strange men. With it all he lives happily and courageously facing the elements, the wild beasts and wilder men. He never forgets the gods of natural forces and their representatives the mysterious lamas and their power. Through his struggle with nature's forces the nomad states his final philosophy in the reflection that "The life of all living beings is like the bubbles of water" which he sees on the dancing mountain streams.

CHAPTER XXIII

Law and Government

Basis of law, ransom, feuds, punishments, sayings regarding legalities, taxes, inheritance.

*"Without vice there is no fear of law,
Without sin there is no fear of Hell."*

The Old Testament doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is the basis of Tibetan Law. Nor is the enforcement of penalties restricted to the legal exponents of law and order but is undertaken by the relatives and friends of the victim. The reprisals of feudists are not conducive to strict justice but the recognized governments are often helpless, especially when the feud involves prominent people and the outraged has a large number of relatives. Justice is too often measured by the number of riflemen which one side can muster so that the stronger party enforces its desires upon the weaker. The actual course of law is well illustrated in the saying "A poor man must not lose anything by a theft, Having lost he must not seek to find the thief".

Life and property are valued almost equally and the theft of goods since it may lead to the starvation of the victim, is punished severely. Murder and theft are never forgiven and the policy of getting even is carried from one generation to the next. After robbers had fired the home of a young lad of fourteen and killed all of the family except himself, who hid in a water cask, the youth was asked what he was going to do. He answered that as soon as he was a little older, he would gather all of his friends together and slaughter his enemies; and that revenge would be his aim for the rest of his life.

To avoid the feud which would follow the murder or perhaps an accidental killing, at least in a quarrel when both are filled with liquor, penalties have been set up appraising the value of a man according to his position in society. There are three grades. The killing of a gentleman requires that a fine of three thousand or more rupees must be paid to the relatives. For a well-to-do person one half of this will suffice and for a poor man a third less of this

amount is enough to settle the claim. The fine is paid in goods or property. If the man or his relatives are unable to pay then the killer will be slaughtered by the dead man's relatives wherever found. The killer will flee if possible and remain in banishment; until released by the chain of events, or the affair is settled by some arrangement. In such cases arbitration is between the two parties in the presence of middlemen. The fine is of three parts called Mar of butter, Tra or revenue and Sung or Talisman. The Mar is the whole and it is decided upon first. Then the Tra which is one half of a Mar and finally the Sung which is one fourth of the whole Mar.

The position of chiefs has brought the homely simile that "It is hard to be the mother of many pigs, It is hard to be the ruler of many tribes". Feuding is a custom that rulers are not able to control and its disasters are aptly shown in the story of the relations which occurred between two families six days south of Batang. These two families were not on the best terms of cordiality but no open breaks had taken place. The member of one family had occasion to spend the night while travelling, with the other family. The traveller had drank freely of liquor and ate some food in the home of his host. The next day before reaching his home he died on the roadside. The traveller had not been in the best of health for some time but disregarding this fact his family demanded reparations although the late landlord protested his innocence of poisoning his late guest. In the course of the negotiations the dead man's son drew his sword and slew the landlord. The slayer fled the feud was on in full force and swung from atrocity to atrocity until in the course of two years thirty had been killed on one side and twenty-two on the other. Besides the killings, homes were burnt and fields ravaged. In response to the question as to how near the matter was from being settled, one participant replied that since more gentry had been killed on the side which had lost the least in number that side would have to lose only a poor man and the other side a gentleman to even the affair. A gentleman is considered as equal to two or more poor men depending upon his rank. The feud finally died temporarily for lack of grown men to kill each other. Upon one side only a boy was left having fled to a distant relative; and he, when grown up, would be honour bound to avenge his people.

Since death can be settled by the payment of money, if the offender is rich enough, it is easy to understand that lesser offenses require less cash. If a man wounds another in the hand he must pay half of the religious fees necessary to cure the wound and also pay a fine varying from one hundred to three hundred rupees.

Offenses against an organization or the community may be punished differently than when committed against an individual. The community may publish a public misdemeanor by blackening the man's face and then forcing the culprit to mount a bull with his face toward the tail. Thus riding the bull he may also be chased out of town into an exile of three years. Because the bull is employed for such punishments, Tibetans are ashamed to use the bull for riding purposes and like to furnish Chinese soldiers such beasts for the forced oolah required for pack transport and riding animals.

Inability to pay a debt may bring physical punishment although more often the man is abused shamefully. Three men who owed the Litang monastery money which they were not able to pay were threatened with the loss of a hand but this severity was finally cancelled. In substitution the foreheads of the men were daubed with human ordure, their arms extended by tying them to long poles like a cross, and then they were kicked out of the south gate of the monastery.

Personal liberty is not inherited with citizenship. The use of tobacco except in the form of snuff is forbidden, and the killing of wild animals upon the endless almost uninhabited plains is banned although both are clandestinely evaded. Punishment for such violations is rare but fines and abuse may be given to some poor man with no influence, as a public example.

In settled localities such as Markham Gartok people are often forbidden to pasture their animals around the edges of their fields after the harvest is removed but must herd their stock upon the mountainsides; the grass around the fields are for the horses of the military and the officials. The law against stock trespassing on growing grain is severe; every step is a fourth of a rupee or a fourth of a day's wage. However, law and custom is not too one-sided; soldiers at Gartok are not permitted to stay in the home of civilians, and enlisted men must forego the drinking of whiskey.

An adulterous woman may be killed by her husband without punishment although this is very rare. When caught in the act of adultery the husband may slaughter both offenders, although if he is a poor man and the victim a man of standing he may suffer some reprisal from the other's relatives. A few women of Batang are running around with a black patch covering the wound caused by their husband cutting off the tip of their nose because of love affairs with other men. Wives do not kill brutal husbands but sometimes after a violent beating they may commit suicide by putting a rope around their neck or jumping into a river. Such an act causes the husband great mortification and directs severe censure from the public against him. Even threatening to suicide and

thereby creating a public scene in which the wife proclaims her injury so shames the husband that he is less likely to hurt her again.

For cruel and excessive punishment by government or by public uprisings the Tibetans are apt scholars of the Chinese and Mongols. Sewing in fresh yak skins and then left in the sun for the drying skin to slowly squeeze out the life; skinning; tying ropes around wrists and feet and throwing into raging rivers; impaling on pointed sticks; and using the victims as shooting targets for rifles or arrows are a few of the lingering death punishments. Minor chastisements consist in scourging with leather thongs or with paddles up to two thousand strokes; cutting off the tongue, hands, ears, feet or nose, cutting the heel tendons, and gouging out the eyes. Amputations may result in death unless the friends or relatives are ready with boiling oil in which to thrust the stub of leg or arm, stopping the flow of blood. Exposure in stocks including the cangue are for very minor offenses such as not furnishing forced animal hire known as oolah. Such severe punishments have not deterred the committing of crime for "If a man's hunger burns like a fire, He is not afraid of the king's laws". The net result is to make the law-breaker desperate so that "One cannot seize an evil man, As one cannot stop an evil dog".

Trial is before a public official, before a chief, or before the master of the state. The more severe punishments are the prerogative usually of the highest officials, governors and higher, although the conditions of imprisonment before trial, or the treatment before punishment by lower officials may cause death. Imprisonment is not usually for a stated time but at the discretion of the official whose death or removal may bring release of the prisoner. Prisoners must be fed by outside relatives or friends so that a poor man may starve although often some wealthy man lays up merit for himself in the hereafter by feeding the impecunious victims.

Torture of the accused by beating, thrusting of toes in boiling water, hanging up by thumbs and other mediaeval survivals are commonly practised. Robbers treat their victims in the same way, and the sight of one old woman's toes sloughing away, weeks after insertion in hot water, when she refused to divulge the hiding place of valuables, is still a vivid memory.

