At the request of the author the manual of style for the series as a whole has been slightly modified in this volume.

NPJ, copy editor
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Pastoral nomads have always fascinated the more earthbound peoples among whom they live. Forever on the move with tents and belongings, and with their flocks of goats, sheep, cattle, yaks, camels, horses, or reindeer, these elusive folk have captured our imagination. They call into question the very way of life that we peasant or urban people live by defying our idea of a stable and secure homestead. They stir our emotions by questioning values that we take for granted, and by offering a vision of an alternative and, as we tend to believe, carefree existence.

Awe and respect for the Scythians, Huns, Old-Turks, Mongols, and the Arab Bedouins, all of whom carved out for themselves a prominent place in the history of the Old World, lie deep in the Western mind. Images of Tibetan nomads and their yaks, existing at altitudes where agriculture is impossible because there are too few frost-free days, of Tuareg mounted on the camels with which they held sway over the Sahara desert for centuries, controlling trade between the Atlas and the West African states, or of the Masai wandering with their cattle through the tall grasses of the East African savannah are part of our perception of the world. Some of these images are out of date, but still they persist for these are people who arouse our curiosity. Although far away in space and time they yet manage to enrich our lives.

Pastoral nomadism is a way of life confined to the Old World. Until the first decades of the 20th century, pastoral nomads pursued their way of life over a broad belt in the arid and semi-arid zone which stretches from North Africa through the Middle East, and into the heart of Central Asia. Other pastoralists wandered with their cattle on the East African plains and in South Africa, while a range of nomadic groups whose lives were based on reindeer herding lived in Northern Scandinavia and out across the tundras and forests of European and Asian Russia. The living conditions of all these peoples have now changed, but some still keep livestock and continue their migratory way of life.

Each of these pastoral societies represents or represented a unique adaptation to the environment, understood in the widest sense of the word, i.e., as the natural, social, and cultural surroundings which influence their way of life. Pastoral nomadism and the cultures of pastoral peoples are fascinating fields of research in themselves. Scholars have long been intrigued by the environmental understanding and detailed botanical knowledge of nomads, by their sophisticated techniques for handling domesticated animals, and the subtle strategies which they utilize to survive under conditions which are unforeseeable and often very harsh. Pastoral nomadism is a highly
specialized occupation but, through economic exchanges with agriculturalists and urban communities, the nomads are or have been an important part of the wider society.

In Denmark serious scholarly interest in the cultures and societies of pastoral nomads, including the nature, history, and transformation of nomadism, dates back almost a century. During this period explorers, photographers, and scientists - geographers, archaeologists, linguists, botanists, zoologists, and not least anthropologists - have made a substantial contribution to the documentation and understanding of a range of pastoral societies and of pastoral nomadism in general.

Geographically, Danish research efforts have centred on three areas: Central Asia, South West Asia, and North Africa. From these regions scholars and explorers have brought back rich collections of artefacts to Danish museums which, together with field notes, photographs, films, and music recordings, have formed part of the documentation of a range of nomadic cultures and their ingenious technical, esthetical, and symbolic expressions. Others turned their energies to lengthy in-depth studies of the ecology, culture, and social organization of pastoral groups.

A substantial part of these studies and unique collections have not been published to date. To remedy this the Carlsberg Foundation's Nomad Research Project was formed to arrange a series of publications of which this is the eighth. The project deals with the cultures of nomads as different as the Mongols, Tibetans, Kirghiz, and Turkmen of Central Asia, Pashtun nomads of Afghanistan, the Lurs of Iran, the Bedouin of Qatar, the Tuareg of the Sahara, and the Kreda and Haddad of Chad. Just as the lives of nomadic peoples have changed over time, so the theoretical interests of the Danish anthropologists who endeavoured to record, understand, and describe such peoples have also changed. The problems which interested these investigators and the questions they asked were long influenced by the kind of culture-historical ethnology which dominated Danish anthropology until the early 1950s and the emphasis on subsistence systems and material culture studies which was an essential part of this academic tradition.

Anthropology was established as a university discipline in Denmark only in 1945. Prior to that time it was pursued by scholars who had been trained as geographers. These were either attached to the Department of Geography at the University of Copenhagen or were curators in the Department of Ethnography at the National Museum of Denmark. Among the former were Professor H. P. Steensby (1875-1920) and Professor Gudmund Hatt (1884-1960), while most notably among the latter were Dr Carl Gunnar Feilberg (1894-1972), who later became Professor of Human Geography, and Dr Kaj Birket-Smith (1893-1977), who became Copenhagen University's first Lecturer in Ethnography.

The historical roots and development of anthropology in Denmark had a marked influence on the theoretical perspectives which scholars brought to the study of pastoral societies. It characterized their concept of nomadism and defined the scientific problems which occupied them. Their focus was on the typology, origin, and historical transformation of pastoral nomadism.

Arising from his expedition to North Africa in 1908 H. P. Steensby argued, as had the French scholars A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, that the various forms of pastoral nomadism in that region had developed from subsistence systems based on both agriculture and animal husbandry in adaptation to increasingly scarce resources. Gudmund Hatt, in his studies of reindeer nomadism, suggested that this had its roots in a hunting culture in which tame
reindeer had been used as decoys. In later works though he discussed the origin of nomadism in more general terms, he ultimately returned to links with elements of hunting cultures. Feilberg, who carried out fieldwork among Lur pastoralists in Persia in 1935 (cf. *Les Papis*. Copenhagen 1952), dealt with the history of nomadism through an intricate analysis of the structure and distribution of the black tent (*La Tente Noire*. Copenhagen 1944).

Parallel with this theoretically oriented research on pastoral nomadism, impressive collections of ethnographic specimens from a wide range of pastoral peoples were finding their way into the National Museum of Denmark. The most important of these were those made by Ole Olufsen (1865-1929) in the Pamirs, West Turkestan, and North Africa, by Henning Haslund-Christensen (1896-1948) in Mongolia, and by C. G. Feilberg from his fieldwork among the Lur. After the Second World War the National Museum in Copenhagen and the Prehistoric Museum, Moesgaard near Aarhus received new collections. A major Tibetan one was donated by His Royal Highness Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1908-1980). The collections were further enriched by Lennart Edelberg (1915-1981) and Klaus Ferdinand (b. 1926) who carried out research among Afghan nomads. Edelberg also made substantial field collections among the Lur, while Ferdinand did the same among the Bedouins of Qatar. Finally, Johannes Nicolaisen (1921-1980) and Ida Nicolaisen (b. 1940) brought back collections from the Tuareg of the Sahara and the Sahel, and the Kreda and Haddad of Chad.

The earliest of the major Danish collections of nomad artefacts are those from Ole Olufsen’s expeditions to the Pamirs and West Turkestan almost a century ago. Olufsen was a military man with a keen interest in geography and the exploration of little known regions of the earth. He was appointed Honorary Professor of Geography at Copenhagen University. In 1896-97 and 1898-99 he organized and led two expeditions to the Pamirs and West Turkestan under the auspices of the Royal Danish Geographical Society. In the course of these he gathered topographical, meteorological, hydrographical, zoological, and botanical data. Olufsen travelled widely within the Emirate of Bokhara and Russian Turkestan. He was interested in the cultures of the various ethnic groups and collected some 700 artefacts among the pastoral Kirghiz and Turkmen, the Uzbeks, and various urban ethnic groups. Later expeditions in 1908 and 1922-23 took Olufsen to North Africa where he collected botanical, mineralogical, and ethnographic specimens, including a tent and numerous other objects from among the Tuareg. Although Olufsen published accounts of his travels, his most enduring contributions lie in the opening up of new research areas for others and in the ethnographic collections which he brought back.

A unique Mongol collection of some 3,000 artefacts was put together by the Danish explorer and ethnographer Haslund-Christensen, assisted by Georg Söderbom, his Swedish colleague on the Sven Hedin expedition. Unlike most other collectors of museum specimens of the time, Haslund-Christensen understood the necessity of providing detailed information on the use, the place of origin, and the circumstances under which the artefacts were obtained. The collection includes objects of everyday life such as tools, costumes, jewellery, and household utensils from most of the twenty or so Mongol groups, but mainly from the Chahar Mongols. The exquisite garments of this magnificent collection, a total of more than 400 pieces, are analyzed and described by Dr Henny Harald Hansen (1900-1993) in *Mongol Costumes*, published in this series in 1993. The refined jew-
ellery is treated by Dr Martha Boyer (1911-1995) in *Mongol Jewelry*, which came out in 1995.

Haslund-Christensen had come to Mongolia in 1923 with five other adventurous young Danes on the initiative of the physician Carl I. Krebs (1889-1971) to establish a farm South-West of Lake Baikal in Uriankhai. During the three years he spent there, Haslund-Christensen came to know and like the Mongols. He learned the language and much about their culture. In 1926 he left the farm, went to Ulan Bator and later to Peking, where he was engaged between 1927 and 1930 by the Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin as a caravaneer for the Sino-Swedish Expedition. In the years 1927-35 this expedition went from Kalgan through the Gobi Desert to Xinjiang and to the Torgut Mongols in the Tien Shan Mountains. Haslund-Christensen made a unique collection of sixty folk songs, which he recorded on wax cylinders, and a fine ethnographic collection for the Riksmuseet in Stockholm.

While Sven Hedin was mainly occupied with the mapping and exploration of Central Asia, Haslund-Christensen had developed a genuine and deep interest in the cultures of the peoples he met on his travels and he felt obliged to collect as much information on Mongol traditions as possible before the impact of the outside world penetrated any further and changed them forever.

In 1936-37 Haslund-Christensen was back in Mongolia, this time on his own, to collect artefacts for the National Museum of Denmark, which was planning to open in a new building with greatly enlarged exhibition space in 1938. Despite the difficulties caused by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, Haslund-Christensen succeeded in spending several months with the Eastern Mongols. In 1938-39 he was occupied with a second expedition to Central Asia, this time under the auspices of the Royal Danish Geographical Society, together with the linguist Kaare Grønbech (1901-1957) and the archaeologist Werner Jacobsen (1914-1979). In the course of this expedition the Southern part of Inner Mongolia was surveyed and this resulted in additional ethnographic collections for the National Museum. Thanks to Georg Söderbom a large collection of artefacts representing materials and objects used in everyday life was obtained from Mongol nomads.

In the years 1947-56 the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, organized and led by Haslund-Christensen, carried out ethnographical, botanical, zoological, geographical, physical-anthropological, and linguistic research in Afghanistan, Chitral, Kashmir, Ladakh, Sikkim, and Assam. It was in the course of this expedition, in 1948, that Haslund-Christensen died in Kabul. Of the dozen scholars who over the years participated in the expedition, only two carried out ethnographic research on nomadic peoples. They were HRH Prince Peter, and the botanist Lennart Edelberg. Prince Peter, who had studied social anthropology with Bronislaw Malinowski in London, worked mainly among Tibetans from his base in Kalimpong (see *A Study of Polyandry*, The Hague 1963). Among other things he made an outstanding collection of clothing, tools, implements, and household belongings among Tibetan nomads. In Afghanistan Lennart Edelberg carried out botanical research in the course of which he developed a keen interest in the cultures of the transhumant peoples of Nuristan and Afghan nomads. As a result of these experiences Lennart Edelberg came to argue the need for long-term studies of these peoples and it was for the purpose of satisfying these needs that the next Danish Expedition to Afghanistan devoted itself. His work from 1947 to 1949 resulted in important ethnographic collections being sent back to the museum in Denmark.

Lennart Edelberg was later, in 1964, a member of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Luristan. Again he took the opportunity to make
ethnographic collections, this time among the Lur nomads whom Feilberg had studied thirty years earlier. It is the studies and collections of these very scholars which provide the ethnographic data on which Inge Demant Mortensen's book Nomads of Luristan (1993), the second volume in this series, is based.

In the early 1950s Danish research among pastoral peoples changed its theoretical and methodological scope. A new generation of trained anthropologists was emerging, spearheaded by Johannes Nicolaisen who was to become the first Professor of Anthropology at Copenhagen University, and Klaus Ferdinand who established the discipline at Aarhus University and directed the Ethnographic Department at the Prehistoric Museum at Moesgaard. With them began the kind of prolonged field research and empirical in-depth studies of pastoral peoples considered indispensable today if an understanding of another culture is to be achieved. Although both Nicolaisen and Ferdinand maintained an interest in historical analysis and the study of material culture, their emphasis was different and problems of social organization, economy and the cultural understandings of the nomads came into the foreground, as did the changes that these nomadic societies were undergoing.

Johannes Nicolaisen began his studies of North African nomads in 1947 as a student of anthropology with fieldwork among Berber and Arabic speaking pastoral groups in and just south of the Atlas mountains in Algeria, an area he revisited in 1950. It was the Tuareg, however, who captured his fascination and whose society and culture became the main subject of his research when he had earned his university degree. Nicolaisen spent more than three years among these people between 1951 and 1964, living and travelling with them on camelback. All in all he visited the Tuareg nine times, studying the changes which in particular the Ahaggar and Ayr groups were experiencing.

Nicolaisen had familiarized himself with British social anthropology at University College, London between 1952 and 1954, and the theoretical issues discussed there had a profound impact on his analysis of Tuareg society. Although maintaining a culture-historical perspective, the social organization of the Tuareg became a key area of his data collecting. His works examine in detail the intricate kinship systems, socio-political organization, slavery. and the religion of these nomads, as well as the ecological adaptations and socio-economic transformations of various Tuareg groups. Despite his substantial contributions to nomad studies Nicolaisen left a considerable part of his works unpublished. It is intended to remedy this in the present series. In 1963 he and Ida Nicolaisen, his wife and fellow anthropologist, took up the study in Chad of a hunting and gathering people, the Haddad, who lived among the pastoral Kreda on terms similar to slavery. This work is also to be published in the present series.

For Klaus Ferdinand Afghan nomadism, in particular the form practised by Pashtun and Aimaq groups, became the main focus of his research interests. In 1953-55 he was in Afghanistan as a member of the Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Mission. This was led by HRH Prince Peter and had as its other members Lennart Edelberg and the photographer Peter Rasmussen (1918-1992). On this expedition Ferdinand worked with culture-historical studies of various forms of pastoral nomadism: semi-nomadism, trading nomadism, and “true” pastoral nomadism. A particular interest in the course of this research concerned an investigation of tent types. Prince Peter and Ferdinand were the first to document the existence
of special summer trading bazaars set up and managed by the nomads in Central Afghanistan.

Klaus Ferdinand continued his ethnographic studies and museum collecting activities in 1960, 1965-66, and 1974, partly together with his wife Marianne, among nomads in East and Central Afghanistan. Little was known at that time of the social organization, economic life, and culture of these people despite the fact that pastoral nomads had played an integrative economic role in the history of modern Afghanistan. Over time Ferdinand's investigations turned increasingly to trade and trading systems of the nomads and the socio-cultural conditions within which these unfold.

In 1975 Klaus Ferdinand returned to Afghanistan to pursue the study of nomadic traders and the now rapidly changing economies and cultures of the nomads. This time he was accompanied by three of his students: Birthe Frederiksen (b.1949), Asta Olesen (b.1952), and Gorm Pedersen (b.1949), each of whom was to conduct separate fieldwork among the Afghan nomads. Birthe Frederiksen carried out her work among the Hazarbug of the Mohmand tribe, Gorm Pedersen among the Zala Khan Khel of the Ahmadzai tribe, both groups which relied on or had been heavily involved in trading in the past. Their results were presented in two previous volumes in this series entitled Caravans and Trade in Afghanistan (1995) and Afghan Nomads in Transition (1994) respectively. Asta Olesen took up the study of non-pastoral nomads, the highly specialized itinerant craftsmen and peddlers who practice so-called peripatetic nomadism. Her work Afghan Craftsmen was published in 1994 also in this series. Ferdinand devoted his own time to the collecting of information on the history of nomad bazaars and traditional caravan activities and trade routes (forthcoming).

In 1959 Ferdinand took part in the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Qatar, which was part of a programme of extensive Danish archaeological investigations in the Gulf States, initiated by Professor P. V. Glob. Together with the photographer Jette Bang (1914-1964) he studied both Northern and Southern groups of Bedouin and collected ethnographic specimens. His study of these little known and nowadays sedentarized nomads entitled Bedouins of Qatar appeared as the first volume of the series in 1993.

Taken as a whole, these Danish studies of nomadic cultures and societies are widely different in kind, reflecting the educational background, interests, and theoretical orientation of the explorer or scholar who carried them out, the length of time spent in the field, and the period in which the expedition or fieldwork took place. As ethnographic data they must be appreciated and analysed against this background. Museum collections cannot be fully understood by viewing them simply and uncritically as adequate and objective representations of the cultures which produced them. Invariably, each collection is a result of selection by the fieldworker who has made choices on the basis of implicit or explicit criteria of representation, and as such what is brought back represents to some degree Western cultural principles, scientific ideas, and aesthetic values over time. Removed from their original context the objects are then rearranged in exhibitions where they may give the impression of replicating such abstract wholes as, for example, Mongol culture. The interpretations and evaluations of the ethnographic collections and other ethnographic data which are to be presented in this series of publications take such issues into consideration.

After 1979 it became apparent that Danish research among pastoral peoples had reached a new phase. Afghanistan, a country where no less
than eight Danish anthropologists had been working during the 1970s was closed to further fieldwork for the foreseeable future. Afghan refugees, including pastoral nomads, poured by the millions into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran following the communist take-over in 1978, the Soviet invasion, and the ensuing war. Luristan, another core area of Danish research interest, was likewise barred to foreign researchers due to the political changes which followed the coming to power of Ayatollah Khomeni and his government. At the same time, the situation of pastoral nomads all over the world had been radically transformed due to changed ecological, demographic, economic, social, and not least political conditions. In the Sahel region severe droughts brought starvation to man and beast both in the 1970s and the 1980s and several pastoral groups were at the brink of extinction. Demographic pressure and the ensuing competition over land and pastures between nomads and peasants put severe strain on many a pastoral economy. Trade and transport, a significant economic aspect of pastoral economies in many regions, had run into difficulties. Camels and horses lost out in competition with lorries, trade routes were closed by political intervention, and traditional items of local manufacture and trade were replaced by new industrially produced goods. In the Gulf the oil adventure put an end to the traditional way of life of the Bedouins. The Bedouins of Qatar among whom Klaus Ferdinand had carried out research in 1959, gave up their nomadic migrations in the 1960s when the men obtained employment at the refineries and in other petroleum related fields. A main obstacle to the continuous existence of pastoral nomads in most cases was and is nevertheless the development of modern bureaucratic administrations in areas where pastoral nomads have had virtual autonomy, and the interests of governments in getting the nomads settled and under control.

Against this background it is evident that anthropological research is today faced with an entirely new situation and must address itself accordingly. New problems of inquiry and analysis force themselves upon the researcher, not only in the wake of insights already gained and of issues on the current theoretical agenda, but first and foremost because of the socio-economic changes and political obstacles that pastoral nomads are facing all over the world, and the radical transformations that their cultures have already undergone within living memory. It is also clear that ethnographic collections and the unpublished data on the lives and traditions of these various pastoral peoples, which in some cases are already of the past, attain a new significance in this situation. Each of these cultures represents a singular social and cultural experiment in the history of mankind. As such each of them carries evidence that is significant to the overall effort to explore the common denominators of cultural and social formation and the factors which limit the variability of these, which is the ultimate goal of anthropology.

The greatest value of the collections and studies, however, lies perhaps in the fact that they serve to document unique cultural histories which are not only of significance to the descendants of these intriguing nomadic peoples, but are important as both symbols and records of ethnic identity.

In 1985 the Carlsberg Foundation received an application for funds for the preparation and publication of this fine and varied Danish research on nomad cultures. The initiative for this came from Klaus Ferdinand. In the past, the Carlsberg Foundation had funded a considerable part of the field research among pastoral nomads. In 1986 the Board of Directors of the Carlsberg Foundation decided to grant funds to support the study and writing up of unpublished materials from the Danish ethnographic collections and the cultural and social data from anthropological field research.
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In 1975 Klaus Ferdinand returned to Afghanistan to pursue the study of nomadic traders and the now rapidly changing economies and cultures of the nomads. This time he was accompanied by three of his students: Birthe Frederiksen (b. 1949), Asta Olesen (b. 1952), and Gorm Pedersen (b. 1949), each of whom was to conduct separate fieldwork among the Afghan nomads. Birthe Frederiksen carried out her work among the Hazarbuz of the Mohmand tribe, Gorm Pedersen among the Zala Khan Khel of the Ahmadzai tribe, both groups which relied on or had been heavily involved in trading in the past. Their results were presented in two previous volumes in this series entitled Caravans and Trade in Afghanistan (1995) and Afghan Nomads in Transition (1994) respectively. Asta Olesen took up the study of non-pastoral nomads, the highly specialized itinerant craftsmen and peddlers who practice so-called peripatetic nomadism. Her work Afghan Craftsmen was published in 1994 also in this series. Ferdinand devoted his own time to the collecting of information on the history of nomad bazaars and traditional caravan activities and trade routes (forthcoming).

In 1959 Ferdinand took part in the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Qatar, which was part of a programme of extensive Danish archaeological investigations in the Gulf States, initiated by Professor P. V. Glob. Together with the photographer Jette Bang (1914-1964) he studied both Northern and Southern groups of Bedouin and collected ethnographic specimens. His study of these little known and nowadays sedentarized nomads entitled Bedouins of Qatar appeared as the first volume of the series in 1993.

Taken as a whole, these Danish studies of nomadic cultures and societies are widely different in kind, reflecting the educational background, interests, and theoretical orientation of the explorer or scholar who carried them out, the length of time spent in the field, and the period in which the expedition or fieldwork took place. As ethnographic data they must be appreciated and analysed against this background. Museum collections cannot be fully understood by viewing them simply and uncritically as adequate and objective representations of the cultures which produced them. Invariably, each collection is a result of selection by the fieldworker who has made choices on the basis of implicit or explicit criteria of representation, and as such what is brought back represents to some degree Western cultural principles, scientific ideas, and aesthetic values over time. Removed from their original context the objects are then rearranged in exhibitions where they may give the impression of replicating such abstract wholes as, for example, Mongol culture. The interpretations and evaluations of the ethnographic collections and other ethnographic data which are to be presented in this series of publications take such issues into consideration.

After 1979 it became apparent that Danish research among pastoral peoples had reached a new phase. Afghanistan, a country where no less
than eight Danish anthropologists had been working during the 1970s was closed to further fieldwork for the foreseeable future. Afghan refugees, including pastoral nomads, poured by the millions into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran following the communist take-over in 1978, the Soviet invasion, and the ensuing war. Luristan, another core area of Danish research interest, was likewise barred to foreign researchers due to the political changes which followed the coming to power of Ayatollah Khomeini and his government. At the same time, the situation of pastoral nomads all over the world had been radically transformed due to changed ecological, demographic, economic, social, and not least political conditions. In the Sahel region severe droughts brought starvation to man and beast both in the 1970s and the 1980s and several pastoral groups were at the brink of extinction. Demographic pressure and the ensuing competition over land and pastures between nomads and peasants put severe strain on many a pastoral economy. Trade and transport, a significant economic aspect of pastoral economies in many regions, had run into difficulties. Camels and horses lost out in competition with lorries, trade routes were closed by political intervention, and traditional items of local manufacture and trade were replaced by new industrially produced goods. In the Gulf the oil adventure put an end to the traditional way of life of the Bedouins. The Bedouins of Qatar among whom Klaus Ferdinand had carried out research in 1959, gave up their nomadic migrations in the 1960s when the men obtained employment at the refineries and in other petroleum related fields. A main obstacle to the continuous existence of pastoral nomads in most cases was and is nevertheless the development of modern bureaucratic administrations in areas where pastoralnomads have had virtual autonomy, and the interests of governments in getting the nomads settled and under control.

Against this background it is evident that anthropological research is today faced with an entirely new situation and must address itself accordingly. New problems of inquiry and analysis force themselves upon the researcher, not only in the wake of insights already gained and of issues on the current theoretical agenda, but first and foremost because of the socio-economic changes and political obstacles that pastoral nomads are facing all over the world, and the radical transformations that their cultures have already undergone within living memory. It is also clear that ethnographic collections and the unpublished data on the lives and traditions of these various pastoral peoples, which in some cases are already of the past, attain a new significance in this situation. Each of these cultures represents a singular social and cultural experiment in the history of mankind. As such each of them carries evidence that is significant to the overall effort to explore the common denominators of cultural and social formation and the factors which limit the variability of these, which is the ultimate goal of anthropology.

The greatest value of the collections and studies, however, lies perhaps in the fact that they serve to document unique cultural histories which are not only of significance to the descendants of these intriguing nomadic peoples, but are important as both symbols and records of ethnic identity.

In 1985 the Carlsberg Foundation received an application for funds for the preparation and publication of this fine and varied Danish research on nomad cultures. The initiative for this came from Klaus Ferdinand. In the past, the Carlsberg Foundation had funded a considerable part of the field research among pastoral nomads. In 1986 the Board of Directors of the Carlsberg Foundation decided to grant funds to support the study and writing up of unpublished materials from the Danish ethnographic collections and the cultural and social data from anthropological field research.
among pastoral nomads of Central and South-West Asia, Qatar, and North Africa. Accordingly, a substantial grant was given to THE CARLSBERG FOUNDATION'S NOMAD RESEARCH PROJECT for a five year period.

The work was supervised by a committee chaired initially by Professor Henrik Glahn, and later by Professor Poul Christian Matthiessen, both of the Carlsberg Foundation. The other members were the late Professor Tove Birkelund of the Carlsberg Foundation, Associate Professor Klaus Ferdinand, Curator of the Ethnographic Department of the Prehistoric Museum, Moesgaard, Curator Rolf Gilberg of the Danish National Museum, and Associate Professor Ida Nicolaisen of the University of Copenhagen. Niels Petri of the Carlsberg Foundation carried the secretarial burden, assisted by Sven Dindler.

In 1990 an editorial committee was formed with Poul Christian Matthiessen and Ida Nicolaisen as members. In 1993 Per Øhrgaard took over from Matthiessen and Gunver Kyhn from Petri. Ida Nicolaisen was appointed Editor-in-Chief of the series.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the National Museum of Denmark, the Prehistoric Museum at Moesgaard, the Institute of Anthropology, the University of Copenhagen, the University of Aarhus, and Danish and foreign colleagues for help and interest in the work presented here. I wish moreover to express my gratitude to the Carlsberg Foundation for the generous support it has given to the Danish Nomad Research Project and the series of publications which will fulfill the aims of that project. Over the past century the Carlsberg Foundation has enabled the National Museum of Denmark and the Prehistoric Museum, Moesgaard, to acquire the collections which are now the jewels in their ethnographic crowns. It has offered Danish scientists unique opportunities to record the way of life of a range of pastoral peoples in the Pamirs, in Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, Qatar, and North Africa. Last but not least, it has provided scholars with the opportunity to analyse their field data and/or the associated museum collections for publication in this series.

Ida Nicolaisen
Editor-in-Chief
Copenhagen, August 1996
Grateful thanks are due to a number of people who did much to make this book possible. First of all to Klaus Ferdinand, whom I first met on the Dar-ul-Aman Road in Kabul 35 years ago, for suggesting that perhaps I was the one to do the Tibet volume in this series. Then to Ida Nicolaisen, Editor-in-Chief, for thinking that Klaus might be right, and for sorting out the problems which followed her decision to give it a try.

At the National Museum in Copenhagen, though I invariably met with kind assistance from every quarter, my greatest debt is to Rolf Gilberg, Curator of the Ethnographic Collections, whose efforts on my behalf extended far beyond the bounds of normal museum courtesy to a colleague. Nor was he free of my nagging presence when I was back in Oxford, for we were in touch almost daily by E-Mail during the long countdown to the launch of this volume on the sea of Asian studies.

As regards PC software and hardware, my main debt is to Gerry Brush of Oxford University who helped me out of numerous electronic pitfalls (most of which I had dug for myself), patiently showed me how to avoid others, and wrote the essential computer programmes which made it possible to keep track of nearly 800 catalogue entries as the work progressed. In Copenhagen assistance with other computer problems was also readily forthcoming from Rolf Gilberg and from Carsten Nielsen of the National Museum. I am deeply grateful for their help.

The museum accession records from which I worked in Copenhagen were mostly hand written and, of course, in Danish. On the whole, this posed few problems, but I am grateful to my wife Lis and daughter Hannah for deciphering the more obscure terms and passages encountered.

The studio pictures of artefacts from the National Museum collections which are used to illustrate the catalogue were all taken by Ruben Blædel in Copenhagen. The recent field photographs were mostly taken by the author and his wife Lis Jones, but I am grateful to Rolf Gilberg for allowing me to use some of his photographs, and to Robert A. Hefner III of Oklahoma for granting permission to use his fine photograph of a Tibetan nomad family. The earlier photographs from the 1920s were taken by Sir Charles Bell and are from the archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, as are the photographs taken by F. Spencer Chapman in 1936 and 1937, recently presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Faith Spencer Chapman. Among these last are the earliest known colour photographs taken in Tibet. They were made on Dufay Colour film and have come down to us through the ensuing six decades in remarkably good condition.
The aim of this present volume is to make available to those interested in Tibet and Tibetan culture an illustrated record of the riches of the collections in the National Museum of Denmark and, at the same time, to provide a brief account of pastoral nomadic life in Tibet. The Tibetan collections in the museum, however, include a much wider range of artefacts than just those relating to nomads. There are religious artefacts from household shrines and temples. There are farming implements. There are costumes belonging to the nobility and members of religious orders. There are arms and armour. As this is first and foremost an illustrated catalogue, it is hoped that it will make a useful contribution to material culture studies which will be of value to students of Tibetan culture in particular, cultural anthropology in general, and museum studies.

The Tibetan collections in the National Museum of Denmark are, in part, one of the results of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia (1947-55). During the course of that expedition and subsequently a large number of artefacts were obtained for the museum by HRH Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark from his base in Kalimpong, first as a member of the expedition and latterly as Leader, over a period of some eight years. Other members of the expedition, notably Halfdan Siiger, also collected Tibetan material for the museum. Prior to the series of Danish Scientific Expeditions to Asia the National Museum had already acquired a substantial collection of Tibetan artefacts from a variety of travellers such as J. Munthe-Brun, E. Loventhal, and Dr F. H. Gravely. In similar ways, in recent years, the collections have continued to grow through occasional purchases and gifts as well as from additional field-collecting by Rolf Gilberg, Curator of Ethnography at the museum. One object, just to illustrate the many and strange ways in which artefacts find their way into a museum, was found on a Danish rubbish tip. Where no donor’s name is given, the artefact was collected by Prince Peter. As will be seen, the Tibetan collections have come from many different sources.

In purchasing artefacts for the National Museum of Denmark Prince Peter was guided by two factors: the specific wants of the museum as expressed by Dr. sc. Kaj Birket-Smith, Director of the Ethnographic Department, and the unforeseeable opportunities which presented themselves as refugees arrived in Kalimpong. Prince Peter’s training as an anthropologist, his knowledge of Tibetan, and a prolonged residence on
Based on the map by Sir Charles Bell 'Tibet Past and Present', Oxford 1924/1968.
the "threshold of Tibet" (a phrase he used in one of his annual reports), eventually provided a large, reasonably well-balanced, and valuable research collection consisting of more than 600 items.

Had Prince Peter been given permission to travel in Tibet as he had wished, the content of the collection would undoubtedly have been different. In some respects it may not have been as good. As it was, he could only acquire those artefacts which Tibetan refugees had brought out with them and which they were willing to sell, although in a few instances he was able to order certain things from traders who were going back and forth between Tibetan towns and Kalimpong. Even so, the conditions under which these collections were made in the field were far from normal.

The documentation on individual pieces is often not all that one would wish. Whether Prince Peter had thought he would write up the collection at some later date is not known. When the artefacts were shipped to Denmark Prince Peter sent along check lists which provided a brief identification such as "Shigatse, Kuv til korn rensning, 25. Juni, 1953" and the price he had paid for each item. The artefacts were then measured, described, and entered in the museum's accession registers, but, with few exceptions, the descriptions given were those of the National Museum's staff who were doing the work. Except for some of the costumes, there is little in the way of ethnographic input from Prince Peter. This means that where specific information is lacking it is often not possible to say whether a given item comes from (or was used by) members of the pastoral nomadic community, the farming community, or the urban population. A complicating factor is that Tibetan nomads, like many other pastoral nomads in Asia, actually make rather few of the things they need and use in their daily lives. Many of their goods are obtained through trade with agriculturalists and/or townsfolk. For this reason it is often difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line between artefacts which might be found in a nomad's tent and those belonging to the urban, monastic, or farming communities, as they come from the same sources.

There is in any case another problem about Tibetan artefacts and that is the influences on styles and techniques that have come in from (and gone out to) China, Mongolia, Nepal, Bhutan, Kashmir, and India over the centuries. There is a long tradition of craftsmen from these countries working in Tibet and this sometimes makes it difficult to identify the origin and to establish the date of many pieces. This problem is discussed in some detail in W. Zwalf's book The Heritage of Tibet. The reverse is also true: over a period of centuries some Tibetan craftsmen also travelled widely, working in different neighbouring areas. One has only to look at an illustrated volume of artefacts from Mongolia to see the very close resemblance that many of them have to Tibetan objects. In more recent times, since the Chinese invasion of Tibet, a large number of Tibetan exiles are living and working in Northern India and Nepal, as well as other places. "Cultural Tibet" continues to be much larger than geographical Tibet.

In the past one hundred years a great many books and articles have been written about the land and the peoples of Tibet. Until recently most of these accounts were by mountaineers, army officers, adventurers, and explorers who were interested in map-making and other geographical, historical, and cultural problems. More recently there have been numerous publications which have either examined the political relations between China and Tibet or have focused on the qualities of Tibetan religious art, illustrat-
ing their work with colour plates of tangkas and bronzes. Among all these authors few were anthropologists by training or particularly interested in pastoral nomads or material culture (aside from temple art) and many of those who wrote about Tibetan art and material culture had never lived or travelled in the country. Their researches were for the most part confined to library studies and the examination of museum collections. For this reason the few studies we do have from writers with these interests and these experiences are particularly important. Among these the most valuable are those by W. W. Rockhill in the last quarter of the 19th century and Matthias Hermanns, and Robert B. Ekvall in the first half of this century.

Rockhill and Hermanns made a special study of Tibetan material culture – not just objects of religious art or particularly fine and costly things that would only belong to the very wealthy (and which are now well documented in numerous publications), but everyday objects belonging to nomads, traders, farmers, and merchants. Rockhill, who travelled in Tibet in 1887-89 and 1891-92, was particularly methodical in this regard as he was collecting ethnographic artefacts (rather than art) for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

From the work of Robert Ekvall (1926-27, 1929-1935, 1939-41) in Eastern Tibet we gain a valuable insight into the way in which livestock herding at high altitudes can be made to support a Tibetan family or community. Here, together with the work of Matthias Hermanns (1930, 1935), we get for the first time a reasonably clear picture of the economy of Tibetan pastoral nomads. A century after Rockhill’s travels two other Americans, Melvyn Goldstein and Cynthia Beall, carried out fieldwork among the nomads of Western Tibet (1986-87). Their work supplements and complements that carried out by Ekvall half a century earlier, and adds important comparative data from the 1980s.

Rockhill’s travels in Tibet and the careful observations which he published about that country, its people, and their culture, contributed a great deal to our knowledge of the region and provide a lasting record of much value. In comparison with other 19th century publications about Tibet or, indeed, the majority of works from this century, those of W. W. Rockhill are particularly outstanding.¹

Drawing on the accounts and descriptions of these earlier writers and then bringing them together with the work of more recent investigators raises questions regarding the period of Tibetan history we are dealing with: the 19th or the 20th century? The answer is both, but the question is a valid one and was, a few years ago, much discussed by anthropologists. In the 1950s and 60s there was a good deal of criticism by anthropologists of the manner in which their predecessors had presented accounts of the peoples they had studied. One focus of this criticism was concerned with the fact that the earlier monographs gave the impression that the society under discussion had not only not changed for generations, it was not changing now. This criticism arose partly, if not entirely, because anthropologists in the post-war years were much concerned with social change; it was, along with kinship, practically the subject matter of British social anthropology. Everyone was studying social change, so it is not surprising that they looked back at the work of their predecessors and wondered that they made little or no mention of it. The debate surrounding this issue came to be encapsulated in the phrase “the ethnographic present”, which conveniently described a rather abstract, timeless, never-never land in which people till their fields, go hunting and fishing, tend their livestock, and
pitch their tents just as they have been doing since the Flood, untouched by the outside world. It does not take much thought to realize that this is not and cannot be a correct view of any society, and that anthropologists, both past and present, know this better than anyone, but because most anthropological studies are carried out at a particular point in time and because one task of the anthropologist is to describe the society as he or she finds it, this was the impression they often gave.

Mindful of these earlier debates and criticisms, we strive to present a more balanced view of the society we are describing. But it should be emphasized that this present volume is not intended to be a comprehensive anthropological study of Tibetan society. The collections in the National Museum are, for the most part, from the 2nd half of the 19th century and from the 1st half of the 20th century. In presenting these it therefore seems appropriate to draw on first-hand accounts from both these periods, supplemented by more recent data where appropriate. This may give, however unintended, a false impression of undisturbed continuity. One does not need to be an anthropologist or a specialist in Asian history to realize that profound changes have occurred in Tibet during the past fifty years. At the same time, observations in the field and accounts of recent anthropological fieldwork clearly indicate that pastoral nomadism in Tibet, to choose just one aspect of Tibetan culture, has survived as a viable economic system and continues to function today in a way that William Rockhill or even Régis-Évariste Huc would readily recognize. If we do not dwell on the changes it is not because we are ignorant of them or think them unimportant, it is because they properly belong in a different kind of study to that which is presented here.

On The Threshold of Tibet:
HRH Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark and the Tibetan Collections

Prince Peter was born in Paris on December 3rd, 1908. His father was Prince George of Greece and Denmark, second son of King George I of the Hellenes. His mother was Princess Marie Bonaparte, daughter of Prince Roland Bonaparte. He was educated in Paris and London, first studying in the Law Faculty and School of Political Science in Paris where, in 1934, he was awarded the degree of Docteur en droit with a thesis entitled Les Coopératives agricoles danoises et le marché extérieur. He then turned almost immediately to the study of anthropology, beginning his graduate studies at Oxford with R. R. Marrett. His subsequent anthropological training was, however, with Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1935-36. After the war, having begun the writing of his thesis A Study of Polyandry in Kalimpong in 1954, he returned to London to submit it at LSE and was awarded a doctorate in anthropology in 1959. This book was published in 1963 and remains a standard work on the subject.

In 1937 Prince Peter, having married in Madrid, embarked with his bride Irene Alexandrovna Ovchinnikova on his first anthropological expedition. The two travelled overland by car across Europe and Asia from London to Bombay, Calcutta, and Colombo. Together they carried out fieldwork among polyandrous groups in the Himalayan region and then among various peoples along the Malabar coast. When the Second World War began they were working among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills and Prince Peter immediately left India to join his regiment in Athens.
During the early part of the 1939-45 war he served on the General Staff of the Greek Army in charge of Yugoslavian affairs. In 1940 he organised the Allied Liaison Office in Athens and served as Aide-de-Camp to King George II. He was later transferred to British HQ as Greek Liaison Officer and took part in the Battle of Crete in May 1941. With the fall of Crete he left the island with King George for Alexandria to set up the Free Greek HQ in Cairo. He then organised the Greek Forces in the Middle East and served with them in the Western Desert under British 8th Army Command. He took part in the battle of El Alamein in 1942 and the capture of Tripoli in 1943. In 1944 he was attached to the New Zealand Division at the Battle of Monte Cassino in February and March. From June to August 1945 he was attached to General Chiang Kai-Shek’s HQ in Chungking. Returning to the Mediterranean, he served for a time at Greek Army HQ in Cairo and was finally demobilized in 1947.

With the war over he again set out across Asia, this time to Afghanistan, retracing the route taken by Alexander the Great. In 1949-52 he was a member of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia and in 1953-54 he was leader of the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan on the Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition. From 1954 until 1957 Prince Peter carried out anthropological research in the Himalayan region from his base at Kalimpong. It was during this latter period that he made most of the ethnographic field collections of Tibetan materials which are catalogued here.

The death of Henning Haslund-Christensen in Kabul on September 13th, 1948 during the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia necessitated a drastic revision of the expedition’s scientific research plans. Haslund had planned that two teams of scientists were to go into China in the Spring of 1949, one, to be led by Haslund, to North-West China and South-West Mongolia, the other, to be led by Prince Peter, to proceed to Koko Nor (Qinghai Hu) and Wang yeh fu (Xuanhepu) in the Ala Shan (Helan Shan) on the borders of Ningxia and Inner Mongolia. The research emphasis was to be on Ethnology or Cultural Anthropology. Both teams were to complete their work within two years and the plan was that they were to meet toward the end of that period in Xuanhepu.

Haslund’s death and the changing political situation in China meant that these plans had to be abandoned altogether, though that was not immediately apparent. In his expedition report for the year ending March 1st, 1950 Prince Peter wrote:

"[The] start … was thus planned for the spring of 1949, and I had made arrangements to join the members of the team I was to lead at Gangtok, capital of the Indian state of Sikkim, in March of that year.

"Then, while I was still in New York, purchasing the equipment to be taken along, came the tragic news of Henning Haslund-Christensen’s untimely death at Kabul, on September 13th, 1948 … I decided not to change my plan of travelling to India in 1949, but to proceed first to South India, via Ceylon, where there were some anthropological researches I had begun in 1939, and which had been interrupted by the outbreak of war, that I wanted to complete.

"As a result, I set out together with my wife for Colombo by ship and plane, arriving in the capital of Ceylon on February 16th, 1949. Our equipment, consisting of three vehicles – a caravan, a luggage van and a passenger car – together with two tons of stores and camping materials, had been landed a week previously from the freighter EXPLORER of the American Export Lines."
“Keeping in touch by correspondence with Copenhagen, we now began our own field-work, which took us from Ceylon to SW India (Coochin, Travancore, Malabar and the Nilgiris), later by sea from Madras to Calcutta and on to Kalimpong in NW Bengal, on the threshold of Tibet. In the meantime, Mao Tse-tung’s Communist armies had overrun the whole of China, so that the prospect of realizing Operation 2 seemed unfortunately to recede even further into the background”.4

In the winter of 1949-50 Prince Peter and his wife drove up to Kalimpong where, as he later reported, they “settled down to wait, until political conditions in Tibet, which are far from settled yet, should either improve or worsen. In the meantime, correspondence with Lhasa was initiated, through the intermediary of the Tibetan Government’s Trade Agent in Kalimpong (Pangda Tshang) and lessons in Tibetan with a local man from Central Tibet were begun”.5

In his report for the year ending January 31st, 1951 he gave a summary of the year’s accomplishments and disappointments. Dr. med. Carl Krebs, the physician who had first introduced Haslund-Christensen to Central Asia and had himself spent sixteen years in some of its remotest regions was now appointed leader of the Third Danish Expedition. Together with a team of colleagues he was carrying out geographical and geological research in the Western Himalayas.

Meanwhile Prince Peter hoped to gain permission to enter Tibet and to travel at least as far as Gyantse. Success in this seemed likely as a British linguist from SOAS who was also carrying out research in Kalimpong had been given permission to proceed to Gyantse. This had been managed with the help of Hugh Richardson, the Indian Trade Agent at Gyantse and Officer-in-Charge of the Indian Mission in Lhasa. In the event all Prince Peter’s efforts over many months proved fruitless and despite his numerous high-level connections (or, who knows?, perhaps because of them) permission was not forthcoming. He later learned “from an exceptionally reliable source that it was Mr. Richardson himself who opposed our entry into Tibet”.6

Reading this remark in Prince Peter’s report aroused my curiosity and in February, 1994 I raised this question in a letter to Hugh Richardson, then in retirement at his home in St. Andrews, Scotland. In a reply dated February 11th, 1994, he wrote that during the time in Lhasa when he was the representative of the Government of India:

“I had a visit from my regular contacts in the Tibetan Foreign Bureau to say that they had received a request from Prince Peter backed by his cousin the King of Greece, to visit Lhasa. They wanted to know where Greece was. I showed them on an atlas to which they said, ‘very small and a long way away. Not likely to help us.’ I was not asked whether I supported the request or not and gave no opinion. The ‘exceptionally reliable source’ is wildly mistaken ... The mistake Prince Peter made was not to channel his request through the Indian Gov’t. If he had, I might have been instructed to support it. As it was, I knew nothing about it until the visit from the Tibetans. Permission to visit Gyantse was something within our authority to grant, but we had no authority to grant permission to visit Lhasa. That lay with the Tibetan Gov’t who were always reluctant to give it unless they thought some advantage might accrue to them.”

Prince Peter later summarized the research situation regarding the beleaguered country of Tibet:
“... since circumstances in Central Asia have gone (from our point of view) from bad to worse, it is really not very surprising that we should have encountered so many difficulties. Actually, it is doubtful if anything better could have been achieved had permission all the same been obtained to travel in Tibet. Conditions there are, and have not been for some time now, conducive to peaceful and undisturbed study. It would obviously be expecting too much, to hope to be able to carry out anthropological research work in a country in the throes of a foreign invasion and of interior social upheaval”.

This did not mean, however, that no useful research could be carried out. Prince Peter went on to report that:

“Recent events in Tibet, where a full scale invasion by Chinese Communist troops developed in the early days of November, can be said to have made Kalimpong even more interesting. Wealthy Tibetans of the nobility began arriving almost immediately, bringing a considerable part of their belongings with them and settling down in the available houses in and around the town. Possibilities were thus opened for studying these people, and although this is obviously less satisfactory than getting to know them in their own setting, it is certainly better than the complete blank we drew when we were refused permission to enter Tibet. Being in need of ready cash, these Tibetans have moreover put many of their belongings up for sale. Facilities for purchasing typical articles very often of value have thus been created, an unhoped for opportunity to add to the collection of ethnographical artifacts of the National Museum, Copenhagen, of which full advantage should be taken”.

In the meantime there was other work to be done: “lessons in Tibetan were being regularly taken – four hours a week in the bazar with a man called Champa Sangta, former jester of the Radeng Rimpoche (the Ex-Regent of Tibet, who was assassinated in 1947), and four hours a week grammar, reading and writing with Kusho Rig-zing Wang-po, a teacher until lately employed by the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Investigations in cultural anthropology were conducted on the local Tibetan population, sound recordings were taken, as well as photographs, both still and moving, in colour and in black and white”.

It is from these reports that we learn how the Tibetan collection came to be made for the National Museum and the unusual circumstances surrounding the purchase of such large quantities of clothing, jewellery, household objects, and other artefacts. As Prince Peter observed:

“With the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet of October 1950, and especially since the flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa to Yatung in the Chumbi valley on January 2nd, 1951, Kalimpong has been filling up with wealthy Tibetans of the nobility, moving here to safety. Thus the Tibetan population in town has now risen to approximately 1,200 out of which there are 35 families of important officials. Great possibilities of study have thus been created locally, of which it is proposed to take full advantage”.

It should not be thought in reading these brief extracts from his reports that Prince Peter was insensitive to the plight of Tibetan refugees or to what was happening in Tibet. The refugees needed money and were therefore, in the ma-
ner of refugees everywhere, selling what personal belongings they had managed to bring out with them. If Prince Peter had not bought them, others would have. He could not go to Tibet to carry out research but as it happened Tibet was coming to him in Kalimpong. In making purchases he was, however, in a difficult position. On the one hand the noble families who had fled from Lhasa ahead of the advancing Chinese armies needed to sell at the best possible price what valuables they possessed in order to make ends meet in exile, and on the other the National Museum of Denmark was putting strict limits on how much could be spent in acquiring these new collections.

It may be of interest for the reader, especially students of cultural anthropology and/or museum studies, to have this brief glimpse of the political and practical problems of fieldwork and of some of the ways in which museum collections are acquired. Perhaps all too often museum visitors walk through the galleries viewing the contents of exhibition cases without giving much thought as to how the objects displayed were obtained and how it was that they came to the museum in the first place. We expect museums to have fine, rare, and costly things on view and so to a certain extent, once we are in the museum, we take them for granted. But, as my late friend and colleague Lennart Edelberg, himself a veteran of both the Third Danish Expedition and the Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition to Central Asia, has pointed out, “Every article in a museum has its own special story of how it was acquired, seldom known to the museum personnel or the visitor”.

In acquiring items for the museum, Prince Peter had corresponded with Kaj Birket-Smith, then director of the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum, to take advice as to what was needed to fill gaps in the collections. There was also the question of how much money the museum could afford to spend on Tibetan materials. Once these matters were settled Prince Peter could go ahead with his purchases. Initially he was instructed to try to get “i) a complete woman’s attire from Central Tibet, including the appropriate headdress; ii) a man’s sheepskin coat; iii) everyday household articles (not of metal); iv) all articles used for the care of cattle.”

In that same report Prince Peter remarked that “negotiations have also begun for the acquiring of a complete set of [a] woman’s jewellery, without which no Lhasa lady considers herself properly attired; these jewels include the traditional pearl-studded headdress. The price demanded by the sellers is extremely high (Rs. 19,200) and telegraphic authority to buy at about half that amount was requested from Copenhagen. This was sanctioned, but the owners of the jewels still declined to put their price down. An estimation made by a reliable Kalimpong goldsmith put the value of the jewels at Rs. 12,807, but the sellers refused to change their mind, arguing that the value in Lhasa is much higher. They have now consented to sell part of the lot, and it is hoped to eventually convince them that in Kalimpong they will not be able to get a better price than the one offered also for the rest.”

Prince Peter’s comment that some Tibetan families refused to come down on their prices, “... arguing that the value in Lhasa is much higher,” is of particular interest. There is perhaps a tendency for us to expect that objects such as weapons, musical instruments, jewellery, carpets, and other artefacts will always be much cheaper in their country of origin than in Europe. Those of us who have made field col-
lections for museum purposes have often found that the opposite is true. In North-East Afghanistan in the 1960s I found that not only were the local values placed on what appeared to be just ordinary household objects (long-handled pans, iron tripods, etc.) unbelievably high, but there was usually a flat refusal to sell them at any price. This is at first puzzling to someone accustomed to a modern industrial economy. What we sometimes fail to take into account is the cultural value they have for their owners and the difficulties of replacing them. Such objects may be needed for bridewealth and/or dowry exchanges and without them important social obligations cannot be met. In this lies their value - a value not normally expressed in monetary terms nor easily satisfied with cash. An approximate parallel in Western cultures is embodied in the values placed upon family heirlooms. A further example is illustrated by Tibetan attitudes towards dZi beads, a subject which is examined later in this monograph.

Another insight into the problems of fieldwork and field collecting is provided by Prince Peter’s remarks concerning the difficulties of purchasing a copy of the Kanjur, the Buddhist holy book (which comes in either 100 or 108 volumes of about one thousand pages each) for the Royal Library in Copenhagen. First of all, the volumes had to be ordered from Lhasa. Not being available “off the shelf” they had to be printed in Nartang near Shigatse. As the wooden blocks were considered by the Tibetan who was making the arrangements to be “very dirty” they would have to be cleaned and good quality paper would have to be ordered from Walung in Upper Assam. The monk printers who were to do the work would have to be paid extra to carry out the task in Spring as that was a season in which they would normally be doing other work.

Prince Peter takes up the story:

“Word was received in July from Lhasa that it [the Kanjur] was ready for despatch and would be sent off to Kalimpong shortly. Nothing however materialized, so information was sought as to what had happened. After considerable delay, it was learnt that the mules of the Radeng monastery, that were to have brought the load down, had been sent north towards Nagchuka on some other errand, where they had been stolen by robbers. The Kan-gyur, however, was safe in the Tsatora Shimsha in Lhasa, and arrangements have now been made to bring it down as quickly as possible with a caravan belonging to the Dele Rabden family. Rates of transport have unfortunately gone up considerably in the meantime, and Rs. 130 per animal are now charged for the journey from the Tibetan capital to Kalimpong. In an effort to get the 100 volumes of the ordered Kan-gyur out before the Chinese Communists arrive. Rs. 1000 provisionally for 10 packages (animals) were paid to the representative of the Dele Rabden family on January 17th, 1951, the risk being considered, under the circumstances, worthwhile”.14

It was with evident satisfaction that he was subsequently able to write that:

“the Kan-gyur ordered for the Royal Library in Copenhagen arrived in Kalimpong in May. It was packed in eight great yak hides and weighed nine Indian mounds or lbs. 720. The risk we had taken in paying Rs. 1000 in advance was thus fully vindicated. The volumes were sent on to Calcutta for shipment to Copenhagen by the East Asiatic Co. (India) Ltd. and news was later received that they had
safely arrived at their destination. To date, only transport charges have been paid, and we are waiting for the final accounts to be settled – which they may never be now that Chinese Communist armies are in occupation of Lhasa”.15

Meanwhile he continued to acquire other items of Tibetan material culture as the situation permitted.

“The woman’s attire from C. Tibet was completed with the purchase of the following articles: ge’i’u (charm box), necklace, cape, scarf, shoes, attug (pearl-studded headdress), false hair, dikra (metallic belt and pendants), earrings, hair clasp, kap-shdur (ear pendants), tivi (breast pendant), kep-dje (charm box attachment). From the family that was willing to sell a collection of jewels … only the ge’i’u and necklace could be purchased at a reasonable price, the other items being only available at the very high prices demanded. Under these conditions, it was found more advantageous to seek elsewhere for the missing things, even although a complete set could thus not be obtained as would have been undoubtedly best. Two pairs of woman’s boots and two woman’s headdresses which had been bought provisionally were put on sale again, others of a better quality having been found in the meantime. All that remains to be acquired now to complete the Tibetan woman’s dress are a sog-y tag-pa (jewelled skull cap) and garters for the boots. The former is a very expensive item, the price of which (Rs. 3,700) could so far not be covered by the money at our disposal or reduced to meet our means.

A complete set of nomad’s clothes, for a man, woman and child, together with their camping equipment, was received in August from a Shigatse acquaintance of ours, who provided them from the nomads living on his own domains at Nak-tsang. There was no tent however with these things, and we have asked that one be sent to us to complete the set as well as three pairs of garters and a bunch of charms to be worn round the neck. Household articles made of wood consist so far of two butter boxes made from willow knots. A wooden butter and tea churn was acquired at [our] own expense should the museum wish to purchase it from us.

Other artefacts purchased with our own funds and which are for sale to the museum include the following: Lhasa gentleman’s gala riding habit, with trappings and pendants for his horse; a complete saddle, gold inlaid; with all accessories; a shape’s (Tibetan cabinet minister’s) full dress uniform; a so-called gjae-luchey, a uniform worn by nobles of the fourth rank and upwards; a sha-nag (black hat) dancer’s outfit; the gin-tshar (wrap) and ku-djam (cloak) of the former regent of Tibet, Radeng Rimpoche, assassinated in 1947; a complete uniform of a non-commissioned officer of the Dalai Lama’s personal bodyguard. In order to complete this personal collection, we are still negotiating to obtain the following at reasonable prices: a pronged rifle, ceremonial bows and arrows, button for noblemen’s hat, one pair of garters, two earrings for noblemen, and one for a soldier”.16

From this we see that while waiting for negotiations with Copenhagen over money for the purchase of specimens to be settled, Prince Peter was going ahead as he got the chance, and buying items from his own funds which he thought the museum might want. As part of the documentation which the museum would need with the collections he took a number of photographs.
“All these items of dress were put onto people willing to wear them as models and photographed from all angles, both in still and moving pictures; the idea was to get complete records of the correct way of dressing for future use at the Museum where they will be exhibited. Finally, everything was packed into five boxes and despatched to Copenhagen c/o the East Asiatic Co. (India) Ltd. in Calcutta, on board the M/S Asia in the second half of December 1951. Included was a film of the woman’s dress and the nomads’ clothes. A list covering the whole consignment was sent separately by airmail to the Expedition’s headquarters. Not included with these things were: the horse trappings, the bodyguard uniform, the saddle and the butter and tea churn; coloured photographs of the models as well as a film of the nobleman’s gala riding habit and of the sha-nag dancer were not included either, as they, like the artefacts retained here, were not ready for despatch at the time of shipping”.17

Purchasing artefacts for the museum, although it took much of his time, did not constitute the principal part of Prince Peter’s fieldwork. As briefly mentioned above, he was also taking still and motion picture films, making sound recordings, collecting genealogical information from informants, carrying out a census, collecting biographical information from selected individuals, studying the Tibetan language, collecting myths, folk tales, and sagas, and taking anthropometric measurements of 2,000 Tibetans.

