

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES OF  
TIBETAN LAMA TRAINING

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*List of Abbreviations* : The following abbreviations will be used :

a. for reference to books and pamphlets

TP & P	Bell, <i>Tibet Past and Present</i>
L of L	Macdonald, <i>The Land of the Lama</i> , and Rockhill, <i>The Land of the Lamas</i>
Oxf. Pamph.	Macdonald, <i>Tibet. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs</i> , No. 30.

All other works are abbreviated by using the key word or words of the title.

b. for reference to periodicals

<i>Art &amp; Let.</i>	<i>Art and Letters</i>
<i>As. Hor.</i>	<i>Asian Horizon</i>
<i>As. R.</i>	<i>Asiatic Review</i>
<i>Bib. Sac.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>Bl. Mag.</i>	<i>Blackwoods Magazine</i>
<i>East. E.</i>	<i>Eastern World</i>
<i>For. Aff.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>
<i>Geog. J.</i>	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
<i>Geog. Mag.</i>	<i>Geographical Magazine</i>
IRM	<i>International Review of Missions</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society</i>
JWCBR	<i>Journal of the West China Border Research Society</i>
LA	<i>Living Age</i>
MRW	<i>Missionary Review of the World</i>
NG	<i>National Geographic Magazine</i>
NH	<i>Natural History</i>
<i>Pac. Aff.</i>	<i>Pacific Affairs</i>
SWJAn	<i>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>Spectator</i>
UNW	<i>United Nations World</i>

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Limitations

The Tibetan religion is composed of many complex factors each of which offer ample material for an extensive analysis. To avoid lengthy explanations, statements of Tibetan religious doctrines have been made as brief as possible and have been oversimplified. In a general study such as this, it is possible to give only a summary of the more important phases of lama training. For example, the practice of meditation is an important aspect of all higher training, but this is a subject to which some authors devote many chapters of discussion. Here it can only be mentioned briefly.

The present writer does not attempt to give a final or complete analysis of the Tibetan religious philosophy which forms the basis of the outward manifestations of lama training. Where religion and education are as closely interwoven as in Tibet, such an analysis should eventually be made to achieve a more complete understanding of Tibetan concepts. But the subject of Tibetan religious philosophy is of such magnitude that to attempt to present it in this paper, along with a discussion of the more outward aspects of lama training, seems injudicious. It is my sincere hope that in the future someone may present a detailed study of this important background of Tibetan education and life.<sup>1)</sup> This paper proposes to deal only with such technical questions as, for example: "How do the Tibetans teach their lamas?" "What varying methods are used in their religious training?" "What sort of educational facilities do they have?" "In what kind of surroundings do they teach and study?" "What type of curriculum do they

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1) A brief but excellent general analysis of the Tibetan religion is found in Ekvall's "Five Universals of Tibetan Religion," *Oriens*, vol. 6 (1953), pp. 334-343. The present writer heartily agrees with Ekvall that the books on Tibetan religion are not as helpful for a general study as one might expect. Some books show little evidence of careful analysis and often where the study is detailed, there is an over emphasis on the importance of some phase of Tibetan religion. The unwary reader who expects to get a general picture may thus be left instead with a lopsided or distorted impression. There are still gaps that need to be filled, both in unexplored areas of inquiry and in tying together the existing information into a composite picture. The above mentioned article provides a valuable contribution in this direction. Cf. also Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, 1940, pp. 220-221, on the need of further study of Tibetan religion and society.

have?" etc. Even the answers to these questions seem inadequate in some cases because of the lack of available information, but at least it is possible to obtain a general picture of Tibetan teaching methods and the more obvious ways in which these influence their ideas of education.

Some Tibetans, particularly in border areas have had opportunity to attend Chinese, Indian or missionary schools. This study is not concerned with the influence of such institutions and proposes to deal only with Tibetan forms of training.

Any comparison of the Tibetan religion with other types of Buddhism is entirely omitted as outside the scope of the present subject.

## B. Definition of Terms

Tibet proper or political Tibet forms only one segment of the actual Tibetan population. Such areas as Sikkim, Ladak, and Tibetan populated areas of adjoining Chinese provinces provide religious training similar or almost identical with Tibet proper. Including this wider area, which is sometimes called ethnological Tibet,<sup>1)</sup> makes possible a more complete discussion of the lama training.

Some authors object to the use of the word "lama" as a general term to denote the Tibetan priest.<sup>2)</sup> The training of the priesthood of Tibet is of a unique type and therefore the term "monk" or "priest" to describe a member of a Tibetan religious Order does not seem entirely advantageous or accurate.<sup>3)</sup> It seems preferable to use a name linked with the system itself. A few authors have suggested using "*drapa*",<sup>4)</sup> a Tibetan expression

1) Cf. Sir Charles Bell, *Tibet Past and Present*, 1924, p. 18; R. Ekvall, *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*, 1939, pp. 9-10; J. E. Ellam, *The Religion of Tibet*, 1927, pp. 33-34; A. Guibaut, *Tibetan Venture*, 1947, p. 14; J. Hanson-Lowe, "A Journey Along the Chinese-Tibetan Border," *Geog. J.*, vol. 95 (May, 1940), p. 360; D. Kachru, "Tibet," *India Quarterly*, vol. 6 (1950), p. 130; O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, New York: Am. Geog. Soc., 1940, p. 208; A. C. Li, "The Tibetan Family in its Relation to Religion," *As. Hor.*, vol. 2 (1949), p. 25; *in* Ferm, *Forgotten Religions*, 1950, p. 253; A. Migot, *Tibetan Marches*, 1955, p. 101; B. D. Miller, "A Selective Survey of Literature on Tibet," *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, vol. 47 (1953), p. 1135; G. Sandberg, *Tibet and the Tibetans*, 1906, p. 96; N. Smith, *Golden Doorway to Tibet*, 1949, p. 115; F. K. Ward, *Assam Adventure*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1941, pp. 111-112.

2) Cf. Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, 1931, p. xvi, (note on lama); A. David-Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, 1932, p. 11; M. Pallis, *Peaks and Lamas*, 1940, p. 80; H. E. Richardson, "Review of Cammann's Trade Through the Himalayas," *JRCAS*, vol. 39, p. 285; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

3) Cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 103-104; Li, *in* Ferm, 1950, p. 254; Y. P. Mei, "Among the Living Buddhas," *Asia*, vol. 40 (1940), p. 143. Cf. also Chapter III, note 65.

4) For example Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 80, also David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 11. (But David-Neel's own usage is not always consistent). Cf. "gravapa" in H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*,

for any priest except those of high rank and degree. But it is considered uncomplimentary to call a high ranking priest a "drapa"—he is called a "lama".<sup>1)</sup> Since there is no Tibetan expression to specify a priest of unknown or unstated rank, it seems preferable to use the complimentary form for a general usage. "Lama" as a general term for a Tibetan priest, has wide acceptance and usage among foreigners writing about Tibet<sup>2)</sup> and it is not unknown in a general connotation even among Tibetans.<sup>3)</sup>

"Lamasery", denoting the place of training of the lamas, and "lamaism", designating the Tibetan religion are not Tibetan words, but merely coined by outsiders. A few authors dislike the term, "lamaism" and say it is derogatory.<sup>4)</sup> It is used in this study solely as a name to differentiate a distinct and unique type of Buddhism,<sup>5)</sup> and not at all in the sense of an expression of contempt. Lamaism is a mixture of Bön, the pre-Buddhist

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London: Kegan Paul, 1934, p. 75. The word carries the connotation of a student as shown by its usage in combination with other words, and therefore would hardly be suitable for higher ranking monks.

Note: In spelling the word "drapa" and other Tibetan words I have tried to make them as much as possible like the actual pronunciation or what the majority of authors have used. There is no one accepted system of Tibetan romanization. Silent letters and some other details of Tibetan spelling are ignored in romanizing Tibetan words in this study.

1) Bell, *Religion*, p. xvi, note; *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, 1946, p. 197; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 11; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Grünwedel, "Der Lamaismus" in *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, 1906, p. 136; H. Harrer, *Seven Years in Tibet*, 1954, p. 146; D. Macdonald, *Land of the Lama*, 1929, p. 94; Pailis, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1863, p. 156; E. Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer . . .*, 1922, p. 69, note 1; L. Thomas Jr., *Out of This World*, 1950, p. 68; G. Tucci, *Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas*, 1936, p. 51; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1934, p. 181; *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1929, p. 219.

2) The following authors, among others, use the term in a general sense: Bromage, Cammann, Cutting, Eliot, Ellam, Grenard, Guibaut, Huc, Li An-Che, Macdonald, Migot, Rijnhart, Schlagintweit, Shen, Thomas, Tucci and Waddell.

3) Cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 11; Jäschke, *Tib. Eng. Dict.*, p. 383; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 219. Rin-Chen and Sherap both use it. Tibetans in conversation with the writer have used "Lama" in the general sense without any hint of finding it objectionable.

4) Bell, "The Struggle for Mongolia," *JRCAS*, vol. 24 (1937), p. 51 and C.W.M. Gell, "Tibet, the Last Refuge," *Cont. Rev.*, vol. 178 (1950), p. 11.

5) Bell, *TR & P*, p. 31 and *Religion*, p. 9 (and all of Part I), "Tibet's Position in Asia Today," *For. Aff.*, vol. 10 (1931), p. 134 and *Portrait*, pp. 31, 180; H. Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*, 1894, p. 272; B. Bromage, *Tibetan Yoga*, 1952, p. 5; S. Cammann, *Trade Through the Himalayas*, 1951, p. 7; F. S. Chapman, *Lhasa the Holy City*, 1939, p. 125; S. Cutting, *The Fire Ox . . .*, 1940, p. 225; Ekvall, *Cult. Relat.*, pp. 10-11; C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. 3, 1921, p. 345; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 136; H. Lansdell, *Chinese Central Asia*, vol. 2, New York: Scribners, 1894, p. 287; Li in Ferm, pp. 253, 254; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 36 and "Tibet," *Oxf. Pamph.*, , , (1945), p. 19; F. Maraini, *Secret Tibet*, 1952, p. 67; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 93; F. W. Riggs, "Tibet in Extremis," *Far East. Surv.*, vol. 19 (1950), p. 226; Shen and Liu, *Tibet and the Tibetans*, 1953, p. 37; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 104.

religion of Tibet, Tantric Buddhism,<sup>1)</sup> and probably some other elements more difficult to ascertain.<sup>2)</sup>

Present day Lamaism has many sects. The *Gelugpa*, often referred to as the "Yellow Caps" because of their yellow headdress in ceremonies, boast the most adherents and are the predominant ruling body. From their red headdress, other groups have come to be known as the "Red Caps". These include such semi-reformed groups as the *Karjupa*, known especially for their asceticism, and the *Sajapa*, at one time the ruling sect of Tibet. Also included in the Red Caps are the unreformed, the *Nyingmapa* or "old ones". The followers of Bön are regarded as not really within the fold, but at the present time are not openly persecuted but more or less tolerated.

These sects differ in certain minor practices, have different tutelary gods, their own favorite scriptures and slightly different doctrinal interpretations and emphasis.<sup>3)</sup> They show great similarity, and the influence of the practices of the ruling sect upon the lamasery training of the others, including the Bön group, is strongly evident.<sup>4)</sup> As far as the Tibetan lay people are concerned, they esteem all of them and the minor variations in doctrine

1) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 76; *Religion*, pp. 8ff., 32ff., 39ff., "Tibet and its Neighbors," *Pac. Aff.*, vol. 10 (1937), p. 429; *Portrait*, pp. 31, 180; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 125, 214; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff., 382 ff.; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 31ff.; A. Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, 1939, pp. 5-6; G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, 1938, p. 189; B. Gould, "Tibet and her Neighbors," *Int. Aff.*, vol. 26 (1950), p. 71; F. Grenard, *Tibet*, 1904, pp. 303ff.; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 140ff.; J. Hanbury-Tracy, *Black River of Tibet*, 1938, pp. 67-68; Li, "The Spirit of Tibetan Culture," *East. World*, vol. 3 (1949), p. 5; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 35-36, 63, 65, 82-83 and *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 19; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 83-85, 143, 204-205; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 97; W. R. Morse, "Tibetan Medicine," *JWCBS*, vol. 3 (1926-1929), pp. 119-120; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 66; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 131, 229, 235, 250; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 12-15, 17, 19ff., 30, 154.

2) Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Catholicism, Taoism and others have been suggested.

3) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 59, 63ff., 65ff., 95ff.; T. Bernard, *Penthouse of the Gods*, 1939, pp. 244ff.; Bromage, *op. cit.*, 78; S. C. Das, "Contributions on Religion . . . of Tibet," *JASB*, vol. 51 (1882), pp. 5, 125ff.; J. Deniker in Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1928, pp. xxx-xxxii; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 397ff.; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff., 40-41; F. Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 337ff.; Li, "Rñiñ-ma-pa . . .," *RAS* (1948), pp. 142ff.; "Bon . . .," *SWJAn.*, vol. 4 (1948), pp. 31ff.; "Bkah-Brihyud Sect . . .," *JAS*, vol. 69 (1949), pp. 51ff.; and in Ferm, pp. 255ff.; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 40-41, 67-68; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 143ff.; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 256ff.; W.W. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 1891, pp. 217ff.; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Paul Sherap in Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, 1926, p. 90; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 55ff.; W.Y.E. Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa*, 1951, pp. 4ff.

Note: Pallis objects to the use of the word "sects" and says "Orders" is the proper term. Yet the relation between these Tibetan groups is not comparable to the close ties of the various Orders of Roman Catholicism, for example. I prefer the word "sects" as more descriptive.

4) Cf. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, 1902, pp. 206ff.; David-Neel, *My Journey to Lhasa*, 1927, p. 250; J.H. Edgar, "Geographic Control . . .," *JWCBS*, vol. 2 (1924-1925), pp. 8-9; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152, 154; *SWJAn.*, (1948), pp. 31ff.; "The Lamasery as an Educational Institution," *As. R.*, vol. 46 (1950), p. 915; In Ferm, p. 267; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 201-203; W.W. Rockhill, *Diary of a Journey . . .*, 1894, p. 280.

and practice do not trouble them at all.<sup>1)</sup> Some rivalry does exist between these groups but at present they seem to show a mutual respect for one another.<sup>2)</sup> The majority of authors have described the lama training of the Gelugpa. The information available on the other religious bodies indicate great similarity to the Gelugpa, therefore it does not seem necessary to differentiate the sects in describing the general organization of lama training.

“Reincarnation” or “Incarnation Lama” is used in this study to denote a lama who is regarded as the reincarnation of a Bodhisattva or saint.<sup>3)</sup> I have preferred not to use “Living Buddha” which tends to leave a wrong impression in the mind of the reader.<sup>4)</sup>

The terminology “spirit” or “forces” is used to refer to gods, demons and other beings worshipped and propitiated by the Tibetans. It is difficult to find any single accurate term which does not necessitate a description of the various classes of beings in the Tibetan pantheon. The writer apologizes for an inept terminology on the plea of simplicity.

### C. Purpose of this Study

It is my hope and aim that by using the observations and knowledge of a wide variety of sources it may be possible to achieve a better understanding of the Tibetan people, particularly in the line of their teaching methods. Obviously it is impossible for any one person to observe lamasery training in many different areas and under entirely differing circumstances. By sharing the experiences of many authors we can get a glimpse of life in the large lamaseries, in small institutions—in the Gelugpa sect and also in Red Cap groups—in Tibet proper as well as the border areas, and can thus form a general over-all picture of the lama training as it exists among Tibetan people everywhere. A single observer cannot be aware of all the details of the organization, nor can we be certain that a single author has described the situation accurately. But a comparison of many authors makes it possible not only to corroborate the more easily ascertainable facts but to discover points entirely overlooked by many observers.

In the case of Tibetan lama training, it is particularly important to make such a study, because in Tibet there has developed a distinct type of education, not entirely comparable to any other system. Over a period of

1) Cf. Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 397; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 68.

2) Cf. Bell, *Religion*, p. 98; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 40; Ekvall, *Cult. Relat.*, p. 11; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 160-161; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 206; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 68.

3) See Chapter III, note 38.

4) Cf. Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 116.

centuries, the pattern of the religious training has changed very little<sup>1)</sup>. The descriptions of lama training by early explorers in Tibet match almost perfectly the observations of later visitors. For many years Tibet has been able to retain its own system with very little influence from the outside world. Now however, with the conquest of Tibet by the Chinese Communists the situation has altered. No one can venture to say in what ways or to what extent there will be change, but some change must inevitably come. Therefore it is important to a fuller understanding of Tibetan educational background to gather together and summarize some of the outstanding customs and practices found in this unusual system of training.

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1) Cf. Bell, *TP&P*, p. 31, *Religion*, p. 148 and *Pac. Aff.*, p. 428; Cutting, "Adventure in Tibet," *UNW*, vol. 2 (1948), p. 35; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, p. 17; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 373; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 359.

## CHAPTER II

### CRITIQUE OF SOURCES

#### A. Published Sources: their Utility and Limitations

In making this study the writer has used only sources in the English language, with a very few exceptions. No attempt is made to cover Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese or other foreign language sources. There is a vast amount of material in English on the subject of Tibet, much of which is unclassified and unappraised. Beatrice Miller's "Selective Survey of Literature on Tibet" is a recent very fine contribution in that field. While her survey is of more particular value to the political scientist, it is also very helpful for the present subject.<sup>1)</sup>

The study of source material on Tibetan education is complicated by the fact that much of the information is found in casual and unexpected sources. Titles of books or articles often fail to indicate the actual contents and there may be no index or only a very brief one. The present writer searched through between three and four hundred sources to obtain the data presented in this paper. Some kind of evaluation of the pertinent subject matter seems imperative, but it is not easy to know in what categories to group these many authors. In the sense of presenting a complete picture, there is no one "good" or several "best" sources, for none are complete. And yet every single source is valuable because all of them contribute in some way to giving the total picture of Tibetan education. Then again, one author may have good information on one phase of lama training, but may be quite inaccurate on another, while a source extremely poor in most matters may be the best source on one particular item. Therefore in the brief evaluation of main sources given in this chapter, the arrangement is alphabetical and not in order of importance. The sources reviewed first are the authors who had the best opportunities for observation and in most cases are those who give the widest variety of information. While such sources may be regarded as perhaps the most valuable, this critique also aims to point out the importance of some types of sources whose contribu-

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1) For all sources reviewed in this chapter, see Bibliography for complete information on titles, publishers, dates, etc.

tions may easily be overlooked.

Preference is given in this study to authors who have had first hand contact and experience with Tibetans. If an author's presentation is based entirely on the observations of others and I have had access to the original sources, only the latter have been used as references.<sup>1)</sup> Where an author's bibliography indicates sources not available to me, the summary of his data has been examined and used if pertinent. In most cases such authors do not indicate where they obtained each item of information, so there is no way of giving credit to the true original source. J. Deniker and A. Gordon are examples of this type of reference. Periodical contributors such as Colgan, Finley, Gell, Kachru and Mathers make no attempt to show where they received their data. Still, their information, as far as I am able to tell, seems accurate. Such sources sometimes have a particular value in showing a keen appraisal or a good summary of facts. Eliot's discussion of the Buddhism of Tibet is a good example.

Among the many valuable sources on Tibet, *Sir Charles Bell* is outstanding. In many years of contact with Tibetans he made a careful study of the customs and the language. Friendly connections with the upper classes and officials including the thirteenth Dalai Lama, helped to give him a warm sympathetic attitude toward the land and the people. His books contain many facts about lamas and his information is usually reliable.

The only foreigner who has actually been able to participate in and observe many Tibetan esoteric rites is *Madame David-Neel*. She knows several Tibetan dialects and has had the advantage of residing in different sections of the country, meeting both upper and lower classes of people. Her ability as a professing Buddhist, to describe the religious customs and explain the meanings back of the ceremonies, is evident. She is friendly to the Tibetan people, respectful of their beliefs, but unbiased enough to point out inconsistencies in their teachings and practices. While her books do contain accounts that might be labeled sensational, a careful study of her information shows much of it to be not unreasonable.<sup>2)</sup> Many particulars concerning the training of mystics, not available in any other source, are found in her works.

*Ekai Kawaguchi*, a Japanese Buddhist priest had an unusual opportunity to observe life inside a lamasery. His "Three Years in Tibet" gives among other things the account of his experiences while studying at Sera, a large

1) For example, H. T. Prinsep, *Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia*, London: W. H. Allen, 1852 (2nd ed.), is based primarily on Huc's works. Since Huc's own account was available to me, and there were no new items of interest in Prinsep, the latter was not used as source material.

2) Cf. B. Miller's review of David-Neel, *op. cit.*, p. 1139; review of David-Neel's "Initiations and Initiates in Tibet," *JRCAS*, vol. 19 (1932), pp. 340-342; also Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 214-215.

lamasery near Lhasa and contains many important facts about the surroundings and training of Tibetan lamas.

*Li An-che* has written a number of valuable articles on Tibet and his material in most instances shows careful study and formulation of facts. His articles on the lamasery and on the sects are especially valuable to this study. Very few sources give information on the lama training of sects other than the Gelugpa and in this, Li has made an outstanding contribution.

*David Macdonald's* books deal with many phases of Tibetan life. While he does give valuable data on lamas and lamaseries, still one wishes he might have added even more. Macdonald's many years of experience among Tibetans combined with his intimate knowledge of the language and customs, mark him as one of the best informed sources on Tibetan life.

In my opinion *Fosco Maraini* is to be commended for his warm human picture of the Tibetan people. Under his pen they seem alive and real, not stilted, remote or impossible to understand. No writer seems able to match this skill, except *Robert Ekvall* in his "Tibetan Sky Lines". Ekvall's pen sketches give a wide variety of information, particularly on nomad Tibetans, and in such a warm vivid style that the people seem intensely real.<sup>1)</sup> Ekvall's material does not deal directly with the aspect of lamasery training but his knowledge of Tibetan thought and habits are valuable for any type of study. Maraini did not have prolonged opportunity to observe lamasery training, yet what he did see is portrayed graphically. He gives a picture of actual lama personalities with an analysis of the backgrounds of their character<sup>2)</sup>. Such a presentation is needed, I believe, to balance the descriptions of the lamaist system, which accurate as they may be, perhaps tend to overstress the organization and leave the reader without any clear conception of the personalities involved.