If the monastery is powerful enough, criminal monks are tried by monastic authorities. The monastery frequently pleads the cause of laymen in trouble. Reversely, pressure upon the monastery by the local civil officials may bring some sort of compensation from a culprit who has fled to the lamasery from justice. When, however, the tribal princes are of the same belief as the dominant

monastery there is close collaboration between them in which adherents are favoured but those of the other sects severely punished.

The ideas of retribution for offenses are well illustrated in numerous proverbs. The saying that "On a high rock a musk deer rolls a stone which breaks the head of a fish below, whereupon both the antelope and the wild goat must fix the death fine," shows that even an accidental killing must be ransomed. The sin of killing is illustrated in, "If a man is killed there is no cleansing of sin, If a flea is killed there is some pleasure in the sin". Evil men are compared in the terse maxim, "Bad men quarrel, bad wood has knots". The helpless poor who are oppressed by the wealthy and influential are fitly illustrated in "To be bitten by a toothless dog, To be butted by a hornless yak". The attitude toward an enemy is shown in "It is better to beat a hated enemy with proper feeling, Than to listen with a bad heart to parents whom one should remember". In the realm of feuds it is said that, "By the breaking of an oath a family ends, By the drinking of poison only one dies", for a broken oath is a cause of blood revenge in which a family is wiped out. Revenge as a prime attribute of Tibetan character is reflected in "If I cannot return a favour, I can return evil done to me".

Criminality is popularly supposed to exist among the degraded classes only, as such a condition is considered to be due to sin in a previous life. Then the poor must steal of necessity for "If comfortable one thinks of religion, If impoverished one thinks of robbery". Continuing in crime is the prevalent idea, "If you steal one goat, later he who loses a hundred goats will say that you are the thief". Maiming as a punishment is not only to deter others, but to prevent repetition of crime, and if repeated, to make it easier to capture the criminal again.

While the principal contact with government by the property-less is in the realm of punishments, those who have means are more concerned with taxes and holding on to their wealth. Taxes are usually levied in kind and if not paid by the landowner, the property may be seized pre-emptorily and promptly. Tax upon land usually runs equal to the amount needed to seed the plot although extortion may be practised upon those in disfavour. At times it appears that rulers create an opportunity for the breaking of a law in order to wrest more taxes from the violator. It is often dangerous for a man who is in disfavour with the officials to make too much money. Confiscation may follow an action or a crime against the state or person of the ruler. Instances are common where the property of those who have not supported the element in power has been seized. In such an event the victim if alive, and if not, his relatives bide their time until there is a change of rulers. However, age-

long custom and the resisting, revengeful spirit of the Tibetan usually deters a grasping ruler as is seen in "It is as hard to take two taxes from one man, As it is to put two saddles upon one horse".

Taxes and favouritism are not the only perils of the rich. The death of the family's head is a critical period in the history of an estate. Not only are the rich compelled to leave lavish gifts to the local monastery and for the saying of prayers for the dead, but there are many other claimants. The younger brothers and unmarried sisters have claims for support or dowry, and sometimes they dominate the heir with partial dissipation of the property in unwise ventures. If there is no child as direct heir then the next brother succeeds to the widow and as head of the household. If he is a lama he renounces his monk's vows and becomes a layman. When a son has matured to succeed him he may return to monkhood in his old age. Daughters can inherit an estate as well as sons, but not in preference to a younger son, as women belong to their husband's family when married, and if single will eventually be married to leave the home with the proper dowry.

If the family have no son but only daughters, a boy (preferably a relative, the father's side having preference) will be adopted; he will marry the daughter or daughters and continue the family line. If there are no children the parents may adopt a son from the father's side and a girl from the mother's relatives. When grown the two are married and eventually succeed to the family estate. This process may be reversed if necessary. If necessary a son from a poor unrelated family is adopted and he may be married to the daughter of another outside family. Another variation practised is to make the only son a lama and adopt the husband of one of the daughters as the heir. In such a case the priest shares equally in the family property whereas in most cases he is entitled only to the same support as any other son. The entailing of property has kept large estates as well as small ones intact and thereby created a stabilized economic society.

Generally the eldest son succeeds as chief heir with the younger sons becoming monks or entering occupations which take them outside the family circle most of the time. An unusual situation arose in one family. It so happened that among two brothers married to one wife there was such a marked difference in facial expression that it was evident that the oldest boy was the son of the younger brother and the second boy was the son of the oldest brother. The oldest brother was not pleased with this situation and in due time permitted the oldest son to be adopted in a family who had no son where he married the two daughters. Thus, the second son

became the heir to the family estate with the oldest son losing his rights.

It is not impossible for a common-born man who has distinguished himself or rendered some prominent service to a ruler to be married to a wealthy widow or to be adopted into a rich family. This provides him with the necessary means to maintain his position in serving the state for the higher offices carry no salary but are given to the nobility. However, it is difficult for a commoner to attain the ranks of the nobility among people of such ingrained aristocracy for they say, "If a mean person attains rank low usages will still continue, Although a tree grows upward yet its leaves will continue to hang down". The family of incarnations (who are invariably from plebian stock) are provided with estates or its equivalent in wealth so that they may maintain the social position into which they have been thrust. The family of the highest incarnations are ennobled in addition to be enriched and as members of the aristocracy pass their rank down to their descendants. It is by such means as these two methods that the nobility are stimulated with fresh blood and ability from the lower classes.

When the head of a family dies his personal apparel such as clothing, bowl and jewellery which he used daily become the property of the monastery. Outside of the heavy death fees for prayers he may leave other property to the monastery in order to gain merit. Those without heirs may will their entire estate to the monks. If there are minor children the widow will manage the estate; and if there is no widow then one of the younger brothers. Even after sons are matured, in the management of their father's estate, the widowed mother, until too old to exercise authority or until she has retired to prayer and meditation, retains considerable power in the administration of the family property. It is not infrequent for the wife to control the property by right of natural ability and female dominance, especially when there are several brothers. She has no legal right to dispose of land and buildings but manages the finances. Legally when there are no sons, the daughters inherit the estate, while their husbands are in the nature of consorts even when adopted as sons and managing the estate. In the final analysis the estate belongs not to an individual but to a family.

When a priest dies his property will pass to the monastery unless there is another member of the family in the priesthood. For this reason it is to the interest of the family to dedicate a son to the monk-hood so he can inherit the property of the uncle when he dies. The family of means will support their priestly relatives unless these monks have property of their own, accumulated by fees,

trading, or by virtue of their position in the monastery. Poor priests or those without family will secure their living partly from the monastery and partly from fees received for priestly services.

CHAPTER XXIV

Animals and Birds

Animals, the yak, the sheep and goats, the horse, the dog, the donkey, the chicken, the cat, the hog, fish, wild animals, monkeys, deer, the wild ass, the wild yak, the rats, snakes, fabulous animals, temple animals, animal nicknames, birds-pheasants, cuckoo and bats, eagles and vultures, the crow family, other birds, insects, trees and flowers.

"If famine kills an elephant, its bones fill four parts of the earth. But when a rat dies with a full stomach, it is only a handful."

It is a rare Tibetan household that does not have one or more domestic animals. Even the poorest home will have a cow or donkey while slaves are needed to tend the thousands of the rich. In large centres a few households and the monks will be destitute of livestock, but most of the priests will share in the family's stock while the slave considers his master's animals as his own. Through his daily contact with his domesticated friends the Tibetan has built around them a wealth of sayings and superstitions. The animals are undoubtedly a greater factor in his thinking because of his religious belief that human beings and animals transmigrate into each other after death.

For the Chinese, life would be difficult without rice; for the jungle tribesman survival would not be easy without bamboo; so the Tibetan would scarcely live without his domesticated yak which is a cross between the wild yak and cattle (Illus. No. 56). His immense weight (the largest bulls will scale 1,500 pounds) enable the yak to break heavy ice for water in winter while his strength enables him to paw away hard-crusting snow for grass when horses will starve to death. "Try a yak on Rama Pass, Try a man on Fish River", (Rama Pass is around 16,000 feet high and has a four thousand foot steady climb, while Fish River is dangerous with rapids which threaten to engulf the tiny yak-hide coracles used in crossing it), is a familiar cry. The broad hooves of the yak spread on ice and in soft ground, while his ponderous step treads

surely on rocky crags. The charge of a herd of yak galloping down a steep hillside snorting and grunting, their black fluffy tails erect with the switch drooping fan-like and their nostrils puffing out steam, strike terror to those in their path and recall to the bystander that "one should preserve his morals as the yak takes care of his fluffy tail".