Nor did the work always go smoothly. There were difficulties with the sound recording machine which held up that aspect of data collecting for months. There were difficulties with motor vehicles; one, taken to a garage for repairs, was lost in a fire, with the others there were endless problems about registration and tax. Above all there were problems with local authorities who imposed restrictions on places that could or could not be visited.

Kalimpong was in a sensitive area at a time of political uncertainties, being located near the place where Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, Nepal, and India meet. Local officials, understandably nervous about the Chinese invasion of Tibet, suspected foreigners living in border areas of being spies. The kinds of activities in which anthropologists engage are anything but reassuring to such officials. Anthropologists speak recondite languages, they take lots of pictures, they hold long conversations with travellers in market places, they study maps and drink tea with refugees in the bazaar, they are persistent in wanting to go to outlandish places, they ask odd questions, they take notes, they do not behave like other foreign visitors. Above all, they do not stay put where an eye can be kept on them. It is hardly surprising that they are often regarded with suspicion by government authorities.

Matters were made much worse for Prince Peter in this regard when, on September 17th, 1954, Prime Minister Nehru gave a speech in the Indian Parliament in which he alleged that Kalimpong was a “nest of spies” and even that the spies of all nations in that place “outnumber the local population”.18

The difficulties of achieving research aims under the conditions prevailing in the area in 1954 is brought out in Prince Peter’s Report no. 5 for the year ending January 31st: no Bhutanese or Nepalese artefacts were acquired, it was not possible to take any Rorschach or T.A.T. tests, permission to visit Nepal was refused by the Nepalese Government, permission to visit Shigatse was refused by the Tibetan Government ...
Just to show that an anthropologist’s work is never done, Prince Peter and Princess Irene had gone on “holiday” in the summer of 1953, arriving in Copenhagen toward the end of July. He attended the International Anthropological Congress in Vienna in early September, worked on a Tibetan exhibition which opened at the National Museum in Copenhagen on September 27th, showed on thirty-one occasions (in Denmark, France, England, Sweden, Finland, and Norway) the film he had made of the expedition’s work, delivered forty-five lectures, and arrived back in Calcutta on December 5th.

He was now leader of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia for 1953-54. Among other things he had been asked to take anthropomorphic measurements of another 3,000 Tibetans to bring the total up to 5,000. These data were needed in Denmark to compare with measurements made earlier of Greenlanders, as there was interest at that time in establishing the nature and extent of the racial affinities between the two groups. In this connection Prince Peter relates an incident in which he showed a Tibetan Lama pictures of an Inuit lady from Greenland with her three children, asking if he knew who
they were. "They are east Tibetan nomads!" was the prompt reply.

In June, July, and August he was in Afghanistan with Lennart Edelberg, Klaus Ferdinand, and other colleagues as leader of the 1953-54 Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition. Returning to India in August, he pressed forward with expedition work, purchasing more Tibetan books for the Royal Library in Copenhagen, writing reports and articles, continuing his studies of the Tibetan language, carrying out anthropometric measurements, purchasing artefacts, and engaging in a running battle with Indian bureaucracy over residence permits, travel permits, vehicle registration, and the export of Tibetan artefacts.

In the concluding section of his final report to the National Museum in Copenhagen Prince Peter wrote:

"Looking back on five years activity out here on behalf of the Expedition we have all the same a feeling of something accomplished ... Now that the Expedition has come to an end, it is our intention to return here, to the house we have purchased, to carry on with the work privately. We shall try and obtain from Tibet the things ordered [for the museum] which have not yet arrived, as well as carry on with our own research work. We shall try to obtain, personally, the necessary permission to visit those areas which it is our ambition to penetrate, but which so far have been denied us".20

He wrote the above in Kalimpong on January 31st, 1955. Twenty-four years later, in the Spring of 1979, he finally reached Lhasa.

This is perhaps not the place for an extended biographical essay on Prince Peter's life and career, but a certain amount of background information on the person who put together a major ethnographic collection and some details as to how the work was carried out can provide useful documentation for those carrying out research. For further information about his life and work I refer the reader to a volume which was presented to him on December 3rd, 1978 on the occasion of his 70th birthday. This is entitled
**Friends of Prince Peter,** it was edited by Mogens Mugge Hansen and was published by the Finansbanken, Copenhagen, in 1978.

As a cultural anthropologist and museum curator, the only disappointment encountered by the present writer in this undertaking has been the almost total absence of ethnographic data accompanying the collections. From the outset I assumed that quantities of notes and manuscripts on the Tibetan collections would emerge from the boxes of Prince Peter's papers which are held in the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Unfortunately, except for lists made to show how much he had paid for each item and a few short articles, no such materials have been found. As he spoke Tibetan and, as he had personally acquired each item in this magnificent collection from Tibetans, Prince Peter must have known a great deal about the individual pieces. Probably that is why he did not write the information down. And, not being allowed to travel in Tibet in the 1950s, he was not able to take the photographs which could have been used to illustrate this catalogue. As far as I have been able to find out, no one at the National Museum attempted to persuade him to provide the information later, despite the fact that he was a frequent visitor and an occasional resident in Denmark during the last twenty years of his life. He died in Denmark on October 15th, 1980.

The range of his interests and his very considerable contributions to anthropology are clearly reflected in his published works which are listed in the Bibliography.

**NOTES:**

1. *Heritage of Tibet:* 96-8.
2. See for example, N. Tsultem: *Mongolian Arts and Crafts* or W. Heissig & C. C. Müller (eds.): *Die Mongolen*.
5. Ibid.: 8.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.: Section C. 5.
10. Ibid.: Section C. 6.
13. "The Lamaist scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries, commonly called the Kang-gyur, or properly the Kh-gyur, and Tan-gyur. The great code, the Kh-gyur, or 'The Translated Commandment', is so called on account of its text having been translated from the ancient Indian language, and in a few cases from the Chinese ... The code extends to one hundred or one hundred and eight volumes of about one thousand pages each, comprising one thousand and eighty-three distinct works. The bulk of this colossal bible may be imagined from the fact that each of its hundred or more volumes weighs about ten pounds, and forms a package measuring about twenty-six inches long by eight inches broad and about eight inches deep. Thus the code requires about a dozen yaks for its transport; and the carved wooden blocks from which this bible is printed require, for their storage, rows of houses like a good-sized village. The K-gyur is printed ... only at two places in Tibet: the older edition at Narthang, about six miles from Tashi-lhunpo, the capital of western Tibet and headquarters of the Grand Panch'en-Lama. It fills one hundred volumes of about one thousand pages each. The later edition is printed at Der-ge in eastern Tibet (Kham) and contains the same matter distributed in volumes to reach the mystic number of one hundred and eight." L. A. Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism.* 157-8.
15. *Report no. 3 for the year ending January 31st, 1952* (Afskrift: 3. I have not been able to discover if the accounts for this were ever settled.
16. *Report no. 3 for the year ending January 31st, 1952. Section D (Collection of Artefacts).*
17. Ibid.: 2-3.
19. The results of this labour were published by Prince Peter in *Anthropological Researches from the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia.*
In all parts of the world where human settlements are found there are two landscapes: a geographical landscape and a cultural landscape. In some regions the human presence has overwhelmed the geographical landscape with a thin cultural veneer which almost entirely obscures the natural environment. In other areas, as in Tibet, the cultural presence is slight and the geographical landscape dominates the scene. Our subject here is this cultural presence and the place it holds in the geographical landscape of the country.

The Tibetan plateau, sometimes called the Qinghai-Xizang Plateau, and known to Tibetans as the Changtang, is the youngest, largest, and highest plateau in the world. It has a tilted surface, so that it is higher in the west than it is in the east, and it lies at an average elevation of more than 4,000 metres above sea level. It is bounded by a series of mountain ranges: the Kunlun Shan on the north-west (a very much older range of mountains than the Himalaya), the Altun Shan and Qilian Shan on the north, the Himalaya on the south, and the Hengduan Shan to the south-east. To the east the plateau gives way to a series of ranges which lie in a north-west to south-easterly direction, notably the Chola Shan and the A'nyêmaqên Shan. This Tibetan plateau is geologically young and millions of years ago was a huge sea. The lakes in this region are the remnants of that sea.

A particularly striking feature characterizes this geographical region: in addition to its high altitude it occupies a low latitudinal position. Most of the Tibetan plateau is in the same latitudinal zone as the Mediterranean. Lhasa lies just south of the 30th parallel, which passes through the southern outskirts of Cairo, crosses to the Atlantic, passing between Marrakesh and the Canary Islands, and on to northern Florida, then passing through New Orleans, and on to a line just north of Huston, Texas. This unusual combination of high altitude and low latitude has a profound effect on climate and vegetation, and thus on traditional economic activities such as arable agriculture and the herding of domestic animals.

In my notes for August 7th, 1986 I described the landscape to the west of Lhasa at an altitude of about 4,000 m above sea level where the road goes

"up the valley beside the rushing river. The valley floor is under intense cultivation, mostly barley, but also rape seed, potatoes, oats, and some other crops I can't identify from the road. There are numerous small villages. Wherever a side valley comes down to join the main valley one finds a compact
stone village of whitewashed houses surrounded by trees and the whole of the outwash fan is covered with terraced fields. Livestock are grazing along the river and on small meadows between the fields. There are large numbers of sheep and goats, but also horses, yak, and cattle. The mountains that press in along the river are bare of trees, but willows and poplars grow along the road, the river, and beside the villages. Occasionally there are glimpses of great towering snow peaks looming up behind the lower mountains that flank the river.” [The next day] “a spectacular sunrise revealed snow peaks on all sides. There were numerous nomad camps marked by black tents and herds of yak. Small brown marmots sat by their holes and watched our approach, diving to safety only at the last moment. Glossy black ravens hopped over the rocks before launching themselves on the air currents. The road climbed up and up and shortly after sunrise we reached the summit of a 5,300 m pass where we found the ground covered with yellow flowers, most of them encased in ice and snow.”

In the north and north-west the main landforms are rolling plateau surfaces, mountains, and vast basins. Central and southern Tibet is characterized by wide river valleys and mountain ranges. The lowest lying land is found in the east and south-east of the country where some of the deep valley bottoms are only 1,500 m above sea level.

It is estimated that some 47,000 square km of the country is covered by glaciers and there is a vast expanse of permafrost in northern and western Tibet. The great rivers of Central, South, and East Asia all rise in Tibet: the Yangtse, the Mekong, the Salween, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Irrawaddy, and the Sutlej.

In general the climate is cold and dry with a short growing season of only some twelve weeks, though in southern Tibet where there are some relatively low-lying valleys, the climate is milder, the rainfall higher (450-500 mm per annum) and there are correspondingly greater opportunities for mixed farming.

In southern Tibet up to an altitude of 5,200 m, the most common vegetation is montane shrubby steppe and Alpine steppe. Above those heights the vegetation is Alpine meadow in character. Precipitation in Tibet decreases as one moves from south to north. Most summer monsoon rainfall is prevented from reaching Tibet by the Himalayan Range. As a result, the total precipitation over most of the country is less than 200 mm per annum, while on the Changtang - the northern Plateau - annual rainfall may be less than 25 mm. A feature of the Tibetan climate is the range of extremes in temperature which can occur in a 24 hour period. In summer it is quite common, depending on altitude, to have frost at night followed by daytime temperatures in excess of 30° C.

Another description of the landscape taken from my notes may serve to give a picture of these southern valleys:

“... we were following for the most part a river valley bordered by barren mountains with an occasional glimpse of snow-covered peaks in the distance. Goats and sheep were being herded along the river banks and out on the unpromising gravel plains that reached to the foot of the mountains. Fields of barley were a most vivid and beautiful green, interspersed with bright yellow patches where rape seed had been planted. We came down from rocky hills into a wonderfully green and broad valley where barley fields stretched off as far as the eye could see. These fields were
1.1 Skin-covered coracle on the Kyi-Chu River near Lhasa. Photo: Schuyler Jones, Aug. 1986.
bounded on all sides by the rich browns and dark reds of the mountains rising up to etch their jagged outlines against the dark blue sky and fleecy white clouds. Along the road there were irrigation channels and streams running bank full among the willows and poplars. The women working in the fields wore their striking Tibetan costumes with gaily coloured striped aprons, large silver belt buckles, and necklaces of amber, coral, and turquoise. They looked as if they were off to a wedding party and they sounded like it too, as they were singing, but they were sheeling grain and carving stones to repair an irrigation channel.

Tibetans divide the landscape into four categories or types of land: tang (plain), gang (ridge), drok (pasture), and rong (valley). They use tang to describe high-altitude non-arable uplands of the kind which characterize the Changtang of Northern Tibet. Gang refers to regions of mountains interspersed with cultivated plains such as is characteristic of much of Eastern Tibet. Drok are summer pastures where the nomads camp in order to graze their livestock.

The Changtang proper is a cold desert region of plains and valleys some 750,000 square km in extent (approximately three times the size of Great Britain and Northern Ireland). It lies at an altitude of over 4,000 m and is too cold and too dry to support either forests or arable agriculture. Bearing more than a passing resemblance to the ice-free regions of western Greenland, it extends from Ladakh in the west nearly to Sichuan in the east, and from the southern edge of the Tsaidam Basin in the north almost as far as Lhasa in the south, taking up most of Xizang and about half of Qinghai. For the most part the rivers and streams here have no outlets and in consequence the entire region is dotted with lakes of brackish water, remnants of an ancient sea. Bell notes that "potash, borax, and soda are found in thick deposits round their shores", and hot springs are common.

As one travels north from Lhasa across the Changtang to Golmud, a distance of approximately 1,000 km, the immense scale of this dramatic plateau is brought home. In my notes I wrote:

"As we drove north we began to slowly but steadily climb higher and higher, gradually emerging out onto vast rolling plains of closely cropped grass. At first we were in the company of huge snow covered mountains, but by three p.m. we began to leave these behind and finally found ourselves in the midst of a great prairie with only yak herds and the occasional nomad tent for company." [The next day] "when the fog lifted we were in a vast steppe land of short grass covering rolling hills. The huge elevated plateau was bordered by distant snow mountains. The only human presence was marked by the occasional nomad tent with blue smoke issuing from it and numerous herds of yak, goats, and sheep. Sometimes we saw riders, some mounted on horses, others on yak, rounding up livestock. The landscape was very wet with pools of water visible everywhere. It was evident that they had had lots of rain and snow in recent days, though most of the snow has melted, except on higher ground. Agriculture is out of the question because of the altitude, not a tree grows anywhere. The whole region is one vast uplifted prairie with an average altitude of about 4,000 metres. As we proceeded north across this elevated tableland its character gradually changed from lush wet grassland to sparse arid semi-desert vegetation."
The northern boundary of the *Changtang* is sharply defined by a mountain range (the Burhan Budai Shan) and, on the northern side of it there is an abrupt drop into the Tsaidam Basin. In my diary of August 28th, 1986, having just crossed these two geographical boundaries, I wrote:

“Less than two hours after crossing the Kunlun Pass (4,837 m) and leaving the snow-bound plateau we dropped down to enter a desert region of deep valleys and high barren mountains. Suddenly there was no more snow, there were no more yak, no more Ti-
As if to prove it, there grazing along the margin of a river, was a herd of camels. We had once again entered the hot dry deserts of innermost Asia...

As Tibetan culture is found over a much larger geographical area than Tibet itself, it is necessary to identify what is meant by the phrase “cultural Tibet.” The foundations of Tibetan culture are language and religion, and we may add to this an identifiable cultural style that is reflected in art, architecture, and most forms of portable material culture. Certain customs and a way of life are also identifiable Tibetan over a vast geographical area. The Tibetan language represents the westernmost branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. The written form makes use of the Sanskrit alphabet which was in use in Kashmir in the 7th century. The spoken language is one of subtle refinement, there being no less than three sets of vocabularies which an educated Tibetan would employ, depending upon whether someone from the nobility, an equal, or an interior was being addressed. The ability to use the correct form required by the occasion is an indication of one’s learning and social position.

The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet is dated to AD 632, though the establishment of the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism did not occur until the year 747 with the arrival of the Hindu theologian known as Padma Sambhava. Toward the end of the 9th century AD the translation into Tibetan of the sacred books—the Kangjur and the Tanjur—was completed, thus forming the foundations of the Lamaist religion, which moved into a new phase in the 11th century due to the teachings of the Hindu priest Atisa. Finally it took what is essentially its present form under the guidance...
of the great teacher and reformer Tsong Khapa (1357-1419), a follower of Atisa and founder of the Gelukpa or Yellow Hat sect of Lamaism, the established church of Tibet.

The development of Lamaist Buddhism in Tibet was such that by the mid-11th century there were a large number of monasteries in the country. In the 19th century Dr L. Austine Waddell estimated the number to be approximately 3,000. Having arrived in Tibet from India in the 7th century, Buddhism spread to Mongolia in the 13th century. It became accepted practice for one son from each family to embark on a religious career and enter a monastery. The effect on population growth of the removal of between 20 and 30 per cent of the males from the family scene and, at the same time, the removal of a smaller but significant number of women who become nuns, plus the widespread practice of polyandry, is that population increase in traditional Tibet may have been very low, if not relatively static. This of course is speculation, as no valid population statistics for Tibet exist, but the indications are that this may have been the case. It is particularly unfortunate that we lack valid demographic data in this instance considering the overwhelming world population problems which face us as we approach the year 2000. A culture which embodies beliefs and practices which result in very low population growth is unusual in the world today.

In her study of a Tibetan-speaking community on the Tibet border in north-west Nepal, Nancy Levine concludes that the demographic data available for her area suggests that there has been “a pattern of moderate and regulated [population] growth extending over the last century and more”. She also found that other ethnic groups in the area with different socio-cultural systems “have experienced far higher levels of community growth” (ibid.). Among other findings she concludes that “polyandry restricts the numbers of fully reproducing couples and in this way appears to limit population growth. This is particularly important in a land of limited resources …” In making these observations she is careful to avoid giving the impression that she regards this effect as a cause of the practice of polyandry. Indeed, in an interesting discussion she criticizes earlier writers for concluding that the practice of polyandry is a result of economic considerations.

In his well-known study of polyandry Prince Peter presents evidence (occasionally humorous, always interesting) from his own field work and the investigations of others, and then systematically examines the various reasons given for the practice, either by the people themselves, or by anthropologists. Briefly stated, there is the historical reason (“It is our custom”), the demographic reason (shortage of women), the sociological reason (men away from home for extended periods), the economic reason (prevents division of property), and the personal reason (avoidance of quarrels among brothers). Prince Peter’s own theory is that “Polyandry is a latent male homosexual and near-incestuous form of the marital institution, correlated with excessive economic and social pressure on the nuclear family of peoples living in a difficult natural or social environment, provided no special cultural norm is opposed to it; it persists through historical tradition, or as the result of a reactionary ‘national’ defence mechanism.” In putting forward this view he is combining the economic, social, and historical explanations with a psychological one. The search for explanations and the desire to establish cause and effect relationships, which is embedded in the history of the development of anthropology, has often led anthropologists into difficulties which might have been avoided had they been content to study effects rather than seeking causes. In any case, a combination of polyandry and Lamaism
has often been cited as a cause of low population growth in Tibet.

On the wider social scene it has been frequently noted by various observers that Tibetan women occupy a position of high status in the family and considerable independence in social and economic matters. Although fraternal polyandry remains the most common form of marriage, polygamy and monogamy are also commonly found. Tibetan women hold prominent positions in all aspects of the Tibetan economy, managing a high percentage of the market stalls and small businesses in the towns.

Traditional Tibetan society was made up of classes of people seen as occupying relative positions in a hierarchy. The classifying criterion was occupation, with agriculturalists at one extreme and high ranking members of the clergy at the

other. Ranged in between were members of the nobility, traders, craftworkers, and pastoral nomads. The boundaries between the various occupational groups were not rigidly based on birth. An ordinary person of any class could be elevated to the ranks of the nobility through distinguished government or military service and anyone could enter a monastery and embark on a career of study and advancement within the religious system. It has been estimated that up to the middle of the 20th century approximately 20 per cent of the total population of Tibet belonged to the clerical order, though estimates range from one-third to one-sixth of the population. The monasteries were centres of religion, trade, education, and culture.

There are two sharply divergent views of the rôle of monasteries in traditional Tibetan society. The socialist/communist view usually employs historical terminology of the kind used to describe institutions of the Middle Ages in Europe. Thus they speak of a "feudal" society in Tibet, and depict the clergy as an oppressive elite group of land-owning parasites, living in unearned ease on the fruits of downtrodden peasant labour. Typical of Chinese propaganda is the following which was published as part of a campaign to
justify what China was pleased to call her “peaceful liberation” of Tibet:

"Before liberation, Tibet’s politics, economy and culture were in a state of decay under feudal serfdom. The reactionary local authorities, the monasteries and the nobility, less than 5 per cent of the population, owned all land and almost all livestock, and exercised a most dark and brutal rule over the serfs and slaves who made up the other 95 per cent of the population. Hard labour, crushing land taxes and numerous levies were the order of the day, while slight offences brought flogging, the cutting out of tongues, gouging out of eyes, or skinning alive."\(^\text{13}\)

A very different approach to an understanding of this aspect of Tibetan society is one which regards the monasteries as seats of learning which offered planned curriculums for students, not only in religious education, but also in the arts and crafts including architecture and building, printing, calligraphy, and painting, while others studied healing or engaged in farming. Each monastery also maintained its own body of
peacekeepers, the members of which served both as police and soldiers, as the occasion required. In addition to guarding monastery buildings and other property, they were responsible for maintaining public order and, if the need arose, took up arms against an external threat.

Whatever view of the system one chooses to take, it is clear that the monasteries of Tibet were well organized and efficiently administered and a governing body made up of its members undertook the management of estates, dealt in trading enterprises, received interest and dividends from investments, and generally acted as a combination of church, educational institution, and business corporation, which is what they were. Just as those who live and work within these monasteries are of different rank, so the institutions themselves are classed according to grades of relative importance, the highest being designated ling, as in Ganden Ling, east of Lhasa, headquarters of the Gelukpa sect founded by Tsong Khapa, and site of his tomb.

Members of the nobility – the landed gentry of Tibet – were reckoned to come from any one of
some 150 families which had attained noble status by one of three routes: descent from the early rulers of Tibet, from a family in which a Dalai Lama or Panchen Lama had been reborn, or the family of an ancestor elevated to the rank of nobility through outstanding service to the country. Members of these noble families could only marry within their own social class, a rule which was strictly adhered to. The income of such families was derived from their ownership and management of agricultural estates which were worked by tenant farmers.

Traditional Tibetan Government combined both religious and political functions, with religion forming the foundation of the State and providing, along with language, the basis of national identity. Head of State and *de facto* Ruler was the Dalai Lama or, in the period following the death of a Dalai Lama, the Regent, until such time as the reincarnated Ruler came of age. Next below the Dalai Lama in the Government hierarchy was an office known as *lónchen* which might be occupied by as many as three officials appointed by the Dalai Lama. This was not a fixture
in the Government system, but was brought into being by the Ruler as needed. The authority of the lönchen was that which the Ruler chose to give them. At times they might wield considerable power, at other times their office served primarily to gather and forward to the Dalai Lama requests and recommendations from lay officials. Below the lönchen were the various offices of Government occupied by a certain number of officials who exercised whatever authority was attached to the office they held.

The key office among these was the Kashag. Often described by Western writers as the “Cabinet”, it had a membership of four shappe who were appointed by the Dalai Lama. The Kashag was, among other things, a clearing house for information, requests, recommendations, and communications to the Dalai Lama. Depending upon the nature of the issue at hand, the Kashag could deal with the matter, forward it to the Dalai Lama, or modify it, provided that it came to them from lower Government offices. All secular matters for the attention of the Dalai Lama passed through the Kashag and the official seal of that office was required on most Government documents. The Kashag dealt with promotions, enquiries, and policy matters in the day-to-day running of the Government. In dealing with official documents the Dalai Lama could accept, reject, or modify whatever proposal was put before him.

The Ruler had to approve decisions regarding the expenditure of government funds, the transfer of land from one owner to another, permanent tax exemptions (chabayang), promotions or demotions, and border and foreign relations, but most other topics were settled by the Kashag.\(^4\)

As all secular matters directed upward to the Dalai Lama had to pass through the Kashag, it exercised a good deal of power; it could choose to act or not on issues brought to its attention. One Tibetan official, cited by Goldstein, estimated that during the 1940s about 30 per cent of the total items of business that came to the Kashag were sent on to the Regent for approval (the fourteenth Dalai Lama then being still a boy), while they dealt with the remainder themselves.\(^5\)

The other branch of Government, dealing with religious affairs, was in the hands of a high-ranking monk official with the title chigyab khembo. He had direct access to the Dalai Lama, was in charge of the Dalai Lama’s staff, and served as the line of communication between the Ruler and the Yigtsang. The latter office was headed by four monk officials and functioned in a similar way to the Kashag, except that it dealt only with matters relating to the monasteries and religious issues. Thus, among other things, it handled appointments and promotions. All communications between the Yigtsang and the ruler passed through the hands of the chigyab khembo, who had the power to modify all such proposals, recommendations, or applications.

The next most important office in Government was the Tsigang which dealt with accounts and taxes, and sometimes with disputes over land tenure. Members of this bureau, which was headed by officials of the fourth rank, were sometimes promoted to the Kashag. Lower down in the administrative structure were approximately twenty other offices, each dealing with a different branch of Government affairs. A more complete description of the structure of Government in Tibet properly belongs to a rather different study. Those with special interests in this aspect of Tibetan society should consult A History of Modern Tibet. 1913-1951 by M. C. Goldstein.

A brief word about the Panchen Lamas may be in order. The title Pan-chen, from Pandita Chenpo, “Great Scholar” was first given to successive heads of Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse by the Dalai Lama in the 16th century. But in the
18th century the Emperor of China, without consulting the Tibetan Government, made the Panchen Lama ruler of western Tibet. This, needless to say, was not taken seriously by the Tibetan Government, but it was to cause political problems from then on, problems which the Government of China fostered and exploited to her own advantage.11

Communist China Invades Tibet

In 1949, seeing that the Kuomintang were losing the fight against Communism, the Tibetan Government took steps to prepare for what they regarded as an inevitable confrontation with China. In July 1949 they closed the Chinese Government offices in Lhasa and expelled all Chinese officials from Tibet, providing transportation for them and a military escort to India. On October 1st, 1949 the People's Republic of China was inaugurated in Peking. As one of its policy objec-
tives, the new Chinese Government announced its intention of liberating Tibet from "imperialists". Tibet replied that as there were no imperialists in the country, Tibet did not require liberation. On January 1st, 1950 a broadcast from Radio Peking reported that one of the tasks of the People's Liberation Army for the year was the liberation of Tibet. On May 22nd Radio Peking broadcast some advice to the people and the Government of Tibet, recommending that they accept the peaceful liberation of their country by the PLA.

In July 1950 the first battle between the Tibetans and the invading Chinese Army occurred at Dengo, a small village about 175 km NE of Chamdo in eastern Tibet. The main invasion, however, took place in October when the Chinese Army crossed the upper Yangtse in three places; at Batang, at Derge, and north of Dengo, to begin their move on Chamdo. The Tibetan force was obliged to retreat from Chamdo on October 16th. By the 19th the Chinese invading force had captured the whole of Kham, including
a substantial number of Tibetan soldiers and several officials. On November 7th the Tibetan Government sent an urgent appeal for help to the United Nations. An immediate response to this came from El Salvador on November 14th. The chairman of the El Salvadorian delegation asked that the invasion of Tibet be put on the agenda as a matter of urgency in the light of the UN's responsibility to maintain international peace and security. On November 17th, the sixteen year old Dalai Lama took over the Government of Tibet from the regent Taktra Rimpoche in response to pressures from the two State Oracles at Nechung and Gadong.

Meanwhile, the action taken by El Salvador forced Britain, India, and the United States to review and reconsider their policies in regard to Tibet, but these considerations soon ground to a halt in discussions concerning historical and legal points about the status of Tibet. China continued to insist that her intentions were peaceful and that Tibet was, in any case, a part of China, so it
was an internal matter for China alone and therefore had no place on any UN agenda. There followed increasingly sharp exchanges of diplomatic notes between India and China and finally India made a half-hearted decision to support the Tibetan appeal, though India's position was that Tibet was an autonomous region within China, rather than an independent nation. The UN debate on Tibet took place on the 24th of November with El Salvador making proposals which they hoped the UN would adopt, indeed they pointed out that if the General Assembly ignored this act of Chinese aggression, it would be neglecting its responsibilities. India countered with arguments that the UN should abandon the issue, pointing out that China's advance into Tibet had stopped and that China still professed peaceful intentions towards Tibet. In the end that view prevailed and the UN neither for the first nor for the last time proved to be ineffective in stopping, let alone turning back, advancing armies. Only El Salvador stood up to act as the free world's conscience. Those who might have been expected to come to Tibet's aid—India, Britain, and the United States—were preoccupied with other matters. Britain, having left India in 1947, now considered that it was India's place to make decisions about her neighbours to the north. India was more concerned with her relations with China than with the fate of Tibet, and the United States, while sympathetic to the plight of the Tibetans, had other problems in Asia and was more concerned about the future of Formosa and the war in Korea.

On December 20th, 1950 the Dalai Lama, together with an escort and a group of officials, left Lhasa on the first stage of a planned escape to India. Meanwhile a second official appeal was sent off in an attempt to have the Tibetan case taken up by the UN. This was no more effective than the first. On May 23rd, 1951 Chinese and Tibetan officials meeting in Peking put their signatures to what came to be known as the "Seventeen Point Agreement" which legalized on paper, if not in the eyes of the free world, China's claims to Tibet. On July 23rd the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. By October that year several thousand soldiers of the People's Liberation Army had reached Lhasa. In March, 1959 the Dalai Lama and senior figures of the Tibetan hierarchy fled to India, followed later by some 80,000 Tibetans. Red China had taken over.17

NOTES:

1 August 13th, 1986 on the road between Lhasa and Gyantse.
2 Charles Bell: The People of Tibet: 1.
3 Ibid.: 3.
5 What he wrote was: "Over 4,000 monasteries are said to be in Tibet." See The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism, with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology, and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism: 265.
6 Goldstein in his A History of Modern Tibet: 5, suggests that 15 to 20 per cent of the males were monks.
7 Sir Charles Bell writes that "The population appears to be decreasing steadily owing to polyandry, to venereal diseases, and to the large number that live celibate lives in monasteries instead of rearing families. This process of reduction continues steadily, and the man-power that remains is to a great extent withdrawn from the cultivation of the soil. So a large amount of arable land lies fallow." The People of Tibet: 29. Of course this is a subjective conclusion and not one based on demographic or land use statistics.
9 Ibid.: 279.
10 Ibid., Chapter 11: 265-79.
12 Ibid.: 569.
13 Tibet Today: 5.
14 M. C. Goldstein: A History of Modern Tibet: 15.
15 Ibid.
17 The whole story, complete with copies of official documents, is recounted in Goldstein, op. cit.: 611-825.
A shop in Barkhor Bazaar, Lhasa. The sign over the doorway reads Lixin Muslim Trading Co. Lhasa Branch.
Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.
Living year-round at high altitude or high latitude can only be successful if solutions have been found to a range of practical problems. By “successful” I mean long term survival. By “high altitude or high latitude” I refer to regions where climatic conditions are such as to make any form of arable agriculture impossible. With agriculture eliminated from the choices available, the human population can only survive by a combination of trade and the careful management of livestock herds, as in the Changtang of Tibet, or by some combination of hunting and fishing, as in Greenland and across Arctic America to Alaska, or hunting, herding, and fishing as practised by Lapps in Arctic Europe, and by various other groups such as the Chukchee of Arctic Siberia.

Survival in these regions depends upon a profound and sophisticated knowledge of local conditions and an understanding of every nuance of the weather, the location of every useful type of vegetation, sources of water, the seasonal needs of various kinds of livestock, and the ability to accurately assess the implications of changing conditions so that correct decisions can be made in the light of generations of experience. It also requires, in most cases, the establishment of effective trading relationships with neighbouring peoples.

That solutions to survival under these extreme conditions can be found is well documented both from the recent past and the present where in a few instances traditional economies are continuing to survive much as they have for centuries. Only interference by large-scale political and economic systems, beginning most notably in the 16th century and gaining momentum in the second half of the 19th century, driven by what one might in a generous mood call political paternalism or, less charitably but more accurately, territorial expansion and political and economic exploitation, has been able to destroy these finely balanced systems. Against all the odds some still survive, a tribute to the adaptability, inventiveness, and resourcefulness of those who inhabit the less hospitable regions of the earth. These surviving societies are not entirely unchanged of course, for all human communities are changing and have been doing so since social groups were first formed. Change is part of the human condition, but prior to the spread of European colonialism and the development of new systems of communication such changes were usually gradual due to geographical isolation. Today those cultural systems which continue to be dependent on traditional economic practices are found only in the most isolated and inhospitable regions where environmental conditions are such that other economic systems either cannot function or where the cost of economic development
is prohibitive. Thus they have – for the time being – been left more or less alone to pursue traditional ways.

High altitude conditions place certain restrictions on the economic potential of a region. Given the altitude of most of Tibet, it is only because it lies so far south that arable agriculture is possible at all. Even then conditions are on the whole less than favourable. Most cultivation takes place in the valleys of Southern Tibet, principally the Tsang-po and the Kyi Chi, where a combination of relatively good soils and frost-free days produce satisfactory conditions for the growing of cereals and root crops. Elsewhere in Tibet conditions are normally such that potentially arable areas are scarce, widely scattered, and crops are frequently threatened with winds, drought, hailstorms, and severe frost. This leaves the only other avenues of traditional economic exploitation: livestock husbandry and hunting, combined with and supplemented by trade. Arable farming occupies a very small proportion of Tibet’s land surface; pastoral nomadism comes and goes with the seasons over very large areas of the great plateau (\textit{aBrog}, the high pastures).\(^1\)

The population of Tibet proper, as defined by present political boundaries, is generally thought to be between one and two million; Goldstein and Beall put it at “nearly two million”.\(^2\) An equal number of Tibetans are now found living outside the political boundaries of the country in China, Ladakh, Nepal, and India, so the total number may be between 3.5 and 4 million. It is suggested by Veronika Ronge that pastoral nomads may constitute as much as 48 per cent of the total population living inside Tibet.\(^3\) Goldstein and Beall, however, put the figure rather lower, suggesting that the number of pastoral nomads in Tibet may be about 500,000.\(^4\) In his book \textit{Kult und Alltag in Tibet} Alex Smejkal suggests that the pastoral nomads of Tibet make up about 40 per cent of the total population.\(^5\)

The region which is exploited by pastoral nomads lies above the upper limits of arable agriculture and extends upward to the limits of vegetation growth. It is a grazing zone which varies in size and altitude according to latitude, as in the South arable farming can be carried out up to 4,600 m, while in the North the limits are reached at only 2,800 m. Thus in Southern Tibet the \textit{aBrog} grazing lands are pressed between an elevated arable zone and the cold unproductive upper regions, the vertical movement of the nomads being restricted to about 600 m.

In contrast, in the North vertical movement of more than 900 m is possible, and this, combined with a relief characterized by an undulating plateau, greatly extends the grazing range.

A characteristic of the climate is a wide diurnal temperature range. During the summer months in Southern Tibet I found a common pattern to be one in which after a bright and hot sunny afternoon there would be precipitation during much of the night, falling as snow on the mountains and as rain in the valley bottoms. The following dawn would then be cloudy, though the overcast would usually quickly break up to produce another bright sunny day. The air felt cool, but the sun, particularly by mid-afternoon, was so strong that it could be felt burning through a cotton shirt, and then at night rain would fall in the valleys as snow fell on the hills again. By mid August at altitudes of between 4,000 and 4,300 m in Southern Tibet the leaves were already turning yellow.

The pastoral nomads of Tibet\(^6\) live mainly in the Northern Plateau or \textit{Changtang} region which occupies nearly 70 per cent of the land area within the present political boundaries of the country. Their economy is based on livestock herding, principally yak, sheep, goats, cattle, and horses. Ekvall considers that “without yak it is questionable whether or not nomadic pastoralism in Tibet could exist” and he goes on to suggest that it “… developed only after domestication of yak by fami-
ers who already had common cattle and ... goats and sheep". Tibet appears to be the original home of the yak and it is only there that it is found in the wild state. The importance of yak in Tibetan life is indicated by the fact that the general term for them is nor, which means "wealth".

By definition, pastoral nomadism is an economic system which combines animal husbandry with impermanent settlements involving the use of tents or other type of portable dwelling, and a seasonal movement of both people and livestock. Because of this periodic movement, pastoral nomads do not normally engage in arable agriculture. In some parts of Asia there are pastoral nomads who may move as much as eight or nine hundred km with their livestock between summer pastures and winter grazing areas. In the Changtang of Tibet, however, the seasonal migrations only cover a few miles; according to Goldstein and Beall, less than fifty. The reason for this is that the Tibetan plateau as a whole, with all its mountain ranges and valley systems, is so elevated that no advantage is to be gained by long distance migrations. In winter they have no access to warmer areas where an abundance of grazing might be found. Thus, unlike many pastoralists who live in mountain areas, they spend the entire year at high altitudes.

The Question of Self-Sufficiency

Nomadic peoples, because of their apparently independent life style, are often regarded as prime examples of self-sufficient societies. In many cases this is something of an illusion, as livestock herding, rewarding as it may be, cannot directly supply all a community's needs. Owen Lattimore has suggested that "pure" pastoralism probably never existed. In the hot deserts of South-West and Central Asia and the cold deserts of Innermost Asia the gap between what the livestock economy and the environment can provide and what the human community needs (or wants) increases. Just as transhumant societies have a dual economy (livestock herding and arable farming), so pastoral nomadic societies have a dual economy: livestock herding and trade. In the latter system the surpluses gained from animal husbandry (butter, meat, hides, wool, surplus livestock, etc.) may be exchanged for the products of a different economy, the deficiencies of one system being made up by the surpluses of another through the medium of trade.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary self-sufficient means "sufficient in or for oneself (itself) without external aid or support; able to supply one's needs oneself." Ekvall puts forward the view that the pastoral nomadic subsistence economy "is largely self-contained and self-sufficient," and even that it is characterized by a "distinctive autarky". This is true insofar as, using their own skills and the resources available to them, they are able, despite adverse environmental conditions, not only maintain a viable economy but also regularly produce enough surplus to enable them to satisfy by trade those needs or wants which they do not produce themselves. It must be said, however, that at the very least, they would be seriously inconvenienced if they were unable to obtain these trade items. As will be discussed below, their staple foods are tea and tsamba and their economy produces neither. Ekvall asserts that meat and animal fat "is the bulk, high-protein, vitamin- and animal-fat-rich foodstuff produced by pastoralism on which the nomad can, if necessary, exist without grain-food supplements." In theory this may be true, and even in practice it may have short-term emergency validity, but Ekvall avoids stating the obvious consequences of the long-term use of meat and animal fat resources, which is the steady depletion of their livestock capital.
In general, there are two opposing views of the pastoral nomads’ economy in Tibet. As we have just seen, Ekvall is prepared to assert that Tibetan nomads are self-sufficient and operate a self-contained economy. At the other extreme, David Jackson takes the view that these same nomads are entirely dependent upon the goods supplied by village craftsmen and that without them their survival would be “impossible”. As is so often the case, the truth is somewhere in between these extremes. We shall return to a discussion of these problems in Chapter Four.

Barley is undeniably an important component of the nomad diet and no doubt has been so for a very long time. There is no substitute available for gathering in the drok or high pastures. I therefore question Ekvall’s assertion that their economy is either “largely self-contained” or “self-sufficient”, as this view tends to obscure if not distort an understanding of the true nature of their economy. Their personal independence, like their economic system, (in common with most pastoral nomads in other parts of the world) is bound up with the economies of neigh-

bouring agriculturalists and, in the Tibetan example, with the wider trade networks of innermost Asia. I would suggest in the light of the substantial evidence we now have that it is more accurate to describe the Tibetan pastoral nomad economy as “self-reliant” rather than “self-sufficient”.

Livestock

The livestock kept by Tibetan nomads are yak, sheep, goats, cattle, and horses. Not all groups however have all these animals and, depending upon local environmental conditions, the importance of one type of animal may be greater to the economy of one group than another. According to Veronika Ronge the minimum livestock requirements for a pastoral nomadic family are 500 sheep, 35 yaks, and 5 horses. In Eastern Tibet Ekvall found that “In order of their importance, yak, sheep,
common cattle, and horses are the principal resource units of the economy." In Western Tibet Goldstein and Beall have found that the principal livestock are yak, sheep, and goats. Writing at the turn of the century, Sandberg reported that there were four groups of Tibetan pastoralists north of Lhasa who kept no sheep, but specialized in yak breeding. He also writes that in Yamdok, Dam, and Tengri Nor there were pastoralists who specialized in the rearing of horses and that they regularly took them not only to the markets of Shigatse and Gyantse, but even as far as Darjeeling and Bihar.

Graham Clarke (1987) reports that one nomad settlement he visited (Namtsho, NE of Lhasa at an altitude of 4,600 m) consisted of over 100 people living in 22 tents. He provides interesting data on their livestock holdings. One household, which he describes as being of less than average means, had 30 yak, 100 sheep, 20 goats, and two horses. Clarke writes: "Altogether at this neighborhood at Namtsho they had 960 yak, 3,700 sheep, 800 goats, and 45 horses. Per household that is an average of 44 yak, 168 sheep, 36 goats, and 2 horses." He notes that the Tibetans estimate an annual livestock increase of 25 per cent. Clarke goes on to provide similar data for a "wealthy household" from the Xixangpangma area: "80 yak, 300 sheep and goats, and 2 horses. That village, which is said to have 18,000 sheep and goats and 2,000 yak distributed among 42 houses, would have a rough average of 48 yak and 430 sheep and goats per household ... since both are near the same altitude (c. 4,600 m) and have pure pastoral bases, these figures are roughly comparable to Namtsho."

Most of the research carried out to date on aspects of the traditional Tibetan economy have tended to focus on its main elements: mixed farming, pastoral nomadism, and trade. In discussing pastoralism Owen Lattimore asserts that "True nomadism ... is unmistakable. It is the technique of interposing animals between the human society and the geographical environment: the people live either wholly or to a determining degree on the produce of their herds and must move in an orbit of seasonal migration (transhumance), accommodating themselves to the needs of the herds in the way of food, shelter, and change of pasture." In view of all the ink that has been shed over the years in order to define pastoral nomadism and its many variations, this is interesting in two ways: (i) no mention is made of portable dwellings, despite the fact that tents are often regarded as an essential element in most attempts to define pastoral nomadism, and (ii) Lattimore appears to regard pastoral nomadism and transhumance as the same thing. He is supported in this by no less an authority than The Oxford English Dictionary which defines transhumance as "the seasonal moving of live stock to regions of different climate," but geographers and anthropologists have carried out studies which clearly show that this definition is, at the very least, incomplete.

I take the term transhumance to refer to an economic system based on both arable agriculture and livestock herding, with all members of the community occupying a permanent village base during part of the year (the "off" season, e.g., winter), but then dividing forces, according to local rules governing the division of labour, to engage in separate herding and arable activities in the productive season. In this system the pasture areas to which the livestock are taken for grazing may be a considerable distance from the village and its arable lands, making a separation of weeks or months a necessary part of the régime. Here "herding" also includes the making of dairy products. While both livestock and herders are away from the village those remaining
2.5 Looking after the yak herds is an important task for boys and young men. Hongyuzn District, Sichuan Province. Photo: Bettina Kjærluff-Schmidt, 1990.

behind get on with the planting, weeding, and watering of crops, the making of hay, and, depending on the climate and other local conditions, the stock-piling of fuel and fodder for the coming winter. The herders bring the livestock back to the village toward the end of the season after the harvest is in, and the animals are either stall-fed during the “off” season or taken to nearby pastures until the cycle is ready to start all over again. This system was commonly practised in certain regions of Europe and, indeed, still is in some areas, such as parts of the Pyrenees. It was the traditional farming system of pre-industrial Switzerland and Austria, was practised in Norway, and is also practised in parts of Asia, such as the Hindu Kush region of North-East Afghanistan. As Douglas Johnson rightly points out, transhumance is very different from pastoral nomadism. I would not hesitate to extend the concept of transhumance, at least for discussion purposes, to include an economic system which combined livestock herding with trade rather than
with agriculture, provided that the “home base” was a permanent settlement, occupied by at least part of the community all year round.

The little anthropological research which has been carried out in Tibet since the Chinese invasion of that country has, for very good reasons, paid a good deal of attention to pastoral nomadism. Transhumance is introduced here because the distinction between transhumance and pastoral nomadism is one that needs to be made and to suggest that transhumance is likely to exist in those areas of Tibet where conditions are such as to favour this system. I would expect to find it, for example, in parts of the east and south-east where both arable agriculture and the keeping of livestock are possible. If transhumance does exist in Tibet an in-depth field study would add greatly to our understanding of traditional Tibetan economic systems.

Interestingly enough, the Pala nomads of Western Tibet studied by Goldstein and Beall appear to have a regimen which, while clearly nomadic, appears to exhibit some transhumant-like features. Foremost among these is their “home-base three-season encampment” which is occupied in winter, spring, and summer, and which is temporarily left in autumn for pastures which have not been grazed till then. In late December they re-
turn to their home-base camp. This arrangement is reminiscent of a transhumant pattern and the similarity becomes even stronger when we consider that "Another distinctive feature of the Pala nomads' way of life is the high value placed on remaining at their home-base campment. This even has a special term: shi-ma. Although all the livestock move to the new pasture at the time of the fall migration, not all the nomads accompany the herds. Instead, a number prefer to remain at the home base".45

Because of the environmental conditions which prevail as a result of latitude and altitude, restrictions are placed on the economic potential of the Changtang and Tibetan nomads need to regularly engage in trade for both foodstuffs and goods. Before considering trade, let's examine briefly another traditional economic activity: hunting.

Hunting

Despite their Buddhist faith which prohibits the taking of life, many pastoral nomads of Tibet occasionally engage in hunting. Their main prey are wild yak, gazelle, wild sheep, and antelope for meat, but they also hunt carnivores to protect
their herds, and fox, lynx, wolf, bear, and onager or kyang for pelts. Other animal products derived from hunting are stag antlers, musk from musk deer, and leather for clothing, particularly from gazelle and wild sheep. Musk, antlers, and furs are valuable trade items and as such represent a welcome supplement to the traditional economy.

The main direct economic advantages of hunting come from the sale of skins and the provision of additional meat for household use. According to Goldstein and Beall a tawny lynx pelt fetched as much as 1,000 yuan in Lhasa market in 1987-88 – the equivalent in value to two or three yaks. Even so Goldstein and Beall believe that “many if not most Pala nomads have renounced [hunting]” because it is against their Buddhist principles. In any case our authors consider that hunting is, economically speaking, on a par with salt gathering, i.e., “non-essential components of the nomads’ subsistence – they are economic reserves”.26

Owen Lattimore, following a discussion of the advantages to pastoral nomads of keeping different kinds of livestock, goes on to say that “The degree to which hunting is practised as an auxiliary economy introduces another variable, and this again requires differentiation between steppe hunting and forest hunting, and between hunting for food and ‘useful’ clothing and hunting for ‘luxury’ products used mostly for tribute or trade”.27

In Tibet I was repeatedly told that the once abundant wild life of the Tibetan plateau had been reduced to a fraction since the Chinese military invasion due to the large numbers of soldiers with modern weapons. Although this is doubtless true in some areas, Goldstein and Beall maintain that “wildlife is still abundant in Pala and other parts of West Tibet”.28 They also report that the Chinese Government is making moves to curb hunting and the fur trade.29 Nevertheless, I saw large numbers of skins, particularly snow leopard, on sale in Lhasa’s Barkhor Bazaar in 1986.

Trade

It is worth distinguishing at least three different kinds of trade inside Tibet: that carried out by pastoral nomads in which they dispose of surpluses in order to satisfy domestic needs, that carried out by town-based merchants who are seeking a broad range of goods for their shops, and that carried out by agriculturalists. At the same time we can also distinguish two different kinds of “nomadism”: pastoral nomadism, and nomad traders. The pastoralists are first and foremost livestock herders, the nomad traders are petty merchants who are also in the caravan transport business.

Even for families owning large numbers of livestock annual or bi-annual visits to a market are necessary to obtain some of their basic requirements in both food and materials by disposing of surplus produce. As the season advances toward winter it is important for a family to be able to purchase or exchange for such basic food items as barley, tea, sugar, dried fruits, and rice. Also necessary are imported goods such as needles, cordage, black powder for muskets or ammunition for breech-loaders, snuff and snuff containers, jewellery, woollen goods, flannel, knives, and pots and pans. To obtain both necessities and luxuries, the nomads need an ample surplus of wool, meat, hides, salt, medicinal plants, musk, butter, and cheese.30

W. Zwalf describes wider import-export enterprises in the following terms:

“Despite the difficult terrain and the effect of the seasons on travel, Tibet was linked with her neighbours by a number of trade-routes, which carried exports of wool, furs of the fox, stone-marten, lynx and marmot, yak-tails, hides, the soft under-wool of the shawl-wool goat, borax, salt, musk and medicinal herbs as well as ponies and
2.8 A shop in Barkhor Bazaar offering cloth, beads, incense, bracelets, and other notions. Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.
mules. The beasts of burden were mules, yaks, donkeys, sheep and goats, the latter mostly in western Tibet. Mules were reputed the best climbers but yaks could negotiate what seemed impossible rocks and boulders. Routes to India led westwards to Ladakh (Leh), Kashmir and Almora and southwards to Kalimpong, and at one time a route through Nepal was much used. From India Tibet imported cotton and woollen goods, hardware, corals, precious stones, tobacco, dried fruits, sugar, molasses, matches, needles and soap; from Bhutan and Nepal came rice, and Bhutan also supplied wood. The route to China ran through the ethnic border town Tatsienlu and carried Chinese brick tea, silks, satins, brocades, cotton goods and scarves in exchange for musk, gold-dust, wool, sheepskins, furs and medicinal herbs. To the north lay the road to Mongolia passing the great Koko Nor lake; caravans brought Chinese silver, silk and ponies in and took away woollen cloth, incense sticks and copies of Tibetan scriptures, for Mongolia, a Buddhist country, had been evangelised from Tibet. The northern route also brought pilgrims from the outlying inhabited parts of the north-east to the shrines and sanctuaries of the Tibetan heartlands.

One problem faced by pastoralists in the Changtang is a shortage of raw materials such as wood which might be used to make many of the things that they need. The firewood problem is solved in a treeless landscape by a relative abundance of dried dung, but there is no ready substitute for a tent pole or other objects made of wood. Thus a considerable part of the production derived from herd management enters the market and forms part of a widespread trading network. In return, as noted above, the nomads receive from this network pots, pans, kettles, barley, tea, dried fruits, knives, swords, wooden bowls, churns, and tent poles. Increasingly in this century luxuries are also obtained in the form of jewellery, porcelain bowls, rifles, silks and satins, and, more recently, binoculars, radios, sun glasses, tennis shoes, motor bikes, and cassette tape players.

Ekvall remarks that:

"the pastoralist operates in a seller's market. On a basic local level meat – an essential food and the luxury half of the national diet – and skins and hides are in demand in the agricultural, monastic, and trader communities of Tibet. Livestock can be moved on their own power to those communities, either by the traders who come to the pastoralist or as he himself drives them in the annual grain-trading expedition. Furthermore, livestock, especially hybrid and yak cows for their milk and yak and hybrid oxen for transport, are the best investment for anyone – farmer, trader, wealthy lama, or businessman monk – who has funds to invest. Cattle and sheep, moreover, move by the thousands to the meat markets of western China."

Nearly half a century after Ekvall's investigations the basic economic system which he observed in Eastern Tibet was still operating in the West. Goldstein and Beall note that:

"Sheep yield wool for weaving and barter, skins for clothes, stomachs into [sic] which butter is churned and sewn for storage, and intestines, organs and blood for sausages. The animals themselves are valuable trade items. In 1987, one sheep sold for about 50-75 pounds of barley (roughly two-to three months' supply for one adult). A pound of
wool, the principal marketable sheep product, brought the nomads about six pounds of barley in 1987. Since Tibetan sheep are sheared once a year (in late July) and yield about one pound per animal, the wool from roughly 45 sheep provide enough grain for one adult's subsistence for a year. Wool is spun into thread and then used for weaving cloth and sewing. It is also used to make felt, to braid ropes, and even to place on wounds. 

Regarding trade between the Changtang and neighbouring regions, in this case between the far west of Tibet and NW India, we have an interesting description from Dainelli’s 1930 expedition. Writing in late September and early October he records that:

“We overtook and were overtaken by endless flocks migrating on their long return journey towards the more southerly valleys ... It is not only for the sake of pasture – though this would be a sufficient reason – that sheep and goats, and especially sheep, migrate between the plateaux of the Chang-tang and the valleys of Lahul. Each sheep carries its 26 pounds of merchandise, divided into two equal loads, on either side of its woolly back; one cord serving as breeching, another as martingale, so that the loads shall not fall when they go up or down. They carry rice and sugar and also cheap cotton goods when they go up from Lahul towards the Chang-tang, and bring back salt and wool and pashmina when they come down again from the Chang-tang to Lahul. On the way, and then on the plateaux, they feed almost for nothing, while the shepherds also make a profit as caravaneers and as merchants. And it is no mean profit, when one thinks that a flock of a thousand sheep can transport more than 10 tons."

According to Sandberg, sheep used as beasts of burden could average 12 miles of mountainous travel each day carrying forty pounds of wool. If he is correct, then 1,000 sheep could, in theory, carry twenty tons.

Barley Trade

The season for the trading expeditions, one main purpose of which is to obtain barley, is in autumn after the winter encampments have been established and at a time when the farming communities have completed their cereal harvest. The timing needs to be accurate as winter sets in early and swiftly in the Changtang.

In making these journeys individual family groups do not travel alone. Instead, the trading caravan is composed of representatives of the different families in a given winter encampment.

“The caravan is organized in units of six to ten persons – called a ‘stove part’ as they use one fire. Two men can drive, pasture, tether, and load twenty to thirty oxen and take care of other livestock being driven along for sale. The venture is strenuous and demanding and from the community the strongest packers, the toughest bargainers, and those who are cautious yet unafraid are chosen to go. The trip to lower country is relatively easy for much of what is to be traded in [sic] on the hoof and easily driven, and the balance – butter, cheese, wool, and the like – has high value versus weight, so loads are light. By contrast, the return trip, when the cold has increased, the trail conditions have worsened, and the heavily loaded oxen begin to weaken from hunger and ex-
haustion, is a stern test for man and beast, and there is much relief when the grain caravan reaches the home encampment". 94

Salt Trade

One natural product which requires an investment of only the time and labour required to collect and transport it from the Changtang is salt. This is scooped up from dry lake beds, packed in sacks, and transported to towns in Tibet or taken on through the passes to the southern watershed of the Himalaya. In the winter of 1958-59 the writer witnessed the arrival of several large Tibetan salt caravans in Pokhara and Bodh Nath during a winter stay in Nepal; members of one group said that they had been on the road from Lhasa for fifty days.

Goldstein and Beall estimate that for many nomads the journey to the salt deposits and the trading expedition South to exchange salt for grain involves "an investment of roughly three to four months for both the nomads and their transport animals". 99
Ekvall considers that "the exploitation of salt fields are less important subsidiary activities and have no real links with nomadic pastoralism". Nevertheless, it is undeniably part of the nomadic pastoral economy in that it is an element of the trading system which helps support it. In the 1950s in the market place in Pokhara I observed Tibetans trading salt for axe blades, hoes, and other tools which they needed.

Ekvall also makes brief mention of nomads gathering wild mushrooms which eventually reach markets in China.