*Graham Sandberg* was directly acquainted only with the border area but he evidently made an extensive study of Tibetan religion and training of lamas. While the writer cannot vouch for the accuracy of other aspects of his books, in regard to many details of lama training, he was apparently quite well informed.

*Shen* and *Liu* had several years' residence in Lhasa, the capital, which gave good opportunity to observe personally as well as obtain data from Tibetan informants. "Tibet and the Tibetans" tells many things about lamas and lamaism, including some items which are not found in any other source.

*Paul Sherap* as a Tibetan is naturally well acquainted with the customs of his own people, but contact with Western practices also enables him to

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1) Cf. B. Miller on Ekvall, *op. cit.*, pp. 1144-1145.

2) Cf. review of Maraini by J.E.F. Guentz, *JRCAS*, vol. 40 (1953), pp. 98-99.

understand differences in cultures. Unfortunately, on the present subject he gives very little material that is not found in other sources and often gives less detail than others. Still his account is important because it can be used to refute or corroborate information which other authors have given.<sup>1)</sup>

*L.A. Waddell* made an extensive study of the Tibetan religion. He also had personal contact with border areas and an opportunity to visit Central Tibet. His first book, "The Buddhism of Tibet", was written in 1894 before his trip to Central Tibet and contains a wide variety of facts about lamaism. Since Tibetan religious customs have changed very little over the period of the last centuries,<sup>2)</sup> his book is still regarded by many as an authority on the subject.

The above briefly reviewed sources contain the most extensive data on lama training. Others are also valuable but do not give as complete information and are therefore not individually reviewed in this critique. Books of travel also contribute to the store of knowledge on Tibet. Travelers ordinarily do not have time to make an extensive survey of lamaism, yet their snatches of description of lamasery ceremonies are often far more vivid than those by authors who had the opportunity of a longer stay in Tibet. They may even note small items of interest which are overlooked by other more experienced observers. A concrete example may help to illustrate this point: The writer was interested in knowing to what extent the Tibetan lamas used the written texts in their group chanting, and to what extent they chanted from memory. One might assume the existence of both types of chanting—a service where only the leader used the text and the group responded from memory—and perhaps chanting services where all lamas used the written texts. Yet strangely enough, references to the use or non-use of chanting texts were vague or entirely lacking in the sources accessible for this study. The only clear statement showing that written texts were actually used by the entire group, at least on some occasions, was found in a well known and typical traveler's book—*Sven Hedin's* "Conquest of Tibet".<sup>3)</sup>

Casual observers may also be less prejudiced. *F. Grenard*, considering his comparatively short stay in Tibet gives a surprisingly keen analysis of the interplay of rival forces in Tibetan political and social life. He mentions, for example, rivalry between the sects and between the chief lamaseries, the

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1) This cannot be said for Rin-Chen, author of "We Tibetans," who is so eager to present the Tibetans in a favorable light to the Western world that she exaggerates some of her material. Cf. review of Rin-Chen in B. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 1146.

2) Cammann, *op. cit.*, p. 175, says much of the text is copied from earlier works. I have not had access to many of these earlier works and cannot say if this is true. In any case, the collection of information which Waddell gives, is important as well as extensive.

3) Cf. Chapter VI, note 7.

Panchen Lama and his followers as against the Dalai Lama faction, Buddhist against Bönist, lay aristocracy versus religious aristocracy, the Bön nomad as against the Lhasa Central Government.<sup>1)</sup> Perhaps the fact that Grenard was not directly associated with any of these factions or unduly drawn in sympathy to any one of them, gave him the ability to see them more clearly.

On the other hand, Bell's friendship and admiration for the thirteenth Dalai Lama and his more intimate acquaintance with Lhasa officials and noblemen must have tended to influence his interpretation of Tibetan life. He may have felt, quite unconsciously, that such views were the true voice of Tibet. There seems a lack of awareness on his part of the currents of unrest and dissatisfaction toward the Lhasa government and the religious rulers.<sup>2)</sup> His writings, especially the later works leave the impression that all the Tibetan people are completely satisfied with their religious system. Actually, as Grenard and others have pointed out, there are segments of the population that are critical and rebellious.<sup>3)</sup> These personal prejudices of Bell must be kept in mind in appraising his opinions of the lamaistic system. It should be mentioned also, that David-Neel does not always give due credit to the ruling Gelugpa sect because she is more sympathetic to the Red Cap sects.<sup>4)</sup> Perhaps the most striking example of prejudice is found in the writings of *Gordon Enders* who because of his personal associations, grossly exaggerates the importance of the Panchen Lama.<sup>5)</sup>

Antipathy toward the Tibetans influences the information of some sources. Waddell and Kawaguchi had great respect for a few individual Tibetans, but they show evidence of being strongly repelled by the Tibetan way of life. This attitude does not necessarily mar all of their observations, but it tends to affect the opinions they express. Waddell, for example, often speaks of the mental dullness of the monks. One wonders if they were genuinely deficient in intelligence or if that was not what he expected to find, and consequently was so impressed. Waddell's judgments of the low scholastic standards of the lamaseries at Tashilhumpo might be open to question on the same basis.<sup>6)</sup>

By contrast Shen reveals a friendly attitude toward Tibetans. Only

1) Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 176, 177, 226, 337, 350.

2) Cf. Sir John Jordan's comments on Bell, "A Year in Lhasa," *Geog. J.*, vol 63 (1924), pp. 103, 105.

3) Cf., for example, David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. xiii, xiv, 120-121, 214-215, 245ff. (I cannot vouch for the complete accuracy of the last reference—there are many versions of the reasons for the Panchen Lama's flight and I fear David-Neel is not entirely unprejudiced.) Cf. also Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106, 116, 226, 336.

4) Cf. David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. xiii, xiv, 78, 173ff., 181, 214-215, 245-246, 261, 266ff., 299.

5) Cf. review of Enders by B. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 1143; also *JRCAS*, vol. 23 (1936), pp. 548-549, 720.

6) Some examples: Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 116, 219, 227-228, 323.

rarely is there a remark which shows a measure of the superior attitude which the Chinese are often tempted to exhibit toward a people they regard as less civilized than themselves.<sup>1)</sup> As a whole Shen's book is refreshingly free of this prejudice.<sup>2)</sup>

A few authors demonstrate a curious tendency to glamorize certain phases of the Tibetan religion. Such sources as *Theos Bernard*, *Illion* and *A. Riencourt* seem to be a class of religious seekers who feel they have found the answer to their own and the world's problems in Tibet. Admirable features are certainly to be found in the Tibetan religion, but such authors are hardly in a position to give an unbiased or complete appraisal. Their intense personal search for religious satisfaction leads them to condemn the parts of the system that disappoint them personally, and to glamorize the aspects which please them personally. Even *Pallis*, an otherwise good source, shows some of this tendency. A similar kind of religious prejudice exists on the part of those authors who hold strong Buddhist views. The result is wholesale condemnation of all that is not on the "high" level of "pure Buddhism". It may be true that certain practices of the Tibetans are superstitious, but that does not prove that such people are "savage", "ignorant", "stupid", "lacking in artistic ability", "degenerate", etc. Pro-Buddhist writers such as *Nicholas Roerich*, *G. Tucci*, *Bernard* and at times *David-Neel* do not always give a fair description of the majority of Tibetans, including lamas, who from their point of view have not reached the heights of enlightenment.<sup>3)</sup>

A disappointing feature of some other sources is their unwarranted tone of authority. *Enders*, *Forman*, *Illion* and *Riencourt*, with only a limited contact with the Tibetan people use the tone of an expert in analyzing the Tibetan situation.<sup>4)</sup> The latter three in their books report long conversations with Tibetans on abstruse matters, thereby displaying a remarkable facility in speaking the Tibetan language. Still, they themselves later report being uncertain whether these amazing conversations were actually carried on in the Tibetan language or by some sort of telepathic means.<sup>5)</sup> The reader is

1) For example, Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

2) Cf. also review of Shen by B. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 1145.

3) Cf. *Bernard*, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 67, 298-299; *David-Neel*, *Journey*, pp. xiv, 250, 259, 302; *Nicholas Roerich*, *Altai Himalaya*, New York: Fred Stokes, 1929, pp. 387ff.; *Shambhala*, New York: Fred Stokes, 1930, pp. 47ff., 70ff.; *Tucci*, *Shrines*, pp. 104, 186, 243. (Tucci, however, does recognize the artistic ability of the Tibetan people.) By pointing out these prejudices, I do not intend at all to minimize the high standard of Tibetan scholarship exhibited by such men as Tucci and Roerich. Tucci is unquestionably one of the Tibetan experts of our day, and has made valuable specific contributions to our knowledge of Tibet.

4) Cf. reviews on *Enders* and *Forman* in Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 1143-1144; also review of *Enders* in *JRCAS*, vol. 23 (1936), pp. 548-549; of *Forman* in *JRCAS*, vol. 23 (1936), pp. 712-714; of *Riencourt* by John De Francis, in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 10 (1951), p. 344.

5) *H. Forman*, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, 1935, pp. 263-272; *T. Illion*, *In Secret Tibet*, [1937], pp. 137-141; *A. Riencourt*, *Roof of the World*, c1950, pp. 274-285, 287-293.

left wondering how much of the information is factually reliable and how much is the product of imagination. Forman and Illion also show a tendency to impress the reader by recounting fantastic personal adventures. Still, in spite of the presence of such questionable material, these sources contain vivid accounts of lamas and lamaistic training. Some of their data are probably genuine and original and should not be entirely discounted because of the other objectionable features. The writer has tried to use what seemed reliable and to avoid quoting what might be more questionable in such sources. That an author's name is used as a reference in several footnotes does not indicate an unquestioning acceptance of all the information in his book.

Statements which are true but incomplete, are referred to without comment in the notes, as it is assumed in such a case that there was insufficient opportunity for the observer to obtain the complete facts. On the other hand, if one author's statement does not correspond at all with other sources, this contradiction is indicated in the notes. Books by poorly informed travelers are likely to contain sweeping statements which are misleading. It is impossible to point out all of these—only a few pertinent to the subject are mentioned.

Casual observers may also form erroneous conclusions from what they see. A striking instance of such error, observed in my reading, was Landor's statement that the lamas have a great craving for blood and drink blood. It seems highly improbably, subsequent to the conquest of Buddhism in Tibet, that such a condition could be true. What may have happened is that Landor observed a rite in which a liquid resembling blood was used and erroneously concluded it was blood.<sup>1)</sup>

Another type of error occurs because observers believe exactly what they are told. Frequent examples are found in the accounts of travelers who ask their Tibetan interpreters to explain the meaning of the Festival Lama Dances ("devil dances"). Obviously the Tibetans in such a case tell only what they think will be understood by the visitor and what they feel will be acceptable to his culture. Thus many travelers give far too narrow an explanation of the meaning of these dances, while ardently assuring the reader that their interpretations must be correct because they were told these facts by the Tibetans themselves.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) A.H.S. Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, vol. 2, 1899, pp. 71, 72, 289. Cf. Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Combe, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 445, 448, 518, 531.

It should be noted that Landor's book is not free of exaggeration. Still I think it is quite possible that he may have actually thought he saw the lamas drink blood. It is quite true as he says that the human skull is used as a cup or bowl in certain rites.

2) See Chapter III, note 51.

The profession and interests of an author often limit his observation. As an example, we assume that Bell as a British political officer was naturally more interested in politics than in education. His "Religion of Tibet" is really a history of the development of Lamaism as a State Rule rather than an analysis and description of the religion itself. Consequently many important facts about lamasery life which one might expect to find in such a book are conspicuously lacking.<sup>1)</sup> This same type of limitation applies to almost all sources, since authors instinctively describe and emphasize mainly the phases of Tibetan life that interest them professionally.

In comparing the various sources for this study, several instances of copying without giving due credit were discovered. Filchner in "Das Kloster Kumbum" gives an account of the summer excursion of the medical students to collect herbs, which in wording and in the order of details is so strikingly similar to Huc's account that it appears practically identical.<sup>2)</sup> Since Huc is the earlier writer one can only assume he is the original source of this information. In similar fashion McGovern has given the same facts in almost the same order as Sandberg on how the lamaseries are supported.<sup>3)</sup> While it is possible that McGovern may have actually obtained some of this information during his escapade in Tibet, it seems unbelievable he could give such a similar account without having recourse to Sandberg as an earlier source.

The strangest instance of failure to give credit to another source is in Wentz's "Tibetan Book of the Dead". In no less than three instances Wentz gives credit for one item but leaves the reader assuming the rest of the text is entirely his own. Thus, he gives credit to Waddell for a reproduction of an effigy of the dead reprinted from Waddell's material but gives no credit for the details of the text describing the effigy.<sup>4)</sup> Later he gives credit to Waddell for the "address to the corpse" but not for the description of the funeral procession.<sup>5)</sup> Finally, he gives credit to Pereira for a quoted statement but neglects to mention that his own following text is identical with Waddell.<sup>6)</sup>

1) Cf. review of this book by Cammann, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

2) Cf. W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum . . .*, 1906, pp. 90-91 and E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China*, vol. 2, 1928, pp. 109-110, 111.

I regret I did not have access to the later enlarged edition of Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba Ling . . .*, Leipzig-Brockhaus, 1933. However, according to B. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 1140, even in the later edition, "The footnotes do not always acknowledge the actual source of some of the contents of the volume."

3) W. McGovern, *To Lhasa in Disguise*, c1924, pp. 251-254; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

4) W.Y.E. Wentz, *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, 1924, pp. 20-23; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 495-496.

5) Wentz, *Book of Dead*, p. 25; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 493-494.

6) Wentz, *Book of Dead*, p. 24; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 498.

While Wentz does add a few new items of information, so much of his description of the death ceremonies resembles Waddell in enumeration and arrangement of details that it seems likely that he must have borrowed most of it from Waddell.<sup>1)</sup> It is possible that he personally checked these items with his own informants to discover their accuracy but in any case Waddell should be given some credit as being the original source of information.

### B. Field Observation of the Writer

A four year period of missionary work on the China-Tibet border gave the writer occasion to meet lamas from several different lamaseries. Conversations with various lay people also gave an idea of their varying opinions of the lama training. During a six weeks trek into typical Tibetan grasslands country, there was also an opportunity to observe a three day festival of the lama dances at a distant lamasery. Some familiarity with the language and the customs of the people has made it possible to detect inaccuracies in written sources that might otherwise have been unnoticed. Probably the most valuable experience was the daily contact over a period of time with two Tibetan language teachers who were ex-lamas. One of these men, even though he had left the Order to marry and raise a family, was still extremely sympathetic with the lamasery system and training. He possessed a keen intellect and an ever fresh delight in learning. The other man, by contrast, was a poor student—his versions of Tibetan spelling were often original but quite inaccurate, and in his attitude toward the lama training he was somewhat of a scoffer. Still, he held firmly to many of the general Tibetan religious beliefs and customs. The reactions and experiences of these two very different types of men, and the effect of the training upon them, as I had occasion to observe it, undoubtedly has been of the greatest influence in shaping a background of understanding of the lama system.

In making this study of the lama training and its influence on Tibetan educational concepts, I have been faced with the inadequacy of my own first hand observation as well as the various limitations of the published sources. The necessity of comparing many sources to obtain an accurate and more complete picture seems obvious. We might compare it to a large

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1) Wentz, *Book of Dead*, pp. 18-20; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 488-492 (omitting the example of the death horoscope on pp. 489;490). Wentz refers only to Waddell in *Gazetteer of Sikkim*. Not having access to this source I cannot say if his text more closely follows the *Gazetteer* than *Buddhism*. In any case, the resemblance to the material given by Waddell in *Buddhism* is obvious. Waddell's two texts are likely very similar if not identical. It is disappointing that in so unique a study as presented in the *Book of the Dead*, Wentz did not get his own information on the death rites or at least make clear that he had gotten the bulk of his material from another source.

jig-saw puzzle—here a piece of information, there another item of interest is found.<sup>1)</sup> Some sections have not quite fitted together and there are gaps here and there. No one piece or even several can adequately portray the whole, and it is only by comparing and fitting all of them together that a distinct pattern begins to emerge. This study does not pretend to be the complete picture but perhaps it may serve as an outline sketch of Tibetan principles and techniques of education.

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1) Many interesting sidelights might be cited. For an example of how facts on Tibet can be shaped to fit Communist propaganda, the reader may refer to B. Alexandrov, "Modern Tibet," *Soviet Press Translations*, vol. 5 (1950), pp. 547-563.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LAMAHOOD

#### A. The Importance of the Lama in the Life of the People

Tibet has sometimes been called "The Land of the Lama".<sup>1)</sup> Whether casual visitor or long-time resident, anyone who has been among Tibetans is impressed with the great number and wide influence of the lamas. To measure the actual number of lamas in proportion to the entire population is not a simple matter. The estimate of some authors is as high as one-half or one-third the population,<sup>2)</sup> a percentage which hardly seems credible. Since there is no census in Tibet the reckoning can only be approximate.<sup>3)</sup> It is usually true that from every family at least one member, and sometimes more than one, enter the lamahood,<sup>4)</sup> but there are exceptions even to that

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1) Cf. R. Cunningham, "Om Ma Ni . . .," *JWCBS*, vol. 9 (1937), p. 198; J. Scott, "Journey Through Northwest Kansu . . .," *JRCAS*, vol. 21 (1934), p. 29; also titles of books: Macdonald, *The Land of the Lama*; Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*.

2) C. S. Cutting, *UNW*, p. 35; J. Deniker, in Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1928, p. xxxiv; J. Easton, *Unfrequented Highway* . . . , 1929, p. 88; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 6; *Tibetan Religious Art*, 1952, p. 9; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

I am particularly impressed with the following because they are careful observers in most respects: M. H. Duncan, *The Yangtze and the Yak*, 1952, p. 230; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; A. C. Li "Dege: A Study of Tibetan Population," *SWJAn.*, vol. 3 (1947), p. 286. (Of these three, Gould has had years of experience among Tibetans and is usually a cautious observer, Duncan's figures are a rough estimate for a small given area, Li's figures are a careful study and the high ratio of 1:3 is impressive but his figures again are only for a given area and cannot be interpreted as accurate for the whole of Tibet.)

3) Cf. Cutting, "In Lhasa the Forbidden," *NH*, vol. 37 (1936), p. 110; Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers* . . . , pp. 11, 12, who says there are no reliable figures. David-Neel, "The new eastern Provinces of China—I Chinghai," *Asia*, vol. 42 (1942), p. 289, says the Chinese census figures for this province are fanciful partly because it is difficult to get an exact census of nomadic tribesmen and partly because Tibetans do not cooperate. "The idea of being numbered—like cattle, they say—is most repugnant to them, and they devise the most amazing ruses to escape the census agents or to deceive them."

4) W. Asboe, "The Buddhism of Tibet," *IRM*, vol. 20 (1931), p. 288; Bell, *Portrait*, p. 17; I. Bishop, *Among the Tibetans*, 1894, p. 48; A. J. Brace, "Among the Foothills . . .," *JWCBS*, vol. 6, (1933-1934), p. 109; R. Cunningham, "Prayer and Priests in Tibet," *MRW*, vol. 39 (1916), p. 130; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; I. Desideri, *An Account of Tibet*, 1932, p. 213; R. Farrer, "Some Tibetan Abbeys . . .," *QR*, vol. 227, (1917), p. 76; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 71;

tradition.<sup>1)</sup> A safe estimate of the percentage of lamas might be one-seventh or one-eighth of the population.<sup>2)</sup> Women also become nuns but their number is few in proportion to the men, and their influence, by contrast, is negligible.<sup>3)</sup>

It might be supposed that, since many lamas live in the lamaseries, more or less isolated from the rest of the people, only a select few would have any great influence on the everyday affairs of the populace. Yet the extent to which the daily life of the layman is interwoven with the lama is almost unbelievable. From birth to death the Tibetan is under the direction of the lamahood.<sup>4)</sup> Some time after a child is born there is a ceremony in which

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Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 1897, p. 128; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94 and *Tibet. Oxf. Pamph.*, 1945, p. 20; Y. P. Mei, "Among the Living Buddhas," *Asia*, vol. 40 (1940), p. 143; F. O'Connor, *On the Frontier and Beyond*, 1931, p. 84; H. E. Richardson, "The State of Tibet," *JRCAS*, vol. 37-38 (1951), p. 122; Rin-Chen, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 121; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 161, 162; F. B. Shelton, *Shelton of Tibet*, 1923, p. 69; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 270; I. Tolstoy, "Across Tibet from India to China," *NG*, vol. 90 (1946), p. 180; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 170.

1) Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 121, says it is not so uniform in pastoral areas. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 29, says "not always."

Others do not comment, but I have personally known several exceptions, and it is obvious there must be.

2) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 287; Bell, *Portrait*, p. 17, 199; E. Bhavnani, "A Journey to 'Little Tibet,'" *NG*, vol. 99 (1951), p. 632; H. T. Cowling, "A Dance-Festival . . .," *Asia*, Vol. 25 (1925), p. 587; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 37; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 34; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 128; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 4; S. Rijnhart, *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*, 1901, p. 103; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 121; A. L. Shelton, "Life Among the People of Eastern Tibet" *NG*, vol. 40 (1921), p. 308; A. T. Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," *Sat. Eve. Post*, vol. 218, (1946), p. 14; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 270; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 171.

A few authors give lower percentages as follows: Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94 (one-sixth of the males); Maraini, *Ser. Tib.*, p. 176 (one-tenth of the population); O'Connor in Landon, *Opening of Tibet*, Append. C., p. 439 (one-fifth of the males).