In a herd of three hundred yak one will be pure white, three tawny yellow, four iron-grey and the remainder will be black with varied white patches. Thirty of these will be horn-less while the rest will have horns larger and longer than those of cattle. Horn-less yak are butted without mercy by the others and their plight is shown in "The poor person gets the back door and the hornless yak the end of the rope". In Tibet the poor man is abused by all those superior in rank and he is compared to "Being bitten by a toothless dog, Being butted by a hornless yak".

Yak-tails are used for adornment, as fly-chasers, dust-brushes, and hung up in temples to please the deities. Yak-hide is valuable not only for thongs, bags, boots and bridge-cables but also for "treading the blood-red hide" which binds avengers together. The huge horns make powder and snuff-flasks. Horns are stuck in the ground for the Tibetan game of "duck on the rock". Yak hair makes cloth for tents and clothing, milk-strainers; and snow-glasses for the eyes. His hooves make glue, his bones may be ground up for soup stock, his dung is the second best manure-fuel burning with a bluish flame and a smoke that is acrid and irritating to throat and eyes. Yak-manure is built into walls around the sides of the tent to keep out the wind and to enclose sheep-folds. Lastly, it is considered a fine poultice for wounds of the feet.

The ploughman guides his bull yaks with whistling (Illus. No. 14) but the herdsman not only whistles but also issues shrill cries and hurls stones with a sling—scurvy insult for the sling is made of yak-hair. The milk-maid (only women milk) does not hesitate to blow closely into the animal's buttocks so that the female Dzo will let down her milk. The skin of the slaughtered calf stuffed with straw is placed beside the mother for the same purpose.

Yak do not thrive in a hot climate nor in an altitude below ten thousand feet. Cold is his delight and he pastures up to the snow line and rushes into glacier-fed rivers to cool. He grows slowly needing five or more years to attain maturity. The wire-like grass of the Tibetan tundra-highlands is his favourite food but he will live happily on roughage whether straw or herbs. Huge carcasses of yak hang the year around in the cold upland monasteries, or lay dried in bags within nomad tents. Yak cheese is dried and strung on thongs to be carried on journeys. Butter, not devoid of

yak hairs, strengthens itself in yak or sheep stomachs to provide the Tibetan a constant supply of odoriferous fats to withstand the cold climate.

Black and white sheep with glossy, wavy fleeces move majestically along the road in caravans, each carrying twenty to thirty pounds of salt, or are seen watchfully grazing upon the hillsides and sharing the company of grey-black goats with long stringy hair. When epidemics of anthrax, foot and mouth disease, or brigands wipe out their herds of yak the nomad keeps alive upon the mutton and milk of his sheep and goats. The goat is not looked upon with the same favour as a sheep, his impish tricks earning for him attributes of evil. Even the Tibetan knows that "The pure white goats cannot mix with the sheep. If they do their hair is still not the same". Rare and poor is the nomad whose winter cloak is not a heavy sheep-skin while lambskin, even from those born dead, lines the woollen and silken gowns of the rich. Wool of sheep and hair of goats is cut off in handfuls with a short, sharp knife. Women usually comb and spin the yarn or hair mostly in odd moments or when walking. Women also dye and weave the yarn but men do most of the sewing into garments.

From the listing of the most excellent horse as one of the signs of royalty and the printing of the figure of a horse set in the midst of prayers upon prayer flags flown from the tops of poles or let loose from wind-blown summits for the assistance of stricken travellers, it is seen with what honour the Tibetan regards his shaggy pony (Illus. No. 55). With a large head, small ears and rarely over fourteen hands high, the Tibetan horse has a stamina which is heralded in "It is not much of a horse which cannot carry one up to the high passes, And one is not much of a man who is not able to walk down from a pass".

Solicitous of his trusted steed as of his own strength, when his horse is jaded the Tibetan will share with him his own precious tea and butter. After throwing the horse he is drenched with a dipper of strong tea saturated with butter. The greasy dregs from the dipper are rubbed upon the animal's four hooves and around his anus. Often tea leaves are mixed with a ball of tsamba or with the loose grain in the nose-bag carried for feeding every horse.

A Tibetan may ride a mule upon ordinary occasions but he dishonours his position if he does not use the horse for ceremony as when riding in a procession, going to an important official event or entering a city in state. The person of rank will send a servant ahead to a ferry either with his whip, his horse-bell, his card, a bullet, or some other part of his most precious equipment, that the boatmen may have the ferry-craft ready and upon the right side to

cross the river. The Tibetan calls and drives his horse in a softer, more persuading tone than when he addresses other beasts. A red tassel is often tied around the horse's neck, the saddle pads may be of the finest coloured rugs, and the saddle adorned with filigree of silver or gold. However, a horse should be of the right colour preferably of one hue, for a horse that has a white line down the forehead to its lip destroys a man; it is even considered a bad sign for such a horse to look at a man. If a horse neighs at night, a ghost is talking to him and this requires the calling of a priest to dispel the expected misfortune.

The hybrid mule and Dzo or domesticated male yak are both connected with the cuckoo which is known to raise its young in other birds' nests. At one time all three drank only from springs but now since the mule and Dzo drink water from the plains, they produce no offspring, while the cuckoo which still drinks from springs has descendants although nourished by other birds.

Next to his horse perhaps the Tibetan favours his dog whose almost ceaseless, throaty bark, like the sonorous "rah, rah" of college boys, speeds into a continuous roar when strangers approach his protectorate. Usually black with white and yellow markings the shaggy, long-haired Tibetan mastiff may attain almost the size of a small donkey, and heavy as the ordinary man. The dog is classified with other important elements in the common saying that "Dogs and thunderstorms must have a voice, Men and horses must have breeding, Tea and beer must be sustaining".

It is the huge mastiff tied inside the gate of the home by a chain exactly long enough to cover a part of the doorway or the edge of the tent-path that gets the best attention. The dog running free is a poorly-fed cur living largely upon dung sharing the hardships of life with the humble grey donkey whose value, like his speed, is low, and who survives because of his toughness. Producers of food and carriers of men rate higher than burden-bearers and guards, whose value belongs to the substitute category for "if there is no cock the donkey brays the time, If there is no hog the dog gets the bones".

The donkey as the chief burden-bearer of salt and wood is more intimately associated with the poor than the more expensive, highly valued horse. The patient beast is fabled in many a proverb such as "If the master can find no barley water, How can the donkey expect barley gruel"; and the donkey's use as a carrier in "Make a bundle of wood which the rope will encircle, Load the donkey with what he is able to carry".

Well-nigh a member of the family is the chicken whose struggles to survive amidst rats, weasels, insects, and other hazards generally

restrict their number to a cock and a few hens who roam freely inside the home during the day and at night roost on odd bits of timber overhead, except within the god-room. Scrawny and tough the Tibetan chicken is of the Leghorn variety and survives only by the most energetic scratching in field and house. Besides his duties as a scavenger the cock crows the periods of the night, but if a hen should chance to indulge in a rare case of crowing it is not a good omen; especially in the evening, for it is a sign that someone of the family will die. A cook of a missionary family died within a few days after a hen crowed within his home.

Unlucky is the house that has no cat, a symbol of wealth and a destroyer of the ever-present rat. The image of the Guardian King of the North who is also God of Riches has a cat in his left hand. Cats may have nine lives but kittens have a difficult task to survive the constant handling of children. The cat is not only valued as a mouser but when it purrs it is said to be saying "Om Mani Padme Hum" which adds to the merit of the household. If a cat is seen washing its face, a guest will arrive; a guest is eagerly welcomed to any home as a harbinger of news from the outside.

