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Sacrifice and *lha pa* in the *glu rol* festival of Reb-skong

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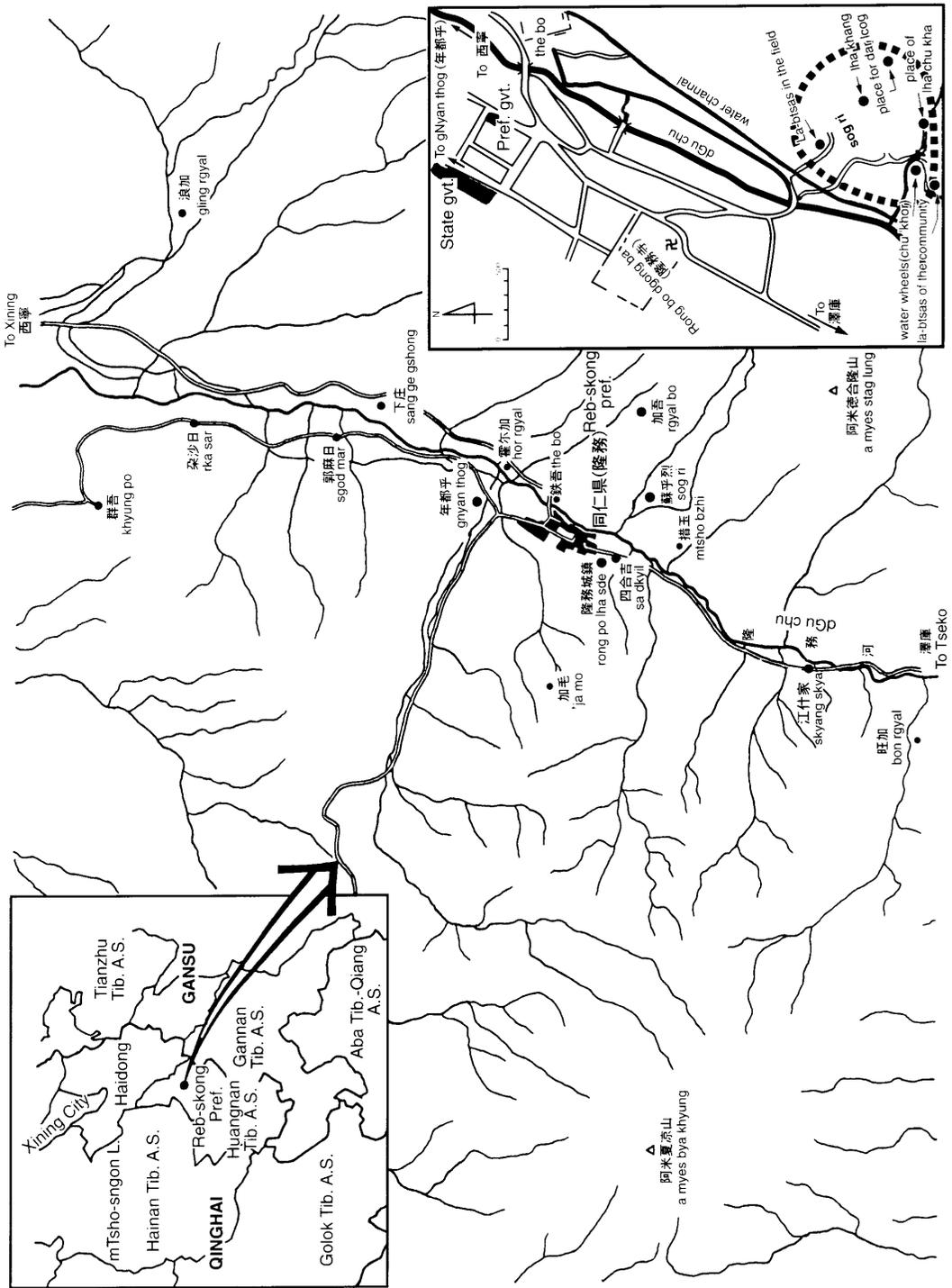
Introduction

Tibetan religious culture consists of stratified complex of ‘folk religion’ (Tucci 1980: 163-212) or ‘nameless religion’ (Stein 1972: 191-229), Buddhism, and Bon. Regardless of whether that nameless religion is the religion peculiar to Tibet as Stein claims, the popular religion has probably formed the basic layer of the stratified complex. On the other hand, it may be that Bon and Buddhism have expanded their powers as religious orders through having intentionally assimilated popular religion, and have produced their fruits. Bon and Buddhism are mainly concerned with matters of the other world such as karma and rebirth. However, popular religion shows its preeminent concern over well being in this world. As Samuel (1993: 176) demonstrates, popular religion has the pragmatic features, and “its religious power is applied to deal with the contingencies of everyday life in this world.” In order to deal with them, Tibetans have accumulated abundant and complicated popular religious knowledge. However, elucidation on the features of this basic layer and how complicated and abundant folk knowledge is has just recently been undertaken by Tibetologists.

The *Glu rol* ritual introduced here is the traditional folk communal rite at Reb-skong (Tongren 同仁 in Chinese), Huangnan (黄南) Tibetan Autonomous State, Qinghai Province, China. This ritual contains some features of magico-religious practices so-called *bon nag*, such as fumigation offerings to local protecting deities at *la btsas*, communication with those deities by means of a local medium (*lha pa*), oracles by *lha pa*, and the offerings of human flesh and blood done by mutilating the body. It shows us some aspects of folk religious knowledge about how to placate the vicious supernatural beings which cause unhappiness in daily life, how to effectively use the guardian deities against evils, and how to communicate with the protecting deities through folk mediums. Villagers of this area perform the ritual annually in order to ensure the prosperity of each village community and of its individual members and the fertility of the crops and livestock.

The aim of this paper is to describe the *glu rol* festival of Sog-ri village in Reb-skong on the basis of my observation of it from 1996 to 1999, and to search for some aspects of the nameless religion tradition.

MAP OF REB-SKONG AREA



1. The Reb-skong Area and Descriptions of the *Glu rol* Ritual

1.1.1 Historical background of ethnic formation of Reb-skong

The Reb-skong area is the farm belt along the dGu-chu River (隆務河), a tributary of the Yellow River. Historically speaking, the Reb-skong region was the area of fertile ground given to the Tibetan Empire by the Tang dynasty as the result of peace negotiations between the Tibetan Empire and the Tang in 710 A.D. Jiugu 九曲, a general term in Chinese for the dGu-chu area, originates from Tibetan; jiu 九 being the translation of Tibetan *dgu* 'nine', while qu 曲 being a transliteration of Tibetan *chu* 'river'. According to Sato (1978: 129), the area referred to as dGu-chu signifies the main parts of present Reb-skong in the middle reaches of this river. After the beginning of the 8th century, concentrations of Tibetans have resided around the Reb-skong area and gradually absorbed and assimilated the proto-Turk mongolians such as the 'A-zha (吐谷渾) and the descendants of Qiang (羌) who lived there since ancient times. Even after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, the major ethnic groups in this area have been formed mainly by the descendants of military men of the Tibetan Empire, the settlers from Central Tibet and their descendants.

The Reb-skong area, seen in this short history, has been a frontier from both the center of Tibet and from China, and has been a melting pot of ethnicity as well as culture.

1.1.2 General information about the present Reb-skong area

Reb-skong, situated about 190km southeast of Xining (西寧), the capital of Qinghai province, is a town between the mountains which range from north to south along the dGu-chu River. The prefectural government is located in the town of Rong-po lha-sde (隆務城鎮). Since the end of the 19th century, the town has been the center of the politics, economy and traffic of Reb-skong, and it has been the center of the collection and distribution of the products from around these areas as well. Rongwo Monastery (Tib. Rong-po dgon-pa, 隆務寺), erected in 1342, is also found here. This is a famous monastery for one of the six largest Buddhist temples in Amdo.

Except for the town of Rong-po lha-sde, farm villages (*grong pa tsho ba*) surrounded by barley (*nas*) and wheat (*gro*) fields are situated on the plateau of both banks along the dGu-chu River. Besides, both banks are fertile lands suitable for agriculture. Ekvall (1977), who visited here from Gansu (甘肅) in the 1920s, describes Reb-skong as a typical district of sedentary farmers (Tib. *rong pa*) in Amdo. The main agricultural products are barley, wheat, rapeseed, and potatoes that are the plants to adapt to the altitude of 2500m. Although recently livestock are rarely raised in farmhouses near Rong-po lha-sde, *yak* (Tib. *g-yag*) and *dri* (Tib. *'bri*) used to be kept by every house for milking or plowing. Yak, sheep and

goat meat is supplied to the town from the Tibetan nomads at Zeku (澤庫), located to the south of Reb-skong.

On the route from Rong-po lha-sde to Zeku, semi-agricultural and nomadic villages dot the river-banks. In the summer, these villagers migrate in a transhumance to the mountain range in which A-myes Bya-khyung (阿米夏涼山), the highest mountain (4767m) or A-myes sTag-lung (阿米德合隆山), the second highest one (3984m), is situated. This type of transhumance is typical of Tibetan nomadism, and utilizes the difference in altitudes. A-myes Bya-khyung and A-myes sTag-lung are the sacred mountains (*lha ri*) for the Tibetans of Reb-skong, and have *la btsas* on their summits. The Sa-dkyil (四合吉) villagers next to the Rong-po dgon-pa, who now perform *glu rol* ritual, visit the *la btsas* on the summit of A-myes Bya-khyung on the 1st of June of every year in accordance with the Hor rtsis calendar. Some of the semi-agricultural and nomadic villages also visit the *la btsas* of these mountains and set up poles topped with an arrow or spear before the summer festival of the community.

Reb-skong comprises 70,000 persons and 13,249 households, 70% of which are Tibetan. As for the remainder, Han people occupy 13% of the total population of Reb-skong, Hor 11%, Muslims 4.5%, Salars 1.5%, and Mongolians 0.17%, according to the statistics of 1990. The Han people have shown a reduction of about 5% in the past 10 years, whereas the other ethnic groups have increased by 20%. The administrative organization of the villages in Reb-skong consists of 10 *shang* (鄉) composed on the basis of method of production, ethnicity and geography. Each *shang* is composed of a set of 8-10 villages (*grong pa tsho pa*), each of which is formed by about 80-100 households. Each village chief (*grong dpon*) holds office for two years in the *grong pa tsho ba*. Until the Cultural Revolution, the hereditary feudal lord (*dpon po*) governed bands of men who were thought as a lineage with the same of 'bone' (*rus pa*).

Most of Tibetans and Horses are Buddhists. Rongwo Monastery in the center of the town used to be a monastery of Sa-skya sect which was transmitted from Tibet in the 10th century, but after the 15th century the monastery became a dGe-lugs-pa monastery. This monastery still has twelve incarnated lamas (*sprul ku*) and around 500 monks. Previously this area was a stronghold of the rNying-ma sect, and there are still some followers of that sect. There are villages belonging to rNying-ma-pa, for instance, Gling-rgyal (浪加) and some other semi-agricultural, nomadic villages on the route to southern Zeku (澤庫). They claim that Padmasambhava came to Reb-skong at the time of King Khri-srong lde-brtsan and cursed the hostile supernatural beings, some of which included mountain deities worshipped in the *glu rol* ritual.

In addition, there are five villages of Bonpo where a lama comes periodically for a mass from the head Bon monastery at *Bon brgya* (旺加). This head monastery, the biggest Bonpo monastery in Reb-skong, has one lama named A-

lags Bon-brgya and about 90 monks. It is supported by the semi-agricultural, nomadic villages at Bon-brgya. When I had an opportunity at this monastery to see the 'cham dedicated to the *yi dam* called dBal-gsas, I had an impression that the *glu rol* ritual and the Bon rituals for the *yi dam* are similar in many ways. Ekvall (1977: 65) also described the religious situation of Reb-skong in the 1920's:

In religion,the sedentary people appear to be more completely under the domination of the lamaseries and are more meticulous in the observance and performance of all the religious duties incident to Lamaism. Also among them there is a much greater amount of animism — the still active residue of the ancient Bon religion of Tibet — than among the nomads. In Reb-kong and Te-kok, the most typical sedentary districts of Amdo, are found the headquarters of two branches of the “sorcerer sect,” and people of the valleys, the *rong-wa*, are the most devout of all the Tibetans. There are many survivals not only of Bon religious activity but of the older, unreformed Red sect of lamaism.

His observation on religious situation of Reb-skong still seems to be apt to that of the present day religion on the whole.

1.2 General description of *Glu rol* of Reb-skong

1.2.1 Meaning of the word *Glu rol*

The word, *glu rol*, can be interpreted in two ways since *glu* and *klu* are homonymous. *Glu* means a song, especially one sung only on a mountain. The mountain gods are said to be fond of mountain songs (*ri glu*). *Glu* is clearly distinct from *gzhas*, which is usually accompanied by a dance. *Klu*, on the other hand, stands for dragon — a term which includes aquatic cold-blooded animals such as snakes and frogs. I believe that among these etymologies, *glu* is much more accurate as a general term for this ritual. Next, *rol* means (1) playing a traditional musical instrument, and (2) amusement (*rtsed mo*). Therefore, the word *glu rol* signifies a festival with singing and the playing of musical instruments. This word, in addition to the meanings above, connotes a mountain and height, and the play between gods and men.

It is possible, however, to interpret *klu rol*, as ‘playing with the *klu* deity’, because the *klu* is an important deity for sedentary farmers, in association with water. In fact, Gling-rgyal villagers belonging to rNying-ma-pa perform only *klu rtsed* and worship *klu mo* as well in the *glu rol*. The fact that interpretations of (1) and (2) prevail among Tibetans indicates the expansion of the worship objects from the main mountain gods to watery deities, *klu*, or the more agricultural development of *glu rol* festival.

1.2.2 *Glu rol* rite performers, times and duration

The monks of Buddhism and Bon neither participate in *glu rol* nor come to see it. The farmers of a particular village, for the most part, carry it out themselves,

including the recitation of scriptures for gods written by a lama of the sect to which each village belongs. Only men perform it only for their own village. Almost all of them are laymen without any special religious training. Most villages force at least one male between 15 and 50 years old from each household to participate in the festival. Females are not directly involved in the matters concerning the festival. They participate only as spectators of the rite. As will be described later, however, young unmarried females participate in the *glu rol* by dancing a 'dragon dance.'

At present each *glu rol* is performed for a few days from the 15th to the 25th of the sixth month of the Hor rtsis calendar. One elder says, however, that this rite was previously performed according to the Tibetan Hor rtsis calendar (*bsod nams lo tho*), which is said to still be in use in agricultural villages in Ladakh, Sikkhim, Xigaze (Tib. gZhis-ka-rtse) and other places (Osmaston and Tasi Rabgyas 1994: 111-119). This is a solar calendar, so the winter and summer solstices serve as important breaks in the cosmological time cycle during the year. Although these community rituals are held in accordance with this time cycle, the summer *glu rol* festival is more prosperous than the winter rite on New Year's Eve.

According to the elder *lha pa* of Sog-ri village, he goes into trance at the time of the New Year's Eve ritual as well as at the time of the midsummer *glu rol*. In the New Year's Eve ritual, small fumigation offerings and text recitations for the gods are performed at the village shrine, attended by only two *lha pa*, elders and the men in charge. At that time, *klu rta* (a sheet of paper on which *klus* are depicted) is also burned for the purpose of exorcising evil spirits.

Considering these facts, we can probably say that a *glu rol* shows traces that the renewal of the cosmological time cycle for one year was originally the winter and summer solstices. From the calendar of winter and summer solstices for the breaks in the time cycle, we can say that the older one has persisted to have strong relation with the faith of the mountain gods (Naumann 1994), and reflects the 'echo of a society based essentially on hunting' (Tucci 1980: 155-156).

1.2.3 Villages performing *Glu rol*

The *glu rols* are not performed by all the villages of sedentary farmers at Reb-skong. They are carried out only by a part of the Tibetan and Hor villages at the center of Reb-skong. They are not held among semi-agricultural, nomadic Tibetan villages nor nomadic villages. Moreover, no *glu rols* are performed in the Bonpo villages.

The Tibetan villages where the author observed the *glu rol* rituals for four years are:

- (1) Sog-ri (蘇乎烈), Sa-dkyil (四合吉), and The-bo (鉄吾), in the Rong-po tsho-ba area
- (2) Gling-rgyal (浪加) of Baoanxing (保安郷)

(3) sKyang-skya (江什家) of Qukuxiang (曲庫乎鄉)

The Hor villages are:

(4) gNyan-thog (年都乎), sGo-mar (郭麻日), Kha-sar (朵沙日), Hor-rgyal (霍尔加) and Sang-geg-shong (下庄)

The villages that claim to be descended from the same lineage, clan or tribe traditionally participate in or make a visit to each other's *glu rol*.