Tea Trade

One of the main expectations that the British had in embarking on military adventures beyond her imperial frontiers in Asia was not so much the hope of territorial gain or political advantage, though they secured these when and wherever possible, but the opening up of new regions to trade. High hopes were held that trade with Tibet, particularly the export of Indian tea to that country, would prove to be profitable. This expectation was not realized, as Sir Charles Bell explains:

"Until the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1904 the import of Indian tea into Tibet was prohibited by the Chinese. From 1904 it was allowed, but the Tibetans did not and do not like it. They find the Chinese tea more nutritious, more wholesome, and more pleasant to the taste. Consequently, they rated the Indian varieties only slightly above the lowest grade of Tibetan tea ... The yearly import from China is estimated at a weight of fourteen or fifteen million pounds".

In the 19th and early part of this century the tea consumed in Tibet arrived from China in the form of compressed bricks which were easily portable, each clearly marked with an indication of its quality, and each category being relatively uniform in size. Because of this certain of these tea bricks served as a standard of value and were used as currency for purchases and in the settlement of debts.

In a paper entitled A Tea Trade with Tibet, Father C.-H. Desgodins sets out the various categories of brick tea, gives their Tibetan names, describes their qualities, and lists the weights and prices of each. From this we learn that the most popular brick tea in Tibet was the Jyä-pa which weighed two and a half pounds. It was not the best quality, being inferior to the Shib chang chin – a five and a half pound brick of the best dark brown fermented leaves, but was:

"by far the most generally used in Tibet, not only as a beverage, but especially as a staple of trade, and as the current money of traders. men bargaining by stipulating so many bricks or packets (of four bricks) of tea. They say. 'This sword has cost three bricks; this horse is worth twenty packets,' and so on. The wages of workmen and servants are paid in so many bricks of tea, etc. When bricks or packets of tea are mentioned as money, it is always the third standard, or Jyä-pa, which is understood; then the bricks are not weighed, but counted. If it is agreed that tea be weighed, and not counted, then the fifth standard is understood to be the medium of exchange".

Information about the importation of brick tea from China to Tibet was also provided by L. A. Waddell in 1905:

"The 'bricks' of Chinese tea were interesting in view of the possible openings for Indian
tea in these regions, where tea is deemed a necessity of life. They consist of cakes, about four pounds in weight, of compressed leaves and twigs, rolled in yellow paper wrappers and stamped with the quality. Twelve of these bricks are sewed up in hide to make a load, a pair of which are carried by yaks, asses, and ponies, from the great tea centre of Dartsendo (Ta-chien-lu) in Western China, many hundreds of miles over the mountains to Central and Western Tibet ... As trade in Tibet is chiefly by exchange or barter, and comparatively few articles are paid for in cash, bricks of tea are often used as a convenient currency instead of money, being in such universal demand, whilst, at the same time, they are limited in production, fairly portable, and of nearly uniform size".44

Of the use of brick tea as a type of currency, Rockhill writes: "In most parts of the country money is but little used, the people bartering for most of the things they require. Brick tea is used to such an extent in their mercantile transactions that it is, for all practical purposes, a unit of value." He then goes on to say that "Salt, tsamba, boots in the Kokonor, pulo, cotton cloth, and even walnuts (in the Bat'ang country), are accepted without a murmur instead of silver, and in most places one or any of these articles are preferred to it".45

Butter is also a standard of value for nomads just as measures of barley are for Tibetan agriculturalists:

"Even when payment is not made in butter, the value of commodities and even currency are quoted in weight units of butter, for example, 2 pounds (Tibetan) of butter for a square cloth, or 5 pounds of butter for a Chinese silver dollar. It is, indeed, a currency based on its own utilitarian value in the economy. In technology, at its oldest oilest stage, when no longer acceptable as food, it is the universally used tanning agent for softening all the hides used in making many artefacts of a pack-and-saddle existence, and for all the sheepskins used for clothing. In social relationships it is the preferred gift in the reciprocal attitudes and responsibilities created by the gift-exchange system; in religious observances it is the universally preferred offering, because it fuels the millions of butter lamps in Tibetan shrines and temples".46

Clarke's 1986 report indicates that for the settlements in which he collected his data between 10 and 20 per cent of the annual milk yield was traded. Each dri was producing an average of 5-10 kg of butter per annum. One household investigated by Clarke owned 15 dri and they were said to produce 75 kg of butter per annum, half of which was traded, while the other half was consumed by members of the household.

Both traditional and recent taxation used to be in butter. At Namtsho it was 3.5 kg butter per milk animal before 1959; and it is alleged to be 10 kg of butter and 12 kg of cheese per milk animal per annum between 1959 and 1981 in some parts of Lhoka in southern Tibet."47

2.10 View through the gateway to Palkhor Choide Monastery, Gyantse. Photo: Schuyler Jones, Aug. 1986.
NOTES:

2. Nomads of Western Tibet: 41. The 3 volume reference work Information China (1989) edited by C. V. James with information provided by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences gives a population figure of 1,966,800 for 1984 (I: 37).
4. Goldstein & Beall: Nomads of Western Tibet: 41. They write that the Changtang is home to “about 25 % of the TAR’s total population of nearly two million people”. W. Zwalf writes that “The population of political Tibet seems to have fluctuated in recent times and estimates have varied. One puts the total number of inhabitants at about 1.5 millions before 1951 and 1.3 millions in 1971. A more recent figure is 1.7 millions.” Heritage of Tibet: 21.
6. The Tibetan term for pastoral nomads has been rendered by various writers in different ways: a’Brocc Pa’ (Ekvall), druk-pa (Bell), and drakha (Goldstein & Beall) to name but a few.
7. Fields on the Hoof: 12.
8. The black tent Pashu-speaking nomads of Afghanistan, for example, who traditionally moved with all their livestock between winter encampments in the Indus Valley and summer camps in North-West Afghanistan.
9. An interesting parallel example, well-documented by Nasif Shahmari, is found in the Wakhlan Corridor of North-East Afghanistan. See: The Kirkgis and Wakhi of Afghanistan.
10. What he says at one point in a discussion of “marginal societies” in Inner Asia is that “... a ‘pure’ or ‘strict’ steppe nomadism at any period of which we have any knowledge must have been more theoretical than actual; that the attainment of the ‘extreme’ of nomadism must always have been only approximate.” Inner Asian Frontiers of China, American Geographical Society Research Series No. 21: 518.
11. For more about markets and trading in Tibet see W. Zwalf: Heritage of Tibet: 23-4.
15. Die Nomaden in Tibet, op. cit.: 141-52. No information is provided to explain the research basis of these figures.
17. Nomads of Western Tibet: 80-3.
20. Ibid.
22. See, for example, Sandra Ott’s The Circle of Mountains, A Basque Shepherdin Community.
27. Inner Asian Frontiers of China: 517.
29. Ibid.
32. But see Ronge: Die Nomaden in Tibet, op. cit.: 146: “Wegen der ausgesprochenen Holzarzmut weiter Teile Innertibets erforden die Nomaden eine weitere Möglichkeit, um zu leichten und stabilen Zeltstangen zu gelangen. Die rohe Haut des wilden Yaks (‘bron’) wurde in lange Streifen geschnitten und mit Darmfasern zu Röhren zusammengenäht; diese füllte man mit feuchtem Sand und nährte ihre Enden zu. Über Nacht ließ man die Röhre gefrieren, das Eis dehnte sich aus und straffe die Lederhülle; anschließend trocknete sie in der prallen Sonne, bis die Haut ‘wie Stahl’ wurde. Nachdem der Sand entfernt worden war, hatte man eine leichte und haltbare Zeltstange zur Verfügung.”
33. Fields on the Hoof: 51.
34. Nomads of Western Tibet: 100.
35. This is the soft under wool of the Kashmir goat, used to make cashmere shawls and, as such, is a valuable commodity.
37. Sandberg, op. cit.: 147.
38. Ekvall, op. cit.: 68.
40. Fields on the Hoof: 55.
41. Ibid.: 69.
42. The People of Tibet: 121-2.
44. Ibasu and its Mysteries, with a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904: 353.
46. Ekvall: Fields on the Hoof: 60.
CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC PRODUCTION

Diet of the Pastoral Nomads

In their study of the *Nomads of Western Tibet*, M. C. Goldstein and C. Beall include a good deal of dietary information based on detailed and systematic observations carried out by them in Western Tibet roughly halfway between Lhasa and Mt. Kailash. Their study shows that the average caloric intake for nomads is two to four times higher in winter than in summer. This is due to the practice of slaughtering surplus livestock in Autumn and, consequently, a sharp increase in the consumption of meat and fat at that season. The study confirms that *tsamba* remains the nomads’ staple food and it shows that this parched barley flour contributes as much as half to three-fourths of the calories consumed in Summer and Autumn and one-fourth to one-half of the calories consumed in winter. Their study further shows that the annual adult consumption is approximately 175 pounds of *tsamba*, while children aged 5-14 consume about 160 pounds. In summer most caloric intake comes from milk products, while in winter the main source of calories is meat. Tibetan tea apparently provides little in the way of calories; its main contribution seems to be in the form of added salt. It was found that men consume from 7-10 grams of salt per day over and above that occurring naturally in the foods they eat, much of it derived from tea.

Anyone who has ever read an account of inner Asian exploration or Himalayan mountaineering will have at least a nodding acquaintance with the two main staples of the Tibetan diet referred to above: “hot buttered tea” and *tsamba*. Important as these foods are to their daily lives, pastoral nomads must obtain both tea and barley by trade, as their own economy produces neither.

Tibetan Tea

Tibetan tea is a subject which seems to have been dealt with by nearly every European traveller who ever visited Tibet and came away to write about it. Most have regarded it as a delightfully quaint subject. It seems that the interest and quaintness is derived almost entirely from the fact that the English word “tea” was ever used to describe this Tibetan drink in the first place. Take away the word tea, which invariably arouses false expectations in the mind of the European, and what remains is a not unpleasant hot drink which, in my experience, does much to revive the weary and hungry traveller.
One of the earliest accounts that we have regarding the Tibetan fondness for their own special brew comes to us from the Italian Father Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733) who arrived in Lhasa on March 18th, 1716 and remained in Tibet for five years. In his *Relazione* he writes:

“All drink *cià*, let us call it tea, many times a day. This is not made in the European or Chinese fashion; but into a large earthen pot (in the monasteries and convents a huge brass cauldron is used) they put the proper amount of tea with a little water and some *putoà*, which, as I have said before, is a white powder of salt earth, and imparts no taste to the tea, but colours it red like good red wine. The tea is boiled until the water is somewhat reduced, when it is beaten up with a whisk as we do chocolate for a long while until covered with froth. It is then strained, more water
is added and it is put on the fire again until it boils. Fresh milk is then poured in and good yellow butter with a little salt is added. The *cià* is put into another clean receptacle, again whipped up and then decanted into a wooden teapot ornamented with sprigs of copper and brass, and every one has three or four cups. A little is left in the last cup and then generally a few bits of melted butter are put in with a little sugar and some *ciurà* (chural), which is like grated cheese, and a little barley flour. These are kneaded together and either eaten or given to some animal. It really serves to clean and dry the cups. *Cià* thus prepared is drunk nearly all day long and is always served to visitors.4

The above description refers to one of two methods of making tea in Tibet. Subsequent European travellers also described one or both methods, usually singling out the one which involves the use of a churn, that being the most novel of the two in European eyes.

**Tsamba/Tsampa**

A number of 19th century and earlier accounts remark on the nature of the Tibetan diet and the extent to which barley forms one of its essential elements. Since they do not raise crops themselves, the pastoralists obtain barley from farming communities in exchange for butter, hides, cheese, or wool. The grain they receive is not used to make bread, but is parched over an open fire and then ground to make the barley-meal known as *tsampa*. Rockhill reports that:

"The flavor of the *tsamba* depends on the browning or roasting of the grain, and on the fineness of the meal. When it is too fine it is not considered good, nor is it liked when it is ground in a large water mill, although large quantities of it are prepared by the Chinese for the Kokonor Tibetans in this way ... The
meal when ready for use is kept in small bags (tsam kuk), some of cloth, others of red leather, the lower part of the bag being sometimes covered with marmot or leopard skin ...

The other articles of diet of these people are mutton and, occasionally, game, sour milk (sho or tarak), granulated cheese (chura), cream cheese (pima), the root of the potentilla anserina (chouma), and, occasionally, vermicelli (kua-mien) and wheaten cakes (palé or koró)¹.

In their 1986-88 study Goldstein and Beall confirm on the whole the information provided by their predecessors and offer a number of additional details:

"Preparation of [tsamba] begins with wetting the raw barley kernels and tossing them, a few handfuls at a time, onto sand which has been heated to a high temperature. A few seconds of tossing the kernels with the heated sand pops them without scorching since the sand diffuses the heat evenly. Pouring the mixture into a sieve separates the popped barley (called ṭrō) from the sand. For grinding, the popped kernels are fed through a hole in the center of the upper of two flat round stones making up the hand mill. Each of these stones weighs about 30-50 pounds and is about 15 inches in diameter. The resultant white ‘flour’, called tsamba, spills out from between the stones onto a large cloth or hide placed under the mill. Milling is done every other day or so because the nomads prepare only a small supply (a few pounds) at a time, preferring to eat ‘fresh-ground’ tsamba ... To make a more filling meal, Tibetans mix a little tea into their tsamba and knead it with their right hand, all the while turning the bowl with their left. The result is a stiff dough-like ball that is called ba".⁵

Some Tibetan Recipes

Among Prince Peter’s papers in the National Museum of Denmark there are a few pages of rough notes, written in English, giving some Tibetan recipes. He appears to have taken these down in dictation, translating from Tibetan to English as he did so, possibly intending to publish them later when he had collected others. These recipes are as follows:

"The Preparation of Momo: Momo is prepared from flour, meat, and onions, and then steamed. The flour paste is made by kneading it thoroughly with water. When it is well kneaded and is soft enough, make it into small pieces and flatten each with a roller. The meat must be chopped with onions and a little fat, adding a little salted water while chopping it. Put some meat, chopped onion pieces and fat on each piece of flattened pastry, close it and make its shape round or like three cornered pastry. Clean the steam cooker. Oil the plate which has many tiny holes to allow the steam inside to pass each pot. Place the momos in one after another, keeping a little space between each, thus filling the three pots. The fourth pot is for boiling water; it is not filled with water up to the brim, but only about half. When the water is boiling, the other pots are then put on top of it. Close them tight, not allowing the steam to pass out. The thinner the pastry the better the momo and the quicker they are cooked. Within half an hour it will be ready. Make sure the meat in the momo is well cooked in steam before serving. The momo should be taken with meat soup.

Butter-Tea: Either ball-tea or brick-tea may be used. Break the tea-ball into small pieces, add
The calves are tethered in the camp at night to prevent the cows, which will be milked in the morning, from wandering far from camp. Zoigü District, Sichuan Province. Photo: Bettina Kjæruhoff-Schmidt, 1990.

one or two spoons of soda on the tea-leaves. Put it in an earthen pot (which is the best) or in an aluminium pot with sufficient water for the number of persons to be served and bring it to the boil. Stir it when boiled with a scoop by taking it up and pouring it back in again and again till its full reddish-brown colour comes out. Then sieve the tea-water into another pot. If it is too thick, add some more boiled water. The lighter the tea-water the better it tastes. Bring it to the boil again, and then put it in a churn (or if the pot is big enough for stirring it strongly, it will serve the purpose), and add one piece of fresh butter and some milk or one egg. Then churn it or stir it thoroughly until all is well mixed and it has a good colour. Now add a little salt. If it tastes watery, some more salt should be added. Boil it again and serve.
Meat Soup: Usually a quantity of bony, fatty beef is used. This is cut into pieces and put into a pot with sufficient water and then covered and boiled until most of the fat is melted. Then add some pieces of onion, ginger, and sufficient salt and stock. It is decanted with a scoop, served in a big cup, and eaten with momos.

Barley Flour [tsampa]: To make tsampa first wash the barley grains, and then parch them on a layer of fine sand in a frying pan. Avoid burning them. Begin by heating a quantity of the sand, then add a few grains of barley at a time. If the frying pan has a long handle, shake it as soon as the barley-grains are added, so that they will not be burned. When the barley corns have been parched, empty the pan into a sieve to get rid of the sand. When all sand has been removed, grind the parched barley.

Dairy Products

The milk-producing animals herded by Tibetan pastoralists in the southwestern part of the country from which we have our most recent data are yak, sheep, and goats. The herders explain that while yak give milk all year round, sheep only provide milk for about three months in summer and goats for four and a half months. Goldstein and Beall measured the milk from one herder’s animals (115 goats and sheep and 11 yak) and found that they were yielding a total of “about seven gallons a day” in mid-summer, but less than one gallon each day in winter. The marked difference between milk yields in summer and winter thus encourages herders to adopt the common pastoralist strategy of converting the summer’s abundance of milk into a form in which it can be stored, i.e., butter and cheese, to provide food during the lean winter season.

It is the “women who milk the animals, make the yogurt, and churn the valuable butter. In summer (June through August), when sheep and goats are milked twice a day, the yield per animal is highest, and the largest number of animals are giving milk daily, dairy work may require 6 hours.”

Yoghurt

In his account of Tibetan food Rockhill does not use the word “yogurt”, but does refer briefly to sbo, describing it as “sour milk”. Hermanns uses the terms tarak and zho for sour milk and for yoghurt (“Tarak ist saure Milch, also Joghurt”). Ekvall’s experience in eastern Tibet was that yoghurt (sbo) is an extremely important part of the diet:

“Some of the daily yield of milk is immediately warmed and poured into special pails for the making of yoghurt. Even in a poor tent, every effort is made to have yoghurt for at least the evening meal, and tent hospitality is considered poor indeed, if it is not served to guests at any time throughout the day. It has an important place in the Tibetan system of omens, being the most auspicious of all foods and drinks, and is extensively used in religious offerings”.

Hermanns’ account also stresses the importance of yoghurt:

“Ein weiteres sehr beliebtes Milchprodukt is Zho (zho), Joghurt. Die Vollmilch wird stark eingekocht und neben dem Herd warm ge- stellt bei etwa 50°. Es wird das Säureferment Zho ra (zho ras) oder Ru ma (ru ma) bei-
3.4 Milking is almost exclusively women's work. In contrast to sheep and goats, the dri (yak cows) give milk all year round. Zoigu District, Sichuan Province. Photo: Bettina Jørgulf-Schmidt, 1990.

die Teeschalen gefüllt. Es ist sehr kühl und stark säuerlich, so daß die Poren der Zunge und des Gaumens zusammengezogen werden. Joghurt enthält 19.72 % Trockenmasse, 1.89 % Milchsäure, 5.03 % Fett, 5.13 % Eiweiß, 6.3 % Milchzucker und 1.19 % Asche. Das von den Nomaden aus Yakmilch gewonnene Zbo ist das allerbeste. In den Randgebieten stellen die Chinesen es aus gewöhnlicher Kuhmilch her. Dies ist jedoch meist laff und geschmack-
los; dabei noch stark verwässert. Zbo hat als diätetisches Nährmittel eine günstige Beeinflussung auf die Zersetzung des Darmes und wirkt dadurch lebenverlängernd. Es muß betont werden, daß Zbo keine Gärung durchmacht, also kein Alkohol entsteht, wie das ja auch beim Joghurt nicht der Fall ist. Das Säureferment ist meist etwas zersetzte Milch aus einem Milchgefäß.\textsuperscript{10}

Yoghurt-making among the \textit{drokha} of Western Tibet is also described by Goldstein and Beall in their 1986-88 study:

"...they first make yogurt the same way we do by bringing milk to a boil, cooling it somewhat, added a ‘starter’ and letting it sit covered overnight. By the following mid-morning they have a rich, tart, and smooth yogurt called \textit{sbo} ...\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Butter}

One of the most important products turned out by Tibetan pastoralists is butter. Not only is it an essential element of their diet, but it is also, along with wool, a most important trade item, being much in demand in the towns and farming communities. Goldstein and Beall report that pastoral families with large herds are careful to keep the yak (\textit{dri}) milk separate from other milk because from it is produced the preferred yellow butter, while butter made from sheep and goat milk is white in colour. Families with small herds mix all their milk together. As for the actual churning:

"An hour or so of lifting and plunging a wooden paddle in a chest-high wooden churn, about 12 inches in diameter standing alongside the tent, produces butter. In winter, when very little milk is obtained, two- to three-days’ worth of yogurt may be saved to process at one time, and churning is usually done in the tent in a container made from a sheep’s stomach. The churner blows air into the stomach to inflate it, pours in the yogurt, and then shakes it back and forth on her lap until the butter forms. The resultant butter, which is about 6.5% of the weight of yogurt, is sewn tightly into sheaths made from sheep’s stomachs where it stays fresh for about a year, enabling the nomads to spread the caloric value of their dairy products to the seasons when milk is scarce.\textsuperscript{12}

Ekvall describes the common method of butter storage in eastern Tibet, but in contrast to Goldstein and Beall, reports that it becomes rancid "very quickly":

"Churning completed, the buttermilk is squeezed out by hand and, without further washing, the butter is packed away in sheep stomachs or leather bags. No salt is added, and the butter begins to get rancid very quickly; residual buttermilk in the folds turning green within a few hours and hastening the process ... Parenthetically, here it should be said that the storied preference of the Tibetans for rancid butter is a story and not a fact. Like anyone with taste buds, they too prefer fresh butter, but there is not much of it, and that little is in the butterboxes of the nomadic pastoralists.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Cheese}

The making of a kind of cottage cheese is a routine part of dairy production among the nomads
studied by Goldstein and Beall as well as those in the North-East studied by Hermanns and Ekvall, but is not as important either socially or economically as the production of butter.

"Cheesemaking follows buttermaking. The buttermilk is heated to form curds from which the whey is drained through a haircloth bag. What results, called 'wet' cheese, is much like cottage cheese. Some of the daily making is eaten in that state, but most of it is spread out on haircloth in the sun and rubbed into crumbs as fine as possible; when dried it has the feel of coarse sand and can be stored for a season or two. In certain localities whole milk, instead of buttermilk, is used to make a richer cheese: shaped into hard round cakes, with holes in the middle so they can be strung on a cord, this cheese is so hard it must be cooked in stews. Both sheep and yak or mDzo Mo milk are usually put together in making butter and cheese, but there is a preference for yak-milk butter and sheep-milk cheese".11

"After the butter is removed from the yogurt, the left over liquid ('buttermilk') is boiled and..."
strained to yield a cheese that, when fresh, resembles crumbly white farmer's cheese. This represents another 23 % of the weight of the yogurt. A little cheese is consumed fresh, but most is sun-dried into rock-hard bits and stored for use in winter and spring.”

Hermanns makes the point that proper rennet cheese is not made by Tibetan nomads ("Die Tibetener kennen diese Käsebereitung nicht"), although it is well known among the neighbouring Mongols and Turkic-speaking peoples of the North and North-West. He regards this as evidence that the Tibetans stem from an altogether different cultural and historical background.

The “rock-hard” nature of this chura is also remarked upon by Prince Peter who mentions that it melts only very slowly in the mouth and is liable to break teeth if chewed.
Spinning and Weaving

It is common in pastoral communities to find both Tibetan men and women spinning yarn. Not to be idle when something useful can be done, they carry a small bundle of wool or yak hair with them and twist the yarn as they walk along herding their livestock, or on their way to market, or at any other convenient time. The spindle, which is 25-30 cm long, consists of a straight wooden dowel with a notch or hook at the top end in which the yarn is caught, and, at the bottom end, a disc of clay, stone, or wood 5-7.5 cm in diameter. Sometimes the spindle whorl disc is replaced by two sticks set at right angles. At the monastery of Sakye I watched a small group of men and women all talking and spinning as they walked along toward the neighbouring village. And in Gyantse while waiting for a bus at dawn near an irrigation channel bordered by willow trees, I wrote:
inch thick and ten or twelve inches long. We have also seen women using the more universal type of spindle which consists of a slender dowel with a solid wooden or stone spindle-whorl disc three inches across on the bottom.

Although they both mention weaving and looms, neither Rockhill nor Ekvall actually explain what type of loom is used. A drawing in Ekvall's book Fields on the Hoof shows what is clearly a backstrap loom, but the text says nothing about it. Rockhill writes that:

"The loom usually used in Tibet is of extreme simplicity; it is also in use in Mongolia and generally in the border country of northern China. The warp, which is hardly ever over 10 inches to a foot broad and about 40 to 50 feet long, is fastened to the ground by large pegs at either end; the weaver squats over this and pushes the balls of thread through the warp; two or three blows from a heavy wooden batten are given on each thread of the woof, and the alternate threads of the woof are kept separated by two small sticks and the batten itself. The part of the warp near the weaver is kept raised to a convenient height from the ground by either a little rounded piece of wood raised on feet and placed under it, or else by a big stone ... In this primitive fashion the material for the black hair tents of the pastoral tribes is woven, and also the woolen material used to make clothes, boot-linings, bags, etc."

This may or may not be a backstrap loom, but the above phrase about the warp being "fastened to the ground by large pegs at either end" (my italics) suggests that it is not. Rockhill also goes on to say that:
"In some parts of the country a rude vertical loom (called, I believe, *tag-tan* written *htag-stan*) is used, but, as far as my unpracticed eye could discern, it showed no material difference in the mode of weaving from that above described ... The woof in the vertical looms is wrapped around two rollers so that the weaving may be done in a confined space ... This loom has unquestionably been borrowed from China".20

Ekvall, in one of his more obscure passages, refers in a paragraph about weaving to the employment of "a primitive hand technique" and goes on to describe "an over-under shift [which] gives the product different recto and verso surfaces," but says nothing whatever about the loom itself.21

Hermanns writes that:


It would appear from the above passage that a frame loom is being described. Among F. Spencer Chapman’s photographs in the Archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, there is a picture, reproduced here (*Fig. 4, 10, p. 100*), of a woman using a backstrap loom. Also accompanying this text is his photograph of a Tibetan woman using a four heddle frame loom.23 In Olson’s catalogue it is noted that "In the eastern borderlands, long belts are woven on a loom of the rod heddle type, one end of which is tied to a post or tree, while the band at the other end is passed around the weaver’s waist, thereby holding the loom taut. This type of loom is also employed for weaving boot-garters".24 Here it is clear that we do have a backstrap loom.

Goldstein and Beall show a colour photograph of a Tibetan nomad woman weaving a length of striped multi-coloured woollen cloth on a backstrap loom and they write that such looms are "used by women to weave bags, clothes, or belt fabric".25

Veronika Ronge writes that:

"Die Wölle für den Eigenbedarf wurde von Männern und Frauen gleichermaßen gesponnen, aber nur die Frauen webten auf dem Litzenstabwebgerät naturfarbene Stoffbahnen für Sommerchubas oder schwarz-rot gestreifte Schürzen. Sie stellten außerdem Packtaschen und die schmalen Bahnen aus Yakhaar dar, die von den Männern zum großen Zelt zusammengenäht oder für Flickarbeiten verwendet wurden".26

**Felt and Felt-Making**

Felt is not only an important product made and used by nomads, but any surplus they may have is eagerly accepted by traders as it finds a ready market in towns and villages. Felt making is therefore an important activity for every nomad family and part of the wool obtained from every shearing will be used for this purpose, just as some will be set aside and later tied up in bundles to sell. The wool to be used in felt making is carefully selected. Ekvall notes that two rather different kinds of felt are made by nomads in Eastern Tibet.
One simply involves spreading the fleeces out, pulling and stretching them until they are considered to be of the right thickness, and then proceeding to the felting process without any further preparation. The felt thus produced is soft, smooth on the sheared side, and shaggy on the other. It is mostly used for making clothing. The second type of felt involves more labour as the wool is cleaned, carded, and carefully spread out before being felted. The felting process itself is very similar to that widely used by pastoralists throughout Central Asia. The wool is spread out on a woven mat, soaked with water, and then tightly rolled up in the mat. It is then repeatedly rolled back and forth with more water being added at intervals. The felt thus produced is flexible and light weight, being a little less than one centimetre thick.  

Felt is mostly used by Tibetans as protection against rain and cold. Among other things, some pastoralists make a large felt coat which is fashioned so that when the wearer is riding, "it covers him, his weapons, saddle gear and saddle-bags, and half the horse".  

Rockhill appears to be describing the same item of clothing when he...
speaks of "rain coats made of felt" and "A circular cape of felt" which "is especially useful on horseback, covering not only the rider but the horse completely, and is large enough to enable the wearer to wrap himself in it and sleep well protected without any other covering".²⁹

An examination of almost any collection of Tibetan material culture reveals the importance that felt and felt making has for life on the Tibetan plateau. Among its other uses it is employed for the making of hats, bedding, rugs, saddle blankets, clothing, and boots. It is needed to such an extent by every pastoralist family that little of it reaches the market. Consequently it is always in demand.

In a brief discussion of occupations and the division of labour in Tibet Rockhill writes that:

"In all parts of Tibet, whether among the pastoral tribes or in the towns and villages, the women not only do most of the household work, but they attend to much of the bartering, make the butter, assist in milking the cows and looking after the flocks and go on the ula."⁷⁰ The men, aided by the women, work in the fields, or go on distant journeys, hiring out their yaks or mules to carry freight, or hiring themselves out as mule or yak drivers to merchants or to some neighboring lamasery. Those who remain in their town or village sometimes follow a trade which occupies them during a small portion of their time. Some are smiths, working silver, copper, or iron, and, when needs be, becoming carpenters, gunsmiths, or locksmiths; others, again, occupy themselves, when industriously inclined, twisting yarn, weaving garters, or making felt. In the towns nearly all shops are kept by women".³¹

That account, although written more than a century ago, is still remarkably accurate.

NOTES:

1 Goldstein & Beal: Nomads of Western Tibet: 115.
2 Also Tsam Ba (Ekvall), Tsamba (Rockhill), or Tsam pa (Hermanns) = parched barley flour.
4 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: 702. Rockhill describes sbo as "sour milk", but Hermanns, Goldstein & Beal all translate it as "yoghurt".
5 Nomads of Western Tibet: 28.
6 Ibid.: 107.
7 Ibid.: 90.
8 Die Nomaden von Tibet: 70.
9 Ekvall: Fields on the Hoof: 60.
11 Nomads of Western Tibet: 87.
12 Ibid.: 87.
13 Ibid.
14 Ekvall: Fields on the Hoof: 59-60.
15 Goldstein & Beal: Nomads of Western Tibet: 87-8.
16 A Study of Polyandry: 411.
17 Die Nomaden von Tibet: 70.
20 Ibid.: 609.
21 Fields on the Hoof: 63.
22 Die Nomaden von Tibet: 45.
23 Another four heuddle loom can be seen in D. N. Tsarong’s book What Tibet Was: 63.
25 Nomads of Western Tibet: 101.
26 Die Nomaden in Tibet, in: Müller & Raunig (eds.): Der Weg zum Dach der Welt: 143.
28 Fields on the Hoof: 64.
29 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: 685.
30 A system whereby villagers and townfolk are required to provide pack animals or saddle ponies, food, and other facilities to officials who may be travelling through their district. See Rockhill: Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: 680.
31 Ibid.: 682.
CHAPTER IV

CRAFTWORK, TENT-MAKING, AND DOMESTIC ARTEFACTS

Mention was made earlier of the problems which sometimes arise in attempting to determine the origin of individual items of material culture from the Tibetan region. Problems in this regard stem from the fact that Tibetan craftsmen, Tibetan products, and Tibetan cultural influences are found over a much larger area than that demarcated by the political boundaries of present day Tibet. As noted earlier, W. Zwalf refers to this greater area as “cultural Tibet”.¹ It covers large parts of the Sichuan and Qinghai Provinces of China, its influences are readily seen in the material culture of Mongolia, it extends into Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and Ladakh, as well as Northern India. All these areas have been linked with Central Tibet for centuries by trade routes. In addition to the travels of Tibetan craftsmen and merchants, we know that from an early period Nepalese craftsmen also travelled and worked in Tibet. Techniques, ideas, and goods and services thus both flowed into and out of Tibet over a very long period, often making it difficult to identify with certainty the origin of many artefacts. So pervasive has the long-standing practice been of craft-workers and merchants from other countries working and settling in the towns of Tibet that there seems little doubt but that large numbers of Tibetan artefacts in our museums were made by non-Tibetans, probably Nepalese. I am not suggesting that this matters; from the point of view of the development of arts and crafts, both sides have benefitted from this history. In the first decade of this century Sandberg noted that in Lhasa there were large communities of Nepalese silver and goldsmiths who were engaged in the jeweller’s trade, and that Nepalis were not only the chief metal-workers of the city, but also the chemists and dyers, while Kashmiris were the wool and cloth merchants, the main importers of foreign goods, and the currency dealers.² In the 1980s I found that a substantial number of the shops in Lhasa were owned and operated by Nepali businessmen. Despite protracted periods of isolation as far as Europeans were concerned, Lhasa, it seems, has long been a surprisingly cosmopolitan town. Today all this coexists with the products of China’s immense manufacturing capability which has put large quantities of domestic consumer goods in shops even in the remotest areas so that it is common to find a wide variety of textiles, clothing, tools, household goods and equipment of all kinds, radios, watches, tape recorders, television sets, calculators, sewing machines, and other goods on sale. These Chinese imports have not yet succeeded in displacing more than a part of the traditional Tibetan arts and crafts, however, as there continues to
4.1 Tibetan nomad woman met on the road to Lhasa.
Photo: Lis Jones.
1986.
be a demand for Tibetan skills and Tibetan products. Many of the goods they are now getting from China came to Tibet earlier from either India (e.g., cotton cloth), or China (silk) in any case.

It is clear from numerous accounts that a major craft centre, particularly for metal work, was located in Eastern Tibet at Derge. Of this Rockhill writes that “Derge is especially famous throughout Tibet for the excellence of its metal-work.

The swords, guns, tea-pots, tinder-boxes, seals, bells, etc., made there command high prices wherever they are offered for sale; its saddles are also the best in eastern Tibet, where those from Lit'ang hold the second place in popular favor”. Derge or Derge dron-cher (Sder-gi grong-k'yer, “the city of Derge”) lies some 25 km east of the Yangtse in Western Sichuan Province. It is about 500 km north-west of Chengdu and approximately 750 km north-east of Lhasa. Theo Sørensen describes Derge as “the largest
State in Eastern Tibet” and reports that it had, in the 1920s, a population of 40,000 families, mostly nomads. Although he held a low opinion of the nomads in this region, he describes the villagers as the most industrious people of eastern Tibet. He locates the craft centre of Derge for the making of teapots, saddles, swords, and guns in the Harbo district, but points out that “there is no special village or place where this work is done; it is a home industry, carried on by individual farmers in the Harbo district in their spare moments”. It may be added that there is also at the time of this present writing an important traditional Tibetan metal-working centre at Kumbum Monastery near Xining in Qinghai Province specializing in jewellery and the large gilded metal ornaments used to decorate the roofs of Tibetan monasteries.

In an earlier section we sketched an outline of some of the features of the domestic level of production, noting that in the pastoral nomad economy it is the herds which provide the family with the raw materials needed for food, domestic crafts, and trade. In addition to warm clothing, one of the most important items of material culture is the family tent. Perhaps the most famous description of the Tibetan nomad tent is that given by Father Régis-Evariste Huc (1813-60) whose travels in China, Mongolia, and Tibet (1844-46) took him across the Tibetan Plateau to Lhasa and later east to Chengdu. He wrote:

“The Sifan, or Eastern Tibetans, are nomads, like the Tartar-Mongols, and pass their lives solely occupied in the care of their flocks and herds. They do not live, however, like the Mongol tribes, in huts covered with felt. The great tents they construct with black linen [i.e. cloth] are ordinarily hexagonal in form; within you see neither column nor wood-work supporting the edifice; the six angles below are fastened to the ground with nails, and these above are supported by cords which, at a certain distance from the tent, rest horizontally on strong poles, and then slope

to the ground, where they are attached to large iron rings. With all this strange complication of sticks and strings, the black tent of the Tibetan nomads bears no slight resemblance to a great spider standing motionless on its long lanky legs, but so that its great stomach is resting on the ground. The black tents are by no means comparable with the tents of the Mongols: they are not a whit warmer or more solid than ordinary travelling tents. They are very cold, on the contrary, and a strong wind knocks them down without the least difficulty ... When they have selected an encampment, they are accustomed to erect around it, a wall of from four to five feet high, and within their tents they construct furnaces, which are destitute neither of taste nor of solidity.  

4. Kitchen utensils, both in kind of wood, metal, and earthenware. The tall wooden brass-bound cylinder of the tea-churn is an indispensable part of household or tenthold equipment in Tibet. Photo: Sir Charles Bell, 1920. Archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
The spider-like appearance of the Tibetan nomad tent has been noted by a great many travellers since, probably because they have all read their Huc. Detailed descriptions of these tents are provided by Rockhill (1895: 701-2), Feilberg (1944: 100-6), Hermanns (1949: 48-51), and Ekvall (1968: 61, 63). Useful photographs of similar tents are to be found in Goldstein & Beall's book Nomads of Western Tibet and Wilhelm Filchner's Om Mani Padme Hum.

Ideally, an anthropologist in Tibet making ethnographic collections for a museum would, in addition to purchasing a nomad tent, also seek to acquire and document all its contents. More often than not this "ideal" is impossible to achieve. Not surprisingly, a nomad family may be unwilling to sell not only their tent, but all their possessions as well, excluding livestock. The ethnographic museum does draw the line at livestock, but endeavours to collect everything else. The reason for
this is that the more complete a collection and its documentation, the more valuable it will be for future scholarly research. Fortunately Prince Peter was able to acquire a number of artefacts which one would normally expect to find in a nomad tent, and the same can be said for several others who gave Tibetan artefacts to the National Museum of Denmark. Thus it would be possible from the museum’s collections to reconstruct fairly accurately for study or display purposes an approximation of what the contents of this tent might have been. From 19th and 20th century accounts we have a number of descriptions of the interior furnishings of Tibetan nomad tents both by foreign travellers and Tibetans.

“...In the center of the tent is a long, narrow stove made of mud and stones, with a fire-place in one end and a flue passing along its whole length, so that several pots may be kept boiling at the same time. These stoves, in which only manure is burnt, have sufficient draft to render the use of bellow needless, and are altogether a most ingenious contrivance. Around the walls of the tent are piled up skin bags, in which the occupants keep their food, saddles, felts, and innumerable odds and ends, of which only the owner knows the use and value. A small stone mortar for pounding tea, a hand-mill or quern for grinding parched barley, one or two copper kettles and a brass ladle complete the furniture of the abodes of both rich and poor. The inmates sleep on bits of felt laid on the ground, using their clothes as covering; they consequently sleep naked.”

And here is a more recent description, this time by a Tibetan writer:

“At the entrance a fire pit is dug, and over this a stove is built to hold two or three large cooking pots. Close by is a box containing the barley flour we call tsampa on one side, with cheese and butter on the other so that when tea is made, the butter and tsampa are ready to serve with it. Four or five feet away is a low table, twelve inches high, and around this the family sit on sheepskins for their meals. Between the stove and the table is an open space where people just sit and talk. All around the walls are wooden chests and yakskin bags containing personal belongings and food stores”.

David Jackson, in a reference to nomad tents in northeastern Tibet, writes:

“...Most of them were not, as we might first suppose, poor or sparsely furnished; on the contrary, they were actually portable and completely furnished houses. Inside could be found low tables, boxes, baskets, pots and other cooking utensils, braziers, bowls and covered tea cups, churns, mills, looms, leather storage bags and still more – all the products of one craftsman or another. The most important spot in the nomadic family’s tent was the Buddhist shrine, a carefully tended wooden altar on which were arranged the family’s sacred images, often contained within intricately crafted silver reliquaries (ga’u). Over the altar hung sacred scroll paintings, and before the shrine silver offering bowls and flickering butter lamps were placed.

“For almost everything made of wood or metal, the nomads depended on outside craftsmen, and because of the remoteness and dangers of nomadic life, they had to rely
especially on those who made and repaired weapons. Without craftsmen not only would the nomad's tent have been almost empty, but his very survival would have been impossible.11

In his last remark Jackson expresses what is perhaps a common misunderstanding of the economic system he is describing. Certainly, as discussed in Chapter II, the lives of Tibet's nomads would have been made much more difficult had they lacked access to the many products made by village craftsmen, but to assert that their very survival depended upon this trading relationship is to miss an important point about pastoral nomads in general: their extraordinary adaptability, and the many ingenious ways in which they solve practical problems. The truth is that, like people everywhere, Tibetan nomads are constantly making economic choices. They find it convenient to
get many of the things they need from craftworkers in towns and villages, just as the craftworkers find this exchange relationship a convenient way to get the butter, cheese, hides, felt, and wool they need, but do not produce themselves. Should the patterns of trade relationships become disrupted, as they no doubt have countless times in the past, then there may be temporary hardships, but soon some new arrangement will be made and things will continue much as before. The cultural resilience of a traditional way of life should not be underestimated.

To a significant extent all the efforts of the Chinese Government to organize, modify, or even eliminate the traditional economic systems of minority peoples living within its boundaries have produced little in the way of practical results, other than social, economic, and political hardships for the people concerned. What government schemes usually overlook, and there are hundreds of examples world-wide, is the fact that local economic practices are a result of centuries of trial and error experiences combined with an encyclopaedic knowledge of the environment. They know what to do, they know when to do it, and they know how to do it. And the proof that they are right is plain to see: they are still there, pitching their tents and herding their livestock in an unpromising and unforgiving landscape.

Nomad Tent

1. Tent 4.10-14

The nomad yak hair tent which Prince Peter obtained from Tibet for the National Museum is incomplete, having arrived in Copenhagen without its constituent poles and guy ropes. We can therefore only give a description of the tent cloth, or velum, which is in two parts. The tent itself is typical of its time and place, that is, it is made in a traditional style of traditional materials, though in size it might be described as medium-small. Although these black yak hair tents are still a common sight, more and more nomads since the 1970s are making use of white canvas tents produced in Lhasa, at least during the summer months.

Tibetan nomad tent, woven of dark brown yak hair, and consisting of two quasi trapezium shaped halves, each made up of thirty-two cloths sewn together. The width of the individual cloths is quite uniform, averaging 28-35 cm, but they vary greatly in length, ranging from 65 to 360 cm to achieve the desired tent shape. The central section of each tent half is made up of ten cloths sewn together to make a rectangle c. 328 x 368 cm in size, the cloths being arranged so that they lie at right angles to the ridge pole when the tent is erected. The tent ends, sewn to either side of this rectangle, have been made by sewing ten similar cloths to each other, but in attaching them to the central panel they have been placed so that the cloths lie at right angles to those of this central section, i.e., parallel to the ridge pole of the tent. The seams between the cloths lying parallel to one another are made by turning the edges upward to lie together, and then oversewing them, so that the stitches are all on the top surface. There are 5 mm between stitches and the seaming thread is doubled, S-spun.

The two halves of the velum join together by a system of short ropes of which there are eleven on each half, attached at the seams where two cloths join. On one half of the velum these ropes end in loops while on the other they end in wooden toggles which are 5-9 cm long and c. 1 cm in diameter, designed to pass through the loops. When
joined together this arrangement of short ropes, loops, and toggles leaves an opening c. 40 cm wide down the middle of the tent. This opening lies over and along the tent ridge pole, or rope if no ridge pole is used. It admits light into the interior, allows smoke to escape, and it can be closed against rain or snow by a woven yak hair flap 30 cm wide and 355 cm long which has been sewn along the top edge of one half of the central section of the velum for this purpose.

Length: (a) 875 cm; (b) 713 cm
Width: (a) 357 cm; (b) 370 cm
Accession no. R.312 a-h

Although the poles and guy ropes are missing from this tent, there is little doubt but that tents of this type often, if not always, made use of an internal wooden ridge pole which would have been c. 330 cm long, and this would have been supported by two poles, one at either end, inside the tent, all other tent supports being external. Having said this, the tent can, and no doubt often was, put up without making use of the horizontal ridge pole. Its place was sometimes taken by a long yak hair rope anchored well outside, opposite either end of the tent, and made to pass up over a vertical external pole, one at the front and another at the back, before passing downwards through the tent ends at front and back and then sharply upwards again to pass over the tops of the two vertical interior poles. It is interesting to
note that the distance between the peg and the vertical external pole at both front and back is often as great as the length of the tent itself. Once in place this rope fulfills the function of a ridge pole, but it is neither as strong nor as stable as the horizontal pole. It may be that the tent is erected in this way when the stay is brief, while the horizontal ridge pole might be used for a longer stay. This, of course, implies that the tent is easier and quicker to put up if the ridge pole is left out, but I have no evidence that this is true. Not carrying the extra pole would save weight and suitable poles are never readily available to Tibetan nomads, so it may often be the case that the tent is used one pole short.\textsuperscript{15}

The trapezium shape of each half of the tent gives it its characteristic hexagonal shape when the two halves are joined and the tent erected. In order to provide a more roomy interior some means had to be found for increasing the separation of the lateral walls, as an A-shaped cross-section would provide adult standing room only along the space under the ridge. What was needed was a mansard-shaped cross section. This is achieved by a system of five ropes fastened at intervals by toggles to each of the two walls lying parallel to the ridge, and about 130-140 cm down from the top of the tent. Of these, the centre three ropes on each side join to form a single rope which is run out at right angles to the axis of the tent to pass up over a vertical pole outside the tent and down to a
Front of cloth tent A

Front of cloth tent B

Tent
Back of cloth tent A

Back of cloth tent B

The two remaining ropes, one on either side of the central three, are also run out to external poles and then pegged down to the ground. Proper adjustment of pole and pegging in each case gives the desired pull on the tent wall, creating additional space inside the tent. As the strain on the tent wall is considerable at the points where these ropes are attached, and there is a danger of the toggles tearing out in windy conditions, two thick bands of woven goat hair some 10 cm wide are attached, one on each tent half, on the inside. The ten ropes, five on each side, with their wooden toggle ends, are passed through holes in the tent wall and on through holes in the goat hair band, so that the latter takes the strain. On the example collected by Prince Peter, these goat hair bands are very long; they are attached to the edges of both the entrance and the end sections, and then cross the lateral walls where they are held in place by the wooden toggles. All along the bottom edges of the sides and ends short yak hair ropes ending in loops have been sewn so that the tent can be pegged down all round.

In general this tent is closely similar to that described by Rockhill and a number of other observers cited in C. G. Feilberg's *La tente noire,* and in Father Évariste-Régis Huc's description, quoted above, he mentions that "neither col-

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4.16 Traditional black yak hair tent made up of woven strips sewn together. The tent is made in two separate halves which join together along the top ridge, leaving an opening for smoke to escape in good weather, but with a flap which can be closed in case of rain or snow. Zoigu District, Sichuan Province. Photo: Bettina Kjærulf-Schmidt, 1990.

4.15 (pp. 104-5) Tibetan nomad camp on the high plateau near Zoigu, some 3,500 m above sea level. Sichuan Province. Photo: Bettina Kjærulf-Schmidt, 1990.
4.17 Cat. nos. 2-3. Wooden bowls.

Tibetan pastoralists are entirely self-sufficient as regards the production of the traditional tent dwelling. Their herds produce the raw materials, in this case yak hair, both men and women spin it, and the women weave it into strips which are usually between 26 and 35 cm wide and as long as may be required for the particular part of tent on which they are working. It is the men who sew the finished strips together to make the tent velum.

Having been spun using drop spindles, the cloth for the tent is usually woven only from the long black hair of yak steers. Unlike spinning and sewing, weaving is done only by women, and in making tent cloth they are adept at producing a heavy and closely woven product which is reasonably waterproof when new and which becomes more so with use.

Domestic Utensils

The artefacts described here might be found in any domestic setting in Tibet, whether tent, village dwelling, or town house. Equally, they might also be found in a monastery. They have been made
by carvers, turners, metalworkers and other town or village craftworkers specializing in the making of some traditional product which is in demand. The little shops and street markets of any Tibetan town display a wide variety of such products.

2. 4.17 Wooden bowl

An orange coloured wooden bowl (a) with lid (b), both turned of birch. The grain of the wood forms swirls and streaks all over the surface, both inside and outside.

Height: 6 cm; height with lid: 9.2 cm; diameter: 12.5 cm
Accession no. R.261 a-b

3. 4.17 Wooden bowl

A yellowish-orange wooden bowl (a) with lid (b) carved or turned out of birch. The lid has rounded shoulders and rises some 4 cm above the top of the bowl rim. Being very finely turned, the lid fits the bowl exactly, having an inner edge that extends nearly 1 cm down into the bowl. The grain of the root gives an overall varied pattern of swirls and darker spots. This bowl is very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 2 (Fig. 4.17), except that it is larger.

Height: 6.5 cm; height with lid: 10.7 cm; diameter: 14.5 cm
Accession no. R.262 a-b

4. Wooden bowl

A turned wooden bowl, painted dark red with designs in black. Inside the bowl, in the bottom centre, is a round black circle 4.5 cm in diameter, with two red brush strokes making the yin-yang symbol. The outer rim is painted with scalloped diamond-shaped designs all round, black on red, while the main body of the bowl is painted with lotus petal designs. Again, black on red. Cf. Cat. no. 5 (Fig. 4.18).

Height of bowl: 10.7 cm; diameter: 24.2 cm
Accession no. R.263

5. 4.18 Wooden bowl

A wooden bowl, virtually identical in every respect to Cat. no. 4; a matched pair.

Accession no. R.264
6. **4.19 Wooden bowl**

A turned and painted wooden *tsamba* bowl with a high domed cover in a dark dull yellow colour with a pinkish-orange band round the base, the top of the bowl, and the top of the cover. Eight round abstract *shon* designs, four on the sides of the bowl, and four on the cover, have been painted on in green. The grain of the wood is hidden under the painted surfaces, and on those which are unpainted, such as the inside of the bowl and cover, it cannot be seen because of tool marks from the turning. It is thus not possible to identify the wood beyond saying that it is light in colour and light in weight. A lotus flower has been painted on the top of the cover in red and pink inside a circle of green.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

- Height: 9.2 cm; height with cover: 15 cm; diameter: 17.5 cm
- Accession no. C.1349

**Water Containers**

Women carrying water in the long narrow wooden barrels in use throughout Tibet for that purpose, rest the bottom of the barrel on the thick folds of their gown gathered above the waist, and passing a strap around the top of the barrel and across their breasts, thus ascend the steepest hills, their arms folded before them.

7. **Stave bucket**

A round wooden stave bucket from Shigatse consisting of thirteen slightly curved pieces 28 cm long, 1.5 cm thick, and ranging in width from 5 cm to 13.5 cm. The round wooden bottom (in three pieces) is c. 30-31 cm in diameter. Each of the components making up the side has a 1.25 cm wide mortice cut across it 3.5-4.5 cm up from the bottom end. This mortice receives the edge of the round wooden bottom. An iron hoop, slightly oval in shape, and reinforced with rawhide binding all round its circumference, measures 32 or 34 cm in diameter depending on how measured. These have been fitted round the top of the bucket just below the rim. An iron ring has been fastened near the tops of two of the staves on opposite sides of the bucket and these are connected by a rope handle. The rope has broken near one fastening and the break has been repaired with a strip of rawhide.

- Height: 28 cm; diameter: 33.5 cm
- Accession no. R.376
8. Water jar

A copper water jar with lid and spout, but no handle. Tip of spout has a 2.25 cm long silver collar on it with a small drop-shaped setting for a turquoise bead, but the stone is missing. The only other ornamentation is a copper collar around the base of the spout with a triangular plaque appended which runs down to within 2.5 cm of the base. This device, 6.5 cm wide and 8 cm long, is of repoussé copper with intertwined leaf design. The remainder of the surface of the jar is undecorated.

Purchased by Halfdan Siger in Kalimpong in 1919-20.

Height: 35 cm, width: 20 cm

Accession no. R 168,169

Milk Containers

In Tibet animal horns (hr) are used as containers for a variety of liquids and powders: beer, spirits, gunpowder, snuff, etc. There are several in the National Museum collections. As Robert Finlay notes: “Little of the butchered animal is discarded. Sheep and beef skull, carefully cut from the legs, is set aside to dry, the heads are stacked for later use, and even the best horns are treasured” 15

9. Yak horn container

Yak horn with a shiny black surface. The open end is oval shaped, 11.5 x 9.25 cm in size, with an iron rim 2 cm broad held in place by two rivets and further secured by four thin iron straps set at 90 degrees to each other and extending downwards from the iron rim for a distance of 8.5-9.5 cm, each with a leaf-shaped tip, in the centre of which is an iron rivet fastening the strap to the body of the horn. Measured along the spiral the horn is 91 cm long. Four cm back from the tip a deep square notch 1.5 x 2 cm has been cut. In the centre of this recess a hole has been cut through the horn and a split iron pin resembling a cotter pin has been inserted to hold an iron ring 1.5 cm in diameter. A black leather strap 60 cm long has been fastened to this ring. The other end of the

4.21 Cat. no. 10. Yak horn container.
CRAFTWORK, TENT-MAKING, AND DOMESTIC ARTEFACTS

10. 4.21 Yak horn container

Yak horn very similar to Cat. no. 9 with a shiny black surface. Iron rim and leather carrying strap as described above, except that the horn is shorter when measured along the spiral. Otherwise a matched pair.

Length: 81 cm
Accession no. R.269

11. 4.20 Milk pail

Wooden milk pail with an iron hoop 2.7 cm wide round the top edge and another round the base. Two large cotter pins have been driven through the wooden sides just below the uppermost iron hoop, one on either side, and the eye of the pin holds an iron ring to which is fastened a leather strap c. 70 cm long as a carrying handle. On one side, in addition to the leather strap, the iron ring holds a thong to which is attached a short curved goat or sheep horn, plus two lengths of goat’s-hair rope made of white and dark brown yarn, one length

Other Horn Containers

12. 4.23 Cow horn container

Black cow horn container measuring 31.5 cm along the curve with the larger oval-shaped end measuring 6 x 7 cm. This end has been very neatly closed with a tightly fitting piece of wood 1 cm thick which is held in place by wooden pins which have been tapped in through the horn all round the top edge at c. 1.5 cm intervals. 12 in all. A hole 1.75 cm across has been cut into the centre of this and closed with a carved wooden stopper. The surface of the horn has been carved with four bands of geometrical designs 1.5 cm broad altogether round the larger end. Scattered over the rest of the surface of the horn down to
4.23 Cat. no. 12. Cow horn container.

The tip are other pictographs. One, 12 cm high, is of a thunderbolt. The tip of the horn has been carved so as to make a bent angle and what may be intended to represent the body of a scorpion has been carved on the outer curve of the horn so that the bent tip becomes the scorpion's tail. Three small holes have been cut through the horn 5.5 cm below the tip. Two of them have been plugged with wooden pegs. Container may have been for gunpowder.

Purchased by Halfdan Siiger in Kalimpong in 1949-50.

Length: 31.5 cm; diameter: 7 cm

Accession no. R.145

13. 4.22 Cow horn container

A dark brown cow horn, elaborately carved in fine detail and probably used for gunpowder. The larger end is closed by a thick piece of skin stretched with a rawhide thong through holes cut in the rim of the horn. The point has been cut from the tip and the resulting small opening, 1 cm across, closed with a stopper made of horn which fits very tightly. Just below, a hole has been cut through the horn 1.5 cm below the end and a leather thong 12.5 cm long passed through and split lengthwise part way on either side of the horn to make a fastening. The surface of the horn has been elaborately carved in great detail, the most prominent feature being a horned demon face 6.5 cm high. Below it are entwined snakes and further down toward the larger end of the horn, an array of religious symbols carved in great detail: double thunder bolts, bells with thunderbolt tops, daggers with thunderbolt handles, tridents, iron shackles, axes with thunderbolt, mandalas, wheel of life, etc. There is a Tibetan inscription carved round the rim. When shaken the horn rattle as there appears to be some sand or gravel inside. Powder horn.

Purchased by Halfdan Siiger in Kalimpong in 1949-50.