Hogs are not numerous, seen mostly in the villages and the larger cities of the valleys. Grain is expensive, hogs easily stray in the unfenced wastes and the Tibetan seems to have an inborn dislike of the animal. All domesticated hogs are black and this colour has created the proverb "The crow calls the hog black" whose meaning is the same as the closely similar American one of "The pot calls the kettle black".

Wild pigs are sometimes killed and their young captured. Those fully grown are reddish-black ugly brutes but the young are cute, long-snouted creatures in three colours banded longitudinally and alternately in black, yellow and brown. The grown animals are reputed dangerous but seen so rarely that records of human disaster in hunting or meeting them were never authenticated.

Among nature's creatures the killing of the fish is the greatest of sins. For this a variety of reasons are given—such as the fish can make no outcry for help and plea for mercy; and set forth in "To kill the tongueless fish is an unforgiveable sin"; fish eat human corpses thrown in the river which makes them odious; but the fundamental motive seems to be that of transmigration and cannibalism. Human beings may be reborn into fish who may eat corpses and when caught furnish food for other people; all this makes a circle of cannibalism which is repugnant to the Tibetan. If fish are eaten one is cautioned to avoid the fish ears which are said to be actual human flesh. The Tibetans in Batang buy fish from the wily sinful Chinese fishermen and then set them free as an

act of merit; especially is this done in the 100,000 fold merit-increasing fourth month. In the high uplands the people are especially sensitive about catching fish as even the killing of ordinary animals may anger the spirits of the mountains who may send blizzards upon the nomadic flocks.

Grass-eating wild life is protected by the monasteries in whose neighbourhood no wild animals and birds are permitted to be slaughtered so that in such localities grey antelope and golden-brown deer permit one to approach closely. Even the blue-green blood pheasants, so shy in in most places, will eye the stranger from nearby stumps. At the monastery of Dorgetroleh and other isolated lamaseries one can witness antelope coming to the monastic gate where they gather around an attendant who gives them bits of grain; such generosity is in strange contrast to the pinched aspect of half-starved nuns who live in filthy huts nearby.

Paintings of animals such as the Mongol leading the tiger, and the four friends—elephant, deer, monkey and parrot, adorn the walls of temple buildings and the homes of the rich. Tiger skins but not the tiger are seen in Tibet and he is linked with the fox in the saying that “Where the tiger leaps easily, The grey fox breaks his back”. The grey steppe fox and the red valley fox are so common and the black fox so rare that “When the red fox attains the age of a thousand years, his hair turns black”. In the elephant, and in cattle but of lesser value, is a stone-like concretion called Geyang that is highly prized for neutralizing poison.

Leopards, both the spotted and the snow, are killed occasionally; if killed suddenly they have what is called “wild fur” but if only wounded to die slowly, the fur is soft and abundant. Leopard and otter fur are used to edge the cloaks of the wealthy. The serow antelope which resembles both the goat and the donkey, furnishes the toughest leather for boots, saddles and thongs. The skin of the rabbit is pasted upon wounds for healing. The frog is mocked by Tibetans who poke fun at the Chinese soldiers by saying “Chinese soldiers come into Tibet riding frogs”.

The monkey is worthy of special attention being highly regarded so that to kill it is a greater sin than slaughtering most animals. This is due not only to its resemblance to mankind but to the tale that the Tibetan first came from the union of a monkey with a she-devil. In historical dramas the monkey is featured as a friend of the persecuted and with human intelligence guides the unfortunate to places of refuge.

Of the several types of deer found upon the Tibetan highlands, it is most unlucky to kill the little roedeer, called the Na-shu, first upon a hunting trip as then no more animals will be shot that day.

So valuable are the horns, when in the velvet, of the big three known locally as the Black, White and Red Deer that the males are extensively hunted in the early summer. Exported to China as aphrodisiac remedies these horns are sold by weight and condition, running up to a thousand rupees, which is three years' ordinary wages for a skilled workman. The hunter of deer, if caught and if a public example is needed, may have his hand chopped off. Deer-skin makes the finest saddle bags because of its pliability while the hair is the stuffing in the thick yak-leather mattress-like pads used for beds and seats in the home. The figure of the deer is mounted upon the roofs of temples, it is a common motive worn in devil dances, and the Lord of the Dead in the New Year Dances wears a deer-head mask. Perhaps the most valued member is the hornless musk deer; the male of this species carries a pouch of musk valuable as perfume, as a panacea for many ills even destroying poison, and potent in the rooting out of the "Lu" demons (human-headed serpent-demons living in water and guarding underground treasure). Musk is brown in colour and mossy in texture. It is so valuable, about twenty rupees an ounce, that it is often adulterated with blood, tsamba, sand, or other ingredients. The figure of a musk deer is cut into the cliff of Jolong at the base of the Chala Pass about 15,500 feet high between Batang and Yengin.

Slaughter of the wild ass or Kyang which roam the high northern plains (14,000 feet and up is rated as a great sin and sure harbinger of misfortune for the Zhe-dah or guardian spirits of the locality ride these tan-coloured beasts and are angered if any of their mounts are destroyed. In revenge the Zhe-dah may send a blizzard when one is crossing a high pass or a deep snow to cover the grass so that pack-animals will suffer from lack of food.

The most feared animal in the hunt is the wild yak who may charge when wounded and whose huge body can absorb heavy punishment by bullets. Their horns may be six inches in diameter at the base and the hair of their belly may touch the ground. They have tremendous strength and when pursuing a mounted Tibetan over airless plains seems possessed of tireless energy. Wild yak are neighbours of the wild ass rarely found below fourteen thousand feet. Sometimes a burly old tame yak bull is set free as a work of merit. His ears are pierced and a vari-coloured white and red tassel tied in the holes so that a hunter seeing him will recognize that his life has been redeemed. When one comes across such a beast roaming over the huge grassy plains, for a moment one is deceived into thinking that a wild yak has been spotted.

The rat is another animal not liked by the Tibetan. His depredations have caused the laying of a curse upon him that the male rat

shall die after uniting with the female, a superstition firmly believed to be fact. If a rat is touched by the hand warts will appear, to touch the rat's tail is worse than other parts of his body. The rat is featured in the couplet "If good is placed in the heart a rat can lift an elephant, If evil is in the heart a partridge can destroy a fox". The grey rat is not much larger than the brown ochotona (rat-marmots) of which millions live in tiny burrows upon the high grass-lands usually thirteen thousand feet above sea-level. Their tails are so short that "Lies and rat-marmots have short tails but truth and valleys extend a long ways". On ranges near nomad these ochotona are so numerous that they have killed the grass camps where their enemy the steppe fox has been annihilated leaving the ground barren which is now eroding under wind and rain into infertile bare mountain slopes.

Of all animals the snakes are the most feared for they are believed to be the habitat of demi-gods and demons known as Lu who live in the bowels of the earth from where they control such elements as rain and hail; and they are also able to send out various pestilence. Snakes share with skulls as factors of frightfulness, being pictured upon objects used in the exorcism of demons such as skull-drums, scrolls of protecting demons, etc. Snake breath is poisonous causing birds and even people to be overcome by the vapour from their mouth. The odour of musk being distasteful to snakes, this perfume is kept around the house to discourage their entrance. One who kills a snake may in the future life be changed into a snake with a human head; seeing a dead reptile first in any year brings bad luck, but if a live snake is observed first and afterwards a dead one no evil will ensue; for fear reasons no Tibetan kills snakes. The unusual feat of a snake crawling up the wall of a house is considered a bad omen.

Snake bites are feared partly from the dread of snakes in general and partly from the universal ill-omens attached to their presence. Their bite causes swelling and infection but no Tibetan would admit knowing anyone dying as a result of a snake-bite. Musk is applied to both snake and scorpion bites. Besides the common greenish-mottled snake and a huge dusty olive-coloured reptile seen near streams, there is the fabulous "white-devil" said to be the "Snake of Demons" which only another man has seen. Recitation of the phrase "O Zeh Jen Me Zung" meaning "Be seized by the Goddess O Zeh" saves one from the dangers of snake bites and also from wild beasts. There are also red and black hair-snakes found in water; and the summer-grass winter-worm which is declared to be a type of grass in summer which turns

to worms in winter. It has a yellow body and black head, and is used as medicine.