3) Bell, *The People of Tibet*, 1928, p. 164; and *Portrait*, p. 17; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 194; David-Neel, "Women of Tibet," *Asia*, vol. 34 (1934), p. 181; J. H. Edgar, "Convents and Nuns in Tibet," *JWCBS*, vol. 5 (1932), p. 62; G. Enders, *Nowhere Else in the World*, 1935, p. 213, 270; M.L.A. Gompertz, *The Road to Lamaland*, (n.d.), p. 99; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 262; D. Kachru, "Tibet," *India Quarterly*, vol. 6 (1950), p. 140; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 288; Li An-Che, "The Tibetan Family in its Relation to Religion," *As. Hor.*, vol. 2, 1949, p. 29; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 76; D. Parry, "Travels in Sikkim," *East. W.*, vol. 4 (1950), p. 32; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 170.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 199; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 48; F. S. Chapman, *Lhasa the Holy City*, 1939, p. 206; Cunningham, *MRW*, p. 129; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 11-12; Enders, *Nowhere*, pp. 271, 272; M. Finley, "Tibet and the Cold War," *Cont. R.*, vol. 176 (1949), p. 12; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 7; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 312, 329, 334, 341; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 104, 109, 139, 147, 149-154, 179-180, 183; *Twenty Years in Tibet*, 1932, p. 126; Maraini, "Religion and People in Tibet," *Geog. Mag.*, vol. 25 (1951), p. 143; O'Connor in Landon, p. 440; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; G. N. Patterson, *Journey with Loshay*, 1954, p. 98; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 153, 194, 450, 488-498 and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1929, p. 216.

his name is chosen by a lama.<sup>1)</sup> Except for the few families who can afford to hire a private tutor, or send the children to a small private school,<sup>2)</sup> the lamasery is the only means of education.<sup>3)</sup>

If a Tibetan becomes ill, he is likely to consult the lamas because in many cases illness can be attributed to the malignant influence of unpropitiated spirits.<sup>4)</sup> Only the lama is able to tell which is the offended spirit (or other cause), the proper texts to recite or the most efficacious procedure to counteract the cause.<sup>5)</sup> Just before or immediately after death, it is important to have a lama to release the spirit from the body and guide it through the intermediate state (*Bardo*) into a suitable rebirth. Besides, there should be as many lamas as possible called in to chant at the home, or a group of lamas hired to chant the proper rites at the lamasery, or better yet at both places.<sup>6)</sup>

1) Bell, *People*, pp. 197–198; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; Enders, *Nowhere*, p. 271; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 183; 184; E. Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, 1909, p. 478; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 147; W. R. Morse, "Tibetan Medicine," *JWCBS*, vol. 3 (1926–1929), p. 130; O'Connor in Landon, p. 440; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

2) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 288; Bell, *People*, pp. 104–105, 201–202; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 435, 482; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 29; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 148; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 137; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 312; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 260.

3) Asboe, *loc. cit.*; Bell, *People*, p. 212; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 210; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 192; Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13; W. R. Foran, "Unconquered Mt. Everest," *Travel*, vol. 60 (1933), p. 12; D. C. Graham, "A Trip to Tatsienlu," *JWCBS*, vol. 2 (1924–1925), p. 36; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 435; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 29; "The Spirit of Tibetan Culture," *East. W.*, vol. 3 (1949), p. 6; in Ferm, p. 268; C. Rand, "The Edge of Outer Darkness," *New Yorker*, vol. 26 (1950), p. 101; Richardson, "Unknown Tibet," *Spectator*, vol. 186 (1951), p. 581; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 136; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 312, and "Pioneering Among Tibetans," *MRW*, vol. 44 (1921), p. 608; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 260, 566.

4) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 76, 267; *Religion*, p. 10; *Portrait*, p. 181; Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 76; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 316; C. Körös, "Tibetan Studies," *JASB*, n.s., vol. 7 (1911), p. 48; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 83, 179; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 209, 213, 214, 216; Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 125, 131, 132; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 247, 267; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 76ff.; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 482, 483, 487; *Lhasa*, pp. 216, 378; Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga*, 1935, pp. 285, 286, 288, 289.

5) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 76, 267; *People*, p. 73; *Religion*, p. 79; *Portrait*, p. 181; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 35, 185; Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 314; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 179–180, 183 and *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 38; Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 125; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 268; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 148, 149; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 80; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 464, 487, 488; *Lhasa*, p. 378; Wentz, *Tib. Yoga*, p. 289.

6) Bell, *People*, pp. 78, 286; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 56; B. Bromage, *Tibetan Yoga*, 1952, p. 55; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 111–112; *Magic*, pp. 13–14, 24–27, 31–33, 36; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84, 102; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 109, 149–150, 152; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 211–213; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 95, 97; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 488–489, 491ff.; 497; *Lhasa*, pp. 222, 223. (Wentz, *Book of Dead*, 1949, pp. 18–20. See Chapter II, p. 18.)

All details of ceremonial and procedure at such a time are governed by the instruction of an astrologer lama.<sup>1)</sup>

If one is about to start on a journey, the lama must be consulted as to the most auspicious date to set out. It would be dangerous to start on an unlucky day.<sup>2)</sup> In fact, before undertaking any venture, it is wise to consult the lama who can tell you according to your horoscope what to avoid and what to encourage.<sup>3)</sup>

In case of disaster or accident it becomes imperative to seek out a lama for counsel—to avoid doing this might mean added disaster.<sup>4)</sup> Even when circumstances are happy and prosperous it is a wise plan to hire the lama, one or several, to utter invocations and provide suitable offerings to the spirits, so as to avoid future trouble.<sup>5)</sup> The lama's intercession is, of course, far more effective and powerful in these matters than the simple lay worship,<sup>6)</sup>

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1) Bell, *People*, p. 286; Bromage, *loc. cit.*; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 150, 153; Shen, *op. cit.* p. 149; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 489-490; (Wentz, *Book of Dead*, pp. 19, 27-28. See Chapter II p. 18.)

2) Bell, *Religion*, p. 10; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; Cutting, *NH*, (1936), p. 109; Duncan, *Yangtze*, p. 116; Enders, *Foreign Devil*, 1942, p. 184; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 126; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; A. Riencourt, *Roof of the World* pp. 49-50; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 179, 206; *People*, pp. 178-179; *Portrait*, pp. 134, 338; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 284; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Enders, *For. Dev.*, p. 184; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 7; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 200, 201, 203, 281, 299; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 139, 147, 150; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 126; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 128; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Shen, *op. cit.* pp. 122, 159; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 450, 571; *Lhasa*, p. 380; Wentz, *Tib. Yoga*, p. 286.

4) Bell, *People*, p. 73; *Religion*, p. 10; *Portrait*, p. 182; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 35, 97, 185; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 53.

5) Bell, *People*, p. 73; *Portrait*, p. 182; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 101, 185; Duncan, *Yangtze*, pp. 83, 99; Enders, *Nowhere*, p. 272; Farrer, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 7; Graham, "Notes on Tibetan Religious Ceremonies . . ." *JWCBS*, vol. (1932), p. 51; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 191.

6) Asboe, "The Kingdom of Heaven . . ." *Bib. Sac.*, vol. 84 (1927), p. 273; *IRM*, p. 287; Bell, *TP&P*, p. 266; *Portrait*, pp. 22, 151, 181, 182, 199, 299; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Brace, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 207; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 185; Edgar, "Geographic Control and Human Reactions . . ." *JWCBS*, vol. 2 (1924-1925), pp. 7-10; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 69; *Tibetan Voices*, 1946, pp. 10-13; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Gorer, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190, 192; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 328, 341; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191; Hedin, "Living God and King-Priest . . ." *Asia*, vol. 25 (1925), pp. 279, 280; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110, 116; Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 208; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 109, 186; Maraini, *Geog. Mag.*, pp. 142, 143; Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Ronaldshay, *Lands of the Thunderbolt*, 1923, p. 75; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 247; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 272; Turner, *An Account of an Embassy . . .*, 1800, pp. 256, 312; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 153, 422-423, 522; *Lhasa*, pp. 25, 216, 222.

though one should not neglect the latter.<sup>1)</sup> In short, any important step in life, any undertaking is linked with the lamahood.

Not only is the lama important in the daily life of the people, but the head lamas are the political rulers of Tibet. It is well known that a Dalai Lama who is of age can function as the supreme political autocrat of Tibet proper.<sup>2)</sup> Under him there are certain lay noble officials who possess a certain amount of power, but they are always balanced by the lama officials who exercise equal, if not greater power. Many government posts are manned by two administrators, one lay, one lama who must work in complete agreement.<sup>3)</sup>

Even though they do not actually hold any political position, the twenty thousand or so lamas found in the three important lamaseries near Lhasa, and the mass of lamas found in the larger lamaseries throughout the country cannot be ignored. If they strongly oppose a move, it is doubtful it will ever be carried through. It is usually the lamahood as a group which is the most conservative in opposing any change, rather than the individual political officials who may personally favor progress.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) Asboe, *Bib. Sac.*, p. 274; *IRM*, p. 290; Bell, *People*, pp. 201, 202; *Portrait*, p. 185; Cunningham, *Om Mani*, pp. 191-198; *MRW*, p. 128; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 34; *Tibetan Sky Lines*, 1952, pp. 31, 32, 39, 42, 58-60; *Oriens*, pp. 335ff.; Gorer, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191; Graham, *Tatsienlu*, pp. 36-37; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 190; Maraini, *Geog. Mag.*, p. 144; Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142, 159, 160; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 305, 423, 571ff.

2) Bell, *TP&T*, pp. 57, 58; *Religion*, pp. 169, 175, 177ff., 182, 184, 186; "Tibet and its Neighbors," *Pac. Aff.*, vol. 10 (1937), p. 434; *Portrait*, p. 142; H. Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*, 1894, pp. 273ff.; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 204; Cutting, *Lhasa*, p. 111; Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 151, 180, 181, 189, 190; Huc., *op. cit.*, pp. 191-193; Kachru, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 141, 142; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 52ff.; *Oxf. Pamph.*, pp. 21-22; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 176-177; O'Connor in Landon, pp. 442, 443, 445ff.; Richardson, *JRCAS*, p. 113; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 131; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 213; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 102ff.; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 232-233, 274; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 253-254; (and others).

3) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 95; *Religion*, pp. 175, 176, 178; *Pac. Aff.*, p. 434; *Portrait*, pp. 25, 113, 211; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 207; S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, 1902, p. 176; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 73; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 348; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 181, 189, 190; A. J. Hopkinson, "Tibet Today," *As. R.*, vol. 46 (1950), p. 1144; "Tibetan Background," *Spec.*, vol. 184 (1950), p. 102; "Tibet: its Position," *JRCAS*, vol. 37 (1950), p. 236; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 56-57; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143, (but it is not true as he says that the lay officials have had no training); Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 176ff.; O'Connor in Landon, pp. 436, 437; *Frontier*, pp. 34, 35; Richardson, *Spec.*, p. 581; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 131ff., 142; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 102ff.; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233, 274.

4) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 186, 266; *Religion*, pp. 169-170, 174, 186; *Portrait*, pp. 51, 154, 199, 200, 315; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 202, 206; Cutting, *Lhasa*, p. 111; W. O. Douglas, *Beyond the High Himalayas*, 1952, p. 204; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 106, 348, 349; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 90, 137, 158, 171, 247; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 59-60, 68; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 41; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 177, 182, 184; O'Connor in

Besides the political leaders in Lhasa, there are abbots of large lamaseries who have great power and in some cases actually rule a small or larger area of people.<sup>1)</sup> Even where there is another political head, the lamaseries exercise a large measure of economic control since they own much of the surrounding land which is farmed by serf-peasants who are tied to their district and unable to leave without permission. Besides giving a proportion of produce, these peasants are obligated to do other service for the lamas, such as furnishing transport animals or providing certain labor for the lamasery.<sup>2)</sup>

Not only are the lamaseries great land owners, but they are often the money-lenders of the community—lending both to lay and lama.<sup>3)</sup> They commonly engage in trading on a large scale, importing products which cannot be obtained locally, and then selling these to the populace around them at profit.<sup>4)</sup> The social prestige of the lamasery is shared only by a

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Landon, p. 450; *Frontier*, p. 82; Richardson, *JRCAS*, pp. 113, 119; *Spec.*, pp. 580, 581; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 132; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110; Steele, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 80, 81; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 266.

1) Bell, *Religion*, p. 171; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 274; Edvall, *Cult. Rel.*, pp. 11, 69; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 28; *East. W.*, p. 6; *in Ferm*, p. 268; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 66; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 75; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 274; F. K. Ward, *A Plant Hunter in Tibet*, 1934, p. 161.

2) Bell, *People*, pp. 29, 30, 36, 159, 160; "Tibet's Position in Asia Today," *For. Aff.*, vol. 10, (1931), p. 136; *Portrait*, p. 199; G. Bonvalot, *Across Tibet*, 1892, p. 382; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 120–121, 274–275; *Magic*, p. 109; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Ekvall, *Cult. Relat.*, pp. 11, 12, 32; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51; Enders, *Nowhere*, p. 271; Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13; W. Gill, *River of Golden Sand*, 1880, p. 191; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 286, 333; P. Landon, *Opening of Tibet*, 1905, pp. 185, 187; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 28; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 123; (McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–254. See Chapter II, p. 18.); Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 159; O'Connor *in* Landon, pp. 437, 439; Rand, *Darkness*, p. 102; Richardson, *JRCAS*, p. 113; *Spec.*, p. 580; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 144; F. W. Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 215–216; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 100; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 309; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 75, 103, 104, 126; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 266.

3) Asboe, *IRM*, pp. 287–288; Bell, *People*, pp. 85–86; Bonvalot, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Cutting, *Fire Ox.*, p. 225; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 108–109; Enders, *Nowhere*, pp. 30, 272; *For Dev.*, p. 190; Gell, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 181; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 76; (McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See Chapter II, p. 18); Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 215; *Diary*, pp. 345, 357; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 309; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 194.

4) Asboe, *loc. cit.*; Bell, *People*, pp. 125, 126; Bower, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 225; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 274; *Magic*, p. 108; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, pp. 8, 9, 13; Enders, *For. Dev.*, p. 190; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 269, 282–283, 286, 287, 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 181; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 458; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 75, 229; *Oxf. Pamph.*, pp. 12, 23; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 215; *Diary*, pp. 99, 100, 344, 357; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 194; (and others).

few wealthy traders, the nobility and hereditary rulers of small local areas.<sup>1)</sup>

Moreover, education in the lamasery is not isolated from the interests of the family, because the family who contributes a son to the lamahood will also provide him with some of his needs in the way of food and clothing.<sup>2)</sup> Besides this support, there will be gifts to individual lamas who perform services, and contributions for the lamasery itself, either in freewill gifts or "forced" donations at certain times and to meet certain needs. The lay people can hardly refuse an offering for the lamasery, when asked to contribute.<sup>3)</sup>

The amount of wealth and goods as well as manpower which flows into the lamasery makes it a bulwark of Tibetan society. It is difficult to visualize what Tibetan life would be, minus the lamas and the lamaseries for they serve as a kind of framework which helps to hold the Tibetan people together. The lamasery organization and the common religious interest are probably the most important factors in uniting the Tibetan people. Without these, it is possible the people might be left with only their family and local clan ties, and the whole society would disintegrate into small isolated, mutually suspicious communities.<sup>4)</sup>

Because of all these factors the lamahood as a class commands great respect from the laity. An individual lama as a part of this powerful organi-

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1) Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 192; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 173; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, pp. 8, 9, 13; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, pp. 11, 69; "We Visit the King of Ngawa," *Asia*, vol. 29 (1929), pp. 742, 745; "Culture Comes to Tibetans," *Asia*, vol. 44 (1944), p. 110; Enders, *For. Dev.*, p. 190; Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 192, 194; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 284, 286, 336, 350; Kachru, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 136; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 28; East. W., p. 6; *in Ferm*, p. 268; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 177, 179; *Geog. Mag.*, p. 144; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Richardson, *Spec.*, p. 580; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 98; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, pp. 311-312; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 70, 75; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 80; (and others).

2) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 211; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; *Magic*, p. 101; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 254; *As. R.*, p. 917; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 166; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 79, 80; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, 65; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 178.

3) Bell, *Religion*, p. 171; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 206-207; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 192; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 275-276; *Magic*, pp. 98, 109; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1944), p. 111; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 286, 334; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, 180, 181; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917; *JRAS*, p. 153; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 75, 104; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 127; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 66; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128, 193; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 215; *Diary*, p. 100; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 141, 182; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 345; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 194; *Lhasa*, pp. 216, 217; (and others).

4) Bell, *For. Aff.*, pp. 136-137; *Portrait*, p. 353; Cammann, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, pp. 6, 8-9, 13; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 10; *Oriens*, pp. 335, 343; Richardson, *Spec.*, p. 580; Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66, 70; Ward, *Mystery Rivers of Tibet*, 1923, p. 280; *Plant Hunter*, pp. 53-54.

zation, attains a measure of social standing. Besides, he is looked upon as the expert in all affairs of religion, so that the lay Tibetan regards him with awe.<sup>1)</sup> Finally, there is the fact that the lamahood is one of the trinity of Buddhism which consists of Buddha, the sacred scriptures, and the lamahood.<sup>2)</sup>

Even if the layman stops to think of the expense and burden of carrying on this process, he still feels it is necessary. The average Tibetan lives under one of two shadows—either the consciousness of the constant presence and power of numerous malignant spirits,<sup>3)</sup> or the awareness of the endless cycle of rebirths and the misery of life<sup>4)</sup>—for some, a sense of both. In any case he is helpless without the lama. Devout as he may be in his own simple religious activities, he can never be sure he has adequately fulfilled the requirements. But there is a certain peace of mind in knowing that there is a mediator who can expertly fulfill all the conditions. Life to the average Tibetan would be unthinkable without the consolation of entrusting his weighty problems to this religious class especially set aside to answer them. It is impossible to understand Tibetan concepts in education or any sphere of life, without recognizing the major importance of the lama system in the life of the people. A Tibetan proverb says, “Without a lama in front, Buddha cannot work.”<sup>5)</sup>

1) Cf. notes 20 and 29.

2) Bell, *People*, p. 282; *Religion*, p. 174; *Portrait*, pp. 22, 199; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 35; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 169; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 83; *Milarepa*, p. 140, note 1.

3) Asboe, *Bib. Sac.*, p. 277; Bell, *People*, pp. 37, 47, 92, 138–139, 153; *Religion*, pp. 10, 73, 79; *Portrait*, pp. 180; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 260–261; *Magic*, pp. 50ff., 58, 74, 136–137, 141ff.; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, pp. 6ff.; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, pp. 11, 34; *Skylines*, p. 19; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 76; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 98ff., 216; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 311, 314–315, 319; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 208, 215, 284; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48, 74, 85, 86, 109, 110; Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–208; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–187, 241–242; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 82, 83, 147–148, 152–153, 186; Maraini, *Geog. Mag.*, p. 143; Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 118ff., 132; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 180ff.; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 195, 209ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 141, 148; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 76ff.; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 89, 154, 264; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 68, 69, 108, 109, 131, 250; “To Lhasa and Beyond,” *Art and Let.*, vol. 24 (1950), p. 39; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 152, 153, 369ff., 400, 484ff., 522–523, 570; *Lhasa*, pp. 25, 216, 243; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 285ff.; (and many others).

4) Asboe, *Bib. Sac.*, pp. 275, 277; *IRM*, p. 290; Bell, *People*, pp. 85, 198, 285, 299; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 23ff., 33, 36, 40; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–227; Edgar, *Geog. Cont.*, p. 6; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 36, 268; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–311; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 228; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–88; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 562; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–244; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 84–85; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–130; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 109; *Geog. Mag.*, p. 144; Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 145ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 261, 264; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 101, 567; (and many others).

5) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 22, 199; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 195; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 198; Gordon, *Tib. Art.*, p. 9; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 109; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 153, 169.

## B. The Variety of Careers in the Lamahood

The powerful organization which comprises the lamahood includes a surprising number of varied careers. The lamas as political officers have already been mentioned (see p. 208 and its footnote 2). For each lamasery, large or small, there must be executives to handle the administration—abbots and other officers. Some of these higher positions may be held by important Incarnation Lamas who receive their position solely because they are believed to be the incarnation of a Bodhisattva or saint.<sup>1)</sup> But the greater share of the responsibility of managing the affairs of the lamasery may also be in the hands of men who by reason of scholarship and natural ability have worked their way above their fellow-clergy.<sup>2)</sup>

Even though the apt scholar may not rise to an abbotship or other responsible position at the head of the lamasery he may attain a rank or degree in religious scholarship which entitles him to a greater share of the income of the lamasery and of the prestige accorded.<sup>3)</sup> These ranks and degrees will be described in more detail later.<sup>4)</sup>

Then there are lamas who may not be interested in scholarship as a career but who aspire to religious leadership of another sort. They are the ascetics and the mystics. These spend much time in meditation and in performing certain rites, and if successful in their pursuits may become

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1) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 33; *People*, pp. 90, 198-199; *Religion*, p. 169; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 113-117; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 210; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1944), pp. 110-113; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-362; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 125; *Hor. Hunter*, pp. 145-146; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 336ff.; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 259; Kachru, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 267; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 102ff.; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 96, 97, 154, 156; *Geog. Mag.*, p. 142; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 125ff.; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 88; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 79, 85; E. Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer . . .*, 1922, p. 160, n.l.; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 196, 264, 270, 274; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 229ff.

2) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 266; *Religion*, p. 169; *For. Aff.*, pp. 136, 137; *Portrait*, p. 154; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 204, 207; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 109; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Macdonald, *L of L* pp. 102, 103; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 93, 99, 140; Rand, *Darkness*, p. 102; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 87, 88, 91; *Diary*, p. 99; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 274; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 187.

3) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 185, 275, 276, 277; Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 66ff.; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 332, 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 324, 326; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 77, 97, 99, 101-102; Mei, *Liv. Buddb.*, p. 143; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 90, 91; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 122ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 79ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 173, 181, 102, 185ff.

4) See Chapter VII, notes 7-10.

famed as great saints or seers.<sup>1)</sup>

A great number of lamas develop skill in certain priestly functions. Some become adept at drawing up horoscopes, or advising in regard to auspicious dates, or which spirit to appease in case of trouble, etc.<sup>2)</sup> Such specialization requires complex and intricate reckoning according to Tibetan astrology and not all show the necessary skill.<sup>3)</sup> But there is always constant demand for lamas to chant texts for those who are ill, or on behalf of the dead, or for prosperity. They may also be requested to perform the ceremonies which will drive out or annul the influence of evil spirits who have entered the home or harmed the person and circumstances.<sup>4)</sup> These functions do not require too high a standard of scholarship or even of saintliness and make a very profitable career and one highly respected by most of the people.