Length: 19 cm

Accession no. R.146

14. Buffalo horn container

A brass-bound brandy wine container made from buffalo horn. The large end of the horn, near the base, has been closed with an oval disc of wood and a 2.5 cm wide strip of brass, with brass ring attached, has been placed all round the container, held in place by copper rivets. The tip of the horn has been removed, making an oval opening 3 x 5.5 cm in size, and a brass strip, matching the one at the opposite end, has been placed round this opening and held in place by copper rivets. Back from this opening, on the inside of the curve of the horn, a rectangular notch has been cut, 2 cm wide and 7 cm long. This has been edged with a 2.5 cm wide decorated brass strip also held in place by copper rivets. Below this notch, the container has been closed with an oval piece of wood with a rectangular notch in one edge through which the container is filled and emptied. A brass strap with a raised mid-rib to which are attached two brass rings has been fitted round the horn just below the decorative brass
edging. Another similar brass strap has been placed round the horn container approximately halfway down its length.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 70 cm; diameter: 16.5 cm

Accession no. C.1351

15. Tea churn

Wooden churn for yak-butter tea tea with lid and plunger. The wooden plunger is 120 cm overall in length, the top 27 cm of which is sheathed in brass with rounded top and incised decorations. Below the brass sheath the shaft of the plunger is round, but starting 30 cm lower down it gradually becomes square in cross-section. At the bottom end the plunger is fitted with a round wooden disc 15 cm thick and 13 cm in diameter. The edge of the disc has four grooves cut at 90 degree intervals from each other. These are c. 1.5 cm wide and 0.75 cm deep and have been made to allow the liquid to pass upward in the churn as the plunger is forced downward. The barrel or body of the churn appears to have been hollowed out of a single piece of wood, though it now consists of three or four pieces due to splitting. The churn is bound round with six brass rings and five plaited split cane strips alternating down the barrel from top to bottom. The brass rings are 5 cm wide, each having four deep parallel grooves running round the circumference. A leather carrying strap 3 cm wide and 80 cm long is attached to an ornate brass loop at the top and to two heavy brass rings at the bottom of the churn. The lid is made of a round piece of wood 18.5 cm in diameter with a large copper sheathed hole in the centre, 7.5 cm in diameter, to take the shaft of the plunger. The lid is just over 4.5 cm in thickness and is made so that the outer edge of the upper portion of the lid is the same as the diameter of the churn. But a lower portion of the lid 1.5 cm thick has been cut to a smaller diameter (14 cm) so that it fits inside the mouth of the churn, thus making a tight fit and preventing the lid from moving when the churn is being used. The copper-sheathed centre hole in the lid terminates in a thick brass collar 0.5 cm wide on top. This collar serves to hold in place a decorative brass disc 19 cm in diameter which covers the entire lid so that no wood shows. The disc is decorated with interlocking design motifs in high relief. The churn appears to have been the property of a well-to-do family in Lhasa or some other trade centre, rather than that of a nomad household.

Height: 96 cm, with lid: 99 cm; diameter, top: 19 cm, bottom: 22 cm

Accession no. R.517 a-b

16. Tea churn


From Finn Lindgaard.

Accession no. R.748

In describing the contents of a pastoral nomad's tent Rockhill, among other things, refers to "... a wooden tea churn about 2 feet high – made of a hollowed log and hooped with wood, ... or out of a joint of bamboo, which are, in some parts, used also to churn butter in ..."
17. Butter churn

Wooden butter churn of cylindrical stave construction consisting of eleven staves 2 cm thick and of varying widths, of coniferous wood, bound with four iron hoops 2.5-3 cm wide, one round the top, one round the bottom, and two spaced in between. The wooden bottom, set up 5 cm above the lower ends of the staves, has been fitted into grooves cut in the staves. A wooden disc 3.5 cm thick and 22.25 cm in diameter with a rectangular hole 3.5 x 3.5 in size set somewhat off centre and three triangular notches 1.5 cm deep cut in the rim makes up a key part of the working mechanism of the churn, for it has been made to attach to the bottom end of the plunger (not found at the time of cataloguing) and the three triangular notches are to allow the milk to pass above and below the plunger as it is worked up and down.

Height: 28.5 cm; diameter: top, 27-29 cm; bottom, 20.5 cm

Accession no. R.272 a-b

Other Containers

19. Beer container

A carved wooden beer vessel decorated with hammered sheet silver in rings which have been slipped into place over the top like barrel hoops, and silver panels which have been pinned into place with small nails. The vessel has been turned out of a single piece of wood. It has a base 13 cm in diameter. The sides, which have been cut to form a series of ribs round the vessel all the way to the top, taper slightly inward toward the top before curving inward to form a shoulder and a short neck below a wide flaring top. The shoulder, the neck, and the top are covered with decorated sheet silver. The silver hoops, of which there are four, are decorated all round with a band of flower designs. These hoops, which are 2 cm wide and c. 13.5 cm in diameter, are so loose-fitting that three of them tend to fall together at the bottom of the vessel and it is not easy to see where they were originally intended to be placed. The band of silver round the shoulder of the vessel is 4.5 cm wide and decorated with lotus blossoms. The band round the neck is a plain raised silver rib with a band of lotus blossom designs above and below. Round the outer edge of the wide-flaring mouth of the vessel is a band of flower designs. The stopper is of wood with a round silver dome, on top of which is a lotus design from the centre of which rises a lotus bud. The number 84 has been engraved on the neck.

Overall height: 38.5 cm; diameter: 13 cm

Accession no. R.643

20. Brass pot

A brass pot with base, handle, spout, and funnel-shaped top all covered with repoussé decorations rather crudely executed. The body of the pot is in the form of a disc 11 cm thick and 19 cm in diameter. This has been set on edge and mounted on a round stem base. The handle, spout, and funnel-like top have all been set on the rim of the disc. On either side of the pot in the centre of the body is a round raised Makara head in brass. The round cover for the funnel top, which is attached to the handle by a length of brass wire chain, is a similar head. The style of this pot is similar to those used for beer or spirits.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 37 cm; greatest width: 26 cm; thickness: 17 cm

Accession no. C.5417
21. 4.25 Brass and copper pot

A brass and copper pot with repoussé decorations covering virtually every surface. The body of the pot is in the form of a disc or wheel 11 cm thick and 23 cm in diameter. There is a hole through the centre of the disc, 7 cm in diameter. This disc or wheel-like container has been made by placing the outer flanged rims of two shallow brass bowls together and then crimping the edges to seal them. A round copper sleeve has been inserted, joining the two halves of the disc in the centre, and held in place by hammering the edges over. The disc has been set on edge, mounted on a conical base, and the handle and spout have been soldered onto the rim. The handle itself is a round copper plate which has been bent into a near circle. The hollow ends have been soldered onto the rim of the pot 12 cm apart. At the highest point on this circular handle a hole approximately 2 cm in diameter has been cut and a decorated copper funnel 7 cm high has been fitted and soldered into place, providing a means of filling the container. Liquids poured into the funnel flow down inside the hollow circular handle and so into the disc-shaped body of the pot. The spout, like the handle, is a decorated copper tube which rises vertically from the front edge of the pot and then curves forward. A Makara head of brass and copper has been soldered onto the top of the spout near the tip. The funnel opening at the top of the handle is closed with a round domed Makara head lid. The design motifs are of two kinds: lotus flowers and both versions of the shou symbol, rectangular and round. Vessels of this kind are used for alcoholic beverages.
From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 58.7 cm; width: 34 cm

Accession no. C.5423

22. Teacup stand

A white metal base and cover for a tea cup. The base has a short round undecorated stem which supports a wide-flaring top in a lotus shape. The cover, also in a similar white metal, has a two-stage domed top on which is set a round lotus petal ornament, rising to a drop-shaped knob at the top. The cover is decorated with four silver-plated cartouches each with a peacock surrounded by leaves and flowers. Above these are four smaller cartouches with wheel or lotus designs.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 7.6 cm; diameter: 11.5 cm; height of cover: 4.5 cm; diameter of cover: 11 cm

Accession no. B.2995

23. Copper container

Copper container described as a "small copper inkwell". Not seen.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 10.5 cm; width: 5 cm

Accession no. C.5432

24. Metal pot

Brass jug with hinged lid, spout, base, and handle. Not seen.

Purchased in "Yarkand, Leh, Tibet" by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 29 cm; width: 13 cm

Accession no. C.5435

4.26 Cat. no. 29. Teacup stand.
Fire-Making Equipment

25. Bellows

Bellows of yak skin covered with long thick grey and brown hair. The bellows have been made by folding a piece of skin over, hair on the outside, to form a rough rectangle. This has been partly closed by stitching down one side and diagonally across the lower end to make a sack, leaving the top and one lower corner open. The opening at the lower corner is to receive a tin nozzle 4 cm in diameter at its largest end and 22.5 cm long. Along each of the two edges of the large open end of the bellows a strip of wood 3.5 cm long and 2.75 cm wide has been fastened using leather thongs and wool yarn.

Bellows sack: c. 34 x 60 cm

Accession no. R.302

26. Pine torches

Two resinous pine sticks used as torches for lighting. Not seen.

From Johannes Prip Moller, 1936.

Length: 47.2 and 35.5 cm

Accession no. C.5051

Teacups and Tea Accessories

27. Teacup stand

Brass stand for a teacup, with a flaring conical base rather like the mouth of a trumpet. On top of this cone is a round brass tray or saucer, 15 cm in diameter, with a 4.5 cm hole in the centre. On this is set a dome-shaped brass top with a hole in the centre, also 4.5 cm in diameter. The hole is designed to receive the base of a wooden, porcelain, or jade tea bowl. The stand is of plain undecorated brass.

Purchased by Halfdan Siiger in Kalimpong in 1949-50.

Accession no. R.166

28. Teacup stand

A plain brass stand for a teacup, very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 27.

Purchased by Halfdan Siiger in Kalimpong in 1949-50.

Accession no. R.171

29. 4.26 Teacup stand

Copper teacup stand made of five separate pieces of metal with traditional lotus blossom and lotus petal symbols and designs, plus four Chinese characters. The top portion of the stand, made to hold the tea cup, is of white metal. Lacks cup.

Purchased by Halfdan Siiger in Kalimpong in 1949-50.

Height with lid: 31 cm; width: c. 20 cm

Accession no. R.171
30. Wooden teacup

An ordinary turned birch wood tea cup which has been repaired on the side up toward the top rim with some kind of hard grey material. The repaired area measures 1 cm x 1.4 cm. The bowl has been turned, probably on a strap lathe.

Height: 5.4 cm; diameter: 9.6 cm; diameter of base: 5 cm
Accession no. R.273

31. Wooden teacup

A small turned birch wood tea cup in traditional style with outward flaring rim, short straight sides curving in at the bottom to a small round base. The bottom of the base is scored and the edges are scored in a crisscross pattern, probably as a result of the way the block was held for turning.

Height: 5.5 cm; diameter: 10.5 cm
Accession no. R.274

32. Wooden teacup

A silver-lined teacup of turned birch wood, stained a reddish brown colour with a decorative silver band round its base.

Height: 5.5 cm; diameter: 11.3 cm
Accession no. R.515

33. Wooden teacup

A varnished and stained wooden tea bowl of birch made in traditional size and shape and in new condition.

Height: 5.3 cm; diameter: 11.7 cm
Accession no. R.523
35. Wooden teacup
A yellowish-brown turned wooden cup in new condition.
Given by the Tibetan Song & Dance Group during a guest appearance in Copenhagen in 1978.
Height: 4.5 cm; diameter: 9 cm
Accession no. R.524

36. 4.28 Wooden teacup
A turned birch tea cup with a silver lining and a strip of patterned silver round the base. The silver lining covers the lip of the cup and folds over the outer edge, including the top edge of a 1 cm wide silver band which runs round the top of the cup. The patterned silver strip round the base is 1.2 cm wide and extends onto the bottom of the cup for 0.5 cm. The surface of the wood shows in a strip some 3 cm wide all round; the grain showing as dark streaks on the brown wood. Inside the base a disc of pine has been fitted, flush with the bottom edge of the silver strip and held in place by three copper nails. The silver band below the lip of the cup on the outside has the number 36 engraved on it.
Height: 5.5 cm; diameter: 11.5 cm
Accession no. R.632

37. 4.28 Wooden teacup
A turned birch tea cup with a silver lining and plain silver base. As the lining is turned over the lip of the cup and extends down the outer surface for nearly 1.5 cm and as the silver base extends upwards for 2 cm, only a narrow strip of wood less than 2 cm wide shows round the outside of this example. The silver covering on the base was held in place by four silver pins, but one is missing. On the upper part of the base the number 37 has been engraved.
Height: 5.3 cm; diameter: 13.3 cm
Accession no. R.633

38. 4.29 Wooden teacup
A silver lined tea cup of turned birch root with silver mounted base and silver lid. The entire inner surface of the cup is covered with sheet silver which covers both the lip of the cup and its outside edge. The silver mounting round the base of the cup extends upward from the base to cover the entire lower part of the cup, leaving only a strip of brown wood 1.5 cm wide showing all round the outside. The inside of the cup and the lip and rim are of plain silver, but the base is entirely covered with decoration. The round silver base itself has a band of incised "key design" motifs, with four stones in crown settings placed at 90 degrees to each other: two red coral and two turquoise. Above this, curving up round the lower part of the bowl is a band of silver decorated with mountains, clouds, and dragons in high relief. A fine example of the silversmith's art. There are two "hallmarks" with Chinese characters on the base. The round silver lid is also of fine workmanship. The flat outer rim bears four groups of three stones each, two with a round red stone in the centre and a drop-shaped blue stone on either side, and two with a round blue stone in the centre and a drop-shaped red stone on either side. The lower stage of the domed top bears the images of four bowls of treasure in high relief; in between each is a pair of round stones in crown settings: one red, one blue. The next stage is of embossed lotus petals. The top rises up to a small silver lotus in which is set a dark red coral bead held in place by a small silver lotus on top. The number 112 has been engraved both on the bottom of the silver rim of the base and on the underside of the lid.
Height: 5.2 cm; height with lid: 11 cm; diameter: 11.5 cm
Accession no. R.634 a-b

39. Wooden teacup
A new turned birch knot tea cup of traditional size and shape. Unusually, the cup has been treated with a clear glossy finish resembling polyurethane.
Obtained by Rolf Gilberg.
Height: 4 cm; diameter: 11 cm
Accession no. R.710

Teapots

40. 4.30 Copper teapot
Copper teapot with lid, both overlaid with brass lotus blossom decorations, six on the body of the pot (three on each side), with three smaller ones on the lid.
4.30 Cat. no. 40. Copper teapot.
The copper pot itself is undecorated; all the brass decorations have been applied by laying them on and soldering them in place at top, where the neck fits onto the body, and bottom, the base, by the brass straps which extend from the top and bottom of each decoration. The pot has been made by first hammering out a copper bowl with a crenellated rim. Then, for the top half of the pot, a second copper bowl with a flat bottom and steeply curving sides has been made, also with a crenellated rim, leaving a hole in the centre to take the neck. This has been brazed onto the first bowl. The foot, top, handle, and decorations have then been assembled and attached to the body by rivets and or brazing.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siger in 1949-50

Height: 25 cm; width: 24 cm
Accession no. R.176

41. Copper teapot

Copper teapot with overlaid brass lotus decorations. Lotus bud knob rising from lotus petal design on lid. The base is fashioned to present a frieze of lotus leaves. The brass surround at the base of the spout is very elaborate with intertwined leaves and a demon face. A good example of the art of the Tibetan coppersmith, with finer detail and more elaborate execution than Cat. no. (Fig. 4.30), but very much in the same style.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siger in 1949-50.

Height: 30 cm; greatest width: 26.5 cm
Accession no. R.178

42. Wooden teapot

A wooden brass-bound teapot with a wooden brass-bound lid, each carved from a single block of wood. A tall brass collar forms the top of the pot. It is held in place by broad bands of brass, three on each side, (attached to it by copper rivets) which pass down over the wooden body of the pot to a brass collar at the bottom which forms the base. The central band on each side is decorated with an elaborate diamond-shaped device of intertwined lotus petal design. A small white metal flower with a copper centre is set in the middle of each of the two designs. A brass strip, also attached to the top collar and base by copper rivets, runs down the length of the wooden handle. This also bears an intertwined lotus petal design with a copper rivet in its centre. The band is incised with a twisting vine design all down the back. The wooden spout is similarly decorated with brass strips, one on top, the other beneath, both attached by copper rivets to a 5 cm long brass collar over the spout. The uppermost brass strip has an intertwined lotus petal design on it similar to that on the top of the handle. Beneath the spout, low down at its widest part where it merges with the body of the pot, is the most elaborate decoration of all: a triratna shaped brass device 10 cm high and 9 cm across with intertwined lotus petals and, again, a white metal flower in the centre with a copper rivet in it. The hat-shaped wooden lid is 15 cm high, including the inner rim which seats down inside the pot, and is 16 cm in diameter. It has a large flower bud-shaped knob on top. This is set in the centre of a decorative brass plaque 6.5 cm square. Held in place on top of four brass straps, one going out from the centre of each side, by a copper rivet near each corner. The four brass straps curve down over the wood and disappear under the brass rim round the bottom of the lid. In the centre, half way down, each has a diamond-shaped ornament made of intertwined lotus petal patterns. Below the broad brass collar set round the top of the pot the coppersmith has inserted decorative pieces of sheet brass of various sizes, e.g., 3 x 4 cm. These are not attached to the collar by rivets, but merely slipped up under the lower edge. Most of these are now missing (four in all); only three remain. Finally, there is one example of asymmetrical decoration, set between the left hand side of the spout and the first hand of brass, just below the collar, is a small (2.5 cm) brass flower hanging from the collar on a thin brass strap. It is held firmly in place by a copper rivet which decorates the centre of the flower.

Height: 29 cm, without lid: 19 cm; greatest width: 36.5 cm
Accession no. R.310

43. Silver teapot

A heavy silver and silver gilt teapot of lavish quality and unusually fine workmanship. The undecorated body of the pot rises from a round base to an abrupt shoulder which has rounded edges, but
is nearly flat on top. In the centre of this is a flat round silver gilt collar with repoussé lotus petal designs surrounding the round neck of the pot, also silver gilt, bearing the Eight Glorious Emblems. The top of the pot flares out to a larger dimension rather like the bowl of a butter lamp. The lid has a high rounded dome top with a silver gilt lotus petal disc in the centre from which rises a lotus bud, also silver gilt. The lower edge of the lid is decorated all round with a raised silver gilt band of lotus petal and entwined leaf and vine designs set above the bottom flange which is decorated with a continuous "key design" pattern.

The body of the pot has been made of two silver bowls with crenelated top rims, one inverted over the other so that they interlock. The square notched line where they join is visible all around the pot. The Naga handle is silver gilt and displays fine detail and workmanship. A ring set in the top of the Naga's head holds a length of brass wire chain, twisted to resemble rope, the other end of which is fastened round the base of the lotus bud on top of the lid. Round the base of the spout is a broad silver gilt collar bearing nine Conch Shell symbols in high relief between which are entwined vine and leaf patterns. The silver gilt Makara holding the spout in his mouth has been rendered in fine detail. The number 1 has been engraved on the bottom of the pot.

Height: 31.5 cm; width: 30 cm
Accession no. R.702

44. Brass teapot

A brass teapot with lid, covered over its entire surface with rather crude symbols, patterns, and designs which have been hammered into the metal. Similarly, the handle and spout are also crude approximations of the Naga and Makara representations usually found on the work of Tibetan metalsmiths. The style and workmanship is closely similar to that of a number of other objects in the museum's collection, notably Cat. nos. 20, 64, 700, and 21 (Fig. 4.25). From information in the museum's records, most if not all, of these seem to come from Ladakh, or what used to be called "Little Tibet".

From E. Loventhall.

Height: 32 cm; width: 39 cm
Accession no. C.1946

45. 4.31 Brass teapot

A brass teapot with Naga handle and Makara head spout. The pot and domed lid are of plain undecorated brass, but the spout, which is attached to the body of the pot by three copper rivets, displays a Makara head in fine detail, a quality also reflected in the attention to
detail on the dragon handle, which is mounted on two decorated copper plates on the pot.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 29 cm; width: 35 cm
Accession no. C.5418

46. 4.35 Brass teapot

A hand planished brass teapot with a plain undecorated surface, a round copper base, and a raised dome lid with lotus bud knob on the top. The base, which is in the form of a flared collar, has been made of three layers of metal: brass overlaid with copper, overlaid with tin, so that, in contrast to the rest of the pot which is yellow brass, the base is of white metal. The body of the pot has been made of two brass bowls with crenelated rims, one inverted over the other, making a faint square-notched line round the pot where the two have been joined – a line visible on most Tibetan tea pots, though often partially hidden by decoration. The upper part of the body of the pot also has a similar line running vertically down to join this first line, showing that the upper bowl was made of sheet brass cut and hammered into the desired shape and then bent round and joined together to form the top of the pot. Most unusually, the spout has not been added on separately, but has been hammered out of this same single sheet of brass. The pot was made by a highly skilled coppersmith, but in contrast, the handle, although graceful enough in shape, has been rather crudely made and lacks the skill and finish that went into the pot itself. The lid is attached to the handle where it joins onto the pot at the top by two
47. 4.36 Copper and brass teapot

A small teapot of copper and brass in traditional Tibetan style with a cone-shaped stem foot decorated with raised lotus petal designs in brass, a round copper body with a broad shoulder, and a high-domed copper lid topped by a round brass knob. The brass handle is in the form of a Naga and the spout emerges from the mouth of a Makara. The shoulder of the pot is decorated with a round brass collar with repoussé lotus petal designs, more of which appear on a drop-shaped collar round the base of the spout. A good example of the copper-smith’s art, but made about one half the usual size.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 25.5 cm; width: 26.5 cm
Accession no. C.5433

48. Copper teapot

A copper teapot similar in style to Cat. no. 49 (Fig. 4.34), though smaller in scale. The Makara handle and spout are of brass, as are various decorative plaques which are fastened in place by copper rivets. The pot is covered with Naga and Makara forms on top of which have been set five brass plaques, four depicting Nagas and one set at the front of the crown-like top of a garuda, flanked on either side by a Makara. The brass spout emerges from the mouth of a Naga and rises vertically in traditional style. The tip of the spout is in Naga-head form.

From the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.

Height: 30.5 cm; diameter of base: 13.8 cm
Accession no. C.2106

49. 4.34 Copper teapot

A large copper teapot with gilded areas highlighting a succession of decorative features, similar in style to Cat. no. 48. The pot is round with the sides tapering inward toward the top. Above the spout
4,36 Cat. no. 47. Copper and brass teapot.

There is a short neck at the top of the pot which supports a prominent crown-like upward extension which is 20.5 cm high at the front and 10.5 cm high at the back. The cast brass handle is in the form of a Naga 28.5 cm high which is attached to the body of the pot by four copper rivets. The surface of the pot is divided into rectangles, eight in all, by frames of gilded copper floral designs. At the front, the spout emerges from the centre of one such rectangle. Rectangular in section, the spout is of cast brass with a Makara in relief on either side, a lizard and a frog on the top, and a Bodhisattva beneath. The central feature of the rectangle below the spout is a gilded Monster Mask in a foliate copper frame set centrally among four round brass geometrical symbols. At the back the front feet of the dragon handle are set in the upper rectangle, while his back feet are set in the lower one. The four remaining rectangles, two on each side, have a gilded Bodhisattva seated on a lotus throne in the centre, representations of the Four Deva Kings. Virupaksa, King of the West, holds a pearl in his right hand; below him Kuvera, God of the North, holds the Victorious Banner in his right hand and a mongoose in his left. On the other side the upper figure holds a sword in his right hand, which shows him to be Virudhaka, King of the South. Below him Dhritarashtra, King of the East, is shown playing his magic lute. The crown-like upward projection at the top of the pot is decorated with an unidentified goddess with eight arms seated on a lotus throne above a Naga face, and flanked on either side by dragons. A round copper dome-shaped lid fits down inside the "crown" top. It is decorated with lotus flowers and leaves. A round lotus petal ornament at the top has a large copper lotus bud set in its centre.

From Consul George Jorck, 1939.

Height: 49 cm; diameter: 20.5 cm

Accession no. C.5616

50. 4.32 Brass teapot

Brass teapot with copper and silver decorations. The handle is in the shape of a dragon. Silver designs adorn his flanks and the dorsal ridge is of silver, as are his horns and whiskers. On the opposite side the spout emerges from the mouth of a Makara, which is also embellished on either side with silver decorations and which has horns and whiskers of silver. A U-shaped collar of silver encloses the base of the spout and its tip is decorated with engraved silver. The brass lid has a high domed top with a
drop-shaped lotus bud in silver and copper. The lid is secured to the body of the pot by a fine brass wire chain, one end of which is attached to a brass ring set in the centre of a silver lotus on the lid, and the other end of which is attached to a brass ring set behind the dragon’s front feet where the handle joins the body of the pot. A fine example of Tibetan metalsmithing.

Height: 25 cm; diameter: 20.5 cm
Accession no. R.647

51. 4.37 Copper teapot

Copper teapot with silver decorations. The copper handle is in the shape of a Naga and the spout emerges from the mouth of a Naga head on the opposite side of the pot. The tea pot is in traditional Tibetan style with a wide round body curving abruptly in at the top to meet the narrow neck which then rises by decorative stages to an ornate top. Also characteristic is the way in which the pot has been made. The lower half of the pot is a copper bowl. The top half of the body of the pot is a second bowl, inverted and brazed onto the first where the two rims meet. The join, skillfully made, is faintly visible as a thin line of brass tracing a crenelated line all round the pot. Three bands of worked silver decorate the neck. Large lotus leaves, eight in all, have been hammered into the copper round the body of the pot. These extend downwards from the neck for 7.5 cm. The domed copper lid is decorated with two bands of incised silver, a round silver lotus on top, and rising from the centre of this, a silver lotus bud. A decorated silver collar 3-4.5 cm long has been set over the end of the copper spout. A decorated silver collar surrounds the base of the spout. The lid is attached to the top of the handle by a 21 cm length of silver wire chain. A fine example of the smith’s art. The number SC has been engraved on the bottom of the pot.

Height: 28 cm; diameter: 17 cm
Accession no. R.648

52. Brass teapot

Brass teapot with a Naga handle and Makara spout. The lid and body of the pot are of plain brass to which has been added four pierced and incised diamond-shaped brass decorations, two on either side of the pot, attached by copper rivets. A crescent moon-shaped collar of brass has been set round the base of the spout. The tip of the spout is of copper with three settings for stones on
top, one empty and two holding pieces of malachite. The pot lid is domed with a drop-shaped knob on top. It is attached to the pot by a length of copper wire chain made up of figure 8 links. As some retaining rivets are missing, the spout is very loose. The body of the pot, rising from a round base, flares outward to a height of 15 cm and then abruptly curves in to meet a low raised edge above which the sides of the pot curve inwards and upwards to a collar round the top on which the lid is seated.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 34.5 cm; width: 43.5 cm
Accession no. C.5419

Pitchers

53. 4.38 Brass pitcher
Brass pitcher with dragon handle and four pierced copper dragon designs mounted on the bell-shaped body of the vessel, two on each side. The entire surface is completely covered with leaf and tendril designs hammered into the metal. The spout emerges from a dragon's mouth. The front of the top above the neck is decorated with a phoenix-like demon (garuda) in copper, 9 cm high. The neck bears five Tibetan letters in brass attached with copper rivets.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Sjøger in 1949-50.

Height: 29.5 cm; diameter: 15.5 cm
Accession no. R.180

54. 4.39 Silver pitcher
A silver and silver gilt pitcher with a high crown-shaped top and Naga handle. The vase-shaped body is decorated with three round fire-gilded silver plaques consisting of round shou characters surrounded by leaf and petal patterns in relief. The vase-shaped body is set on a hollow round base decorated with lotus petal designs in high relief. On the fire-gilded neck, which rises from a circle of lotus petal designs, are the Eight Glorious Emblems set among lotus flowers in relief. The crown-shaped top is high at the back where the Naga handle joins on to it, but descends on either side toward the spout on the front in a series of three arched curves. The open spout is straight and similar in size and shape to that on Cat. no. 55 (Fig. 4.40). The number 2 has been engraved up inside the base.

Height: 37.5 cm; width: 30 cm
Accession no. R.701
4.39 Cat. no. 54. Silver pitcher.
55. 4.40 Brass pitcher

A heavy plain brass undecorated pitcher with horizontal spout and curved handle. After casting a rectangular opening was cut in the body of the pitcher so that the spout could be inserted and brazed in place. The pitcher stands on a small round base 8.4 cm in diameter. The number 6C has been engraved on the bottom of the pitcher inside the circular base.

Height: 16 cm; width: 29.5 cm
Accession no. R.639

56. 4.41 Silver pitcher

A hand planished silver pitcher with engraved and fire-gilded decoration. The pitcher stands on a short flared ring base which, round its lower edge, has a band of gilded lotus petal designs. The vase-shaped body of the pitcher curves outward and then turns in to form a shoulder which supports a short round straight neck covered with repoussé decoration of leaves and vines, among which are the fire-gilded Eight Glorious Emblems. The pitcher has a crown-shaped top which is high at the back where the handle joins onto it, and low at the front where the straight open channel spout emerges. All round the upper edge of the top, and following its line forward on both sides of the spout to its tip, is an entwined leaf design which has been fire-gilded. A fine example of the silversmith's art in which every detail has been attended to with skill. The number 3 has been engraved inside the stem base.

Height: 26 cm; width: 24.5 cm
Accession no. R.640
Other Vessels and Containers

57. 4.43 Copper container
A cylindrical copper container bound round top, bottom, and middle with brass straps c. 3.25 cm wide, each with three longitudinal ribs. Mounted between these are a total of eight lotus blossom decorations in heavy brass, a larger version of which is on the top of the lid. Mounted on the top band on either side by copper rivets is a brass plate with a ring; the ones mounted on either side on the centre band are rectangular. A copper hasp fitting over a small brass ring enables the lid to be fastened shut.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Sijger in 1949-50.

Height: 35 cm; diameter: 24-25 cm
Accession no. R.165

58. Brass vase
Brass vase in lotus blossom style with dome-shaped lid. Drop-shaped knob on top of lid with petal design below. Four Chinese characters are set at 90 degrees to each other on middle band of lid decoration. Surface of body of vase covered with lotus petal designs consisting of parallel vertical lines connected by arches at the top along the shoulder of the vase.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Sijger in 1949-50.

Height: 13.5 cm; diameter: 9 cm
Accession no. R.173

59. Incense burner
Round brass incense burner with hinged lid and brass dragon-shaped handle. The lid has a high rounded dome with a brass ring set in the top centre and has been pierced through to make a pattern of elaborately intertwined vine tendrils. The bowl is of plain undecorated brass and is only slightly larger than the lid. Shows traces of fire-blackening, probably from standing in a charcoal brazier to produce aromatic smoke in a temple.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Sijger in 1949-50.

Height: 10 cm; diameter 8.5 cm; length: 20 cm
Accession no. R.174

60. 4.45 Copper vase
A copper vase with a brass neck. The rounded body and flaring base, the latter like the mouth of a trumpet, have been made of a single piece of metal. The bottom has been closed by a round copper insert fitted up inside the base and crimped over its edge so as to make a narrow rim visible round the base. The
4.43 Cat. no. 57. Copper container.

Brass neck is decorated with three bands of raised ribs, one above the other, resembling abstract lotus petal designs. The top two bands are separated from the bottom one by a thick horizontal raised rib of smooth rounded brass.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1949-50.

Height: 23 cm; width: 12 cm
Accession no. R.177

61. 4.42 Brass bowl

Brass bowl with lid, both bowl and lid tinned on inner surface. In the centre of the lid, which is of copper, is a square copper plate 4 x 4 cm in size, pierced through the centre and through the lid to take a copper cotter pin which holds a copper ring. Also on lid: three brass plaques, 5 x 7.5 cm in size, held in place with copper rivets. These have Chinese characters in repoussé. The lid is 28 cm in diameter. The bowl itself is unadorned except for three round copper plaques, 7 cm in diameter, also held in place with copper rivets and bearing Chinese characters.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1949-50.

Height: 17 cm; diameter: 31 cm
Accession no. R.181 a-b

62. 4.44 Copper pot

Large copper pot with two handles, one opposite the spout, the other set at 90 degrees to the spout and the other han-
4.44 Cat. no. 62. Copper pot.
4.45 Cat. no. 60. Copper vase.

The lid is fastened to the handle opposite the spout by a copper chain, each link being made of a length of twisted copper wire, seven in all. The handle has been neatly covered with a piece of heavy red cloth, tightly stitched down with stout twine. The second copper handle has no covering. The copper lid has a brass bud-shaped knob set on a brass collar on top and a brass lower rim which sits on a brass collar round the top of the pot when lid is in place. The neck of the pot is striated in brass with a broad brass collar covering half the diameter of the shoulder of the pot. The copper spout has a large brass ring longitudinally fluted and a broad brass collar spreading out round the base of the shoulder and body of the pot.

The construction technique used was to make the body of the pot in two pieces, each with concavated edges, carefully cut to match, so that they fit together, interlocking, and were then brazed together with brass. The whole is a fine example of the coppersmith’s art.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siger in 1949-50.

Height: 39.5 cm; width: 41 cm

Accession no. R.164

63. Copper pot

A round copper pot with the inner surface of both pot and lid tinned. The outer surface is fire-blackened. The pot has
straight sides and a slightly rounded bottom. There is an 8 mm wide lip all round the rim. The lid is made with an inner edge 2 cm deep all round which fits down inside the pot. The top of the lid is flat and there is a copper ring 3.1 cm in diameter held in place in the centre by a copper strip 1.4 cm wide and 5 cm long, fastened to the lid by two copper rivets.

Height: 14 cm, with lid: 16.8 cm; diameter: 22.5 cm

Accession no. R.267 a-b

64. Brass vase

A brass two-handled vase covered with large 'dhanu' designs, both round and rectangular, alternating with faces encircled by flames. At the top of each of the curved handles is a monster head with horns and protruding tongue.

From E. Löventhal.

Height: 26 cm; height: 32.5 cm

Accession no. C.1947

Spoons

65. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with flower motif at end of stem and a turquoise decoration set in the centre of a silver lotus halfway down the stem. The bowl has been engraved with leaf designs. Very similar to Cat. no. 63. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 13 cm; width: 4.10 cm

Accession no. R.680

66. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with flower motif at end of stem and a turquoise decoration set in the centre of a silver lotus halfway down the stem. A Flaming Jewel symbol is in the bowl, set on top of a lotus design. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 12.9 cm; width: 4 cm

Accession no. R.681

67. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with flower motif at end of stem and a turquoise decoration set in the centre of a silver lotus halfway down the stem. The bowl has been engraved with leaf designs. Very similar to Cat. nos. 65 and 66. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 12.9 cm; width: 4.1 cm

Accession no. R.682

68. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with flower motif at the end of the stem and a turquoise set in the centre of a lotus halfway down the stem. The bowl has been engraved with leaf patterns. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 13.1 cm; width: 4.1 cm

Accession no. R.683

69. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with a jewel symbol at the end of the stem and a turquoise decoration set in the centre of an engraved rectangle of silver half way down the stem. A Flaming Jewel symbol is in the bowl, set on top of a turquoise decoration. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 13 cm; width: 3.9 cm

Accession no. R.684

70. Silver spoon

Silver spoon with Flaming Jewel symbol at end of stem and a turquoise decoration set in the centre of an engraved silver rectangle halfway down the stem. A Flaming Jewel symbol is set in the bowl on top of an engraved lotus design. Very similar to Cat. no. 69. The number 89 has been engraved on the back of the stem.

Length: 12.9 cm; width: 3.6 cm

Accession no. R.685

71. Brass spoon

A hand planished double brass spoon from Leh. One bowl is 5.5 x 6 cm in size, the other is 3.8 x 4.5 cm; both have a raised mid-ridge down the centre. On the short "handle" section between the two is a notched oval-shaped design.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 16 cm

Accession no. B.2992
72. Brass spoon
A round brass spoon with a short broad leaf-shaped handle.
Obtained in Leh. From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 10 cm; diameter: 4 cm
Accession no. B.2993

73. Copper spoon
A spoon of tinmed copper with a leaf-shaped bowl and a short round stem. The bowl has a narrow channel running its length from tip to handle, which produces a ridge on the underside of the bowl.
Obtained in Leh. From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 14.5 cm. width: 4 cm
Accession no. B.2994

74. Brass spoon
A small brass spoon with two leaf-shaped bowls, one larger than the other. on opposite ends of a short stem. Where the two bowls are joined together there is a ribbed brass decoration with a hole on the underside in which there is a copper ring.
From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 11 cm; width, large bowl: 2.6 cm; width, small bowl: 2 cm
Accession no. C.1350

75. Brass spoon
A brass spoon from Th. Steinthal. Not seen.
Accession no. C.2090

Other Domestic Furnishings

76. Iron trivet
Three-legged iron stand to hold pot, pan, or kettle over an open fire. Roughly hammered out by a blacksmith, it has been made so that the legs can be removed from the circular top and the whole thing packed flat for travelling. The iron ring which supports pan or pot in use is made of a circular strap 2 cm wide and 3 mm thick. The legs, also of wrought iron, are c. 2-2.5 cm wide and 3-4 mm thick. The legs taper toward the top end and have been bent over at right angles, providing a 6 cm length that fits into the three brackets riveted to the bottom of the ring. Halfway down its length each leg has an iron ring held in place by a handmade iron cotter pin which passes through a hole in the leg.
Height: 24.5 cm; diameter: 23.5 cm
Accession no. R.314 a-d

77. Carpet
A small carpet with underlay. Not seen.
Length: 122 cm
Accession no. R.747

78. Box
A rectangular box with a red silk case. The box is covered with blue silk and has two compartments. Not seen.
Said to be from Tibet; purchased in Darjeeling by J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 14 cm; width: 8 cm
Accession no. C.2066

79. Wildcat skin cover
Small rectangular cover made up of five pieces from the skin of a wildcat stitched together to form a single piece measuring 57 x 78 cm. A dark red strip of woven material, 8 cm wide, has been stitched onto the edge of the skin to form a border all round. The fur on the skin is very thick with black and grey stripes and leopard-like spots, darker on the back areas of the animal and shading to near white toward the sides.
Length: 92 cm; width: 71 cm
Accession no. R.289

80. Marmot skin cover
Marmot skin cover with red woollen border. The rectangular area of skin, thickly covered with light brown and grey fur, has been made up of twenty-one pieces of skin, sixteen of which are very small. A dark red woollen border 9 cm wide has been sewn onto the skin all round.
Length: 96 cm; width: 59 cm
Accession no. R.290
81. Yak skin

A piece of yak skin, roughly rectangular in shape, thickly covered with dark brown hair 5-10 cm long.

Length: 90 cm; width: 85 cm

Accession no. R.313

82. Yak stomach

Dried stomach of a yak. Used for yoghurt making. This is not an artefact, as it has simply been cut from the animal and allowed to dry in the sun. Hard as wood and wrinkled.

Accession no. R.395

NOTES:

1 Heritage of Tibet: 11-12.
2 Sandberg: Tibet and the Tibetans: 139.
3 The Land of the Lamas: 228.
4 Kværne: A Norwegian Traveller in Tibet: Theo Sørensen and the Tibetan Collection at the Oslo University Library: 16.
5 Ibid.: 28.
6 Huc: Souvenirs of a Journey through Tartsy, Tibet, and China During the Years 1844, 1845, and 1846, II: 137-8.

In different editions of Father Huc's books his name is variously given as "M. Huc", "E. Huc", "Régis-Évariste Huc", and "Régis-Evarist Huc". Most of those who have written about him avoid the problem by referring to him merely as "Huc". The Encyclopaedia Britannica brings in a new version and opts for "Évariste Régis Huc". The correct version may be on his tombstone in Paris, if such a monument exists.

7 See: Nomads of Western Tibet: 34, 39, 40, 46, 51, 60, 75, 85, 94, 148, 150 and various illus. in Filchner's 1929 account of his travels in Tibet, especially opposite p. 304.

8 In Greenland I acquired for the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford two different types of dog sledges, one from the east coast and one from the west coast. I was discussing these acquisitions with a Greenlander in Sisimiut when a thought suddenly struck him. "Are you buying dogs as well?" he asked.


10 Norbu & Turnbull: Tibet: 64.


12 I am grateful both to Klaus Ferdinand of Moesgaard at Aarhus University and to Dr Peter Andrews of the Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität zu Köln for much-needed assistance with the description of this tent. Klaus in particular gave up a day of his time, mostly spent crawling around on the floor of a museum store room in a cloud of Tibetan dust, to take measurements and examine details of the tent, while I, pleading a bad back, sat on the sidelines and took notes. Any errors in the description published here are entirely the author's fault and can in no way be attributed to his colleagues.

13 To use but two convenient sources pointed out to me by Klaus Ferdinand, it is clear that the tent pictured in Goldstein & Beall's Nomads of Western Tibet: 85 top, has been put up without a ridge pole, but on pp. 86 and 94 we see pictures from the same camp showing other tents with ridge poles in place. In some of the pictures used in Goldstein & Beall's 1989 National Geographic article we also see Tibetan nomad tents with and without ridge poles, e.g., pp. 760-1 (top and bottom left) no ridge poles in use, while on pp. 762-3 we see a tent with a ridge pole.

14 Indeed, this appears to have happened on this example, as two of the five ropes are missing from one half of the velum.


16 Feilberg: 100-6.


18 Fields on the Hoof: 40.

19 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: 702.
In a very practical sense the traditional Tibetan economic system contains two different kinds of nomads: those who engage in pastoralism and make short seasonal journeys with their families, their tents, and their livestock, and those whose primary economic activity is trade. The latter make long-range seasonal journeys in the company of other traders, rather than with their families, and the purpose of their travels is to transport goods and engage in buying and selling. Of course this division corresponds only approximately, at best, to an identifiable reality, the reason being that most pastoral nomads engage in a certain amount of trade during a typical year and to conduct this trade they are obliged to undertake longer or shorter journeys. But some Tibetans, who may have a pastoral or farming background or a town/market background, are in the caravan transport business. For them trade is not just a supplement to their main sources of income, it is their primary economic activity.

Most Tibetan towns and the larger monasteries are located in the southern valleys of the country where both climate and landscape favour arable agriculture. The main caravan trade routes link these populated areas with neighbouring countries and the outside world, and have done so for centuries. Because Tibet was closed for so long to European travellers it has given the West an impression of historical isolation that is to some extent misleading. Asian travellers were always coming and going, as were the Tibetans themselves. An example of this is given by Ronald Kaulback who, when asked to write a few words about Tibet for *Hints to Travellers*, had this to say in 1938:

"For south-eastern Tibet a large stock of presents must be taken to give to the high officials, and it is a mistake to assume that gaudy trash will serve the purpose. Many of these officials have been as far as Calcutta, and many more send couriers to India every winter to buy luxuries for their households, so that whatever is given must be of the best quality. Field-glasses, gramophones, and European shoes (size 7 is usual) are always much appreciated, while for less important gifts raincoats, Trilby hats, and umbrellas are very useful".1

In addition to the main trade routes which linked Tibet with China, India, Nepal, and Kashmir, there were and are still today a network of minor links along which goods pass to smaller communities. Although these goods are now more likely to be
transported on lorries between towns, the traditional caravans still function to serve outlying districts.

One of the most important items of equipment in the trade and transport business is the pack saddle, of which there are several examples in the National Museum's collections.

"The pack saddle, used alike on mules, horses, and yak, consists of two light wooden wings with a light wooden arch at each end ... On either side are two parallel sticks projecting about 3 inches beyond the arches. The girth, which is of wool, is fastened to the lower stick, and the hair or rawhide ropes with which the load is fastened on, passes over and under the upper one. When carrying loads done up in rawhide so as to protect them from the weather (and in this way all the tea and other valuable merchandise is carried), short rawhide loops fastened to the loads by means of sticks fitting in small slits made in the rawhide are passed over the end of the upper stick of the saddle and the load hung by them. Crupper sticks, as well as cruppers and broad breast straps of wool, are always used. The form of pack saddle used in eastern Tibet and the Kokonor is a little larger and heavier than that used in other parts of the country. Two rectangular felt pads covered with coarse cloth (lawa) are tied to the saddle, and under these again are one or more felt rugs".

Prince Peter and Halfdan Siiger made an important collection of ethnographic artefacts relating to this long-distance trade/transport nomadism, bringing back more or less complete sets of tackle for horses, mules, and donkeys. The following eight items in the R.399 series (Cat. nos. 83-90) all belong together, being the equipment for a Tibetan transport mule.

Pack Mule Outfit

83. Pack saddle

Pack saddle consisting of a wooden frame with its associated leather straps and woven cloth bindings for holding the saddle in place and for attaching loads. The saddle tree itself consists of six pieces of wood, a pommel and a cantle of two arched components, a base consisting of two rectangular pieces 15 x 32 cm in size which rest on the animal's back, and two dowels, one 32 and the other 33 cm long, passing from front to back through each of the arches so that loads may be attached to the saddle by means of pack ropes. Each of the two rectangular base pieces has two vertical mortices cut, one toward the front and the other toward the back, to take the base ends of the arched cantle and arched pommel respectively. The base ends are firmly held in the mortices by leather thongs passing through holes cut for the purpose in the various components. The tree arches themselves, one measuring 54 cm along the curve and the other 50 cm, have been made by bending the two pieces into the desired shape, i.e., a straight piece has been cut and then bent, presumably after some water and/or steam treatment, to the shape required. This is readily shown by the fact that the grain of the wood follows the curve of the tree arches from end to end. The advantage gained by this labour is that the tree arches cannot split as they would do if cut in the arched shape from a plank. The girth, 13 cm in overall length, consists of a leather strap 69 cm long and 4.5 cm wide. This has been passed up over the dowel on the left side of the saddle in a loop 54 cm long and the ends lashed to the girth with rawhide thongs. The remainder of the girth is a 4.75 cm wide belt of canvas webbing (?British or Indian Army) 63 cm long, to which at the end is stitched a double leather strap 16 cm long holding an iron ring 6 cm in diameter. The saddle is prevented from slipping back on the animal by a chest band of khaki webbing (?British army) c. 115 cm long and
2.75 cm wide. This has been neatly covered with bright yellow cotton cloth which has been attached by sewing machine stitching of diamond-shaped patterns in red thread. To prevent chafing on the animal's chest, a section of this belt has been enclosed in a roll of felt 4.5 cm in diameter and 26 cm long. The felt roll has been covered with white cotton cloth and decorated with a band of red cotton cloth 3.5 cm wide round each end. The ends of the yellow cloth-covered webbed belt are attached to the front of the saddle by leather thongs passing through mortices cut through the base of the tree arch on either side. Instead of being simply tied to the tree arches, the thongs are prevented from pulling out of place by notched wooden plugs inserted through slots cut in the straps behind the tree arch. From this same point of attachment other narrow leather straps pass forward on either side to a single tree where they are tied to an iron ring in either end. The single tree is 46.5 cm long, 3 cm in diameter, and has metal-sheathed tips 6.5 cm long. From this, two more lines would pass forward to be attached to the back of the pack saddle on the animal in front.

Height: 21 cm; length: 32 cm; width: 39 cm

Accession no. R.399b

84. Saddle blanket

A felt saddle blanket in the form of a pad, the underside of which is of plain light grey felt to which quantities of brown horse or mule hair are adhering. The edge of the pad all round is covered with a yellow cotton cloth 5 cm wide neatly stitched down and repaired in two places with neat yellow patches, one of silk and the other of thin felt. The whole of the top surface is covered with a rectangle of dark blue cloth, 54.5 x 66.5 cm in size, which has been stitched to the yellow cloth border. The rubbing of the saddle has worn three holes in the blue cloth cover, revealing a second blue cloth underneath, also worn through in places. In one place the edge of the pad has been worn through by rubbing during use and this reveals two other yellow strip edges beneath, showing that when the saddle pad becomes too worn, a new cover is simply sewn on over the old.

Length: 73 cm; width: 59 cm; thickness: 3 cm

Accession no. R.399a

85. Leather strap

A leather strap made by cutting strips of hide c. 2 cm wide and splicing them together with thin strips of rawhide. Six strips have been joined together in this way to produce a single long piece. The straps, being hand cut from different pieces of hide, are of varying widths and thicknesses.

Length: 760 cm

Accession no. R.399c

86. Head collar

A green and black head collar or halter, hand stitched of three layers of leather, with four nickel-plated metal studs on each cheek piece and seven more at 5 cm intervals across the noseband. At either side where the browband is fastened to the headstall there are two tassels, one red and one green, c. 10 cm long. Two plaited leather straps, attached to the noseband and cheek pieces with iron rings, are made to go under the jaw, one passing through an iron ring in the end of the other and terminating in an iron ring to which is fastened a plaited rope c. 210 cm long of white, brown, and black goat's hair, an arrangement which causes the plaited leather straps to bind the lower jaw ever more tightly if the animal tries to pull away or if the lead rope is pulled, thus giving better control over the animal.

Accession no. R.399d

87. Mule decoration

A large leather neck strap 9 cm wide and 87 cm long to which a decorative red leather edging has been stitched. An oval iron buckle is set in one end and a 31 cm long tapering leather strap has been stitched to the other end for attaching to the buckle. Attached to the neck strap are six large round iron slit bells each 10 cm in diameter. The exterior surface of the bells is rough and although once gold-coloured, much of their surfaces are black as if fire-damaged. Attached to the centre of the strap is a very large red-dyed yak hair tassel 56 cm long, round the top of which is a decorative roll of felt 8.5 cm in diameter and 3.5 cm thick, covered with black velvet and having three oval decorations in white, red, and blue-green leather.
Length: 87 cm; width: 9 cm

Accession no. R.399e

88. Decorated bell

A large livestock bell with red cloth strap and a red-dyed yak hair decoration. The bell is made of two pieces of sheet iron joined together to form a round top and slightly convex inward-curving sides, so that the mouth of the bell is smaller than the top.

Height: 23 cm; width: 16.5 cm

Accession no. R.399f

89. Mule decoration

A forehead decoration of a roughly triangular shape, worn with the base of the triangle at the top. Made of a piece of Tibetan carpet, or at least made in the same manner, with the same materials and designs, as a carpet. The back of the forehead decoration is entirely covered with a piece of bright blue cloth which has been stitched on with red thread. The piece has been edged all round with a strip of bright yellow cloth. The carpet piece itself has a design of a blue vase, edged with white, with a large bunch of blue, white, and pink flowers. Two of the flowers with longer stems than the others bend to the right and left respectively to decorate the upper right and upper left corners of the triangle. A total of five blue cloth bands are attached to the triangle, four along the top and one at the bottom. The top four are to tie round the ears and the bottom one to tie on the nose band of the bridle or head collar.

Length: 21 cm; width: 22 cm

Accession no. R.399g

90. Mule decoration

A forehead decoration similar in shape to Cat. no. 89, i.e., triangular, but more face-shaped than Cat. no. 89, having pronounced "ears" at the top corners and "horns" in between. Made of red felt, this example is covered on the back with white cotton cloth. On the front the red felt is edged all round with a narrow strip of plaited silver-coloured threads with black threads forming a chevron design at regular half cm intervals. This strip has been sewn onto the red felt with white thread stitching running neatly down the centre of the strip. The floral design on the red felt has been embroidered with fine wool yarn in yellow, purple, pink, green, and dark yellow. Five white cloth ties or bands have

been sewn on to the edge of the felt, four at the top (one from the tip of each “ear” and one from the tip of each “horn”) and one at the bottom, at the apex of the inverted triangle. These are for fastening the decoration onto the forehead of the animal.

Height: 25 cm; width: 23 cm
Accession no. R.399h

91. Transport case

Heavy leather case stitched together from fifteen pieces of yak skin for carrying goods on transport animals. It was once covered with thick dark brown hair on the outside, but this is now mostly worn off. The case is very strong and well made with ample flaps on both cover and side, with reinforced holes for lashing the cover down over the load, and with many stout leather thongs for tying, making a strong rain-proof case. The front flap was originally edged with a red leather strip which is now so faded and worn that only a few traces of colour remain on the underside.

Height: 35 cm; length: 65 cm; thickness: 34 cm
Accession no. R.304

92. Saddle bags

Small double saddlebag or pannier of woven wool with narrow stripes in off-white, dark brown, light brown, red, and copper-red. The two bags, one 33 x 46 cm in size and the other 33 x 50 cm, are joined by a single piece of the same material measuring 23 x 34 cm. This has been stitched onto the bags with dark brown wool yarn. Attached to the top just below the opening of each bag is a length of rope, one 76 cm long and the other 71 cm, made of grey goat’s hair and dark brown wool so that the bags may be tied shut. On each bag six of the stripes are decorated with short horizontal lines made by single woven rows in a contrasting colour: dark brown on red, copper-red on dark brown, and red on dark brown.

Length: 125 cm; width: 33 cm
Accession no. R.305

Additional Equipment

93. 5.2 Pack saddle

The saddle has been constructed of seven pieces of wood, four of which are the main components, arranged to form two inverted Vs with the ends overlapping at the apex, while the other three smaller pieces, slotting through rectangular mortices cut through the main components, serve to link and hold the two inverted Vs which make the frame. No pegs or nails have been used. The main pieces, two of them 38 x 5-6 x 3-5-4 cm and the other two 36 x 4 x 4 cm, have each been notched so that they slot into each other and are held in place by raw-hide strips. Provision for a girth has been made by cutting a hole toward the bottom end of each of the front members. A leather strap has been passed through this on either side to take the girth, which is 1 cm thick and 4 cm broad and made of plaited wool in dark brown, grey, and purple. A series of ovals form a pattern in grey wool on brown all down the centre of the girth, which is c. 125 cm long. The girth has been made in the same way as R.385a and R.385b (Cat. no. 134), the two yak nose bands. A rope 185 cm long of double thickness made of dark brown and light brown wool is attached to the frame of the pack saddle by a leather thong.

Height: 27 cm; length: 27 cm; width: 45 cm
Accession no. R.388
94. **5.3 Pack saddle**

A Tibetan pack saddle for a yak, without an R number, tagged as “RU 86” with a label on which is written simply “Yak”. The saddle is made of six pieces of wood with pommel and cantle very nearly the same so that at first glance it is difficult to tell the front from the back. There is a difference however; the arch of the pommel is wider than that of the cantle. The two horizontal pieces which lie on the animal’s withers are thus not parallel, but diverge slightly to accommodate the withers. Two horizontal members, round in section, which are slotted into both cantle and pommel on either side of the arch are for attaching the girth and pack ropes. Below these, four rectangular mortices, one toward the bottom of each side of the arch on both pommel and cantle have been made. Each of these holds a leather strap, fixed in place by being looped round a stout wooden peg which prevents the strap from being drawn out. In use these hold the lines which prevent the saddle from slipping either forward or backward. The four main components of the saddle are held together by leather thongs threaded through holes at the base of pommel and cantle and down through holes in the horizontal members that rest on the animal’s withers.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1949-50.

Height: 26 cm; length: 39.5 cm; width: 34 cm

Accession no. R 388a

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95. **5.4 Pack saddle**

A Tibetan pack saddle without an R number, tagged as “RU 87” and bearing a label which reads “mule/pony”. The saddle is very simply made of four pieces of wood: the front and rear arch and two horizontal bars joining them together, one round in section and the other rectangular, for attaching girth and pack ropes. There are no broad horizontal components which would sit on either side of the animal’s withers to take the bases of the pommel and cantle and to spread the weight of the load. The saddle can thus only be used on top of a very thick saddle blanket.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1949-50.

Height: 22.5 cm; length: 41 cm; width: 36 cm

Accession no. R 388b

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96. **5.5 Pack saddle**

This Tibetan pack saddle was found without an R number, though tagged as “RU 85” with the following description: “Nr. M[?l] 136; date: 26.2.50; lokalitet: Tibetan; Donkey saddle, H. Siiger, 3. Dan-
54 Cat. no. 95. Pack saddle.

The pack saddle is constructed of six pieces of carved wood: two broad flat pieces c. 13.5 x 37 cm, made to lie on either side of the animal's withers, joined together by two wooden arches, one forming the pommel and the other forming the cantle, and two parallel horizontal struts, rectangular in section, for attaching the girth and pack straps. These have been let into mortices cut through the pommel and cantle arches, one on either side, and have been cut so that when the cantle and pommel are in place they cannot move either forward or back as they are thicker in midsection than they are at the ends. There are two more, smaller, mortices cut lower down toward the base ends of the pommel and cantle, but these are unfilled. The cantle and pommel fit down into mortices cut in the broad horizontal components which lie on the withers and are attached by heavy leather thongs which have been laced through holes cut in the wood. The only decoration on the saddle has been carved on the front of the pommel. It consists of incised lines which follow the contours of the pommel round the top and also round the arch below. There is no girth nor any other accessories with the saddle except for a short double length of brown and white plaited rope 65 cm long tied onto a leather strap at the back of the saddle on the off side.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1950.

Height: 23.5 cm; length: 37 cm; width: 32 cm

Accession no. R.388c

97. Trade cloth

A rectangular piece of white cloth used for wrapping and sewing up parcels of goods to be sent by caravan transport.