The local deity or Zhedah of the Washi tribe resides on the north side of a valley amidst high mountains in the upper Litang plain. Once a lion lived in this mountain and when he was killed, his intestines and urine flowed out over the valley making the many humps and protuberances seen today at the base of this mountain. A black lion is reputed to encircle the Khawalaring snow peak at Gangdzi.

Northeast of Batang in the shadow of the Seven Sisters Snow Peaks, among the deep forests which line the slopes below the snow-line lives a demon-man, taller than any ordinary man with hair like a bear. He is able to either run like a bear or a human being. He creeps stealthily behind a person in the darkness of the forest and crashes in their skull from behind with a stone. No one has ever seen him but now and then the battered remains of a person is found upon a lonely trail.

The importance of wild animals to the religious life is found in the temples where the protecting deities are lodged. In the vestibule and in the areas around the main entrance, hanging from the ceiling and hiding it, are the skins of different species. Stuffed with straw and wool their moth-eaten skins stick out grotesque legs and heads which the careless visitor may knock with his own head to bring down a shower of dust.

Derisive names are applied to people who have some condition or characteristic in common with various animals. Nicknames such as "pop-eyed marmot", "timid rabbit", "one-eyed owl", "evil-smelling carrion crow" are given to those who fit such a description.

Most of the small birds have no distinctive name other than that of "small bird" but the larger ones have their own title. Pheasants are almost as numerous as chickens and have brought out the saying that "The presence of many pheasants indicate that many soldiers will come". The large white and black, red-eared pheasant is such a striking feature of the mountainside that "While the priest's mouth is chanting the praise of Buddha, The eye afar off is seeking the snow pheasant". The call of the snow pheasant is so human-like that it is said "The brown thrush has a voice but no words, The snow pheasant has words but no voice".

The cuckoo is a bird of omens. "If one is happy when the first cuckoo is heard (he comes about the first of May), one will be happy all of the year; but if sad, the year will be one of trouble". The cuckoo lays its eggs in the nest of other birds but chooses those birds whose eggs are of the same colour; the cuckoo is said

to have the power of changing the colour of its eggs. When grown the young must be taught by the mother cuckoo to make the cuckoo call of "Kuyak" or they will be transformed into sparrow-hawks. Bats are not numerous and if they reside in a home it is an auspicious sign. Rats are said on rare occasions to eat salt and when they do they produce wings and become bats.

The magnificent yellowish-black and white eagles, and the greasy grey vultures are important for various parts of their bodies are used in medicine. The larynx of lammergeyer if cooked and eaten will cause indigestible meats and other foods to be assimilated (Illus. No. 57). Of the vulture to whom is often fed the flesh of corpses, it is said that "A vulture may kill a man and get away with it but if a man slays a man he is held accountable".

Although the raven is seen with the vulture in the nauseous spectacle of plucking eyes out of dying animals its cry is considered an auspicious omen while the long, continued caw of the common crow is a sign of death. However, the occasional cry of the crow indicates that wealth will be found. Choughs with their brilliant red or yellow beaks and legs are harbingers of good luck when they build their nests above the north windows of the home. Crows, choughs, jackdaws, and pigeons swarm in great flocks during the winter upon the valley fields from which they spiral upward to great heights before flying directly to their roosting trees in the evergreens upon the mountains. The raven is much more rare and his visits desired for his cries are full of significance to those who are able to interpret them.

Cranes are not molested as they have some connection with birth. The sheldrake is supposed to be the incarnation of a lama and so has special protection. If one of a pair perish the other circles and circles with anguished cries, will never pair again and does not live long. Blue-green parrots come in great flocks from the south to eat apricots and bush-berries. Waving a net of red cloth near parrots causes them to close their eyes whereupon they fall to the ground stunned when they can be seized for slaughter.

The little creatures which dwell within the sheep skin gowns of the Tibetan as well as those who sally forth from the cracks of houses are not forgotten in the Tibetan economy. All life is sacred, even of the louse, and the monk carefully extracts his guest from his hiding place and religiously places him some distance away lest he arrive home again, but not the callous layman who calmly bites the bug which has produced the maxim that "Eating a louse is not as nourishing as food, But it certainly is a satisfaction to the soul". Men and women strip to the waist and search for their unwanted guests or pluck lice from the hair of

each other. A maiden will hold the head of her sweetheart in her lap while she plucks lice from his long black locks. If sweethearts become estranged it is made known by the remark that "Lhamo is no longer picking lice out of her lover Lozong's head". Those who kill insects, especially house flies, may overcome the sin of such a crime by mumbling "Om Mani Padme Hum" with each swat. One insect, the honey bee, is honoured for his produce. Bees in swarm are enticed into a hollowed-out log about four feet long and one foot in diameter with the ends boarded tight. All cracks are mud-plastered and holes are bored at one end's bottom for entrance; at the other end the honey comb is taken out. Incidentally some insects are believed to be produced spontaneously from dirt or from what is called Shedreh (warmth and moisture).

Among prominent families there is the custom of planting the "Life tree" which, as long as it lives, brings prosperity to that family. Often this tree is a willow and if it shows signs of decay another is started from it or planted beside it which continues the life of the family, for to let a life die tree without replacement would bring the end of the household. A prince may set aside a grove, especially of evergreens, if it happens to be an isolated group in a generally grassy area, as a "life tree preserve". No one is allowed to cut down any of these trees and its continuity coincides with the reign and good fortune of the ruling family. The Lingsang Prince north of Derge near Goze has such a grove in his tiny principality.

To the Tibetan the sandalwood tree is the King of Trees. Its scent, its beauty, its connections with Buddha, and its scarcity, for it must be imported from India, have combined to make it the one tree mentioned in all literature.

Among special trees are the paper shrub and the enlarged woody excrescences from oaks and pears. Stripping bark from the paper shrubs is sinful as the exuding juice, being poisonous, kills insects which drink it. Tsamba bowls from the gnarled oak and pear excrescences show markings and colour changes which make the bowls more valuable.

Contrary to popular belief which pictures Tibet as a Land of Ice or of Barren Rocks, flowers carpet the high grasslands and share the ground with evergreen trees which grow in the steep ravines. The golden colour seems to predominate amongst the many hues of white, red, blue and yellow. Short hairy stems, thick leaves and tiny, many-flowered heads create a summer-long velvety panorama of colour up to the snow-line. Of the marketable plants there are rhubarb and aconite dug and exported for medicine, nettles for spring greens, the shrub whose leaves serve as a substitute tea,

and the plant whose pounded roots make the soapy substance efficacious in cleansing clothes.

Spruce and fir grow in the deep ravines carved out of limestone and granite where shade and snow favour the north slopes while the southern slopes and other undulating sandstone hills produce grass and shrubs with a few bunched groves of pine, or scattered juniper. Evergreens grow in the highest altitudes while below them in less moist areas are poplars whose easy cutting wood has been immortalized into the proverb that "It is easy to cut a poplar tree, It is easy to talk to a poor man".

Keeping potted plants in the window of the Tibetan home is common for not only is it a source of comfort to the individual, but it is also pleasing to the "spirits". Flowers are presented as offerings in the idol-rooms and the Tibetan is not insensitive to the beauty and glory of nature for he says "The King sitting on his throne has a portion of Glory, The flower born on the lawn has a portion of the Gods".

APPENDIX I

Eastern Tibetan Version of the Story of Gar the Famous Minister

“Does one make a mistake, So did Minister Gar.”