Those who are clever in business and good at figures may become treasurers and traders or assistants to such. The great amount of business carried on in the lamasery and by trading caravans absorbs the talents of quite a number to great advantage.<sup>5)</sup>

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1) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 63-64, 73, 80ff., 152; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 38ff.; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 213, 215; Cutting, "Agriculturists of Tibet," *NH*, vol. 32 (1932), p. 294; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 180; *Magic*, pp. 88, 103, 165, 180-181, 199, 227ff., 241; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 49-50; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81, 243; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 75, 111ff.; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 140; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 55, 93, 94, 248ff.; *Geog. Mag.*, p. 143; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 273ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 141; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 148ff.; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 276, 278; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 71, 199; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 224; *Lhasa*, p. 236ff.

2) Cf. notes 15, 16, 17, 18.

3) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230; Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv, xxxvi; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 225-226; *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 126-127; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 128ff.; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 319, 320; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 194, 224, 450 ff.; *Lhasa*, p. 380; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 286.

4) Asboe, *Bib. Sac.*, pp. 274-275; Bell, *People*, pp. 71ff.; Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 158; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 206, 209; Cunningham, *MRW*, pp. 129-130; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 101, 112, 115, 148, 185, 215, 292; *Magic*, pp. 104, 105; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Duncan, "The Tibetan New Year Dances," *JWCBRS*, vol. 4 (1930-1931), p. 38; *Yangtze*, p. 83; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Graham, *Ceremonies*, p. 51; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 32; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 104, 109ff., 193; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 121, 122; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 148; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 101; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 308; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 104; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 185ff.; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 461ff.; *Lhasa*, pp. 222ff., 367.

5) Bell, *People*, pp. 125, 126, 172; Bower, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 225; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 108, 109; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-25; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Farrer, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 86; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, 284, 287, 331, 334, 335; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 326; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Li, *JRAS*, p. 158; *As. Rev.*, p. 920; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 76, 103, 104, 227; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 35; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 23; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*,

Then there are the craftsmen. Some engage in cutting the woodblocks for printing or if they have a good handwriting, copying manuscripts in beautifully illuminated style. They may paint the "thankas", model the little images or do other artistic work.<sup>1)</sup> Religion has almost a monopoly of art. With the exception of certain household and travel furnishings, all art is religious, so a Tibetan artist has little chance for a career outside the lamahood.<sup>2)</sup>

Lamas who are graceful and nimble become the dancers for the great colorful festivals<sup>3)</sup> that are such a vivid and welcome part of the life of the people. While there are also lay dancing troupes and folk dances, these festival dances are performed only by carefully trained lamas.<sup>4)</sup> The motions performed have spiritual significance as well as outward grace. The festivals are far more than mere entertainment. While some of the dances have an historical or allegorical theme, there are also elements of propitiation and suppression of evil spirits which make these pageants partake of the nature of a religious worship.<sup>5)</sup>

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pp. 144-145; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 87; *Diary*, p. 99; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 73, 77, 78; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 245; Waddell, *Budhism*, pp. 188, 194, 224; (and others).

1) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 86; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174; Bhavanni, *op. cit.*, pp. 606, 626; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Cowling, *op. cit.*, pp. 593, 597, 627; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii; Duncan, *Yangtze*, pp. 94-95; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 61, 277; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 324; Li, *As. R.*, p. 920; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 100, 104; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 91; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 203; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 181, 212, 224; *Lhasa*, p. 374; (and others).

2) W. Carey, *Adventures in Tibet*, 1901, p. 122; Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 280ff.; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 161, 162; A. Mathers, "Threat to the Land in the Sky," *NYTM*, (Nov. 5, 1950), p. 27; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 84; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 203; A. L. Shelton, *MRW*, p. 608; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 185. (And implied elsewhere).

3) M. P. Brown, "A Welcome Guest . . .," *Asia*, vol. 22 (1922), p. 182, 230; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 597; Duncan, *JWCBS*, pp. 32ff.; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Landor, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 364; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 322; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 289; Das, *Journey*, p. 261; Duncan, *JWCBS*, pp. 32ff.; Ekvall, *Voices*, pp. 5ff.; H. Forman, "The Gods Dance . . .," *Travel*, vol. 63 (1934), p. 47; Graham, *Ceremonies*, p. 51; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169 (and cf. pp. 191, 244 on folk dances); Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 214; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 189; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 364; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 336; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 515.

5) Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 629, gives an excellent analysis of the varied elements which enter into these dances. Many of the following authors give interpretations which vary in scope and meaning. Taken together, they give a more complete picture.

Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 256, 258, 259, 260, 322; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 175ff.; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp.

For those who cannot attain to scholarship or who have no special gift there are still many other functions to be performed. There must be cooks,<sup>1)</sup> water-carriers,<sup>2)</sup> bodyguards for the highest ranking lamas,<sup>3)</sup> disciplinarians,<sup>4)</sup> collectors of donations or taxes from the surrounding community,<sup>5)</sup> servants for the wealthy and the higher ranking lamas,<sup>6)</sup> farm laborers,<sup>7)</sup> etc. Some of the menial functions are at times performed by laymen or by boy novices as their service to the lamasery or teacher, but there are always men who are never able to rise higher in the scale for one reason

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303ff.; Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175; Duncan, *JWCBRS*, pp. 32-50; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1944), p. 113; *Voices*, pp. 5-9; *Sky Lines*, pp. 79-80; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 64ff.; Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 43-44, 197-198; *Hor. Hunter*, pp. 110-111; Graham, *Tatsienlu*, p. 37; "Notes on Tibetan Festival of the Gods," *JWCBRS*, vol. 5 (1932), pp. 43-50; *Ceremonies*, pp. 51, 53; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321; Hedin, *Asia*, p. 279; *Conquest of Tibet*, pp. 270ff.; Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194, 207-208; B. Laufer, "Origin of our Dances of Death," *Open Court*, vol. 22 (1908), pp. 598-599, 602; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 241ff.; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 289; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 364; (Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156, an interpretation obviously intended to make Tibetan pageantry as pleasing as possible to the Western world); Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 67; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 516ff.; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 285, 289, 291ff.

1) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 107; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 91; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 188.

2) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 104; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 99; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 374.

3) Bell, *Religion*, p. 76; *Portrait*, p. 276; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 326; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 35; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 105.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 299; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 283; *Magic*, p. 109; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Duncan, *JWCBRS*, p. 34; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Forman, *Travel*, pp. 18, 22; *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 38, 39 (these accounts are identical); Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 330-331; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 69, 103; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 35; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 93; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 87, 131; *Diary*, p. 99; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 188, 189; *Lhasa*, p. 227.

5) Bhavnani, *op. cit.*, p. 629; Bonvalot, *op. cit.*, p. 333; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 597; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 108; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 100; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 188, 194, 224; *Lhasa*, p. 114.

6) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 107; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Gorger, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 287; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 291, 326; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 69; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 374.

7) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 201, (but cf. p. 200 where he says lamas in the large lamaseries, near Lhasa are not allowed to cultivate land. Apparently this means on the lamasery grounds. But this would not apply to other lamaseries, or even to these lamaseries prior to the tightening of rules by the 13th Dalai Lama.); Bhavnani, *op. cit.*, p. 629; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 597; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 326; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 76; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 159; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 101; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 212, 224; *Lhasa*, p. 374; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 200. It is perhaps mostly seasonal work.

or another and they fit into these many other categories and help to make the lamasery community run smoothly.<sup>1)</sup>

Some authors in mentioning these varied functions have misunderstood this variety of careers. They seem to feel that only the scholar, priest or ascetic are the real lamas and the rest are mere hangers-on and should be classed as laymen. Ellam, for example, says the lamaseries are disgraced by "fighting monks", that they are "idle dissolute ruffians" and that "they are not really monks" but "hangers-on or servants, a sort of lay brothers".<sup>2)</sup> Kawaguchi who had personal experience with these warrior lamas points out their various good qualities and also mentions that they were simply a class of lamas who had not followed the scholar's career which meant a path of poverty and drudgery.<sup>3)</sup> Obviously they do form a special class of lamas, but they are lamas nevertheless.

Shen makes a similar mistake in arguing that certain lama political officers are not real lamas and are even "confused by the ignorant Tibetan masses".<sup>4)</sup> He admits however that they are enrolled in one of the three main lamaseries and receive donations therefrom and are bound to celibacy. But, apparently going by the fact that they follow a different course of training and do not read the scriptures nor stay in the monastery he feels they are a class by themselves and should not be counted as lamas at all. He admits elsewhere that "the nonstudying members of the lamasery are so free in their comings and goings that a good proportion of them are permanently or semi-permanently absent".<sup>5)</sup> Following his line of reasoning to its conclusion would mean that there are few real lamas. Other writers point out that the lama does not necessarily have to be in residence in the lamasery or follow a scholar's career.<sup>6)</sup> The best proof that Shen has confused the issue is the Tibetan political strategy which often has a lay and a lama official

1) Cutting, *Fire Ox*, pp. 193-194; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 91; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 194; *Lhasa*, p. 374

2) Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

3) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 293, 326-327. Also cf. Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 35.

4) Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 108. (Should an outsider determine what really constitutes a lama, rather than the Tibetans themselves who have set up this system?) Cf. also O'Connor in Landon, p. 437, who apparently confuses the two Peak Schools, one for lay noble political officers, the other for lama political officers. At least, his account is not clearly stated.

5) Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

6) Cf. Bell, *Religion*, p. 76; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 47; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 108; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220; Duncan, *JWCBRS*, p. 43; *Yangtze*, p. 93; Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209; R. Kaulback, *Salween*, 1938, p. 162; L. M. King, "A Frontier Incident," *Bl. Mag.*, vol. 221 (1927), p. 94; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 129; Macdonald, *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 21; Mei, "Kumbum . . ." *Asia*, vol. 41 (1941), p. 677; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105, 119-120; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 200. Cf. also Chapter VII, notes 17, 18 and 19.

working together in one position (see p. 208 and its footnote 2). The whole point of that procedure would be lost if the lama officer is not a lama after all.

These mistakes are brought about by the attempt to put the lama into a narrow class of what "we think" should constitute a monk or priest, and then concluding that unless he fits into that class he is not a genuine lama. Rather we must understand that the Tibetan lamahood is a unique organization, found nowhere else in the world.<sup>1)</sup> The lamasery system has displayed great ingenuity in absorbing highly varied talents and training to build up its ranks. Some lamas never rise as high in measure of prestige as others, but all, because they belong to the class set aside for religion, whatever their individual function, share some of the respect which the Tibetan reserves for the lama organization.<sup>2)</sup>

This variety of types, classes and professions in the lamahood gives a much broader conception of education to the Tibetan than might otherwise be the case. While all these functions are religious in the sense that they serve "The Religion",<sup>3)</sup> Tibetans think of the training itself as following many different lines and many different careers, some of which are quite practical. However, it is possible that the Tibetan will not welcome education and training which diverts talents and energies away from the service of "The Religion" into entirely private interests and advancement.

### C. The Qualifications for Entrance

Theoretically the lamahood is open to all. Actually upon asking for entrance to a lamasery certain qualifications are expected and certain questions asked which would limit candidates. The person must be without physical blemish—a cripple or physically handicapped person is barred.<sup>4)</sup> Children who enter are usually around six or seven years of age,<sup>5)</sup> but there is no set

1) Cf. Bell, *Religion*, pp. 73, 79; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 225; Ekval, *Oriens*, p. 334; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 345, 400; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 244; King, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 254; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 93; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 89; Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 104.

2) Cf. notes 20 and 29.

3) Cf. Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Gordon, *Relig. Art.*, pp. 1, 5; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 253. Tibetans usually refer to their religion as "The Religion."

4) Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 331; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94; Mathers, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Richardson, *JRCAS*, p. 122; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 174, 177.

5) By six or seven years old, I mean by our way of reckoning age. The authors' figures cited below vary from about four years to twelve, but as an average, run between seven and nine. Since Tibetan children are considered to be at least one year old when they are born, (cf. Bell, *People*,

rule, and a man of any age may become a lama.<sup>1)</sup> An older man however, might hesitate to start the rigorous discipline of the monastery, so the majority are young when they enter.<sup>2)</sup>

There are also certain religious limitations. The candidate is questioned as to whether his father is engaged in a profession unlawful to a Tibetan Buddhist such as one who cuts up the dead bodies in preparation for eating by the vultures, or a blacksmith, or a butcher, etc. In such a case, he is not eligible to take the vows of the lamahood.<sup>3)</sup> Apparently there are certain regulations for transferring from one lamasery to another. So, if a man has been dismissed from one lamasery he may not be able to enter another one. If, however, there was no dishonor attached to his leaving the first institution he is free to enter a second one.<sup>4)</sup>

For actual entrance to the lamahood there is no distinction between rich or poor. It is expected that gifts will be given to the proper authorities, the abbot or head lama, the guardian or overseer of the boy in the lamasery and perhaps to the teacher if a separate tutor can be afforded.<sup>5)</sup> However, the average family can manage this without too much hardship. For a poor boy to enter the lamahood is really an advantage as it raises his prestige in a way nothing else ever could. Outside the lamahood there is little chance for advancement for him.<sup>6)</sup> The poor do not regard entering the lamahood

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p. 200 and Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 173, on this point), I have made the average age by our reckoning about a year younger than the Tibetan figure.

Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 207; Cutting, *NH*, p. 291; *Fire Ox*, p. 194; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; *Magic*, p. 100; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Li, "Rñiñmapa, the early Form of Lamaism," *JRAS*, (1948), p. 154; "The Lamasery as an Educational Institution," *As. R.*, vol. 46 (1950), p. 916; *in Ferm*, p. 260; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; Richardson, *JRCAS*, p. 122; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 29; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76; C. Sherring, *Western Tibet . . .*, 1906, p. 184; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 173.

1) Cf. Bell, *People*, p. 26; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

2) Cf. Bell, *Religion*, p. 169; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677.

3) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 436; Li, *As. R.*, p. 916; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 94; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 177; *Lhasa*, p. 374.

4) Li, *As. R.*, p. 916. (Since this was the only reference I could find, I can only assume this is true.)

5) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 95, 98; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 174, 177, 179, 184.

6) Bell, *TP & P*, p. 181; *People*, p. 212; *Religion*, pp. 169, 175; Chapman, *Geog. J.*, p. 504; *Lhasa*, pp. 204, 207; Gorger, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 435; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 28; Macdonald, *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 178; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 272.

as a sacrifice or a hardship, rather it is considered a great privilege and honor.<sup>1)</sup>

Even to a boy who comes from a more wealthy family there are advantages. His prestige is enhanced by being a lama and his means will help to ease much of the hardship connected with life under the discipline of the lamasery. To be of the noble class and also of the lamahood is a double advantage.<sup>2)</sup>

There is probably not so much inducement for women to enter nunneries. A nun is usually respected as a member of a religious order invariably would be, but can hardly be considered in the same class with the lama.<sup>3)</sup> As an example of this lower religious status, it may be noted that the Dalai Lama blesses highest ranking lamas and officials with both hands, all other lamas and lower officials with one hand, all other laymen and all women with only the tassel. The one exception in the case of a woman is *Dorje Phagmo*, a Reincarnation nun, who is blessed with one hand, but this is a distinction of birth and cannot be attained by training.<sup>4)</sup>

In any case, since nunneries are fewer, there is not so much chance for a woman to rise very high in the scale of the lamahood. The lamaseries of higher training of the Gelugpa are entirely populated by men and a woman is not admitted as a student in such institutions.<sup>5)</sup> Red Cap sects allow their lamas to marry and in a few cases actually have monks and nuns living together in the same lamasery,<sup>6)</sup> but this is relatively rare in the overall picture and would be absolutely forbidden in the ruling and more numerous Yellow

1) David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 12; C.W.M. Gell, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Macdonald, *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

(The large percentage of lamas in proportion to the population, most of whom come from poor families, would also corroborate this. Cf. Chapter III, notes 4 and 6.)

2) Cf. Bell, *People*, p. 89; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 332, 333; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20.

3) Bell, *TP & P*, p. 138; *People*, pp. 162-163; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 124; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Li, *Dege*, p. 288; *As. Hor.*, p. 34; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 170.

4) Bell, *TP & P*, p. 138; *People*, p. 162; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 204, 206; (cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 5. She gives the details of the types of blessings, but does not say who gets which.)

5) Cf. David-Neel, *Women*, pp. 179, 181; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

6) Bell, *TP & P*, p. 33; *People*, p. 190; *Religion*, p. 180; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Cammann, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 628; Das, *Journey*, p. 232; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 75, 104; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 11; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 397; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 49; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 410; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 76; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 121, 205; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. F. Rock, "Konka Risumgongba . . .," *NG*, vol. 60 (1931), p. 61; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68, 138; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 245; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 193.

Cap sect which enjoins celibacy upon all the members of its order.<sup>1)</sup> Consequently there is no opportunity for a nun to rise to any prominent position by studying for the highest degrees bestowed only in the largest lamaseries.

Then, women in general society enjoy considerable freedom and in many ways are equal with men. While they do not usually possess either political or religious power, still their life is happy and uninhibited. There is nothing of the downtrodden status found in some Oriental countries.<sup>2)</sup> So for a woman to enter the nunnery is not such an appealing prospect. Women of means are almost always literate since their parents can afford private tutoring, otherwise most women can neither read nor write.<sup>3)</sup> Since there are more men who start the training even if they may not finish it, more men are literate, though of course far from any high percentage.<sup>4)</sup>

From this we see that it might be difficult for Tibetans to appreciate a co-educational system such as we have in the West. To them, the education of women is relatively unimportant. Why bother to educate women? Not so much that they are regarded as in too low a class for education, but just that they are in a separate class, a class for whom, (to their minds), little need for an education exists.<sup>5)</sup>

In the same way those who by heredity belong to forbidden occupations or who are physically handicapped are regarded as outside the opportunity

1) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 287; Bell, *TP&P*, p. 33; *People*, pp. 15, 16; *Religion*, p. 180; *Pac. Aff.*, p. 429; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 125-126; G. A. Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, 1926, p. 18; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 628; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 104; Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 37; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 397, 399; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 49; Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 13 (but it is not true, as he says that all Incarnation Lamas are Yellow Cap); Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 217; Illion, *op. cit.* p. 107; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 121; Mathers, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 147, note 1; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 138; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 63, 193.

2) Bell, *TP & P*, p. 31; *People*, pp. 147, 156, 159, 161; *Religion*, p. 26; Cutting, *UNW*, p. 36; David-Neel, *Women*, p. 179; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 140-141; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Matthias Hermanns, "The Status of Women in Tibet," *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 26 (1953), pp. 71ff.; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 133; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 188, 240; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 213; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 308; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 260ff. agrees that they have more freedom than in some Oriental countries but thinks that some Chinese and European writers have exaggerated their high place in society.

3) Bell, *People*, pp. 104, 201, 202, 212; David-Neel, *Women*, p. 179; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 135; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Sherring, *op. cit.*, p. 316; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 160.

4) Cf. Bell, *People*, pp. 199, 201, 202; Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 435; Landor, *op. cit.*, pp. 256, 283; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 29; Mathers, *op. cit.*, p. 27; O'Connor in Landon, p. 441; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 137; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 312; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 160.

5) Cf. Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 136; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

of education. It is taken for granted that nothing can be done for them. We must understand too that the Tibetan does not regard the handicapped with the same kind of sympathy that we sometimes show in the West. To the Tibetan, it is understood that what a person is in this life is the result of previous lives. Thus, handicaps are a just compensation for previous misdeeds or failings.<sup>1)</sup> Along with this is a certain sense of fatality which tends to leave the Tibetan feeling that after all there is nothing that can be done to improve a situation of that sort. The law of cause and effect will have its way regardless and it is futile to rebel against it, or wish for something better. After all, there will be another life coming in which one may perhaps rise higher than this one.<sup>2)</sup> And there the matter rests.

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1) Cf. Asboe, *Bib. Sac.*, p. 277; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 162; *Magic*, p. 24; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 238; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 36; Gorer, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 190; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 327; Hedin, *Conquest*, p. 217; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 211; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 567.

2) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 19, 66; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 100; *Initiations*, p. 23; *Magic*, pp. 120, 292-293; *Gesar*, p. 57; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227, 238, 239; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 271; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 312; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 561, 562; Li, *As. R.*, p. 921; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 30; Wentz, *Book of Dead*, p. xii.

Cf. also Bell, *TP&P*, p. 27, who says that Buddhists cannot reconcile a doctrine of equal opportunities for all in education because of their belief in transmigration and the law of Karma.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LAMASERY

#### A. Its Support

The lamasery is like a village or a city in its network of buildings and divisions of organization. The living quarters vary considerably according to the individual wealth and rank of the members. Heads of the lamaseries usually live in the most sumptuous quarters. Those with private means hire or build quarters considerably better than the others, and their furnishings vary accordingly. Lower in the scale are those who have very meager provisions,<sup>1)</sup> and novices in some cases may have no private rooms of their own but merely serve a higher lama.<sup>2)</sup>

Lamasery quarters are also divided according to the course of study. Students following a particular curriculum live in one section of the grounds and may have their own smaller chanting hall.<sup>3)</sup> In larger lamaseries those of the same nationality or from the same region are grouped together in their own hostels. At Drepung and Sera lamaseries near Lhasa for example, candidates from Mongolia are placed in one hostel, those from Kham (eastern Tibet) in another, etc.<sup>4)</sup> Usually each individual, unless he is serving another lama or is too poor, has his own private quarters though they may be small

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1) Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 199, 211; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 194; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 277; *Magic*, pp. 106, 107; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64, 66; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 326; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 77, 97; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 248; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

2) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 122; *Sherap*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, 64.

3) Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 260, 261; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 277; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152, 153; *in Ferm*, p. 266; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 35, 248; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; *Kumbum*, p. 677; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 89; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 99; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103, 113; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; Tsybikoff, *Smithsonian Institute Report*, 1903, pp. 737, 739; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 188, 189, 260; *Lhasa*, pp. 129, 220, 372, 374.

4) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 198; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 296; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 248; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 189.

and very poorly furnished.<sup>1)</sup>

Each group handles its own finances separately from the other bodies, though all live in the same lamasery.<sup>2)</sup> In the case of general contributions to the lamasery as a whole all share according to rank.<sup>3)</sup> Every lama also has certain duties to the lamasery proper as well as certain obligations to his particular groups,<sup>4)</sup> unless he is fortunate enough to have secured an exemption status.<sup>5)</sup>

During the chanting services in the general chanting hall, all lamas receive several servings of tea. Besides this they are allotted a small portion of grain or sometimes money.<sup>6)</sup> However, this provision is really inadequate for complete sustenance and all of them must find some other means of adding to their support.<sup>7)</sup> Where possible, the lama's family will provide him with greater or smaller contributions which will greatly ease his living.<sup>8)</sup> The lama who has gone into some special training and worked his ways up in that can augment his living by such means. For example, there is an income from the sale of images, prayer flags, charms and horoscopes, a certain percentage of which goes to the private individuals who manufacture

1) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 211; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 277; *Magic*, p. 106; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 217; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 248; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 180. Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 182, is mistaken in saying lamas always live together in large compartments and cells for individuals are unknown.

2) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 189.

3) David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 275; *Magic*, p. 98; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68, 88; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 59; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 178, 193.

4) Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Cf. also Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 38-39. (Also implied in other contexts.)

5) Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77. (This is the only reference I could find on this matter, but I know of no reason to doubt its accuracy.)

6) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 209; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 97, 98; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 37; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 334, 335; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60; Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 327; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 109, 110; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 166; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 100; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 81; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 270; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 178, 191, 214, 217, 219ff.; *Lhasa*, p. 403.

7) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 107; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 37; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 334, 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 61; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 325, 327; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 35; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 143; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81, 82.

8) Cf. Chapter III, note 30.

them.<sup>1)</sup>

Novices who have just entered and come from extremely poor families must serve an older lama, receiving what his generosity dictates.<sup>2)</sup> If he happens to be a stingy master, as happened to Paul Sherap, they may not fare too well.<sup>3)</sup>

Of course the lama who has a high position either because of his great scholarship and rank, or because he is regarded as a Reincarnation, receives many more gifts from visiting pilgrims or residents of the community, as well as receiving a larger share of the general contributions given out by the lamasery and his group. Consequently he also has the capital to engage in trade or other business on his own and make even more. His support is hardly the problem it is for some of the others.<sup>4)</sup>

Thus not only will living quarters vary, but the quality of food and clothing, according to the individual means. The system is probably the hardest on ambitious scholars from poor families. If they are to advance their scholarship and rank, they must spend much time in study, and having to use much of their time in study they do not have leisure to pursue other occupations to add to their means of livelihood. They are forced to live as meagerly as possible in order to advance.<sup>5)</sup>

For the upkeep of the lamasery itself—repair of buildings—grain, butter and tea needed for the general outlay, etc., there are usually other means of support besides the contributions of the individual lamas. The lamasery may own land which it rents out to its serfs, or the trade in which it engages may add considerable profit.<sup>6)</sup> This would probably still be inadequate were it not for the alms given by pilgrims, the fees paid for chanting services, the many contributions which residents of the area and even at a distance are asked to give, and the many gifts of one sort or another which the devout laymen lavish upon the lamasery.<sup>7)</sup> Lamaseries of the ruling Gelugpa Sect also receive contributions from the Lhasa Central Government.<sup>8)</sup>

1) Bell, *People*, p. 151; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 325; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 917, 920; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100 (implied only); Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 194. (also implied in other contexts.)

2) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 326; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

3) Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

4) Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 88; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 335; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 59; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 326. (and implied in other contexts.)

5) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 326–327; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 96–97. Cf. Chapter VII, notes 16 and 17.

6) Cf. Chapter III, notes 26 and 28.

7) Cf. Chapter III, note 31.

8) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 254; *Religion*, p. 179; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 556; Landor, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 59, 75; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 159; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75.

Certain similarities between the Tibetan and the Western system of education are evident. The idea of taxation to support a public school system is not too remote from the Tibetan way. And the Tibetan is likely to understand the Western custom where the family supports the student as well as the case of a student who works his own way through school. It is certainly fair to conclude that the Tibetan people are willing to "pay" a high price for their unique religious educational system.

## B. Its Discipline

As one might expect in so vast a system as the lamasery network there would have to be a rather strict discipline in order to function with any effectiveness. The strictness of the discipline may vary somewhat with the size of the institution, perhaps according to the type of sect, and also according to the authorities in charge of the local institution.<sup>1)</sup> There are rules of decorum to be observed in general as a member of the lamahood,<sup>2)</sup> and in particular in attending the group activities.<sup>3)</sup> Infringement of these rules is punished severely. In strict establishments for example any levity in the chanting services is not tolerated.<sup>4)</sup> In the case of a serious offense, such as adultery in the Gelugpa sect or murder in any of the sects, the lama may not only be physically punished, but be put out of the order. In the three big lamaseries near Lhasa the offending monk in the case of murder is turned

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1. Asboe, *IRM*, p. 287; Bell, *Pac. Aff.*, p. 429; *Portrait*, p. 199; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 397; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 103; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 103-104; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 273; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 87; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, 83; Tucci, *Art. & Let.*, p. 38; Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 228, 403.

These references do not always agree in detail, but they do prove the main point that there is variation in discipline.

2) Bell, *Religion*, p. 170; *Portrait*, p. 201; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 210-211; Das, *Journey*, pp. 90, 117, 133, 177, 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 104; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 331; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Li, *As. R.*, p. 921; *JRAS*, p. 158; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 103; p. 103; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 312; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 171, 179.

3) Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 210, 211; Das, *Journey*, p. 90; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 282, 283; *Magic*, pp. 97, 104; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Li, *JRAS*, p. 158; *As. R.*, pp. 917, 921; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 108-109; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 103-104; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 179, 191, 192.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 299; Das, *Journey*, p. 90; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 282, 283; *Magic*, pp. 96, 97; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 103, 104; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-268, 330; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 214, 220.

over to the Lhasa authorities for punishment.<sup>1)</sup>

Disciplinary officers in the lamaseries carry whips or long sticks which they do not hesitate to use when necessary to restore order.<sup>2)</sup> Types of punishment for those caught offending the rules include beatings, demotion in rank or public penance for the offending lama.<sup>3)</sup> These forms of punishment undoubtedly act as a deterrent to rebellious or unruly members of the order.

In the case of the smaller boys, their overseer or their teacher will be free to punish them as he sees fit, not only for misdemeanor but for poor recitation, or unsatisfactory service in waiting on him.<sup>4)</sup> Here the treatment no doubt varies greatly with the individual adult. If he is kind, the boy will be treated well. If he is of a more cruel type he may make life most miserable for the charge placed under him, and there is very little the boy can do to object to such treatment.<sup>5)</sup>

There is also a certain routine and schedule carried out in the lamasery. Each lama has some kind of private devotional schedule.<sup>6)</sup> Then there are daily chanting services, each lasting several hours and held usually about three times a day, though that number may vary.<sup>7)</sup> Besides the regular services, there are sometimes added special chantings for the meeting of

1) Bell, *Religion*, p. 170; *Portrait*, p. 201; Das, *Journey*, pp. 177-178, 208; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Li, *As. R.*, p. 921; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 87; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 192.

2) Bell, *Religion*, p. 170; *Portrait*, p. 299; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 283; *Magic*, pp. 96, 97; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 85; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 103; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 92-93; 103-104; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 268; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Scott, *JRCAS*, p. 30; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Tsybikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 745; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 214, 220; *Lhasa*, p. 227.

3) Bell, *Religion*, p. 170; Das, *Journey*, p. 133; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Li, *As. R.*, p. 921; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 87; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 192.

4) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 263, 329; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 181.

5) Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 194; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 162; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27.

6) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 105; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 108, 110; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 213, 214, 218.

7) Bell, *People*, p. 51; *Portrait*, pp. 181, 182; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 401; Farrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74, 75; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 108-110; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 166; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 214, 217, 219ff.

certain needs, such as requests for the chanting of texts for someone who is ill or wants protection, or on behalf of the deceased. For these special services the lamas receive contributions varying according to the means of the one who requests, and according to the elaborateness of the service performed.<sup>1)</sup> The lengthy chanting services are broken by the serving of tea intervals.<sup>2)</sup>

Besides the chanting, during some seasons of the year special lecture<sup>3)</sup> and disputation sessions are held.<sup>4)</sup> All of these activities the lama in training is expected to attend. There are special grouping arrangements according to rank so that habitual unexcused absence is likely to be detected and occasion reprimand.<sup>5)</sup>

The lama is allowed to leave the lamasery quarters to engage in trading, to help with harvesting, to go on a pilgrimage, and he may even at times get leave of absence to go to his home for a visit or on business.<sup>6)</sup> Sometimes an individual decides to settle in an area as a village lama<sup>7)</sup> to be consulted by surrounding residents or he may become a family lama and live with a particular family as their personal priest.<sup>8)</sup> The scholar naturally

1) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 206; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 104-105; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 228; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 191, 217, 221; *Lhasa*, p. 226.

2) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 182; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 211, 212, 240-241; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 209; Das, *Journey*, p. 90; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 97; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Duncan, *Yangtze*, pp. 177, 179; Farrer, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 109, 110; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 166; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 270; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 191, 214, 217, 219ff.; *Lhasa*, p. 403.

3) See Chapter VI, notes 32, 33, 34.

4) Bell, *People*, p. 244; *Portrait*, pp. 271-272, 285, 336; Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 212; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 102, 103; Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv, xxxvii; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 185, 186, 218; Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89; Forman, *Hor. Hunter*, pp. 104-105; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 307-309; Li, *As. R.*, p. 917ff.; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 100, 101; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 81, 124-125; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 182.

5) Das, *Journey*, p. 113; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 45; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 217, 218; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 108-110; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 79ff.; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 182, 140; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, pp. 192, 194.

6) Bell, *People*, p. 126; *Portrait*, p. 201; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 108, 109; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220; Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209; Kaulback, "Eighteen Months in South-Eastern Tibet," *JRCAS*, vol. 24 (1937), p. 558; *Salween*, 1938, p. 162; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 91, 213; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 200.

7) Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 104, 110-111; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 212, 221ff.

8) Bell, *People*, pp. 71-73; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 209; Cunningham, *MRW*, pp. 128, 130; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 107; Duncan, *Yangtze*, p. 260; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 104; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

expects to undergo many years of training in the lamasery before it is possible to attain a high rank or degree,<sup>1)</sup> but it is not compulsory for a member of the Order to live permanently in the lamasery. However, some institutions apparently require that nonresident lamas report to the lamasery on certain occasions showing that they are still members in full standing with the authorities.<sup>2)</sup>

### C. Its Organization

The lamasery as an institution is well organized, and seems to be administered efficiently to accomplish its purposes. It should not be assumed that the masses of young lamas are always docile and that discipline is easily and automatically effective. On the contrary there are occasional clashes and outbursts of rebellion,<sup>3)</sup> yet the system in general usually functions well. Tibetans seem to show great aptitude in organization of this kind, which must command our respect and admiration.<sup>4)</sup>

Officers are appointed for various duties, to handle administration, business, discipline and other matters,<sup>5)</sup> and there may also be committees to supervise certain functions.<sup>6)</sup> Even a measure of democratic principle exists because some officers are chosen by the group.<sup>7)</sup> There is undoubtedly some bribery and using of influence to gain power and position,<sup>8)</sup> still, as a rule, the top leaders command respect because they have proven themselves

1) See Chapter VII, notes 7, 9, 10.

2) Cf. Duncan, *JWCBS*, p. 43; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 164.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 186-188; *Religion*, pp. 76, 169, 183, 186; *Portrait*, pp. 154, 199, 200, 276; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 198; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1944), p. 111; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 100; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 374, 375; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131, 132, 148; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 254.

4) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 189; *People*, p. 140; *Religion*, pp. 7, 73, 79; *Portrait*, p. 354; Bower., *op. cit.*, p. 176; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 345, 400; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Hopkinson, *As. R.*, p. 1144; *JRCAS*, p. 236; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 89; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 70; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

5) Cf. Chapter III, notes 39, 46, 55.

6) Li, *JRAS*, pp. 158, 159; *in Ferm*, p. 268; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74. (Also implied in other contexts).

7) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 109; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 158-159; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 250; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 87; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 188.

8) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 191; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 60, 97; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

skilled in managing affairs and gifted in leadership qualities.<sup>1)</sup> The Incarnation Lamas may or may not be of this sort. They are not chosen by the group but receive their position because they are believed to be incarnations of a Bodhisattva, god or saint. That in itself carries prestige in Tibet.<sup>2)</sup> It is possible for some of inferior talent to hide under the cover of such prestige,<sup>3)</sup> but unquestionably there are personalities who can genuinely command the highest respect. Officers who have risen by their own efforts and merits without the advantage of unusual birth are as a rule outstanding men. Visitors to Tibet have often been greatly impressed with the personality leaders.<sup>4)</sup> How much of this should be credited to this unique system of training and how much to natural hereditary gifts is a question. Both factors probably contribute.

We may conclude that in organization and management the Tibetan system of education is very successful in its functioning. This no doubt is one explanation of its ability to continue with little change over such a long period of time. Discipline and routine are far more severe and rigid than in the West. Probably lay Tibetans, at least, prefer it that way. Reform has usually been in the direction of greater strictness and austerity rather than greater freedom.<sup>5)</sup> That the organization and routine tend to produce a certain uniformity of pattern and result is apparently not objectionable to Tibetans. It will be interesting to see if Tibetans, under pressure of a different political system, will change their ideas and practices in these matters.

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1) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 266; *Religion*, p. 169; *Portrait*, p. 154; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 204. Cf. also Chapter III, note 39.

2) Bell, *People*, p. 90; *Religion*, p. 169; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 210; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 341; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 211; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Rockhill, *L of L*, p. 88; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 85. Cf. also Chapter III, note 38.

3) Cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 117-118; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1944), p. 110.

4) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 84, 123, 266; *People*, p. 190; *Religion*, pp. 169, 175, 178; *Pac. Aff.*, pp. 434, 435; *Portrait*, p. 154 (and this entire book); Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Bower, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 187; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. xiii; Enders, *For. Dev.*, p. 258; Hedin, *Conquest*, p. 285; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336, 338; Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 400-401, 448.

5) Bell, *People*, pp. 15, 171; *Religion*, pp. 96, 173; *Pac. Aff.*, p. 429; *Portrait*, pp. 49, 201; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Kaulback, *Salween*, p. 120; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 268; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 59, 60, 63, 74, 75.

## CHAPTER V

## THE CURRICULUM

## A. Texts and Books

Tibetans regard their scriptures with the utmost reverence.<sup>1)</sup> As mentioned previously, the sacred writings form a part of the Buddhist trinity which consists of Buddha, the scriptures and the lamahood.<sup>2)</sup> Consequently in so important a training as that of the priesthood it is considered distracting and perhaps harmful to introduce secular subject matter. Some lamaseries will not allow the study of history on this principle.<sup>3)</sup> Usually any non-Buddhist material is prohibited. At a lamasery which the writer visited in West China, the lamas consistently refused to accept or even look at Christian tracts and Christian scripture portions, saying that they were not allowed to read anything other than Buddhist literature.<sup>4)</sup> While some lamaseries are probably not so strict in enforcing such a prohibition, it is doubtful if any institution would ever make special provision for secular or non-Buddhist reading in their course of study. The regular study schedule is strenuous and books of any kind are not always easy to obtain, so it is likely that most lamas do little outside reading.

The most important texts are taken from the *Kanjur*, the translation of the Buddhist law and the *Tenjur*, which is the commentary on the law, and are mostly translations from Sanskrit. The *Kanjur* usually consists of one hundred eight volumes and the *Tenjur* of two hundred twenty five.<sup>5)</sup> Tibetan

1) Bell, *People*, pp. 71, 134; *Religion*, p. 198; *Portrait*, pp. 160, 295; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 310; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103; Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 259, 260; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 279; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 53; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 155, 156; *Lhasa*, pp. 225-226.

2) Bell, *People*, p. 71; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 155. Cf. also Chapter III, note 34.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 22; *Portrait*, p. 335; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 228.

4) Cf. Ekvall, *Asia*, (1929), p. 742.

5) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 77, 86; *People*, p. 154; *Religion*, pp. 45-46; *Portrait*, pp. 48, 192; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 372ff.; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 88; Gordon, *Iconography*, pp. 5, 6; *Tibetan Art*, p. 4; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Hedin, *Conquest*, pp. 298-299; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 259; *Twenty Yrs*, pp. 169-170; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 61; O'Connor, *Frontier*,

books are either hand copied in illuminated manuscript or printed from carved wood-blocks<sup>1)</sup>. The covers are wooden, and since the books are often about two feet in length, six or eight inches wide and six to twelve inches deep, they are decidedly bulky and heavy.<sup>2)</sup> Every lamasery has a library of some sort with the books filed in pigeon holes for safe keeping, and the names often placed on silk tabs hanging from the book.<sup>3)</sup> Naturally smaller lamaseries cannot afford large libraries and may not even have the complete Kanjur and Tenjur sets.<sup>4)</sup> According to the versions of some travellers many of these books are never touched and merely lie accumulating dust.<sup>5)</sup>

Individual lamas often use smaller portions of the sacred works which are easier to handle, and favorite selections are copied and used repeatedly in their study.<sup>6)</sup> Apparently the lamas do as Western students often do, buy the portion needed, and then when they have finished, sell it to someone else who is just beginning the study. Consequently poor students may not

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p. 89; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Teichman, *op. cit.*, note, p. 159; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 157, 164; *Lhasa*, p. 225.

1) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 286; Bell, *TP&P*, p. 86; *Portrait*, pp. 160, 191, 295; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 228-229; Bhavnani, *op. cit.*, p. 606; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 198; Das, *Journey*, pp. 90, 138, 241; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 87; Duncan, *Yangtze*, pp. 94-95, 180; Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Foran, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 88-89; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Gorcer, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 277; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 462; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 260ff.; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 170; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 423, 428, 429; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 101; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 89; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 59; R. Sankrityayana, "Buddhist Painting in Tibet," *Asia*, vol. 37 (1937), p. 715; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Shelton, *NG*, pp. 303, 320-321; Dorris E. Shelton, "Culture Traits of the Tibetans," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 18 (1933), p. 154; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 52, 171, 187, 188; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 157; *Lhasa*, pp. 225, 235.

2) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 286; Das, *Journey*, pp. 90, 241; Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Foran, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Hedin, *Conquest*, pp. 298-299; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Kaulback, *Tibetan Trek*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934, p. 102; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 260; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 101; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 99; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 158; *Lhasa*, p. 225.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, photo op. p. 152; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Bhavnani, *op. cit.*, p. 606; Cowling, *op. cit.*, p. 592; Cutting, *NH*, p. 292; Das, *Journey*, pp. 90, 138, 241; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 260; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 89; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Sankrityayana, *op. cit.*, p. 715; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 189; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 303; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 168; *Lhasa*, pp. 225, 227.

4) Foran, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 260.

Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 158 says, however, that large monasteries even in Sikkim possess the set.

5) Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Cutting, *NH*, p. 292; Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Sankrityayana, *op. cit.*, p. 715; Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 225, 227.

6) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 327; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425; Sankrityayana, *op. cit.*, p. 715; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 52; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 225.

have many texts at one time, using only the ones needed in their present course of study.<sup>1)</sup>

The actual subject matter of the Kanjur and the Tenjur is rather wide. They include besides theological treatises, such items as hymns and praises, ritual, logic, biographies of saints, grammar, medicine, astrology, divination and painting.<sup>2)</sup> There are numerous other Tibetan works of equally wide variety though most of these are not rated as highly as the Kanjur and the Tenjur.<sup>3)</sup> Biographies and proverbs are universal favorites among all Tibetans.<sup>4)</sup> All these other works, including plays and history are interwoven with a religious theme and their main concern is the triumph of Buddhism,<sup>5)</sup> but even many of these are considered too mundane for the lama's

1) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-328.

2) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 45-46; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 372ff.; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Gordon, *Iconography*, pp. 5-6; *Tib. Relig. Art*, p. 4; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 153; W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London: Trubner, 1884, pp. 212, 218ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 159, 164, 165.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 22, 25, 34-35, 153; *People*, pp. 8, 105, 208ff.; *Religion*, pp. 73, 151-152, 196; *Portrait*, p. 192; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 292-293; David-Neel, *Gesar*, p. 2; Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 258-259, 268; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 424-425, 428-429; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 400; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 228-229; Sankrityayana, *op. cit.*, p. 715; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 52, 257; *Art & Let.*, p. 40; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 167; *Lhasa*, p. 227; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 112.

4) Bell, *People*, pp. 105, 210, 211; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 167; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 250; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 400; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-253; Dorris Shelton, *Soc. & Soc. Res.*, p. 154.

Among many outstanding Tibetan works which have been translated into English, the following may be of interest to the general reader: Bacot, Jacques. *Three Tibetan Mysteries*. tr. by H. I. Wolf. New York: Dutton, 1924.

Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. tr. by E. Obermiller. Heidelberg, 1932. (The reader who is interested in Tibetan Buddhist theory of education may refer to vol. 1, pp. 58-90. The present writer does not discuss Tibetan theory of education—only the practice).

Lama Taranatha. *Mystic Tales of Lama Taranatha*. A Religio-Sociological History of Mahayana Buddhism. Calcutta, 1944.

Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals*. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Monograph Series, vol. 7. Calcutta, 1949. (Unfortunately this source was not available to me and as far as I know is not available in any library in this country).

Rockhill, W. W. *The Life of the Buddha*. (From Tibetan sources). London: Trübner, 1884.

Schiefner, F. Anton von. *Tibetan Tales*. tr. from the Tibetan of the Kahgyur. tr. from German into English by W.R.S. Ralston. London: George Routledge, [1926].

