Men and Women, High and Low, and Auspicious Signs: How to Build a Tomb?

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Dear Guntram, hopefully you appreciate this account of still living traditions of tombs (however oxymoronic this wish may sound). Trashi delek! Tsering logya!

Ancestors are cross-culturally deemed to determine the wellbeing of their descendants and the living more generally.[1] These notions manifest in different ways, such as certain traditions of tomb erection in Eurasia and regular offerings to the dead in some parts of Europe,[2] Central and Inner Asia,[3] South Asia,[4] or East Asia.[5] While the bodies of the deceased may be treated in a variety of ways, if there are any remains, their proper handling and placement into some final resting place is usually of high importance.

Treatment of the dead reveals much about the given societies, their social structures as well as cosmologies. They also tell a lot about the notions of life, as it is the life principles that are being dismantled and navigated at the time of death. Descent in a great part of Asia (South, Central, East, and Southeast) is prevalently patrilineal, based on the patrilineal substance of bone inherited from the father. This substance is perceived as more durable than the flesh from the mother.[6]

Perceptions of descent and the physico-mental constitution of an individual determine life in many ways, for instance, which social group one belongs to, where one's residence is, whom one marries, which occupation one gets, which religious authorities one follows,

1 Steadman *et al.* 1996.
2 Mesnil and Popova 2002.
3 Humphrey 1995, Köçümkulkïzï and Waugh 2001, Kikuta 2011, Humphrey and Onon 2023.
4 Ondračka 2022.
5 For China: Oxfeld 2020, Taiwan: Wolf 1976, Japan: Takeda 1976, Yonemura 1976, Hozumi 2009: 43ff, Korea: Janelli & Janelli 1982: 86ff, Chae 2010: 35-37.
6 Lévi-Strauss 1969: 373ff.

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and so on. These factors can also largely determine post-mortal proceedings. The physical death has to be acknowledged by the society, so that the individual is socially accepted as gone.

Hence bones can receive particular attention when dealing with the deceased. Special handling processes of bones have developed across Asia. These include disposal into sacred rivers in South Asia, picking bones with chopsticks by descendants in Japan, geomantic establishment of graves in Chinese culture (that sometimes include a visible jar placement),[7] or descendants placing bones in a jar and then in a sacred mountain among the Premi, ethnically and culturally related to Tibetans, in highland Southeast Asia or what can still be labelled East Tibet (Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces, PRC).[8] All these treatments presuppose a previous treatment by cremation, apart from the Chinese case where cremation may or may not happen (in the latter instance, a preliminary burial takes place for the mentioned jar burial). Bones come out from the cremation pyre to receive further care.

Tibetan societies also follow these principles. The durable hard white bone (*rus*) epitomising the patriline (*rus*) gives one's identity rather than the maternal non-durable soft red flesh (*sha*). Among the diverse funerary practices developed in Tibetan societies mainly based on the deceased's social status and circumstances of death, such as sky burial, cremation, mummification, water immersion, entombment, and wind exposure,[9] in fact only one ostensively focuses on the bone—entombment. The other treatments either preserve or dispose of the whole body, although some bodily remains can be collected and mixed with clay made into pressed *tsatsa* (*tshwa tshwa*, var. *tsa tsa*, *tsha tsha*) offerings also after sky burial. *Tsatsa* are then placed into shrine repositories called *tsakhang* (*tshwa khang*) or at other auspicious and sacred locations.[10]

Entombment has likely been practised until recent times in East Tibet and perhaps is still practised today. For instance, hereditary chieftains and other individuals of social power and prestige in the region of Golok (mGo log, southern Qinghai Province, PRC) used to each

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7 A practice still surviving for example in Hong Kong. See this documenting photograph from 1898 titled *Potted Ancestors*, Funerary urns (金塔), New Territories (新界), Hong Kong, https://hpcbristol.net/visual/NA22-28 (University of Bristol - Historical Photographs of China reference number: NA22-28, National Archives Image Library, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, UK; accessed 29 April 2025).