Length: 90 cm; width: 88 cm.

Accession no. R.318a
98. Cloth sack

A rectangular sack of white cloth used for wrapping and sewing up parcels of goods to be sent by caravan transport. Marked: “To Prince Peter, Tashiding, Kalimpong.”

Length: 37 cm; width: 23 cm
Accession no. R.519

99. Cloth sack

A rectangular sack of white cloth used for wrapping and sewing up parcels of goods to be sent by caravan transport.

Length: 20 cm; width: 17 cm
Accession no. R.520

100. Leather pouch

Leather pouch made from a single piece of yak skin. The outer surface is mostly covered with dark reddish-brown hair 4-5 cm long. The edge of the opening has been folded over and stitched down with a heavy strand of yak hair yarn to form a lip. A carrying handle consisting of a loop of rawhide at either side of the opening has been fashioned by joining the two loops with a piece of heavy cord c. 50 cm long.

Length: 20 cm; Width: 20 cm
Accession no. R.381

NOTES:

RIDING ACCOUTREMENTS AND ACCESSORIES

The Tibetans are notable horsemen and for centuries they ranged far and wide across the uplands of Innermost Asia. Equestrian skills are an essential part of the pastoral nomadic way of life, as well as necessary in maintaining vital links in the trading networks that are so important to the economy. Up until the Chinese invasion, the Tibetan army maintained mounted troops trained not only to serve as cavalry, but also with a rôle in the festivals and other ceremonies held annually in Lhasa. A feature of these public events were competitive feats of horsemanship, reminiscent of Indian Army tattoo displays in the days of the British Raj. As a result of these traditions, Tibetan craftsmen developed a wide range of skills in working wood, metal, cloth, and leather to produce the equestrian equipment needed. Many fine examples of their work are now to be found in museums.

The Tibetan collections in Copenhagen include only one riding saddle, though, as listed in the last chapter, there are several pack saddles. The usual Tibetan saddle is very similar to those found in Mongolia and China, with a characteristically broad and high arch at the front of the saddle-tree, and a lower arch at the back. As with so much of Tibetan craftsmanship, the best examples are deemed to be those from Derge in the east. Some of the more expensive saddles display fine gilded iron or silver metalwork on the front arch of the saddle-tree, as well as on the back of the cantle. Occasionally the decoration includes turquoise stones in bezel settings. Horses, yak, and mules are commonly ridden in Tibet, both for long and short journeys, just as they may be used as pack animals as required.

The following description of a Tibetan saddle and other horse furniture dates from the last decade of the 19th century, but remains accurate even today:

"The tree is made of four pieces of birchwood, covered on the outside before and behind with shagreen and trimmed with polished iron bands. The seat is of several thicknesses of felt covered with pulo. The stirrup straps are of plaited rawhide, the stirrup irons of Chinese make. The girth passes over the saddle; frequently a hind girth is used. A broad crupper and a breast band are generally used. From the latter hangs, when the rider is an official, a long red tassel or dom (called ch'i-bsiün in Chinese), such as are worn in China by military officers. The bit used throughout Tibet is a very light, large-ringed snaffle, and the headstall and reins are of either rawhide or plaited hair. A long
plaited rawhide rope is usually carried, tied to the saddle, one end attached to the ring of the bit. Under the saddle are two pads made of felt and covered with ornamented leather facings...these pads, which do not quite touch along the upper edge, keep the saddle well off the horse's back. Underneath them is a large blanket or a felt rug which extends nearly to the horse's tail. Sometimes, especially in eastern Tibet, the whole saddle is covered with a green cloth cover with a felt lining.²

The Cat. nos. 101-112 described below all belong together, being part of a Tibetan nobleman's riding outfit. The rider's costume is described in Chapter X: Cat. nos. 205-215.

Horse Furniture

101. Riding saddle

A carved wooden saddle made of three pieces of wood, the main component being a saddle tree with the two sides joined by an arch, all carved of one piece of wood. The pommel and cantle of the saddle have been carved separately and then fitted onto the tree and held in place with heavy brass strips which also serve as decoration. The outer edges of the tree, cantle and pommel are all edged with these brass strips; on pommel and cantle two lie side by side, making a 2.5 cm wide decoration on both the outer and inner arches. The seat is covered with a thick quilted pad covered with yellow silk. This is held in place by four large round slightly concave brass studs 3.8 cm in diameter, two on each side. The stirrups are of partly gilded iron with brown ribbed horn inserts in the arch and round foot plates 12.5 cm in diameter, each decorated with the endless knot symbol incised into the iron. The edges of the footplates are 1.4 cm thick and have a continuous intertwined leaf pattern all round. At the base of the arch on either side of each stirrup there is an inset panel of gilded iron 1.8 x 4 cm in size depicting a dragon in relief. Above this, also on either side, a curved piece of pale brown horn, 12.5 cm long, 2 cm wide, and 1 cm thick, ribbed on its outer surface, has been fitted in on top of the iron arch, the two pieces of horn meeting at the top under the curved iron piece to which the stirrup leathers attach. On either side of the slot which takes the strap are gilded dragon heads. The girth, the main part of which is 5 cm wide, 1.5 cm thick, and 110 cm long, is attached to the offside of the saddle and appears to be made of plaited ropes but these cannot be seen as they are covered with woven red-dyed wool decorated with white circles in resist, each stamped with a cross. The other part of the girth is made of plaited leather and is 2.8 cm wide and 78 cm long. The two fasten together by means of an iron buckle set in the end of the longer length of girth.

Height: 26 cm; length: 47 cm; width: 30 cm
Accession no. R.246n

102. Saddle bags

Two dark brown leather saddle bags, rectangular in shape, with closing flaps at the top secured by leather thongs. The back panel on each is of light brown coloured leather with two heavy parallel straps, each 3 cm wide and 8 cm apart, running from the bottom of the back panel up to the top where they extend upwards to be joined together with a stainless steel buckle, forming a handle, but also useful for securing the pouch to the saddle. The two parallel straps are not stitched to the back panel all the way up their lengths, but only at top and bottom. They can thus be further secured when travelling by running a strap or rope through them. The only decoration on these pouches are found on the narrow side panels extending down half way from the top. This consists of a strip of blue leather 1.5 cm wide and c. 9 cm long on top of which has been laid a strip of red leather of the same length, but half the width, and the two have then been threaded down through a series of vertical and horizontal cuts in a piece of brown leather sewn onto the
end panel to show off a 6 cm long vertical row of chevron patterns. Below this a horizontal strip of red leather lies underneath a narrower strip of brown. From the centre of this there hangs a tab of brown leather. Round the inside of the mouth of each bag is sewn what looks like a leather lining, but it pulls out to become nearly as large as the pouch itself. It is a weatherproof inner flap which can be tied with leather thongs (attached) to keep the contents of the pouch from spilling out or getting wet. The heavy brown leather flap closes down over this. Its front is pierced by eight large round holes rimmed with brass eyelets. These are to take the thongs and loops for securing the flap. The two pouches are a matched pair and are new.

Height: 26 cm; width: 26 cm; thickness: 12 cm

Accession no. R.2460

103. Bridle

A leather bridle with snaffle bit of iron, very similar in most respects to a European bridle except that the iron rings on the snaffle (7.5 cm in diameter) are decorated with incised leaf patterns and the nose band and throat latch are joined onto the bridle with T-shaped gilt iron plaques 7.5 x 5 cm in size with vine/leaf designs in open work. There is also one in the centre of the nose band, thus five in all. The reins are plain stitched leather straps fastened to the bit rings by lengths of plaited leather, but there is also a second, longer pair of reins woven of bright yellow silk.

Ref.: Müller & Raunig: 206.
Accession no. R.246p

104. Martingale

A leather martingale consisting of four straps, two of which are decorated with three heavy rectangular brass plaques, while the other two at the bottom have only one each. The plaques are 1.4 cm wide and 9.5 cm long and have pointed ends. They are raised and rounded, being 6 mm high and half round in section. Each bears a dragon in relief and the surrounding leaf and vine motif is in open work. On the two straps coming down on either side of the horse’s neck to join in the centre of his chest there is a round brass coin-sized decoration 1.7 cm in diameter between each of the rectangular plaques just described, four in all. At their tops the two straps which lie on either side of the horse’s neck are joined together by a padded red felt-covered strap which lies on top of the neck. This is decorated with three red felt tabs 8 cm wide and 18 cm long, cut to a point to form an ornament in front of the saddle. At their lower ends the two main straps meet and are joined onto a heavy round brass dragon ornament 4.6 cm in diameter and 2 cm high which is sewn down onto a rectangular pad 2 cm thick and 10 cm square, covered with red cloth on the front, yellow silk round the edges, and dark blue cloth on the back where it rests on the horse’s chest. The other two straps, those with only 1 plaque each, are also fastened to this round brass dragon decoration, all four straps being joined in the same way, that is by heavy brass loops at their ends being fastened round the bottom rim of the dragon ornament through half round holes cut into its side. These two pass between the horse’s front legs and fasten onto the girth.

Length: 110 cm
Accession no. R.246q

105. Saddle pad

Saddle pad to go under the saddle blanket consisting of a felt pad the top of which is covered with white cotton edged all round with panels of yellow cotton. The underside is grey felt with a border of blue cotton 8.5 cm wide all round.

Length: 87 cm; width: 68 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm
Accession no. R.246r

106. Saddle blanket

Saddle blanket, made of carpet, to go on top of Cat. no. 105. The knotted carpet in Chinese style is in warm orange and red colours. The outer border of red felt is sewn on to a border of dark blue. The carpet patterns are mostly flowers and birds. The blanket is made of two pieces of carpet sewn down the middle; it is not a rectangle, the corners are indented on either side at the back. The blanket is thus made so that it flares out slightly from the centre to the outer edges. The underside is entirely covered with dark
blue cotton lining. There are two rectangular holes 5.5 x 2 cm cut in the blanket and lined with red leather, one on either side of the centre line and 31 cm apart. This is for the saddle girth to pass through and it prevents the saddle pad from slipping. It also makes necessary Cat. no. 105 as otherwise the girth coming through the saddle pad at those points would gall the horse. There are two other holes in the saddle pad, each 16 cm behind the two rectangular holes just described. These are to take some additional straps or girths.

Length: 64.5 cm; width: 134.5 cm
Accession no. R.246s

107. Saddle cover

A saddle cover made like a carpet fully lined on the back with dark blue cotton. Worked into the carpet are large red, white, and pink flowers with green stems and leaves on a mustard-coloured background. On the underside two cotton tapes have been sewn to the lining so that they are attached only at their ends, forming two loops for fastening the cover to the saddle.

Length: 62 cm; width: 85 cm
Accession no. R.246t

108. Horse decoration

A leather strap, with brass bells attached, to go round a horse’s neck. The strap is in two pieces connected by iron buckles. It is made up of three layers of leather stitched together with the outer surface, where the pellet bells are attached, in blue. The brass bells, of which there are 12, are attached to the strap at 4 cm intervals by means of two leather thongs, one on the underside of the strap which passes up through a hole in the centre of the strap, is taken through the brass ring at the base of the pellet bell, and then is passed back through the same hole in the strap, pulled tight and taken forward to the next hole where the procedure is repeated to secure the next bell. The second thong runs along the top of the strap, on the blue coloured side, and it simply passes through the ring on each bell, running along the top of the strap, and is secured only at each end. The brass pellet bells are spheroid in shape with six tangs or claws curving round and nearly meeting at the bottom centre. The pellets are brass spheres c. 1 cm in diameter.

Length: 88 cm
Accession no. R.246u

109. Horse decoration

Decoration for a horse consisting of a long narrow leather strap round which has been tightly stitched a length of green brocade with small flowers in orange thread. Hanging from this are two groups of four brocade “flags”, each 8 cm wide and 20-23 cm long, making eight in all. These brocade “flags” are
made up of remnants in various colours, mostly gold with red flower motifs and are lined on the back with turquoise-coloured silk.

Length of brocade-covered strap onto which the “flags” are sewn: 182 cm

Accession no. R.246v

110. Horse decoration

Horse decoration very similar to Cat. no. 109 except here the brocade flags are of gold and brown colours. Length of flags: 19-20 cm.

Length: 182 cm

Accession no. R.246x

111. Horse decoration

Horse decoration (attached to Cat. nos. 108 and 105) consisting of a stiff brocade-covered triangle made to hang, apex downwards, from the bottom of the strap with the bells (Cat. no. 108).

From each corner of the triangle hang three tassels of fine silk cords, each tassel being all of one colour: blue, green, pink, and red. At the top each tassel is neatly bound with many windings of fine thread so as to make bands of different colours: pink, silver, blue, green, white. The tassels are 24 cm long. The brocade triangle is of gold with large flowers embroidered in red, blue, and mauve. Very similar to and paired with Cat. no. 112.

Length: 21.5 cm; width: 11.5 cm

Accession no. R.246z

112. Horse decoration

Horse decoration very similar to and paired with Cat. no. 111. The triangle is the same size as Cat. no. 111, but is covered with orange brocade with silver decoration and little flowers in red, pink, and brown. The tassels, although the same length and in the same colours as those in Cat. no. 111, are much smaller in diameter and perhaps for this reason four hang from each point of the triangle rather than three.

Length: 21.5 cm; width: 11.5 cm

Accession no. R.246y

113. Horse decoration

A pair of decorations to hang on a nobleman’s horse, together with stitched brown leather strap. The two decorations consist of two metal cones, each 7.5 cm high and 6 cm wide at the base. The surface of the cones is entirely covered with cloisonné decoration of flowers in red, blue, pale green, and white with green leaves on a dark blue background. The open end of each cone is filled with a wooden plug, but these are hidden by a profusion of red silk cord tassels coming from inside the cone and forced to the outer edge by the wooden insert. The tassels are 33-35 cm long. At its apex, each cone has an oval shaped brass ring 4.5 cm across which is attached so that it can swivel freely. The brown stitched leather strap runs through these. The strap itself is 3 cm wide and 179 cm long and has decorative white stitching all down its length. The two ends of the strap are joined by a stainless steel buckle and two other sections are joined by round brass rings 3.5 cm in diameter. The strap and decorations appear to be new and unused.

Length of strap: 179 cm; width: 3 cm

Height of decorations: 7.5 cm; width: 6 cm

Accession no. R.401 a-c

NOTES:

1 Additional information about Derge as an important craft centre is given in Chapter IV.

2 Rockhill: Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet. 716-17.
Agriculture, trade, and pastoralism are the three main branches of the traditional Tibetan economy. The main cereal crops are barley and buckwheat. It is said that certain varieties of barley grown in Tibet will ripen up to and including 4,600 m above sea level, given a favourable locality. Most of the harvest is used to make tsampa, but some is regularly set aside for chang, the national alcoholic beverage. Buckwheat is also sometimes used to make beer. Wheat is raised wherever conditions permit, but often fails to ripen above 3,500 m. Two different kinds of oats are grown, the best variety of which is highly rated. Other cereals grown where feasible are millet and maize. Rape and mustard are also raised, and the bright yellow fields make a lovely sight in the valleys of Southern Tibet in summer. Pulses are also grown, but root crops are particularly important to the Tibetan farmer and a good deal of arable land is devoted to raising radishes, turnips, carrots, potatoes, onions, and garlic. Mustard seed oil is used by farming families both as a fuel for lamps and as a lotion to rub on the skin of small children, while pastoralists use butter for the same purposes. In a few sheltered valleys in South-Eastern Tibet it is possible to successfully raise fruit trees and there is a small annual production of apricots, walnuts, pears, peaches, and apples.

Tibetan farmers construct effective irrigation systems, practice crop rotation, and use manure to increase the fertility of their fields. On a number of occasions I noticed large quantities of livestock manure neatly stacked in the lanes between dwellings in the villages, awaiting transport to the fields. According to Bell a common rotation plan on what he describes as "inferior land" would be to plant barley in the first year, leave the land fallow in the second, then to plant barley again in the third year; in the fourth year to plant peas, and in the fifth year wheat. He writes that "the barley crop in the third year is expected to be double of that in the first, and is known as 'the borrowed'. Letting the field lie fallow is, as it were, a loan, and the double crop obtained this year is the repayment of that loan." During the year in which arable land is left fallow it is common practice to double plough it "at least once lengthways and once across . . . the grass and weeds are thus worked into the ground". It is also common to find two crops planted together in a single field, barley and peas being one popular combination, another being barley and mustard.

The agricultural implements used in Tibet are the plough, ard, harrow, rake, spade, hoe, sickle, and pitchfork. Examples of all these, except the hoe, are to be found in the National Museum.
collections, though we were unable to locate the sickle (B.2997) at the time this catalogue was made. Flails and winnowing trays are used in a number of areas for threshing, but yak may also be driven over the sheaves which have been carefully laid out on the threshing floor to separate out the grain prior to winnowing. Ploughing is carried out with teams of oxen or cross yak-cattle hybrids called dzo. The draught animals are often colourfully decorated for this work and a number of such decorations are included in Prince Peter’s collection. Bell describes the decorations he saw on a yak team near Ganden monastery in 1920: “On their heads were red tufts of yak-hair, above these [were] tufts of white sheep-wool, and on the top were inserted sprays of cocks’ feathers. Strings of cowries, wound round the necks and on the nostrils of the yaks, added further to the colour scheme. The right horns [also] carried tufts of yak-hair”.

7.2 A shop in the Barkhor Bazaar, Lhasa. The two women are selling nuts, sweets, baskets, winnowing trays, and other products. Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.
The implement described as a “plough” by Bell, Rockhill, and a number of others who have written about Tibetan agriculture is actually an ard, (Old Norse: arr; German: Arl). Steensberg, who uses the term “ard-plough”, notes that this word is derived from the Latin aratum. P. V. Glob traces the word through more than half a dozen European languages and, drawing on Scandinavian archaeological finds, identifies two main types: the bow-ard and the crook-ard, as well as a number of variations on these. Of particular interest to us here are his illustrations of iron-age ard shares found in Denmark which are remarkably similar to the ard shares in use in Tibet today. 1 Lerche suggests that the ard with a symmetrical share (as found in Tibet) may be technically described as a triptolemos ard. 2 As in Europe, these ards and ploughs are used to prepare the soil prior to sowing, rather than afterward, as in some parts of Central Asia.

Although the ard is sometimes rather unsatisfactorily defined as a “primitive plough”, there are important technical differences between the two. Steensberg points out that the ard, unlike
a plough, has a symmetrical share and therefore cannot raise the soil to form ridges. The ard has a much more shallow action, there is no coulter, and, as there is no mould board either, the top layer of soil is not turned over. It is interesting to note that the ard is therefore better suited for use than the European type plough in arid land farming and in those parts of Asia where soils have a characteristically thin humus layer and are poor in nutrients and weak in structure.

Increasingly, since the Chinese invasion, in some parts of Tibet both ploughs and ards may be found. The former are of the type known as single-furrow walking ploughs. Most of these are not only similar to those found in rural areas of China, but are often obtained from Chinese shopkeepers, having been made by Chinese carpenters and blacksmiths.

Prince Peter purchased agricultural implements for the National Museum in Kalimpong in 1954.
114. Ard

A Tibetan ard consisting of a curved stilt and sole, rectangular in cross-section, measuring 122 cm along its outer curve (including the sole), and a beam, round in cross-section, 241 cm long. The sole and forward part of the stilt have been carved from a single piece of wood. A second carved piece forms the heel and extends upward to the top of the stilt where both pieces are pinned together by the dowel forming the handle. The two components are further bound together by a piece of rawhide c. 13 x 22 cm in size with patches of dark brown hair still on it. This has been slipped over the handle and lashed with thongs at the top front of the stilt. A second lashing of rawhide thongs holds the two components together 23.5 cm below the handle at their narrowest point. Finally the sole, the stilt, and the heel are further pinned together by the beam which, together with a reinforcing spar, passes from the back through a vertical rectangular mortice 13 x 2.75 cm in size, leaving a projection of 1.5 cm at the back. The mortice, the end of the beam, and the reinforcing spar have been carefully cut so as to fit very tightly to give strength and rigidity to the ard. Both beam and spar have been introduced through the stilt from the back, their ends having been carved larger than the mortice so that they cannot be pulled out of the stilt, which the work would tend to do. The iron share is tongue-shaped, 29 cm long, c. 12 cm wide, and nearly 1 cm thick. Toward the back the iron has been hammered out to a total width of 24 cm to produce a flange on either side and these have been bent downward with the ends curving inward slightly so as to provide a grip for the wooden wedges, one on either side of the sole, which hold the share in place. The wedges are missing.

Length: 241 cm

Accession no. R.367

115. 7.13 Yoke

An ox yoke consisting of six wooden components: two horizontal beams and four large wooden pins. The larger of the two beams has been thickly padded by wrapping layers of felt round either end to protect the draft animals, as this part of the yoke goes across the tops of their necks. In assembling the yoke the four wooden pins are slotted down through holes in this larger beam, one pair at either end, passing through the
felt padding, where they serve to position the yoke correctly and hold it in place, with the pins positioned on either side of the animals' necks. Toward the bottom of each pair of wooden pins is a hole through which a leather strap has been passed to form a loop below the animals' necks. The second, smaller, beam hangs from these loops, attached to them by another pair of leather straps.

Length of large beam: 117.5 cm; diameter: 8 cm; length of smaller beam: 116 cm; diameter: 4.5 cm; length of wooden pins: 30-35 cm; diameter: 3 cm

Accession no. R.368

116. 7.7 Harrow

A harrow consisting of two beams, rectangular in section (6.5 x 5 cm), joined at either end by a heavy dowel 20 cm long and c. 4 to 4.5 cm in diameter, cut to form a rectangular tenon at each end and let into a mortise cut through the beams. These dowels are held in place by wrought iron pins which have been driven through both the beams and the tenons and then hammered over to clinch them. Two additional dowels spaced 43 cm apart have been placed on either side of the centre. Each is held in place by a large wrought iron pin which passes through the front beam, through the dowel, and out through the back beam where it has been hammered over. The head of each pin at the leading edge of the front beam has been folded over to form a circle which holds an iron ring 6 cm in diameter. The working part of the harrow has been made by driving twenty-five wrought iron blades, thirteen in the front beam and twelve in the back one, each with an 8 to 9 cm tang extending up through the bottom of the beams so that 3 to 3.5 cm of each sticks up through the beam. These have been hammered over to hold the blades below in place. The blades are roughly rectangular in shape and approximately 2.25 x 3.50 cm in size and 0.5 cm thick. They are spaced out 16.5 to 17 cm apart down the length of each beam. A split in the front beam has been repaired with rawhide binding.

Length: 203 cm; width: 21 cm

Accession no. R.370

117. Rake

Wooden rake with hammered wrought iron teeth. The rake handle, round in cross section, slots into a mortice in the head of the rake and is held in place by a wooden dowel driven down through the head of the rake, through a hole cut in the handle, and on down through to the bottom of the rake head. The rake head itself is a wooden cross member 52.5 cm long and rectangular in cross section. There are nine iron teeth, and holes in the rake head show that originally there were twelve, the two teeth on either end, plus one more, having fallen out due to the splitting of the ends of the wooden bar holding them. The teeth, products of the local blacksmith, are 20-22 cm long and taper away toward either end from an oval-shaped midsection, the tang on one side being much thinner than that on the other. In assembling the rake the smith has inserted the thinner tangs as far as possible up through holes cut in the rake head, each tooth being prevented from going too far by the wider oval section approximately half way along its length. The tops of the tangs have then been hammered down over the rake head to the front and back alternately to secure the teeth in place. The working length of the rake teeth is c. 11-11.5 cm. The teeth are c. 0.5 cm thick and 1 cm broad.

Length: 139 cm; width: 52.5 cm

Accession no. R.369

7,7 Cat. no. 116, Harrow.
118. Cultivating tool

Short-handled digging tool very similar to an adze in appearance with a wooden handle varying in diameter from 2.5 cm at the proximal end to 4 cm at the distal end. The heavy blade of wrought iron is 7.75 cm wide at its broadest point, tapering slightly back towards the socket hole to 0.5 cm. The blacksmith has fashioned this from two pieces of iron, one of which he has bent round to form the back of the socket and the outer edges of the blade, and the blade itself, which has been inserted in between these two arms so that the back of the blade forms the front of the socket. A ragged piece of khaki-coloured corduroy has been wrapped round the top of the handle so that it will fit tightly in the socket.

Length: 46 cm; blade length: 24 cm
Accession no. R.371

119. Pitchfork

Agricultural fork with wooden handle and antelope horn tines. The handle, 123.5 cm long and 4.5 cm in diameter, is round in section. At the lower end it has been cut on either side so as to leave a wedge-shaped central section, the two recesses being to take the base ends of a pair of ribbed antelope horns which have been fixed to this portion of the handle by two wooden dowels passing through both horns and the lower end of the handle. In addition, the horns and lower portion of the handle have been lashed round with rawhide strips, the ribbed surface of the horns providing convenient grooves for such bindings. The antelope horns are of uneven length, one being 55 cm long and the other 54 cm. Such forks are used for stacking fodder and winnowing grain.

Length: 165.5 cm
Accession no. R.372

120. 7,8 Pitchfork

Wooden agricultural fork with handle, round in section and c. 3.5 cm in diameter. The head of the fork, rectangular in section, is 33 x 4 x 4 cm in size. A mortice measuring 2.25 x 3.50 cm has been cut through the centre of this in order to take the bottom of the handle, cut to fit, so that the handle passes through the head. It is held in place by the tight fit; no pegs or other fastenings having been used. Six holes c. 1 cm in diameter have been cut through the head, three on either side of the mortice which takes the handle, to receive the wooden tines of the fork. These, of which there are only four remaining, are c. 22 cm long and have been cut from branches and roughly trimmed to suit the purpose. All still have some bark on them. This fork has apparently been adapted from a rake as there are four holes, plugged with the broken ends of wooden teeth, cut through the head at 90 degrees to the handle and existing wooden tines. The implement shows signs of much use.

Length: 152 cm; width: 33 cm
Accession no. R.373
121. 7,9 Basket

Rectangular basket of split cane with the sides tapering to a rectangular bottom c. 24 x 24 cm. A carrying rope of plaited light brown yak hair 157 cm long is fastened to the basket with dark brown wool yarn. The basket has been reinforced by large running stitches of rawhide thongs from top to bottom all round. Baskets similar to this are found all over Tibet in nomad camps, towns, villages, and on farms. On building sites they are used for transporting stone and carrying away earth and rubble. On farms and in nomad camps they are used for carrying dung and anything else of suitable size, as needed. They are used by both women and men.

Height: 111 cm; top opening: c. 47 x 47 cm

Accession no. R.374

122. 7,11 Basket

A rectangular basket, carried by either men or women by means of yak-hair ropes over the shoulders, for grain, earth, manure, gravel, etc. The sides taper down to a bottom which is c. 15 x 15 cm. The basket, made on a light willow frame consisting of two curved U-shaped pieces c. 1 cm in diameter, has been constructed of straw and grass stems lashed into long bundles with rawhide thongs. These have been arranged in a coil pattern starting from the bottom centre to build up the sides, incorporating the willow frame at each corner by passing the wands up through the grass stem bundles. The construction has been finished by an additional cross-lashing of rawhide thongs from bottom to top round the wooden frame at each corner. The wands project up from the corners c. 12-14 cm. The frame strengthens the basket, keeps it in the correct shape, protects the bottom from wear and tear as it passes outside the basket toward the bottom and, finally it is used to hold the yak hair rope by which the basket is carried. See accompanying illustrations.

Overall height: c. 45 cm; basket only: c. 30 cm. Top opening: c. 32 x 34 cm

Accession no. R.375

According to Rockhill:
7.10 Women chatting in front of the Jokhang Temple, Lhasa. The woman on the left has a traditional Tibetan basket, the one on the right carries a small child. Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.

"Wickerware is never used among the tent-dwelling Tibetans, and none of that which I have seen in other parts of the country was made by the people themselves. In Poyal, in southern Tibet, the people of which are not pure Tibetans, very pretty wicker-work is made. In the various books of travel to which I have had access, I have found no mention of wickerware in Tibet, and the various names giving different forms of baskets by Mr. Jaeschke in his dictionary (prü-na, 'a flat basket'; gzed-ma, 'a box-shaped basket with lid'; tsê-po or tsê-po, 'a basket carried on the back'; bag-tsê, 'a little basket for wool or clews of wool') are nearly all peculiar to portions of the country in close proximity to India."

123. 7.12 Grain sieve

Rectangular grain sieve with a wooden frame. The sieve itself is of leather thongs threaded through holes made at c. 1.5 cm intervals near the bottom edge of the frame and then passed over and under each other diagonally across the rectangle to form diamond shaped openings c. 1 x 1 cm in size. The sides of the frame slope inward from the top, the two end pieces being fitted into mortices cut at an angle into the side components. Many of the smaller holes through which the thongs pass toward the bottom of the frame are tightly packed with oats and oat husks. The construction is held together at the bottom by the cross lashings of the sieve. The top corners of each of the two sides and two end pieces are held in place by leather thongs which have been passed through holes cut for the purpose. There are two notches c. 2.5 cm wide and 1.5 cm deep opposite each other at the bottom edge of the two side pieces 14-15 cm from one end and 40 cm from the other. These are worn smooth and show a good deal of wear and use.

Length, top: 63; width: 33 cm; length, bottom, 54 cm; width: 26 cm

Accession no. R.577

124. 7.12 Grain sieve

Rectangular wooden grain sieve with a cross-weaving of very thin strips of rawhide in the manner of weaving cane for a chair seat. The rawhide strips have been passed through holes in the wooden frame cut about one cm apart in two staggered rows. Vertical mortices have been cut toward either end of the two longer side pieces to receive the ends of the shorter end pieces, enabling the sieve to hold its correct shape as the rawhide was drawn tight thus making the construction firm. The sieve was apparently last used to sift oats as quan-
7.12 Cat. nos. 123-125. Grain sieves.

75. 7.11 Grain sieve

Rectangular wooden framed sieve with rawhide screen very similar to Cat. no. 124 (Fig. 7.12). As is the case with Cat. no. 124 (Fig. 7.12) the ends of the two wooden components making up the short sides of the rectangular frame have been cut at an angle and fitted into mortices cut in the two sides. The sides of the sieve are thus not vertical, but sloping, as shown in the measurements below. This specimen has, like Cat. no. 124 (Fig. 7.12), been used for sieving grain and quantities of oats and oat husks are caught in the rawhide strips round the edge of the sieve.

Length, top: 42 cm; width: 24 cm; length, bottom: 36 cm; width: 19.5 cm; depth: 8 cm

Accession no. R.379

126. Winnowing tray

A winnowing tray made in the same way as Cat. no. 122 (Fig. 7.12) in that it consists of coils of straw and grass stems held tightly together in rope-like bundles c. 1.5 cm thick by lashings of rawhide thongs. The coil construction has been built up from the bottom centre as is done in making some types of clay pots. The tray, which might equally be described as a shallow basket, has c. 8 cm high sides except at one point where the side has been flattened out to facilitate the pouring of grain.

Diameter: 41 cm

Accession no. R.380

127. Load carrier

A load carrier of twisted light brown and dark brown yak hair rope to which, half way along its length, a piece of grey yak or goat's hair rope c. 106 cm long has been attached in such a way as to form two additional lines, each c. 18 cm long, with a loop at the end which holds a wooden wand which is itself twisted into a loop. This is used at harvest time to carry cut grain from field to threshing floor and at other times to carry fodder and fuel. In use the double length of rope is laid out on the ground with the two wooden loops at one end. The load of cut grain stalks is laid across the ropes at right angles, the free ends of the rope are brought up over the load and passed down through the wooden loops. The load can then be swung up on the worker's back and the free ends of the rope held in the hands for transport. Looped wooden wands identical to those described here are also employed to control yak for riding or ploughing. This is done by putting the wooden loop through the nostrils so that a rope can be attached.

Length: 517 cm

Accession no. R.386a
7.13 Cat. no. 115. Yoke.

128. Load carrier

As Cat. no. 127 except that the light brown and dark brown twisted hair rope is shorter.

Length: 453 cm

Accession no. R.386b

129. Wooden stake

A smooth light brown wooden stake tapering to a pointed end which shows signs of having been driven into the earth, just below the top of the stake the wood has been carved down to a 1 cm thickness and at its narrowest point, 3.5 cm below the top, a hole has been cut through the stake and a strip of light brown rawhide has been passed through and tied in a loop. According to the Accessions register this belongs with Cat. no. 127 and/or 128 as part of the load carrying device, but this seems unlikely.

Length: 37 cm; diameter: 2 cm, tapering to 1.5 cm

Accession no. R.396

130. Rope

A length of twisted light yellowish rope resembling sisal, which has been folded double in the middle and looped through a wooden wand that has been soaked in water and then bent round to form a loop rather in the shape of a Greek alpha, thus forming the traditional Tibetan load fastening device which avoids the need to secure a load with knots; the free end of the rope merely passes through the wooden ring and, when carried, the weight of the load tightens the rope round it. Similar to Cat. nos. 127 and 128.

Length: 760 cm

Accession no. R.397 a-b

NOTES:

1 Bell: The People of Tibet: 33-4.
2 Ibid.: 35.
3 Glob: Ärd og Plor i Nordens Oldtid: 77.
5 Steensberg: Stone Shares of Ploughing Implements from the Bronze Age of Syria.
7 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: 709.
Tibetan pastoralists and agriculturalists are adept at livestock management, having centuries of trial and error experience to draw upon. Success in this requires a sophisticated understanding of the needs of the different kinds of livestock in their care, combined with a detailed knowledge of the resources available to them in the physical environment. The equipment they use to facilitate this management is simple but effective, requiring only locally available materials and local skills to produce and to repair. Although Prince Peter was careful to obtain a number of ordinary and everyday items of livestock equipment, he also purchased some of the more elaborate decorative pieces such as those described here.

Slings

The sling is used mainly by herders, men, women, boys, and girls alike, to keep their flocks in order, and also to protect the herds against predators. The sling remains, even today, an important accessory and is carried tucked in the belt at all times by those who regularly deal with livestock. Thubten Jigme Norbu explains:

“There are wolves and bears, and every nomad, man or woman, always has with him a special sling hung from the sash tied at the waist. The sling is made of yak hair and has a felt pocket in the middle. At one end there is a hole for a finger or thumb, and at the other end there are a number of loose yak hairs. You put a stone in the felt pocket, hold the loose end between your thumb and fingers, and swing it around your head. When you let go, the stone flies out, and the loose yak hairs crack like a whip, making a sound almost like gunshot. A good marksman can hit an animal at two hundred yards on the level, and even more if he is higher up. At night everyone has his sling beside him in case of attack by animals or thieves, and a little pile of stones is kept in the middle of the sleeping area.”

An illustrated and detailed description of the Tibetan sling is provided by Sophie Desrosiers in her Beschreibung einer tibetischen Schleuder. Slings are still made and used by Tibetan nomads. In the 1980s in a market stall in Lhasa I purchased examples for the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
EQUIPMENT FOR LIVESTOCK

Sling

131. Sling

Shepherd's sling for casting stones, made of plaited dark brown and grey yak hair with the pouch for holding the stone stitched in four roughly diamond shaped patterns, each in a different colour: red, green, yellow, and blue. This is edged with a cord of yak hair made with a chevron pattern in alternating grey and dark brown. At either end of the pouch these cord edges merge and continue on to form the sling itself. The basic element in the construction of the sling is yak hair yarn in grey and dark brown having been twisted and plaited together to make a pattern which, down part of the length of the sling, is strikingly reminiscent of the dark brown and white pattern found on dzar beads. Using these yarns several different techniques have been employed to make up the sling; all variations on double lengths of brown and white cord. In some sections the two cords, although side by side, have not been stitched to each other, while in other sections they have been firmly stitched, producing a double length of alternating white and brown chevron patterns. In still others the two cords have been plaited together to form a single length that does not have a spiral of alternating white and brown yarn down its length, but a reciprocating pattern that spirals for one turn in one direction and then "stops" and spirals in the opposite direction so that the "un-rolled" design is a lazy zigzag.

Length: 311 cm
Ref.: Müller & Raunig: 177.
Accession no. R.294

Yak Decorations

The decorations described below were used on just one day each year, rather than throughout the agricultural season. They were brought out in Spring to decorate draught animals on the occasion when the first cereals of the year were planted.

132. Yak decorations

A pair of yak decorations, each consisting of a trimmed and peeled wooden wand c. 50 cm long to which at one end has been stitched a bright yellow rectangular cloth flag 37 x c. 21-23 cm in size. The end of the wand above the flag is decorated with a small bunch of four cloth strips, two red and two green. At the other end of the wand a triangular piece of felt 15 cm high and 10 cm across the base has been attached. The felt has been covered on one side with very dark purple-red woollen cloth edged all round with a strip of blue cotton cloth. Fifteen white and yellowish-white cowrie shells have been sewn on each of these triangles, neatly set out on the red cloth. Sewn onto the back of the base of each triangle just below the end of the wooden wand is a large thick bunch of white yak hair c. 35-40 cm long. At the apex of each triangle a plaited cord of mixed white and yellow wool 28-30 cm long has been attached.

Accession no. R.383 a-b

133. 8.1 Yak decorations

Two very similar neck ornaments for yak oxen, each with a single brass bell attached to its centre, made of pieces of grey felt covered on one side with a finely woven piece of dark red wool and edged with a strip of blue cotton cloth. Down the entire length of each piece white cowrie shells have been sewn onto the dark red cloth with thin leather thongs which pass through to the back of the felt. The cowries have been arranged in groups of four, forming crosses of which there are twelve. One such cross on the end of each of the neck ornaments is made of only three cowries, there not having been room for the fourth. The same is true for the centre pair of cowrie ornaments on R.384 a where a shell has been left off each cross to make room for the brass bell. A short plaited rope of pale yellow wool c. 25 cm long has been attached to each end of each of the two ornaments for tying round the animal's neck.

Length: 57 cm; width: 7 cm
Accession no. R.384 a-b

134. Yak decorations

Yak nose bands, each made of two thick plaited lengths of light brown, dark brown, and white goat's hair sewn to-
8. The lldll gt> the next piece st~ffed round puckmarked with<br>the stitching with Tellotn also on a plaited blanket. In yellow on a bright red background the brown nose to the overall length. In the centre of each nose band a flat round pompon 9 cm across and 3 cm thick has been sewn. These are made of a round piece of leather with a red cloth edge sewn onto it and topped off with a small round piece apparently cut from an old Tibetan carpet. Before closing up the stitching the little pompon has been stuffed like a pillow with hair or felt. The piece of carpet on R.385a is a blue flower with pale yellow edging round the petals on a bright red background. On R.385b the round piece of carpet appears to show a dark red vase outlined in yellow on a bright red background with a diamond shaped pattern on it.

The nosebands was made by taking a plaited length of dark brown and light brown yak or goat's hair c. 80 cm long and laying it beside a thicker length of plaited brown and white hair and sewing the two together with red yarn. The two joined pieces were then folded round so that the two half lengths lay tightly side by side and they were then sewn together halfway down their lengths with red yarn, leaving a small loop at one end and two free ends for attaching the leather straps at the other. and making a noseband 4 cm wide. The band is placed on the yak's muzzle with the pompon on top and the two leather straps are passed under the jaw and brought up through the loop in the noseband and tied.

Length: 82 cm
Accession no. R.385 a-b

135. Yak decorations

Four yak tassel decorations made of bunches of red-dyed yak hair 20 cm long. Each tassel is topped by a bunch of short grey yak hair which serves as a decorative feature and at the same time serves to hide the yarn binding which secures the tassel to a 20 cm long cord used for attaching the tassel to the ox. Each glossy red-dyed bunch of yak hair is decorated with two bands of white made by a resist dye technique; the bunches of hair having been very tightly bound round at two points to produce 1 cm broad white stripes where the dye could not penetrate.

Accession no. R.387 a-d

136. Saddle blanket

Saddle pad for yak. An irregular rectangle in shape, it is made of a thick pad of coarse felt consisting of grey, light brown, and dark brown hair and wool which goes next to the animal's back. It is covered on the upper side with three strips of dark brown woven yak hair.
two of them 22 x 87 cm and the third 19 x 83 cm, very similar to the material used for making tents. The smaller of the three strips bears the imprint of a seal c. 1.5 cm across where a very dark brown or black liquid has been dripped onto the woven yak hair pad cover and an impression made. The cartouche is of an indented oval shape, as if made up of four curved lines, and inside are six lines, five short ones plus a longer one, arranged so as to appear like a script, but not identifiable as being either Chinese or Tibetan. The three strips of woven material are sewn together and stitched onto the felt pad all round the edges with a running loop stitch. Extra heavy cord stitches of grey wool have been made in a straight line part way across the centre with additional stitching on either side diagonally from each corner toward the centre, then turning to run parallel with the centre line for some 15 cm before angling off toward the lower corners.

Length: 60-62 cm; width: 83-87 cm; thickness: 3 cm
Accession no. R.389

137. Cattle decorations

Two ear decorations for cattle. These are identical in size, colour, and style to cat. no. 135.

Accession no. R.390 a-b

138. Yak decorations

A pair of yak tassel decorations made of bunches of red-dyed yak hair c. 20 cm long. Each bunch is bound at the top with a leather loop, 3.5 cm broad, which has been stitched onto the red yak hair with yarn made of dark brown or black yak hair. The two ornaments are joined together by a leather thong 49 cm long.

Accession no. R.390c

139. Cattle decoration

A neck strap for a cow, made of plaited goat's hair in dark brown, orange, red, white, and black. A T-shaped design in white on black runs the length of the neck band with every other T upside down. Attached to the band are an iron bell 6 cm high with a wooden clapper, and, near the centre of the band, a thick bunch of red and white yak hair 18 cm long. The bell is attached to the band by a double length of plaited yak hair rope, both ends of which have been stitched to the band. The free end, with its loop, has been passed through an iron ring at the top of the bell and a wooden peg 6 cm long with a deep groove round its centre has been inserted in the loop. The rope has been pulled tight round the peg and stitched together to prevent the loss of the bell. A similar yak hair rope fastening is attached to the band toward the opposite end, suggesting that there may have been a second bell at one time.

Length: 79 cm; width: 4 cm
Accession no. R.391

140. Yak hair rope

A length of dark brown and white double rope made by sewing two equal lengths of hand made yak hair rope together with red-dyed yak hair yarn. The two ropes have been made with alternating twists of dark brown and white cord and placed together so that a chevron pattern with a red strip down the centre is achieved. A pale brown strip of rawhide 90 cm long has been tied to one end; the other has a similar strip to which has been attached two large red-dyed bunches of yak hair, each with a broad leather loop for attaching to the horns of a yak. For yak teams.

Length: 655 cm
Accession no. R.382

141. Yak hair rope

A plaited rope of light and dark brown yak-hair with a loop at one end.

Length: 365 cm
Accession no. R.392

NOTES:

1 Norbu & Turnbull: Tibet: 68.
2 See Müller & Raunig: 177.
CHAPTER IX

WEAPONS, HUNTING EQUIPMENT, AND ARMOUR

Several writers have offered descriptions of various weapons commonly made, used, or found in Tibet. A useful illustrated account is provided by W. W. Rockhill. Matthias Hermanns gives a brief account of the weapons used by the Amdo nomads and a general description of the weapons in the Newark Museum is provided by Eleanor Olson in her catalogue.

Rifles

Rockhill remarks that:

"The Tibetan's gun is his most valued possession. It is a matchlock with a long fork which pivots around a screw through the stock. The barrel and all the iron work are made by the Chinese, but the Tibetans often make the stock, using very light wood which they cover sometimes with wild-ass skin. They manufacture their own powder and slow-matches, and buy from the Chinese the lead for their bullets. They use no wads in loading, and the bullets are much smaller than the caliber of the guns. They can make very good shooting with them at the average range of about 100 yards, but I never saw them hit a moving object, although some said they could."

As Rockhill was writing more than a hundred years ago one might reasonably expect that the matchlock had long since been discarded in Tibet in favour of breech-loaders, if not self-loading rifles. However, I saw a Tibetan with a matchlock in the Changtang in 1986 and in their book Goldstein and Beall show a picture of a matchlock being fired by a Tibetan hunter. Of course modern rifles are increasingly in use. Goldstein and Beall report that in 1988 they met nomads who had borrowed a modern hunting rifle and had bought cartridges for two yuan each. Here is an instance of prices coming down in the hundred years since Rockhill’s travels: he noted that “In the Ts’aidam and Tibet, lead [for bullet-making] is often sold for its weight in silver.”

According to Ekvall, who was in Eastern Tibet at the same time as Matthias Hermanns in the 1930s, "Each tent possesses firearms. Even the poorest has one or two muzzle-loading matchlocks, and a tent of modest affluence has at least one breech-loading rifle." These, it should be added, are not just for hunting; they are needed to protect the herds from raiders. The stealing of

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9.1 A doorway in Gyantse bearing sun and moon symbols. Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.
livestock is a time-honoured occupation in Central and Innermost Asia.

The only rifle from Tibet in the National Museum collections is Cat. no. 114 which belongs with the R.246 series, Costume of Official Master of Ceremonies, and is described in Chapter X (Cat. nos. 205-15).

Bows, Arrows, and Accessories

Bows and arrows, as practical weapons either for warfare or hunting, have long since been discarded by Tibetan nomads. They survived until recently as part of the ceremonial equipment carried by officials on state occasions and are still used at sporting events on festive occasions. Horse racing and archery contests continue to be a popular part of many calendar events in different parts of the country.

Rockhill maintains that the bow was a Chinese import, but Hermanns considers that although the composite bow was an import, there was also an indigenous variety, if only in the forested regions of the East and South-East:


A bow, bow case, and quiver of arrows obtained by Prince Peter is described in the R.246 series, Costume for Official Master of Ceremonies, in Chapter X (Cat. nos. 205-15).

142. Thumb ring

Archer's thumb ring of cement-grey fine-grained translucent stone. Dull finish, slightly rough to the touch, like very fine sand-paper.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 2.2 cm; diameter: 2.7 cm; thickness: 0.35 cm

Accession no. B.3003

143. Thumb ring

Very pale yellow jade archer's thumb ring. Now that bows and arrows are no longer used in Tibet, these remain in demand and can be purchased in most markets, as they are used as hair ornaments, especially by men. There is a loop of pale purple cord tied through the ring.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1950.

Width: 2.5 cm; diameter: 3.2 cm; thickness: 0.5 cm

Accession no. R.170

Spears

In Rockhill's day in the second half of the 19th century spears were still part of the nomad's routine equipment. He reports that:

"The spear (dung) is a weapon in common use in Tibet, especially among the black-tent people. It varies in length from 7½ feet to 10 or 12 feet. One in my possession [See Diary of a Journey: 170], made in Poyul, has a shaft 5 feet 7½ inches long; the point is of iron, the shaft fitting into a socket
at its end. The point is a long, narrow two-edged blade. The butt of the shaft has a heavy iron shoe. A strong band of iron is coiled around the shaft its whole length; this device is resorted to throughout the country to strengthen the shaft, for making which the country supplies no good wood. Spears were also noted among Tibetan nomads by Hermanns half a century after Rockhill:

"Eine Waffe, die in den Zelten aufbewahrt wird, ist der Speer. Auf dem 2-3 m langen Holzschaft steckt eine Eisenspitze. Es gibt einfache, kurze Eisentüllen, dreikantig oder vierkantig; ferner lange Spitzen, an die noch ein Fisenschaft schließt, der auf den Holzschaft geklebt wird. Ein Büschel Yakhaare ist unter der Spitze befestigt."

144. Spear

An iron spear with a bronze point. Not seen.

Obtained in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siger in 1949.

Length: 191 cm

Accession no. R.140

145. Spear

Iron spear with wooden shaft. The blade, 42.8 cm long, is square in cross-section towards the rear. The blade socket, 23.5 cm long, is decorated with silver inlay. Between the socket and the blade is a square jagged-edged plate with eight holes. The shaft, which tapers toward the rear, is carved like the stem of a plant with nodes and buds. Not seen.

Although accessioned as "from Tibet" this spear bears a label reading "Siamese Spear". From Mr Skjøt.

Length: 221 cm

Accession no. C.1943

Swords

The Tibetan sword is of two kinds. Both are straight and of iron, but in one kind the extremity of the blade runs to a sharp point; in the other (copied from the Chinese) the point is oblique, like the Japanese and Chinese swords. The average length of the blade of Tibetan swords is 63.5 cm.

"In the finer examples, made in Poyul, the hilt is covered with shagreen, and in the pommel, which is of iron, wires of brass and copper have been set in the metal. The scabbard is of wood covered with shagreen and plain bands of silver extend half its length. The upper half of the scabbard is covered with red cloth, a strap fastened to the scabbard near the hilt passes around the wearer's waist, and the sword is worn in front of the person, as are nearly all Tibetan swords. In Lit'ang, Ch'amdo and a few other localities, however, a variety of sword is made which is worn in Chinese fashion, hanging from the left side ..., but in the usual Tibetan mode of carrying a sword is passed in the belt in front so that the right hand rests on the hilt."

146. Sword and scabbard

A short sword (a) with a copper hand grip and copper sheath (b). The unusual steel blade has three cutting edges; to a normal sword blade has been added a second, at right angles to the first, running down the centre of the flat side the full length of the main blade, making it T-shaped in cross-section. The grip is tightly bound with copper wire. The copper sheath is triangular in section and is open at the point. An end cap is missing. There is no lug or loop for fastening the sheath to a belt.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siger in 1949.

Overall length: 61.75 cm; blade: 49.5 cm; sheath: 50.75 cm

Accession no. R.142 a-b

147. Sword and scabbard

Sword and sheath. The sword has a trefoil-shaped pommel with a grip which is partly covered with shagreen and, where the shagreen is missing at the top, partly by windings of nickel wire. A strip of white metal runs the length of the grip on one side, emerging from under the metal pommel and disappearing under the metal ring above the quillons. The blade is straight, flat, and undecorated. The sheath is made of wood-lined brass with a copper cup at the tip and a cop-
per sleeve at the top. Both the hilt of the sword and the scabbard are much-repaired.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Saiger in 1949.

Overall length: 82.5 cm; blade length: 65.7 cm; width: 3 cm

Accession no. R.143 a-b

148. Sword

A sword with solid brass hilt, diamond shaped pommel, and a Makara head at the bottom of the hilt, placed so that the blade appears to emerge from his mouth. The blade, which looks as if it might originally be from a European sabre, is undecorated or otherwise marked except for five groups of small round punch marks arranged to form triangles on one side. Neither the materials used for the hilt, nor the style in which it is made are traditional.

Given by “Guldsmed Jacobsen”. No provenance.

Length: 92 cm; width of blade: 3.5-3.9 cm

Accession no. R.746

149. Sword and scabbard

Short sword with horn pommel and iron scabbard, oval in section, decorated with brass strips and pieces of shagreen. Blade: 2.5 cm at greatest width just below grip, tapering to a point.
Purchased in Darjeeling by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 38 cm; scabbard: 32.5 cm

Accession no. B.2989

150. Sword and scabbard
Sword with iron hilt and leather covered sheath. Not seen.
Purchased in Darjeeling in 1907 by J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. C.1352

Hunting Equipment

151. Belt with accessories
A narrow leather hunter's belt from which hang eleven copper rings, each set c. 10-12 cm from the other along the belt's length, and each held in place by a U-shaped brass strip attached to the belt by a copper rivet. From these rings hang shooting accessories, namely ten copper containers for measured charges of gunpowder, each with a leather stopper, attached by a twisted leather thong to the copper ring on the belt. These copper powder charge containers are of approximately uniform size and shape, being 9-10 cm high, 2.2 cm in diameter at the widest point, and c. 1.2 cm wide at the small end where the powder is dispensed. One of the copper charge containers, apparently made by a different coppersmith, is only 7 cm overall, has a mushroom-shaped top, and has lost its stopper. Also attached to the belt is a black curved powder horn made from a cow's horn c. 15 cm long (17.2 cm if measured along the curve) with its large end closed by a carved wooden stopper. A small opening has been made in this, which opens and closes by means of a miniature sliding panel. The other, pointed, end of the horn also opens and shuts by means of a 6.5 cm long slot which has been cut in the horn from the tip running back along the inside of the curve. Into this slot has been fitted a carved piece of horn, held in place midway along its length by a horn pin. Press down on the raised ribbed section of the inset and the other end, at the tip of the horn, flips open so that gunpowder is released. The outer surface of the horn has been carved into facets. A white wool yarn cord, passing through an iron ring set in the horn is used to fasten it to the belt, round which it is simply tied and not attached to a ring. The only other belt accessory, purpose unknown, is a carved hardwood peg 8.5 cm long and 1.5 cm in diameter which has a small hole through it halfway along its length, by which it is attached to the belt by a leather thong.1

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 123 cm; width: 1.7 cm
Ref.: Rockhill, 1895, plate 23, 713

Accession no. C.1353

NOTES:

1 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet. 711-14
2 Die Nomaden von Tibet. 56-8.
3 Catalogue of the Tibetan Collections and other Lamaist Articles, V: 19-24.
4 The Land of the Lamas. 78.
5 Nomads of Western Tibet. 124.
6 The Land of the Lamas. 78 footnote.
7 Fields on the Hoof. 40.
8 "The bow is apparently not a Tibetan weapon, as all those in use in the country are imported from China or Bhutan. The quiver, bow case, and all the accoutrements are purely Chinese or Bhutanese in style." Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet. 711.
9 Die Nomaden von Tibet. 56-7.
10 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet. 713.
11 Die Nomaden von Tibet. 57-8.
12 Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet. 712.
In addition to using homespun fibres for domestic weaving, many Tibetans have for generations been accustomed to the convenience of imported cloth, particularly cotton, from India and China. Silk and brocades imported from China were also much in demand by high ranking members of the clergy and the nobility for formal and festive dress, as the present collection well illustrates. The cloth trade into Tibet is doubtless centuries old, and has been carried on parallel with the nomad tradition of self-reliance which meant that each family was able to spin, sew, prepare skins, and weave to produce most, if not all, their own requirements.

"In Tibet sewing is about equally divided between the two sexes, the men making most of their own clothes and all tailors being men. They use scissors and needles of Chinese make and woolen thread which they twist themselves. They sew toward the body. The men do not use a thimble, but women have a small ring made of copper resembling a seal ring, but where the stone should be there is lead. They put this ring on the forefinger and press the needle against it. It is used in parts of Mongolia (Ts'aidem) as well as in Tibet, but the Chinese thimble, in shape like our tailor's thimble, is rapidly superseding it in popular favor."

The costume described by Rockhill, which he calls the "national dress of both sexes" consists in its simplest form of a long-sleeved, full-length coat (ch'uba), a woven belt or girdle to wrap round the waist by way of fastening it shut, and a pair of boots. He writes that "trousers are occasionally worn by the men; they are always made like those worn in China, and are of either sheepskin, native cloth, or coarse cotton, rather baggy, and reach down to about the ankle, where they are held by a garter. The boot is worn over them." He also mentions that "Men and women frequently wear a short shirt of raw silk (buré, in Tibetan), reaching to above the waist and with long sleeves."

"The long-sleeved, full-length coat - ch'uba - is of sheepskin in winter, of native cloth (truk or ta) in summer. It is tied tightly around the waist with a woolen girdle so as to make it very baggy about the waist, and it reaches down to about the knee when worn by men and to the ankle when worn by women. In a large part of the country this is the only gar-

ment worn. The collar and cuffs and hem are sometimes faced with black velvet or red or blue cloth, or striped tuk, or with otter or leopard skin. Buttons are not usually used, although those of Chinese make or army buttons obtained from India are much sought after, and small silver coins (half rupees generally) are frequently made into buttons, but more on account of them being ornamental than for any use they are put to.

"The cut of the ch’uba and the way of wearing it differ in various parts of the country; the pastoral Tibetans wear it much shorter than those living in towns and villages, ... who do not pass much of their time riding or climbing. So likewise the trimming of the
cuffs and sleeves differs according to the tribe."
An example of this type of coat is described below in Cat. no. 162 (Fig. 10, 10).

In his *Study of Polyandry* Prince Peter remarks that:

"Costumes vary considerably according to the region from which a person comes, as they do also with the class to which he or she belongs. The monks and nuns, of course, are uniformly dressed in a dark magenta gown of traditional cut, wear special woollen boots with turned up toes and a light coloured pattern on a red background at the top. They usually go bare-headed, and most sects have their hair shaved off (except Dzog-chen-pas ..., Sakyas and other such un-reformed sects)."