Wentz, ed. *Tibet's great Yogi Milarepa* and *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*.

David-Neel, *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling*.

(For details of Wentz and David-Neel see Bibliography). These latter three are thoroughly Tibetan in nature and thus of special interest.

5) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 22, 23; *People*, pp. 209, 210; *Religion*, pp. 73, 119, 197; David-Neel, *Gesar*, p. 2; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Li, *SWJAn.*, p. 32; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 259; *Oxf. Pamph.*

curriculum, and he acquires knowledge of them only in private, not in lamasery study.

### B. Courses of Study

The actual courses of study in the large Gelugpa lamaseries are usually three or four. The greater number of the students enroll in the course teaching Buddhist doctrine and philosophy which is an exoteric approach. At Kumbum, a large lamasery on the China border, there are three other courses using the esoteric approach, namely a course in Mystic Ritual and Ceremonies, a course in Study and Practice of Tantric Scriptures, and a course in Medicine.<sup>1)</sup> Labrang lamasery, also on the China border, has somewhat the same general classification but with six colleges—one offering exoteric and five offering an esoteric course of study.<sup>2)</sup> The three main lamaseries near Lhasa, namely, Drepung, Sera and Ganden, also use this division of curriculum except that for the esoteric courses the student must actually go to a different place as the three institutions mentioned apparently offer only the exoteric approach. At Lhasa there are two esoteric schools (called twin academies by Shen) with courses of study as follows: 1) Ritual and Tantric Practices (or Yoga) and 2) Ritual and Medicine.<sup>3)</sup> To attain to the highest honors in the ruling sect the lama is expected to first complete the exoteric course at one of the Big Three lamaseries and then finish with the esoteric at one of the Twin Academies, this being the proper order of enlightenment stressed by the Gelugpa.<sup>4)</sup>

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pp. 27–28; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 221; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 189; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 365; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 167; *Lhasa*, p. 410.

1) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 45 note; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Rockhill, *Diary*, p. 99.

2) Li, *in* Ferm, p. 266; *As. R.*, p. 915; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.* p. 143.

3) Cf. Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 291, 442; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 69; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–74, 79; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 182, 188–189.

Actually the information on the courses of study at the large Lhasa lamaseries is less clear than for those of the China border. According to Macdonald and Waddell the colleges are divisions of nationality whereas Shen says different nationalities are placed in different hostels—the hostels being subdivisions of the larger college unit. I have no way of knowing for sure who is correct, but Shen's account is more detailed and I am inclined to think his may be the correct information.

4) Li, *As. R.*, p. 915; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 83.

I assume from Shen's account *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 79 and perhaps Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 182 that the exoteric study is divided into several colleges but the difference of actual approach and course of study is not clear from the available information. Probably it resembles a subdivision of the same general course with some slight difference in texts but all using an exoteric approach and stressing Buddhist doctrine and philosophy.

The Red Cap Sects are not in entire agreement with this principle and insist that it is possible, in some cases preferable, to begin with the esoteric or mystic methods.<sup>1)</sup> However, many of the Red Cap lamaseries have now added exoteric courses and allow the students if they so desire to take these first. I am not sure whether this adaptation is because of the influence of the Gelugpa lamasery training, or because the Red Cap Sects have actually found, as Li An-Che was told, that all students are not ready to grasp and benefit by the esoteric training and need general teaching first.<sup>2)</sup> Probably both of these factors have brought about the change. According to Li An-Che, a large lamasery of the Nyingmapa (Unreformed Red Cap Sect) may have three courses: the *Teaching College*, stressing doctrine, the *Training College*, stressing yoga practices and meditation (esoteric), and the *Ordinance College* for lamas not interested in either philosophy or yoga but who wish to gain some experience of lamasery discipline and learn how to perform some rituals.<sup>3)</sup> Li also informs us that the Karjupa lamas first have formal study, then proceed to psycho-physical training which involves retreat in dark cells.<sup>4)</sup>

Smaller lamaseries naturally have a simplified course of study with no division into separate types of training. But a student who wishes advanced training can always transfer from the small institution to a large one of his own sect, which does offer more variety in courses of study.<sup>5)</sup>

### C. Subject Matter

In the medical course texts on medicine include excerpts from the Kanjur, portions of the Tenjur, some material borrowed from Chinese or Indian

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Li *in Ferm*, p. 265 is only partially correct in stating that the Lhasa lamaseries are not divided into distinct courses of study. He does not seem to be aware that the relation between the three large lamaseries offering exoteric approach and the Twin Academies offering esoteric Ritual and Medicine is on exactly the same pattern as the courses of study in the border country. The only difference is that instead of having the students of the different courses all at one lamasery, (as at Labrang), at Lhasa for the higher training the lamas go to the separate but related Twin lamaseries for the esoteric courses. In other words, the undergraduate and graduate schools, (if one may call them that), instead of being located on the same campus as at Labrang, in Lhasa form separate and distinct campuses of their own. But the division into courses of study seems to follow the same pattern whether at Lhasa or at the large Gelugpa lamaseries in border country.

1) David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 25; *Magic*, pp. 242-243; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 83.

2) Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152-153, 160-161.

3) Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152-154.

4) Li, *JAS*, p. 59.

5) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102; Li, *SWJAn.*, p. 41; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

sources and special medical texts prepared by "experts".<sup>1)</sup> Shen mentions a mysterious "hidden" book later discovered.<sup>2)</sup> All of the sects have these "discovered" treatises on many subjects, supposed to have been written and hidden by former saints and found only when the time was ripe for their understanding.<sup>3)</sup>

Since one cause of illness is the influence of evil spirits, there are many portions of texts to be learned which deal with various malignant forces who cause disease and pain.<sup>4)</sup> Diagnosis of other illness is made by feeling the different pulses of which there are six.<sup>5)</sup> It is also believed that wrong proportions of the humors in the body—wind, blood, bile and phlegm lead to ill health.<sup>6)</sup> Some knowledge of the use of herbs is taught and undoubtedly some of these are quite effective as specifics.<sup>7)</sup> The course at the medical school at Chakpori (one of the Twin Academies), near Lhasa is said to take eight to ten years and many are unable to pass because it is so strenuous.<sup>8)</sup> The most popular elements of all the study and practice of medicine are the various ceremonies and rites used to counteract influence of evil spirits, and the use of astrological horoscopes and reckonings.<sup>9)</sup>

What little geography is learned is based on the Lamaist conception of

1) Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Körös, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Shen, *cit.*, p. 149.

2) Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

Das, *JASB*, p. 14 mentions four such "discovered" medical works, whereas Shen mentions only one.

3) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 198-199; Das, *JASB*, pp. 13-14; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 65; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 148-149; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 110-113; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 56-58, 165, 166; *Lhasa*, p. 219.

4) Cf. Chapter III, note 13.

5) Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 180; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 37. (Note: Macdonald says six pulses in *L of L*, but seven pulses in *Twenty Yrs.*) Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 377.

6) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Körös, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 56ff.; Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 285.

7) Bell, *TP&P*, pp. 76-77; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 294; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 78-79, 108ff.; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 32; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 179; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413; (Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 240-241 probably refers to a lay doctor); Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Rand, *Darkness*, p. 101; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 60-61, 69.

8) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 243; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Körös, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 179; *Twenty Years*, p. 38; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-414; Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 230; Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 376-378.

9) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 243; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 32; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 179, 183; *Twenty Years*, pp. 38, 126; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 414; Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121, 125-126, 129, 131-132; Rand, *Darkness*, p. 101; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 378; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 286, 289.

the universe. There is one "modern" world geography<sup>1)</sup> giving some strange information. As an example, Bell quotes as follows "There is Africa, belonging to the Feringhi' (i.e. Europeans). 'And there are many islands in the ocean belonging to the English.'<sup>2)</sup> Of Sicily, that 'There is a high mountain, from its rocks a big fire comes out. This goes to the ocean and returns to the rocks. It does not burn grass or trees, but burns gold, silver, copper and human beings. And there is a certain kind of grass, which grows in no other place. If a man eats it, he dies of laughter.'<sup>3)</sup> I am not sure if lamas study even this world text of doubtful value—perhaps not. At any rate, the average lama's conception of geography is more religious than political. Tibetans have great difficulty picturing other countries or attempting to visualize where they are located in relation to Tibet.<sup>4)</sup> Our concept of the world as round greatly puzzles the lama who is taught, according to Lamaist conception, that the world is flat like a disc.<sup>5)</sup> How Tibetans will eventually reconcile actual geographical facts with their picture of the world as centering around Mt. Meru, with four large continents and eight small ones, the seven gold mountains and the seven enchanted seas, etc.,<sup>6)</sup> is an interesting problem.

Tibetan astronomers are able to predict eclipses quite accurately.<sup>7)</sup> Astrology, however, is considered more important. The preparation of horoscopes for individuals forms an important function of the lama trained in this direction. All Tibetans including the Dalai Lama and all officials down to the common layman, pay the greatest attention to these matters, and would not think of conducting any business of importance without consultation with the Oracles or astrologer lamas versed in predicting the

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1) Written about the middle of the nineteenth century. Bell, *People*, p. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 208, 'The Mirror that Shows the Extent of the World' (Dzam-ling Gye-she Melong).

2) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 8. Also referred to in Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 99 and note 2.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 112; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 279; Cutting, *NH*, p. 112; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 427; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 99; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 272; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 278; Yongden Lama, "The Cosmos of a Tibetan Lama", *Asia*, vol. 46 (1946), pp. 26-28.

Also cf. Rock, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

5) Cunningham, "The Lama's Cosmogony", *JWCBS*, vol. 9 (1937), p. 186; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 228; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 427; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Yongden, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 28.

6) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 11; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Cunningham, *Cosmogony*, pp. 183, 186, 187; David-Neel, *Gesar*, p. 68, note 23; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Mei, *Liv. Buddh.*, p. 144; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 78, 80, 81; Wentz, *Milarepa*, p. 211; Yongden, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

7) Ajax, "An Eclipse in Tibet", *Bl. Mag.*, vol. 225 (1929), p. 552; Bell, *People*, p. 210; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Rand, *Darkness*, p. 101; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

future and skilled in advising as to the best courses of action.<sup>1)</sup> Lucky and unlucky days even alter the face of the calendar—unlucky days being omitted in some cases and the lucky dates doubled.<sup>2)</sup> Lamas who specialize in this field are sure of ample opportunity and scope for work.

Penmanship is regarded as very important, particularly for political officers. Tibetans look upon neat handwriting as a very important function and spend much time in practicing the tracing of letters.<sup>3)</sup> A wooden slate dusted with white powder is commonly used for drill—cheap paper being used only by more highly advanced students or those with more means.<sup>4)</sup>

It is interesting to note that Tibetans are very particular in the forms of personal address. Officials who have to handle correspondence have strict training in this matter. Terms of address are very flowery and complimentary, but vary a good deal according to the rank of the person involved so that it requires the utmost skill in using the proper forms of address to correspond with the status of the person. There is even a text on this important subject.<sup>5)</sup>

The study of arithmetic is weak. Members of the nobility who can afford private tutors and individuals who expect to carry on family business or trade spend some time in such study,<sup>6)</sup> but apparently there is officially very little instruction given to the lamas. A notable exception is found in the two Lhasa Peak schools, with one branch for the training of lay and one for lama political officials.<sup>7)</sup> The Tibetan method of figuring often uses

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1) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 179; *People*, pp. 257–258; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 229, 230; Cutting, *NH*, p. 109; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 284; *Magic*, p. 54; Duncan, *Yangtze*, p. 116; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201; Macdonald, *Twenty Years*, pp. 126–127; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 128–130; Rand, "The Wheel", *New Yorker*, vol. 30 (1954), pp. 62–63; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 319; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 450–451, 458, 475–482; *Lhasa*, p. 380.

Cf. also Chapter III, notes 16, 17, 18, 44.

2) Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 87; *People*, p. 203; Chapman, *Geog. J.*, p. 503; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 442; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 400; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

4) Bell, *People*, pp. 104, 203; Das, *Journey*, p. 81; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 148; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 387–388; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, photo p. 180; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 374.

5) Bell, *People*, pp. 105, 205–206, 259–260; *Portrait*, pp. 113, 136, 137; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 442–443; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 262; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

6) Bell, *People*, pp. 104–105; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 435; Li, *As. Hor.*, p. 29; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 135–136; Sherring, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

7) Bell, *People*, pp. 105, 205; *Portrait*, p. 113; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 442; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 111, 112.

David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102 says that arithmetic, among other subjects, is taught to the boy lamas outside of the schools by private professors. This probably means it is not a part of the regular course of study. Even this private study is probably optional and perhaps elementary.

the rosary beads,<sup>1)</sup> and besides may use such assortments as twigs, small bones, broken pieces of china, peach stones, etc., each standing for a certain value. It is supposed to be effective even for figuring in higher denominations, for doing addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.<sup>2)</sup> However, those who have had financial dealings with Tibetans have found them very slow in their methods and not very accurate.<sup>3)</sup> It may be questioned whether a knowledge of other procedures might not enable them to show a greater ability in this line.

As far as I am able to ascertain, learning to read is an incidental in the educational aims of the Tibetans. Reading is not taught as a subject or stressed as being important,<sup>4)</sup> and evidently it is expected that the pupil will learn to read more or less automatically through rote drill. Probably a great number of the students do learn to read without too much difficulty, but it is doubtful if this succeeds in all cases. Some individuals such as the "warrior monks" never make an effort to become scholars and such types of lamas together with those in small lamaseries or nunneries where there is little instruction and all the lazy and backward, apparently remain illiterate no matter how long in training.<sup>5)</sup> Some writers suggest (and I am inclined to agree) that a few of the lamas who recite the texts, actually are not able to read them. They have merely learned them from memory and can follow along in a well-known text because they have learned approximately how many words go on a page, but they are incapable of reading an unfamiliar text.<sup>6)</sup>

Other lamas quite proficient in reading the texts are yet unable to explain the meaning because memorization is stressed above comprehension of the text. The Tibetan system of writing marks the end of every syllable

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1) Bell, *People*, p. 204; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 254; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 227; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 296; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 203.

2) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 254, 442; Macdonald, *loc. cit.*; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

3) Bell, *People*, p. 204; *Religion*, p. 197; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149, 254, 442; Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.

4) Cf. Bell, *People*, p. 203; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 312; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

5) Bell, *Religion*, p. 76; *Portrait*, p. 275; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 109. Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Ekvall, *Asia*, (1929), p. 727; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 291; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 251; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 215, 243; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 286; *Lhasa*, pp. 116, 227-228, 233. (Waddell may have exaggerated. Cf. Chapter II, note 14.)

6) Cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 39; A. L. Shelton, *NG*, p. 312.

It is difficult to ascertain just by observing a lama reading, how much is reading and how much is memorization. A lama knows the familiar text from memory, and even with the printed page before him does not need to follow it word by word. Ekvall (*Oriens*, p. 338) says "prayer is more effective when the words are read, than when repeated by rote," and this explains the necessity of *the presence of the writing* whether the lama actually follows it word by word or not.

by a dot, but many Tibetan words consist of two and sometimes more syllables with nothing to mark the word division. Even ends of phrases and sentences are often not clearly marked. The result is that those who have never learned to reason out the meaning of what they read, never get beyond producing a meaningless jumble of syllables. Even an alert Tibetan may be unable to understand the sense of such reading since all the syllables are run together and the reader pauses to take a breath anywhere in the text, with utter disregard of its import. This kind of training proves a great handicap in making intelligent use of any literature.<sup>1)</sup> This apparent indifference to the meaning of the texts is easily understandable if we remember that in Tibet the mere repetition of the sacred writings is of intrinsic merit. This is particularly true when the text is read by a lama, or better yet by a high ranking lama. Whether the reader or the listener understand the meaning or not, has no effect on the accumulation of merit.<sup>2)</sup> Lamas at special chanting services may either chant the same text in unison or each one chant a different text simultaneously, thus covering more ground in less time. The whole Kanjur may be read in this fashion—an extremely meritorious proceeding.<sup>3)</sup> Obviously no one expects to understand the sense of such a riot of sounds.

Another item of interest which should be pointed out is that Tibetans make no attempt to distinguish between fact and fiction, according to scientific methods. To Westerners their texts may seem to be a series of highly improbable happenings pieced together sometimes without coherent order.<sup>4)</sup> But we must remember that the Tibetan's whole attitude toward life and its happenings is entirely different from ours. Not only is there the complication of recounting the many series of lives for each character but the Tibetan believes that the entire cycle until reaching Nirvana is illusory. Since the experience of Nirvana is after all the only sure reality, all these other happenings are more or less in the nature of a fantasy. While they seem real to the senses, that must be regarded as the result of ignorance of the true nature of things. Where ignorance is dispelled all these are under-

1) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 101, 258; *Initiations*, pp. 41, 32; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-432; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 36; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

2) Bell, *People*, pp. 190, 202; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Cunningham, *Om Ma Ni*, pp. 190ff.; MRW, pp. 128-129; David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 101; *Initiations*, p. 41; Ekvall, *Oriens*, p. 337-338; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-432; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 53.

3) Cf. Bell, *People*, p. 73; Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 210; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 53; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 464.

4) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 11, note 1; *People*, pp. 8, 209-210; *Religion*, pp. 73-74, 197; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 32; David-Neel, *Gesar*, pp. 2, 25; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 34, 259; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 166-167.

stood to be in the nature of a dream experience which melts away when a person is awakened. While the average Tibetan is not able to discuss such concepts with the finesse of the learned lama, still this conception of life influences the thinking of all. Consequently the details of these happenings are not regarded as either fact or fiction in the sense in which we think of it. We say, for example, that anything can happen in imagination or in a dream—the Tibetan says that anything can happen in life. He is not surprised, or credulous, or alarmed at anything which is recorded, for all phenomena are fantasy and illusion.<sup>1)</sup>

Moreover, “miraculous” happenings are a special delight to the Tibetan who has a real zest for the magical. He regards it not with surprise or suspicion, but with eagerness and satisfaction. It does not in the least disturb his childlike faith or his sense of propriety and order, but it is welcomed as one aspect of life.<sup>2)</sup> Without a doubt, even barring the sensationalists, there are strange happenings in Tibet, some of which Westerners find difficult to explain in the light of present knowledge of science and psychology. While there is a certain amount of credulity, and some fakery, there are also unexplainable occurrences, from the Western point of view. Non-Tibetans have various explanations for these, which are outside the scope of the present subject. From the learned lama’s viewpoint these unusual occurrences are not regarded as miracles (in the usual sense of miracle) but as the result of expert knowledge and use of certain laws, disregarded by the masses, attained to only by the few.<sup>3)</sup>

Thus, in all Tibetan texts there is a recounting of many strange events. When one adds to this the natural tendency of human nature to exaggerate, it is not surprising we find a curious mixture of credible and incredible details. From a scientific point of view, to decide what is fact and what is fiction in such an account is a baffling task!

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1) Bell, *People*, p. 200; *Religion*, pp. 73, 88, 90; Cutting, *UNW*, p. 36; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 100–101; *Magic*, pp. 152, 267, 269, 270, 287; *Gesar*, pp. 26–27; Ekval, *Voices*, p. 12; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 425; Maraini, *Geog. Mag.*, p. 144; *Sec. Tib.*, p. 212; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 189, 324; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 72, 126; *Art & Let.*, p. 41; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 126; Wentz, *Book of Dead*, pp. 32, 33, 35, 66.

2) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 22; *People*, pp. 8, 199, 201, 209–210; *Religion*, pp. 73–74, 197; *Portrait*, p. 160; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 46; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 125, 137, 167; “Edge of Tibet,” *Asia*, vol. 44 (1944), pp. 26ff.; Ekval, *Asia*, (1944), p. 111; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 155; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 43; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

3) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 241, 245, 291–292; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 108–109, 134–135; *Art & Let.*, p. 41.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE TRAINING OF THE LAMAS

## A. General Methods of Learning

The ruling sect, the Gelugpa, stress scholarship as a career. Other sects have learned lamas and scholars as well but do not lay such stress upon learning as a career.<sup>1)</sup>

The method used most extensively in the training of the lama is rote memorization.<sup>2)</sup> Whether because of the intensive training in this line or whether due partly to natural ability, it does seem that Tibetans can perform unusual feats in reciting from memory. It is a commonplace accomplishment for a scholar lama to be able to recite page after page of the texts from memory—he learns hundreds, even thousands of pages from memory.<sup>3)</sup> These many texts are used in the chanting services in the lamasery chanting hall as well as in the homes of the Tibetans. In the latter there may be only one lama reciting or several as the occasion may call for. Tibetans who can afford it may have a lama living right in their home who recites the texts for long hours, particularly in the morning and evening and this is supposed to bring much prosperity upon the family, their property and affairs.<sup>4)</sup> Then, on occasion of illness or other need, one or more lamas may be called in to chant.<sup>5)</sup> The lama in these homes may refer to the written page, but to read it at the required speed requires no little familiarity with the text.<sup>6)</sup> Sometimes all the lamas use the written texts in the chanting hall of the lamasery

1) David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 135, 136; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152, 154; *in Ferm*, p. 268; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–258; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

2) Bell, *People*, p. 204; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 101, 102, 103; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Gorer, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 110; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 442, 445–446; Li, *As. R.*, p. 919; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 96, 98, 99; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 123, 125; F. Shelton, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 174, 177, 182.

3) Bell, *People*, p. 204; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 20, 103; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 445–446; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 98; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 192–193, 328; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

4) Cf. Chapter IV, Note 39.

5) Cf. Chapter III, Note 45.