1.3 Description of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri village

General information on the *glu rol* at Reb-skong has been provided above. However, since the *glu rol* of each village has variations in the enshrined deities and procedures of the festival, the *glu rol* of Sog-ri village is focused on in this section. The following description on the *glu rol* at Sog-ri are based on my observations for four years from 1996 to 1999.

1.3.1 Sog-ri village

The Rong-po tsho-ba in the center of Reb-skong are the twelve Reb-skong 'tribes' (*shog kha*) located in the seven villages of mTsho-bzhi, Sog-ri, 'Ja mo, The-bo (The bu'u), Rong-po lha-sde, Sa-dkyil and Bis-pa. Of these villages, only three performed *glu rol* in the Rong-po villages in 1996-1999. The remaining villages traditionally participate in one or more of those three.

Sog-ri is situated on the east bank of the dGu-chu River, across from Rong-po lha-sde, Rong-po monastery and Sa-dkyil village. It consists of the following four villages:

1. Sa mchod
Two present *lha pa* come from this village, and the shrine of the *glu rol* is located here.
2. Reb-tsha
This is the oldest village of the four, and has a legend about the history of the Sog-ri villagers that will be touched upon later.
3. Klu-tshang
This is located near the brook where *lha chu kha* is held.
4. Dar dmar
This has the largest population and is the strongest politically of the four because of its large number of Communist Party cadres.

The four villages of Sog-ri comprise 67 households and 367 people according to the statistics of 1986. An elder of Sog-ri told me in 1997 that they had 95 households and about 530 persons.

Reb-tsha village has the following folk legend (『同仁県誌稿』 951):

Sog-ri was the rear guard area for Khri-srong lde-btsan's troops during the battle with a Chinese army at rGan-rgya. One of Khri-srong's

military chiefs had married a girl from Sog-ri and had four sons. At least one clan or tribe, Ri-tsha tsho-ba, claims descent from this alliance. This village has now about twenty families under the name of Reb-tsha-wa (translated by the author).

1.3.2 Legend of the origin of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri

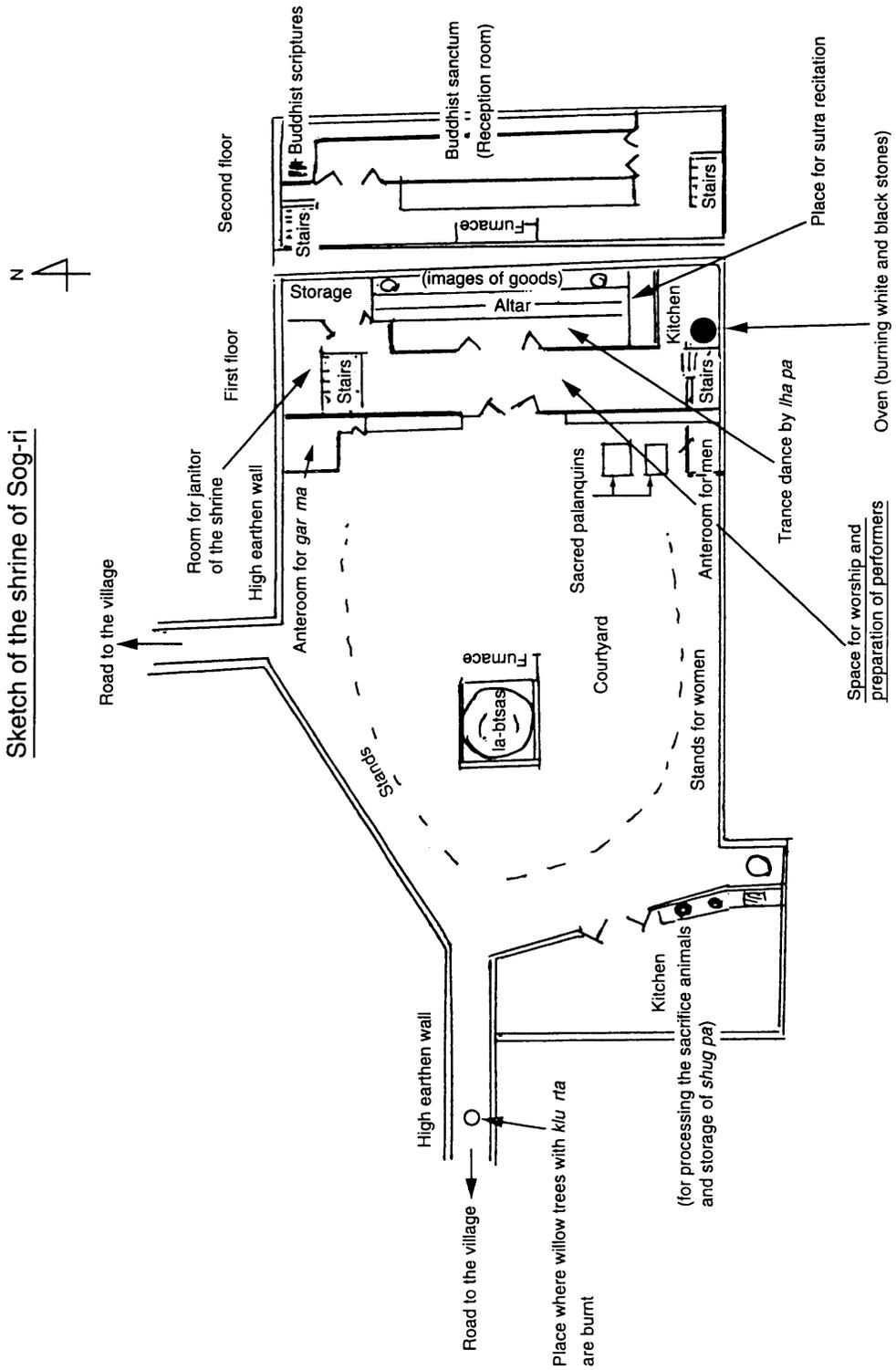
A lay specialist in Sog-ri village explained the origins of the *glu rol* this way: In the time of the Tibetan Empire, Tibet and China fought at the border. The fighting was so fierce that both sides suffered great losses of men, horses, and supplies. Finally, in 822, on the twenty-second day of the sixth month, they concluded a treaty in Gansu. After that there was no fighting on the borders and peace reigned in the Amdo area. The leaders ordered that *glu rol* be celebrated as a commemoration of this. The wise men who negotiated the peace are said to have invited the gods, then the *klu*, and then the people. On the first day, the gods were celebrated and given offerings; on the second day, the *klu* were celebrated; on the third day, offerings were given to the people (Epstein and Wenbin 1998: 122-123).

According to 『同仁県誌稿』 (Wang 1996: 944), the origin of the *glu rol* is connected with the resident place (循化县) of the eldest son of the family line of Reb-tsha-wa of Sog-ri:

The military men and people were pleased with the end of war and felt that this was attained through the favor of the gods. They worshipped and gave offerings to not only the mountain gods of Daerjiashan (達爾加山) at Xunhua (循化) prefecture, but also to the *klu* deities of the lakes between the mountains. On the first day, they offered *lha rtsed* to please the mountain gods; on the second they offered *klu rtsed* to the *klu* deities; on the third they celebrated the soldiers by *dmag rtsed* (translated by the author).

1.3.3 Structure of the inside of the Sog-ri shrine

The courtyard in front of the shrine is just like an open theater where events are performed [Plate 1]. In the center of the courtyard is a simplified and fixed *la btsas*, into which long poles topped by arms such as arrows or spears are inserted. A big furnace for fumigation offerings is made at the lower part of this *la btsas*. In this furnace, the juniper branches (*shug pa*) are burned during the *glu rol* festival. The men come to the shrine and first approach this furnace to burn the cedar sprigs and the flour of *rtsam pa* together on it. The *bsang* is called white *bsang*. From the morning of the last day of the *glu rol*, goat meat and blood are also roasted at this



furnace, the smoke from which is called red *bsang* (*dmag bsang*) in contrast with white *bsang* burned by white *rtsam pa*. Evergreens such as juniper or cedar (*shug pa*) used here are called ‘father trees’ (*pho shing*) or ‘god trees’ (*lha shing*), which are indispensable to the fumigation offerings in Tibetan folk rituals. They form a contrast with the willow trees (*lcang ma*) called ‘mother trees’ (*mo shing*), which are attached to the sacred palanquins or fix the *klu rta* discussed later.

The inner shrine and the courtyard can be divided by a single gate, through which men can go to and from the courtyard. Traditionally, the right side of the courtyard facing the shrine is kept for female spectators, who are not allowed to enter the inner-shrine that is a male space only.

1.3.4 Guardian deities of Sog-ri

In the inner-shrine, five images of the major guardian deities are lined up at the most secluded space which only *lha pa* and elders are allowed to enter. In the center of these gods, A-myes rMa-chen spom-ra, with a mild white face stands clad in armor, with treasures (*nor bu*) in his hand [Plate 2]. At the both his feet, are two small images, sTag-lung, a mountain god, on the right and *yul lha* on the left. sTag-lung, the second highest mountain in Reb-skong, rises to the east of Sog-ri village. The two *lha pa* of Sog-ri are, however, considered to be possessed by neither rMa-chen spom-ra nor sTag-lung, while either of them can be possessed by the *yul lha* according to the situation.

On the right of rMa-chen spom-ra, stands dGra-'dul dbang-phyug, said to be the son of rMa-chen and which possesses the senior *lha pa* [Plate 3]. This war god has a severe reddish brown face and a heart in his left hand. He is clad in armor with a round mirror on his chest. On his right stands the dependent, Shan-pa r(w)a-mgo, with a face like a horse [Plate 4].

On the left of rMa-chen, the head of the minister, *blon po*, stands with a red face, clad in armor as well [Plate 5]. It is said that *yul lha* will be transformed into *blon po* when *yul lha* gets angry. The *blon po* usually possesses the younger *lha pa*, especially when the younger *lha pa* burns *klu rta* on the road outside the shrine. On the left of *blon po*, Blon-po Shan-pa tsi-tung, the dependent of *blon po*, stands topped with a flame-shaped object, in the center of which is attached a skull [Plate 6].

According to the elder of this village, the main god of Sog-ri was previously not rMa-chen spom-ra but gNyan-chen. However, gNyan-chen is said not to have given help to the Sog-ri villagers during the time of village troubles. Therefore, the villagers changed to rMa-chen spom-ra who was said to have come to Sog-ri along with the ex-*lha pa* of Sog-ri who went on a pilgrimage to rMa-chen spom-ra. This tells us that deified gods are not necessarily changeless and that they can be switched at the time of village troubles or at the death of a previous *lha pa*. In such a case, the villagers tend to choose a more famous sacred mountain deity in Amdo; nevertheless, such a mountain god does not usually possess the local village *lha pa*.

It seems to be a traditional principle that the mountain deities near a village possess the *lha pa* of the neighboring village. In addition, the mountain god of sTag-lung, for example, does not possess either *lha pa* of Sog-ri, in spite of having a sacred palanquin for this deity, but possesses the *lha pa* of rGyal-po village, which is located on the southeast side of sTag-lung mountain. rGyal-po village seems to have priority over the mountain of sTag-lung. Furthermore, if several guardian deities possess a *lha pa*, the deity of the lowest rank begins to possess him first and the deity of the highest possesses him last.

Besides these powerful male gods of Sog-ri village, the watery goddesses, *klu*, are also considered as a kind of guardian deities. Though only male guardian deities are apparently emphasized in the *glu rol* of Sog-ri, *klu* play an indispensable role in the *glu rol* of Sog-ri. In the *lha chu kha* ceremony, the sacred palanquins topped with willow branches (*lcang ma*), that is *mo shing*, are carried to the brook where *klu* goddesses are believed to live. Moreover, ‘white’ offerings and ‘cool’ offerings are dedicated to the *klu*, which are said to be vegetarian. On the last day of the *glu rol*, the younger *lha pa* goes to the sanctuary with *chu 'khor* in the same brook where *lha chu kha* is held, and creates *klu bsang*. In addition, the paper offering to the *klu* (*klu rta*) also plays an important role in the *glu rol*. All these facts considered, it seems that the *klu* goddesses carry the same importance for farmers as the male guardian deities.

1.3.5 Offerings in the inner-shrine

Next, offerings at the altar in the inner shrine are divided into two kinds. One is a white offering (*dkar mchod*) and the other a red offering (*dmar mchod*). The white offering consists of *rtsam pa*, *bag leb*, flowers, fruits and the like, as well as yogurt and water offering called a cold liquid offering. These are offered mainly to the upper white god (*dkar phyogs pa'i lha*), rMa-chen spom-ra and the *klu* deities. The red offering consists of meat from livestock, its raw heart and a hot liquid offering such as liquor and beer. These are offered to the upper black deities (*nag phyogs pa'i lha*). The neighboring Tibetans consider these red offerings including hot liquid offerings as one of the most important elements of ‘black bon’ (*bon nag*). These two kinds of offerings are properly used during the *glu rol*, by making a distinction among the white deities and black ones of the upper deities and underground watery deities, *klu*. Of the other offerings on the altar, a variety of *gtor ma* attract our attention. There are also two kinds of *gtor ma* offerings; one is a white *gtor ma* mainly made of *rtsam pa*, and the other is a red one. Although the red-colored *gtor ma* has variants, the big one called *sde bryad kyi gtor ma* is made very elaborately [Plate 7]. This *gtor ma* has a square pedestal with three stories or more. In the center of its vertex is a pike shaped cog, around which eight ears of the corn line up. The surrounding eight ears of corn signify the eight types of deities and spirits in the microcosm — *lha*, *klu*, *btsan*, *bdud*, *ma mo*, *gshin rje*, *srin po* and *gza*. Most of these eight spirits or demons are believed to control the

powers relating to the four elements — fire, water, wind and earth. They are said to be pre-Buddhist indigenous supernatural beings (Tucci 1980: vol. II 716-731, Snellgrove 1980: 37, Karmay 1998: 339-379). These *gtor ma* are usually put on the upper row of altar near the images of the gods. In some cases, the bottom of the *gtor ma* is covered with the paper offering for *klu*, *klu rta*.

As to the red-colored *gtor ma*, some informants said that the animal blood from sacrifices was used formerly to make it, but now dye from the market is substituted for it. Making this *gtor ma* is restricted to males only. Especially, young men to perform *kha dmar* make these *gtor ma*. At the climax of the *glu rol* on the last day, two *lha pa* and the men to perform *kha dmar* carry them to the furnace, and burn them there.

1.3.6 The *Glu rol* of Sog-ri village

The *glu rol* of Sog-ri village during 1997-1999 consists of these three stages, each of which is described below:

- (1) *Lha chu kha* ‘Gods going to water’
- (2) *Lha chang kha* ‘Gods going to liquor’
- (3) *Glu rol*

(1) *Lha chu kha*

This rite is performed from around 6 p.m. on June 20th of the Hor rtsis calendar, which is the first phase of the entire *glu rol*. This is the ritual in which the *lha pa* and participants carry two sacred palanquins on their shoulders up to the brook within the boundaries of Sog-ri village which flows into the dGu-chu River, where the two *lha pa*, the other men, and the two sacred palanquins bathe.

This small river has a sanctuary where white *klu* are believed to reside, so persons with skin, eyes or such problems can recover from their disease, by washing the affected parts with water from this river.

Around 6 p.m., each male participant begins to gather at the shrine, carrying white *gtor ma*, a bag containing *rtsam pa* flour, and a cedar sprig called ‘god’s tree’ (*lha shing*) [Plate 8]. After burning this sprig and the *rtsam pa* in the furnace at the center of the shrine courtyard, the participant first worships the gods of the inner shrine. All the participants, then, line up in a circle in the courtyard, with the ritual items assigned to each one. The senior *lha pa* checks each participant’s dress and shoes, and sometimes punishes him for various offenses with his stick or whip. In the meantime, other men fix the willow branches (*lcang ma*) on the two sacred palanquins, which are purified by the smoke from the cedar sprigs in a portable furnace [Plate 9].

Within the inner shrine, the senior *lha pa* prays to his guardian deity to possess him. In order to see the good or bad luck at the time of the start, he performs a divination with the black horn of a yak in front of the image of the god. When all augurs well for their start, he announces the start by striking his drum. A

younger *lha pa* strikes the ‘drum of god’ and goes to the head of the party. The senior *lha pa* with a container of parched barleycorns follows the younger. Then, the participants with four poles topped with *thangka* and battle flags leave the shrine. rMa-rgyal spom-ra, A-myes sTag-lung, the *dgra lha*, and the *blon po*, fully clad in armor and riding on horseback, are drawn on these four *thangka*, which are for supporting these gods. The two sacred palanquins are shouldered and go at the end of the party. In them, the small *thangka* describing the *yul lha* and sTag-lung are contained. These *thangka* and the sacred palanquins are also for supporting for the guardian deities [Plate 10].