8 Wellens 2010: 108, 109, 251, n. 13. The practice is captured in Marcus Schiesser's ethnographic film *Blood for the Gods: Ritual Revival among the Pumi People in Southwest China*, 2013.

9 See the special issue of *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies* 9(4) from 1982, Rinchen Losel 1991, Ramble 1997, Gouin 2012, Langelaar 2021a, Sehnalova 2022, 2024 (Appendix 9).

10 Rinchen Losel 1991, Sehnalova 2024 (Appendix 9).

receive a tumulus grave in a particular subclan's graveyard or another designated place probably until the early 20th century. These sites are called *dursa* (*dur sa*), 'burial sites', and the practice itself *sadur* (*sa dur*), 'earth burial' (and is moreover conceptualised as a treasure offering, *gter*). According to people's memory and the ritual text used on such occasions, it was bones (together with ashes) after cremation concealed in a white-washed earthenware jar that was then concealed in the ground. The procedure is thus congruent with the aforementioned practices in the Far East and highland Southeast Asia. In Golok, the burial spot was then covered with stones engraved with mantras and auspicious Buddhist symbols, as is still visible today (Figs. 1-3).[11] Interlocutors rendered similar entombment practices, especially for leaders, from other parts of East Tibet.[12] In these diverse cases, cremation and subsequent handling of the bones (and ashes) is sometimes applied, sometimes not.[13]

The selection of the final resting place of such ancestral remains and bones is of paramount importance. It generally determines the contentment of the ancestors necessary for the wellbeing of the living. The right disposition of the bones may be perceived to sustain and enhance the *la* (*bla*) vitality and the *yang* (*g.yang*) force of abundance and fecundity in the earth and the environment. The ancestral bones, rather than the ashes, support these forces that the ancestors carried during their lives.[14] Thanks to these forces, the land, animals, and people are fertile, and the community and life perpetuate. The ancestors can also be conceptualised as posthumously becoming *tsün* (*mtshun*, *btsun*) beings or divine entities. Their descendants should take care of them like living esteemed elderly to prevent their wrath and revenge, such as by presenting offerings of food and clothes and providing shelter by attending their resting place.[15]

Therefore, the decision of where to place a burial ground or a single individual needs proper consideration. Given the cultural importance ascribed to a close reading of landscape and its features,[16] geomancy comes to the fore. For burial sites in Golok, a general evaluation may

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11 Further see Sehnalova 2022. The study also provides an English translation of the ritual text used for such burials, authored by the acclaimed scholar Karma Chakmé (Karma chags med, 1613-1678); for its critical edition see Langelaar 2021b.

12 Mangra (Mang ra) and Badzong ('Ba' rdzong) in Qinghai Province; Nangchen (Nang chen), Derge (sDe dge), and other parts of Kham (similarly Rinchen Losel 1991, Langelaar 2021a,b), and Sharkhok (Shar khog) in Sichuan Province; Chone (Co ne) in Gansu Province.

13 Rinchen Losel 1991.

14 Langelaar 2021a: 178, 183-190, 204-206, 234-235, Sehnalova 2022.

15 See the discussion in Langelaar 2021a, 2022.

16 For instance, Ramble 1997, Huber 1999, Maurer 2009.

be considered sufficient, as exemplified by these instructions shared orally by a local monastic scholar:[17]

> Open to the East,
> Heaped from the South,
> A long distance in the West,
> Avoid the North,
> With delightful sunshine,
> Abundant with greenery and flowers.