6) Cf. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 158; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

but apparently at other times only the chanting leader uses the written page, while the others recite from memory.<sup>1)</sup>

Even the sects who emphasize esoteric training expect that the lama going through certain rites shall be able to recite the prescribed texts from memory.<sup>2)</sup>

If the lama is interested in following a scholar's career he must pass certain oral examinations in the presence of the other lamas. These too consist of reciting certain required passages from memory.<sup>3)</sup> It is considered a great disgrace to fail in one of these examinations, not only for the pupil but for his teacher<sup>4)</sup>. In the past there was even flogging connected with such failure, but this is probably not used today.<sup>5)</sup> Most lamaseries apparently allow a second or third try within an allotted time if there is failure on the first attempt,<sup>6)</sup> but a complete failure or repeated failures in these examinations lead to expulsion from the lamasery.<sup>7)</sup> To reach the rank of a fully accepted member of the order one must have passed a certain number of examinations,<sup>8)</sup> but apparently the warrior lamas and those following other careers are exempt from these examinations since their training follows a different line.<sup>9)</sup>

For all this memory work, there surely must be much drill. Groups of boy lamas probably repeat over and over again the matter to be memorized.<sup>10)</sup> In most cases they probably study audibly and in that case each

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1) Hedin, *Conquest*, pp. 299, 305; cf. Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 165; (This incident is in a small class and perhaps not in the main chanting hall.)

2) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 149, 150; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 59, 282.

3) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv; Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 401; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 445; Li, *SWJAn.*, p. 41; *JRAS*, p. 154; *As. R.*, pp. 919, 920; *in Ferm*, p. 261; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 95, 96, 99; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 125; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 177, 182-184.

4) Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 97, 99; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 178, 184.

5) Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97.

Li, *JRAS*, p. 154; *in Ferm*, p. 261 and Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123 say flogging is used. Sandberg's book is 1906 and may not be true today. Li may never have seen flogging but may have been told it is used. The *threat* of flogging may still be used today.

6) Das, *Journey*, p. 57; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 919-920; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 184.

7) Das, *Journey*, pp. 48, 57; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Li, *As. R.*, p. 919; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 97, 100; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 177, 184.

8) Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-401; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 445; Li, "Bon: the Magico-Religious Belief of the Tibetan Speaking Peoples," *SWJAn.*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 41; *JRAS*, p. 154; *As. R.*, pp. 919, 920; *in Ferm*, p. 261; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 125; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 182.

9) Li, *As. R.*, p. 920; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 69, 70; *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 35, 241; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

10) Li, *As. R.*, p. 919; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 165, 166.

shouts his own individual lesson in a general competing chaos of sound,<sup>1)</sup> in a similar fashion to other Oriental study habits. It is doubtful if there is much individual study alone, except in the case of the advanced scholars who are interested in comprehending the deeper meanings of portions of the sacred texts. Unfortunately I am unable to find much detailed description as to the methods of study, and I can only assume this is the case.

Another method used might be compared to our Western type debate, though of course this word does not really accurately describe it. There are debates to determine eligibility to a degree, such as the *Geshe*, as well as practice debates.<sup>2)</sup> The subject matter is always some point of Buddhist philosophy.<sup>3)</sup> The questioner is supposed to be very animated in his gestures, very heated and emphatic in his manner of speaking, while the one who defends his position and gives the answers is supposed to be very calm, and to answer quietly and firmly to show he is not overcome in any way by the power of his opponent's questions.<sup>4)</sup> Apparently in the practice debates several may be going on at the same time and more than one questioner may bombard the defender with arguments,<sup>5)</sup> whereas in the disputation for the *Geshe* degree, only one pair participates at one time and without any interruption or help from anyone on the sidelines.<sup>6)</sup>

The Tibetans of the Yellow Cap sect regard this as a very important method of training and lay great stress on it.<sup>7)</sup> Disputations are practiced not only in the main lamaseries near Lhasa but have been witnessed by observers in the larger lamaseries of the China border, such as Kumbum and

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1) Bell, *People*, pp. 204-205; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Hanbury-Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 192.

2) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 48, 191, 285, 336; Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 212; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 104, 218; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 918, 919; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 100, 101; Mei, "Kumbum, the Cradle of Protestant Lamaism," *Asia*, vol. 41 (1941), p. 677; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 81-85; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 184ff.

3) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Forman, *Hor. Hunter*, p. 104; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 307, 308; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 184.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 271-272; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 212; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 102-103; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Forman, *Hor. Hunter*, p. 105; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 307, 308; Li, *As. R.*, p. 919; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 81, 124.

5) Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Forman, *Hor. Hunter*, p. 104; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 918, 919; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

6) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 271, 285; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Li, *As. R.*, p. 920; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101.

7) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 308; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 100; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 184.

Labrang.<sup>1)</sup>

This seems to be the only Tibetan training method which emphasizes and develops reasoning ability. While the points discussed in the disputation always follow Tibetan Buddhist doctrines and arguments and obviously Buddhism must always win, still there is some opportunity for the individual to use his reason not only in developing the argument but in applying the proper texts to prove the point.<sup>2)</sup> In some cases honors are given to the winner even in a practice debate which has gone well. Authors describing Kumbum debates say winners are carried in triumph on the shoulders of the other lamas around the courtyard.<sup>3)</sup>

To an outsider, and even to most Tibetans, these disputations are completely unintelligible because they follow very fine points of doctrinal discussion and use technical language. It is doubtful if listening lamas always understand fully—probably only the higher lamas are able to follow the disputations which occur for eligibility for the Geshe rank.<sup>4)</sup> High ranking lamas are chosen as judges to determine the ability of the candidates<sup>5)</sup> and only scholars who have succeeded well over a period of time would ever attempt a final disputation.<sup>6)</sup>

It is interesting to discover that there are different grades and classes of the Geshe rank which are awarded according to the ability of the candidate. So, for example, Bell says that the thirteenth Dalai Lama was not only a first class Geshe, but at the top of his class.<sup>7)</sup> Dalai Lamas must also engage in practice debates as well as the disputations for rank and apparently are given no special favors because of their Incarnation title.<sup>8)</sup>

Besides the disputations there are what might be called “lectures” by the higher lamas.<sup>9)</sup> Those occurring during regular chanting sessions are

1) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 102–103; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 919, 920; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677.

2) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 103; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 308; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 184.

3) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 103; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101.

4) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 272, 285; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

5) Bell, *Portrait*, p. 285; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 185 (note).

6) Cf. Bell, *People*, p. 211; *Portrait*, p. 191; Li, *As. R.*, p. 920; Macdonald, *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 202–203; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 185 (note).

7) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 191, 272; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

8) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 48, 191; Harrex, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–244, 248–249, 250; Maraini, *Sec. Tbi.*, p. 154.

9) Bell, *People*, pp. 277, 279; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 282, 283; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 215–216; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Harrex, *op. cit.*, p. 248; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 917, 918, 919; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 81; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 182.

mainly explanations of ritual and discipline.<sup>1)</sup> At other times of the day, the abbot or other high ranking lama may give a brief lecture on some Buddhist doctrine to successive classes who meet before him, in rotation fashion.<sup>2)</sup> In Lhasa during the Great Prayer Festival a series of lectures are given by the Dalai Lama if he is of age, otherwise by the Regent. Certain lamas are chosen from the important lamaseries near Lhasa and required to attend these sessions.<sup>3)</sup>

Much time is also spent in group chanting,<sup>4)</sup> and this too follows certain prescribed patterns, typically Tibetan in character. The tone of voice, for example, is very important. All lamas are taught to use an extremely low guttural pitch for certain portions of the texts, a pitch which is impossible to imitate by anyone untrained in the process, and which is typical only of Tibetan type of chanting.<sup>5)</sup> In the lamasery services, the chanting is usually antiphonal in effect, the leader of the chanting gives a verse and the others answer in unison.<sup>6)</sup> The rise and fall of the tone of voice gives a peculiar orchestral effect which has a profound influence upon the listener<sup>7)</sup> and perhaps is a unifying factor for the lamas so engaged. No doubt it also facilitates the memorizing of the lengthy portions of texts. However it is doubtful if this monotonous repetition encourages the ability to think or reason. To a Westerner it seems that it tends to dull and stifle conscious thought,<sup>8)</sup> but the Tibetan firmly believes there is an intrinsic worth and merit in the mere repetition of his sacred writings.<sup>9)</sup>

While the daily routine of the scholar lama during much of the year is strenuous, the group lectures and disputations only occur during certain seasons of the year<sup>10)</sup> and there are also vacation periods, a longer period

1) Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 109; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 191.

2) Cf. Li, *As. R.*, pp. 918-919; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

3) Bell, *People*, p. 277; *Portrait*, p. 279; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 282-283.

4) Cf. Chapter IV, notes 31 and 32.

5) Cf. Bell, *Portrait*, p. 299; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 209, 210; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii; Duncan, *Yangtze*, pp. 177, 261; Ekvall, *Sky Lines*, p. 30; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, p. 34; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Maraini, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 122; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

6) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 209; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Hedin, *Conquest*, p. 299; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 104; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 307; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 403.

7) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 210; Hedin, *Conquest*, p. 306; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 104; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 131; O'Connor, *Frontier*, p. 84; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200, 267; Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 270; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 308; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 432; *Lhasa*, p. 227.

8) Cf. Guibaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

9) Cf. Chapter V, note 56.

10) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 102; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 216; Li, *As. R.*, pp. 917-918; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 219.

in the summer and a shorter one in the winter.<sup>1)</sup> Sometimes the lamas camp out in groups and in this situation appear to have a carefree time.<sup>2)</sup> A few types of recreational games are sanctioned in the lamasery grounds.<sup>3)</sup> Warrior lamas have special training exercises and contests of their own in which they participate energetically.<sup>4)</sup> So there seems to be some provision for recreation and vacation to give the lama a change from the strenuous schedule of training.

For those who are unable intellectually to attempt the scholar's career, or who lack the funds, or perhaps are not attracted in that direction, there are different types of training. Where they show gifts in writing, painting, drawing up horoscopes, business or some other line, they are given an apprenticeship training in that line. They watch and study under a master, first attempting more simple tasks, and finally as they grow more proficient, attempting the more difficult part of the work until finally if successful, they too may become masters.<sup>5)</sup>

## B. The Role of the Teacher

In the lamasery training, the young boy first comes in under a kind of guardianship. Someone must take the responsibility, not only for introducing him to the authorities, but of keeping a watchful eye upon him during his early training. Sometimes this guardian is a relative, an uncle perhaps who is a lama, or it may be a friend of the family, or someone whom the family chooses to take the responsibility for the youth entering the training.<sup>6)</sup> In some cases this guardian will also be the first teacher of the young boy,<sup>7)</sup> but if there is ample means another lama may be chosen to teach him.<sup>8)</sup>

1) Bell, *People*, p. 268; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 211; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Ward, *Plant Hunter*, p. 192.

2) Bell, *People*, p. 267; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 211; Cutting, *Fire Ox*, pp. 211, 212; Huc, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 139-141; Tolstoy, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

3) Bell, *People*, p. 269; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 203; Das, *Journey*, pp. 260-261; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

4) Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 69, 70; *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 35, 251; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

5) Bell, *People*, p. 204; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 99-100; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 285-286; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 360; Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

6) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 100-101; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49; Li, *As. R.*, p. 916; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 174.

7) Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 107; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 100-101; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Li, *As. R.*, p. 916; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 263; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 123; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 174.

8) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95.

The parents give gifts to the teacher corresponding to his standing, so that he receives some remuneration for his services.<sup>1)</sup> The teacher may take on several pupils at once, and is not by any means limited to one.<sup>2)</sup> His pupils serve him by running errands for him, waiting on him and are very much at his beck and call.<sup>3)</sup> Without a doubt, a selfish lama makes the most of such service to the exclusion of study, and in that case the boys do not make much progress in their learning.<sup>4)</sup>

If the youth appears unusually gifted he may attract the attention of the lamasery authorities, who will then encourage him to devote himself to whatever line they think useful.<sup>5)</sup> Thus, talented boys even though poor will receive encouragement. The great danger is the student who has no private means and who shows no particular gifts, for he is likely to drift along without guidance or help and show very little progress along any line.<sup>6)</sup> It is the bulk of these drifters and idlers who leave a bad impression with observers and even arouse the criticism of the Tibetan people themselves.<sup>7)</sup> Yet in one way they are not really to blame for being in that situation since they may have lacked encouragement and help along the way.

As the student lama gets older, or if he enters the training at a later age, he may choose his own teacher.<sup>8)</sup> Even then, as an adult, he does not pay his teacher a regular salary, but gives remuneration in the form of gifts at proper times.<sup>9)</sup> It is difficult to discover who acts as the teachers since

1) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 11, 101; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 174.

2) David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 23, 62, 73; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Li, *As. R.*, p. 921; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

3) Bell, *People*, p. 202; Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 208; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 11, 101; Ellam, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 6; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 95; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 174.

4) Cf. David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

5) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 107; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 65; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 181; *Lhasa*, p. 374.

6) David-Neel, *Journey*, p. 276; *Magic*, pp. 99, 102, 244; *Initiations*, p. 22; Forman, *Forb. Tib.*, pp. 91-92; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 137; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

7) Bell, *People*, p. 171; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 109; *Initiations*, p. 22; Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 185, 215, 243, 253-254.

8) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 21, 23; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

9) David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 17, 40; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Wentz, *Milarepa*, p. 61, note 1.

I think Li, *As. R.*, p. 917, is mistaken in saying that the teachers get nothing from their students. His idea that the absence of tuition fees and salary makes a different teacher-pupil relationship is also open to question. It seems to me the gifts to lamasery authorities and teachers are simply a Tibetan version of fees and salary on a small scale. Cf. Chapter III, note 74 and Chapter IV, note 14.

there is never a set faculty as such.<sup>1)</sup> In some lamaseries there are rules as to the number of years of required training before a lama is allowed to teach.<sup>2)</sup> In other cases it is doubtful if much attention is paid to the qualifications of the teacher, especially when the young candidate comes from a poor family.<sup>3)</sup>

In the early lamasery training, the relationship between pupil and teacher varies considerably. As mentioned previously, individual teachers are either harsh or lax in the treatment of their young charges, according to circumstances.<sup>4)</sup> In later stages of learning, the relationship between pupil and teacher may be more intimate. In the case of esoteric training, once the seeker has been initiated into the higher knowledge there is a strong bond between himself and the master.<sup>5)</sup> Even in the general lamasery training something of this intimacy enters in, especially in more advanced training.<sup>6)</sup> The writer personally heard an ex-lama, even after he had forsaken the lamahood, speak with particular affection, pride and reverence of "My teacher", referring to the lama who had been his teacher in training. Madame David-Neel says that those seeking mystical knowledge speak of their teacher as "My lama".<sup>7)</sup>

In all advanced training it is considered necessary to have a teacher to help one understand the deeper meanings of the written word. The texts are too complex and contain too many hidden meanings to be able to understand them adequately without help.<sup>8)</sup> In esoteric training, the teacher is the indispensable guide to lead into the progressive stages of training, and to warn against the dangers in the way.<sup>9)</sup> Teaching in this sense requires that the teacher be an expert, one who has actually gained the knowledge himself and has had the experience of that which he is imparting.<sup>10)</sup> The expert in esoteric training is not always a trained lama; he may be an independent mystic of some fame and standing.<sup>11)</sup>

1) Li, *As. R.*, pp. 921, 922; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

2) Li, *As. R.*, p. 916; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

3) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 101; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4) See Chapter IV, notes 28 and 29.

5) Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 44; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 17, 42-43, 58; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 253; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 166; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 51.

6) Li, *As. R.*, p. 922; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-361; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 181, 182.

7) David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 17; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 423; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 51.

8) Gell, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 191; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 200; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 51, 109, 171, 172.

9) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 42; N. Colgan, "Tibet's Secret Doctrine," *East. W.*, vol 4 (1950), p. 18; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 246, 270; *Initiations*, p. 28; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 200; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 27, 68, 157, 179; *Milarepa*, p. 256.

10) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 38, 42, 91; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 17, 22, 49, 58; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 182; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 254, 282; *Milarepa*, pp. 140-141.

11) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 246, 267; *Initiations*, pp. 14-15, 17, 23, 24, 40. (Also implied in other contexts).

Since the guidance of the master, especially in esoteric training, is so important, Tibetans regard the choice of a teacher as extremely important.<sup>1)</sup> Each individual seeker is of a different personality, and at a different stage along the path to Enlightenment, so each one needs different guidance and advice. Tibetans also believe that there are many different methods of obtaining enlightenment and therefore the seeker should try to choose the one which seems most fitted to his needs, as well as the one which appeals to him the most.<sup>2)</sup> The choice of a teacher for mystic training is more intuitive than logical. According to David-Neel, Tibetans believe that only those with certain ties in past lives can be associated effectually as teacher and pupil in such training.<sup>3)</sup>

Once this choice is made, the pupil is completely under the command of the master and must be willing to do anything which he suggests.<sup>4)</sup> Usually the pupil must undergo a more or less severe probationary period. The master puts the disciple through all sorts of tests to discover hidden weaknesses of character and to prepare him for the final grasping of the knowledge which he seeks, for it is believed that such knowledge can only be given to one who is ready to receive it.<sup>5)</sup> Milarepa, the famous poet and ascetic, is a typical example of a seeker who had to undergo this type of training. During his testing period he was asked to build, without any outside help, nine different buildings. Eight of these he had to tear down—no sooner did he finish them under great hardship, than he was commanded by his teacher Marpa to destroy them. At times he was ignored by his master, abused, scolded, mocked, until he was at the point of despair and was ready to leave his teacher and give up the whole quest. In the end his patience was rewarded and he did receive with much joy the initiation into the teaching he had sought so earnestly.<sup>6)</sup> Apparently such testing periods are not unusual in Tibet even today.<sup>7)</sup>

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1) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 90; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 246; *Initiations*, p. 21.

2) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 91; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 246, 269, 270; *Initiations*, p. 22; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 34–35, 157, 254; *Milarepa*, pp. 149, note 1; 233.

3) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43, 90, 91; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 183, 187; *Initiations*, pp. 23–24; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 87ff.

4) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 63, 83, 84; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 32; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 16, 163, 179ff., 269; *Initiations*, p. 59; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 319, 329; Wentz, *Milarepa*, Chapters V, VI, VII give countless instances.

5) Bell, *Religion*, pp. 83, 84; Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 43; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 89, 90, 103; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 179ff., 218–219, 246; *Initiations*, pp. 24, 40, 41, 59; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 319; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Cf. Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 88, 133, 225; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 157, 172, 219, 254, 282; *Milarepa*, p. 68, note 1, and all of Chapter V.

6) Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 93–135.

7) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 167, 179, 180; *Initiations*, p. 60; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 318–319.

During all mystic training, even after initiation, the pupil is under the advice of the teacher as to disciplinary routine, how to spend his time, what type of activities to concentrate on, etc.<sup>1)</sup> On rare occasions a pupil makes a wrong choice of teacher, and in this case he will be dismissed and advised to go elsewhere or perhaps sent away without any explanation. If he learns all he can from one master but desires more enlightenment, he may be advised to seek a master even more advanced than the first.<sup>2)</sup>

### C. Esoteric Aspects of Training

While Tibetans regard the teacher as highly important, they also stress the importance of the methods for obtaining knowledge.<sup>3)</sup> As David-Neel points out, the knowledge itself can hardly be considered esoteric since it is so thoroughly and openly discussed and read in the many written sources inside as well as outside the lamaseries. Rather, it is the methods used to facilitate the attainment and experience of that knowledge which may be shrouded in secrecy.<sup>4)</sup>

For Tibetans, an important aspect of acquiring Enlightenment is the "impartation of power", which for want of a better English term is called "initiation".<sup>5)</sup> David-Neel says that in so simple a matter as learning the Tibetan alphabet, there is a preceding initiation.<sup>6)</sup> Even before anyone, lay or lama, can say the ubiquitous formula "Om mane padme hum" with effectiveness, he too must have an initiation.<sup>7)</sup> The initiation itself may be a very simple ceremony or sometimes in the case of mystics it may be lengthy and complex. A seeker may undergo more than one initiation, perhaps even a series of them for different phases of teaching. Rites vary according

1) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 34; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 269; *Initiations*, pp. 50, 109; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 200; Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 120, 121, 136.

2) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 107; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 181; *Initiations*, pp. 23, 24, 29, 77.

3) The Tibetan stress on method is shown in many ways—for example, the well-known symbols, the thunderbolt typifying the male element or method, and the hand-bell typifying the female element or knowledge, also the images of the Divine Father-Mother (Tibetan: Yab-Yum) in sexual union. Cf. Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 91; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 24, 25; *Initiations*, pp. 25, 26, 27, 96; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 199, 374 (and photo *op.*), 245ff.; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 146 note 3, 147 note 2.

4) David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 57 note 1; *Initiations*, pp. 25, 28, 136, 137; Cf. Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

5) Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 96; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 213, 218, 254, 297; *Initiations*, p. 169; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 88, 200, 224, 236; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 219; *Milarepa*, pp. 10, 132 note 3, 141, 211, 233.

6) David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 42.

7) Cf. Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 101; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 83ff.

to the kind of initiation, the sect represented, and according to the degree of the initiation.<sup>1)</sup> David-Neel describes three kinds—exoteric, esoteric and mystic initiation and three degrees of these kinds—the common, the medium and the superior, each with several varieties of its own. The exoteric initiation is usually a ritual in which the disciple is brought under the protection of some powerful being in order to achieve certain ends, or it may be in the nature of permission and power to perform some devotional act. In the esoteric initiation, the disciple is brought into psychic communion with all those who have mastered what he now seeks, and is enabled to share a measure of their power. This type of initiation is also used for disciples beginning certain mystical practices such as warming themselves without fire (Tibetan: *tumo*) or undergoing the rite of offering their body to demons as food (Tibetan: *chöd*). In the case of the mystic initiation, according to David-Neel, the rite shows that the disciple has been admitted as a candidate for special instruction. Through psychic ties between the disciple and masters, present or past, the initiate can receive power to perform certain mystic practices and develop particular physical or mental faculties. Mystic initiations also form an introduction to yoga practices, introspective meditation and special psychical training.<sup>2)</sup>

Two important aspects of most initiations are the invocation to the spirits for aid, and the blessing upon the seeker.<sup>3)</sup> Back of the master who performs the initiation are also the many other experts who in ages past have attained insight and who in a mysterious way, are believed to aid and guide the seeker into wisdom.<sup>4)</sup> Most initiations are kept secret—the initiate is under vow to tell no one what has occurred—sometimes he does not even reveal the fact that he has been initiated.<sup>5)</sup>

Tibetans speak of three ways of imparting knowledge. Telepathy is regarded as the highest of these forms. Theoretically there are supposed to be schools where teaching is transmitted entirely by this means but it is doubtful if they actually function entirely in that manner today. It is also a question if there are schools who transmit knowledge solely by the second

1) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 91; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 213, 254; *Initiations*, pp. 51ff., 83; Wentz, *Milarepa*, p. 156.