On a big stone on the riverbank, items such as straws and cedar branches, ritual scarves, the *rtsam pa* flour, and liquor are burned [Plate 11]. The men scoop up the river water one by one, and apply it to their bodies. The two *lha pa* enter the river, jumping and skipping in the water [Plate 12]. The sacred palanquins are soaked in the river for a while, facing upstream which flows down from sTag-lung. Then, the *lha pa*, the other men, the sacred palanquins and *thang ka* come out of the river and return to the shrine.

At the inner shrine, the participants listen to the oracle by the senior *lha pa* concerning *glu rol* [Plate 13]. Although this *lha pa* was permitted by a lama to utter the god’s voice from his own mouth, he could hardly speak, especially until 1998. Therefore, the men surrounding him interpreted his gestures and responded to him. If their responses were right, the *lha pa* raised his thumbs to signal, “That is right.” Around 10 p.m., the oracle usually ends. After that, the young performers who will perform the *kha dmar* ‘dance with skewers’ in the *glu rol* confine themselves to the shrine where they take meals apart from their families during the *glu rol* since that night.

(2) *Lha chang kha*

Around 10:30 a.m. of the next day (June 21st), the male participants assemble in the courtyard. After they burn cedar branches and *rtsam pa* in the central furnace individually, they put *gtor ma* and other offerings on the altar and bow three times to the gods.

Just as in the *lha chu kha* on the previous day, they form a circle in the courtyard, holding the poles topped with *thang ka* of the guardian gods and festooned with silk strips, battle flags and the like. The senior *lha pa* holding the stick and the younger *lha pa* striking a drum (*lha rnga*) precedes the party. The party of male participants just like an army battalion and the two sacred palanquins riding the *yul lha* and A-myes sTag-lung file out of the courtyard. The procession leads the two *lha pa* and the palanquins on visits to the village houses [Plate 14].

It starts with the house that previously kept the shrine of the mountain god, sTag-lung. The head of the household burns cedar branches in the house’s furnace (*bsang thab*) in the courtyard to produce fragrant smoke. He scatters yogurt and some liquor on the ground of the doorway and greets the two *lha pa* and the sacred

palanquins. A small altar is prepared for this day in the courtyard, on which items like fruits, flowers, a few bottles of liquor, water, Tibetan bread and *gtor ma* are arranged [Plate 15]. The senior *lha pa* scatters the parched barleycorns around the courtyard. Of these parched barleycorns, well parched black ones and slightly parched whitish ones are mixed half-and-half. They are often used by the *lha pa* in the shrine as well, for purification and exorcisms. The sacred palanquin of sTag-lung is placed at this house until the visits to all the village households have finished.

From this point on, the other sacred palanquin of the *yul lha*, the two *lha pa* and *thang ka* continue to make its way around the village. The guardian gods are also called the ancestors (*a myes*), and are believed to control the fate and prosperity of each house as well as the entire village community. Therefore, the head of each household politely greets the party of *lha pa* and the sacred palanquin, tying ritual scarves on them as a sign of respect. The females of each house pray to the *lha pa* only from a distance. In each house, the senior *lha pa* divines with the black horn after tossing around liquor and yogurt as offerings [Plate 16]. This augury is done in order to determine the luck of the house for coming year.

At the same time, this is done in order to collect monetary offering, bottles of liquor, *rtsam pa*, and yogurt for *glu rol*. If bad divination signs appear four times in succession, the *lha pa* makes the gesture for claiming a larger monetary offering. When the ceremony in each house is complete, the *lha pa* entourage and the sacred palanquin leave the house, the senior *lha pa* departing last. Sometimes the senior *lha pa* goes into trance and cautions the head of the household who has a troublemaker in his family. The procession to the village houses continues till the morning of the next day (June 22nd).

(3) Starting performances of the *glu rol* in the shrine

On June 23rd, the Sog-ri villagers are invited to the *glu rol* of The-bo village, which means that the *glu rol* of Sog-ri is actually performed for two days, on the 24th and 25th. As most performances for two days are the same, the process of the 25th is described here.

From early in the morning of the last day, red *bsang* and white *bsang* are created around the entire vicinity of courtyard. Two kinds of these *bsang* are given a special name, *rub bsang*, which means to extinguish all impurity and pollution.

Furthermore, early in the morning of this day, two sticks hung with long sheets of paper called *klu rta*, are set up opposite the center furnace in the lower part of the *la btsas*. These sticks are named 'trees of accomplishments' (*dzog shing*) [Plate 17]. They are topped with a triangular wooden frame, to each side of which three sheets of paper called *klu rta* are hung.

There is also another kind of stick hung with *klu rta*. This stick, made of a willow branch, has several sheets of *klu rta* paper at the tip [Plate 18]. The stick is often grasped by the specially determined man (*klu rta 'dzin mkhan*), who is

the head of a household or his equivalent in the case that the householder has had a relative die within the previous year. This man cannot come to the front stage of the *glu rol* in that year and works behind the scenes as a caretaker. However, he may attend the ritual of *bsang*. Two kinds of sticks topped with *klu rta* are burned later by the younger *lha pa* and *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* at the crossroads outside the shrine.

In early morning before the *glu rol* performances begin, the males in charge, the younger *lha pa*, *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* and others take a pole with big *dar lcog* or poles with arrows or spears to the *la btsas* site on the hill within the village.

Around 8: 30 a.m. the younger *lha pa*, holding a sword festooned with blue silk strips and a god's drum, leads the party to the summit of a nearby hill within the village. On their way to the hill, the *lha pa* sometimes beats his drum or sometimes scatters some liquor on the ground, while his helpers scatter yogurt on the ground [Plate 19]. On the hilltop, a pile of stones is made, at the center of which the pole with the *dar lcog* is erected. Juniper branches, *rtsam pa*, flowers, silk strips are arranged around the stone-pile and burned. The *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* who hold *klu rta*, set it alight to be tossed and scatter yogurt on the ground. The *lha pa* makes symbolic signs with his fingers (Skt. *mūdra*), and also lights this *klu rta*, and throws it up in the air. When the offerings are set ablaze and the smoke wafts heavenward, small square slips of paper (*rlung rta*) are tossed into the smoke and carried heavenward [Plate 20]. Most of the participants turn toward Mt. sTag-lung, to the east of Sog-ri village, to prostrate themselves three times in worship. After turning clockwise around the *la btsas* and shouting, "The gods are victorious, *Ki ki so so!*", they return to the shrine. The *bsang* form of worship mentioned above is widespread traditional ritual for local deities among Tibetans. Stein (1972: 207) points out that the *bsang* ritual exists where the style and pantheon of the old religion are found best preserved.

Apart from the *la btsas* in the traditional *bsang* rituals on a hill, we can see transformed styles or forms of *la btsas* emerging around the Reb-skong area. As in the case of Sog-ri village, the simplified typed *la btsas* may be newly made in the shrine courtyard in addition to the *la btsas* of the village community on the hill [Plate 21]. The ritual at this community *la btsas* is separately carried out on May 9th on the Hor rtsis calendar. At that time the *lha pa* participates in it as a farmer, not as a *lha pa*. Sog-ri village has one more *la btsas* called a 'child *la btsas*', which is located at the edge of the barley and wheat fields. At this 'child *la btsas*' the ritual is carried out mainly by the boys and girls on February 11th on the Hor rtsis calendar. After the ritual, the head of the oldest house in the village sows the field first of all. sKyang-skya village also has the several *la btsas* standing on the summit of the nearby mountains or near the barley and wheat fields of each smaller village. Some houses of sKyang-skya have even a 'grandchild *la btsas*' made in the grain warehouse. The shift in the *la btsas* sites is progressing from the mountain summit to the field of the lower village, and finally to the grain

warehouse of a house. Therefore, in keeping with the differentiation and the descent of *la btsas*, the deities that are believed to reside at a *la btsas* seem to come down from the *la btsas* at the mountain summit to that of the field and even to that of the grain warehouse in a vertical movement as well.

Furthermore, another change can be observed in the beliefs about the *la btsas*. Originally, the *bsang* ritual at a *la btsas* on a mountain was, and still is, a male centered one with militant elements. Females who are excluded from the *bsang* ritual of *la btsas* on a mountain come to visit a ‘child *la btsas*’ in the village to be blessed with a child. A typical example of this can be seen in the *glu rol* of Gling-rgyal village. The older *lha pa* of Gling-rgyal possessed by the mountain god puts a wooden image of *klu mo* into the bosom of sterile woman, and carries out a ‘child blessing’ ceremony at the field of the village in the *glu rol* festival. As shown in these examples, mountain deities that have been believed to live in the *la btsas* come to play an important part in the ‘child blessing’. These examples signify the shift concerning the nature of mountain gods toward a controller of productiveness. Such functional expansions of the mountain gods seem to display a similar development as mountain deities in Japan.

It is well known that at the time of the *bsang* ritual at a *la btsas*, small square papers (*rlung rta*) are tossed heavenward. In the cases of Sog-ri’s *glu rol* these *rlung rta* are tossed heavenward not only at the time of the *bsang* ritual at the *la btsas* on a hill but also at the climax of the *glu rol* festival just after the destruction of most of the offerings at the shrine furnace. The *rlung rta* represents all aspects of vitality in a man asserting and glorifying himself (Stein 1972: 223, Karmay 1998: 413-422).

In addition to *rlung rta*, in the *bsang* ritual on the hillside in the *glu rol* at Sog-ri and Sa-dkyil villages, sheets of paper, *klu rta* (or *klu gtad*), are also used. The *rlung rta* are tossed heavenward, while *klu rta* are burned. The *rlung rta* and *klu rta* are thus contrastively used in the fumigation offering rite of the *glu rol*, which will be considered later.

Finally, around 10 a.m., *glu rol* dances begin. They are generally referred to as recreational entertainment offerings to the gods (*rtsed mchod*). These offerings are sub-categorized into *lha rtsed*, *dmag rtsed* and *klu rtsed*. In the courtyard, the following events occur without a break, while the elders take up their position in the right corner in the inner shrine and recite scriptures to gods almost all the time.

1. Most of the male participants perform *ba’i ha gtong ba* (or *be ha’a gtong ba*) to pray for the descent of gods [Plate 22]. (NB: Neither *ba’i ha* nor *be ha’a* is an orthographic Tibetan. It is the transliteration of pronunciation by Amdo informants. Its phonetic value is [be: ha’]. I would rather suspect that it may be related to *pe har* that Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975: 207) points out.) They congregate at the courtyard like an army unit going to the battlefield and turn round the courtyard three times to honor the four directions. While doing

this, they sometimes shout *ba'i ha*. The shout of *ba'i ha* seems to be a prayer for the gods to come down and be present here. This dance is clearly *dmag rtsed*. After this finish, the senior men with the bowls containing yogurt, liquor and water, a cedar sprig and flowers line up at the courtyard. With the sounds of conch shells, they scatter some liquor upward with a cedar sprig, and yogurt around the ground [Plate 23].

2. Two young men perform a stilt dance (*rkang shing pa*) [Plate 24]. Before employing the main ritual items, such as the god's drum and stilts, they are exposed to the smoke rising from the central furnace. The senior *lha pa* puts these stilts over the smoke and hands them to the caretakers of the dancers. Two stilted men, with ritual scarves given to them by the *lha pa*, have *rkang shings* tied to their legs with strings and have two *thang ka* depicted the *dgra lha* and the *blon po* tied on their backs. They dance in the courtyard, holding poles, next drums and with empty hands last.
3. Two groups of three men perform a dance with twisting motions, like a necklace with a jewel. This dance, named 'the pupils of the stilted men' (*rkang shing gi grwa pa*), is offered to those who have instructed the stilted performers and who are the owners of the stilts [Plate 25].
4. Two boys wearing green *a tsa ra* masks perform a dance with sticks [Plate 26]. Normally Tib. *a tsa ra* corresponds to Skt. *ācārya* 'master' (阿闍梨 in Chinese), but my informants tell me that it should be 阿修羅, that is Skt. *asura*, meaning 'demi-god'. Some dictionaries published from Qinghai list both meanings. And, Namkhai Norbu identifies *asura* as Tib. *lha min* (Namkhai Norbu 1995: 245), whose function perfectly coincides to the *a tsa ra* in this situation. I suspect, therefore, a semantic shift occurred on the folk level of this particular locality. This dance is said to be the one based on the legend that many *a tsa ra* manifestations were pleased with the end of the war between the Tang and Tibet. This is a kind of *lha rtsed*.
5. Unmarried girls no older than 25 perform an offering dance (*gar ma*) [Plates 27 and 28]. They wear earrings of coral and metallic decorations on their backs to which round coral balls are attached. They perform a graceful dance of slow steps, highly organized in lines, which is said to have its origin in imitating the movements of the *klu*. Therefore, this dance is called *klu rtsed*.
6. A short play (*rtsed rigs*) [Plate 29]. Men perform a short play incorporating improvisation and humor. While almost all the other programs are performed in silence excepting the sounds of gongs and drums, this play brings conversation and laughter to the courtyard.

7. Four imitation goats, colored red, yellow (or green), white, and blue are carried into the courtyard one after another by the performers of the short play. These animals, made in the four villages of Sog-ri, are packed with *rtsam pa* flour inside. The senior *lha pa* welcomes each of them by hanging a ritual scarf on it. These goats are placed near the inner shrine until most of the offerings are burned at the furnace later [Plate 30]. Formerly in Sog-ri, a real goat was killed as a sacrifice to the gods. Even now, in spite of processing it at the kitchen located at the corner of the courtyard near the shrine entrance, the villagers cut the raw heart out of a living goat, and dedicate it to the gods in the inner shrine. The scene of real livestock sacrifice in the courtyard has not been seen in the shrine since the 1980's, at the insistence of the lamas.
8. Men beat the god's drums and perform two kinds of dance, entitled 'god-satisfying' (*lha ngom pa*). One drum dance is specially dedicated to the sacred palanquin of sTag-lung, into which drummers individually put yellow pieces of paper. This paper containing an incense stick is said to be a flower offering to the mountain god (*lha rdzas me tog mchod pa*) [Plate 31]. Formerly, during this performance, each drummer kept his own songs which had been secretly handed down from father to son within each household. However, after the *glu rol* was revived after the Cultural Revolution, they have been no longer sung. Another drum dance is performed by means of various formations in the courtyard [Plate 32].

Events from No.1 to No.8 are repeated in the courtyard of the shrine five times on the last day (the 25th), and those from No. 9 are done only once a day, while being inserted between the performances from No. 1 to No. 8. Concerning *rtsed rigs* of No. 6, *la gzhas* (mountain love songs) is performed as the fourth *rtsed rigs*, and the fifth is the *rtsed rigs* titled *khri ka'i yul lha phebs pa* (the *yul lha* of 貴德 comes).

9. Before the next performance of No. 10, the younger *lha pa* and several men go down to the sanctuary with *chu 'khor*, 100 meters down below the same brook where the *lha chu kha* rite was held on 20th. They dedicate the offering of *klu bsang* which is created by burning three kinds of white thing (*dkar gsum*; milk, yogurt and butter), silk cloths and *dkar gtor* (and sometimes 108 kinds of medicine in addition to them) over straws and cedar twigs. The *lha pa* scatters about parched barleycorns and some liquor. He hangs the ritual scarf to each *chu 'khor* [Plate 33, 34] and then returns to the shrine.
10. Young men beat the god's drums, stabbing two sharpened spikes into their mouths [Plate 35]. This is called *kha dmar* and is the offering of human flesh

(*sha mchod*) especially for the mountain god of sTag-lung. Young men who do this *kha dmar* belong to the younger age group (15 to 30) of each village of Sog-ri. The *kha dmar* is imposed on the young men so that it may serve the purpose of a kind of rite of passage for them.

Twelve young men stab their mouths with the spikes. The number of 12 stands for the 12 months of the year and refers to the offering of every month to the mountain god of sTag-lung. Before stabbing the spikes into their mouths, they burn the *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* in the furnace on the second floor. The procedure of stabbing is as follows: The person who carries out *kha dmar* is first blessed by the senior *lha pa*, and then has the white ritual scarf tied to the hair in the back of his head. This is said to be the sign that he has become like a god. Then, two stones, white and black, have been burned in the old-fashioned oven of the cooking room next to the inner shrine. It is considered that the white stone symbolizes *lha*, the white deity of the upper sphere, and that the black does the black deity of the upper one. The two burned stones are put into a bucket, into which some liquor, water, leaves of a Japanese raddish (*la phug gi lo ma*), and an essential oil of *zar ma* (= *Linum sativum*; information by Samten Karmay) are mixed together.

All the young men who are about to perform *kha dmar* expose the lower parts of their faces to the vapor emitting from the bucket in order to purify themselves. The spikes are purified in this way as well, after they were exposed to the smoke of *bsang* from the central furnace of the courtyard and were dipped into *chang*. It is believed that this method of purification is so powerful that it gets rid of the pollution of all their family members who are not present. All twelve young men with skewers wear derby hats with red fringe, which symbolize A-myes sTag-lung [Plate 36]. They wear clothing appropriate for dancing with the god's drums in the courtyard, shouting "*ba'i ha!*" [Plate 37]. The senior *lha pa* blesses them at the exit to the courtyard, sprinkling some liquor on the ground and scattering about parched barleycorns.