A burial site has to be protected from both the North and the South, especially from the North associated with danger and coldness. A mountain ideally provides a 'heap' in the South as a protective 'front mountain' (*dünri*, *mdun ri*), and another peak the protective 'back mountain' (*gyapri*, *rgyab ri*) in the North. The tomb or a group of tombs thus is perched on a South-facing slope that receives ample sunshine and fosters abundant greenery, as prescribed. The view and access are open to the East, the quarter of the sun, and to the West of the setting sun in the form of a long valley. Note the characteristic clockwise sequence of the cardinal points in the account. These instructions have been indeed followed in the establishment of an important chieftain graveyard in Golok (Figs. 1-3).[18]

Existing manuals give much more detailed guidance for setting up new graveyards and tombs. Entombment practices seem to be becoming very rare, and hence it is difficult to prove or disprove the current usage of such manuals. In any case, these practices are a part of local knowledge. Some informed scholarly interlocutors from different parts of East Tibet[19] were convinced that entombment was still in practice, although they were not sure about details.

The widely accessible collection of general geomantic manuals, not only focused on tombs, is *The Collection of the Examination of the Earth* (*Sa dpyad phyogs bsgrigs*/), published in 1996 in the PRC.[20] The collection is also the most common geomantic manual used in Golok for different purposes. Contained within this collection is a composition titled *The Key to the Examination of the Good and Bad Qualities of the Earth* (*Nor 'dzin dpyad pa legs nyes 'byed pa'i lde mig bzhugs so*//). It includes a part dedi-

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[17] A holder of the *khenpo* (*mkhan po*) degree from the Nyingma Pelyül Dartang (dPal yul Dar thang) monastery, Chikdril (gCig sgril) County, Golok Prefecture, Qinghai Province (personal communication, April 2025). The Tibetan original: *Shar phyes pa*/ *lho spungs pa*/ *nub thag ring ba*/ *byang g.yol ba*/ *nyi len bde ba*/ *rtsi shing me tog 'dzoms pa*/.

[18] The graveyard is discussed in Sehnalova 2022 (pp. 258ff), including a map (p. 244) that shows its placement in the landscape.

[19] See note 12.

[20] bSod nams dbang ldan 1996.



Fig. 1 — The South-facing hillslope with the burial ground of the Khanggen (Khang rgan) branch of the Golok patrilineal clan. Beneath its top, thus providing a shelter from the North, the ground supposedly holds the graves of several subsequent generations of the clan's patriarchs. Chikdril County, Golok Prefecture, Qinghai Province, PRC, July 2018 (photograph by the author).

cated to guidelines on establishing tombs in the landscape, which is rendered below in translation.[21] The composition (of thirteen pages) otherwise offers general geomantic prescriptions for evaluating auspicious places, constructing a house, and similar tips. Its colophon states that it was written based on oral traditions shared by a certain unnamed scholar.

The part of *The Key* focused on entombment encapsulates the foundational concepts of kinship and patrilineal descent through the described postmortem arrangement of remains of family members. The deceased have to be specifically arranged so that the prosperity of the living and the family's genealogical continuation are ensured. Agnates and the elderly receive the highest, most prestigious spot, whereas women, while included, get an inferior, physically lower position. There is also a clear hierarchical distinction between the bones of those who died young and of those who achieved an appreciated high age. Further, the text stresses different types of bones, here 'large and small', that come from distinct body parts and are differentiated in earth burials in Tibet.[22]

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[21] Ibid., 306-318 (the whole composition), the part on tombs is found on pp. 313-314 (Fig. 4).

[22] Sehnalova 2022: 248, 261 – in the given practice in Golok, only 'hard bones' (*rus pa sra sra*) should be used in the burial, as 'soft bones' (*snyi snyi'i rus pa*, presumably also smaller) can be made into *tsatsa* and placed separately.



Fig. 2 — A view from the top of the Khanggen burial ground in Golok towards the South, with a prominent East-West oriented valley with river streams beneath. The ground overlooks the Geluk Lungkar (Lung dkar) monastery and peaks that protect the ground from the South. Two tombs are visible (as slate stones) in the foreground: a lower one on the left, and an upper one on the right in a state of disintegration. Chikdril County, Golok Prefecture, Qinghai Province, PRC, July 2018 (photograph by the author).



Fig. 3 — A view from the Khanggen burial ground towards the East, along the East-West oriented valley. A wide view of the peaks of the Nyenpo Yutsé (gNyan po g.yu rtse) mountain range (visible in the rear) opens. The heap of slate stones marks one of the graves. Chikdril County, Golok Prefecture, Qinghai Province, PRC, July 2018 (photograph by the author).