THE celebrated King of Tibet Songstan Gampo dispatched his equally famous minister Gar to Peking requesting a daughter of the Chinese Emperor in marriage. Songstan Gampo was a powerful King who ruled Tibet around 642 A.D. and had been successful in campaigns against the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese Emperor was reluctantly compelled to yield a daughter and after a long sojourn in Peking Gar left with the Chinese princess for Lhasa. The journey by caravan was a long one and entailed many adventures.

The party was held up by local transport difficulties for a long time north of Tachienlu but eventually managed to escape. However, the people, reluctant to lose the luck of Gar's presence, named their local monastery Gartog in his honour.

The loose moral concepts of those days combined with close association for more than two years between Gar and his royal susceptible princess led to a liaison, with the result the princess gave birth to a child at Tsongi where the caravan was forced to halt for a period because of her condition. Fortunately for the lovers the child died, although there was no suspicion of foul play. Some traditions affirm that the soul of the child was declared to be that of a demon and that a black chorden, which can be seen to this day, was erected over its remains. While the truth of this tradition is not certain, it is a fact that three self-evolved deities of stone, later discovered at Tsongi, were declared to be the figure of Gar, the Chinese Princess and their child. These figures are enclosed within a temple and worshipped to this day.

Eventually Gar reached Lhasa and Songstan Gampo, who had already married a princess from Nepal, was wedded to the Chinese princess. In time Gar's enemies made known the former intrigue and Songstan Gampo punished his celebrated minister, some say by death but others say by mutilation.

APPENDIX II

Stories from Batang

Gold and Mustard Oil in Batang Valley

MORE than a hundred years ago, how long no one can really say, as the Tibetan sense of time is rather indefinite after the cycle of sixty years has passed, some mustard was grown in the Batang Valley. Some even assert that mustard was the only crop. At any rate the seed of this plant was made into an oil which was used in lamps to light a huge gold mine east of the town, about a mile away and not far from the hot springs on the road to Tachienlu. Many years of working had created a mine which was very dark and deep. The local people did not like for so much gold to be taken out for they said the nuggets were the seed of the gold dust which was recovered from the rivers, and if the seed were used up there would no longer be gold in the rivers. When the earthquake of 1869 destroyed the city of Batang, part of the mine caved in. The mine was then abandoned for some said that it had become the dwelling of a dragon although others claimed that the local deities were annoyed and had as a result sent the earthquake. Today one can go back into the mine for a hundred feet but only the boldest dare to do it.

The Batang Idol called "Jowo" or Lord Buddha.

"If there is no religion in Buddha above,

Then there are no stones on the stone cairn of the Pass."

More than two hundred years ago there was a monastery of the Bon or Black Hat sect of the Tantrik School located upon the hill northeast of Batang where a huge chorden and sacrificial altar now stands. The Tantrik school by inner mystic thought visualize the amalgamation of female energy with the male thus enabling one to attain Nirvana.

The Chinese during the reign of Kanghsi, who conquered Tibet by force of arms, levelled the walls of the monastery and the remains of these walls can be seen today. Years after the destruction of the monastery, when some people were digging into the ruins

they heard a cry of pain. They naturally fled and brought others who helped them dig where the cry had occurred. They soon uncovered a statue of Jowo or Lord Buddha. Now a controversy arose as to who should have this statue with the chief prince, the second prince and the chief priest of the monastery asserting claims to it, as it was considered to be a lucky and valuable talisman for the place where it should rest. After quarrelling a long time these three agreed to a solution of the dispute.

The image was placed upon a large rock west of the city near the palace of the chief prince and some distance east of the monastery. They all agreed beforehand that, if the statue moved down, it was to go to the chief priest who represented the monastery. If it moved up, the idol was to be given to the chief prince and if it moved to one side it was to become the property of the second prince. During the night the image moved down so the idol was secured by the monastery. The huge cracks seen today in this rock are attributed to the presence of the image upon it at that time. The idol no longer exists for Jowo was destroyed when the monastery was burned in 1903 during the campaigns of Chao Erh Feng.

Stories about Lozong-draba or Tsongkhaha as told by Gezong Tsering or Liu Chia Chu (a Sino-Tibetan)

“The Wise are the servant of all.”

(1) Chinese Version.

In the fifteenth year of Ming Chou Min Lo about the year 1417 Tsongkhaha was born in Kansu at a town called Sining. The lad was of Mongol race and his name with them was Ajeh. He learned the religious customs of the old reformed sect known as the Nying-maba or the Red Caps, starting in at the early age of eight years. He received this religious training at the feet of a priest of the Fasiba tribe.

While still young Tsongkhaha performed wondrous deeds. The dissolute habits of the priests repelled him and caused him to retire to the mountains. Later he went to Sakya Monastery far to the south and became a monk. At 28 years of age he went to Lhasa. He desired to change the old evil customs and disliking the red colour of the monks he substituted yellow.

The Chinese Emperor did not know of the founding of the new sect until the Red Caps started fighting with them. Then, Tsongkhaha was asked to come to Peking but he sent an Ambassador in his place to explain the new ideas. Thereupon the Chinese Emperor condemned the old orders and espoused the cause of the

new sect. He installed Tsongkhapa as the head of the new sect now called the Yellow Caps. Tsongkhapa was said to be the incarnation of the three gods who later appeared in the bodies of the Chinese Emperor, the Dalai Lama and the Panchan Lama.

Tibetan Version as known in Batang.

In the country near Sining at Kumbum lived a priest Cho Jeh Don Drub Rin Chen. Near his dwelling were a very poor couple, the name of the man was Lo Bum and the wife was known as Shing Za. They had no children and since they were now becoming old they concluded that they would not have any. They were nomads in a small tent with very little space for their goods. The couple asked the priest to perform a religious-peace-blessing ceremony for them. Because of their poverty the lama was asked to bring only a few attendants.

Shortly before being asked to perform this ceremony, the lama one night had a dream in which he was told to go to the tent of these poor people and hold a religious ceremony. He was also told to inform them that they would have a child who would preach the doctrine of Buddha.

The next day the priest accompanied by three servants set out for the tent of the couple and performed the peace-blessing ceremony. For this he only received a load of presents when he was accustomed to obtaining many loads of butter, cheese and grain. However, the lama told the couple that it did not matter if he was given only this small gift. He informed them of his dream. Although the couple were old they believed what was told to them by the mouth of the priest. The monk made them promise that if they could not support the child they were to give it to him. They promised. The child was born and put in charge of the lama who had him entered in the priestly order. When the boy Lozang-draba was twenty years old the lama died.

Before Lozang-draba was born his mother had a dream in which a white child with a rosary appeared before her. This personage was later declared to be an incarnation of Chenrezig.¹ To the father there had come a dream in which a golden dorje or thunderbolt fell from heaven striking the mother in the breast and entering the womb. This was afterward said to be an emanation of Cho-nadorje.² In another dream of the mother's an old priest with staff in hand came to their home asking for lodging and later telling the mother that she would have a son. This personage was a manifestation of Jam-beh-yang.³

When Lozang-draba entered the priesthood his hair was cut off and thrown out as is the custom with young candidates. From his hair a sandalwood tree sprang up. Upon the leaves of this tree, even to this day, are seen the characters of Om A Ra Pa Tsa Na Do a charm sentence in the half script (half-printing and half-writing form) called Yu Noh.

Lozang-draba later left Kumbum and went to Lhasa. Arriving near Lhasa he thought of his home and looked back. Because of this wish which he later declared to be an evil desire, he prophesied that he would never see his home again. When he arrived in Lhasa and found the monks, including the head-priest, all married, drinking and debauching themselves in many ways, he denounced them as wicked. Thereupon he taught them the way of Sha-ja Tuba or Buddha.

Tsongkhoba became very learned and wise. He taught his friends new precepts and customs such as the wearing of Yellow Hats because this was the custom of the priests in India. Yellow was the clothing of the poor. Kings wore white and later red but yellow was the sign of poverty.