During the dance of the 12 young men, the senior *lha pa* augurs with a black horn, being surrounded by the other participants [Plates 38]. This augury is done in order to tell the fortune of the coming year of 12 *kha dmars*. If the portent is foreboding for a *kha dmar* several times in succession, the *kha dmar* will perform the 'offering of human blood' (see No.14) of his own volition, or by the order of the older *lha pa*.

11. Around 4 p.m., almost all the *glu rol* offerings on the altar are incinerated in the furnaces. First, the two *lha pa* throw *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* into the furnace in the courtyard [Plate 39]. Other ritual participants continuously burn

the four imitation goats, then the other ‘white’ offerings and ritual scarves in the furnace [Plate 40]. When a cloud of smoke from burning juniper branches and offerings hangs over the courtyard, beer is showered on the courtyard and *rlung rta* papers are tossed upward [Plate 41]. This is the first climax of the festival, and the younger *lha pa* even almost fainted in the festivals of 1997 and 1999. People seem to consider the intensive trance of the *lha pa* as the manifestation of the deities so they reply to it by calling out in loud voices. After this enthusiastic scene, all the offering of yogurt is also scattered over the ground by the elders.

12. Just as in the augury of No.10, the participating men crowd at the entrance of the shrine. They begin to cry “*lha* is victorious!” and then give a low shout of *rMa-rgyal*, *sTag-lung* or the names of other guardian deities individually. In the midst of that, the senior *lha pa* divines using the black horn. These auguries are done several times in order to see whether the harvest of the year will be good or not, and whether the guardian deities are satisfied with the *glu rol*.
13. This is also a kind of a flesh offering which takes place by inserting several spikes into the flesh of the back of several men (*rgyab la kha dmar btab pa*) [Plate 42]. During the beating of the drum, the men try to throw the spikes off. If all the spikes are shaken off with little blood, it is supposed to be good luck. In 1998, the younger *lha pa* did this offering. That was the first time to see the *lha pa* carry out this ‘red’ offering in the last three years.

The older *lha pa* is said to have decided this offering of the younger *lha pa* by praying and asking the three guardian gods in the shrine. The younger *lha pa*’s father died in the previous year, so that this offering would be carried out to eliminate the pollution of the death. This offering seems to be made usually by free choice based on happenings such as the death of a relative or a man’s own bad luck — a good contrast to the *kha dmar* of the youth in No.10, which is imposed on the participant.

14. Men gash their foreheads as a blood offering (*khrag mchod* or *dmar mchod*) [Plates 43, 44]. This offering is said to be the greatest of all the offerings. It forms a contrast to the *kha dmar* of No.10 in which the young men wear derby hats symbolizing *sTag-lung*. The performers of Nos.13 and 14 wear nothing on the head, so that this offering is considered to give to all the guardian deities excepting *klu* that is believed to dislike blood.

If a man makes such an offering to the gods, it is believed that he will be lucky and healthy for the following year. Men who had misfortunes, problems

in the previous year, or bad augury as a result of No.10 etc. perform this offering to drive away bad luck and bring in good luck. Though the *ex-lha pa* of Sog-ri himself also performed this offering, the lamas forbade the *lha pa* to perform this kind of red offering when the present *lha pas* were inaugurated in 1992. However, in the *glu rol* of Gling-rgyal village, for example, this blood offering has still been performed only by the *lha pa*.

An experienced elder man makes a cut on the head of the offeror with a knife. The offerors let the blood stream dramatically over their faces, while receiving the blessing of the senior *lha pa*. Holding a bowl that contained yogurt in the right hand and the *klu rta* paper in the left hand, each of the offerors scatters yogurt on the ground, going halfway down the courtyard [Plate 43]. At the place facing the road outside the shrine, he lights *klu rta* paper, and then throws it out [Plate 44]. After that, he raises both hands and dances for joy.

15. The performance of *la gzhas* (mountain love songs) is performed as the fourth performance of *rtsed rigs*. About ten men, who hide their faces with thin white cloths, sing mountain love songs that are offerings to the mountain gods such as *rMa-rgyal* and *sTag-lung* [Plate 45]. Mountain gods are said to love such mountain songs. It is the taboo to sing these songs in front of women of one's own relatives. Only during the *glu rol* period, it is permitted to sing the songs at the lowlands and in front of women including one's own sisters. This practice reminds us that of a dancing and singing party of young men and women, found in the wide areas of laurel forest stretching from Japan to Assam. The *lha pa* is present among the men to nominate a singer and jumps for joy if he is satisfied with the song.
16. The senior *lha pa* began to utter the god's words from his own mouth for the first time in the summer of 1999. He became a *lha pa* in 1992, when the lama of the village did 'open the god's door (*lha sgo 'byed*)' and 'open the god's word (*ngag sgo 'byed*)' at the same time. Nevertheless, he could not speak any words until 1998. Several words he uttered in the summer of 1999 were: "Today is a fine day", "I am Great King of *Klu*", "I came from the place" and "Why don't you finish the festival?." When the participants heard his last utterance, they replied to it in earnest that they intended to carry through the festival to the end.

Tibetan people generally judge the greatness of a *lha pa* on the basis of whether or not he can verbalize the gods' words. In addition to that, they distinguish a *lha pa* from a *lha pa tshab* on the basis of whether he has actually been possessed. They also distinguish between *lha (rang)* 'bab rgyab

‘the deity itself descends from heavens’ and *lha phab/’bebs* ‘to make a deity descend’.

17. An elder more than 50 years gives an address that praises the gods in front of the performers and spectators [Plate 46]. The contents of the address are almost the same every year. After first praising not only the lamas and *chos skyong* of the Rong-po monastery, but also rMa-rgyal, Bya-khyung, gNyan-chen, the *dgra lha*, sTag-lung and their local gods, he prays to them to show their mercy on the villagers in the times of trouble.
18. The fifth performance of *rtsed rigs* entitled *Khri ka’i yul lha phebs pa* is held. The performers of *rtsed rigs* come into the inner shrine and act as if they were the *yul lha* [Plate 47]. The two *lha pas* greet them with the ritual scarves. The actors have a spree there for a while, and then run away.
19. Around 8 p.m., the *lha pa* and elders in charge distribute the internals of a sacrificed animal (*ston sha*). These boiled and finely minced ones have been carried into the shrine before evening after having processed at the kitchen of the corner of the courtyard [Plate 48]. When this offering is withdrawn from the gods, it is distributed to everyone and eaten on the spot.
20. All the participants including unmarried girls perform the dance of great gratitude (*thugs rje chen po’i gar*), offered to all the guardian deities [Plate 49]. Most of men wear a false queue wrapped around a towel covering their heads, and adjust their dress, forming a circle in the courtyard. They perform a slow dance, holding ritual scarves in both hands or taking a bowing posture by putting both hands inside both sleeves.
21. The senior *lha pa*, falling into a trance, performs a dance entitled *lha rtsed pa* [Plate 50]. First, the *lha pa* performs an augury several times in the inner shrine in order to determine the best time. After good augury is produced, the surrounding males respond to it with a shout. The *lha pa* sits on the stand in front of the altar and goes into a trance. He moves sometimes slowly, or sometimes as swiftly as if he were riding a horse running in the sky. Occasionally he jumps up, from his seated position on the stand, or raises a big cry to demand some liquor or other offerings. Approximately 20 minutes later, supported by two helpers, he slips out of the trance. Until 1998, an interpreter (*lha bdag*) told everybody the gods’ words and the *lha pa*’s experiences instead of the *lha pa*.
22. Young men shoulder the two sacred palanquins, and the senior *lha pa* leads them. They begin to shoulder the palanquins from the east direction (that is,

the side of the inner shrine), and then move to the right and left as to push the four directions of the courtyard [Plate 51]. Later, they jump three times with the palanquins over a fire burning at the crossroads outside the shrine, and put them back in storage at the side of shrine.

23. Two kinds of willow sticks topping the *klu rta* are prepared for burning at the crossroads outside. The *lha pa* prays to the gods in the inner shrine, holding a long stick with a spear head attached as well as a red brush of long yak hair at the end (*mdung rtse*). Then, the younger *lha pa* holds the spear and the brush downward, and he moves away from the shrine, while acting as though he were sweeping something out [Plate 52]. He continues this sweeping action to the road (ideally crossroads). The male household heads who had a relative die follow after the *lha pa*, holding two kinds of willow sticks with *klu rta*. At the crossroads, straws have been piled on forked willow branches, and are then lit. While all the male participants recite a magic formula, the *lha pa* makes a sign with his fingers (Skt. *mūdra*) and breathes upon the two kinds of sticks. The *klu rta 'dzin mkhan* throw the willow sticks into the fire [Plate 53].
24. After all males return to the courtyard of the shrine, finally the *lha pa* comes back to the courtyard and shakes the red brush over the heads of the males kneeling down in order to drive away all the evil beings and purify, — just as a Japanese Shinto priest does. All the participants sprinkle *chang* upward and eat a little flour of *rtsam pa* at the entrance of the inner-shrine, raising the cry (*'ur*), *lha rgyal!*
25. Two *lha pas* distribute the remains of fruits and meat (*ston sha*) to all men. All the participants begin to eat them and *rtsam pa* kneaded with water, while chatting each other. The *glu rols* from 1997 to 1999 ended around 10 p.m.

2. Some observations from a cultural anthropological viewpoint

The *glu rol* ritual is an annual community festival conducted before the coming of autumn, the time of harvest in the annual cycle of agricultural production. Farmers hope that they will not suffer from hail storms or long rains and will obtain a rich harvest in the coming autumn. They also pray that members of their community will continue to live peacefully without succumbing to illness or death. The villagers believe that the powers, conceived as the source of health, life, fertility and wealth, come from a different world (the Other World) from their own. How then, can such power of the gods be available to the impotent villagers? Only when the powers of gods are introduced into the human world by providing a bridge, or channel of communication between this World and the Other World, the

villagers' wishes can come true. In this sense, the *glu rol* festival functions as a religious means to provide that bridge or communication channel.

The Tibetan farmers around Reb-skong regard the whole village of their own as one completed and closed microcosm, which consists of three realms — the upper world (*sa bla*) embodied by the neighboring high mountains and the sky, the earth (*sa steng*), and the underworld (*sa 'og*) symbolized by rivers and lakes. They actually conceive that their own village is located at the center of the realm of the earth, and that various, unseen deities exist in these three realms of the microcosm, surrounding their own village. This means that the Other World is conceived as the space not to be very far from the village but to be familiar to the villagers. These deities in the Other World are believed to have hierarchical powers depending on their rank, and occupy certain, well-defined abodes in specific areas of these three realms. The villagers, however, do not have systematic knowledge about the rank and abodes of these deities and are more interested in knowing whether these deities are beneficent or harmful. They divide the attributes of these deities roughly into two types.

One is the power of sacred, good deities who favor the villagers and preserve the public order both in physical and moral terms. The other is the power of impure, evil deities who stir up trouble and bring about misfortunes such as death, illness and disasters. The villagers regard the sacred, good deities to protect their village as their guardians, *'go ba'i lha*. Therefore, they naturally dedicate regular offerings to their *'go ba'i lha*, pray to them, and maintain positive, reciprocal relationship with them. As previously described, the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri are the upper deities symbolized by the statues in the shrine, and the white *klu*, the gods of the river. The upper *'go ba'i lha* can be further classified into black, combative gods (*dgra lha*, *blon po*, *yul lha* and their dependents, *shan pa*) and a white, peaceful god, A-myes rMa-chen.

Aside from the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri, there are eight types of deities and spirits symbolized by *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma*, who are believed to have control over fire, water, wind and earth. These supernatural beings have the power to control disasters relating to these elements, and to protect humans from these disasters as long as the humans continue to offer prayers and gifts to them. On the other hand, impure, disaster-causing evil deities are nameless, ambiguous powers, typically, near the surface of the earth, which are lured by *klu rta* during the *glu rol* festival at Sog-ri. Thus, we can see that the powers that come from the Other World are ambiguous and that their attitude towards humans varies depending on how humans treat them. Villagers believe, however, that the *'go ba'i lha* and the eight types of deities will usually display their positive attributes as long as humans continue to make offerings and worship them.

Tibetans also believe that these deities can move in a twinkling and possess the bodies of other beings with ease. Using this ability, the *'go ba'i lha* of Sog-ri can

possess the palanquin, *thang ka* (the seat of gods), and statues of gods, as well as the body of the *lha pa* in the course of the Sog-ri festival.

In the rest of this paper, I will analyse how the villagers provide a bridge, or channel of communication with the favorable powers to them through the *glu rol*, and how they remove and expel the impure, evil powers that have sneaked into this world.

2.1 Inflow and movements of the sacred powers in the ritual space

As E. Leach (1976), A. Van Gennep (1975) and V.W. Turner (1976) concluded in their structural analysis of rites, the *glu rol* rite also brings about the transition from normal to abnormal time on the evening of June 20th of the Horrtsis calendar and another transition from abnormal to normal time at the end of the festival on June 25th. During this period, the *lha pa* prohibits villagers from engaging in daily activities and if this rule is broken, the violator is fined. In physical and spatial terms, the whole village space of Sog-ri is transformed into a microcosm and categorized cosmologically at a structural level. If we apply the model proposed by Leach (1976: 82, 86) to the setting of the *glu rol* of Sog-ri, its structure of the cosmologically categorized space is as shown in Table 1.

This cosmological setting represents, among other things, the dichotomy between Nature and Culture, as Lévi-Strauss and Leach have pointed out. Nature is regarded as the Other World and a realm of “tame culture” as this world. The Other World is represented by the sky and the river. The liminal zone where this world and the Other World overlap (Table 1, II) is considered as a sacred area, which is symbolized by the mountains or riversides in the natural area. It is in this liminal zone that the rites are performed in order to flow the sacred power from the Other World into this world.

In addition to the sacred spaces in the natural area, another sacred sphere is created artificially inside the village in the form of a shrine, called *glu khang* or *lha khang* previously, and *dmag dpon khang* at present (refer to 1.3.3. and the diagram of the shrine). The shrine can be divided into three areas according to the degree of sacredness — the courtyard (Table 1, IV-A) relatively secular zone where this world meets the Other World first, the intermediate zone regarded as relatively sacred (Table 1, IV-B), and the most sacred zone deep inside the inner-shrine that represents the Other World (Table 1, V-C). The courtyard is the threshold between this world and the Other World. This zone located nearest to the secular world can be accessible even by female and child spectators dressed for the festival. The *la btsas* and furnace for burning *bsang* are also placed in its center. They are means of reaching the sky, or for communication with the Other World. The furnace and the *la btsas* thus may serve as a gate to the Other World = sky within the shrine. In other words, the sacred gods are expected to descend from the sky onto *bsang* and the *la btsas* of this zone first. This furnace also serves as a route through which to send offerings to deities. This intermediate zone is divided by the wooden fence

and gate placed between the courtyard and the main shrine, which means the embodiments of the limits of this world. This relatively sacred zone (Table 1, IV-B) represents the final boundary of this world, where performers prepare for the ritual and the offerors of human flesh or blood purifying by using steam from burned black and white stones. Even male worshippers who bring offerings are not allowed to enter the inner shrine and must stay in this zone to offer prayers to

Table 1

	Cosmological space categories		Actual space categories	Rites in the glu rol
I	The other world; Wild nature	Upper world	Sky	Outside the residential area
		Underworld	Underground	
II	Liminal zone in the wild nature	Threshold of upper world	Mountain side	bsang ritual at the mountain
	Sacred area (the other world in this world)	Threshold of underworld	River side	lha chu kha
III	This world	Intermediate zone (outside the shirine)	Road	lha chang kha; bsang offering in each house
	Secular zone (Tame culture)	Secular zone	Courtyard of each house	
IV	Liminal zone in the shrine	A. Relatively scared zone	Courtyard of the shrine	bsang at the furnace and la-btsas
	Intermediate zone of this world and the other world	Threshold between this world and the other world		Place of Performances of glu rol and spectators
		B. Final limit of this world	Wooden fence and gate partition	Preparation space for performers
V	The other world in the shrine	C. The most sacred zone	Windows and gate Inner shrine proper	Gods' images; Alter; 'God-satisfying' dance by possession of lha-pa

gods. This intermediate zone and the deepest part of the mainshrine are partitioned by a fence with big windows and a gate. The inner shrine (Table 1, V-C) is a dim space accessible only by the *lha pa* and a few elders, and statues of gods are placed in the innermost part. In fact, this zone is regarded as the Other World itself

created within the shrine, and it is here that the *lha pa*, in a trance, performs a dance titled “God’s play.”

Under these metaphysical settings, the *glu rol* festival starts with the *lha chu kha* ritual in the river within Nature. On the riverbank and in the river, the first ritual for communicating with the underworld is carried out. This *lha chu kha* ritual is conducted for two intertwined purposes.