The picture likely is a multigenerational burial ground, perhaps of a patrilineal clan, laid out on a hillside with the distinguished patri-

archs on the top, younger members lower and opposite, and further with the remains of women somewhere in the lower parts.[23] If the women are agnatic or affinal is not specified. This is not how the aforementioned chieftain tombs in Golok are organised, but such extended family burial grounds may have perhaps existed there in the past. In any case, the burial ground organisation and hierarchical ordering described in *The Key* accords with East-Tibetan earth burial manuals studied by Reinier Langelaar (2021a: 193-194), in which 'the physical arrangement of the dead mirrors the social organization of the community of the living' (ibid.).

The text in *The Key* then continues with directions on good and bad features of the landscape—those that are to be sought and those to be avoided when a burial ground is founded. Such general features are also popularly recognised in Golok; some belong to general knowledge, some are identified by ritual experts (typically monastics) eventually according to geomantic manuals. *The Key*, for example, forefronts the need for protective mountains around a burial site, which accords with the practice in Golok exemplified above. In a few instances, *The Key* provides hints about what misfortune to expect if this advice on topography is not followed. For example, extensive geomantic pressure by certain features on the final resting site of the younger ones can lead to paternal deaths. Then an example from the female side follows: if there is no plain in front, presumably of the hillside of the patrilineal burial ground, it is as if there were no affines; hence no offspring would arise. The opposite situation, if the plain is too large, can result in maternal deaths.

As *The Key* warns, numerous other features should be taken into account and recognised in the land, and should be carefully judged not to be confused with similarly looking misfortune-bringing unwanted features. For a practical application, the final few concluding lines summarise the focal auspicious signs to look for.

Translation from *The Key to the Examination of the Good and Bad Qualities*, in *The Collection of the Examination of the Earth*:[24]

Examination of the Earth for Tombs

> In general, the same [instructions for determining suitable sites] as above apply. As for the specific examination, it is as follows:

[23] Similarly, Rinchen Losel 1991 for several locations of Kham.

[24] bSod nams dbang ldan 1996: 313-314. I am grateful to Reinier Langelaar for discussing some of the Tibetan terms with me (personal communication, April 2025).

Bones of the lineage possess great qualities. Therefore, the burial site of the father, paternal uncles, and [agnatic] elders (*pha khu che rgan dur*) should be a raised seat of several levels and placed at a high location. Large and small bones of both old and young age are to be appropriately arranged on the upper and lower levels respectively. The tombs of the elderly (*rgas dur*)[25] and of the youth (*gzhon dur*) should be placed opposite. If tombs of women (*bud med dur*) are placed higher, each death befalling on the [astrological quality of] *zhön* (*gzhon*) brings misfortune.[26]

The extent of pressure on the back side (*gnya' gnon*)[27] of the tombs of the descendants (*chung dur*) accords with [i.e. determines] the number of deaths [in the family or community]. A mountain spur or a rocky ridge are not quite suitable and should be avoided. For defiled tombs (*dri dur*), the width of the valley [where they are placed] cannot extend the shooting range of an arrow. There should be one mountain on one side and one mountain on the other side, and these [should have] two rocky ridges. [Places with] resemblances to straight lines should be avoided.

If the tombs of the descendants need to be pressed down, such as by [being placed] beneath a front mountain spur or a rocky ridge, a path, a boulder, or similarly, and this back pressure (*gnya' gnon*) is too strong, it will cause paternal deaths. [On the other hand,] if it is weak,