2) David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51. Cf. Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 166–167; Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 132 note 3, 140, 143.

3) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15, 89, 94–95, 103; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 43, 47–48; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 167; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 123 note 1; *Book of Dead*, p. 67; *Milarepa*, pp. 9, 132 note 3.

4) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15, 89, 94–95; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 43, 47–48; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 123, 140 note 2, 171, 182–184, 264, 271, 310; *Book of Dead*, p. 67; *Milarepa*, p. 96 note 1, 132 Note 3.

5) Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 94; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 213; *Initiations*, pp. 29, 77, 137; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 75.

method, namely, silent gestures and signs. However, telepathy and gestures as means of communication are practiced by some mystics and are also used to some extent as teaching methods by some masters even at the present time. The third means of teaching is the usual way in which the teacher speaks audibly and the disciple listens.<sup>1)</sup> This is apparently the method used mostly in the Gelugpa lamaseries, and probably many of the other lamaseries as well.

Students of the esoteric schools use various kinds of exercises as an aid to the attainment of knowledge. Meditation for set periods of time on a given subject is one form. For example, students may be told to meditate on the theme: "My body is like a mountain; my eyes are like the ocean; my mind is like the sky." The object of such meditation is to lead to particular states of mental concentration or to aid the grasping of certain aspects of truth.<sup>2)</sup>

Other exercises, often referred to as yoga, use special breathing postures and train in the control of respiration. These are of many kinds and have varying aims such as obtaining health, producing supernormal faculties, or leading to illumination of the mind. Often included are visualization exercises. For example, the imagination centers on certain deities and, accompanied by special rites, visualizes these beings going through a series of transformations. By this means the initiate is able to contact a source of energy higher than his own and receive the desired benefits. In other cases the pupil is told to fixedly study some object, concrete or imagined, and identify himself with this object. Contemplation of the sun or the sky is also practiced. Different mental attitudes and psychic states not commonly experienced are effected by these unusual practices, say the masters. The varying reactions of students to these exercises as well as the possible benefits to be derived have been studied and explained by the masters and sometimes there are written dissertations on the specific subject.<sup>3)</sup>

A well known method used by Lamaists as an aid to acquiring Enlighten-

1) Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 318, 328-329; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94, 105; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 230ff.; *Initiations*, pp. 32, 33, 49, 50; Tucci, *Art & Let.*, p. 41; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 50, 123, 171, 178, note 1.

2) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94, 105; David-Neel, *Initiations*, pp. 110ff.; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

3) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 20ff.; Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 215; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Cunningham, *LA*, p. 553; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 199ff.; 266-267, 272ff.; *Initiations*, pp. 92ff.; 100ff., 125ff.; Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 124ff.; F. D. Lessing, "The Thirteen, Visions of a Yogācārya," *Ethnos*, vols. 15 (1950), pp. 108ff.; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 146, 157; *in Ferm*, pp. 259, 260, 263; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 244; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, pp. 242ff.; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 112-114, 134-135, 257-258; *Art & Let.*, p. 41; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 145-146; *Lhasa*, p. 243; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 283, 284; *Book of Dead*, p. 66.

ment is that of shutting oneself away from others. The isolation is of varying degrees, and the extent of the contact with people and the outside world varies according to whatever degree is decided upon. There may be only partial isolation, stages of greater isolation or it may be complete, in which case no conversation and no visual contact with others is allowed. The extremists of such methods are the hermit-ascetics and those who shut themselves in total darkness for a set period of time or for life. It is believed that such isolation is conducive to great concentration of mind and can lead to various stages of Enlightenment.<sup>1)</sup> Meditation in solitude is perhaps stressed more by the Red Cap sects than the Yellow, though it is an accepted method in all sets.<sup>2)</sup> Where the initiation itself is a kind of transmission of power as an aid to acquiring knowledge, it is the meditation, many believe, which leads to the experience and grasp of the knowledge. Often before initiation, master and pupil engage in meditation as a preparation for the rite and after initiation the pupil may be sent into more or less isolated quarters to meditate on the truth and make it his own.<sup>3)</sup>

The use of mystic symbols, objects and diagrams forms an important part of all training and especially the mystic's training. Only those who are skilled masters can construct the complex mystic diagrams used in some ceremonies, and only the initiated know the meanings attached to the objects and their arrangement. Ceremonial objects form an important part of the lamasery chanting as well as various other rites.<sup>4)</sup>

Perhaps even more important to both lay and lama are the mystic formulas.<sup>5)</sup> According to Ekvall, the practice of entoning religion is one of the universals of the Tibetan religion. As he points out, it is linked to some extent with word magic. "The word is identified with the concept for

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1) Chapman, *Lhasa*, p. 213; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Cunningham, *LA*, p. 553; Cutting, *NH*, (1932), p. 294; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 247ff.; *Initiations*, p. 120; Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.; Li, *JAOS*, p. 59; *As. R.*, p. 922; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 111ff.; *Twenty Yrs.*, p. 140; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 247ff.; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 148ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 224; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 158.

2) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 240; David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 120; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

3) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 103; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 76-77; *Initiations*, pp. 50, 72, 76, 169, 170; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 279; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 133-134, 200, 225; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 242; Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 7, 86, 136, 141ff., 233, 290.

4) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 137, 265ff.; Guibaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96, 166-167; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 249-251, 267; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-228; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Tucci, *Shrines*, pp. 88, 112, 224, 235, 236; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 294ff., 398-400, 424ff., 445ff.; *Lhasa*, p. 243; Wentz, *Yoga*, pp. 150, 283, 318; and scattered references too numerous to cite throughout Bromage, *op. cit.*, and David-Neel, *Initiations*.

5) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 101ff.; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 258ff.; *Initiations*, pp. 83ff.; Migot, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 97, 167; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff.; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 148ff.; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 283.

which it stands and in that identification enforced by repetition in all forms it operates on behalf of the one who entones religion." Certainly both lay and lama spend much time entoning mystic formulas. This is something every Tibetan is taught and learns. He would scarcely be identifiable as a Tibetan without it.<sup>1)</sup>

All the symbolism, ritual and pageantry which form such an important part of the religious training undoubtedly exert great influence not only on the lamas but on the lay Tibetans. Apart from any religious aspect, the intimate understanding of these things is the mark of an "educated" man in Tibet. The layman is made acutely aware of his inadequacy in these matters and at the same time is aroused to great respect not only for the complex and colorful ceremonies themselves but for those who are the "educated" ones in their knowledge and performance. Secular education, by contrast, must seem drab and meritless to the average Tibetan. It is possible this will prove a serious obstacle to the introduction of any new aims or techniques of education among Tibetans.

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1) Ekvall, *Oriens*, p. 337.

## CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSION

## A. The Progress of the Individual in the Lama Training

In the Tibetan system of lama training, personal advancement depends very much on the individual. In the case of the mystic outside the lamasery, this advancement may be difficult to measure. No degree or rank marks the end of any phase of training.<sup>1)</sup> Nor does the fact of initiation necessarily mean success. Many Tibetan masters point out that the final achievement is really in the hands of the individual. Even after initiation, there is the possibility the seeker may somehow fail to enter into the real experience of that which he sought. The presence or lack of faith and boldness to grasp the opportunity offered at the time of initiation affects the final result, is the explanation of mystics.<sup>2)</sup> If there is actual achievement, in time it may be recognized not only by the master and the immediate circle of disciples but by the community of lay Tibetans. In this case the mystic will achieve a measure of fame and prestige which places him above his fellow-seekers. If he is believed to have magical powers he may receive a special reverence from both lay and lama classes.<sup>3)</sup>

The advancement in the general lamasery training is outwardly easier to measure. Certain grades and ranks serve as guideposts along the way. The names and number of grades vary a little in the sects but the general principle of grading is very similar. Li says that in the Karjupa sect the ranks are as follows: student monks, student assistants, and professors. After the formal training, there is psycho-physical training which takes place in a three year retreat in dark cells and entitles the student to be called "Lama". To mark further advancement, the titles "Self-perfecting Lama",

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1) Degrees and ranks are conferred only in the institutional training, therefore they are non-existent outside the lamasery. It appears that the conferring of special degrees is distinctly a Gelugpa practice and where a similar practice exists in the other sects, it has perhaps been copied from the Gelugpa.

2) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Bromage, *op. cit.*, p. 89; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 11, 297; *Initiations*, pp. 20, 48-49, 59; Pallis, *op. cit.*, p. 274; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 148, note 1; *Milarepa*, pp. 86-87. Cf. also Ekvall, *Oriens*, pp. 336-337 on the importance of faith as a Tibetan universal.

3) See Chapter III, note 42.

“Officiating Lama” and “Perfection-Giving Lama” are bestowed.<sup>1)</sup> In the Nyingmapa, Li mentions the grades of beginner, novice to be, regular student, fully ordained monk, student assistant, Self-perfecting Lama and Professor.<sup>2)</sup> According to Li the stages in Bön lamasery training are similar to the Nyingma sect though the names differ.<sup>3)</sup>

In the Gelugpa lamasery training, the young child with no background goes through a kind of preparatory stage of tutoring. Following this is a probationary period which may last three to six years, depending on the age and ability of the individual. In the case of an adult with some educational background this time may be shortened considerably or omitted by passing an examination. After being examined and accepted for initiation into the lamahood, the candidate becomes a regular student lama. There are divisions into classes and a heavy course of study which may last twelve to fifteen years or longer. If the student is successful in examinations and disputations he may become a fully ordained monk and be called a *gelong*.<sup>4)</sup> For various reasons—poverty, lack of ability or lack of ambition—many students are never able to rise to this height<sup>5)</sup>. A *gelong* must be at least twenty years of age and actually most men are about forty before they attain to this rank.<sup>6)</sup> Any time before or after becoming a *gelong*, a student lama may attempt to gain a special degree such as *Rabjampa*, *Dorampa* or *Geshe*. The *Geshe* degree is the highest honor attainable and stamps the lama as outstanding in ability and knowledge. It has been compared to the Doctor of Divinity degree in western schools.<sup>7)</sup>

It seems to be the general condition in all sects that the greater number of students are enrolled in the exoteric or more general course. The esoteric courses specialize in medicine or astrology, for example, and fewer students

1) Li, *JAOS*, p. 59. (For Tibetan names for these ranks see Li's article).

2) Li, *JRAS*, pp. 154-155; in Ferm, pp. 260-261.

3) *SWJAn*, (1948), p. 40.

4) Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Deniker, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, 46-47; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 77 (quoting from Koeppen, *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*); Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 331; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 95-102; *Oxf. Pamph.*, p. 20; Rockhill, *L of L*, pp. 90, 91; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-126; Schlagintweit, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Teichman, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 171-173.

5) Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Li, *JRAS*, p. 154; Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 96, 97; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 430; Tucci, *Shrines*, p. 215.

6) Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 77 (quoting Koeppen, *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*); Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 291; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 101; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 185.

7) Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 191, 271; Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 46; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Li, *As. R.*, p. 920; in Ferm, p. 261; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 102; *Twenty Yrs.*, pp. 202-203; McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 429, 430, 431; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 82; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 185, 186.

enroll.<sup>1)</sup> If the lama wishes, he may bypass the exoteric and take only the esoteric course or he may transfer from the exoteric course to the esoteric, but not the reverse procedure.<sup>2)</sup> However, the highest positions and honors in the Gelugpa hierarchy are reserved for those who first complete the exoteric course and then master the esoteric.<sup>3)</sup>

There are many outward incentives for pursuing this stiff course of instruction. Those who attain high rank and degree are eligible for appointment to high positions in the religious world and besides gain the advantage of greater income and prestige.<sup>4)</sup> Theoretically the opportunity for advancement is equal, but it must be admitted there are distinct advantages for the individual with private means at his disposal. The poor lama student must find a way to earn his living as he proceeds along the scale in the lama training.<sup>5)</sup> If he wishes to be a scholar, he must spend much time in study and will have little time for outside work to provide for his livelihood.<sup>6)</sup> His food and living quarters will be meager in comparison to those who come from wealthy families.<sup>7)</sup> He faces a long arduous routine of study and it is not surprising that some who start out with ambition lose heart along the way and take an easier road. There is very little luck involved. It is either a matter of being born with an easier lot or facing a hard road ahead.

Every advancement in the scale of rank means a big outlay in gifts and feasting. The teachers and authorities receive gifts commensurate with the honor, and fellow students must be feasted.<sup>8)</sup> For a poor student such an outlay is impossible unless he borrows money.<sup>9)</sup> There are other ways in which private financial means are an asset. It is possible to secure a privileged status which exempts one from certain required service to the lamasery and which shortens the term of required study before taking a degree. The theory is that by exemption from these duties, the lama can devote more time to study and therefore be ready for the final testing in a shorter time.

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1) Filchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 89, 90, 93; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Li, *in Ferm*, p. 266; *As. R.*, pp. 915-916; Mei, *Kumbum*, p. 677; Rockhill, *Diary*, pp. 99-100.

2) Li, *JRAS*, p. 155; *As. R.*, p. 920; *in Ferm*, pp. 261, 265.

3) Bell, *TP&P*, p. 228; Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 207; Li, *As. R.*, p. 915; *in Ferm*, pp. 266-267; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 83, 84; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 186; cf. Chapter V, note 20.

4) See Chapters III, note 40 and IV, note 16.

5) Cf. Chapter IV, notes 11 and 13.

6) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 327; cf. also Macdonald, *L of L*, pp. 96-97.

7) Cutting, *Fire Ox*, p. 194; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 326, 348; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 166; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

8) Bell, *Religion*, p. 176; Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 348; Macdonald, *L of L*, p. 97; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123, 126; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 82; Tsybikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 737; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 177, 178, 185 (note), 186.

9) Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

There is only one drawback—such a status requires the usual gifts and feasting and is another serious obstacle to a poor student.<sup>1)</sup> He may want to devote more time to study, but if he studies, he has no time to earn more money and therefore no way of securing an exemption. If he performs the required duties he has less time for study and may find it impossible to attain a high standard of scholarship. It is a vicious circle. Unless someone befriends such a lama and undertakes to help him,<sup>2)</sup> or unless he has the courage to go into debt, relying on the hope of future gains to repay what he has borrowed, there is not much chance for advancement to the highest ranks.

The goal of the individual lama in the general training varies. Since wealth and prestige can be gained by attaining a high rank or by attaining mystical powers, such a reward may be worth the struggle to some individuals. Their motives may be purely material,<sup>3)</sup> or they may be a mixture of materialism coupled with an earnest desire for spiritual progress.<sup>4)</sup> The system as such unwittingly tends to foster material ambition,<sup>5)</sup> and it is not at all surprising to find shrewd lamas who through hard effort, or through scheming and using influence in the right places, have been able to achieve their ambition to rise high in the scale. Those at the top are men of strong character and ability, whether their motives are unselfish or for personal gain.<sup>6)</sup> For the earnest devout seekers after truth, who go through intense personal suffering to attain their goal,<sup>7)</sup> we can only have the deepest admiration. How much their ultimate success is due to the benefit of the system of teaching and doctrine, and how much to their own personal initiative is difficult to say.

The goals of the mystics also vary. A popular goal with many, though regarded by the few as a lower aim, is the coercion of the gods. Usually those who follow such a goal believe in the reality of the gods and wish to

1) Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77.

2) Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 350; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Li, *JRAS*, pp. 152, 153 mentions that the Nyingmapa give scholarships to some students.

3) Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 259; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 99, 255; Grenard, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Hedin, *Asia*, p. 279; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 347–348; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 93; Rijnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Roerich, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 274; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Tsybikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 737; Wentz, *Yoga*, p. 325.

4) David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 15, 99; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 93; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 274; Sherap, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Tucci, *Sbrines*, p. 245; *Art & Let.*, p. 41.

5) Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 65; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 107–108; Grenard, *op. cit.*, pp. 334–335; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 348; Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 79.

6) Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, pp. 237–238; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 128; cf. also Chapters III, note 39 and IV, notes 48, 51.

7) Asboe, *IRM*, p. 291; David-Neel, *Magic*, p. 99; Hedin, *Asia*, p. 75; Huc, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Maraini, *Sec. Tib.*, p. 93; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 276, 278; Sherap, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 153; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 71–72; *Art & Let.*, p. 41; cf. also Chapter III, note 42.

obtain from them some kind of magical power either for selfish purposes or for benevolent ends. Such training may be long and arduous and some succeed while others fail.<sup>1)</sup> The goal of a few mystics is Enlightenment—not a mere mental knowledge but the actual experience of it.<sup>2)</sup> The regular discipline and training in the lamasery, the exoteric approach is sometimes compared to the longer but safer winding road to the summit. The esoteric training is like the more dangerous but faster shortcut to the peak—in fact, the Tibetan expression for this way of attaining Enlightenment is “The Short Path”.<sup>3)</sup> Most Gelugpa prefer the safer method of the long road, while most Red Cap sects favor the esoteric or shortcut methods.<sup>4)</sup>

### B. Some Limitations in the Lama System

Some aspects of the Tibetan lama training have been purposely ignored in this study. With such a rigorous schedule and strict discipline, one might expect some misfits and rebels. Not all men adjust to the lamasery routine and not all are able to conform to the lamasery's moral code. Some lamas are unable to hold to such a high standard of chastity as celibacy and either leave the training or deviate in various ways. No attempt is made in this paper to discuss the high incidence of homosexuality among the monks.<sup>5)</sup> However, for an accurate evaluation of the system all such by-products and results of the training should be taken into account. It is outside the purpose of the present writer to make any final or even partial analysis of the success or failure of the Tibetan education in its own setting. It is obvious from the information already given that Tibetan lama training has shown great power and strength within Tibet. In this study the weaknesses have been

1) Asboe, *IRM*, pp. 288–289; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83; Cammann, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Cunningham, *LA*, p. 554; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 44, 49, 103, 245, 286; *Initiations*, pp. 47, 91, 93, 94; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106; Li, *SWJAn*, (1948), p. 37; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 152–153.

2) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 28, 36, 107; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Cunningham, *LA*, pp. 553, 554; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 261, 267, 287; *Initiations*, pp. 14, 83, 169, 190; Ellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106; Li, *JRAS*, p. 150; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 110, 166, 189, 324; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 71–72, 113–114, 126; Wentz, *Milarepa*, p. 38 note 2, p. 107 note 2.

3) Bell, *Religion*, p. 93; Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 106; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 18; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 242–244; *Initiations*, pp. 14–15; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–144; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 265; Tucci, *Sbrines*, pp. 114, 257–258; cf. Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. ix, 125.

4) Bromage, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6; David-Neel, *Journey*, pp. 180–181; *Magic*, p. 242; *Initiations*, pp. 135–136; Migot, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Sandberg, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Wentz, *Milarepa*, pp. 4ff.; cf. also Chapter V, notes 21, 22.

5) Ekvall, *Cult. Rel.*, p. 37; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 217 (says it is condoned as giving proof that women play no part in the life of those monks); Illion, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 470; Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 139.

purposely under-stressed. It is easy for an outsider to be over-critical toward such strange techniques of teaching and minimize their value. The writer hopes rather that the information given will help to show why Tibetans are proud of their system of training and that it will perhaps give non-Tibetans a basis for a more sympathetic understanding of its worth.

A few basic limitations of the Tibetan religious education in relation to the outside world should be mentioned, however. It is the boast of Tibetan leaders that the lamas have complete freedom of religious belief and that there is complete religious tolerance in general,<sup>1)</sup> but this is hardly a fair way of stating the actual situation. It is true that the lamas have freedom to choose any of the paths in the Buddhist circle of religious thought, and this does allow a considerable variety of views, still it does not mean that non-Buddhist or anti-Buddhist teaching is tolerated in the lamasery. Nor do Tibetans who turn away from Buddhism to other religious faiths always find warm, easy acceptance among their own people.<sup>2)</sup>

The lamasery system is also isolationist—it is not really interested in understanding the rest of the world, or being understood by other people.<sup>3)</sup> Yet in our age it is impossible to ignore the rest of the world; what happens in one place ultimately affects another. The education of today needs to prepare the individual to adjust to life not only in his own little circle but as a member of a world community. The invasion of Tibet by Communist China was a brutal lesson on the tragedy of attempting to disregard the world outside one's own boundaries.

There is also a kind of rigidity about the Tibetan system of education which makes innovation, progress or any broadening of outlook, extremely difficult. A major weakness of the lama training is that it cannot change without experiencing a large measure of disintegration.<sup>4)</sup> This poses a grave peril for the future of Tibetan lamas. Still, the fact that Tibetans have been able to form and maintain such a unique and well-organized system

1) Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 338; Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 210–211; David-Neel, *Magic*, pp. 104–105, 269; Riencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Rin-chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121.

2) Cf. Bell, *Religion*, p. 151; *Portrait*, p. 350; Desideri, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103; Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Shen, *op. cit.*, p. 75 says “permits all individual pursuits provided certain basic concepts of Buddhism are not transgressed.”

3) Bell *Portrait*, pp. 22, 139, 350, 351; Cutting, *NH*, (1936), pp. 106, 112; Enders, *Nowhere*, p. 271; Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 45; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 388; Mathers, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 27; A. L. Shelton, *MRW*, p. 608; Steele, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81; Tucci, *Art & Let.*, p. 41; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 4.

4) Cf. Bell, *Portrait*, pp. 19, 20, 21, 185; Chapman, *Geog. J.*, p. 502; Filchner, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 249; Hopkinson, *JRCAS*, p. 237; Illion, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 87; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Li, *East. W.*, p. 6; *in Ferm*, p. 268; O'Connor, *in Landon*, p. 450; Macdonald, *Twenty Years*, p. 41; McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 366; Mathers, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Richardson, *JRCAS*, pp. 113, 114, 119; *Spec.*, p. 581; Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

of religious training, gives hope that they may also be able to survive the forced impact of Communism, the inevitable changes that will come, and yet have something to contribute to world society.

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