Tsongkhoba disputed with the prevailing Red Sect about the tenets of the true religion and worsted them. The Chinese Emperor Da Ming Yung Lo of the Ming Dynasty greatly encouraged Lamaism by sending an invitation to Tsongkhoba to visit China. Hearing frequently of the conflict between the old and the new he invited Tsongkhoba three times to visit Peking but was refused because of the great distance. Then the Emperor asked for an ambassador who was dispatched. The Chinese Emperor was greatly pleased and presented the signs of royalty—umbrellas and scrolls which can be seen in Lhasa today, where they are greatly venerated.

The old Red Sect opposed the new Yellow Sect but the Red Caps gradually lost out. Lozang-draba founded the monastery of Gadan. He never saw his home again and died in Lhasa at the age of 52 to 55 years.

The body of Tsongkhoba is now in the city of Lhasa, never having been touched by worms. His corpse has now dried to the length of about one and a half feet. It rests in a round receptacle called a Numzay. Some five hundred feet from his dying place his body was placed in a chorden. After his death his hair grew long and on the end of every hair appeared a lotus flower in which was the image of Buddha. At the time of the transference of his body to the chorden, small flowers rained down from the sky.

Tsongkhoba, known in early youth as Lozang-draba, was later called the Lord of Religion Denbe Dahbo. His death is celebrated

in the 10th month on the 25th day called the Nga Cho by all followers of the Gelugba sect of the Yellow Hats.

Many stories are related of Tsongkhapa. Once when out walking he heard a cuckoo sing which made him think of his own mother. Instantly upon a rocky cliff before his eyes there appeared the Tibetan word for mother "A". At another time Tsongkhapa blew at a cliff and off came a right-whorled conch-shell which is kept today in Gadan Monastery. In regard to this conch-shell the saying is "that all who hear the sound of a right-whorled conch shell will go to heaven and never to damnation". The hole from which this shell came is still seen and this right-whorled conch shell is reputed to be the only one in the world. All others are the common left-whorled ones.

- 1 Chen-re-zig the God of Mercy and incarnate in the Dalai Lama.
- 2 Cho-na-dorje the wielder of the thunderbold and incarnate in the Chinese Manchu Emperor says local rumour.
- 3 Jam-beh-yang the God of Wisdom and incarnate in the Panchan Lama according to local ideas.

APPENDIX III

The Horba River Legend

North of Batang in eastern Tibet is a river called the Horba. It was noted for sweeping away its bridges during every heavy flood. This destruction had continued for many years. Finally after much exorcising a priest declared that the bridges were being demolished by demons. However, the priest also announced that the Spirit of the Horba river would soon send a protector to guard against the demons and that this guardian would be a girl. As predicted, not long afterward this girl was born in the village. When still a small girl she was placed across the river near the bridge in a hovel about the size of a table where she lived keeping watch over the bridge. Her support came from passers by and from the inhabitants of the opposite village. From the time the girl was stationed there, no bridge was ever washed away. The girl lived in this spot during her whole life and was still there when I passed through. At the present time she is an extremely old woman asserted to be a hundred and thirty four years old since she was born in the "Bull" year. Her age is verified by the oldest white-haired man in the village who swears that this woman had grey hair when he was a small lad. Since the Tibetan uses a sixty year cycle the woman is either seventy-four or one-hundred and thirty-four years of age. All Tibetans know the name of the animal which designates the year in which they were born, but many forget their exact age. Regardless of this woman's age she is still living wrinkled and bent, feared as a witch by all and consequently well supplied with the necessities of life.

APPENDIX IV

A Tibetan Thanksgiving Ceremony in Markham at the village of Gartok.

About the middle of October in Markham at the village of Gartok a religious Thanksgiving service was held upon the roof of a wealthy farmer. The harvest had been recently cut and the proper thank-offering must be made. The officiator at this time was a red-cloaked layman although sometimes a priest is used.

Sitting cross-legged upon the clay roof the tousled Tibetan conductor was surrounded by a variety of paraphernalia. To his right were Dorma or moulded figures of barley flour and water with a dab or two of butter to give it the appearance of a human figure with the exception of two; of which one was a bird and the other an animal. These figures were coloured by a red dye made from the root of a tree, boiled in water and applied with a goat's-hair brush. All of these Dorma reposed upon a box whose black-varnished top was liberally sprinkled with barley grain.

Three vessels of water and two of barley grain were placed in front of the Dorma. Below these in front of the box was a large bowl of barley flour into which there had been thrust three stalks of wheat. Dabs of butter had been pasted upon the edge of the bowl. In addition there were three copper bowls, one each of tea, milk and beer.

In front of the man was a drum suspended in a three-pronged frame; to one side were a pair of cymbals and a board-encased book of prayers. When all were arranged properly the Tibetan read from the book, groaned and rumbled. At intervals he clanged the cymbals or pounded the drum. Now and then he would sprinkle a handful of barley-flour with water and cast it upon the juniper fire nearby. He stopped once to take a fir branch with a red flag tied to it and stuck it into the clay of the roof. By the end of the ceremony which followed this pattern all day, all the offerings had either been thrown upon the fire or given to beggars except for a little saved for the family offerings in the god-room.

By this ceremony with its offerings of food and drink, the exorciser had not only offered thanks to the good spirits but also had

appeased the evil ones. Each evening he will get his pay, fold up his equipment and travel to another home, having satisfied the family that the proper respect had been given to the deities for the past harvest. His pay for a full day will be one half of a rupee and food. Those who pay less will get only a half day's ritual.

Similar or appropriate harvest rites are held in every home and community throughout Eastern Tibet during the fall of each year.

APPENDIX V

The Molham-Cham or Prayer Dance Procession of Batang Gelugba Monastery for Three Years

“Master and servant with the same body odour
Priest and religion bound with the same sacred vow.”

*Notes on the Procession whose order is given on the pages of
this Appendix*

1. The order of the procession which follows these notes is arranged as the priests appeared, carrying the different objects. The figure to the left indicates the number of monks with that object.
2. A picture labelled Chosung is that of a guardian King of one of the official Four Directions. Chosung means Direction Guardian and each King is called Chojong Jelbo or King who protects Religion.
3. Droma is the goddess who saves one from being reborn upon the earth or from transmigratory existence here and hereafter. She is much worshipped in Tibet for this reason. She has 21 manifestations, some mild and some fierce.
4. The cylinder banners of silk are of the five sacred, primary colours; and they are shaped like a large closed umbrella except the tip is not a cone.
5. Tsongkhapa is the fourteenth century reformer founder of the Gelugba sect, who honour him as a deity.
6. The horse is the perfect horse who brings wealth to its owner.
7. The censers and incense may be relics of Roman Catholic influence upon Tsongkhapa who enriched the ritual.
8. The Tso Szhén is a picture showing Tsongkhapa in the centre surrounded by assembled priests.
9. The term Altar Boy refers to youthful monks whose costumes resemble that of Altar Boys only. They carry a bell in the right hand and a small skull drum in the left hand which they shake continuously in the procession. They have five-pointed hats

- and red silk capes. The boys seem to be around ten to twelve years of age.
10. The photographs of the Dalai Lama and of the Potala were a modern touch first seen in 1931. The author had given these pictures to the Batang Monastery Abbot.
 11. In 1926 there were a less number of priests than afterwards in the succeeding years upon the building of the new monastery, or rather rebuilding the old one burned in 1906, and also because of the relaxation of the restrictions upon the number of monks allowed in the Batang monastery. Hence, beginning with 1927 the number of lamas suddenly and rapidly increased from 180 in 1926 to 265 in 1927, 304 in 1930, 293 in 1931 and in 1932 with 318 in the procession. In 1932 there were a total of four deity pictures in the procession besides an unusually large number of hardened butter figures decorated with yellow and red lotus flowers.
 12. The years shown were the only ones that the author was able to make a successful count of the whole procession.
 13. A Dorma is a triangular figure or pyramid of barley and butter moulded to stand upright, and having lotus flowers painted upon it in several colours.
 14. All of the objects carried in the procession either had a Good Luck significance, were an element of Religious Worship, or aided in the Exorcism of Demons.
 15. For details regarding those listed as Atsara, Denmoh, Hashang, Black Hats, Chojong, Jeebalojeh, etc., see the chapters on New Year Festivals.
 16. Chamba is the God of Love and the Coming Buddha.