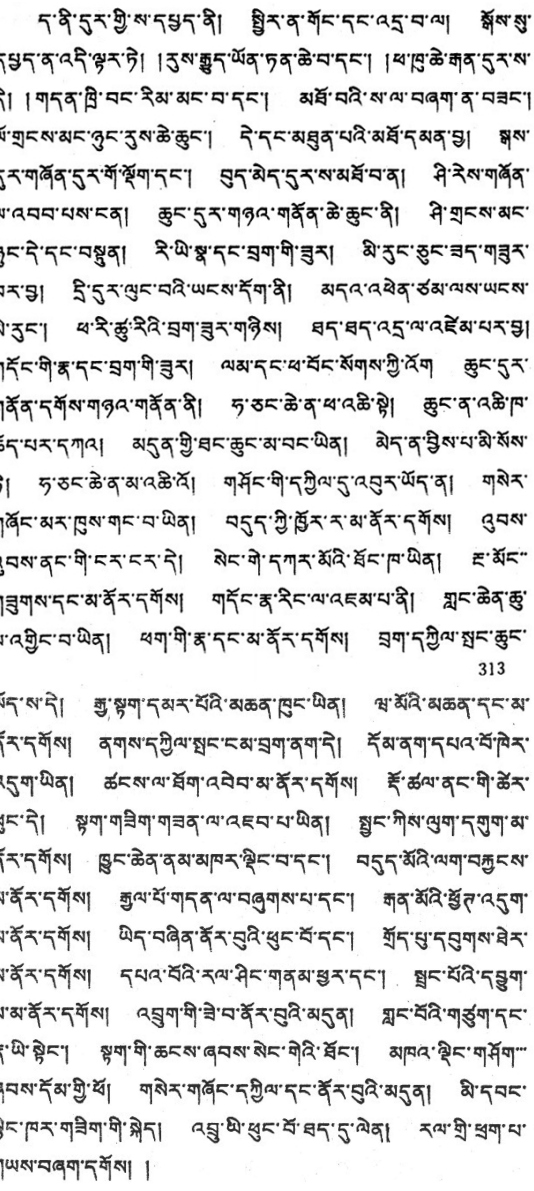
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[25] The term *sgas* in the original is read as *rgas*, 'aged, old'. Given the same or very close pronunciation of superscribed letters in East Tibetan dialects, such spelling variations are common.

[26] An alternative translation of this verse would be: with each death misfortune befalls the youth.

[27] The translation of this sentence remains tentative. Langelaar (2021a: 183) in his analysis of East Tibetan funerary manuals on the phrase *gnya' gnon*, literally 'to press down on the neck/nape', notes: 'Its apparently technical meaning remains uncertain, although it may refer to the attested practice of breaking the neck of the departed before primary funerary ritual.'

In contrast, here the phrase refers to the pressure on the burial site by the surrounding landscape features (see also further below). The opening of *The Key to the Examination of the Good and Bad Qualities of the Earth* explains that a path above a place exercises such a pressure on that place (*steng gi lam de gnya' gnon yin*/, bSod nams dbang ldan 1996: 307, similarly 309). This statement concerns the general evaluation of suitable locations, for both house and tomb constructions. It could indeed be the case that for tombs its meaning is dual – that such a feature also serves to press down the neck of those buried there. Yet, that does not seem to be the intention and the assessment is just generally a negative pressure. 'Neck' or 'nape', *gnya'*, also refers to the part of a mountain below its peak considered as its 'head' (*ri mgo*). Hence, such a statement can refer to geomantic pressures on hillslopes, where indeed both houses and tombs tend to be constructed, and may not necessarily relate to the pressing of the necks of the dead. Such a general negative force pressing down the napes and livelihoods of the living (as if they were dead) should be avoided especially for features and structures that need enhancement, but it seems to be used to suppress negative elements.