For a detailed description of Tibetan clothing and accessories as observed by Rockhill in the second half of the 19th century I refer the reader to his
illustrated Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, 684-97. Two other useful sources of information on costumes and costume accessories are Sir Charles Bell’s book The People of Tibet, especially Chapter XIV, and Eleanor Olson’s Catalogue of the Tibetan Collections, vol. 1.

The National Museum of Denmark is fortunate in having a particularly fine collection of Tibetan costumes. Out of all the objects brought back by Prince Peter no less than one hundred and thirty-five, excluding ornaments, are items of dress. From how, which Prince Peter sent to Copenhagen with the collections we know that the noble and ecclesiastical costumes are all from Lhasa, while the nomad costumes come from an area to the north of Shigatse.

Prince Peter provides a brief account of women’s fashions in the matter of dress:

“The women’s clothes are perhaps those which best distinguish from which class and place they come. Thus the Lhasa headdress consists of a fork with two branches, worn so that these look like horns protruding over the top of the head from behind, decorated...
with seed pearls and lumps of coral, which serve to hold up long tresses of false hair so that the plaits hang down at the back and are mingled with the real ones of the wearer [see Cat. no. 232 below]. In Tsang, women have a half-hoop structure on the top of the head, two to three feet in width, elaborately decorated with seed pearls, corals, turquoise and amber [see Cat. no. 152 below]. All wear necklaces made of agate, zis (gZi) and other precious stones, a gao (Gau) or charm box round the neck, and a brightly coloured, striped apron, the stripes of which vary with the social position and the current Lhasa fashion.”

“There are two types of women’s clothing: the ordinary everyday costume which does not include the use of long black tresses of additional hair in a headdress, and the costume for gala occasions which does include extra hair. The every day costume has an ordinary hat.
The very distinctive Tibetan boots are perhaps one of the most distinctive items from the traditional costume. Rockhill writes:

"A pair of boots (lh'am) completes with the ch'ubla the costume of the wild Tibetan. Near the Chinese border, in the Kokonor, these boots are of cowhide and of Chinese make and pattern... Women and men wear the same kind of boot. It is bound tightly below the knee with a leather thong or a long garter of wool.

"In localities more distant from China the national boot is found. It has a sole of raw yak hide which laps and turns up around the sides, which are of several thicknesses of white cotton cloth strongly stitched together with a broad seam down the middle of the top to the turned-up pointed toe. Sometimes, in men's boots, the upper and leg is of red leather, brought to Tibet from western China, the best coming from the Chien-ch'ang, in southwestern Shs-ch'uan. The legs of most boots are of truk, sometimes of one color, sometimes of pieces of different and somewhat gaudy colors ... The leg of the boot is usually lined with a very coarse woolen stuff, and no socks are worn on the feet".

Part I:
Nomad and Caravaneer's Costumes
Nomad Woman's Costume from Tsang Province, Shigatse Region
152. Headdress, patruk

Headgear consisting of an arch c. 31 cm high formed by two curved wooden wands which have been neatly wrapped with a finely woven orange-coloured woollen band 0.25 cm wide so that no part of the wooden armature is visible. This arch, which goes over the wearer's head from shoulder to shoulder, is 64.5 cm across at the base and it supports three thick padded bands 3.5 cm wide and c. 2 cm thick, one across the front to pass up and over the wearer's forehead, one across the back, and the third over the top of the head. Each of these is covered with blue cotton cloth on their inner surfaces and bright red woollen material on their outer surfaces. These outer surfaces have been lavishly decorated with beads that have been stitched on using white wool yarn. The beads on the front band (which is 70 cm long) are of various sizes and consist of forty-one red coral, seven turquoise, nine jade, and a few malachite pieces. Two large yellow opaque glass beads separated by four barrel-shaped red coral beads and a rectangular piece of jade make up the centre section of this band, above which has been fastened a rectangular 8 anna coin bearing the profile of King George VI. Just below, hanging down from the lower edge of the band, are six short strings 4 cm long of red coral beads with a blue or green bead inserted in each half way down. Each of these short pendants terminates with a pierced silver Tibetan coin. The matching padded band across the back is similarly, though less lavishly, decorated, having eighteen red coral beads alternating with sixteen green ones in jade, turquoise, malachite, and agate. The front and back padded bands are connected by a similar band joining them in the centre at right angles so as to pass up over the wearer's head. It is suspended from the arch above by a piece of copper wire. This band is also decorated with beads of red coral, agate, jade, and turquoise, four of them in silver settings, one of which is of a conch shell design (rtag gyu). There is one...
107 Cat. nos.152-8, Nomad family costumes. The woman's dress (left) is shown with the traditional headdress, worn until recent times. The coats and boots worn by all three figures are still to be found in Tibet.
large round opaque glass bead. At its front end this band is joined to the arched horizontal front band at the 8 anna coin by a length of red woollen yarn. Another decorative feature of this headdress consists of five horizontal strings of red coral beads on either side (each c. 18 cm long) which are fastened to the arch one-third of the way down from the top and which join the central padded band that curves over the head. These strings of red coral beads, each with a single turquoise bead, are held fanwise on each side by a little bar of pierced silver 6 cm long set with seven small turquoise beads (one missing) through which the strings pass 5 cm further on the strings pass through another little silver coin 5 cm long. The whole structure is held together by a series of little red bao fastenings of wool, copper wire, and silver hooks, some of the latter decorated with little turquoise beads. When worn, the weight of the headdress is taken on top of the wearer's head by a small strip of dark brown woollen material 3.5 x 14 cm in size. At either end of this three strands of dark brown woollen yarn run out to join the base of the arch on either side. The rectangular piece of cloth is also supported from the arch above by two strands of red wool yarn which are attached to the piece of cloth by hooks, the hooks themselves being hidden behind little silver coin-like discs. These
lengths of yarn with their hooks also provide a means of adjusting the height and position of the headdress.

Height: 31 cm; width: 64.5 cm

Ref.: Bell, 1928: 150; Laufer: Notes on Turquois in the East. colour frontispiece

Accession no. R.296a

153. 10.9 Coat

Woman's long-sleeved coat (ch'üba) of untanned sheepskin and goatskin made with hair and fleece inside. No fastenings have been made for closing the coat, instead the right side is brought across to the wearer's left and then the left side is closed over it to the right. There is a generous overlap and the coat would be tied with a woven cloth belt. A decorative edging of dark green cloth c. 5 cm wide has been sewn onto the coat. It runs from the left shoulder down the left side of the coat opening and along the bottom, coming round to the front on
the right side. There are two side slits c. 35 cm deep up from the bottom of the coat, one on the right side and the other on the left. The green cloth border runs up and down the edges of these and at the top of each slit a red cloth triangle 11 cm across the base and 6.6 cm high has been sewn. White stitching has been used for this and it has also been used to create a design resembling three daisies in each triangle. The fleece lining covers the inside on the wearer's right side and covers the entire inside back of the coat: only the left side has been made of goatskin with its long straight dark brown, light brown, white, and grey hair. Inside the coat at the back two pieces of grey yak hair rope have been fastened, one on either side, about waist high. The piece on the wearer's right side is c. 46 cm long; the piece on the left is only c. 12 cm long and ends in a loop, apparently so that the coat can be bound to the wearer's waist before closing.

Length: 135 cm  
Accession no. R.296b

154. Blouse
Woollen red-dyed homespun long-sleeved blouse roughly stitched together from nine pieces of material. Open down the front without fastenings. A square patch 7 x 7 cm in size has been sewn in the centre of the back. A square black imprint, probably from a woodblock, 10 x 10 cm in size, with serrated edges and three lines of Tibetan characters is found at the lower edge of the back of the blouse.

Length: 66 cm; sleeve length: 58 cm  
Accession no. R.296c

155. Dress
Dark blue sleeveless homespun woollen dress sewn together of fifteen pieces, seven of which are c. 23-24 cm wide. The rest, some of them triangular in shape in order to get the garment to hang properly, are made up of smaller pieces of the same dark blue material. The dress is open down the front and lacks any fastenings, but is designed so that there is a generous overlap of both right and left sides.

Length: 130 cm  
Accession no. R.296d

156. Trousers
Woollen trousers of purple-red dyed homespun. Made up of twelve woven strips or panels 20-22 cm wide sewn together. The waistband is a horizontal strip of the same material 21 cm wide, open at the side. The legs are very wide, being 45 cm at the cuff.

Length: 95 cm  
Accession no. R.296e

157. Apron
Woman's apron made of three strips, each 19 cm wide, of woven homespun wool with narrow horizontal stripes in dark green, light green, pink, red, dark, light blue, and dark blue. The three strips, with deliberate misalignment of stripes, have been sewn together to form a colourful rectangle. Ties for the apron, attached near each of the upper corners, are made of narrow woven lengths of multi-coloured yarn in dark blue, red, yellow, pink, and green, with a central design of three parallel lines of chevron patterns, two of them alternating pink and green and the center alternating in white and blue.

Length: 72 cm; width: 58 cm  
Accession no. R.296f

158. Pair of boots
A pair of boots made of leather, wool yarn, goat's hair, and felt. The white leather soles have been sewn directly onto the bottom of a 4 cm wide band made up of rows of plaited dark brown goat's hair yarn. Above this is a narrow decorative band of red and blue plaited yarn joined onto a woven area of grey wool which covers the top of the foot. Above this the ankles are covered by a 10.5 cm high section of dark red felt. The rest of the uppers are made of grey felt. Two multi-coloured woven cloth bands 135 cm long and 3.7 cm wide are used for binding the boots round the leg just below the knee.

Height: 42 cm; length: 27 cm  
Accession no. R.296 g-h
159. Needle case

Needle case belonging with Cat. no. 157, to which it was attached. It also goes together with R.270. The case, made to hang from the belt, is of leather. The outer case is edged top and bottom with a narrow strip of black or dark brown leather neatly stitched. The top or outer surface of the case (which shows when hung from the belt) is of red leather, now darkened by use. Two parallel lines have been impressed into the leather from top to bottom. The back of the outer case is the same, except that red leather was not used and the surface is dark brown. At the top edge of the case there is a hole c. 1.5 cm in size. From this comes a double strip of rawhide 17.5 cm long, looped over at the top so that a belt can be slipped through. 7 cm down from the top of this loop two perforated brass Chinese cash and a copper Tibetan coin are found with a tightly bound ring of leather in between the two cash to hold them in place. The lower ends of the rawhide loop disappear through the hole in the top of the case where they are attached to the inner slip case which holds the needles. The lower end of the inner case has two acorn-shaped and acorn-sized brass bells attached to it by a short rawhide loop. When the outer case is held with one hand and the brass bells are pulled with the other, the inner case slides out to give access to the needles, the coins on the thong preventing it from being pulled out too far. The inner case consists of two strips of leather cut in the same shape as the outer case. The arrowhead shaped bottom of the inner case has been edged with red leather stitched on so as to hold the two pieces of the inner case together, though only at the bottom edge. The inner surfaces of the case have been lined with brown and grey felt stitched on with grey wool yarn. Spread apart they provide a secure place to keep needles. With the needles inserted the two sides of the inner case are pressed together, the rawhide thong at the top pulled, and the inner case disappears up inside the outer case.

Length: 9.5 cm; width: 2.25-4.25 cm; thickness: 1.75 cm

Ref.: Rockhill, 1895: Plate 8 and text following p. 694; Müller & Raunig: 179

Accession no. R.270c

160. Boot bindings

Nomad woman’s boot bindings consisting of two woven strips of multi-coloured wool with long narrow stripes running the length of each piece which are, in sequence from edge to centre, blue, pink, yellow, green, dark blue, black, white, red, pink, and green. The colours are then repeated in reverse order on to the opposite edge.

Length (R.296i): 130.5 cm; width: 3.75 cm
Length (R.296j): 136 cm; width: 3.75 cm

Accession no. R.296 i-j

Nomad Male Costume from Tubden, Tsang Province, Shigatse Region

161. Hat

A conical hat of off-white and grey felt, made of three pieces sewn together, the brim being edged with a piece of brown cloth so that a 1 cm edge shows all round. The hat is colourfully topped off with a bunch of bright red-dyed yak hair. The largest piece of felt is off-white. Two pieces of grey felt have been sewn onto it to make up the desired size and shape.

Height: 34 cm

Accession no. R.297a

162. 10,10 Greatcoat, ch’uba

Sheepskin greatcoat, skin outside, fleece inside, sewn together from many different pieces. Outer surface undecorated, natural light brown skin colour except for lines of seams forming rectangles and triangles, and a band of dark brown cotton cloth 8 cm wide running round both cuffs, round the collar, and down the front open edge of the left side of the coat to the bottom and all round the bottom hem to the front edge of the right side of the coat where it stops. The right side of the coat opening has no brown cloth border running up to the collar as it would be hidden under the left side when worn.
10.10 Cat. no. 162. Greatcoat, ch'uba. Drawing: Thomas Otte Stensager.
Length: 153 cm; sleeves, shoulder to cuff: 73 cm
Ref.: Rockhill, 1895: 685
Accession no. R.297b

163. Trousers
A pair of man’s trousers with legs of yak skin attached to a mid-section and waist band of light brown wool made with skin side outward and long dark brown hair, streaked with white, inside. Two rectangular panels of wool c. 25 x 77 cm in size join the two legs together and are themselves stitched to the woollen waistband but are not joined to each other except at either end. Instead they merely overlap between the legs, thus avoiding the need for buttons or any other form of trouser fastening and at the same time making it unnecessary for the wearer to lower his trousers to relieve himself. The waistband is open down one side and the overlapping ends can be tucked in and then bound with a cummerbund.
Length: 100 cm
Accession no. R.297c

164. Belt
A nomad man’s belt, consisting of a woven strip of dark red wool 12.5 cm wide and 302.5 cm long. An off-white woollen warp extends beyond the woven ends to form a twisted fringe c. 13 cm long. The strands are mostly missing from one end. A design of narrow blue and white transverse stripes runs across the width of the entire strip at 1.5-2 cm intervals. At irregular intervals (c. 24 cm apart) these have been made wider (1.5-2 cm) and more elaborate to form a “ladder” of blue and white across the strip.

Other Nomad Male Clothing

166. Hat
Boy’s helmet-shaped hat with fleece lining and white wool fleece showing all around the edges. The sheepskin has been covered with a piece of yellow-gold silk with some fine embroidered patterns in dark brick-red and light and dark blue. The silk is gathered at the top of the crown like a pouch closed with drawstrings. The silk is much worn, faded, and stained, especially on one side.
Height: 26 cm; length: 23 cm
Accession no. R.295a

167. Coat
Nomad boy’s skin coat sewn together, skin side out, hair side in, from several pieces, one of which is sheepskin. The remaining pieces have long dark brown or light brown hair (? goat). A decorative strip of dark brown woven material 4-6 cm wide has been sewn all round the collar and down the edge of the coat opening on one side and along the bottom of the coat and round the sleeve cuffs.
Length: 87 cm
Accession no. R.295b
168. Underclothing

Underclothing consisting of a blouse and pants sewn together. The blouse is of grey felt, the pants of grey wool. Not seen.

Length: 65 cm
Accession no. R.295c

169. Pair of boots

Pair of boots with grey wool tops with a 16 cm long opening down the back to a dark red band of felt 7 cm wide. The uppers have been fashioned of dark brown wool onto which a leather sole has been stitched with black yak hair yarn. Along the top of the uppers runs a line of red and blue yarn stitching all round from toe to heel. At the ankle a section of grey wool forms a line running from the back to the front of the boots between the dark brown of the wool covering the foot and the dark red band of felt above the ankle. The boots are new, or nearly so, as they show no signs of wear.

Height: 30 cm; length: 17 cm
Accession no. R.295 d-e

170. Boot bindings

Nomad boy’s boot bindings consisting of two woven strips of multi-coloured striped wool with fringe ends. The woven portions are 89 cm long and the narrow stripes run the full length of both pieces. From the edge to centre the colour sequence is as follows: blue, pink, yellow, white, green, dark blue, black, white, red, orange, and green. The colours are then repeated in reverse order across to the other side.

Length: 118 cm; width: 3.5 cm
Ref.: Rockhill, 1895: 686
Accession no. R.295 f-g

171. Belt

A belt woven of fine multi-coloured wool yarn much faded and worn. There are no metal or other fastenings and the belt is much frayed at both ends, one of which has been plaited to prevent further unravelling. The original colours appear to have been green, red, and yellow, woven so as to form a central design of eleven green and yellow chevrons pointing to the left, followed by an X-design, and then eleven chevrons pointing to the right, followed by a diamond design, and then eleven chevrons pointing to the left, and so on. The band of chevrons is 1.5 cm wide. It is flanked by a row of green yarn, a row of yellow, a third row of red or purple, now faded to off-white, and a final row of green.

Length: 241 cm; width: 2.5 cm
Accession no. R.298

172. Belt

Woollen belt woven in red, blue, and white, giving the effect of a red strip with blue and white transverse stripes at 1.5 cm intervals all down its length. The belt, much worn, is 268 cm long. For most of its length the belt is 4.5 cm wide, but a central portion 53 cm long is only 3.5-4 cm wide.

Length: 268 cm; width: 4.5 cm
Accession no. R.299

173. Boot bindings

Boot bindings of woven multi-coloured wool, consisting of two strips with narrow stripes in various colours running the full length of each piece. Both pieces end in long fringes 10-18 cm long. From the edge to the centre the colour sequence is dark blue, pink, rose, yellow, green, dark blue, black, white, pink, rose, and green. It then repeats these colours in reverse order across to the opposite edge.

Length: 129-131 cm; width: 3.75 cm
Accession no. R.300 a-b

Caravaneer’s Costume

174. Hat

A khaki coloured felt campaign hat of the type worn by Australian soldiers in both world wars. The broad brim can be folded up and snapped in place against the crown on one side. Around the crown there is a layered cloth band in a lighter khaki colour. On the leather sweat band inside is the imprint of W. A. Hatt[?]en Ltd. Arhers[?]one, 1942. Leather chin strap.
Length: 38.2 cm; width: 35 cm
Accession no. R.398a

175. Hat

Man’s helmet-shaped hat of finely woven material with a woollen knap. The short silk-like strands of wool are very thick and arranged in undulating rows 0.5 cm wide in a dark blue, light blue, white, orange, pale yellow sequence which is repeated half a dozen times on each side of the hat. Toward the top on one side these wavy bands of coloured wool merge into a floral design which in turn disappears under the dark purple silk piece which forms the top of the crown. At the very top this silk is drawn together toward the centre like a pouch, leaving a small hole where the gathered ends do not quite meet. The inside of the hat is thickly covered with light golden brown fur. There is a black draw string at the front so that the hat can be tied under the chin. The sides of the hat are long enough to cover the neck all round down to the shoulders.

Height: 30 cm; length: 35 cm
Accession no. R.398b

176. Hat

Man’s dark brown felt hat with “clover leaf” brim edged with fine dark brown fur. Very similar to Cat. no. 379 except that it is made of felt rather than leather. In new condition. Crown is decorated with 7 cm broad band of yellow-gold coloured brocade with floral patterns embroidered in green, white, yellow, purple, orange, blue, and various shades of pink. Top of crown and sides above brocade band are decorated with strips of plaited threads of metallic-gold appearance in straight and wavy lines.

Height: 30 cm; length: 35 cm
Accession no. R.398c

177. Earring

A man’s earring consisting of a large slightly oval C-shaped ribbed brass ring, to the edge of which has been soldered an oval brass bezel which holds a polished oval of turquoise 1.75 x 1.5 cm in size. At the top of this setting a decoration of four little brass spheroids hides a small ring through which an 11 cm long plaited pink silk cord, now much faded, is looped. The other end of the pink cord has a small loop which allows it to be slipped through the gap in the large ribbed brass ring and so onto the ring itself. The cord is then passed up over the top of the ear and the ring, with its turquoise setting to the front, hangs below the ear.

Diameter: 4-4.5 cm
Accession no. R.398d

178. Costume decoration

A man’s white homespun wool long-sleeved shirt. The right front side of the shirt drops in a straight line down from the collar to the bottom of the shirt, but the left side of the shirt is made to wrap across to the wearer’s right where the top corner buttons onto a loop sewn just below the right shoulder. A second button loop has been sewn just below and under the right arm so that when buttoned the top of the left side of the shirt passes at an angle across the right side of the chest. From the second button the edge of the shirt opening falls in a straight line down to the waist. The two buttons are of metal, sewn onto the left side of the shirt, the uppermost one embossed with a flower design and the other with a chrysanthemum or zinnia. Both are marked “Made in Deccan” on the back.

Length: 60 cm; sleeve length: 80 cm
Accession no. R.398e

179. Shirt

A pair of dark green cotton trousers with narrow light coloured vertical stripes and a light green lining. At the top the trousers have a 14 cm wide band of the same material all round the waist. New or nearly new, showing no signs of wear.

Length: 98 cm; tassels: 28 cm
Accession no. R.398f

180. Trousers
181. Cat. no. 181. Coat

Black cotton long-sleeved kaftan with left side front opening running diagonally across the wearer's chest from the collar to a point just below the right shoulder where it is tied with light blue cotton tapes to a small loop of the same material. A strip of the same light blue cotton cloth 6.5 cm wide has been stitched all round the collar on the inside and it runs down the inside edge of the left side of the coat opening to the bottom and it then continues round to the bottom corner of the right side of the coat. The same material is used inside the cuffs. None of this light blue cotton strip actually shows unless the garment is opened and or the sleeve cuffs are turned back. New; no signs of wear.

Length: 143 cm; sleeve: 69 cm
Accession no. R.398b

182. Belt

A bright pink belt of woven silk 12-13 cm wide and with a woven section 251.5 cm long. Extending beyond both ends of this woven part are plaited cords of the same material 28-30 cm long.

Length: 511 cm; width: 12-13 cm
Accession no. R.398i
183. Pair of boots

A pair of black boots with brown leather soles, black leather uppers covering the feet, and black velvet tops. The brown leather soles consist of three layers, built up at toe and heel with a fourth layer, and stitched together with heavy white cord. Above this is a single layer of dark blue leather forming a decorative border between soles and uppers. The toe, heel, and lower sides of the uppers are of black leather which extends up for 4.5 cm at the sides, increasing to 7 cm at the heel. The black velvet tops, lined with white cotton cloth, are attached to this and extend up for another 40 cm. There is a 20 cm long opening down the back of each boot which is edged on both sides with a red leather strip that continues up and around the tops. At the bottom of the opening a decoration in red and blue leather has been stitched onto the boots. Condition: new and unused.

Height: 47.5 cm; length: 30 cm

Accession no. R.398 j-k

184. Boot bindings

Two multi-coloured woven cotton strips for binding boot tops. Fine cotton thread in dark blue, pink, red, orange, yellow, blue, green, and white, has been used to weave narrow stripes in each of those colours down the entire length of the strips. Tasselled ends 10-12 cm long finish off either end.

Length, including tassels: 126-130 cm; width: 4.5 cm

Accession no. R.398 l-m

185. Money belt

A light reddish-brown leather money belt with chromium plated buckle, consisting of a pouch section 12.5 x 40 cm in size with tri-partite flap with metal snap fastenings. Each of the three rounded downward extensions of the flap (one at either end and one in the centre) bears a shield-shaped decoration 6.5-7 x 7-7.5 cm in size of white leather on which has been stitched a second piece of leather, blue in colour, and cut out so as to make a design with the white showing through. Small pieces of leather (red, black, and yellow) have been stitched into "windows" cut in the blue leather to form part of the design. Two small pouches, 7 x 10 cm in size, each with their own closing flaps and snap fastenings, have been sewn onto the pouch so as to fit in between the three downward extensions of the larger main flap. Each of these is also decorated with a piece of white leather onto which has been sewn a piece of blue leather cut out so as to let the white show through in different places. Again, small pieces of coloured leather (red, green, yellow, and black) have been stitched in as decorative features. The large flap lifts to reveal an inner pouch closed with a brass zipper. This consists of two compartments. The entire pouch section of the belt is fastened onto the waist by a slightly tapering brown leather strap 3-2 cm wide which passes through the chrome buckle and fastens with a metal tongue through holes reinforced with metal eyelets. On both sides of the pouch the strap has been cut lengthwise down the centre and splayed apart in Y-shape to fasten with chrome plated brads at the top and bottom of the pouch.

Length: 115 cm; width: 15 cm

Accession no. R.398n

186. Sword and scabbard

Sword with plain blade and hilt-guard and pommel of iron with incised leaf designs. A polished round piece of pale orange-red agate has been set in a raised metal mount on one side of the pommel. On the opposite side there is a small iron loop to which four tassels, two pale green and two pink, have been attached with pink string. The iron quillons is of a quasi-diamond shape. The wooden grip is covered with a very dark greenish-brown piece of leather. The stitched seam where the two ends meet round the grip has been covered with a strip of brass 0.5 cm wide with a 1 cm round flower design in the centre and incised lines down its length. The scabbard is made of two pieces of wood covered with black velvet which has been slipped into an iron frame which covers the edges of the scabbard down one side, round the tip, and back up the other side to the top. This iron outer frame casing is round at the end and covered with incised leaf decorations which run up both edges of the scabbard to a point 38 cm from the tip. A reddish-brown leather band 3 cm wide has been stitched round the top of the scabbard to hold the ends of the iron frame in place.

Length: 78 cm; width: 5.5 cm

Blade length: 58 cm; width: 3.75 cm

Accession no. R.398 o-p
187. Amulets

Two amulet pouches, one of coarse cloth, a light weight canvas, with worn corners and black patina 10.5 x 11 x 1 cm in size containing a packet of paper, part of which is visible where the heavy cloth outer covering has worn away at the two lower corners. The pouch has a leather thong sewn onto it so as to make a single diamond shaped pattern on both sides. Attached to the ends of the leather thongs at the top is another, smaller, amulet pouch, this one of dark brown leather 9 x 10 cm square and 0.5 cm thick. Looped through the leather thongs holding the two amulet pouches together is a 65 cm length of twisted grey wool cord tied in a bow.

Large amulet: length: 11 cm; width: 10.5 cm; the kness: 1 cm
Small amulet: length: 6 cm; width: 6 cm; the kness: 0.5 cm

Accession no. R. 400

10.121 Tsarong (Tsensa: Namgyal) who was a member of the Cabinet in charge of the mint, arsenal, and Government barracks in 1936 when this picture was taken. Spencer Chapman describes Tsarong as "a short, thick-set jovial man getting rather short of teeth and hair", but as Prince Peter relates, he was still active and serving the 14th Dalai Lama when the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1950.


Part II:
Costumes worn by Officials and the Nobility

Prior to China’s invasion and occupation of Tibet the country was aocracy with the Dalai Lama at its head, possessing both spiritual and temporal authority. The Dalai Lama, in his absence, a regent occupied the highest government office which was the Dor. Attached to this was an office headed by the prime minister. Below this was the cabinet (kansha). Traditionally the cabinet was made up of four ministers, called shappe. Custom required the head of these four to be from the clerical community and the others to be secular. Below the cabinet was a secretariat run by four monk officials and including the finance office which was staffed by four lamas. Essentially the business of government was run by all these officials together.

addition, there was a National Assembly called *tsongda*, made up of state officials who were of the fourth rank or higher, plus the abbots of important monasteries in the Lhasa area (Drepung, Sera, Ganden), and certain members of the nobility.

The combination of the religious and the secular which characterized the traditional Tibetan Government was also reflected in the calendar of events which Hugh Richardson has aptly described as the *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year.* He writes that:

"Although full of colour and spectacle, the great ceremonies were not mere pageantry but were essential rites for the well-being of Church and State and to be efficacious had to be performed strictly according to precedent. The whole official body had to attend; absence without good cause would be visited with severe penalties. The people of Lhasa and pilgrims from distant places came in large numbers to watch ...."

All ceremonies, whether religious or secular (and as Hugh Richardson remarks "very few were purely secular"), called for participants to turn out in their best dress, official or otherwise. The Tibetan collections of the National Museum are particularly rich in costumes, many of them of an official or "dress" nature and, as such, they would have been worn on all state and ceremonial occasions.

Costume of the Regent

Prince Peter reports that: "This costume was the official prayer robe for Tibet's Regent Radeng Rimpoche who was murdered in 1947 during political unrest."

The supreme spiritual and secular leader of Tibet is the Dalai Lama who is an incarnation of Avalokitesvara. Since a new Dalai Lama is selected as a boy, whilst he is still a minor, power is exercised by a deputy known as the regent. The National Assembly of Tibet normally selects an abbot who is himself of high incarnation for this important post. The power of the regent depends largely on his personality and the history of Tibet bears witness to the fact that there have been strong and autocratic born leaders among the regents.

Immediately subordinate to the Dalai Lama is the cabinet, which consists of one ecclesiastical and three secular members who control the administration of Tibet in political, juridical and fiscal terms.

Rading is the name of a monastery 45 km north of Lhasa. The regent is always appointed from one of the five largest monasteries: Rading, Sera, Kyndeling, Ganden, or Drepung. Rading Rimpoche was chosen as regent in 1935. He was, at that time, about 30 years old and friendly towards the Chinese.

The costume was worn by the regent during prayers and consists of two pieces of magnificently woven Chinese brocade which hang loosely on the body one over the other. Both are in the holy yellow colour and the outer one also has a wide red border at the bottom. Various religious symbols have been woven into the brocade including the Vase (Treasury of All Desires) and beautiful stylised clouds which are often to be seen in Tibetan temple paintings. The same type of cloak is worn by the Yellow lamas. Ku-dsjam is a long sash which they wrap around outside their clothes.

188. Cape, Ku-dsjam
A full-length yellow silk cape (there are no sleeves or armholes) with patterns over the whole worked in the same yellow colour. The designs show the Eight Glorious Symbols and other auspicious emblems: the Wheel, Dragon, Endless Knot, Conch Shell, Parasol, Lotus, Two Fishes, etc. The inside of the cape is lined with bright red silk patterned all over with a honeycomb design. Many metres of material have been used and at the top, where the collar joins onto the cloak, the yellow silk has been neatly gathered into a profusion of pleats.

Length: 160 cm
Accession no. R.247a

189. Shawl, gin tsjar
Magnificent brocade shawl consisting of a rectangle of yellow silk, 76 x 296 cm, with flower and cloud design in gold thread surrounded by a 26 cm broad border of red silk with leaf, flower, and vine design in gold thread. The shawl is lined with very dark red wool cloth. Instead of the brocade being sewn directly onto this lining all round at the edges, it has been sewn on some 12 cm in from the outer edge. The brocade has then been folded back away from the lining and a lining of blue silk has been sewn onto the back of the outer half of the red border. This lining is 11-12 cm wide. A similar lining of yellow silk has then been sewn onto the front of the red wool lining. When the shawl is spread out the outer edges can be lifted up to reveal the blue and yellow silk under edges. Presumably this has been done to add an extra glimpse of colour when worn, as movement would cause the outer edges of the shawl to separate momentarily. Two yellow silk ties are sewn at the edge of one of the long sides some distance in from either end.

Length: 345 cm; width: 122 cm
Accession no. R.247b

Costume of a Member of the Dalai Lama's Cabinet

Prince Peter’s notes on this costume, written in 1952, are as follows:

“Ceremonial costume for Shape [shappe], a member of the Dalai Lama’s Cabinet, and a nobleman of the first rank/class. This costume, which is only used for the New Year’s festival, belonged to the 64-year-old Tsarong, one of Tibet’s leading personalities. He is the son of a poor
arrow-maker and as a young man was employed as a gardner in Norbu Lingka the "jewel park", the Dalai Lama's summer residence. Later he became the thirteenth Dalai Lama's personal valet. He was extremely loyal to the Dalai Lama. When the English troops occupied Lhasa in 1904, he fled with the Dalai Lama to Mongolia and China, still acting as his personal valet. In 1910, when the Dalai Lama fled to Darjeeling because of the Chinese, Tsarong defended his master at the crossing of the Tsangpo (Bhramaputra), holding out against the Chinese for 2 or 3 days. Then he himself fled to Gyantse where he was disguised as McDonald's messenger. In this way he was able to reach Darjeeling. Whilst the Dalai Lama remained in exile in Darjeeling, Tsarong was a faithful servant to him.

"When the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa after one and a half years in exile he found that the temporary regent whom he himself had appointed, had been murdered by some Tibetans who felt that he had collaborated too much with the occupying Chinese powers. This regent was called Tsarong. His family now had no male members and consisted only of Tsarong's five daughters and one daughter-in-law. Dalai Lama now made his faithful servant head of this family. He was given the name Tsarong (like the murdered man) and married the daughter-in-law as she was the oldest woman. As time passed he also married the five daughters. (Tess is Tsarong's 4th daughter). He had children with all of these women. He is now married to the oldest daughter as the other daughters later married other men.

"In this way he also obtained the family's property and became the head of the whole family. Because he had defended the Dalai Lama so well during their escape to India, he was now also appointed commanding general and subsequently advanced over the years to become a member of the Cabinet. Later the lamas of the largest monasteries began an action against him and Dalai Lama was forced to dismiss him. The lamas were afraid of the new army he had organised with the help of the English. Following this, he lived as a merchant in his palace in Lhasa and amassed a large fortune. His is the most well furnished house in Lhasa. It is the only house with glass windows, bathrooms, etc.

"When the Chinese occupied Lhasa in 1950, the fourteenth Dalai Lama fled to Yatung. It was Tsarong who led the Dalai Lama down the same road along which he had previously guided the 13th Dalai Lama. Tsarong was then 62 years old.

"Whilst Tsarong was in Yatung, he sent this costume down to his son from whom it was purchased. The son said that the cloth was Russian brocade.

"The costume consists of an outer kaftan of heavy brocade. The green background is decorated with a motif of leaves, gold thread stitching and several wide borders where the key pattern can be recognised. Pouches for personal belongings hang from the silk belt and a sheath containing two chopsticks and a knife is tucked into the belt. A wide cape rests on the shoulders and at the top of the round fur-trimmed hat is a valuable emblem of rank of gold-mounted turquoises and corals. The very long sleeves on the costume are a sign of the upper classes.

"Cabinet Members in the Tibetan Government had the title Shape [shappe]. The Cabinet was comprised of four ministers immediately subordinate to the Dalai Lama. They hold the title only for as long as they are ministers of the first class. There are a total of seven classes of rank in the Tibetan hierarchy.

"In the present Tibetan Government under the Chinese, the old Tsarong is now Minister for education.

"This costume is worn during Monlam, a religious celebration in Lhasa following the New Year celebrations. The costume is only worn by the secular members of the cabinet during this celebration. As Monlam is a 'moveable feast', passing through the seasons as the calender advances, there are two hats, one for summer and one for winter."

190. 10.17 Coat
An official's long-sleeved full-length silk brocade coat in dark green with leaf and stem patterns in gold thread and em-
10.16 Tibetan lady with headress of pearls, red coral, and extravagant decorative hair added to her own. Her face is framed by two gold pendants, set with turquoise, which hang from black yarn cords hidden in her hair. Her earrings of gold and turquoise hang from a necklace of beads, among which are two pendants. Photo, Sir Charles Bell, 1906. Archive of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
broidered blossoms in white, dark red, light red, pink, and various shades of blue. This material has been used for the chest, back, and arms of the coat, and it is used again in a 20 cm wide strip all round the lower part of the coat, but the collar, cuffs, bottom edge, and midsection are all covered with broad strips of plaited multi-coloured silk cords set closely together in parallel rows to form a key design on top of panels of red and gold brocade 11.14 cm wide. The outer edging all round the collar, down the coat opening on either side, cuffs, and round the bottom are of black velvet. The coat is fully lined with yellow silk with a dragon and cloud pattern in threads of the same colour. One irregular rectangular panel of the lining, 74 x 35 cm in size, has been sewn in on the wearer’s right side. The left front of the opening wraps across to the wearer’s right. Looped and plaited red cords have been sewn on at throat, right breast midway between throat and shoulder, and below the right shoulder, but only one button – a red coral bead – is in place. The other two are missing.

Length: 142 cm; across from cuff to cuff: 202 cm

Ref.: Prince Peter. 1957d: 258 and 1953b

Accession no. R.242a

191. Tippet

A very broad detachable tippet to be worn with Cat. no. 190 (Fig. 10.17) and matching it exactly in design and materials, with an outer border of black vel-
10.17 Cat. no. 190. Coat.
Drawing: Thomas Otte Stensager.
vet 6 cm wide all round the outside edge, except round neck. Inside this is a 2.25 cm wide strip of red and gold brocade. Next is an 8 cm wide panel of multicoloured plaited silk cords laid tightly together to form a key pattern on a red and gold field of brocade; finally in the centre is a panel of green silk covered with leaf and stem patterns in gold thread with flowers in white, pink, red, and purple silk embroidery. This collar or cape covers the wearer’s shoulders and forms a horizontal crescent across the back. It fastens in front at the throat with a red coral bead on a cord of plaited red silk. It also fastens down on the wearer’s shoulders by means of a brass spheroid button in flower bud shape located halfway between the points of the collar and the neck opening.

Length: 101 cm; width: 53 cm
Accession no. R.242b

192. Cummerbund

A silk brocade cummerbund made of a double piece of brocade folded over lengthwise. It has fine patterns of flowers in gold, silver, and green metallic thread and a pattern of gold symbols in triratna form on an orange or rust-red field. These designs are not the same on both sides of the cummerbund. On one the rust-red field with triratna symbols covers the whole width except for a half cm wide border in black and gold and a brocade panel in gold, silver, and green 23.5 cm long at either end. On the other side, instead of the red field and triratna symbols taking up the whole width, the narrow black and gold edging has been replaced by a brocade strip in gold and silver that is 4 cm wide and runs the full length of the piece. At either end the gold metallic threads have been gathered into bunches and tied, fish net fashion, for 2 cm and then the remaining ends have been gathered into tassels 3.5 cm long.

Length: 294 cm; width: 9.5 cm
Accession no. R.242c

193. Scarf

A plain bright red silk scarf with flower patterns in threads of the same colour, but no embroidery or other ornament. Silk cords of the same colour have been attached at either end at 2 cm intervals and then tied to make a fish net pattern of diamond-shaped rectangles 8 cm deep. The cords have then been gathered in groups of four, knotted, and allowed to hang as tassels 22-24 cm long.

Length: 281 cm; width: 48 cm
Accession no. R.242d

194. Costume decoration

A costume decoration made to hang from a belt, this is a rectangular piece of orange, rust-red embroidered silk that has been laid face down, folded in half across the middle, and then folded twice more, (i) by folding the outer edge back to meet the first fold, and (ii) turning the piece over and doing the same on the other side, so that the embroidered surface appears on each of four rectangular folds. To the top of this folded material has been sewn a piece of folded embroidered silk, gathered at the top, so that it resembles a cap, but with an upward extension of the same material repeatedly folded so as to make a rectangle 13 x 5 x 1 cm thick. This elaborate confection has no practical purpose, except to enhance the appearance of the wearer.

A deep turquoise-coloured piece of silk sewn at the top forms a belt loop. A 3.5 cm wide and 40 cm long strip of blue and red woven silk with key design around the border and cakra, endless knot, triratna, and vase symbols down the centre, hangs down the middle of the ornament from top to bottom, ending with a thick tassel of dark blue silk cords hanging from an endless knot symbol fashioned of gold cord. A second smaller blue tassel hangs beside it, also with an endless knot on a red and blue cord. The outermost panel of the ornament displays a golden horse flying over oceans and mountains against an orange/brick red sky. The inner folds, not visible when worn and only partly visible when examined because they have been sewn so that they cannot be unfolded, reveal the same rust-red silk onto which has been embroidered dragons and clouds as well as geometrical and floral designs. What was originally the underside of the piece, now folded inside, has been lined with a piece of very deep dark turquoise-blue silk. If unfolded, the main silk rectangle would
measure c. 81 x 36 cm. Cf. Nobleman's Costume and Accessories, Cat. no. 239.

Height: 74 cm; width: 20.5 cm

Accession no. R.242e

195. Eating set

A knife and a pair of chopsticks in a wooden brass-bound case. The knife has a handle of light-coloured brown wood with a brass pommel fitting the end of the handle like a cap. This is held in place by a small brass flower in the end, through which a nail has been driven, and is decorated with leaves and lotus blossoms in fine detail. The steel blade has a single groove down either side and is 16.5 cm long. The handle is 11.5 cm long. The chopsticks are of ivory, round in section, and undecorated. They are 26.5 cm long. A double sheath of white wood has been made to take both knife and chopsticks. Instead of fashioning this so as to appear as a single sheath, it has been made as two joined together and held by decorated brass collars at top and bottom. In section this appears as two slightly overlapping ovals or a squat figure 8. Where the two join there is an indentation on both sides of the sheath in the midsection where it is visible between the top brass collar and that at the bottom. At first glance the body of the sheath appears to be of bone incised with line decorations representing hills, trees, flowers, and a conch shell. Closer examination, however, reveals that these incised decorations have been cut into a transparent cover c. 1

mm thick which is on top of the wooden sheath, the latter appearing to have been painted white in order to provide a suitable background against which to view the incised decorations. This transparent overlay looks like plastic. The decorations are very finely done throughout; those on the brass collars being of bats and other symbols. There is a brass lug on the collar at the top of the sheath. A hole through this holds a brass ring. The brass collars both have a top and bottom band with a key design decoration. According to the accessions register there should be two blue bags hanging from a red ribbon tied to the ring on the sheath. These are not present.

Length: 31 cm

Accession no. R.242f

[NB. The number R.242g was not used in the museum records]

196. Pair of boots

Man's dress boots for formal wear; in traditional Tibetan style with a leather sole above which the outer edge of the sole is edged with green cord. The uppers are of red felt decorated with bands of plaited silk cords in various shades of blue merging into white, very neatly done in painstaking detail.

Height: 32.5 cm; length: 24 cm

Accession no. R.242 h-i

197. Hat

A flat round hat which sits on the head like a disc and has no crown or brim in the ordinary sense. The two being merged into one so that in size and shape it resembles a wheel rather than a hat. The 10 cm thick edge is covered all round with long fine dark brown fur which also covers all of the underside of the hat, except the centre opening for the head, which is 20 cm in diameter. The hat, where there is no fur, is covered with silk, thickly padded underneath. The fur is sewn directly onto a covering of bright yellow silk. This is entirely hidden, however, first by the fur and then, on top of the hat where there is no fur, by a round pleated and fringed piece of bright red silk. Underneath, the opening for the head is edged with a thick rim of padded material covered by dark blue silk. This has been gathered into large thick pleats which cover the inside of the crown, meeting at the centre where there is a hole 1.75 cm in diameter through the crown. This hole is to take a special ornament (R.242l) which varies according to the rank of the owner. The hat is designed to sit on top of the wearer's head; the opening is too small to allow the hat to fit down onto the head. A round plaited cord of dark blue silk is fastened at either side of the opening so that the hat may be tied on under the chin.

The ornament (R.242l) in the top centre of the hat consists of an octagonal base of gold round which are lotus petals and in the centre of each petal a death's head. Rising up from this is a stupa, the lower part of which is a hexagonally shaped piece of opaque bluish-grey agate 3 cm high. On each of the facets flowers and leaves have been outlined and inlaid
with gold wire and set into these gold decorations on each facet are two green and five red stones. The top of this part of the stupa, which is carved from the same piece of bluish-grey agate, has gold wire inlaid all round in a pattern of Xs set between parallel lines. The top part of the stupa is made up of three carved pieces of orange-red coral, each drilled through the centre and held together by a white metal bar 4 mm in diameter which passes down to the hollow agate base where it is held by a disc 1.5 cm in diameter attached to the bottom of the rod. The ornament is held in place on the hat by a copper wire wrapped round this white metal rod which passes out over the edge of the disc and down through the hole in the centre of the hat and through a small wooden block where it is twisted fast. If the ornament becomes loose on the hat it can be quickly tightened by a turn of the copper wire round the wooden block. At the very top of the ornament a flower-shaped piece of gold 1.4 cm in diameter has been set with small pieces of polished turquoise. Originally there were nine, now three are missing.

Height of hat: 10 cm; diameter: 33 cm
Height of ornament: 7 cm

Ref.: Harrer, 1955: 43 and 1953: 89, 166; Müller & Raunig: 243
Accession no. R.242 k-l

198. Costume ornament

A small blue-grey round silk bag with a black silk top and bright red drawstrings of plaited silk cords. The bag is flat, and onion or pomegranate-shaped with dragons and clouds embroidered in subdued colours on both sides. The bright red drawstrings and carrying cord are, part way down their length, wrapped round with silk cords so as to form stripes in white, turquoise-blue, and dark blue on either side of an endless knot fashioned in gold coloured cords. There are four such decorations altogether and four smaller striped bindings, without endless knot symbols, just above the tasselled ends of the drawstring cords. The bag is stiff and deeply pleated over most of its surface on both sides, as it is tightly gathered and tightly closed at the top. It appears to be an ornament, rather than something of practical use, as it is sewn shut at the top. But Martha Boyer in her book Mongol Jewellery, has described very similar items as “small pouches containing sweet-smelling herbs.”

Height: 9.7 cm; width: 10.5 cm
Ref.: Boyer, 1952: 137
Accession no. R.242m

199. Costume ornament

This is virtually identical with Cat. no. 198 above. They are a matched pair.

Accession no. R.242n

200. Hat

A nobleman’s ceremonial hat with round patterned silk brim, stiff at the edges as the cloth has been sewn round a hoop of metal. The crown is round with straight sides and is completely covered with a thick layer of hundreds of red silk cords which are all fastened together at the top centre of the crown, being held in place by an 8 cm high miniature gold amrita vase-shaped ornament (R.254) similar in appearance to the much larger amrita vase depicted in Lowry’s Tibetan Art: 38. The ornament consists of a round ribbed base 4 cm in diameter on top of which is a shoulder on which are set eight stones, four red, four green. Above these is a collar of petal-shaped polished pieces of turquoise-coloured glass set round a short neck supporting the body of the vase and this is decorated with white, red, green, and turquoise-coloured glass. At the top this narrows to a short neck supporting a round collar, the edge of which is decorated with red and green “stones”. From the edge of this collar hang four vertical strips of gold 3.5 cm long evenly spaced apart, each set with seven diamonds, and each ending with a drop-shaped piece of polished turquoise-coloured glass. Finally, on top, is a small collar set with six tiny diamonds, above which are six petal-shaped pieces of turquoise set round the base of a smooth rounded piece of polished turquoise 1.5 cm high. The silk brim of the hat has been made from assorted pieces of patterned yellow silk, the patterns being parts of large leaves and flower petals in blue and green, with touches of red. On the underside the brim is covered with a rich orange-red silk with swastika symbols, lotus symbols, and dragons in gold thread. The outer rim of the brim (covering the metal hoop) is of black silk. The hat is tied under the chin.
with a plaited blue cord attached to either side at the base of the crown.

Height: 11.5 cm; diameter of brim: 33.5 cm; diameter of crown: 18.5 cm


Accession no. R.244j

Uniform of the Commander of the Dalai Lama's Guards

In his notes for this costume Prince Peter wrote:

"The Dalai Lama has a regiment of lifeguards called Kusing = Lifeguard. Ku = body; san = protector. The three stripes on the arm indicate that the wearer is De-pan = colonel. Obtained through Tsjampa Sangta. Used with an ordinary English bandolier and English belt; also with an English sword and pistol. This uniform is no longer in use. Now all officers and men wear khaki uniforms. The double thunderbolt (crossed dorjes) is a regimental emblem for the Dalai Lama's Lifeguards. [See also Cat. no. 429 (Fig. 11,5)]."

201. Hat

A round low-crowned hat of padded dark red silk sewn down with stitching forming a diamond pattern. The hat has a broad upturned brim covered with long dark brown fur. Inside, it is lined with ribbed slate-coloured silk. On one side of the hat is a metal emblem (also marked R.243a) in Vīṣṇuviṣṇu form, i.e., a double vajra, 8.2 cm across. These symbols are made up of blue glass with a rough matt finish set onto a brass plate. Other settings, equally rough in finish, are of red glass, purple glass, and a white metallic-looking substance intended to look like diamonds. The whole device is quite unlike the usual standards of craftsmanship normally found in the work of Tibetan jewelers. This may explain why the ornament is pinned onto the side of the crown of the hat so low down that it is almost entirely hidden by the fur on the upturned brim.

Height: 15 cm; length: 51 cm; width of brim: 8 cm

Accession no. R.243a

202. Jacket

A military-type long-sleeved jacket made of finely woven pale green silk with life-sized flowers embroidered on it in gold thread. There is a stiff high collar of the same material, decorated with piping in black silk and gold following the line of the collar in parallel rows. The left front of the jacket folds across to the wearer's right. The top edge, also bordered with black piping, is cut at an angle from the throat to a point just below the right shoulder and is fastened by a row of six round flat shiny brass buttons spaced 5-6 cm apart. When buttoned up, three false pockets show on the front, with the smallest pocket in the centre and, on either side of it and slightly lower, are two larger ones, each with its own brass button and a "tongue" of silk with black and gold piping extending below. For the sake of symmetry, the diagonal line from the throat to a point below the right shoulder is repeated on the left breast. The sleeves are decorated with three chevrons in black and gold piping, the topmost one having a loop at the top. The cuffs are edged with half cm wide piping in black. The jacket is fully lined with pink silk. On either shoulder there is a Vīṣṇuviṣṇu emblem very similar to the one on Cat. no. 201, except that these are smaller, measuring 6.5-7 cm across. A third Vīṣṇuviṣṇu is pinned above the left breast "pocket". It measures 8 cm across and is of better quality than the others, but still with imitation materials rather than real stones or even cut glass. Perhaps these have been produced in large quantities as military insignia.

Length: 63 cm; sleeve length, shoulder to cuff: 61 cm

Accession no. R.243b

203. Trousers

A pair of trousers made of the same very pale green silk decorated in the same way as Cat. no. 202. The legs are sewn onto a waistband of the same material which is cut so as to make an inverted chevron shape that is 9.5 cm wide at the hips and 14.5 cm wide in the centre. There are three buttons on the waist band and three on the fly. There is a small red-edged pink-lined watch pocket on the left front below the waist-
band and there are trouser pockets on
the right and left lined with white cloth.
A leather half belt 2.5 cm wide with a
square iron buckle has been sewn onto
the back of the trousers just below the
waistband. The trousers are fully lined,
like Cat. no. 202, with pink silk.

Length: 100 cm; width: 41 cm
Accession no. R.243c

204. Pair of boots

A pair of new boots in black leather with
green leather piping round the foot
above the sole, up the back seam to the
top, up the front seam to the top, and
just above the foot. The tops are edged
with a 2 cm wide strip of brown leather.
The boots have leather soles. The black
leather surface has been embossed all
over with a grid pattern of small squares.
The boots are unlined, factory produced,
and bear a maker’s stamp inside the
uppers.

Height: 35 cm; length: 24 cm
Accession no. R.243 d-e

Costume of Official
Master of Ceremonies

Prince Peter’s notes on this costume are
as follows:

“Noble lord’s gala riding dress. Each
year two noble generals were chosen
to act as marshals during the annual
equestrian festival held in Lhasa, a
celebration which lasts for ten days. It
is they who wear this costume, which
is of an old type resembling those
worn by Mongolian generals. These
two generals must also pay for the
support of all participants and specta-
tors during the celebrations. There-
fore they only perform this duty once
in their lifetime. This duty is per-
formed by Lhasa nobility in rotation.
Each general has his own costume
made for this celebration. Each cos-
tume is thus only worn on one occa-
sion.

“Tsarong Shapé felt that meeting
the costs of this was too great a bur-
den for young noblemen so he estab-
lished a fund which had land as its
capital. All noblemen had to contribu-
te to this fund which was adminis-
tered by the government. The ex-
penses of the celebratons were sub-
sequently met by the interest from this
fund. The fund was established dur-
ing the second world war.

“This costume belonged to Jigme
Taring, son of old Taring Kunyo, who
was brother to the former Maharaja of
Sikkim. Taring Kunyo was son of the
man whom the English wanted to be
Maharaja of Sikkim because he was
the oldest son in the family. This son,
however, did not want to be Maharaja
under the English and fled to Tibet. A
man from the younger branch of the
family was then appointed Maharaja.
The others were given an estate at
Gyantse by the Tibetan Government.
Jigme Taring is cousin to the present
Maharaja of Sikkim. He is the Dalai
Lama’s Chang Dza, manager of his
stores in Lhasa. He is also Lap cha,
i.e., he oversees the trade that passes
through Gyantse.”

205. Hat

A hat (R.246a) with ornament (R.246b).
The hat is of silk brocade in gold, yel-
low, dark green, and red, with flowers
embroidered in various shades of red
and pink. The hat has a brim 10-15 cm
wide with indented edges, rather like
the petals of a flower, and is made in
four separate sections of varying sizes
and shapes. Each section of the brim is
covered with brocade edged with neat
parallel rows of plaited silk cords in vari-
ous shades of blue, red, and green lying
tightly together to form a border 2 cm
wide around each section. This tech-
nique for using silk cords in this way is
the same as that used on fancy dress
boots (e.g., Cat. nos. 196 and 210). The
crown is round, with straight sides and is
11-12 cm high. The top is slightly con-
cave. In the centre is a circular arrange-
ment of dark red silk cords tied and sewn
to form a central circle 3-3.5 cm across.
The loose ends of the cords radiate out
to form a larger circle of tassels some 12
cm in diameter which covers nearly the
entire top of the crown. The various sec-
tions of the brim are not meant to lie flat,
nor are they meant to be upturned
against the crown, but are held by
threads from brim edge to crown in a
halfway position between the two.
Viewed from the top, three of the brim
sections are covered with red silk with a
floral pattern in gold threads. The top of
the fourth and largest brim section is
decorated in the same manner as the
other three are underneath, i.e., it is
edged with a 2 cm broad border of
plaited silk cords in various shades of
blue, green, red, and yellow surround-
ing a piece of gold brocade with two
embroidered flowers in pink and leaves
outlined in red. Viewed from the under-
side, then, the largest section of hat brim,
34 cm long and 13.5 cm wide, is covered
with red silk decorated with a floral pat-
tern in silver threads, while the other
three are decorated with the plaited silk
cord border surrounding the silk bro-
cade. In other words, at first glance it
appears as if the larger brim section has
been put on upside down. Inside, the
crown is lined with turquoise-coloured
and a double ribbon of the same
material 1 cm wide and 47 cm long is
attached to either side for tying under
the chin. In making the top of the crown
the materials of which the hat is made
have been folded over neatly to the cen-
tre in a series of triangular pleats, leav-
ing a small hole in the centre. This hole
is to take the metal rod that holds the hat
decoration (R.246h) in place. This orna-
ment is 6 cm high with a 4 cm diameter
across the base. It consists of a deco-
rated brass dome 2 cm high on top of
which is a small brass bowl-shaped at-
tachment 2 cm in diameter which holds
a round red ornament 2.7 cm in diam-
er with a tiny brass “parasol” 1.5 cm
across set with a round piece of opaque
turquoise-coloured glass in its centre.
The large bright red sphere looks at first
like a red coral bead, but it is warm to
the touch, has a slightly uneven surface,
contains some black streaks, and is of
light weight. It is not hollow, as can be
seen by lifting the top “parasol” deco-
tation out to reveal the hole drilled through
the centre of the sphere. It has also not
been stained red on its outer surface; it
is red all the way through. Ignoring its
colour, it feels like amber. The metal
parts of the decoration look like gold,
but are of brass, with some gilt prepara-
tion having been brushed on, the brush
strokes being visible underneath the
edge of the parasol top and inside the
brass dome-shaped base where some of
the gold has been brushed inside the
door. Set round the base 1 cm above the
bottom edge are eight stones, four green
and four red. Above these is a collar of
petal-shaped lapets of polished opaque
turquoise-coloured glass, set all round
the base of the short stem. The decora-
tion sits on top of the red tassel circle in
the centre of the crown and is held in
place by a hollow metal rod, threaded
inside, with a round disc 3 cm in diam-
er at its other end. This rod passes up
through the hole in the centre of the
crown as far as the disc will allow, and
the ornament is slipped down over it,
being held in place by screwing down
the little “parasol” ornament at the top of
the decoration.