The Order of the Procession for Three Years

1927

1 sword	1 flower
1 picture of Chosung	2 Dorma offerings
4 silk cylinder banners	2 kettle-drummers
2 Atsara	2 banjo
4 silk cylinder banners	1 empty-handed
1 trident	1 flower
1 spear	1 scarf
2 conch-shell	2 candelabra
2 kettle-drummers	1 picture of Droma
4 on two big horns	1 conch-shell
2 musettes	1 incense
2 cymbalists	1 conch-shell
2 cups of water	3 bowls of grain food
1 chopstick	2 silk cylinder banners
6 bowls of grain	5 conch-shell

1927

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 4 Deemoh | 2 candelabra |
| 2 conch-shell | 1 empty-handed |
| 2 drummers | 1 black-veiled priest the Kenbo |
| 1 bowl of grain food | 1 umbrella for above priest |
| 1 staff | 1 chair and rug for above lama |
| 1 horn (musical) | 7 on sedan chair of Chamba-idol |
| 3 empty-handed | 1 silk cylinder banner |
| 6 bowls of barley | 1 cymbalist |
| 1 conch-shell | 1 drummer |
| 3 drummers | 1 kettle drum |
| 1 picture of Chamba | 4 Jeebalojeh |
| 2 incense | 4 Black Hats |
| 2 flower | 2 candelabra |
| 4 small flags | 1 sword |
| 1 silk cylinder banner | 1 Chojong-Defender of Buddhism |
| 1 cymbalist—gaudily dressed | 1 chair for Chojong above |
| 1 Hashang | 2 leading cow and carrying pail |
| 4 children with Hashang | 1 fully clad warrior (for horse) |
| 17 altar boys—with skull drums | 2 leading horse for warrior |
| 2 musettes | 6 drummers,, drums strapped to back |
| 3 drummers | 79 empty-handed priests who are scattered among the above units of the entire procession. |
| 8 Gatruk | Total 265 lamas. |
| 4 on two big horns | |
| 8 empty-handed | |
| 2 incense | |

1930

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 striped bamboo rod | 1 conch-shell |
| 1 mace | 3 incense |
| 1 empty-handed | 4 silk cylinder banners |
| 1 Dorma offering | 8 rectangular banners |
| 1 picture of Chosung | 1 gong |
| 4 empty-handed | 1 dorje and idol |
| 1 silk cylinder banner | 2 musettes |
| 2 conch-shell | 2 white porcelain roosters |
| 1 porcelain idol of Hashang | 2 flower |
| 2 bowls of water | 1 picture of Chamba |
| 2 bowls of barley | 1 incense |
| 1 bowl of butter | 1 dorje |
| 2 bowls of barley | 1 scarf |
| 1 butter-barley idol | 1 picture of Tsongkhapa |
| 3 cymbalists | 1 scarfed Dorma offering |
| 4 drummers | 3 small brass idols |
| 2 golden-chained censers | 1 incense |
| 1 picture of Droma | 1 porcelain elephant |
| 1 blue umbrella for above | 1 conch-shell |
| 27 skull drums (altar boys) | 2 leading a saddled horse |
| 3 bowls of coloured barley | 1 warrior-rider for horse |
| 4 drummers | 4 old empty-handed lamas |
| 2 horns (musical) | 5 silk cylinder banners |
| 3 cymbalists | 9 umbrella banners—closed |
| 2 drummers | 4 brass bowls of water |

1930

1 flower	1 Hashang
1 dorma—lotus flower design	4 children (monks) with Hashang
2 musettes	2 musettes
1 empty-handed	4 on two snare drums
1 conch-shell	1 small gong
1 dorma offering	8 Gatruk
1 cymbalist	1 cymbalist
1 empty-handed priest	6 drummers with drums on back
1 cymbalist	1 Atsara
1 conch-shell	1 cymbalist
1 drummer	3 drummers
1 gong	2 brass censers
1 drummer	1 mace
1 picture of Tso Szhén	1 incense
1 picture of idols	1 empty-handed priest
1 green umbrella for above idols	8 incense attendants
1 flower	1 black-veiled priest, the Kenbo
1 pot with feathers of peacock	3 attendants for Kenbo above
1 gong	1 yellow umbrella for Kenbo
2 conch-shells	2 Atsara
30 empty-handed boy lamas	2 musettes
1 cloth-covered idol	12 on sedan chair with Chamba
1 bowl of barley	1 cymbalist
10 empty-handed boy-priests	2 drummers
1 brass idol	2 censers with yellow bowls
1 bowl of water	1 Atsara
1 bowl of barley	2 Bebo
1 triangular dorma offering	4 Black Hats
1 conch-shell	4 Deemoh
1 empty-handed priest	2 Jeebalojeh
1 incense	2 tridents
1 conch-shell	1 Chojong or Defender of Buddhism
1 dorma offering	2 attendants with stool for Chojong above
2 one leading cow and one pail	
6 empty-handed lamas	

Total number of lamas in 1930 procession was 304

1931

1 striped bamboo rod	1 cymbalist
2 silk cylinder banners	1 drummer
2 Dorma offerings	1 cymbalist
1 picture of Chosung	2 large brass censers
2 conch-shell	1 brass chorden
1 brass bowl of water	27 skull drums and bells (altar boys)
1 round shield banner of silk	1 picture of Tsongkhapa
3 bowls of barley	1 glass mirror
1 silk rosette-stuffed bowl	4 on two big horns
9 incense carriers	2 flower
1 bowl of barley	2 musettes
1 cymbalist	1 cymbalist
1 drummer	

1931

1 drummer	4 conch-shell and incense
1 flower	4 silk cylinder banners
1 empty-handed	2 coloured dorma offerings
1 incense	1 gong
1 empty-handed	1 scarfed picture of Dalai Lama
2 drummers	1 scarfed picture of Potala
1 bowl of grain	1 brass mirror
1 picture of Tso Shen	1 flower
2 Dorma offerings	1 dorma offering in bowl
3 cylinder banners	1 brass idol
4 rectangular banners	2 huge brass censers
1 gong	2 incense
2 musettes	2 leading horse for warrior
3 rectangular silk banners	1 warrior for horse above
3 porcelain parrots on bowls	53 empty-handed priests
1 glass mirror & long-life pictures	2 leading cow and with pail
2 silk rosettes	1 cymbalist
1 flower	6 drummers, drums on back
1 porcelain idol of Hashang	1 Hashang
1 flower	1 carrying stool for Hashang
2 conch-shell	4 children with Hashang
5 incense	3 drummers
5 rectangular silk banners	8 Gatruk
3 bowls of water	2 golden chain censers
3 incense	10 attendants with incense
2 barley bowls	1 black-veiled lama, the Kenbo
2 musettes	1 umbrella for Kenbo above
2 cymbalists	12 on sedan chair with Chamba
1 drummer	1 cymbalist
1 cymbalist	3 drummers
2 drummers	4 Black Hats
1 scarf	4 Deemoh
1 gong	2 Atsara
1 incense	2 Bebo
1 flower	4 Jeebalojeh
2 lotus-flower rhomboid placques	2 golden hatted attendants
1 blue silk scarf	2 golden chain censers
1 bowl of water	1 Chojong
	1 attendant with stool for Chojong

Total number of Lamas in 1931 Procession 293

The units of empty-handed lamas was less with the increased number of monks in the procession in the later years but seemed to have no significance except they were almost wholly of small boy-monks or of very aged priests since every lama able to totter was required to be in the procession. With a larger number of lamas more sacred objects were carried but this did not change the basic requirements or what was to be represented. It was necessary to have members of all groups who participated in the

previous New Year Dances of the 29th of the last month of the old year; to display all objects used in those dances and others used in the regular worship of deities; this included water and grain the products of the field; but considered to be the food necessary in feeding deities who partake of the human nature in such respects.