ད་ཅི་དུར་ཕྱི་ས་དཔྱད་ནི། སྤྱིར་ན་ཚོང་དང་འདྲ་བ་ལ། ཚོས་སྡུ་
དཔྱད་ན་འདི་ཉར་ཏེ། །རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆེ་བ་དང་། །ཐ་ཁྱུ་ཆེ་ཏན་དུར་ས་
དེ། །གདན་ཁྲི་བང་རིམ་མང་བ་དང་། མཐོ་བའི་ས་ལ་བཞག་ན་བཟང་།
ཤོ་གྲངས་མང་ཉུང་རྒྱས་ཆེ་ཆུང་། དེ་དང་མཐུན་པའི་མཐོ་དམན་ཐ། སྐས་
དུར་གཞོན་དུར་ཚོ་སྟོག་དང་། བྱད་མེད་དུར་ས་མཐོ་བ་ན། ཤི་རེས་གཞོན་
ལ་འབབ་པས་ངན། ཆུང་དུར་གཉའ་གཙོན་ཆེ་ཆུང་ནི། ཤི་གྲངས་མང་
ཉུང་དེ་དང་བསྦུན། རི་ཡི་སྟ་དང་ཐག་གི་རྒྱས། མི་རྒྱང་རྩྭ་གཟུང་
བར་ཐ། དྲི་དུར་ལྷང་བའི་ཡངས་ངོག་ནི། མདའ་འཕེན་ཙམ་ལས་ཡངས་
མི་རུང་། ཚ་རི་ཚུ་རིའི་ཐག་རྒྱུར་གཉིས། ཐད་ཐད་འདྲ་ལ་འཛོམ་པར་ཐ།
གངོང་གི་རྣ་དང་ཐག་གི་རྒྱུར། ལམ་དང་ཚ་བོང་མོགས་ཀྱི་འོག ཆུང་དུར་
གཙོན་དགོས་གཉའ་གཙོན་ནི། ཁ་ཅང་ཆེ་ན་ཚ་འཆི་སྟེ། ཆུང་ན་འཆི་ཁ་
ཆོད་པར་དགའ། མདུན་ཕྱི་ཐང་ཆུང་མ་བང་ཡིན། མེད་ན་ཅིས་པ་མི་མོས་
ཏེ། ཁ་ཅང་ཆེ་ན་མ་འཆི་བོ། གཤོང་གི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་འབུར་ཡོད་ན། གཞེར་
གཞོང་མར་ཁྲལ་གང་བ་ཡིན། བདུད་ཀྱི་ཁྲོར་ར་མ་ཆོར་དགོས། ཎབས་
ཎབས་ནང་གི་ངར་ངར་དེ། མེང་གེ་དགར་མོའི་ཐོང་ཁ་ཡིན། རྡ་མོང་
གཟུགས་དང་མ་ཆོར་དགོས། གདོང་ཆ་རིང་ལ་འཛམ་པ་ནི། སྐང་ཆེན་ཆུ་
ལ་འཕྱིང་བ་ཡིན། ཕག་གི་ཆ་དང་མ་ཆོར་དགོས། བག་དཀྱིལ་སྐང་ཆུང་

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ཡོད་ས་དེ། རྒྱ་སྐག་དམར་ཙའི་མཆན་ཁྲང་ཡིན། ཁ་མོའི་མཆན་དང་མ་
ཆོར་དགོས། ནགས་དཀྱིལ་སྐང་ངམ་བག་ནག་དེ། དོམ་ནག་དཔའ་ཙ་ཁེར་
འདུག་ཡིན། ཚངས་ལ་ཐོག་འབེབ་མ་ཆོར་དགོས། རྩོ་ཚལ་ནང་གི་ཚོར་
ཕྱང་དེ། སྐག་གཅིག་གཅན་ལ་འཛབ་པ་ཡིན། སྐྱང་ཀིས་ལྷག་དགུག་མ་
ཆོར་དགོས། ཁྲང་ཆེན་ནམ་མཁར་ཁྲིང་བ་དང་། བདུད་མོའི་ལག་བཏུང་ས་
མ་ཆོར་དགོས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གདན་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་། ཏག་མོའི་ཐྱོག་འདུག་
མ་ཆོར་དགོས། ཡིད་བཞིན་ཆོར་བྱའི་ཕྱང་བོ་དང་། ཐོག་ཕྱ་དབྱུགས་ཞེར་
མ་ཆོར་དགོས། དཔའ་བོའི་རལ་ཤིང་གནམ་ཐུར་དང་། སྐང་བོའི་དཐྱག་
པ་མ་ཆོར་དགོས། འབྲག་གི་ཟེ་བ་ཆོར་བྱའི་མདུན། སྐང་བོའི་གཙུག་དང་
ཆ་ཡི་སྐྱིང་། སྐག་གི་ཆངས་ཞབས་ཞེང་གེའི་ཐོང་། མཁའ་ལྡིང་གཤོག་
ཞབས་དོམ་ཀྱི་ཐོ། གཞེར་གཞོང་དཀྱིལ་དང་ཆོར་བྱའི་མདུན། མི་དབང་
སྐྱིང་ཁར་གཟིག་གི་སྐེད། འབྲ་ཡི་ཕྱང་བོ་ཐད་ཏུ་ཞེན། རལ་གྲི་ཐག་པ་
གཡས་བཞག་དགོས། །