Height, with ornament: 15.5 cm; width:
40-41 cm
Accession no. R.246a and R.246h

206. Shirt
A new white long-sleeved shirt of cotton
with the front opening cut straight down
from the collar to the bottom hem. There
are no buttons or other fastenings.
Length: 63 cm; sleeves, across from cuff
to cuff: 214 cm
Accession no. R.246b

207. Coat
A long-sleeved full-length garment of
silk brocade with rows of large flowers,
each 11 cm in diameter, in red, dark red,
brown, and purple. Between these are
patterns of leaves in dark green and
stems in gold with pomegranates and
Chinese coin decorations, the coins ap-
pearing in overlapping pairs in red, dark
red, and purple. Usual cut with left front
wrapping across to wearer's right. Top
edge of left front cut diagonally from
throat to a point below the right shoul-
der where it can be fastened with a brass
spheroid button on a purple silk cord
passing through a loop below the right
shoulder. From there the edge falls
straight down the wearer's right side.
There are no other buttons or fastenings.
The coat is fully lined with dark blue
silk.
Length: 140 cm; sleeve length: 63.5 cm;
sleeves across from cuff to cuff: 195 cm
Accession no. R.246c

208. Apron
A silk brocade apron divided up the
centre and lined with dark blue silk. The
apron is entirely covered with a pattern
of mountains worked in threads of gold,
red, green, blue, dark red, purple, or-
210. Pair of boots
A pair of man's dress boots for formal wear, very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 196, except that these are slightly larger.

Height: 37 cm; length: 29 cm
Accession no. R.246 f-g

212. Bow case
Leather bow-carrier with plain brown leather on the back, but with the front or outer surface decorated all over with silk brocade. The edge of this front side is decorated with a 1 cm wide strip of brocade with small triangles in green, silver, and gold. Fastened on to this edge are twenty-two round brass studs 1.2 cm across. They are half-spheres, pierced with small holes, and bear a Whirling Emblem (gakhi) in relief. On the lower edge of the case there is a gap along the border where one stud is missing. Inside this border is a 2 cm wide strip of multi-coloured silk cords in tight parallel rows, very similar to those on the hat (Cat. no. 205), and the boots (Cat. no. 210). Inside this is an irregularly-shaped panel of brocade c. 16 x 18 cm in size in gold with embroidered flowers in red, purple, yellow, pink, and green and flower and leaf stems in red. At the front edge the leather has simply been folded, leaving the front rounded. At the back a piece of wood 19.5 cm long, 2.8 cm wide, and 2.2 cm thick has been inserted between the open ends of the leather case and nailed in place. The wood is covered with red leather, except on the inside where it does not show. There it has been left plain. The attachments to the case are as follows: on the back of the carrier, the
side worn next to the body, there are two holes, each 0.5 cm in diameter, one above the other, and 2 cm apart. A piece of dark brown leather, cut out in the shape of a figure 8, has been carefully stitched over these as reinforcement. A leather thong has been passed in one hole and out the other so that the bow carrier may be fastened securely when worn. At the back edge of the case two brass loops have been driven into the wood, an iron ring is set in each, and to these is fastened by means of the same kind of brass studs as are on the front edge, a length of silk brocade matching that on the edge of the carrier. This has been sewn round a leather strap to make a rope of heavy cord which is looped round a red leather strap 78 cm long. The strap is made of a piece of white leather covered with red leather on one side and along the edges, leaving one side to be covered with gold brocade. The white leather strap extends out beyond this cover for c. 28 cm. This end has been cut into five parallel strips and plaited.

Height: 27 cm; width: 20 cm
Accession no. R.246j

213. Arrow quiver

Arrow quiver for ceremonial dress occasions rather than a practical quiver for hunting or warfare. There are nine arrows, but only two can be removed; the other seven are bound tightly together by eight silk scarves which are intertwined among the shafts. The scarves are all of plain colours: dark blue, pink, bright red, light green, red, white, yellow, and turquoise. The loose ends of these scarves are gathered at the front of the quiver, bound together with a length of purple silk ribbon, and allowed to fall loose as a thick bunch of colourful tails. The arrow shafts are of cane. The two arrows which can be removed have 66 cm long shafts. Their points are 11.5-12 cm long tapering steel points 7 mm in diameter, but tapering to a very sharp point. The flights on all the arrows are of white feathers, three on each shaft, and are 24.5-25 cm long. All the arrow shafts are decorated at both ends of the flights and in the middle with windings of fine thread in black, red, green, and yellow on gold coloured paper. The two arrows that can be removed are also bound for a distance of 6 cm round the shaft just above the points with sinew. The quiver itself consists of a brown leather back and a silk brocade front on a wooden frame 2.2 cm thick, the edges of which are covered with red leather. This, together with details of the silk brocade front and its decoration, closely match those on the bow carrier. Cat. no. 212, described above. The same brocade border all round is set with the same brass half spheres, pierced with small holes, bearing the gakkil or whirling emblem. The silk cord border, 2 cm wide, consisting of parallel rows of multi-coloured cords is the same, as is the brocade panel with flower motif. The two removable arrows are not in the quiver with the other seven, but fit into their own separate pocket openings low down on the outside of the quiver. Two holes in the brocade are overlaid with a brown piece of leather cut in a figure 8 pattern to give reinforcement and the points of the arrows fit down into these. The leather thong attachment at back of quiver and silk cord attachment to rings on back edge of quiver are very similar to those on Cat. no. 212.

Height: 84 cm, quiver only: 43 cm; width: 16 cm; length of arrows: 78 cm
Accession no. R.246k

214. Rifle

A matchlock rifle with walnut stock and gilt iron plates round the breech. There are three of these plates, one on either side of the rifle and one on top of the breech. Those on the sides extend forward, tapering from a 2.7 cm width to one of only 7 mm at their forward ends, which is only 5.2 cm short of the mouth of the barrel. These two side plates are 62 cm long and are let into the walnut stock. The other plate, which is on top of the breech, measures 5.5 x 10.5 cm. It is neither flat nor rounded, but slopes downward on either side of a mid-ridge. Seen in section through the breech, the rifle is shaped like an arched rectangle. All three of these plates have been cut to form an ornate pattern at the back of the breech where they join the stock. Red paint has been applied to the cut-out areas of the design. The plate on top of the breech with the mid-ridge and sloping sides has two of these designs, one on each facet. The other two plates, below this on either side, have one each, making four in all. The design resembles the lotus symbol. The barrel is 56.8 cm
long. Its mouth is slightly flared to a 1.5 cm diameter, and its surface is faceted. It has been gilded. There are two other gilded iron plates, both on the underside of the stock. The smallest joins on to the butt and extends forward of 15.5 cm. At the butt end it is 1.8 cm wide, while at its forward end it is 2.8 cm wide. At this end it is decorated in the same manner as the breech ends of the plates described earlier. The second plate is the trigger plate. This has not been let into the stock but is attached to it by eleven steel pins. It is 2.7 x 37.5 cm in size and has been cut into decorative shapes at either end rather like *fleur-de-lis*. Down the centre of this plate for most of its length is a 5 mm wide slot for the trigger. The end of the trigger has been bent back on itself to form a flattened asymmetrical oval. At the forward end of the stock, 12 cm back from the mouth of the barrel, a wood and iron folding bipod has been mounted. This consists of two wooden dowels fitted into iron half-sleeves 8.3 cm long, each of which has a hole in the centre through which a steel rod passes to hold sleeves, dowels, and stock firmly together, but allowing the two dowels to swing downward as needed. At their outer ends the two dowels fit into socketed slightly curving iron prongs 33.5 cm long. The overall length of the rifle rest is 64.5 cm. When swung into the downward position this provides a steady rest for aiming the rifle. When not in use the prongs fold back under the rifle. Below the breech and forward under the stock where the rifle rest is attached are iron swivels. To these is attached a 102 cm length of thick khaki cotton webbing 2.5 cm wide, which looks as if it might be from British or Indian army supplies. At three points along their lengths the barrel and stock have been bound together with numerous turnings of steel wire. In each instance this has been done after laying a multi-strand oval of the same wire on top of the barrel. The fact that this matchlock has a black walnut stock may indicate an 18th century European origin.

Length: 104.5 cm
Accession no. R.2461

215. Sword and scabbard

The blade does not taper gradually to a point but keeps its full width until within 4 cm of the tip. It then curves abruptly in at a 45 degree angle – a characteristic of Chinese sword blades. The sword guard is made to fit down over the top of the scabbard. It is 1.3 cm thick and decorated with incised lotus petal designs all around its edge. The flat top of the guard on the grip side is plain undecorated metal. Seen from the top, the guard is shaped rather like two lotus symbols put together. The grip is tightly wrapped with many windings of steel wire. Below this, next to the hilt guard, is a metal band with an incised decoration resembling two intertwined Cs, one reversed. The pommel is the same lotus symbol shape with a red coral bead in a bezel mounting in the centre. The flat surface all round the red coral bead is incised with intertwined leaf/vine designs. On the back of the pommel there is a white metal *padma* fixed to the pommel by a white metal cotter pin. The ring at the top of this pin holds a metal ring and to this is attached a bright red silk cord with an endless knot 4 cm across from which hang three bright long silk cord tassels; one in yellow, one in pink, and one in turquoise colour. The tassels, each tied at the top with windings of multi-coloured thread, are 34.5 cm long. The scabbard is of wood, covered with dark blue silk, the latter only visible as a 24 cm long section in the upper half of the scabbard’s length, as the remainder of the scabbard, front and back, is covered with two lavishly decorated silver sleeves, one at the top and a larger one at the bottom. The front surfaces of these two metal sheaths are entirely covered with incised decorations. The backs are plain. The top sheath, 5 cm wide, 1.5 cm thick, and 20 cm long, shows a dragon facing a *triratna*. All round this are intertwined leaves and vine tendrils. The larger sheath covering the bottom part of the scabbard is the same width and thickness, but is 30 cm long. This depicts two dragons, one on either side of a central *triratna*, facing each other. All three dragons are clutching round objects in each of their claws. These are Flaming Jewels or Flaming Discs.
section of the scabbard covered with dark blue silk is decorated with two round dark blue-green pieces of polished glass 2 cm in diameter in high crown mounts set on discs 3.8 cm in diameter decorated with lotus symbols. These discs in turn are set on 1.1 cm wide metal straps which encircle the scabbard, their ends being fastened with iron rivets at one edge to a metal bar 24 cm long. This bar has two slots in it, one at the top and one at the lower end, to take the leather straps with which the scabbard is attached to the wearer's belt.

Length: 92.5 cm; length of blade: 80 cm; width: 4 cm; thickness: 6 mm

Ref.: Fichner, 1910. VIII: Plate 84 and Müller & Raunig: 152.

Accession no. R.246m

Prince Peter also obtained the horse furniture used together with this costume. These items, numbered R.246 n-2 (Cat. nos. 101-12), are described in Chapter VI.

Noble Woman's Costume

216. Hat

A woman's hat with the brim divided into four flaps, a small one at the front and back, and much larger ear flaps on either side. The crown is high with a flat top. The outer surface of the hat is completely covered with pale green silk brocade lavishly decorated with designs in gold, dark red, and silver thread. Just below the top of the crown a 1 cm wide band of plaited gold threads has been sewn on all round in an undulating pattern. Above that are two parallel bands of the same material. Next, on top of the crown, another undulating band encircles the centre, outlined by a circle of gold plaited threads with a round piece of gold brocade in the middle. The undersides of the four brim flaps are lined with a brown artificial material resembling fur. The inside of the hat is lined with pale green silk.

Height: 14 cm

Accession no. R.248a

217. 10,18 Dress

A woman's sleeveless full-length garment in dark green silk. The green silk material has round designs on it, each 12.5 cm across, worked in threads of the same colour, depicting a bird and a dragon. The garment, which appears to be new or very little used, is of the usual cut with the left front wrapping across to the wearer's right and the top edge of the left front cut diagonally from the throat to a point under the right shoulder where it fastens with a single brass spheroid button.

Length: 144 cm

Accession no. R.248b

218. 10,19 Dress

A woman's long-sleeved full-length dark wine red silk garment. The red silk has a flower pattern worked in threads of the same colour. The lining is of turquoise coloured silk. The garment is of the usual cut with the left front wrapping across to the wearer's right and the top edge of the left front cut diagonally from the throat to a point under the right shoulder where it fastens with a single brass spheroid button.

Length: 137 cm; across from cuff to cuff: 165 cm

Accession no. R.248c

219. 10,18 Blouse

A very light green silk short-waisted long-sleeved blouse with flower and leaf pattern worked in threads of the same colour.

Length: 57 cm; across from cuff to cuff: 149 cm

Accession no. R.248d

220. 10,18 Blouse

A very pale bright pink long-sleeved short-waisted blouse with vine, leaf, and flower patterns worked in threads of the same colour.

Length: 50 cm; across from cuff to cuff: 205 cm

Accession no. R.248e
1019 Cat. no. 218. Dress.
Drawing: Thomas Otte Stensager.
221. 10.18 Apron

A woven silk apron with triangular gold and silver brocade corners at top right and top left and multi-coloured plaited silk tie cords 1.5 cm wide and 85 cm long attached to the upper right and upper left corners. The apron consists of three vertical panels of woven striped silk in pink, bright pink, dark red, purple, green, pale green, and blue, each panel being 20 cm wide and 73 cm long. Across the top is a 7 cm wide band of purple brocade with designs worked in silver thread. The apron is lined with a piece of very pale purple silk with alternating vertical stripes in green and gold.

Length: 73 cm; width: 60 cm
Accession no. R.248f

222. 10.18 Apron

A woman's woven silk apron. In contrast to Cat. no. 221, which is a fine example of a wealthy woman's traditional apron, this is more typical of modern Tibetan aprons, as the horizontal stripes on the three vertical panels are wider and the colours brighter. The brocade triangles sewn on to the upper right and upper left hand corners are of gold and silver threads on which has been embroidered flowers in white and purple silk thread. The brocade band across the top is of silver and gold leaves with red and pink flowers on a purple background. The ties for the apron are of multi-coloured plaited silk cords 1.5 cm wide and 75 cm long.

Length: 74 cm; width: 57 cm
Accession no. R.248g

223. Pair of boots

A pair of woman's boots, new, with uppers of red, green, and black felt decorated with flowers embroidered in white, yellow, red, pink, and blue. These are in traditional style, well made with great attention to detail, and fine embroidered decoration on the uppers going back from the toe to the instep and up the front, also on the back above the heel. The sole is very thick, made up of multiple layers of felt. Cf. boot bindings, Cat. no. 228.

Height: 50 cm; length: 25 cm
Accession no. R.248h

224. 10.18 Cummerbund

A cummerbund of orange silk completely covered with a very fine pattern of small uneven rectangles worked in the same colour. Hemmed on three sides only.

Length: 183 cm; width: 37 cm
Accession no. R.248i

225. 10.18 Cummerbund

A cummerbund of bright red silk with large leaf and flower patterns, each connected with the next by geometrical lines. The pattern is worked in the same colour as the cloth. The piece is hemmed at the ends only.

Length: 234 cm; width: 50 cm
Accession no. R.248j

226. 10.18 Dress

A woman's sleeveless full-length garment of dark green silk described in the accessions register as a "galla frakke". The material is almost completely covered with a repeating floral pattern of gold and silver threads with flower centres picked out in dark red. Over each shoulder there is a piece of gold and silver brocade 12 cm wide and 67.5 cm long with a design of small red leaves, and another smaller piece, 6 x 14 cm, in gold, orange, and silver across the bottom of each arm opening. At the bottom the garment is open on either side up for a distance of 42 cm. These slits are edged with a narrow strip of red silk, the same edging going all round the bottom as well. The lining is of imported printed cotton with repeating designs of brown and green leaves and blue flowers.

Length: 119 cm
Accession no. R.248k

227. Pair of boots

A pair of lady's boots with silk uppers. The foot is of purple and gold brocade, the uppers are of black silk with a 3.5 cm wide edging of dark red silk round the top. The boots are lined with a soft fuzzy pink material resembling flannel. The construction is that of a pair of slippers with sole and uppers made of heavy white cotton twine, rows and rows of it.
neatly and tightly stitched together, to which has been added the purple and gold brocade and black silk tops. The edge of the sole is covered with a thin layer of leather which has been painted black and then in painstaking detail, has been painted over with leaves and flowers in green, gold, purple, and red. The boots show some signs of wear.

Height: 43 cm; length: 25.5 cm
Accession no. R.248l

228. Boot bindings

A pair of woven strips of multi-coloured wool for binding the tops of boots. (Another pair, listed in the Accessions register under this same number, were found wrapped round the tops of the pair of boots numbered R.248h (Cat. no. 223).) At either end for 12 or 15 cm the yarn has been left unwoven and the warps make a colourful fringe ending. The colours used from edge to centre are: dark blue, pink, yellow, green, blue, black, white, bright red, pink, and green. The colours are then repeated in reverse order across to the opposite edge.

Length: 134 cm; width: 3.8 cm.
Accession no. R.248m

229. 10.18 Scarf

A dark red silk scarf mostly plain, but embroidered with flowers in fine silk at either end. These embroidered sections are 47 cm wide and 45 cm long and the flowers are arranged in roughly triangular shape, with stems, leaves, and petals sewn directly onto the red silk. There is a fine design in the silk itself, geometrical patterns looking rather like a compromise between a key pattern and a swastika, and this is worked in the same colour and shade as the cloth as a whole. Silken cords of various colours have been sewn onto either end all the way across at 1 cm intervals and these have been knotted to make a fish net pattern some 10 cm wide. The remainder of the cords have been left as tassels 17 cm long. The colours are green, red, orange, light blue, and dark blue. The colours have not been mixed, they form bands of colour across the ends.

Length: 267 cm; width: 52 cm
Accession no. R.248n

230. 10.18 Dress decoration

A piece of finely woven striped silk very similar to that used in Cat. no. 236. It is lined with a piece of pale pink silk and has two red silk cords fastened to it, one at either corner on one of the long sides. In the centre, set against the top edge of the long side where the tie strings are, is a piece of brocade 6.5 cm square placed so as to make a diamond shape.

Length: 80 cm; width: 47 cm
Accession no. R.2480

231. 10.18 Ornamental hair piece

A quantity of black hair used, together with her own, by a lady dressing up for a gala occasion. Not seen.
Accession no. R.248p

232. 10.18 Hair decoration

A woman's hair decoration belonging with Cat. no. 244. It has been made on a metal armature consisting of two pieces of iron, each made as a bar attached to a plate set at an angle of c. 45 degrees. These appear to be made out of sheet iron cut or hammered out to a width of 2.5-3 cm and a length of c. 19-20 cm which have then been cut part way through their width from either side some 6-7 cm from one end so that the longer portion of the plate can be bent and hammered round into a tube, leaving the remainder as a rectangular plate. The tube can then be bent to the desired angle in relation to the plate. The two plates, sewn onto and thus connected by a piece of heavy cloth (in this case, black corduroy) is then placed on the head so that the two bars or tubes project upward like horns. It is round these "horns" that dozens of lengths of long black hair are wound and attached so that they hang down on either side of the wearer's face in thick heavy strands, their lower ends being plaited together. Toward the ends these plaits incorporate flat plaited cords of pale green silk to which are attached two large bright red silk cord tassels 22 cm long. There is also a thick bundle of long black hair.
the ends of which are tightly bound together with wrappings of dark red woolen yarn covering 5 cm of the ends, tied to the outer or lower ends of each of the metal plates. All this long black hair has been gathered into four hanks on either side, three of which are attached to and hang down from the horns and/or horn base on either side, while the ends of the fourth hank are bound together with black hair so that they can be brought up behind the head and fastened by means of a small hook to the apex of the cloth triangle to which the horns are attached. The lower ends of all four hanks on either side are plaited together to form two thick plaits down the back ending in tassels, as described. The plaits fasten at the back to wearer’s belt with a red coral and seed pearl ornament (Cat. no. 244) which has unfortunately been removed. Attached to each horn about 5 cm down from the tip is a narrow black cotton cord some 25 cm long at the end of which is a small white metal hook. By means of these the horns are anchored in place and will not shift during head movements.

Overall length: 157 cm
Ref.: Harrer, 1953: 81, 83 and 1955: 14
Accession no. R.248q

Nobleman’s Costume and Accessories

This costume, Gjelutsje (gvaluchê), presented by Prince and Princess George of Greece and Denmark, was used on special occasions in Lhasa by noblemen of the first four ranks, rim sbi. The costume is of a type which is said to have originated in Kashmir. The hats are made by Muslims in Lhasa. This type of costume is worn on all festive occasions. The material seems to be Indian brocade. See also Hugh Richardson’s Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year, where he describes the gvaluchê costume as “Royal Dress” consisting of “… a short brocade jacket with a thick rainbow-coloured scarf over the left shoulder, and a pleated black silk skirt; on their heads was a small white cockleshell hat”. 1

233. Hat

Small crescent-shaped cap, designed to sit upright at the back of the head, made of stiff white woven cotton similar to very lightweight canvas. The shape is maintained by a complicated structure: the high curved crown is formed by nineteen overlapping layers of crescent-shaped folds in the cloth. This is achieved by tiny pleats c. 1.5 mm wide. These pleats are not stitched, but are kept in place by starch. They extend up and over the narrow crown and for c. 2 cm down the back, making some thirty-eight pleats in all. At the front the cloth is turned up and folded over to form a 1.5 cm thick crescent that is c. 33 cm long. It is hard as if folded over a carved piece of wood, but very light in weight. There is a finely plaited red cord 0.5 cm wide attached to either side of the hat and the two cords are fastened together by each end being folded loosely over the other so that the cords cannot separate, but can be pulled tight or released, as required. The little folded-over bindings are very neatly done with tight narrow bands of blue, white, red, and pale jade green stitching.

Height: 13.5 cm; width: 19.5 cm
Accession no. R.241a

234. 10.20 Jacket

Man’s short-waisted multi-coloured long-sleeved jacket of silk brocade, trimmed with fine light brown fur, which has been dyed dark brown in places, at cuffs and bottom hem. Inside, the collar and upper half of the jacket, including the sleeves, are lined with deep purple silk; the lower half is lined with bright orange silk. The outer surface is completely covered with mixed panels of brightly coloured, patterned brocade, as if assembled from remnants, in red, green, purple, orange, yellow, and white. The materials from which these have been cut have large patterns and the panels are small, so the result is to give glimpses of multi-coloured dragons, a head, a claw, and swirling cloud-like patterns. The jacket is made up of about fifteen panels in all, some of them separated from each other by a 4.5 cm broad strip of gold-bordered brightly coloured material. A band of similar material is found round each cuff above the fur trim, though that bears a “key” design. Cf. purse, Cat. no. 238 and costume decoration, Cat. no. 239.
10.20 Cat. no. 234. Jacket.
Length: 80 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 206 cm
Accession no. R.241b

235. Dress

Long full-length silk sleeveless garment with dark blue top (shoulder to waist) and black pleated skirt. The pleats are very deep (c. 4 cm) and very numerous with a 1.5-2 cm overlap. In order to keep the pleats in place and lying flat, four horizontal parallel rows of stitching, about 15 cm apart, have been made all round the skirt. The blue top section has the usual front opening with the left side folding across to the wearer’s right, brass button fastening at throat, a second one below right collar bone, and a third one below the right shoulder. There is a small breast pocket on wearer’s right. The dark blue silk has designs on it in the same dark blue colour, leaf and flower patterns, and the Endless Knot motif. The lining inside is of pale blue cotton. Skirt unlined.
Length: 150 cm
Accession no. R.241c

236. Costume decoration

A piece of dark red silk on which has been sewn three pieces of striped silk forming a rectangle 108 x 350 cm and so placed on the dark red silk that a red border appears on three sides, but not the fourth. Every forth stripe on the added panels is 4 cm wide, the intervening three stripes being 1 cm wide. The broad stripes are in white, yellow, dark blue, red, and green, as are the narrow stripes. The colours are bright.
Length: 398 cm; width: 118 cm
Accession no. R.241d

237. Shawl

Red or orange-red silk shawl. At either end fine red silk cords have been fastened at 2 cm intervals from one side to the other. These have then been knotted together to form an open “fish net” pattern of rectangles c. 2 cm square across each end to a depth of 8 cm. The ends of the cords have then been gathered to make twenty-one tassels c. 25 cm long.
Length: 225 cm; width: 47 cm
Accession no. R.241e

238. Purse

A purse made of miscellaneous pieces of patterned silk brocade very similar to the pieces used to make R.241b. The bag, measuring 26 x 15 cm, has been made so that two triangular “ears” stick up on either side above the drawstring. The measurement from the top of an “ear” to the bottom of the bag is 25 cm. Attached to the ends of the drawstrings on either side are finely woven ornaments in dark blue and red, 3 x 11 cm in size with a “key” design border and ritual vase and swastika designs in centre. Hanging below are examples of the Endless Knot worked in gold cord and hanging from this are tassels in pale green cord. A length of dark turquoise coloured ribbon has been sewn onto either side of the opening of the bag so that it forms a loop.
Length: 26 cm; width: 15 cm
Accession no. R.241f

239. Costume decoration

A double-folded costume decoration consisting of four pieces of brightly coloured patterned brocade (as in Cat. no. 234 (Fig. 10, 20)) sewn together and lined with a piece of dark turquoise coloured silk and then folded and partly sewn so that it cannot be unfolded. At the top two pieces of brocade are gathered into a dome shape, leaving a hole 1.5 cm in diameter, round which is sewn a circle of green leather from the hole emerges a 3.5 cm wide ribbon of double thickness in dark purple. If the entire piece were opened out, it would be c. 76 cm wide; folded, it measures 19 x 61 cm, not including the purple loop of double ribbon at top. Cf. costume of a member of the Dalai Lama’s Cabinet, Cat. no. 194.
Length: 61 cm; width: 19 cm
Accession no. R.241g

240. Costume decoration

Another costume decoration, rectangular in shape with its lower end pointed, looking rather like an oversized bookmark. This has been sewn across the top so that a belt can be slipped through. Made of colourful patterned pieces of brocade, four in all, possibly more rem-
nants from the making of Cat. no. 234 (Fig. 10, 20). It offers glimpses of parts of dragons and clouds and has an Endless Knot fashioned in gold cord hanging from the bottom. Suspended below that, a red tassel bound with gold thread at the top. The back is lined with a piece of deep purple silk.

Length: 56 cm, including tassel: 82 cm; width: 11 cm

Accession no. R.241h

241. Costume decoration

Matches Cat. no. 240 in every respect, the only variation being slightly different patterns on the silk brocade panels.

Accession no. R.241i

242. Pair of boots

A pair of boots for formal/ceremonial occasions, with dark blue silk panels on either side of uppers. A band of fine multi-coloured plaited silk cords runs from the top front of each boot down to the foot where it separates, turns, and runs to the back above the heel and, joined together again, runs up the back to a red silk-edged top. A similar band of fine plaited multi-coloured cords runs round the bottom of the upper just above the sole. These join at toe and heel and go up the centre of both back and front to join the bands described earlier. The boots are lined inside with white cotton cloth. The sole is made up of a layer of leather on top of which are nine layers of cotton covered pads, rather like a stack of insoles. The uppers are attached by stitches which run down through these soles. The boots are the product of very fine, painstaking work where great attention has been paid to detail.

Height: 33 cm; length: 25 cm

Accession no. R.241 j-k

243. Dagger and sheath

A dagger with a 5.75 cm wide blade down which are two parallel grooves running three-quarters of the length on either side. The hand grip is tightly wrapped with neat rows of twisted silver wire. The pommel is mitre-shaped with an intricate pierced design in sheet silver. Length of hand grip from top of pommel to quillions: 10 cm. The sheath is of silver with wooden inserts to hold the blade firmly. The lower 4.5 cm of the sheath is encased in sheet brass, the top edge of which is cut to make a patterned edge. Nearly the entire outer surface of the sheath, i.e., the side that shows when worn, is covered with repoussé decorations: lotus leaves, lotus petals, and dragons.

Length of dagger: 42 cm; length of sheath: 33.25 cm; width: 5 cm

Accession no. R.241 l-m

244. Costume ornament

A costume ornament, which belongs with and was attached to Cat. no. 232, made up of two groups of eleven strands each of seed pearls divided in the centre by two dark red beads, themselves separated by two pearls with a turquoise bead in the centre. The outer ends of the two bunches of seed pearls end with a dark red bead. The beads and pearls are strung on white silk cords. Said to be from a Lhasa noblewoman's costume, made to hang down from her belt. One group of eleven strands of seed pearls is 13.75 cm long; the other is 15 cm.

Length: 34 cm

Accession no. R.291

Tibetan Soldier's Armour

245. Helmet, Mog

Iron helmet made of eight overlapping curved plates, four large and four small, joined together by leather thongs which have been threaded through holes along the edges of each plate. The four large plates, which are triangular in shape, measure 13.5 cm across the bottom and are 17 cm high. The four smaller plates, each shaped like a tall narrow triangle with shallow scalloped edges, have a ridge running down the centre from top to bottom. Where all eight plates join at the top there is an opening which is covered by a round disk with a hollow metal plume-holder rising 4 cm from its centre. Attached to the bottom edge of the helmet are three padded flaps covered with silk and velvet. The largest of these, measuring 29 cm along the edge by which it is attached to the helmet, and 15 cm long, is a crescent-shaped decora-
tive piece which covers the back of the wearer's neck. It is edged with black velvet. Next to this is a 1.5 cm wide band of silk embroidery made up of four rows of coloured stitching: yellow, green, white, and brown. The remaining surface is covered with a piece of dark blue silk. The underside of this neck flap is velvet. Next to this is a 1.5 cm wide band of silk.

The collar.

The collar has been made from a piece of diamond-shaped leather 70 cm across in both directions. The trousers are unlined except for a 6 cm wide strip of blue cotton sewn round the inside of the cuffs. The cuffs themselves are edged with brown velvet strips 5.5 cm wide. The trouser legs are slit up for 13 cm from the cuff on the outside of each leg. This slit is edged with brown velvet like the cuffs themselves, but at the top of the slit they are cut to form a flower pattern.

Length: 100 cm; width: 70 cm

Accession no. R.406c

248. Pair of boots, Hangö

A pair of man's leather boots with dark brown leather uppers embossed with a fine pattern of diamond shapes made by parallel lines scored 2 mm apart. The uppers were originally stained black, but are much worn and the brown is showing through. The boots are unlined. Made in traditional style but without any felt or decoration. The lower part of the uppers are of light brown leather. The leather sole is flat without heel, as usual.

Height: 37 cm; length: 25 cm

Accession no. R.406e

250. Belt, Kera

An iron belt made up of 111 iron plates varying in length from 13.2 cm to the central plate which is both the longest (17.5 cm) and the widest (3.8-5.2 cm). The other plates are 1.5 cm wide. They
are arranged in a vertical position, each one half overlapping the next, and are held together by iron rivets driven through three horizontal leather straps on the back, one across the top of the plates, one across the bottom, and one across the centre. These straps extend out beyond the end of the belt and buckle on to the other end of the belt (one of three buckles is missing; the two that are present are very similar to the buckles on Cat. no. 249). Each plate has an incised border all round 1 mm in from the edge and each is slightly concave from top to bottom. The central plate, largest of all, has a round steel ball set in its centre.

Length: 113 cm; width: 17.5 cm

Accession no. R.406f

251. Belt, Gyog-rû

A leather belt to which are attached nine hand-carved wooden gunpowder containers, each designed to hold a single musket charge. The main part of the belt has been sewn onto a 2 cm wide leather strap, but an additional 53 cm long strap has been cut into six strips and plaited, and this extends beyond the main belt, which consists of a red cloth-covered strip of felt with a leather edging folded over onto the red cloth-covered front where it has been stitched down. Eleven U-shaped iron fastenings have been slipped onto the belt, each with a round padma decoration on the outside and a spatulate end at the back. These have been attached to the belt at 10-13 cm intervals by iron rivets driven through the centre of the padma, through the belt, and through the spatulate end on the back, leaving an iron loop below the bottom edge of the belt. Ten of these hold an iron ring to which, on nine of them, is attached a hollow wooden tube 13-14 cm long, 2-2.5 cm in diameter near the top, tapering to 1-1.2 cm at the open bottom end. The iron ring with which this is attached to the belt passes through a carved wooden eye at the top of the container. To this same iron ring is attached a 20-24 cm long leather thong, twisted to make a cord at the other end of which a 2-2.5 cm wide strip of rolled and stitched leather is attached to make a plug for the powder container. The belt is fastened with a stirrup-shaped iron buckle.

Length: 183 cm; width: 21 cm; thickness: 6 mm

Accession no. R.406g

252. Belt, Dzâk-K'âg tang Dil-k'âg

A leather belt made of two straps stitched together with attached crescent-shaped leather pouch for powder horn and other shooting accessories and a smaller pouch for musket balls. Two iron U-shaped attachments are riveted to the belt, making an iron loop just below the bottom edge of the belt. One of these, 12 cm from the buckle, is not in use, but the second one, 47 cm from the other end of the belt, has attached to it a double leather thong 37 cm long from which hangs a leather pouch for musket balls. This has been made from two pieces of leather, the largest, of a reddish-brown colour, cut into a vase shape. The top half of this has then been covered with a piece of black leather, cut to the same shape as the first piece at the top, but cut into a fancy pattern along its bottom edge. The two have then been stitched together along the top and outside edges and along the bottom edge of the smaller black piece of leather and both have then been folded in half lengthways and stitched together, leaving a 4.5 cm wide opening at the top. Halfway down the stitched side, opposite the folded edge, a 15 cm long leather thong has been fixed, its end tied in an Endless Knot. The larger, crescent-shaped pouch hangs from the belt on two 21 cm long and 2.5 cm wide double straps which are looped up over the belt and fixed to it with iron rivets. The pouch measures 52 cm across the top and is 20 cm deep measured from the centre of the pouch to the bottom. The brown leather flap which closes down over the top is the same size and same shape as the pouch itself. It is edged with black velvet which is somewhat worn and faded, and five rows of plaited silk cords in green, dark blue, and yellow laid closely in parallel rows all along the crescent edge of the pouch flap. In the centre of the flap is a round dome-shaped gilded iron gakhil, Whirling Emblem, 1.2 cm in diameter. It is held in place by an iron rivet which also secures, on the underside of the flap, an iron hook with which the flap is fastened when closed, as the hook latches under a small iron bar held in place on the front of the pouch by two
iron rivets. The pouch is made of four pieces of leather and is lined with dark blue handwoven cloth. The belt is not fastened by a buckle, but by a large iron hook which slips into a hole in the other end of the belt. 19

Length: 120 cm; width: 2.3 cm

Accession no. R.406h

253. Breast plate, Lag-sha ts'bon-ch'ba-lan-log

A breast-plate consisting of twenty-eight curved iron plates 22.5 cm long and 1.9 cm wide, plus one hundred and eight smaller petal-shaped plates each 1.9 cm wide and 1 cm long. The longer plates, arranged vertically, each overlapping the one next to it, are held together by six horizontal rows of leather thongs on the back. These are not riveted to the plates, but are threaded through holes in the plates so that the breast plate is laced together. A leather strip is folded over the top and bottom of the breast plate and these strips are held in place by a leather thong that has been passed through both the leather and the plates all the way across. The smaller plates, in four rows across the bottom of the main piece, are suspended from leather thongs threaded through holes toward the bottom end of the long plates. These thongs are then threaded down through each of the smaller plates below and they in turn are held in position by horizontal cross lacings of leather thongs.

Height: 33 cm; width: 31 cm

Accession no. R.406i

254. Bow case, Da-sh-sag-tag

A gold-painted leather bow case made of two pieces of brown leather, the largest at the front. This has been folded round the front edge of the case and onto the back for a distance of 4 cm. There it has been sewn onto a piece of brown leather the surface of which has been scored with parallel lines to make a small diamond pattern over the whole surface. This piece covers the remainder of the back of the case. The back edge of the case has been closed with a curved piece of leather-covered wood running from the top to a point c. 5 cm above the bottom of the case. The case is not closed at the bottom, but left open. At the top of the case in the back corner there is a round domed brass decoration 4 cm in diameter and 1 cm thick. In the centre is a flower, its centre made into a Whirling Emblem. Round this are vines and leaves in open work. An iron stem on this device passes through the wooden piece which extends nearly to the bottom of the case and protrudes out on the back of the case where it ends with a rectangular slot in which is tied a leather thong. The back edge of the gold painted leather that makes up the front of the case is nailed to the curved wooden spine of the case with twelve round dome-headed brass nails. The entire surface of the front of the case is covered with very elaborate designs and symbols depicting dragons, birds, and monsters on geometrical backgrounds painted in black and gold in such fine detail that they need to be examined with a magnifying glass.

Length: 60 cm; width: 36 cm

Accession no. R.406j

255. Arrows, Da

Five bamboo arrows without points, but with flights. The shafts are decorated with black and red painted stripes. Not seen.

Length: 72 cm

Accession no. R.406k

256. Lance point, Dng

A short heavy socketed lance point of iron with a wooden case covered in green leather. The blade has a ridge running the length of each side from the tip back to the socket. This ridge does not run down the centre of the blade but is offset to the left c. 0.5 cm (as viewed with the lance point upwards). The blade is made so that, considered in section, it gradually rises from the right edge to the centre and on for c. 0.5 cm and then drops abruptly down half a centimeter and continues, making a flat shelf, to the left edge of the lance point. At the open end of the socket there is a small drop-shaped iron attachment welded on with a small iron ring projecting 8 mm out beyond the end of the socket so that the lance point can be pinned to the lance shaft. The lance point fits down into a green leather-covered wooden case which is diamond-shaped in section. This case is 23.7 cm long and 4.3 cm in diameter at its mouth. The lance point does not go all the way into this case.
and, considering how carefully it has been made, one wonders if it is the right case, or if it was perhaps made for another, smaller, point.

Length: 21.5 cm; width: 3.5 cm
Accession no. R.4061

Part III:
Costumes and Costume Accessories for Religious Occasions

The State Oracle of Tibet traditionally resided at Nechung, "the small dwelling" located only a few hundred yards to the east of Drepung Monastery. This site was determined by various events of a supernatural nature said to have taken place in the 17th century. Up until the Chinese invasion of Tibet it was customary for the whole of the official body of the Tibetan Government, led by the Regent, to go in procession from Lhasa to Nechung on the third day of the first month to consult the State Oracle. Following a special dance performed by monks in the courtyard of the monastery, the Oracle appeared in a trance and delivered his message to the Regent. Although the State Oracle was not the only Oracle in the country (there was also one at Samye Monastery), he ranked first. Among other rights and duties, the Oracles were involved in the all-important search for the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. A detailed description of the State Oracle and his Residence at Nechung Gompa is provided by Rêne de Nebesky-Wojkowitz in his book Oracles and Demons of Tibet.

Costume of a
Tibetan Oracle,
Ch'hô kyang/Chökyong

257. 10.21 Oracle's crown

Oracle's skull crown consisting of a high square-topped hat of silk brocade, round the front and sides of which at the bottom has been fixed a 6 cm high and 4 cm thick cloth-covered pad of cotton wadding. This supports and protects the wearer's head from the weight of an elaborate gilt copper crown made up of a 5.5 cm wide gilt copper brow piece, 60 cm long, which extends across the front and along both sides of the crown, leaving a 16 cm gap at the back closed, and adjusted to fit wearer's head, by a divided leather strap with two nickel-plated buckles. The surface of this gilt copper brow piece is covered with repoussé leaf and vine patterns in high relief. Five silver lotus flowers 4 cm in diameter have been set along the length of this brow piece at 11 cm intervals. Each of these has a round crown set in the centre, but instead of holding a red coral or turquoise stone, each holds a round piece of clear glass covering a piece of pink foil paper which looks as if it might have come from a bar of Swiss chocolate. Along the top edge of this brow piece are set five silver skulls, each 6 cm high and each with red painted eyes. Attached to each of these skulls are elaborate gilt copper swirling flames, one on either side of the face, and three projecting up from the top of the skulls. Most of the swirling flame emblems have a round stone set in the centre: green, blue, or red. The height of the gilt copper portion of the crown is 19 cm, but the square-topped silk brocade hat on which it is set, rises up through the centre of the crown revealing two angry eyes, plus the Third Eye, fashioned of several layers of cloth, making the height of the crown 27.5 cm.

Height: 26 cm; diameter: 24 cm
Accession no. R.306a

258. 10.21 Coat

A short-sleeved full-length coat of plain yellow silk lined with printed cotton cloth with an all-over pattern of small green flowers with red leaves. The coat has been gathered at the waist and the lower part is pleated. The front opening is straight down the centre. The garment is closed by tying two lengths of bright red silk, one of which is sewn on either side of the opening.

Length: 138 cm; sleeves: 31 cm
Accession no. R.306b

259. 10.21 Tippet

A square silk brocade tippet with scalloped edges made up of seven pieces of brocade, six of them gold with flower designs surrounding a central square of red brocade, also with flower designs. This central square has an opening for
the neck 13 cm in diameter, with a 12 cm long slit which is closed at the neck opening with a spherical brass button. At each corner of this central red panel is sewn a yellow silk brocade tab 2 cm wide and 10 cm long, which has a small brass bell at the tip. These tabs hang free of the tippet. Eight additional similar tabs hang from the outer edges, one at each corner, and one in the centre of each edge. Six pieces of flimsy white feather have been sewn onto the tippet. The back is lined with pink cotton cloth on which have been written three and a half lines of Tibetan text.

Length: 199 cm; width: 147 cm

Accession no. R.3040a

260. 10.21 Costume ornament

A round silver shield-shaped pectoral ornament, convex on the front with a 4.5 cm broad circle of repoussé decorations in high relief showing the Eight Glorious Emblems surrounded by entwined leaf and vine patterns, plus a Monster Mask and a Wish-Granting Jewel. These decorations surround an undecorated circle with a single Tibetan character in the centre. Three silver rings have been set on the concave back in a triangular arrangement. A length of bright yellow silk cloth 161 cm long and 28 cm wide [R.3041] has been threaded through two of these so that the ornament can be
suspended from around wearer's neck. As this belongs with the silk brocade apron described below, it has been given the same accession number. It is described in the Accessions register as a "circular silver mirror".

Diameter: 20 cm
Accession no. R.309d

261. 10.21 Apron

A triangular full-length apron made up of four long narrow panels, also triangular, of silk brocade. The two panels in the centre are decorated with leaves and flowers on a red background. Flanking this on either side is a panel decorated with flowers and fronds on a gold background. The broad bottom edge of the apron is decorated with hundreds of small silk cords 13 cm long forming a multi-coloured fringe across the bottom of the garment. Hidden behind this fringe, sewn to the bottom edge of the apron, are nine small brass bells spaced approximately 10 cm apart. The apron is lined with pink cotton cloth, on which is written five lines of Tibetan text, and two ties of the same material are sewn to it at the top corners so that the apron may be tied in place.

Length: 121 cm; width at bottom: 93 cm; width at top: 20 cm
Accession no. R.306d

262. Scarf

Plain green silk scarf made up of two pieces joined together by a row of stitching.

Length: 261 cm; width: 32 cm
Accession no. R.306e

263. Scarf

Plain dark blue silk scarf made up of two pieces joined together by a row of stitching. One half of the scarf has a silvery-grey streak down the centre about 5 cm wide which appears to be a result of fading.

Length: 265 cm; width: 31.5 cm
Accession no. R.306f

264. Scarf

A hemmed plain white silk scarf made up of two pieces stitched together.

Length: 178 cm; width: 34 cm
Accession no. R.306g

265. Scarf

A plain red silk scarf made up of two pieces stitched together.

Length: 268 cm; width: 32 cm
Accession no. R.306h

266. Scarf

A bright yellow silk scarf made up by sewing two pieces together.

Length: 262 cm; width: 32 cm
Accession no. R.306i

267. 10.21 Costume ornament

A length of bright yellow silk, described in the Accessions register as a belt, but now tied to the round silver ornament, R.309d (Cat. no. 260), described above.

Length: 161 cm; width: 28 cm
Accession no. R.306j

268. Scarf

A plain ivory coloured silk scarf made of two pieces stitched together. The material is heavily stained.

Length: 263 cm; width: 32 cm
Accession no. R.306k

269. Cord

A very long length of bright red cord intricately wrapped and bound to form a thick rope fashioned into a loop with a straight length to which is attached a metal ring and a metal hook. Described in the Accessions register as an arm band.

Length: 38 cm
Accession no. R.306l
270. 10.21 Pair of boots

A pair of boots with white leather soles, sharply upturned toes, and tops consisting of overlapping layers of silk brocade below a red cotton top. The soles and lower sides of the boots are made of a single piece of white leather which has been turned up all round, covering the foot, except on top where a strip of silk brocade is left to appear as a decorative panel down the front. The toes are broad and rounded, turning up sharply to form a ridge and then dropping down in a U-shaped curve over the instep. The lowest layer of silk brocade is decorated with floral patterns in green, purple, and pink on a silvery background. The other four layers, each 1.5 cm wide, have floral and geometrical patterns in orange, green, silver, purple, and gold.

Height: 43 cm; length: 24.5 cm

Accession no. R.306 m-n

271. Boot bindings

A pair of pale yellow woven cotton boot bindings.

Length: 135 cm; width: 4.3 cm

Accession no. R.306 o-p

272. 10.21 Ceremonial staff

Oracle's ceremonial staff of wood, cloth, and metal. At the top of the wooden staff is an iron trident with a socket at the bottom which slips down over the top of the staff. Where the three parts of the trident meet in the centre at the top of this socket there is a janus skull face 8.5 cm high with red painted eyes. The three metal tips of the trident, also red painted, are cut to represent writhing flames. The two lower members of the trident each have a hole at the bottom. An iron ring holding two leaf-shaped blades of metal has been inserted in each of these holes. Attached to the wooden staff just below the base of the trident is a round decoration consisting of a wooden disc 16.5 cm in diameter from which hang a number of brightly coloured tassels and strips of silk brocade. At the bottom of the wooden staff is a socketed iron tang, round in section at the top, and square in section at the bottom.

Height: 27.5 cm; diameter: 28 cm

Accession no. R.402a

Tibetan Oracle's Outfit

The following items - R.402 a-c (Cat. nos. 273-5) - are identified in the Accessions register as a supplement to no. R.306.

273. Hat

A hat with a tall flat-topped crown and a flat stiff brim, c. 9.5 cm wide, all round. The crown is 19 cm high and its top is 9 cm in diameter. The hat is covered with silver brocade which has a fine diamond-shaped pattern all over its surface. The top of the crown is covered with red silk which has a gold brocade pattern. The crown is mostly covered with loose hanging fine red silk cords which drop down all round from the edge of a round piece of red and gold brocade which sits on top of the crown. These cords hang down to a point just above the brim. A narrow strap of red and gold brocade runs round the crown just above the halfway mark and the red cords pass underneath this. Sewn to the top centre of the crown is the Wish-Granting Jewel, the Mother of all Gems, a group of six elongated jewels surrounded by flames, all represented in symbolic form in a hollow silver ornament 8.5 cm high and 4 cm wide. The underside of the brim is covered with red silk brocade with cloud designs in gold. The inside of the crown is lined with the same finely spun and finely woven blue cotton cloth which is used to line some waistcoats and jackets. Sewn all round the base of the crown on the underside where the crown joins the brim is a thick fringe of fine black silk cords. These are quite short in front, 7 cm, but on the sides and at the back they are c. 80-90 cm long and have been drawn together and loosely plaited so that when the hat is worn and seen from a little distance the black cords would look like hair. The hat is held in place by red silk ribbons, four in all. One has been sewn onto the base of the crown at either side, one end sewn toward the front of the hat, the other toward the back, so as to make a loop hanging down c. 12 cm on either side to the wearer's shoulders. To each of these loops has been sewn another red silk ribbon 45 cm long, the ends of which can be tied under the wearer's chin.

Height: 27.5 cm; diameter: 28 cm

Accession no. R.402
274. Sword and scabbard

Ceremonial or dress sword for official occasions with a plain slightly curved blade 68.5 cm long and 3.3 cm wide. The hilt guard is of aluminium. The grip is made up of 2 mm thick layers of different materials set above and below the grip: ivory, plastic, bone, and horn. The main part of the grip has been carved from a dark brown piece of tropical hardwood, while the quillons is a carved piece of what looks like ebony with a raised oval of aluminium in its top centre. Attached to a small brass ring set in the top of this is a tassel cord of dark pink silk which hangs double for 12 cm and then has been fashioned into the Endless Knot below which it divides into three strands from each of which hangs a tassel of fine silk cords, one pink, one pale golden brown, and one pale green. The tops of these tassels, just below the Endless Knot are tightly and neatly bound round with many windings of fine silk threads in bands of purple, pink, silver, green, and yellow. Measured from the bottom of the Endless Knot, the tassels are 24 cm long. The scabbard is made of wood with a brass strip 2 cm wide round the top and a brass tip, tapering slightly, but with a squared-off end, 5.5 cm long. Below the brass strip at the top and above the brass tip at the bottom, the scabbard is covered with dark red leather for c. 12-14 cm along its length toward the centre. The central section of the wooden scabbard is covered with three bands of brocade, each 12-14 cm wide, together covering the scabbard for a distance of 40 cm. The top and bottom bands of brocade are of orange silk with silver leaf and cloud patterns. The central band is of yellow silk with a silver design and it has an applique “eye” design on it made of assorted pieces of cloth.

Length: 87 cm, blade: 68.5 cm; width: 3.3 cm

Accession no. R.402b

275. Ceremonial standard

Ceremonial standard, fashioned like a spear with a brass edged iron blade at one end and a tapering iron pike at the other, the two being joined by a round red-stained wooden shaft. The iron blade or spear point at the top of the standard is set into a broad rim of decorated brass representing flames. The spear head is 22.5 cm long. Below this is a finely carved Janus-faced death’s head in ivory 6.5 cm high, the two heads being neatly joined back to back, having first been hollowed out to accommodate the spear shaft. Below is a hollow iron socket 16 cm long into which is inserted the red-stained wooden shaft of the standard. The iron socket of the spear point passes through a round brocade-covered soft padded ornament resembling a bolster which is 9 cm thick and 15 cm in diameter. It is covered with yellow silk brocade with a silver drop-shaped pattern in silver thread and three large “eye” symbols similar to those on the scabbard of Cat. no. 274. The symbols are made of layers of cloth in black, pink, and red. Attached to the wooden shaft, the visible part of which is 103 cm long and 3.5 cm in diameter, tapering to 2.7 cm toward the bottom end, is a triangular flag or banner made up of various pieces of silk brocade. The flag is 67 cm high and along its base 72 cm, with a tail streaming out from the corner for another 34 cm, including the yellow, red, and dark green tassels. The face of the flag is made up of eight different pieces of silk brocade in silver, gold, and purple, with pink embroidered flowers. There is an appliqué white cloth symbol in the centre, 20 cm high. The back of the banner is covered with red-orange silk.

Length: 172 cm

Accession no. R.402c

Costume for Temple Official, Tsenug/Tsetung

Prince Peter’s notes from the 1950s record that this is a:

“Costume for spiritual/religious official, Tsetung. For important posts in Tibet two officials were always appointed: one religious, one secular. This costume is the ordinary one for a religious official holding high government office; yellow being the official religious colour [of the Gelugpa Order]. The Tsetung costume gets its name from Tse, meaning the top of the Potala, i.e., they belong to the administration which comes from the Potala. Lower ranking officials are
called *shon dung, sben* is the name of the village at the base of the Potala hill. This is where the printing works is situated at which, among others, the *Kangyur* in the Royal Library, Copenhagen was produced. This costume was obtained from Lobsang, a teacher at the school in Darjeeling. He is the son of Netchung the State Oracle in Lhasa, now deceased. The present oracle in Lhasa is a young man. The oracle is allowed to marry, as he is not an ecclesiastical figure."

276. *10.22 Hat*

A round hat with a flat-topped crown covered with gold brocade decorated with embroidered flowers in silver, pink, and purple with red stems and silver leaves. The brim of the hat, sharply upturned all round so that it hides most of the crown, is covered with dark brown fur. The upper surface of the brim, which is turned up beside the crown and therefore not visible when worn, is lined with orange silk. At the base of the crown all round in the space between the sides of the crown and the upturned brim is a padded roll of red silk c. 1.3 cm in diameter which has been sewn into place, presumably to make the hat brim stand in the correct manner. The inside of the hat is lined with red silk. The crown of the hat is round and flat. In the centre of the crown is a gold ornament with a round dark purple glass bead on the top. The ornament is 7.5 cm high and the base has a diameter of 5 cm. The purple glass bead sits on top of the golden *cborton*-shaped body of the ornament, which is decorated with small polished pieces of turquoise, sixteen in all, fixed in leaf-shaped gold settings.

*Height: 18 cm; diameter: 24 cm
Accession no. R.245a*

277. *10.22 Waistcoat*

A dark purple silk high-necked sleeveless waistcoat with a fine blue homespun wool lining. The left side of the garment folds across to the wearer's right and fastens with small round hollow brass buttons at throat, right breast, under the right arm, and just above the right hip. The purple silk is plain except for some round circles 11 cm in diameter with dragon designs. There are five on the front and five on the back. These are worked in threads of the same colour as the waistcoat. The high-necked collar is 7 cm high. On the right side, hidden when the left front has been brought across and buttoned, is a pocket of the same purple silk measuring 10 cm across and 13.2 cm deep.

*Length, excluding collar: 60 cm; width: 60 cm
Accession no. R.245b*

278. *10.22 Coat*

An orange silk kaftan with a green silk lining edged with a bright red silk border 11 cm wide. The coat has a high collar. The left front of the garment folds across to the wearer's right where it is fastened with round hollow copper gilt buttons at the throat, right breast, under the right arm, and two additional places down the right side. The kaftan is made full length with long sleeves. There is a peony pattern in the same orange silk arranged in circles 13 cm in diameter.

*Length: 135 cm; sleeve, collar to cuff: 92 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 197 cm
Accession no. R.245c*

279. *10.22 Jacket*

Long-sleeved yellow silk jacket with high collar and fine blue homespun wool lining. The collar is 6 cm high and lined with red silk. The jacket fastens down the front centre with five small round hollow silver-coloured buttons. The jacket is decorated with large round circles, each containing two dragons, worked in threads of the same yellow colour as the rest of the jacket, each circle being 21 cm in diameter.

*Length: 65 cm; sleeve, collar to cuff: 86 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 185 cm
Accession no. R.245d*

280. *10.22 Sash*

Orange silk sash with a flower design worked in the same orange silk. At either end fine silk cords of the same colour have been sewn on and then tied to make a fringe with a pattern of diamond shapes.

*Length: 238 cm; width: 42 cm
Accession no. R.245e*
10.22 Cat. nos. 276-81. Costume for a spiritual/religious official, tsetung.

281. 10.22 Pair of boots

New brown leather boots with red leather decorative strip round the tops and black leather line down front and back, as well as around each foot 5-6 cm above the sole. Thick hand-stitched leather soles made of three or more layers of leather. The boots have a woolly white lining. They are in new condition.

Height: 44 cm; length: 28 cm

Accession no. R.2451 eg

Costume for
Black Hat Dancer,
Shanak/Shanag

Prince Peter's notes on this costume are as follows:

"This costume, Shanag, is worn by a monk at the masked dance, but only during that part of the performance where the murder of the 10th century Tibetan King Langdarma is re-enacted. Because the man who killed the king had hidden the arrow in his long sleeves, this costume also has long sleeves. The costume is not of a Buddhist type. It is probably an old shamanistic costume dating from pre-Buddhist times. The costume was purchased from the monastery at Kalimpong."

Hugh Richardson writes that the leader of the Shanak or Black Hat dancers is called Dorje Lopön.
282. 10.23 Hat

A round, broad-brimmed hat covered with black velvet. The brim has a thick raised edge all around covered with black velvet wool. The underside of the brim is covered with red cloth. The round dome-like crown of the hat rises abruptly to a hollow peak 7 cm high in the centre. A bamboo wand has been inserted in the opening at the top to support an elaborate painted cardboard superstructure: 51 cm high and 55 cm wide, then a cloth or white-painted skull with a protruding horn-like extension on either side and a black-painted half döngê surrounded by a flame nimbus above. Stuck into the top of the hat behind this is a bunch of peacock feathers (R. 211) and wrapped around the peak of the hat is a pink silk cord. Attached to the top of the hat is a silk decoration (R. 214a) consisting of a 20 x 32 cm rectangle of dusty pink silk with blue flowers. Sewn to the bottom of this are four silk scarves: one 100 cm long, one white, one green, one pink, and one purple.