One purpose is purification by water. Water “washes away the pollution caused by murder” (Karmay 1998: 401 text II), and is believed to remove the impurity of death, the most serious pollution. The purification ritual is the first activity conducted at the festival because it is believed that the ‘*go ba’i lha*’ will be displeased if the realms under their control are contaminated or polluted, and will be less interested in guarding the residents in these realms. To communicate with ‘*go ba’i lha*’, therefore, as much of the pollution in their realms must be removed as possible. There are two types of pollution; one caused by humans, and the other by the impure, evil powers, as demonstrated in Karmay (1998: 382-388). The pollution caused by humans is considered to be something like a “black veil” which deprives them of their original vitality, and it is believed by Tibetan folks that water, the smoke of *bsang*, and blood have the power to removed this black veil. In the *lha chu kha* ritual, therefore, the purification by water in the river and the *bsang* offerings, both at the courtyard of the shrine and at the riverside, allows the *lha pa*, participants, ritual items, and the space for inviting the sacred beings to reach an adequate level of sacredness to communicate with the gods. The ritual also has the purpose of purifying the good, sacred beings existing in the three realms of the microcosm as well. This is because such beings, including the ‘*go ba’i lha*’, which are originally pure and good, are believed to have been ‘defiled’ as a result of man’s own impure nature and activity, and to have lost their original powers (Karmay 1998: 382). In the *lha chu kha* ritual, the impurity that has weakened the power of ‘*go ba’i lha*’ is removed by the water and *bsang* offerings, and thus the gods recover their original strength and vitality. The impure, evil beings, on the other hand, grow weak as humans and their guardian deities regain their original power through this purification ritual.

The other purpose of *lha chu kha* is to unite the powers of the mountain gods such as *yul lha* and sTag-lung and those of the watery, underground god, *klu*, through the medium of water. Through *lha chu kha*, the vitality and fertility of the guardian deities seem to be doubled. The pure, good “power” thus enhanced then replenishes the palanquins with the willow twigs attached to it.

In the *Lha chang kha* ritual on the next day, the party of the *lha pa*, accompanied by the ‘*go ba’i lha*’ of the two realms which have been purified and strengthened in the previous day’s rite, walks around the secular cultural realm. In the course of the *Lha chang kha*, the ‘*go ba’i lha*’s strengthened powers circulate within the village and flow into each house of the village. In this way, the secular zone, too, is purified and revitalized.

Early in the morning of the last day of the *glu rol* festival, the procession of the *lha pa* and the “seat of gods” leave the shrine for the mountain (Table 1, II), the liminal zone in “wild nature.” As the procession moves through the roads of the secular zone toward the mountain, the younger *lha pa*, possessed by *yul lha*, has a sword in his hand and sprinkles liquor to repel the impure, evil powers. At the mountain (Table 1, II), the contact place with the sky (the Other World), *dar lcog* is erected and the *bsang* ritual is carried out. Like *la btsas*, *dar lcog* is considered as a support for deities in the upper realm to descent from the sky. Like water, *bsang* is widely believed by Tibetan people to be an effective means of removing pollution and impurity caused by humans and impure, evil powers (Karmay 1998, Tucci 1980). During the *glu rol* festival, *bsang* is constantly burned in places within the community — in the liminal zone in “wild nature”, at the furnace in the shrine, and at each house in the secular zone. Through the burning of *bsang* in several places in the community, the whole community is eventually purified and revitalized.

Like the *lha chu kha* ritual, however, the *bsang* offerings are not intended for purification only. The smoke of the ritual is said to open the door to heaven, the world of the upper deities (Stein 1972: 211). Tibetan people are pleased if the fumigation offering generates much smoke because they believe that more smoke attracts more gods to descend. The *bsang*, thus, serves as a circuit through which the powers of gods are manifested before the villagers. Moreover, white and red *bsang* (*bsang mchod*) to generate from the burning of the red and white offerings provide villagers with a route for sending such offerings to the gods in heaven. As we have seen, the fumigation offering is a means of establishing a communications circuit between the upper deities and the villagers.

To summarize, the *lha chu kha* ritual, carried out at the natural liminal zone, the river, is conducted both to purify and to strengthen the guardian deities as well as the villagers through water and *bsang*. In the course of *lha chang kha*, the strengthen powers of the guardian deities are radiated out to the secular this world. On the last day of the *glu rol*, the powers of the upper gods are replenished through the fumigation ritual conducted at the mountain and those of *klu* are done so at the *chu 'khor* on the riverside in “wild nature.” Finally, the powers of guardian deities and other beings gather in the shrine. Here, the sacred powers of the Other World flow in and out through the *bsang* from the furnace and the *la btsas* and they receive the offerings through them. The *bsang* and the *la btsas* serve as a circuit to communicate with these deities. For the duration of the *glu rol* festival, two *lha pas* continually move between the courtyard of the shrine and the main shrine as well as between inside the shrine and outside. Their movements embody the flow of the pure, sacred powers between this world and the Other World. The *lha pas* themselves literally act as mediators between this world and the Other World. The flow of these sacred powers is faithfully traced by the movements of the *lha pa* during the festival. Villagers can see the manifestation of

these powers in the movements of the *lha pa*, and are assured that their community has been revitalized by the powers.

2.2 Relationship between the offerings and the sacred beings

The sacred powers that have flown into the community through the rite at the mountains and rivers in the liminal zone eventually gather in the shrine. Here, a banquet (*glu rol*) is given to facilitate communication between the gods and villagers. The participants in the festival request the gods to descend to this sacred zone by shouting “*ba’i ha!* (or *be ha’a!*)” From the beginning of the *glu rol*, *dkar bsang* is burned in the furnace in the courtyard mainly as offering to the upper white guardian deities (*dkar phyogs pa’i ’go ba’i lha*) like rMa-chen spom-ra, and white *klu*. Also, at the same time, *dmар bsang* is burned on the last day, especially for such upper black guardian deities (*nag phyogs pa’i ’go ba’i lha*) as *dgra lha*, *blon po*, *yul lha*, and their dependents, *shan pa*.

Villagers entertain the gods with various songs, dances, and other forms of entertainment, and make various offerings to them. These songs, dances and entertainment are also offerings (*mchod*) of a kind, made to delight the eyes and ears of the gods present at the banquet. In addition to these offerings, various other offerings are placed on the altar. These material offerings are preferentially made to the gods of certain specific realms. As briefly mentioned in the “offerings in the inner-shrine (1.3.5),” the color dichotomy of “red” (*dmар*) and “white” (*dkar*) is applied to these offerings. “Red” relates to the color of blood. As Durkheim (1914/1960: 161-162) indicated in his study of the Australian aborigines, blood is regarded as the source of life, and therefore provides a positive principal for a ritual. In the case of the *glu rol* festival as well, blood is assigned positive attributes as a source of power and vitality that can remove pollution. In most cases, human and animal blood offerings are dedicated to the *nag phyogs pa’i ’go ba’i lha* who are combative and wrathful by nature, yet friendly to men.

Human and animal flesh offerings (*sha mchod*) are also a kind of red offerings and dedicated to the upper *’go ba’i lha* and other combative deities. There is an interesting practice in regard to flesh offerings. While the villagers dedicate to burn ‘raw’ animal flesh to the upper deities as *dmар bsang*, the meat and intestines, withdrawn from the gods, are boiled before they are distributed among the villagers to be eaten. As shown in Lévi-Strauss’ analysis of “Le triangle culinaire” (1967), this contrast between the ‘raw’ and the ‘cooked’ probably reflects the dichotomy between the “nature = the Other World” and the “culture = this world.” As will be further discussed later, raw flesh that is burned at the ritual is an offering or, more specifically, a sacrifice to the gods. On the other hand, the boiled meat eaten by villagers is not a sacrifice to the gods, and has a more social significance, though it constitutes part of the ritual as an offering. At the same time, *rtsam pa*, which is representative of white offerings, is also consumed by villagers

at the end of the festival. By eating boiled meat and *rtsam pa* as foods withdrawn from the gods, villagers renew and deepen the social ties among them. As Durkheim pointed out (1912/1960: 489), believers communicate with their gods by ingesting holy foods.

On the other hand, plants and foods made from plants are white offerings. This group of offerings are mainly dedicated to the upper peaceful '*go ba'i lha* and *klu* which is believed to be vegetarian. While many of the white offerings are left on the altar without burning, some of them are given to unmarried women who perform the *klu rtsed* dance in the festival, as gifts withdrawn from gods, which the *lha pa* places inside their clothing near the breast. This act could indicate the association of the white offerings with the power of growth and fertility of plants controlled by the *klu*, the goddess of agriculture. It is also worthy of note that these offerings are distributed to the female dancers by the *lha pa*, who has supposedly been possessed by *dgra lha* or *yul lha* in the upper realm. This may reflect the belief that the reproduction powers and fertility of women are reinforced by the powers of the upper gods.

Judging from the above, we can reason that the villagers distinguish between the offerings according to the types of gods; they give red offerings to the upper black combative gods and white offerings to the upper white, peaceful rMa-chen spom-ra, and *klu*. However, this principle does not apply to the *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* (the red *gtor ma*, for short) offering. I could collect two different opinions for it among villagers and monks. According to an informant in the Sog-ri village, the red *gtor ma* is a red offering because the red color was originally taken from animal blood, although villagers today use red pigments sold in town market. A Bon priest also claimed that the red *gtor ma* is a kind of red offerings. On the other hand, an elder of the Sog-ri village and a high-ranking priest of the *rNying-ma* Sect said that the red color is taken from roots of '*bru mog* plants and therefore, the red *gtor ma* is a white offering. They reason that the eight types of deities include vegetarian deities, *klu* who are displeased with bloodshed. During the *glu rol* festival, this *gtor ma* is burned in a furnace while young men who conduct *kha dmar* pray for good omens in a fortune-telling rite (performance No.11) and when it is likely to hail or rain. 1999 was a rainy year, and it took longer than usual for crops to ripen. It even drizzled during the *glu rol* festival that involved the burning of much larger quantity of the red *gtor ma* than the festivals of the preceding three years. While in Bon there is also the ritual of making the red *gtor ma* offerings when praying for good harvests, rain, and the prevention of long rains and hail storms, it does not involve the burning of *gtor ma* reportedly. Clearly, it seems that this offering is mainly directed to the deities to control water, rain and weather, namely watery deities, *klu*. This leads to the conclusion that the red *gtor ma* should be regarded as a white offering despite its red color. But, at the same time, because of its red color, the *gtor ma* can also substitute for red offerings and be dedicated to the gods as well who prefer red offerings. Thus, we can say that the red *gtor ma*,

though red, is a kind of white offering, intended for all the eight types of deities believed to control four elements, especially, water in the three realms of the microcosm.

As to the liquid offerings, there is also the contrast between cold white one and hot red one according to the types of the '*go ba'i lha* for whom they are intended. While cold white offerings are composed of yogurt, milk and water, especially dedicated to the *klu* of the underworld, hot red offerings consist of beer and liquor made of fermented crops especially dedicated to the combative upper deities. Probably because these drinks are stimulants, the liquid offerings made from fermented crops are dedicated to the combative, violent upper deities. In the ritual, therefore, beer and liquor are tossed upward to reach these upper gods whereas yogurt and water are scattered around on the ground

Here, the dichotomy between “white offerings = things of plants” and “red offerings = those of animals” is reversed to “white, cold liquid offerings = yak milk and foods made of fermented milk” and “red, hot liquid offerings = drinks made of fermented crops” when it comes to liquid offerings. Perhaps, the whiteness and coldness of the yogurt and milk are seen as superior elements here.

In addition to these offerings, there are offerings of two sorts of willow twigs attached to *klu rta*, a white paper with the ability to attract malicious powers. The combination of white paper, willow twigs and *klu* could relate to pollution — especially the impurity of death — and its removal, considering that it is specifically the villagers whose family members have died that carry these offerings at the *glu rol* festival. The combination of white paper, willow twigs and *klu* is widely observed in other Asian countries as well. In Japan, for example, this combination is associated with the power of growth and fertility in crops. Traditionally, at the beginning of a new year, Japanese farmers would receive from a temple, a willow twig to which is attached a paper with a dragon drawn on it. They would place the twig in their rice fields to pray for bountiful harvests.

The *rlung rta*, on the other hand, is the same kind of paper offering but its use is quite different from that of *klu rta*. Specifically, *rlung rta* is tossed upward when the fumigation ritual is conducted at the mountain, and also when the ritual at the shrine reaches the first, biggest climax. Karmay (1993: 150-151, 1998: 413-414) argues that the Tibetan word *rlung rta* used to be spelled *klung rta* (river-horse). According to Karmay's remark, the idea of *lung ma* (Chinese word for dragon-horse) was introduced from China through astrology during the Tibetan Kingdom of the 7th-9th centuries. *klung rta* was replaced by *rlung rta* (Tib. for wind-horse), reflecting the change of concept. In connection with the Chinese idea of *lung ma*, Ishida (1966) showed that the practice of associating a horse or cow with the goddess of water (in Asia, usually embodied by a dragon) is widely distributed from eastern Asia to Europe. In his book, Ishida discusses the Chinese tradition of associating a heavenly horse with a dragon horse, the legend of a stallion of the watery world which is found in the western region and the western border areas of

China, and the practice of drowning a cow or horse as sacrifice to the god of water. He also points out the inseparable relationship between the dragon (the goddess of water and storms) and cows or horses (Ishida 1966: 182). Consequently, we may infer that the association of death, rebirth, and fertility underlie the practices of offering *klu rta* to the underworld, watery deities and *rlung rta* (*klung rta*) to the upper deities.

Now let us look back on the issue of white and red offerings. The purpose of dividing various offerings into white and red is to make clear to whom the specific offerings are dedicated — to the upper gods or to the watery, underworld gods.

Table 2

Sacrifice and Offerings	Supernatural beings				
	Protecting deities			Eight kinds of supernatural beings	Impurity or pollution (especially caused by death)
	Upper deities		Under deities		
	white peaceful deities	black wrathful deities	klu		
White <i>bsang</i>	○	○	○	○	
Red <i>bsang</i> (by burning of meat and blood)		○			
White offerings (flower, fruits, <i>tsam-pa</i> , <i>bag-leb</i> , white <i>gtor ma</i>)	○	○	○	○	
Offerings of 'cold liquid'			○	○	
Offerings of 'hot liquid'	○	○		○	
'Red offerings' (raw goat heart and head, cooked meat)		○			
Imitation goats (living goats used to be sacrificed, but now substitutes are used)		○			
Offerings for a dragon (<i>klu-rta</i>) <i>dzogs shing</i>			●		▲
willow twigs with <i>klu-rta</i>			●		▲
eight kinds of <i>gtor-ma</i>				○	
<i>kha-dmar</i> (offerings of human flesh)		○			
offering of human blood		○			(●)
<i>lha-pa</i> 's body		○			

○ The sacrifice to obtain positive results in the future

● sacrifice to eliminate present negative situations or attributes

▲ sacrifice of to be destroyed after luring the malevolent beings

These two kinds of offerings also signify the characteristics of the upper and underworld gods, and function interdependently. By making these two kinds of

offerings, villagers offer prayers to 'go ba'i lha of both the upper world and the underworld in the microcosm (the Other World).

These offerings are classified into two types according to their functions. One type is offered as a gift to guardian deities to gain the favor of the 'go ba'i lha. By making these offerings, villagers anticipate good harvests, the fertility of their livestock and the prosperity of their community as a repayment from the gods. The other type of offerings has the purpose of attracting the malicious, sacred powers alleged to have caused the negative conditions or pollution. These malicious, sacred powers are also present at the *glu rol* festival, and villagers wish to remove these powers from their community by using ritual devices with *klu rta*. The nature of offerings, their functions, and their relationship with the supernatural beings are shown in Table 2.

2.3 *Glu rol* as a sacrificial ritual

We have looked at the offerings made at the *glu rol* festival, the gods for whom these offerings are intended, and the functions of these offerings. Interestingly, most of these offerings are burned at the two climaxes of the festival. The first climax comes around 4:00 in the afternoon, when red offerings, some white offerings, and *sde brgyad kyi gtor ma* are all burned together in the furnace in the courtyard of the shrine. In the second climax, fire igniting straw is set to two kinds of twigs attached with *klu rta* at the crossroads outside the shrine at night. In terms of time and space, the burning of offerings at the first and second climaxes signifies a dichotomy between "daytime/ furnace in the shrine" and "night/ crossroads outside the shrine." It also presents a contrast in terms of the materials burned between evergreen twigs and *rtsam pa* in the furnace/straw, paper and willow twigs at the crossroads. In any cases, offerings are burned by fire during the climaxes.