Fig. 4 — Facsimile of the Tibetan original: bSod nams dbang ldan (ed.). 1996. Sa dpyad phyogs bsgrigs/, Lanzhou, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, pp. 313-314. An extract from The Key to the Examination of the Good and Bad Qualities of the Earth (Nor 'dzin dpyad pa legs nyes 'byed pa'i lde mig bzhugs so//).

it will be difficult [for the deceased] to separate at the moment of death. The small plain in front [of the burial site] is a mother's [i.e.

affinal] support. If there is none, children will not be born. If it is expansive, it will cause maternal deaths.

If there is a hillock[28] in the middle of a lower valley [near or in front of the burial site], golden base (*gser gzhong*) will abound with butter [i.e. the community will be prosperous]. This should not be confused with the hollow of a demon's palm. The '*ub, ub*' [sound] of hoarse wheezing in [such a low valley signifies that the hillock] is a snow lioness' breast. This should not be confused with a camel's body. If the front [mountain] spur is long and smooth, it is an elephant posing in water. This should not be confused with a boar's snout. A small meadow in the middle of rocks is a red tiger's armpit. This should not be confused with a fox's shoulder. A meadow or a black rock in the middle of a forest is a brave, standing black bear. This should not be confused with a lightning striking a brahman.[29] An accumulation of thorny bushes in a stony grove is a tiger and a leopard waiting for prey in ambush. This should not be confused with wolves seizing sheep. A great *khyung* bird soaring in the sky should not be confused with a stretched arm of a demoness. A king seated on a throne should not be confused with an elderly woman's quarter. A heap of wish-fulfilling jewels should not be confused with a breathing belly of cattle or sheep. A hero's sword raised to the sky should not be confused with a beggar's stick.

In front of the dragon's crest and the jewels; above the elephant's head crown and trunk;[30] near the tiger's armpit[31] [and] the [snow] lioness' breast, the wings of the sky-soaring [*khyung* bird and] the [brown] bear boar, the middle of the golden tray and the [wish-fulfilling] jewels; at the ruler's heart [and] the leopard's waist; directly taking the heap of grains, it is necessary to [have] the sword on the right.

In a way of conclusion

Ancestors and their remains have played a more important social, cultural, and cultic role in Tibetan societies than has been academically acknowledged. Entombment was practised until recently, and may still be practised, in East Tibet, sharing close features with such practices elsewhere in Asia (and likely beyond). Geomantic placement of tombs is important and reflects general geomantic principles for burial sites and other structures described in geomantic manuals.

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[28] I have encountered the term *'bur* used colloquially in East Tibet to refer to solitary round, evenly shaped hillocks found on valley bottoms, indeed having a breast shape.

[29] Alternatively, 'striking Brahma'.

[30] The term *sna* means both a nose or trunk and figuratively a mountain spur.

[31] I read *mchan zhabs* instead of *changs zhabs* in the original, in reflection of the content above.

Patrilineality, prosperity, and fertility, as well as orientation towards the cardinal points and positioning towards mountains, are central concepts in these practices.

May prosperity prevail, as is the aim of this guide.

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