Now the question arises as to why these offerings must be burned. A clue is found in the theory of H. Hubert and M. Mauss (1964; original work in 1899). They argue that we must designate as sacrifice any oblation, even of vegetable matter, whenever the offering or part of it is destroyed (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 12). By their definition, ritual destruction refers to the practice of killing animals and burning their flesh, of grinding and burning crops, and of sprinkling liquid offerings on the ground. The ritual practice of destruction draws a clear line between a mere oblation and a sacrifice in terms of religious energy emanating from them. Naturally, in the case of sacrifice, the religious energy released is stronger (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 12). Using that definition, most of the offerings in the *glu rol* festival are sacrifices because they are destroyed by fire in whole or in part during the first and second climaxes.

Most typical sacrifices are those of killing animals. Reportedly, the Sog-ri conducted animal sacrifices at the *glu rol* festival until the present *lha pa* assumed his position. In case of the village of Gling-rgyal, an animal sacrifice is still an

ongoing practice, which a *lha pa* conducts during *glu rol* festival at the house of the person responsible for the festival. Today, the Sog-ri villagers offer imitation goats as sacrifice, and these can be considered as equivalents to live animal sacrifices, because both of them are called *dmar mchod* (red offering). Thanks to the fine ethnological study of Evans-Pritchard (1956), it is widely known that the tribe of Nuer in the upper Nile sacrifices goats if cattle are not available, and cucumbers if goats are not available. In his writing, Evans-Pritchard describes the meaning of Nuer sacrifice as “a substitution, *vita pro vita*” (1956: 281-282). Considering this theory as well as that of Mauss and Hubert, the festival at Sog-ri does not have to offer an animal sacrifice, because plants and imitation goats can be equivalent to living animal sacrifices. In case of the *glu rol* festival, however, certain restrictions are applied to the substitution of a sacrifice, depending on the type of gods for which an offering is intended, as discussed earlier.

If these sacrifices are ‘substitution, *vita pro vita*’ as Evans-Pritchard argues, then what do they substitute for? In my view they substitute for human life. At the depths of consciousness, the practice of offering valuable property signifies a sacrifice of part of the body of a person, or self-sacrifice.

In fact, the Sog-ri villagers have retained the custom of offering part of the body of a person as sacrifice, in addition to substitutes for human life. This sacrifice reminds us of the “elementary form of religion” which Durkheim illustrated in his study of the Australian aborigines. Villagers call human flesh and blood offerings the ultimate “red offerings” (= sacrifices) and the person who sacrifices part of his body is believed to ‘become a god-like being.’ This belief reinforces the view that the offering of human life constitutes the very essence of sacrifice. Destruction of part of the human body as a sacrifice is to draw very close to the gods, and ultimately, it entails the complete destruction of the sacrificial victim himself.

What, then, is the meaning of sacrificing a human or animal body or plants? As mentioned earlier, in the *glu rol* festival of Sog-ri two types of sacrifices function intertwine each other. One is carried out to establish communications with guardian deities in prayer for future blessings, while the other is to remove pollution or change negative conditions. The sacrifice offered in anticipation of positive results in the future is “a gift, or tribute paid to the gods.” At the metaphysical level, it is also “a symbol of gift giving, but gift giving as an expression of reciprocal relationship rather than material exchange” (Leach 1976: 83). In the Tibetan language, the expression *mchod pa* means both “offering and libation” and “to honor or to revere the deities.”

Why must the sacrifices be destroyed by fire in the course of the ritual? Tibetan people believe that many of the pure, good, and friendly deities and spirits in the Other World are “eaters of fragrances” (*dri za*). Therefore, sacrifices or gifts to the gods must be offered through aromatic smoke generating from the burning of incense. This is why sacrifices are burned on aromatic trees and plants (*lha*

shing) such as juniper. What the gods receive are aromatic smoke, not material foods that can be eaten by men. In the smoke from *bsang* ritual and human blood or flesh sacrifices, the gods acknowledge the worship, gratitude or submission of the villagers or the expression of the reciprocal relationship, and are satisfied. And, by receiving the offerings from the villagers, the gods are compelled to give back benefits to them.

Then, how have humans come to conceive of the idea of destroying their gifts in the course of a sacrifice ritual? Leach reasons that the idea is underlain by “the metaphor of death.” He goes on to say:

The souls of the dead men pass from the normality of This World to the abnormality of the liminal zone and then, by further transformation, become immortal ancestor deities in the Other World. If we want to make a gift to a being in the Other World, the ‘soul,’ that is to say, the metaphysical essence, of the gift must be transmitted along the same route as is travelled by the soul of a dead man. We must therefore first kill the gift so that its metaphysical essence is separated from its material body, and then transfer the essence to the Other World by rituals which are analogous to those of a funeral (Leach 1976: 83).

Leach’s metaphor of death is reminiscent of a funeral ritual accompanied by animal sacrifices executed by Bon priests during the Tibetan Kingdom. Even today, the sheep dedicated as a sacrifice is called *gnam lug* (heavenly sheep) and is believed to ascend to the sky when sacrificed. In the Tibetan language, the word *lha* (god) is synonymous with *bla* (soul), and Tibetan people often mix these two words. In literature as well, *dgra lha* is also expressed as *dgra bla*, while the *sku bla* in the ancient times is said to correspond to *sku lha* in the later ages (Stein 1972: 227-228). According to an ancient Dunhuang text, a person’s soul (*bla*) continues to live in a tomb, or in its abode in heaven or other places, even after the death of the person (Stein 1972: 227). The “seat of the soul” (*bla gnas*) is considered to be within a human body, usually in the heart. It is believed that the *bla* comes to dwell in the human body at birth, and normally departs from the body when the body is destroyed after death. Besides human bodies, stones (*bla rdo*), trees (*bla shing*), mountains (*bla ri*), and lakes (*bla mtsho*) in the nature as well as animals and other specific things are said to act as the seat of the *bla*. Partly because of the influence of Buddhism, the concept of *bla* has undergone transformation over the centuries. It seems, however, that Tibetan people maintain a deep-seated belief that *bla*, the metaphysical essence of sacrifice, departs from its seat, probably its heart, when the host is destroyed, and returns to the world of *lha*, the Other World, which is the very source of life. Simply put, the metaphysical essence of things comes from the gods and eventually returns to the gods. The person who sacrifices his flesh or blood by destroying part of his body would be the reason why he is said to approach very closely the world of the gods (death) and become a god-like being.

The sacrifice ritual at Sog-ri is underlain by the belief of Tibetan folks that *bla* departs from the dead body and continues to live, and it is identical with *lha*. Their logic of the sacrifice seems to be an important clue to comprehend the popular beliefs of Tibetans. The interpretation of “gifts” and “the metaphor of death” which Leach proposed for sacrifices in general surely apply to the case of sacrifices in the *glu rol* offered in anticipation of positive results in the future.

The other sacrifice conducted to remove pollution or present negative conditions also involves the burning of sacrifices, but differs from the one above in terms of the manner of burning and significance. Leach’s interpretation cannot be applied to all aspects of this sacrifice. As discussed earlier, the willow twig (*dzog shing*) with *klu rta* attached functions as a ritual device to lure the evil, impure and capricious supernatural beings mainly existing in the earth and the underworld. These supernatural beings come to rest on the twig and are then trapped on it. The other sort of willow twig with *klu rta* is regarded as synonymous with the impurity of death, because the head of a family or someone whose family member has died in the preceding year is specifically appointed to carry it. This ritual is meant to transfer the impurity of death to the willow twig. Here, the ideas of transferring the impurity and of identifying the willow twig with impurity of death interact with each other inseparably.

At this point, let us take a closer look at this ritual. The ritual begins with the chanting of a sūtra of exhortation or admonition (*skul ba*) by villagers to summon the black, combative ‘*go ba’i lha* or *blon po*, whom they have entertained with gifts and dances. To descend to the earth, *blon po* enters the body of the younger *lha pa*. The *lha pa* possessed by the *blon po* sweeps evil beings out to the crossroads with a broom-like object with a sword at the end. There, the *lha pa* makes symbolic finger signs (*sdigs mdzub*) to punish these evil beings, blows on the twigs with *klu rta* attached, and then throws them in a pile of burning straw. Under the supervision of the *blon po*, these paper offerings are destroyed by the power of fire. To make sure the ritual is effective, the *lha pa* also tramples on the burnt offerings to destroy them completely. Sūtras are then chanted to subdue the power of the *blon po*. Considering that *klu rta* is also called *klu gtad* (things undertaken by a dragon) by some villagers, perhaps the *klu* of the underworld takes over the burnt offerings. Participants in this ritual are told never to look back on their way back to the shrine. Back at the shrine, they celebrate the triumph of the ‘*go ba’i lha*, namely, the *blon po* and *klu*, by shouting “*lha rgyal!*” In this ritual, the god (*blon po*) makes an appearance in response to the call of the villagers who are on reciprocal terms with them. Due partly to the effects of the sacrifice that has just taken place, the *blon po* and his dependents then demonstrate their powers to expel the evil supernatural beings. Thus, the stage is set for combat among the good and evil supernatural beings in the Other World. To serve the purposes of the second sacrifice ritual, the villagers must take in the powers of the ‘*go ba’i lha* who have been satisfied with the treatment and with the first sacrifice offered by

the villagers. This means that the second sacrifice ritual must be conducted after the first sacrifice ritual — after the satisfaction of 'go ba'i lha has been ensured. In fact, the sacrifice rituals of the *glu rol* festival do strictly observe this order.

At the *glu rol* festival, the two types of sacrifices, one aiming at inviting the positive and the other at expelling the negative, are burned at different times and locations, as shown above. Through the *glu rol* festival, the villagers lay a bridge between this world and the Other World by offering sacrifices and destroying them in fire. In so doing, the villagers re-establish communications with the guardian deities and pray for their survival and prosperity, while taking in the powers of these guardian deities to expel evil supernatural beings by the offensive powers of 'go ba'i lha. Therefore, these sacrifice rituals, each having its own function, closely interact with each other throughout the course of this festival.

2.4 Two communication circuits with the deities: sacrifices and *lha pa*

As we have seen, the sacrifices function as important ritual devices for establishing a communication circuit between the gods and humans. The *glu rol* festival, however, involves another ritual means to establish yet another communication circuit — spirit possession of the *lha pa*. Worldwide, there are numerous cases where sacrifice and possession by spirits together constitute an essential means in a sacrifice ritual process. Luc de Heusch (1985: 212, ff.) advocates the use of the term 'adorcism' for illustrating the positive relationship between the invading spirits and the possessed persons, in a clear distinction from 'exorcism' which indicates a negative relationship. The term 'adorcism' aptly fits the state of *lha pa* possessed by pure, good 'go ba'i lha at the *glu rol* festival. Without actually destroying his body as is the case of general sacrifices, the *lha pa*, within his own body, can bridge the distance between the human realm and that of the gods. During the *glu rol* festival, the *lha pa* in a state of 'adorcism' plays various roles, acting as the conductor of the festival, as an officiant of the sacrifice rituals, and also as the 'go ba'i lha itself.

Then, what is the significance in the *glu rol* festival of the co-existence of two communication circuits by which to approach the gods — one by sacrifice rituals and one by 'adorcism' of the *lha pa*? These communication circuits perform different functions. So, let us examine the characteristics of these circuits and the relationship between them. For the purpose of comparison, I will call the communication circuit by way of sacrifices "the sacrifice type" shown as Type A, and that by way of 'adorcism' "the adorcism type" shown as Type B (see Table 3).

In the A-type, villagers as the hosts of the ritual, offer sacrifices to gods and expect the blessing from them as their returns in the future. Moreover, A-type can be sub-categorized into the A1-type and the A2-type according to the sorts of sacrifices. A1-type is the one using the substitute sacrifice for the hosts of the ritual. A2-type is the one using the part of the bodies themselves of the ritual hosts. As A2-type sacrifice does not include any substitute, the communication between

the men and gods is more direct and the degree of man's approach to gods is higher.

B-type reminds us of the shamanistic rite by possession. This type can be regarded as a sacrifice in that all the villagers as the offerors of the sacrifice dedicate the entire body of *lha pa* to the guardian gods as a gift, for the sake of their community. Unlike the *kha dmar* and human blood sacrifice, however, this sacrifice does not entail destruction of any part of the body or of a substitute sacrifices. Rather, it is the personality and consciousness of the *lha pa* that are destroyed and offered to the gods as a sacrifice. At the present *glu rol* of Sog-ri, it seems that the *lha pa* rather acts as a ritual officiant who offers material sacrifices

Table 3

A1	offeror of sacrifice	officiant: <i>lha pa</i> =====>⇒ the medium: material objects	protecting deity →	'blessing' of a god offeror of sacrifice
A2	offeror of sacrifice	officiant: <i>lha pa</i> =====>⇒ the medium: one's own body	protecting deity →	'blessing' of a god offeror of sacrifice
B	<i>lha pa</i>	officiant: <i>lha pa</i> → the medium: (<i>lha pa</i> 's body)	protecting deity =====>⇒	possession of a god <i>lha pa</i> medium: <i>lha pa</i> 's body
AB	offeror of sacrifice	officiant: <i>lha pa</i> =====>⇒ the medium: material objects and <i>lha pa</i> 's body	protecting deity =====>⇒	'blessing' of a god and its possession. offeror of sacrifice medium: <i>lha pa</i> 's body

to the gods on the side of approaching to protecting gods. On the other hand, in the side of approaching from the gods to the *lha pa*, the gods themselves invade into the body of *lha pa* to manifest themselves before all the villagers by possessing the body of the *lha pa*. They, then, communicate with villagers through *lha pa* and they let the villagers know whether the future well being of the whole community is ensured or not. The gods also immediately act to eliminate evil beings through the *lha pa*'s adorcism. The elimination of evil beings can also be regarded as a kind of benefits from the guardian gods to the villagers.

The A-type including its subcategories has a weak point that villagers cannot know at least until harvest time, whether or not the gods surely give the blessing of 'return' to offerors of the sacrifices. The circuit of B-type is considered to work

effectively as compensation for the weak point of the A-type. Thanks to the circuit of B-type, Sog-ri's participants and sacrifice offerors can perceive the response of gods directly and instantly through *lha pa*'s gestures, his trance dance titled "God's play", his augury, the oracle and the like. On the communication between man and gods, therefore, A-type circuit and B-type are different in each emphasis, and they are complementary each other. From the viewpoint of village offerors, the most desirable type is the AB-type uniting A-type and B-type. The *glu rol* of Sog-ri has this ideal AB-type.

By the way, let us look back historically whether or not Tibet had the communication circuit between man and gods through either A-type or B-type, or both of them. During the time of Tibetan Kingdom (the 7th-9th centuries), we can find a funeral ritual accompanied by the animal sacrifices executed by the Bonpo priests who were pre-Buddhist priests before the formation of institutionalized Buddhist order. In the ritual, it had been already established the sophisticated form that *gShen* and Bon took their tasks side by side at these two sides of communication circuit between gods and man. *gShen* officiated "probably as the delivery ritualistic priest of the sacrifice to a god", while Bon did "probably as the priest to let the gods descent" (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 59). However, even in the oldest Dunhuang manuscripts, these priests were considered to be the purely ritualistic ones; "not the least sign of trance was found in the rites on the part of any of the officiants" (Stein 1972: 238).

Then, historically can we find no B-type communication circuit, that is, that of 'adorcism'? In the time of the ancestor of the Tibetan Kingdom (before the 7th century), we can find the tradition of the politics by a sacred king, who called himself the child of a god. It is said that he went into ecstasy in the presence of the whole company, going to the heaven, asking the divine will, and that after being awoken, he performed the political affairs on the ground (Yamaguchi 1991: 89). Even at the present day, Dalai Lama government has maintained the tradition to hear the oracle of *gNas-chung* on the serious political situation.

It is, thus, considered that Tibet has preserved two communication circuits of A-type and B-type in her long history. The tradition of communication circuits with gods would probably belong to that of the 'nameless' folk religious rituals. Later, most probably Bon religion and Buddhism would take it in positively without abandoning it, and priests of both religious orders would come to officiate at the rituals in each communication circuit of A-type and B-type. In the B-type, they carefully avoided the 'adorcism' as much as possible. It is, therefore, surmised that before they officiated at the sacrifice rituals, A-type and B-type communication circuits with gods might have co-existed among Tibetan populace.

The Tibetans in Reb-skong are considered to have invented the most desirable type to villagers, that is AB-type, after having held the more original circuit forms of A-type and B-type separately. During the duration of the *glu rol* festival at Sog-ri, the participants of the rite can get the actual feelings and the confirmation that

their wishes and desires are being realized through the two essential means — sacrifice and possession, while operating effectively the circuit of this AB-type.

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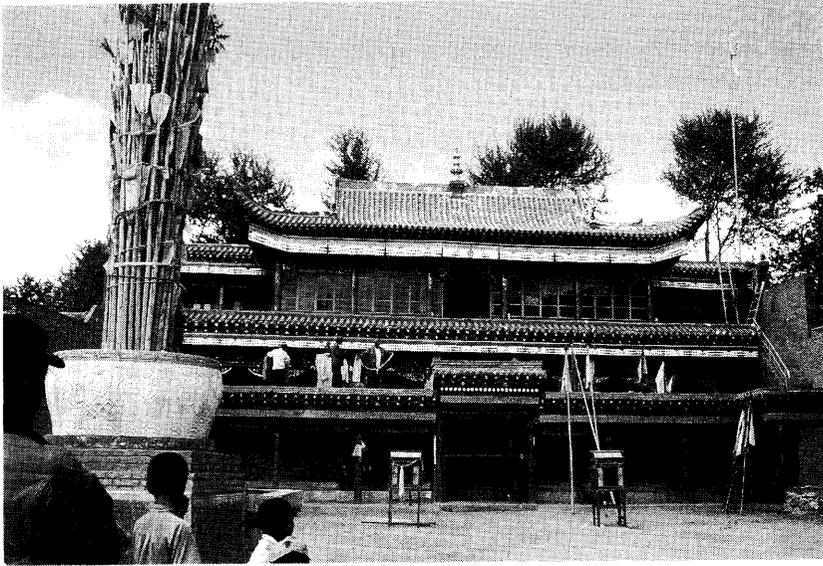


Plate 1 Sog-ri shrine and La-btsas in its courtyard
(S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 2 rMa-chen spom-ra
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

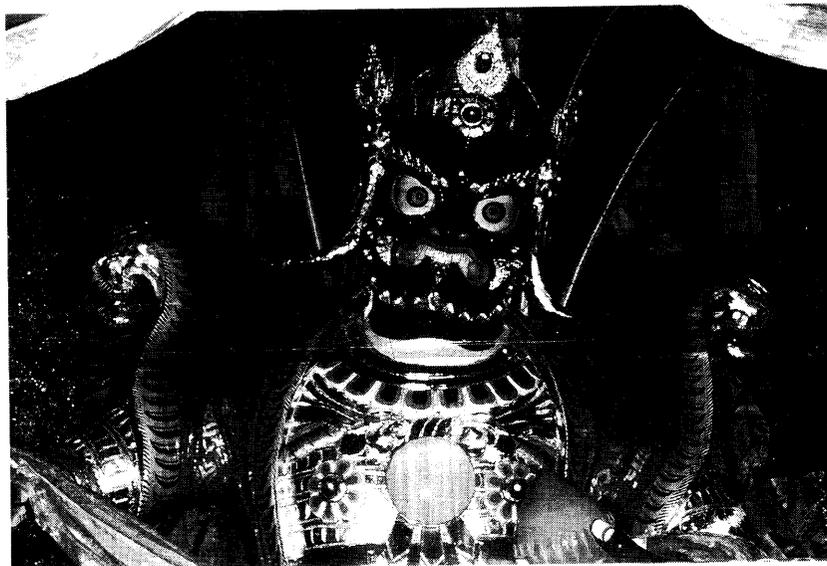


Plate 3 dGra-'dul dbang-phyung
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

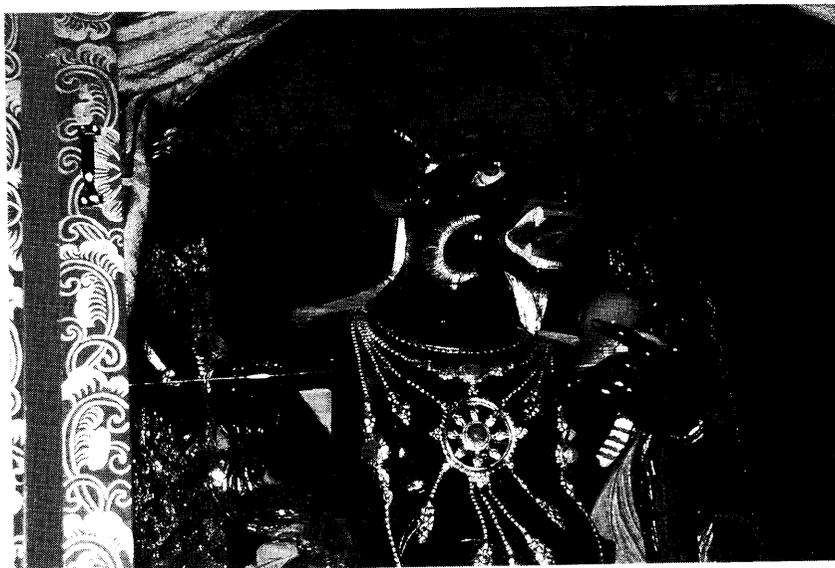


Plate 4 Shang-pa ra-mgo
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 5 Blon-po
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

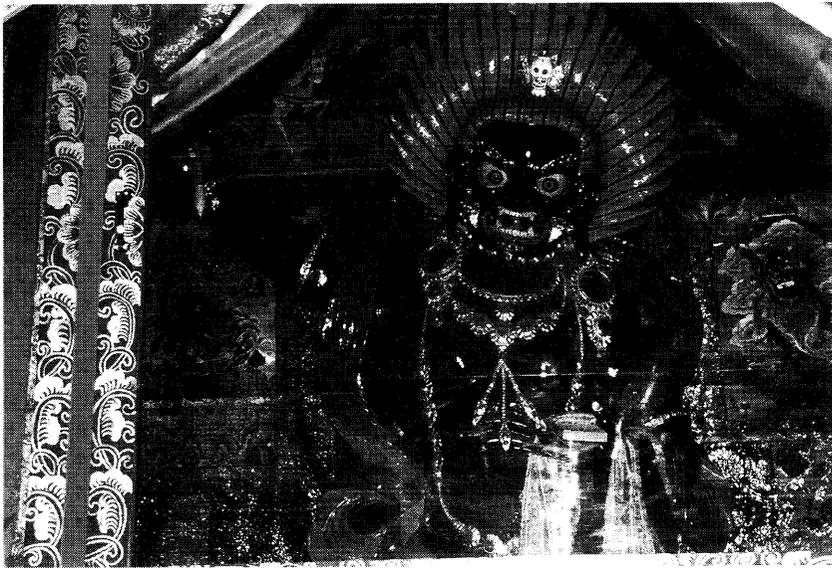


Plate 6 Blon-po shan-pa tsi-tung
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

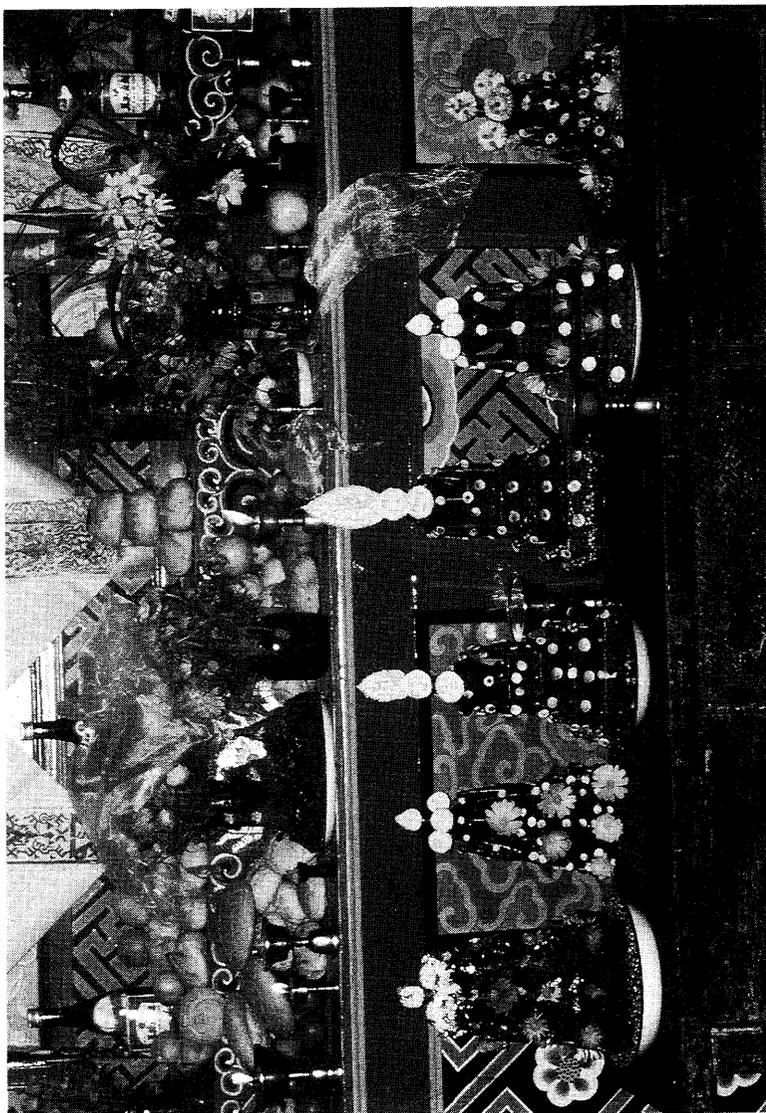


Plate 7 White offerings (upper shelf)
and sDe-bryad gyi gtor-ma (lower shelf)
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 8 Men, who are going to Iha-chu-kha,
Carrying a bag of tsampa, white gtor-ma and a cedar
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 9 Sacred palanquins, fixed with the willow branches, are purified by smoke. (S. Nagano, August 1998)

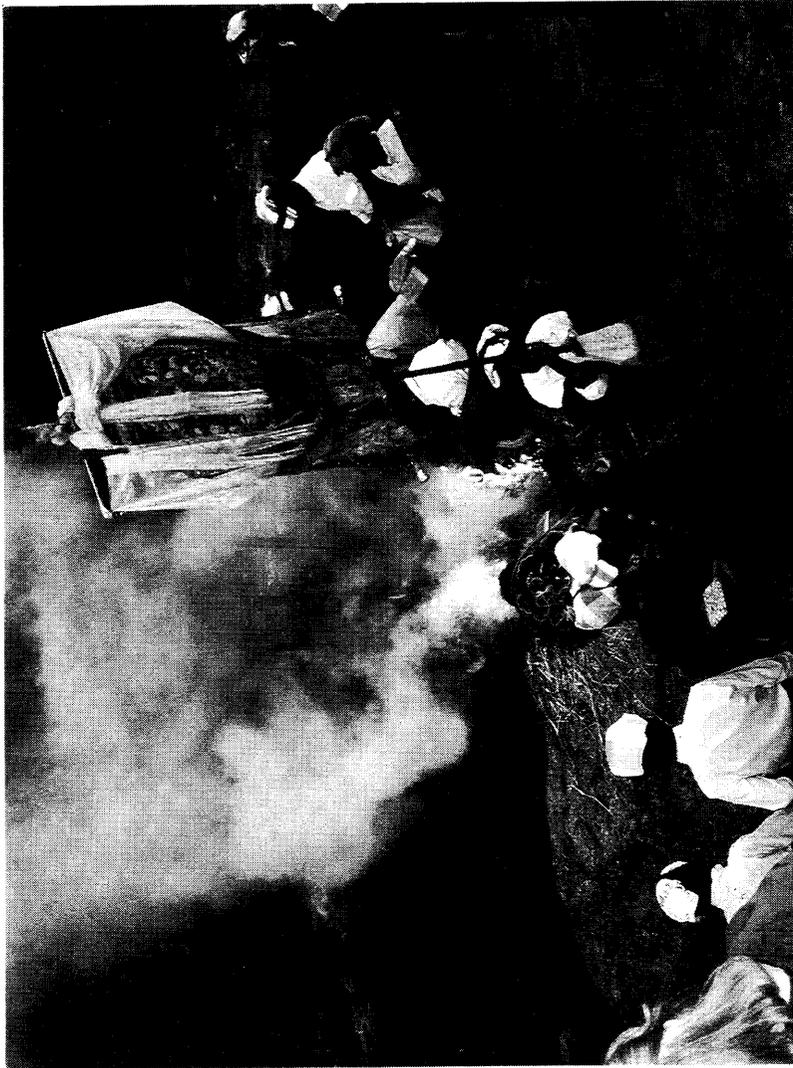


Plate 11 White bsangs on a big stone on the river bank
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 10 A party and a senior lha-pa are going to lha-chu-kha.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 12 Men, lha-pa, thangka and sacred palanquin bathe in the river.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 13 After returning from lha-chu-kha to the shrine, the participants listen to the oracle by the senior lha-pa at the inner shrine.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 14 The palanquin visits each village house.
(S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 15 Offerings of each house in Iha-chung-kha
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 17 Dzogs-shing, hung with Klu-rta at the base of la-btsas in the center of the courtyard (S. Nagano, August 1998)

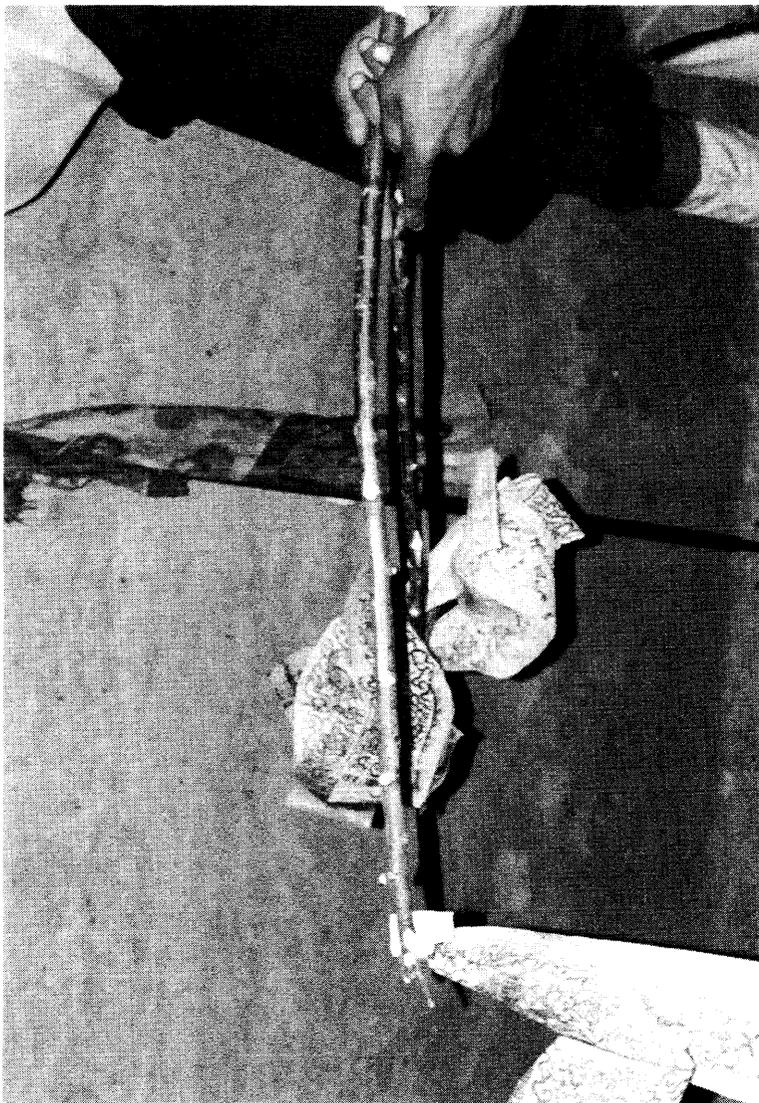


Plate 18 Willow branches and *klu-rta*, grasped by the *klu-rta dzin-mkhan*
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 19 Men and the younger lha-pa, going to the hillside to set up a dar-lcog
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 20 After setting up the dar-lcog, people toss rlung-rta heavenward,
and shout “Ki-ki so-so (The gods are victorious)”.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 21 The community la-btsas of Sog-ri, at which a ritual is held on the 9th of May (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 22 Performance of Ba'i lha gtong-ba
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 23 The seniors scatter liquor and yogurt, with the sound of conch shells.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 24 Two young men performing a stilt dance (rkang shing pa)
(S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 25 The dance named 'the pupils of the stilted men (rkang shing ki grwa pa)'
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

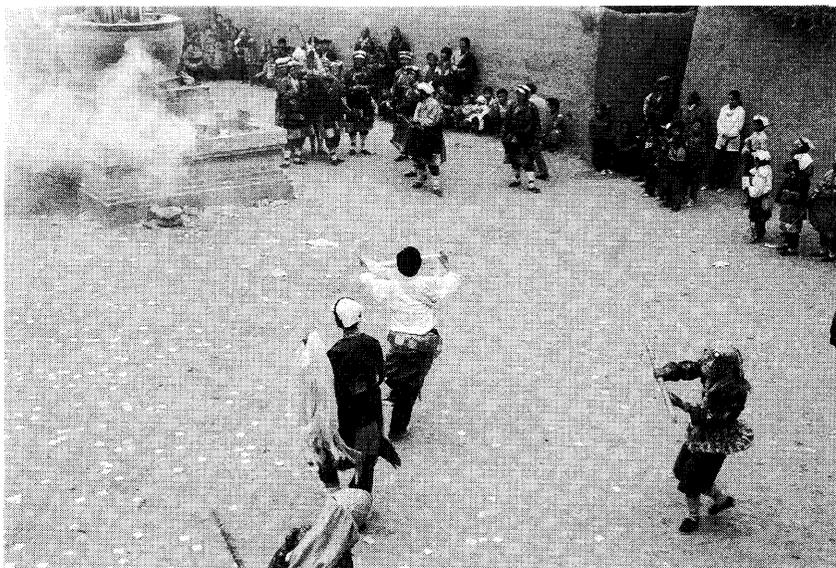


Plate 26 Two boys, wearing green a-tsa-ra masks, dance while the senior lha-pa welcome an imitative goat. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 27 The senior lha-pa welcomes unmarried girls' dance. (S. Nagano, August 1998)

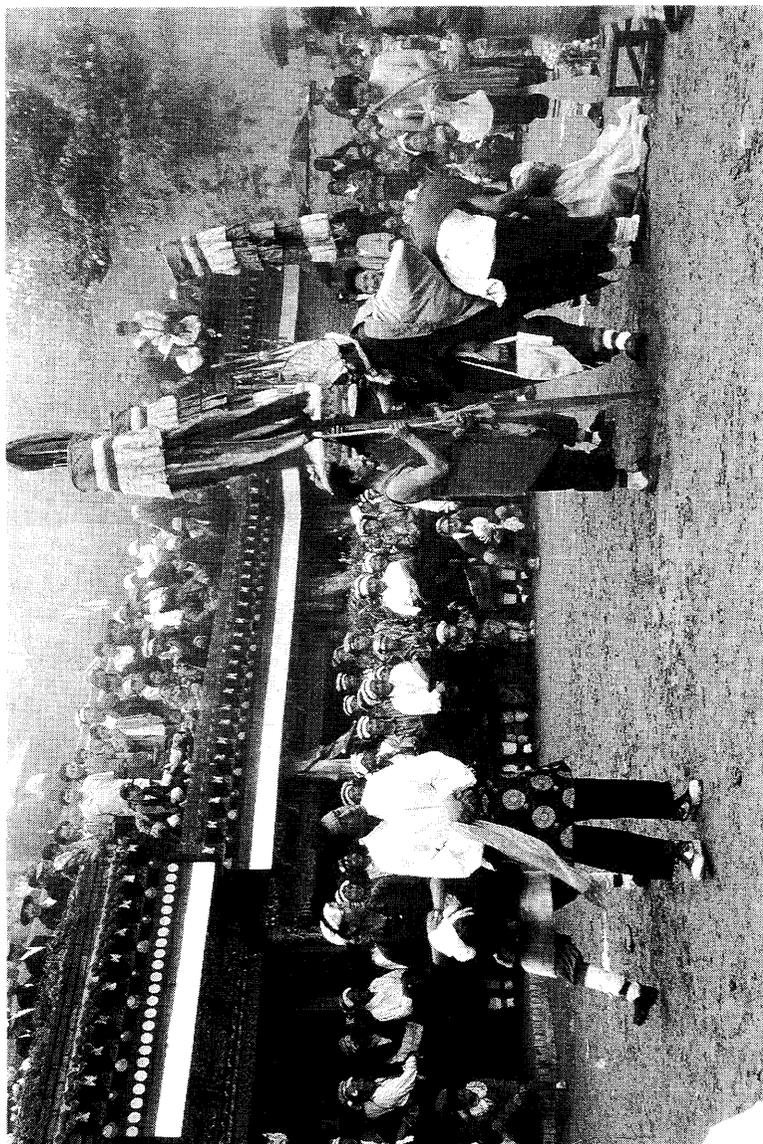


Plate 29 A short play (S. Nagano, August 1999)

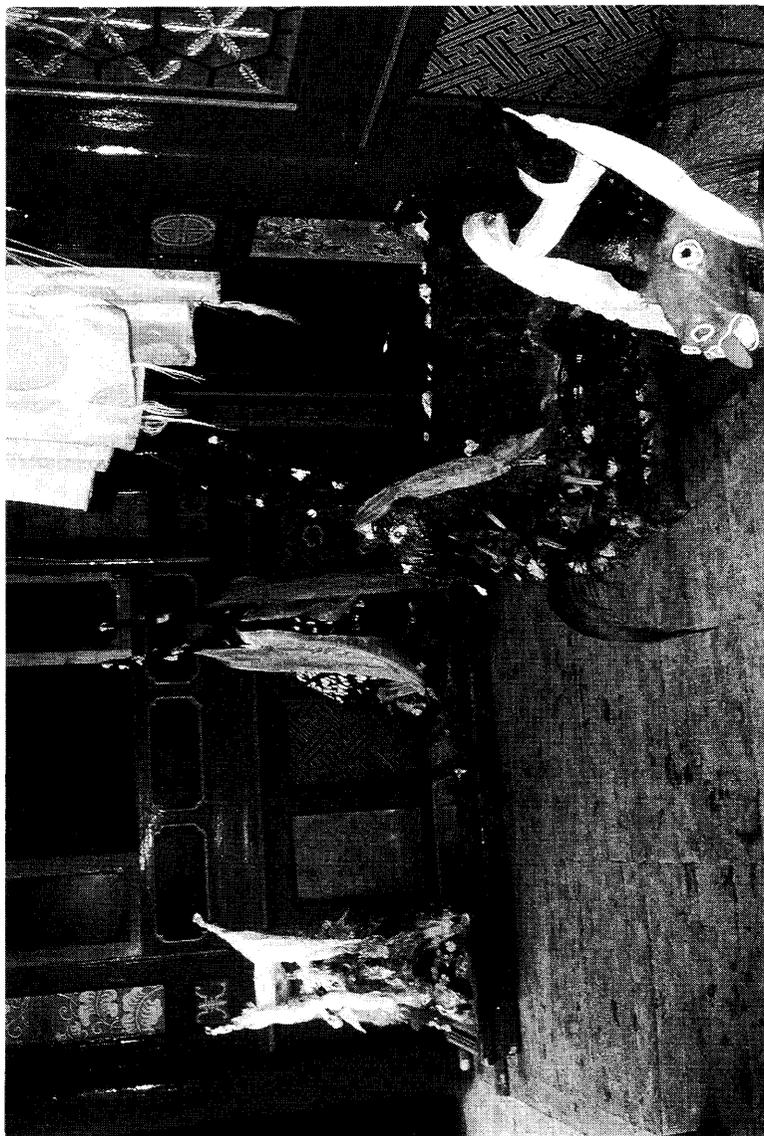


Plate 30 Four imitative goats placed in front of the inner shrine
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 28 Gar-ma's wearings and their coral earrings
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 31 A drum dance, entitled 'god-satisfying dance (*lha ngom-pa*)',
which is dedicated to the sacred palanquin of *stag-lung*
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 32 The other drum dance, entitled lha-ngom-pa
(S. Nagano, July 1997)

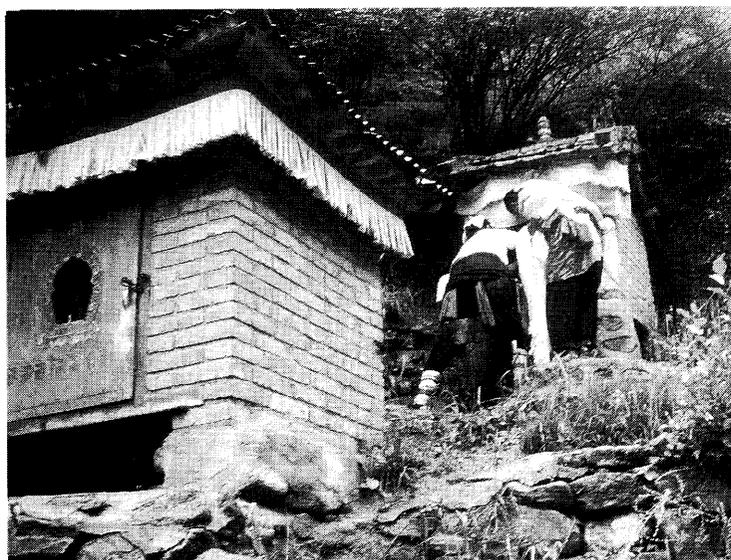


Plate 33 The younger lha-pa goes to the sanctuary with chu-'khor,
dedicates klu-bsangs, and hangs the ritual scarf to each chu-'khor.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 34 The younger lha-pa ties a ritual scarf to a chu-'khor.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 35 A young man gets his mouth stabbed with a spike.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 36 Young men with skewers, wearing derby hats that symbolize A-myes stag-lung (S. Nagano, August 1998)

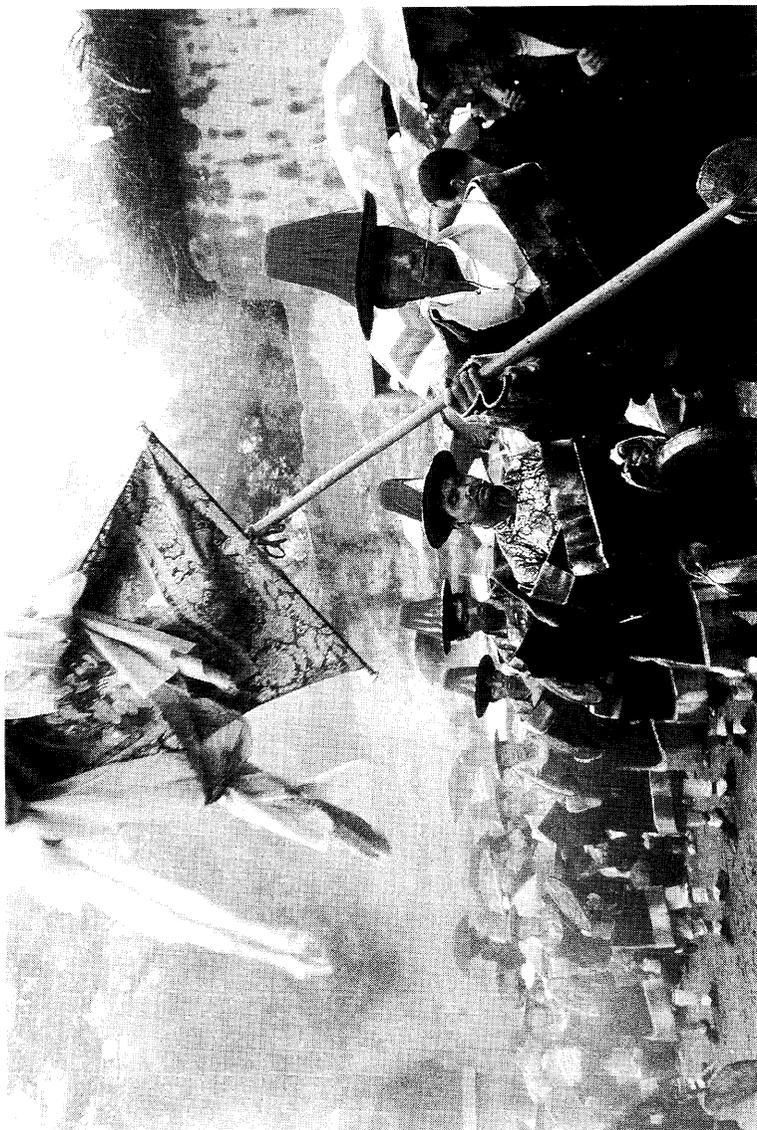


Plate 37 The dance of 12 young men with skewers
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 38 The senior *lha-pa* augurs with a black horn.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)

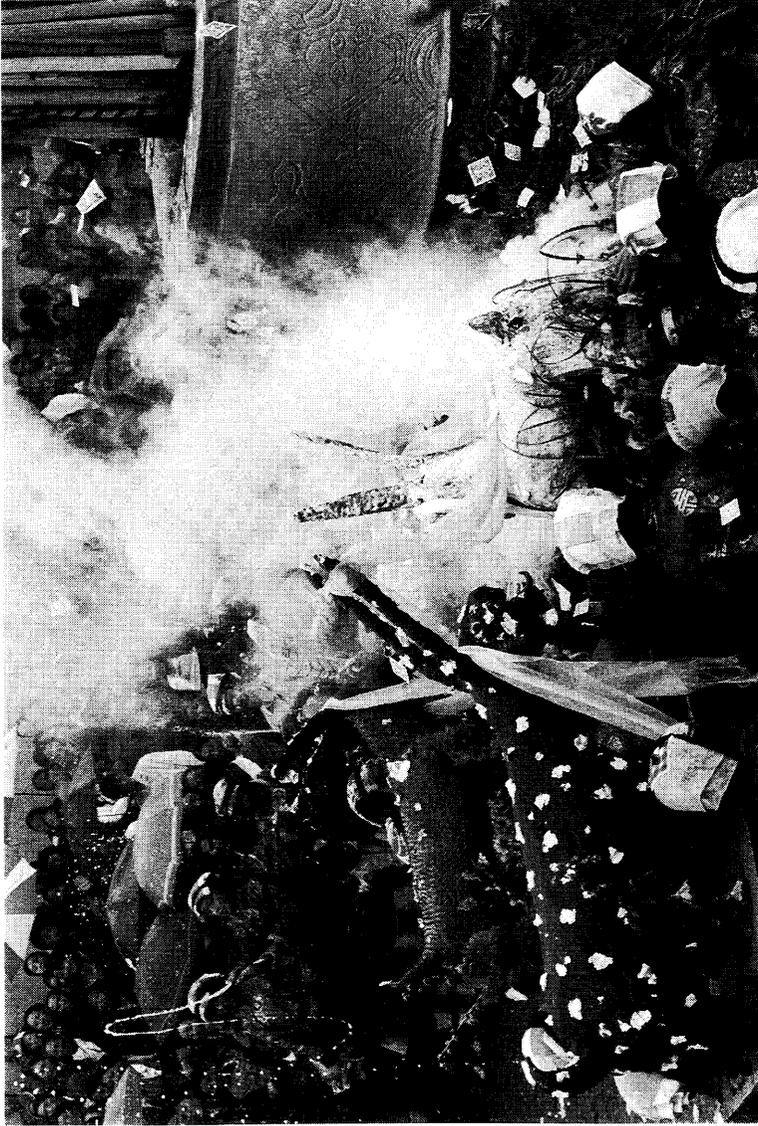


Plate 40 The four imitative goats, the other offerings and ritual scarves are burnt. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 39 'Eight kinds of *gtor-ma*' are incinerated by the *lha-pa* in the furnace of the courtyard (S. Nagano, August 1996)



Plate 41 After incineration of offerings, beer is showered and *rlung-rta* paper are tossed heavenward. (S. Nagano, July 1997)



Plate 42 The flesh offering by inserting several spikes into their backs (rgyab la kha-dmar btab-pa) (S. Nagano, July 1997)

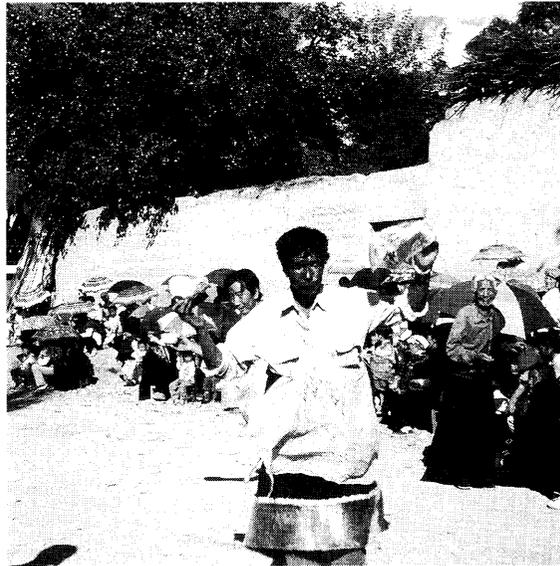


Plate 43 Blood offering; a bowl of yogurt and klu-gtad in the offerer's hands
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 45 Performance of mountain love songs (*la-gzhas*)
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 44 Blood offerers light klu-gtad paper and throw it out of the shrine.
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 46 An elder person gives an address praising the gods.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 47 The performers of *rtsed-rigs* entitled *khri-ka'i yul-lha phebs-pa* come into the inner shrine. (S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 48 Minced meat is carried into the shrine and distributed to everyone.
(S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 49 The dance of great gratitude (thugs-rje chen-po'i gar)
(S. Nagano, August 1999)



Plate 50 The senior lha-pa, falling into a trance, performs a dance entitled lha rtse-pa. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 51 The senior *lha-pa* dances with the sacred palanquins and pushes them to the four directions of courtyard. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 52 The younger lha-pa acts, holding a rtse-mdung, as if he swept something out towards the crossroad. (S. Nagano, August 1998)



Plate 53 Two kinds of willow sticks with Klu-gtad are just about to be fired on the road. (S. Nagano, August 1999)