Height: 61 cm, width: 55 cm

Accession no: R.214a-f

283. 10.23 Robe

A long-sleeved full-length jade green silk robe with a pattern of apricot-coloured leaves. The long triangular sleeves are...
cm wide at the cuffs where they are lined with red silk and end with three 6-7 cm wide panels of silk in yellow, red, and blue. Similar panels, lined with blue cotton, have been sewn on to the bottom edge of the robe. The upright collar is 5 cm high. The robe does not open down the front, but must be slipped on over the head. At either side the jade-green silk has been gathered into a bundle, only 3 cm thick at the top, of fourteen large pleats, each 7-10 cm wide, which hang down full length from the waist.

Length: 135 cm; sleeve, top edge: 70 cm, bottom edge: 110 cm
Accession no. R.244e

284. 10.23 Tippet
A clover-leaf shaped tippet in very pale green silk with leaf patterns in an apricot colour and pink silk edging. On the underside the colours are reversed: the silk is apricot colour and the leaf patterns are in pale green. The tippet has been machine sewn.

Length: 64 cm; width: 66 cm
Accession no. R.244f

285. 10.23 Apron
A silk apron with a large black central rectangle on which has been painted a Mekhangala mask with the Third Eye. On either side this panel is edged by bright silk strips in orange-red, yellow, and dark blue – similar to the colours used in mounting thankas. At the top there is a 6.5 cm wide waistband of blue silk, faded in places, with a dark blue flower pattern. Apricot coloured cotton cloth ties, each 110 cm long, are sewn to the top corners of the apron. The back is lined with dark blue cotton. There are two pleats at the top centre of the apron.

Length: 90 cm; width, top: 58 cm; width, bottom: 98 cm
Accession no. R.244g

Part IV:
Costumes and Costume Accessories for Secular Performances

Ache Lhama Dancer’s Mask

In the sixth and seventh months of the Tibetan year certain holiday festivals take place in Lhasa during which Ache Lhama dancers perform. The first of these is the birthday of the Eighth Dali Lama (1758-1804). On this occasion the dancers perform in honour of Lichinhaba, the birth-god of the Eighth Dali Lama. Later in the sixth month is the start of Sboton, The Curd Feast, a feature of which are the musical dramas known as Ache Lhama. These have a religious or moral message and are mainly derived from Indian Buddhist legends. Traditionally the performers are male and are in everyday life farmers, traders, and sometimes even monks. The costumes worn by the performers enable the audience to readily identify the characters. Each of the plays begins with an opening ceremony featuring the Ngonpa or hunter. He performs a ritual dance to purify the setting for the enactment of the story which is to follow.

Prince Peter appears to have obtained a complete costume for the character of the hunter, though it was not accessioned as such in the museum in Copenhagen, each item being noted down only as “Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”. Had
the various items been accessioned as belonging to the same costume they should, in keeping with the museum's usual practice, have been entered as R.189a, R.189b, R.189c, etc. rather than given separate numbers. Nevertheless, there is little doubt but that the accession numbers R.189-R.196 refer to items belonging to a single costume.

288. Ngönpa [The Hunter]
Mask

A flat mask made of a cloth pad 1.3 cm thick, reinforced on the back with two wooden struts, one vertical, 31 cm long and 0.8 cm wide, and the other horizontal, 22 cm long and 8 cm wide, which have been sewn into the fabric of the mask. A crescent-shaped strip of iron 1.2 cm wide and 53 cm long has also been attached to the back so that it curves up over the wearer's head, giving support to the upper part of the mask. An upward projection on the top of the mask is supported at the back by a second strip of iron, 0.7 cm wide and 22 cm long, set vertically so as to cross under the crescent strip at right angles. The mask, much worn, has a face covered with black velvet edged with red cloth. The eye and mouth openings are also edged with red cloth, now much-faded, except for replacement strips of pink round the top half of the eye openings. The face is decorated with fourteen white shell buttons, three on the chin, one at each corner of the mouth, three on each cheek, one near the outside corner of the wearer's right eye, and one over each eye. A silver "sun-moon" emblem has been attached to the forehead, the sun and flame being combined in an acuminate circle. Settings have been made in the centre of the crescent moon for three small pieces of turquoise, one of which is now missing. A small piece of turquoise has been set at each tip of the crescent moon, two pieces in the centre of the sun emblem, and one at the tip of the flame above the sun. The surface of both the sun and the moon has been covered with fine twisted silver wire laid down to form curves and loops. The emblem measures 6 cm from tip to tip of the crescent moon and 5.7 cm from top to bottom. The nose has been made from triangular pieces of many layers of cloth sewn together, the outer covering being of black velvet. The nose piece is 0.7 cm thick, 10 cm long, and 3 cm wide at its lower end. The face of the mask is 24.5 cm across at its widest point and 26 cm from point of chin to top of forehead. All the lower edge of the face is fringed with a brown and grey beard 6-7 cm long which, according to the museum's accession register, is of Markhor hair. At the point of the chin a 31 cm long "goatee" of white hair shading to light brown has been attached with red silk cord. Above the face and curving over the top of the head from right to left is an 8 cm broad inverted crescent representing a hat. This is covered with white and silver brocade with a pattern of small squares, now quite worn. Sewn onto the edges of this is a strip of red cloth, much faded, held in place by lengths of multi-coloured plaited cord. At each side where the wearer's ears would be a 25 cm long ragged tassel of multi-coloured strings has been attached to hang down in front of the shoulders. One of these, on the wearer's left, has a small silver bell attached to the top of the tassel. Rising up from the centre of this "hat" is a top piece 18.5 cm high and 16 cm wide with inward curving sides. It is covered with a similar piece of white and silver brocade with a pattern of small squares, now much faded and badly worn. Three white shell buttons have been sewn onto the top of this, one each at the right and left corners, and one in the centre. A length of white cloth of the kind which pilgrims leave at shrines has been wound round the base of this top piece. At the back of the mask, attached in three places, is a 26 cm wide piece of cloth which is 160 cm long. Its outer surface is covered with three different pieces of cloth. The top piece is an orange-coloured cloth, 24 cm wide and 68 cm long, with a printed floral pattern. The second piece, 24 cm wide and 59 cm long, is of green cloth with a printed floral pattern. The third piece, of similar size, is of green cloth with a printed floral pattern. These three pieces have been sewn onto a faded red backing made up of various pieces of cloth, the whole arrangement being designed to hang down the wearer's back like a wide streamer.

Height, mask only: 53 cm; width: 38 cm
Ref.: Müller & Raunig: 373; Richardson, 1993: 97-107
Accession no. R.189
289. Dancing wand

A dancing wand consisting of a stick round which has been wrapped a number of strips of cloth: white, yellow, green, blue; some of cotton, others of silk. The strips of cloth are held in place at one end by a length of cotton string, at the other by a purple ribbon.

Although the museum records merely show this as “Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”, it almost certainly belongs with R.189 above.

Length: 60 cm
Accession no. R.190

290. Rope “skirt”

Costume accessory for a Tibetan folk dancer consisting of a 5 cm wide dark purple cloth waistband from which hang 38 lengths of black and white goat’s hair rope between 50 and 60 cm long, each with a thin bunch of yak hair at the bottom. Most of these are black, but seven are pale yellow in colour.

Described as “Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”, this almost certainly belongs with Cat. nos. 288 and 289 above.

Length: 96 cm
Accession no. R.191

291. Pair of boots

A pair of boots, much worn, with leather soles worn through at the heels, and cloth uppers. The uppers have been made in four separate sections. Next to and just above the sole is a decorative fancy-cut strip of leather which is sewn onto the bottom of the first cloth panel of the uppers. On both boots it starts on the left side back toward the heel, passes round the heel and continues forward on the right side of each boot. Thus, on the left foot most of the design is on the inside, while on the right foot most of the design is on the outside. This decorative leather strip is stitched onto a heavy piece of cloth-covered felt. The sole has been brought up over the lower part of this strip and sewn in place with black yak hair cord.

Above the cloth piece which covers the foot is a panel of woven striped material (trik) similar to that used on some men’s jackets with crosses stamped on in blue and red on a yellow background. Above this is a panel of coarse woven material dyed dark red. Both boots are open down the back to a point just above the top of the striped cloth panels. These boots almost certainly belong with the Ache Lhamo hunter’s costume described above.

The museum records indicate that these boots were “Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”.

Height: 40 cm; length: 26 cm
Accession no. R.192 a-b

292. Undershirt

Plain red silk long-sleeved underblouse.

“Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”.

Length: 48 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 162 cm
Accession no. R.193

293. Shirt

Off-white ivory coloured long-sleeved man’s shirt with high collar fancy-stitched with diamond shaped patterns. The left front opening of the shirt folds across to wearer’s right, fastening with a round incised hollow brass Chinese button at the throat, at the right breast midway between the neck and shoulder, and at a point below the right shoulder. The cloth is of very finely woven cotton.

“Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”.

Length: 63 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 179 cm
Accession no. R.194

294. Jacket

Man’s long-sleeved striped jacket of woven homespun wool in grey, red, and dark blue. The stripes are arranged so that a dark green stripe replaces the blue every third or fourth row. The jacket has been made up of eleven pieces, most of them 22-23 cm wide.

“Obtained from a Tibetan folk dancer in Kalimpong in 1950”.

Length: 75-76 cm; sleeve, from cuff to shoulder: 58 cm
Accession no. R.195

295. Necklace

A woven cord of greyish colour. At one end is a quarter anna coin from the British time. The coin has a hole at the edge. Not seen.
Costume for a Red Lama, Kalimpong, 1949

296. Hat

Pink cloth headgear for a lama of the *Ning-ma-pa* or Red sect, made of lightly padded cotton edged with yellow silk. The hat has a high forward-curving pointed peak and the lower edge of the hat is extended downward on either side for a distance of 50 cm, forming two lappets, one on either side of the wearer’s chest. The inner surface of these is lined with pink cotton on which blue and white flowers have been printed. The hat is in new condition.

Purchased in Kalimpong in 1949.

Overall height: 87 cm; hat only: 40 cm

Accession no. R.225b

298. Shirt

A long-sleeved off-white raw silk shirt with a short waist and a high collar. Both the collar and the shirt front have been made in the same style as the coat.

Length: 63 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 193 cm

Accession no. R.225c

299. Skirt

A long red skirt made up of numerous pieces of woollen material sewn together.

Length: 135 cm; width: 98 cm

Accession no. R.225d

300. Skirt

A dark red woollen skirt made of twenty-three panels arranged vertically and sewn together, each measuring from 16 to 20 cm in width, to make a large rectangle of cloth.

Length: 420 cm; width: 74 cm

Accession no. R.225e

301. Hat

A hat, much worn and rather shabby, for a lama of the red sect. The crown, back, and side panels are of red cotton edged with white cord stitching. At its widest point in the centre, the back panel is 14 cm wide. At their forward edge the side
panels drop straight to the bottom of the hat. Between them, over the forehead, is a smaller panel with a flower design in silver thread on a green background.

Height: 22 cm
Accession no. R.408

302. Hat

A cotton and silk hat worn by a lama of the red sect. The hat is made up of a series of plain red silk panels edged with white or grey borders 1 cm wide with a lotus and yin-yang pattern in orange thread. The red silk panel running round the bottom of the hat is 4.5 cm wide. Toward the front it turns up sharply and ends in peaks on either side. This panel lies on top of a similar panel which is wider and is thus visible round the edge of the hat. It too passes round the back of the hat and sweeps up to form peaks on either side. Across the front of the hat and behind the first two panels is a horizontal piece of red silk cut to form a peak on either side and one in the centre. This lies on top of a larger panel, similarly cut. The crown of the hat is entirely red.

Height: 29 cm; width: 27.5 cm
Accession no. R.409

Costume for a Red Lama

Part of a costume (Cat. nos. 303-7) called Wang chās belonging to a Red lama. Obtained by Prince Peter from Chimed Rinpoché who, in turn, had obtained it from the Panchen Lama.

303. Hat

A tall black velvet hat fitting down closely over the head at the back and sides, with notches on either side so that the ears are not covered. The top of the hat is made up of three padded spheres, one above the other, diminishing in size toward the top, each separated from the other by a gold band. The topmost sphere supports a metal flaming jewel symbol.

Height: 53 cm
Accession no. R.307a

304. Costume decorations

Two rectangular red cloth decorations, one with seven tassels, the other with eight. Not seen.

Length: 34 cm
Accession no. R.307b

305. 10,24 Lama “crown”

A lama “crown” consisting of five thin silver plaques with arched tops attached to each other with red cords. The plaques are similar in size and shape to the style found on some amulet boxes. In the centre of each plaque is a Sanskrit character.

Height, each plaque: 16 cm
Accession no. R.307c

306. Tippet

A large rectangular collar or tippet of silk brocade made to slip down over the head and arranged so that one corner of the rectangle points downward over the chest, the opposite one down the back, and the other two project out to the right and left over the shoulders. The opening for the head is edged with a 1.5 cm broad piece of yellow silk. This circle is set in the centre of a 45 cm square of red silk brocade bearing dragon and peony designs in a wide variety of coloured threads. The red square in turn is surrounded by brocade panels, mostly blue, with lotus blossom designs. The outer edges of the rectangle are not straight lines, but a series of domed curves edged with a 3 cm wide strip of yellow silk brocade. This yellow silk edging extends across the blue and on to the red fields, curving to form pairs of horn-like shapes, four in all, one on each side of the rectangle. A small tassel of coloured silk has been sewn at each corner of the collar: one dark red, one green, one dark blue, and one golden brown. The underside of the collar is lined with a piece of rusty-red/pinkish silk on which there are eight large circular patterns representing flowers and leaves.

Dimensions: 82 x 84 cm
Accession no. R.307d
10.24 Cat. no. 305. Lama "crown".

307. Apron
A fine embroidered silk apron with a central panel of brown silk 32.5 cm across the top, 44 cm across the bottom, and 69 cm long, the main feature of which is a large Naga or dragon, measuring 21 x 23 cm, with body scales fashioned in gold thread. Surrounding the dragon are a number of Buddhist symbols embroidered in silk threads of various colours. Above the dragon are cloud symbols; below, water is represented. Both in and beneath these water symbols are mixed others representing Precious Jewels symbolic of wealth. Lower still are parallel multi-coloured stripes set diagonally which run down to the bottom edge of the apron where it ends in a multi-coloured fringe 12 cm long. To the right and left of this central Naga panel are two vertical strips of silk embroidery worked in the same diagonal multi-coloured stripes as are across the bottom of the central panel. On the wearer's right these strips are set to form chevron patterns; on the opposite side
they form a series of inverted chevrons. The back of the apron is entirely covered with a piece of dark blue silk with flower, leaf, and diamond-shaped patterns worked in the same blue threads. At some time the apron was folded lengthways down the centre, and again lengthways and, as a result of UV damage, one quarter of the blue silk backing has faded to a lighter colour. Two striped cloth tapes 56 cm long have been sewn to the back, one on each side near the top edge, for tying the apron in place round the waist.

Length: 80 cm; width, top: 60 cm; width, bottom: 52.5 cm

Accession no. R.307e

308. Hourglass pellet drum, Danu

A small skin-covered double drum made out of the tops of two human skulls, the two shallow dish-shapes being mounted together back to back. The skin-covered surfaces of the drums measure 10.5 x 8.5-9 cm. A silver band 1 cm wide has been fastened round the place where the two halves of the drum join and this is decorated along much of its length with twisted silver wire. Two small silver rings, each flanked by a small drop-shaped piece of polished turquoise, have been attached to either side of this band. The drum pellets, consisting of strips of cloth tightly wrapped round a core and sewn in place, are attached to these rings by a 7 cm length of orange coloured cord. In the centre of the silver band, half way between the two silver rings, a turquoise and red coral thunderbolt 2.5 cm long has been mounted in a gold setting. A small ring through which has been looped a length of dark blue cord has been attached where the two ends of the silver ring meet. This is fastened to a brown wooden bead 2.7 cm in diameter. A reddish cord passing through this bead is fastened to a cloth decoration made of embroidered yellow silk edged with blue cotton cord. This decoration, looking rather like a miniature tea cosy, has been padded with material like a small pillow. On one side the yellow silk is decorated with an embroidered green vase on a stand holding an orange-stemmed plant. On the other side, which is badly stained, is what looks like a pot with spout and handle. Hanging from the bottom of this decoration are two 35 cm long tassels faded to a pale brown colour. The short cords from which these hang are decorated with red coral and blue glass beads. There seems to have been a third tassel, now missing, for there is a short length of cord in the centre on which are four small red coral beads.

Other musical instruments in the collections are described in Chapter XVI.

Overall length: 145 cm; diameter: 10.5 cm

Ref.: Essen & Thingo, II: 280

Accession no. R.307f

Costume for a Red Lama

309. 10.25 Jacket

Short sleeveless jacket with a red silk collar c. 10 cm wide which has been sewn on top of a 20 cm wide strip of dark red wool. The dark red wool shows only as a narrow strip at the outside edge of the collar, but both go round the neck and down the front of the jacket on both sides. The front of the jacket is made up of brocade panels and there is a square brocade panel on the back, flanked on either side by vertical strips of dark red homespun wool 10.5 cm wide. Both the brocade and the dark red homespun have been sewn onto a shirt of dark purple cotton. The vertical strips of dark red homespun go up over each shoulder and part way down the front where they are sewn to the edge of the arm opening.

Length: 80 cm; width: 50 cm

Accession no. R.308a

310. Skirt

A skirt of undecorated dark red wool made up of thirty-five rectangular panels arranged vertically, each 21 cm wide and 104 cm long, and each sewn down its length to the ones on either side, to make a large rectangle of cloth. A horizontal strip 20 cm wide has been sewn all along the top and another all along the bottom on top of these panels.

Length: 720 cm; width: 104 cm

Accession no. R.308b
311. Scarf

A scarf made of dark red cloth, sewn together from five pieces and patched in a number of places with small pieces of silk in various colours ranging from bright red to pink. The cloth is stamped along one edge “High Tex Made in Japan”.

Length: 460 cm; width: 106 cm
Accession no. R.308c

312. Eye screen

A crescent-shaped eye screen covered with brownish brocade on top and red silk on the bottom. Down from the front hang thick bunches of black cords, like a fringe, to cover the face and eyes. The device is tied in place on the forehead by red ribbons. Not seen.

Length: 15 cm
Accession no. R.308d

313. Hat

Hat for a Red lama, Dsog-chen pa. The peaked crown is of dark red silk. Round the bottom edge of the hat and continuing up to a point on either side of the forehead are two panels of gold brocade, the smaller one varying in width from 6 to 8 cm, on top of the larger, which is from 9 to 11 cm in width. The upper edges of these panels are not straight, but undulating. Across the forehead are two more panels, each rising to a peak in the centre. The smaller one is of gold brocade, the larger, set behind it, leaving a decorative strip of red felt showing on top of the foot. Where the two sides of this cotton covering meet at the toe a point is formed. This has been folded back over the top of the toe. The felt panels are made so that they do not meet along the top of the foot. This allows decorative touches to be introduced such as the red, gold, and silver threaded brocade strip on this example. The two woven cotton boot bindings are 4.8 cm wide and 133 cm long, counting 11 cm long fringes at either end. They are yellow in colour with four narrow parallel pink stripes running the full length.

Height: 46 cm; length: 23.5 cm
Accession no. R.326 a-d

314. Scarf

A bright red silk scarf or cummerbund made up of seven pieces sewn together and hemmed. The cloth is c. 46 cm wide and the three largest pieces are c. 68-72 cm long. One panel has been made up of four strips 4.5 cm long and varying in width from 8 to 14 cm. The number 12.40 has been written near the edge of one of the end pieces in black ink. Prince Peter describes this as a “Red Lama’s Belt”.

Length: 253 cm; width: 46 cm
Accession no. R.325

315. Pair of boots

A pair of boots (R.326 a-b) from the costume of a red lama, together with a pair of woven cloth strips (R.326 c-d) for fastening them at the top. The boots have leather soles, but no raised heel. The uppers have been made up of several layers of cloth applied on top of dark red homespun wool. The first and second layers are of red felt. Outside this, covering the foot from heel to toe, is a heavy cotton material similar to corded canvas. Starting at a point 10 cm above the heel, it curves down on either side of the foot as it goes toward the front and then rises again to form two peaks above the instep. It then goes forward to the toe.

10.25 Cat. no. 309. Jacket.
Monk's Summer Costume

316. Skirt
A dark red wool skirt, part of the everyday summer dress of a Tibetan monk. Not seen.
From Tibetan Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Length: 520 cm; width: 105 cm
Accession no. R.427

317. Skirt
A brown wool wrap-around skirt with a bright orange wool lining. The skirt is made up of three panels with a 17 cm wide waistband across the top. Where the panels on either side join the one in the centre there is a 26 cm long slit up from the bottom edge. The skirt is fastened round the waist by means of two cloth tapes, 109 and 118 cm long, one fastened at each top corner of the skirt. These are of the same brown wool as the skirt. This is part of a lama's everyday summer costume.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Length, top to bottom: 98 cm; length, end to end: 143 cm
Accession no. R.428

318. Skirt
A plain maroon cotton skirt gathered at the waist with an elastic band. The skirt has been made of five pieces sewn together with a 2.5 cm wide hem at bottom edge. This is part of the everyday summer costume of a Tibetan lama.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Length: 82 cm
Accession no. R.429

319. Cloak
A yellow woollen "toga" made up of a number of small pieces sewn together. Used for special occasions year round. Not seen.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Dimensions: 115 x 264 cm
Accession no. R.430

320. Cloak
A red woollen "toga", part of a lama's everyday dress. It is worn alone in summer, but in combination with other items of dress in winter, when it is used as a jacket. It is made of the same material as Cat. no. 318. Not seen.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Dimensions: 110 x 477 cm
Accession no. R.431

321. Waistcoat
A red wool and silk waistcoat, part of the everyday dress of a Tibetan monk, but used only in summer. Not seen.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Dimensions: 67 x 45 cm
Accession no. R.432

322. Blouse
A yellow silk long-sleeved blouse with a high collar and lotus blossom designs. The left front of the blouse folds across over the right front and is fastened by three small spherical metal buttons: one at the base of the collar, one on the right shoulder, and one under the right arm. This would be worn on special occasions or for travelling.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Height: 64 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 165 cm
Accession no. R.433

323. Blouse
A sleeveless yellow silk blouse with a high collar. Unusually, this buttons down the front. European style, with dark purple plastic buttons. The blouse is in new condition.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Length: 60 cm
Accession no. R.434

324. Waistcoat
A red silk waistcoat, part of the everyday dress of a lama and used year-round. Not seen.
From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Dimensions: 47 x 53 cm
Accession no. R.435
325. Belt
A yellow woollen belt used year round together with the everyday dress of a lama. Not seen.
   From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Length: 269 cm; width: 36.5 cm
Accession no. R.436

326. Robe
A yellow woollen monk’s robe, part of everyday dress and used year round. Not seen.
   From Lama Bamrim Tulku.
Accession no. R.437

Part VI:
Other Clothing
and Accessories

327. Coat
A woman’s sleeveless full-length purple silk coat. The left front of the garment wraps across to the wearer’s right, and fastens with a single round brass button in the shape of a flower. There is a pattern over the whole of the dark purple material which has been worked in threads of the same colour and thus the patterns, consisting of dragons, lotus blossoms, swastikas, clouds, and the Endless Knot, only show by reflecting the light differently. The inside is lined with blue cotton cloth with random spots and streaks in white.
   Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950 – a gift from Lingmo Lama Kazi.
Length: 140 cm
Accession no. R.208

328. Blouse
A very short dark green woman’s long-sleeved silk blouse with a small butterfly pattern over all, worked in the same colour, but appearing slightly darker as the pattern catches the light differently. The blouse is rather worn and has some dark spots, but is a fine emerald colour. There are no buttons or other fastenings. It belongs with and is worn underneath R.208.
   Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950 – a gift from Lingmo Lama Kazi.
Length: 140 cm
Accession no. R.208

329. Hat
A Tibetan woman’s high crowned hat with upturned fur-lined brim fore and aft and two large fur lined ear flaps, also upturned. Unusually, the fur has been dyed pink. Normally the fur on such hats is dark brown. Otherwise, a typical Tibetan hat, with an 8.75 cm broad band of gold brocade embroidered with pink flowers round the base of the crown above which is the usual band of decoration formed by three strips of 1 cm wide plaited gold-coloured thread, two straight, with an undulating one in the centre. The top of the crown is round and flat and here more 1 cm wide strips of plaited gold-coloured thread have been used for decoration, one round the outer edge of the crown, a smaller circle round the centre (which is filled with a small coin-sized circle of brocade mostly covered with an embroidered pink flower) and a wavy circle in between. The hat itself is of brown felt and is unlined.
   Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Height: 15 cm
Ref.: Harrer, 1955: 14
Accession no. R.210

330. Dress
Woman’s black wool full-length sleeveless garment which is made up of woven strips 22 cm wide sewn together. As is usual with both men’s and women’s coats, the left side folds across on top of the right side when closing. There are no fastenings, the garment would be held closed by a belt of woven cloth. A 7 cm wide strip of blue cotton cloth has been sewn inside the collar. It goes round the collar and down the inside edge of the left side of the coat opening to the bottom, follows round the bottom to the corner of the right side of the coat opening and stops. There is no blue strip down the right side of the garment. None of the blue strips show when worn except momentarily as movement might cause the bottom of the coat to open briefly.
   Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 139 cm
Accession no. R.211
331. Scarf
A light purple silk scarf hemmed at either end. As is common with Chinese silk, there is a pattern on the material worked in threads of the same colour as the rest of the cloth and therefore it is visible only as the changing light falls on the material. The designs, in this case swastikas, are made by running the stitches in a different direction to those making up the field.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 290 cm; width: 43 cm
Accession no. R.212

332. Underskirt
Woman's underskirt made up of woven homespun of fine wool strips 30 cm wide dyed in a strong purple colour, but woven with very narrow stripes in black, dark green, and light green which run in parallel pairs 1.25 cm apart. The skirt, much worn, is made up of six woven strips. The waist is made of a horizontal strip of grey finely woven cotton cloth 11 cm wide with faint narrow stripes 1.5 cm apart in alternate white and blue colours. The cotton appears to be of modern manufacture, possibly commercial shirt material from India. This waistband, doubled over and open at the ends, has been sewn onto the skirt top so that a cloth belt can be slipped inside all round the waist. Both this band and the skirt are open at one side. The opening is 22 cm deep, including the 11 cm width of the waist band.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 77 cm
Accession no. R.213

333. Blouse
A woman's long-sleeved blouse of dark reddish-purple silk. The pattern stitched on the cloth is in the same colour thread and is of twisting vines, leaves, and fruit. The blouse opens straight down the front and there are no buttons or fastenings of any kind.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 48 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 174 cm
Accession no. R.214

334. Blouse
A woman's long-sleeved blouse of plain bright orange silk. There is no embroidery or decoration of any kind. The garment opens straight down the front; there are no buttons or other fastenings.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 60 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 163 cm
Accession no. R.215

335. Scarf
A woman's cotton scarf made of rich orange-red colour with tasselled ends, the tassels being of the same material and in the same colour. The piece, hemmed down either side, is of plain cotton, without designs except for a double row of brown stitching on either side of a red row across either end 1 cm above where the tassels begin.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 286.5 cm; width: 40 cm
Accession no. R.216

336. Scarf
A very thin and fragile pale pink rectangular woman's silk scarf made by sewing together two triangular pieces. No embroidery or other decoration. At one end the material is stamped, also in a pale pink colour, "Cheney Brothers, Lot 24, 1942".

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 233 cm; width: 106 cm
Accession no. R.217

337. Apron
A woman's silk apron with triangular panels of gold brocade with embroidered flower designs in green, red, blue, purple, and pink surrounding leaves and petals outlined in orange in the upper and lower left corners. An 8 cm wide band of green brocade with round silver patterns runs across the top of the apron, disappearing under the triangular brocade panels at either corner. The rest of the apron is also in traditional Tibetan style being made of three vertical panels of woven striped silk, each 18.75 cm wide, joined together to form a rectangle which is 73 x 57.5 cm in size.

In joining the three panels together the
horizontal stripes have been deliberately misaligned so that they do not match and in this instance one of the panels, the centre one, has also been put in upside down to enhance the mismatch of stripes. The stripes are in red, orange, purple, light green, dark green, blue, pink, and light blue. The back of the apron is lined with a cheerful piece of cotton cloth from India or China printed in red, blue, and orange check. At the top right and top left corners of the apron a 3 cm wide band of woven cotton, white with a red leaf and flower pattern, has been sewed on and folded in half lengthways so that the apron can be tied round the waist. A fine apron of high quality.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 81 cm; width: 57.5 cm

Accession no. R.218

338. Hat

A lady's small black wool “pill box” hat 5 cm high with brim folded up. The front bears a small embroidered panel 3.5 cm high and 10.5 cm long with leaves fashioned in gold thread on a yellow background over which is embroidered a pink poppy with green leaves. With the brim turned up, as it is evidently meant to be worn, the front edges form little forward-projecting horns. The brim does not go all the way round the hat; it stops on either side of the forehead, the intervening space being filled with the embroidered panel. The cap is lined with undyed cotton cloth. Viewed from the wearer's right, the hat is black with a narrow edging of silver threaded material. Viewed from the wearer's left, however, the black crown shows above a long thin tapering triangle of ivory-coloured silk sewn onto the upturned brim so that an equally long thin triangle of black shows below. Either meant for a small girl, or meant to sit on top of the head.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Height: 5 cm; length: 16.5 cm; width: 13 cm

Accession no. R.219

339. Boot bindings

A woven multi-coloured strip of wool made up of fine yarn in dark red, purple, orange, yellow, and green with the unwoven ends forming tassels at either end. This is for binding boots round the upper calf and they are needed because of the way in which Tibetan boots are made: each boot being open half way down the back to facilitate putting them on, they then have to be tied round the leg at the top.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 130 cm; width: 2 cm

Accession no. R.220

340. Hat

A nun's peaked helmet-shaped hat of dark yellow woollen cloth with a narrow border of red cloth round the bottom and a thick fleecy lining, also in a dark yellow colour. When worn, the hat comes down over the ears and completely covers the back of the head and neck.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Height: 28.5 cm; length: 24.5 cm

Accession no. R.221

341. Jacket

A woman's long-sleeved jacket woven of very fine dark brown homespun wool in panels 27 cm wide, of the usual design with the left front opening passing across to the wearer's right over the right side of the jacket. The diagonal top edge of the left side of the opening which passes from the left side of the wearer's collar across the chest to a point just below the right shoulder is edged with a 7 cm wide strip of fine black wool homespun which, unusually, is on the outside of the garment. The sleeve cuffs, lined with blue cotton cloth, are also of fine woven black homespun and have been added onto the ends of the dark brown sleeves. The garment is much used, rather worn, with a small patch on the right side of the front of the jacket near the bottom edge.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 60-61 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to shoulder seam: 67 cm

Accession no. R.222
342. Coat

Black wool long-sleeved kaftan made up of woven strips 20-22 cm wide and sewn together. A blue strip of cotton cloth c. 6 cm wide has been sewn inside the garment so as to pass round the collar and down the left side of the opening following the edge all the way to the bottom. Then, still inside, it follows the bottom hem of the garment all the way round to the opening on the right where it stops. There is no blue strip down the inside of the right opening, but the same blue cloth has been used to line the insides of each cuff. The left side of the garment folds across and over the right, with a button fastening under the right shoulder. The button is a small brass globe which passes through a loop of blue cotton cloth. Used, but in good condition.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 140 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to shoulder seam: 52 cm

Accession no. R.223

343. Blouse

Boy’s blue silk short-sleeved blouse/jacket with flower designs in the same dark blue colour, made up of five matching pieces joined down the front centre and back centre and at the sides. The left front opening wraps across to wearer’s right. High collar. One button on collar, one at throat, one on right collar bone, one below the right shoulder with another half way down, and one near bottom hem. The buttons are of knotted silk cord resembling small flowers.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 71 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 91 cm

Accession no. R.201

344. Shirt

A man’s short-waisted white cotton long-sleeved shirt with the traditional front opening, i.e., the left side of the garment folds across to the wearer’s right, fastening with a small acorn-shaped brass pellet bell button at base of neck on the right side, with another similar brass button, except that the pellet is missing, fastening under the right shoulder. There is a high-standing “Chinese” collar.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 46 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 145 cm

Accession no. R.202

345. Trousers

A pair of man’s trousers, coarsely woven of very pale brown or ivory-coloured silk. The waist band is an 18.5 cm broad band of the same material to which the legs are sewn. At the bottom of each trouser leg the silk warp has been left unwoven so that the warp threads form a tasseled fringe some 18-20 cm long. At the bottom of the woven portion of each leg, 1 cm above the top of the fringe, there is a stitched border, 0.6 cm wide, all round each leg, a row of red yarn stitching, two rows of dark blue, and a second row of red. There is no other decoration of any kind on the trousers and there are no belt loops or provision for tie strings at the waist. Appears to be new.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 119 cm

Accession no. R.203

346. Coat, ch’uaba

A man’s black cotton long-sleeved ch’uaba, fully lined with light blue cotton. The garment is new and shows no signs of having been used. Of the usual cut, the left front side wraps across to the wearer’s right. Somewhat unusually, there are no buttons at the throat, right shoulder midway along the collar bone, or at a point below the right shoulder. Instead, there is a bright green silk cloth tie 7.8 cm wide and 41 cm long sewn onto the left front corner of the coat opening where it folds across to a point below the right shoulder, and a matching green silk tie of similar size sewn onto the outside of the coat just below and behind the right shoulder. These two can be tied together to close the coat. There are no other fastenings.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 150 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 243 cm

Accession no. R.204

347. Trousers

A pair of man’s trousers, much smaller than Cat. no. 345, of pale brown or ivory
coloured silk, much like coarse linen in appearance. The waist band is of the same material and 13 cm broad. There is a short, c. 1 cm long, fringe round the cuffs at the bottom of each leg. As the trousers appear rather worn and often washed, the fringe may have worn down to this length. There is no decoration on the trousers except for three narrow parallel bands of stitching round each leg just above the tops of the fringe. As these are done in the same material and in the same colour, they are scarcely visible.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 92 cm; width: 48 cm
Accession no. R.205

348. Scarf

A pale green silk scarf made of two pieces joined together; hemmed on three sides only, one of the long sides being unhemmed.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Length: 177 cm; width: 37 cm
Accession no. R.206

349. Apron

A woman’s wool apron in traditional style consisting of three vertical woven pieces 18 x 67 cm of horizontally striped wool sewn together to make a single rectangle. The apron is partially lined on the back with a band of blue cotton 9.5 x 52 cm which has been sewn across the top and a second panel of the same blue material 14.5 x 52.5 cm in size sewn across the bottom. The narrow stripes are in green, yellow, pink, red, blue, dark blue, and grey. At the top right and left hand corners of the apron lengths of cotton tape have been sewn on the back so that the apron can be tied round the waist.

This apron was sent from India by Werner Jacobsen in 1954.

Length: 67 cm; width: 53 cm
Accession no. C.2102a

350. Apron material

A piece of modern machine-woven striped woollen material for making a woman’s apron. The colours are bright and in non-traditional shades of traditional colours: orange, red, pink, purple, light blue, maroon, green, and dark blue.

From Rolf Gilberg.

Length: 276 cm; width: 20.5 cm
Accession no. R.548

351. Cloak pin

A cloak pin consisting of a long, thin, slightly arched brass strip, pointed at the ends and fitted at each end with an iron hook and, in the centre, an iron loop. Said to belong to the woman’s costume Cat. nos. 252-254. Not seen.

From Mrs Steinthal.

Length: 25.5 cm; width: 1.5 cm
Accession no. C.2100

352. Blouse

Part of a Tibetan woman’s costume, this is described as a “linen shift or short shirt with long wide sleeves”. Said to have been made in Darjeeling. Not seen.

From Mrs Steinthal.

Accession no. C.2102b

353. Jacket

A short jacket, part of a woman’s costume. Not seen.

From Mrs Steinthal.

Length: 65 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 185 cm
Accession no. C.2102c

354. Coat

A long sleeveless outer tunic of dark blue velvet lined with blue cotton cloth. Part of a woman’s costume. Not seen.

From Mrs Steinthal.

Length: 145 cm
Accession no. C.2103
356. Belt

A cloth belt consisting of a long woven band, striped lengthways, in violet, red, and green, with fringes at the ends. Not seen.

From Mrs Steinthal.

Length, excluding fringes: 183 cm; width: 8.5 cm

Accession no. C.2104

357. 10.26 Costume ornaments

Three large silver and partly gilt drop-shaped costume ornaments. R.665, R.666, and R.667. R.665 is slightly smaller and has a red agate stone in its centre, where the other two have a round piece of polished red coral. All three consist of a drop-shaped silver plate ornamented all over with a pierced repoussé pattern of vines and leaves. At the top centre of each, facing upward, there is a Monster Mask in high relief, representing a god of the skies with human hands on either side, an image regarded as auspicious, being considered able to protect the wearer by warding off evil. Above this on each of the ornaments are twin golden fish with arched bodies, symbols of freedom and the life-giving properties of water. Their tails are joined together above by a silver arch which enables the ornament to be attached to the wearer's belt by a ribbon or sash. In the centre of each ornament is a gold plaque in the same drop-shape and decorated with
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repoussé vines, leaves, and flowers. In the centre of this is the round red polished stone mentioned above.

Height: 18-19 cm; width: 11.5-12.5 cm
Accession nos. R.665, R.666, R.667

358. Jacket
A yellow/gold silk brocade jacket with a pale green cotton lining. The brocade is entirely covered with geometrical and flower designs in blue, green, and orange thread. The collar and the top edge of the jacket opening are edged with a strip of dark purple silk.

From Jeeper Trier.

Length: 107 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 112 cm
Accession no. R.447

359. Cloth
A piece of dark blue homespun wool with long loose warp ends extending out at either end to make fringes c. 30 cm long. Using different coloured yarns the surface of the cloth has been embroidered to make geometrical designs in 6-8 cm wide bands across the cloth all the way down its entire length. The basic patterns are variations of large and small diamond shapes in red, yellow, pink, green, blue, and purple.

Length: 232 cm; width: 42.5 cm
Accession no. R.706

360. Coat
Part of a man's costume, this long coat has wide sleeves and is made of a reddish-violet cloth, with a blue cotton lining. There are five round gilt ornamental buttons on silk cords. Not seen.

Obtained in Sikkim.

Length: 140 cm
Accession no. C.2088

361. Coat
A man's long-sleeved full-length yellow silk "kaftan" with flower and leaf pattern overall in the same colour. Inside, the garment is edged all round with a 5 cm broad strip of patterned red silk. Also on the inside next to this red border over the shoulders and part way down the front on either side is a piece of light coloured checked cotton cloth 11.5 cm wide. The rest of the garment is lined with light blue cotton cloth. The left front wraps across to the wearer's right. The top edge of the left front is cut at an angle from the throat to a point below the right shoulder where it is tied with red silk ribbons 2.5 cm wide and 26 cm long. Formerly the property of Chimed Rigdzin Rinpoche. The Accessions register describes this as a "Paro Penlop ch'uba: Ceremonial costume for a representative of the Tibetan Government."

Sir Charles Bell writes that the Pa-ro Penlop was a "leading subordinate chief."

Length: 150 cm; sleeve, length: 95 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 210 cm
Ref.: Harrer, 1953: 83; Bell, 1928:126
Accession no. R.271a

362. Cummerbund
Dark reddish-purple silk cummerbund with 20 cm long thick fringe at either end. Also at either end, 1 cm above the start of the fringe, is a 2 mm wide strip of dark blue stitching. No other decoration or ornament. Appears to be in new condition. An accessions register note states that this was "worn by Paro Penlop."

Length: 255 cm; width: 21 cm
Accession no. R.271b

"The girdles worn are usually of woven wool, from 2 to 3 inches broad and 6 or 7 feet long. The patterns vary in color, but little in design, which is always a narrow traverse stripe ... Very frequently a few yards of Chinese silk or a piece of Chinese blue cotton cloth take the place of the home-made girdle."

363. Coat
A blue and black kaftan given by the Denmark-China Friendship Society. Not seen.

Accession no. R.517a
364. Belt
Belt for R.517a. Not seen.
Length: 252 cm; width: 41 cm
Accession no. R.517b

365. Blouse
A man's white silk blouse. Not seen.
From the Denmark-China Friendship Society.
Length: 68 cm
Accession no. R.518

366. Pair of boots
A pair of new boots with layered leather soles and uppers made of red, green, and black felt. The soles are of four layers of leather. Above this is a 2 cm wide strip of white cotton cord stitching edged on top with a dark blue cord. Most of the foot is covered with bright red felt which is laid on top of a layer of bright green felt. The green shows above the red round the ankle in a 4 cm wide strip. The toes and instep of the boots are decorated with embroidered flower designs. A triangular decoration of red and green felt rises for 12 cm up the front of the boots from the instep. The legs of the boots are in black felt. They are open down the back for a distance of 23 cm. The edges of this opening are covered with blue cotton cloth and the same edging is found round the boot tops.
Gift from the Denmark-China Friendship Society.

Height: 45.5 cm; length: 27.5 cm
Accession no. R.519 a-b

367. Boot bindings
A woven strip of multi-coloured cotton for binding boot tops. Narrow stripes in dark blue, dark green, yellow, dark red, pale green, dark blue, orange, grey, and white run the length of the piece, which belongs with Cat. no. 366.
Length: 60 cm; width: 5 cm
Accession no. R.520

369. Cap
Man's black felt skull cap with a large ear flap on either side and a very small flap at the back. All three are folded up inside the crown. The outer surface of the crown is decorated with a band of black silk 4 cm wide all round the lower edge and a circle of the same material 7 cm in diameter on top of the crown.
Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Length: 26 cm
Accession no. R.197

370. Hat
Hat of grey felt with two large ear flaps and two smaller flaps, one at the front and the other at the back, covered on the inside with dark brown fur. The flaps have been folded up inside the hat so that it looks like a skull cap. Round the base of the crown is a band of yellow brocade with a pattern of leaves and flowers outlined in black on it. Above this, sewn onto the felt all round the crown, is an undulating strip of gold-coloured metallic-looking threads plaited into a ribbon half a centimetre wide set between two similar, though straight, parallel bands. At the top of the crown a circular piece of the same yellow brocade 6.5 cm in diameter with a flower and leaf pattern in black has been sewn. Round it are sewn three narrow bands of plaited gold-coloured threads, two straight parallel ones with an undulating band in the middle.
Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Height of crown: 12 cm; length: 27 cm
Accession no. R.198

371. Hat
A hat or sunshade of reddish-orange coloured heavy cotton cloth. In order to project stiffly forward in front of the face to provide protection for the eyes, the hat is reinforced with four slender wooden wands, one on either side along the bottom edge, and two others in between, spaced out c. 10 cm apart. These have been sewn into the hat between the outer, coloured layer, and the inner uncoloured layer. In size and shape the hat is similar to a shoebox with no bottom and one end missing. The hat is held in place on the wearer’s head by strings, two being attached 5 cm apart on either side toward the back.
Obtained in Sikkim.
Height: 10 cm; length: 34 cm
Accession no. C.2089

374. Hat
A woman’s hat with flaps that can be pulled down. The flaps are covered with leather on the inside; the outside and the crown are pink, with dark blue cloth sides. Not seen.
From Captain Friis.
Height: 21 cm
Accession no. C.1540

375. Hat
A man’s cap of curly-haired hide. The crown is brown, the rest black. Made to cover the ears and neck. Lined with yellow cloth decorated with leaves and flowers. Not seen.
From J. Munthe Brun.
Height: 28 cm
Accession no. C.1338

376. Headdress
Part of a woman’s headdress, consisting of a pad made up of several layers of coarse homespun cloth. Faded purple cloth on the underside, bright red on top. All the decorations (cowrie shells, metal objects, beads, etc.) have been removed from the headdress, leaving only the cut pieces of woollen yarn which once held them. The headdress comes to a point in front over the forehead, then widens for a distance to cover the top of the head, before tapering to a long narrow tail down the back.
Obtained in Sikkim.
Height: 30 cm; length: 77 cm
Accession no. R.199

377. Earmuffs
A pair of ear covers, semi-circular in shape, and edged with black curly-haired hide. The outer surface is covered with red and green striped cloth; the inner surface with reddish-brown cloth. These are said to belong to the woman’s headgear Cat. no. 376. Not seen.
From J. Munthe-Brun.
Accession no. C.1340 a-b

378. Cap
Man’s brown skull cap made of a single piece of felt in the form of a sphere c. 23 cm in diameter. Half of the sphere has been folded into the other half making a double-layered cap. There are no seams or stitches. Aside from a small oval hole 6 cm long and 2.5 cm across in the crown, the hat is a complete sphere, like a ball, when unfolded.
Obtained in Sikkim in 1950.
Length: 27 cm
Accession no. R.199
379. Hat

Man's hat made of three pieces of leather, the cloverleaf-shaped brim of which is edged with fine dark brown fur. The crown is mostly covered with a 9 cm broad band of yellow silk brocade with floral patterns in green, yellow, and red. Some flower details are embroidered in various shades of pink and purple with some white. Between the top of this band and the top of the crown a serpentine design in fine plaited gold-coloured threads resembling brass wire running between two straight parallel bands of the same material has been stitched onto the leather. The flat circular top of the crown is mostly covered with similar designs in the same plaited gold-coloured thread with a small round piece of yellow brocade set in the centre.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Height: 16 cm; length: 40 cm

Accession no. R.200

Belts

380. Belt

A belt tightly woven of coarse dark red wool and then covered with red felt. Although the overall length of the belt is 126 cm, the broad woollen part is only 64 cm long. This section of the belt is 5 cm broad and 1 cm thick. A silver plaque has been attached at either end, where a silver buckle and two silver ornaments with rings appended have been added, so that items may be attached to the belt. The silver work bears ornate floral designs and the larger plaques at either end have a silver gilt ornament set in the centre.

Purchased from Uffe Refslund Christensen in 1966. Prince Peter considered that the fine silver work on this example identified it as probably coming from Derge in eastern Tibet.

Length: 126 cm; width: 5 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. R.444

381. Belt

A multi-coloured woven cotton belt or cummerbund with coloured stripes of varying widths running the length of the belt, which is in new condition. From the edge to the centre the colours are as follows: red, black, white, black, yellow, green, red, blue, orange, green, red, yellow, white, black, white, black. The colours are then repeated in reverse order from the centre to the opposite edge. On the reverse side the colours are muted and dominated by red.

Said to be from Lhasa. From Rolf Gilberg.

Length: 410 cm; width: 13.2 cm

Accession no. R.533

382. Belt

A belt made up of three layers of leather straps which have been hand-stitched together. On top of this seven brass plates, each 9.5-10 cm long, with a rectangular quatrefoil plate 1.8 cm square in between each, six in all, have been riveted so that the leather belt underneath is completely hidden. The plates are covered with incised geometrical designs consisting of parallel rows of triangles. At each end of the belt the outer ends of the last brass plates have been extended and bent back to hold an iron ring, one has an iron tongue to form a buckle, while to the other is fastened a rawhide strap 1.5 cm wide and c. 18 cm long with holes for the buckle. At each end of the belt, between the first and second brass plates an iron ring has been riveted for attaching a fire-making pouch or knife.

From missionaries serving on the borders of Tibet.

Length: 95 cm; width: 1.5 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm

Accession no. C.2101

383. 10.27 Belt

A silver belt made of fourteen parallel chains of very fine silver wire held together by seventeen plain silver clasps, each 4 mm wide, through which the chain belt has been threaded. Alternating in between these are twenty-one silver clasps, each bearing an embossed silver ornament, every other one of which is round and high-domed with an intricate pierced design. There are ten of these. They are c. 2.5 cm in diameter, though they vary slightly in size. Alternating with these down the length of the belt are eleven other ornamented clasps, vaguely rectangular in shape, each c. 2 cm wide by 2.4 cm long. Like the round ornaments, they all look very similar, but each varies in different ways. The basic pattern is four swirling vine ten-
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383. Belt

10.27 Cat. no. 383. Belt.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
Diameter: 9.2 cm
Accession no. C.1342

385. 10.29 Chatelaine

Chatelaine consisting of a round brass Endless Knot symbol, 13.5 cm in diameter, from which hang a number of leather thongs. Attached to these are a brass spoon, a metal needle case, a small pouch-shaped brass case, twelve small brass pellet bells, and thirty-eight white cowrie shells. The spoon has a narrow leaf-shaped bowl with a ring attached and a second very small bowl with a broken tip. The needle case is in two parts, each consisting of three copper tubes held together by strips of copper at top and bottom. These copper strips have loops at the side through which the leather thongs pass. The tubes, which resemble used cartridge cases, are plain on one side and decorated with incised flower patterns on the other. The two halves of the needle case are held together partly by a snugly fitting wooden peg inserted in the middle tube, which projects out so that the middle tube of the other half can receive it, and partly by the leather thongs.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 74 cm
Accession no. B.3008

386. 10.30 Chatelaine

Chatelaine consisting of an ornamented copper disc to which are attached a strip of coarse woollen material resembling a lamp wick, a cloth needle case cover, and, from the bottom of the needle case cover, four lengths of chain, each with two small brass pellet bells attached, and a small brass spoon. The ornamented copper disc is 11.8 cm in diameter. It has a raised boss in its centre like a shield. Its outer surface is covered with narrow

384. 10.28 Costume ornament

A round brass costume ornament, possibly for a belt, with a large open work Endless Knot motif set inside a circle of repoussé lotus decorations. Said to be a woman’s “belt plate”.

Length: 70 cm; width: 2.5 cm
Accession no. R.671
bands of decoration forming concentric circles from edge to centre, as follows: small silver beads, drop-shaped settings holding polished bits of green glass, silver wire twisted to form S-shapes, small silver squares set 1.5 cm apart, each stamped with a four-petal flower design, a second circle of drop-shaped green glass "beads", two circles of silver wire twisted to form arabesque patterns, a second circle with small silver squares, and finally a lotus flower centrepiece with green glass petals. The four round-linked white metal chains are each 18 cm long. The small short-stemmed brass spoon has a round bowl 3 cm in diameter at one end and a small clover-shaped bowl at the other.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 48 cm
Accession no. B.3009

387. 10,31 Ornamental fastening

Brass "scorpion" for tying up a woman's shawl or cloak consisting of a brass ring 4 cm in diameter to which are attached two pairs of rectangular decorated brass plaques and a single plaque, making five in all. Each of the plaques has been made with an extended tab of brass at either end and on three of the plaques these have been bent round in a circle joining them to the large brass ring. The tabs at the opposite ends have also been bent round to hold smaller brass rings from which the two remaining brass plaques are appended. On these last two the bottom tabs have been fashioned into hooks. The three topmost plaques are decorated with stamped flower designs: the lower pair with groups of half circles. Each plaque is c. 2.5 x 7.2 cm in size. Of these Sir Charles Bell writes as follows: "A pair of silver or gold chains may be worn hanging from the hips, one at each side. Such a chain with three arms, set with turquoises in the centre, is used for tying up a woman's shawl or cloak. It hangs in front and is known as the "scorpion" because the hooks at the end are reminiscent of scorpion's claws."

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 24.5 cm
Ref.: Bell: The People of Tibet: 1928: 151.
Accession no. B.3026
388. Belt

A woman's leather belt, ornamented with nine decorated brass plaques, eight round brass lotus flower decorations, and with two large drop-shaped silver plaques attached to hang down in front, one on either side of the belt fastening. The belt is made of two leather straps sewn together so that there is a double layer of leather the full length and the brass plaques alternate with the round brass lotus flower decorations all down its length. The plaques are rectangles with pointed ends, each fastened to the belt with a brass rivet at either end, and each decorated with incised lotus flower patterns. A small round brass setting has been made in the centre of each plaque and each of the intervening lotus flowers. Most of the stones intended for these are missing, but four small pieces of turquoise remain. At one end of the belt is a small brass buckle; at the other is a similar brass attachment to which the leather thong has been tied. The two large silver drop-shaped ornaments are nearly identical. They are attached to the belt by leather thongs which pass through openings in a silver Wish-Granting Jewel symbol. This is attached to the silver drop-shaped ornaments below by three rings held together by a cotter pin. The surface of the ornaments is entirely covered with leaf designs surrounding ten conch symbols, which serve as a border round a drop-shaped central design in the centre of which is a round red piece of glass, one of which is damaged. These ornaments are 13.5 cm high and 12 cm wide.
Purchased in Darjeeling by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 85 cm; overall length: 107 cm

Accession no. B.3018

389. Milk pail carrier

A woman’s milk pail carrier consisting of a double metal hook with attached loop for fastening to wearer’s belt. Although in traditional style, this is a modern copy, in cast aluminium, of earlier milk pail carriers which were of silver and often decorated with polished red coral and turquoise. Even the decorations on this example were formed in the mould: two flower patterns, a series of small crescent and circle patterns, presumably representing the moon and the sun, and a raised ribbed line down either side of the shank. Even the loop for attaching the hook to a belt is a modern imitation, looking like black leather, but actually cloth with a plastic coating.

Purchased at Kumbum in Qinghai Province by Rolf Gilberg.

Overall length: 20.3 cm; length: 15.2 cm; width: 10 cm

Accession no. R.543

390. Belt buckle

A rectangular silver, copper, and brass belt buckle, slightly concave, so that the silver front surface is rounded, and set with one dark blue bead, one piece of turquoise-coloured glass, a piece of red agate, and one of red coral. The buckle consists of two layers of metal: a copper plate serving as a base for a repoussé
silver plate of the same size. This silver plate has a beaded outer edge round a hollow rectangle of raised dot-dash patterns. Inside this is a beaded frame round a central rectangle of comma-shaped silver wire decorations surrounding three stones, one blue, and two red, set line astern in round bezel settings. Originally there were four additional stones, one in each corner of the buckle. These are now missing, though a dark blue bead has been placed in one of the empty settings. A brass tube has been soldered onto the copper plate at the back, but no other parts of the buckle are present.

From missionaries serving on the borders of Tibet.

Height: 5.2 cm; width: 4.5 cm
Accession no. C.2099

391. 10.32 Pair of boots
A pair of woman's boots of wool, felt, and leather. The soles are of woven brown and white striped wool, edged with a strip of white leather all round. The uppers have been made up of panels of scarlet, maroon, and blue felt, with minor areas of green, decorated with fancy appliqué designs consisting of cords of various colours, mostly white, but some gold, purple, and black. Additional decorations of triangles, Xs, and stars, have been added in white cotton
thread onto the front scarlet panel. The boot tops, of white wool, are turned down over the maroon panels, but as these tops are open up the back, the scarlet, blue, and green triangle strips above the heel can still be seen. The lower edges of these turned-down tops are decorated with two rows of appliqué triangles in scarlet, blue, and green. The boots, which have turned-up toes, are new and unused.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 16.5 cm; length: 31 cm; width: 10.5 cm
Accession no. C.1341 a-b

392. Bone “apron”

A bone “apron”, *rugam*, made up of a number of carved bone squares, beads, and other shapes, and strung together in this case on nylon cord to make an apron which is worn by Tantric priests during the performance of certain rites. The smaller bone squares, 2.5 cm across, are all carved and pierced to represent flowers. The larger squares, 4 cm across, are carved and pierced to show the Eight Glorious Emblems. Two pieces are rectangles with a single pointed end; one represents the Wish-Granting Jewel and the other a *Mahara*. Three larger carved pieces are 4.5 cm wide and 15 cm long. Two are carved to represent thunderbolts with the Whirling Emblem in the centre. The third is a thunderbolt with a seated Buddha figure in the centre. There are twenty-two small bone squares representing flowers, six larger squares with flower motifs, eight larger squares with Glorious Emblem designs, plus three “extra” ones, and the three largest carved bone plaques with thunderbolt motifs. These are spaced out with small bone beads, of which there are a large number.

Length: 50 cm; width: 40 cm
Accession no. R.707

393. Bone “apron”

A bone “apron”, the top of which consists of fifteen carved plaques strung together with strands of bone beads. From this hangs the main part of the apron which is 55 x 68 cm in size and consists of forty-five carved squares spaced out c. 6 cm apart by strands of round bone beads. The bottom of the apron is made up of seven carved plaques representing monster gods of the skies. Nearly all the squares are carved to represent Buddhist symbols such as the Eight Glorious Emblems, others are carved lotus blossoms. The longer plaques at the top, pointed at either end, are carved to represent Bodhisattvas. The loose ends of some bead strands at the top and bottom of the apron end with a single white cowrie shell. The “apron” has a 1.5 cm wide striped cotton belt fastened near the top.

Length: 78 cm; width: 73 cm
Accession no. R.708

Part VII:
Miscellaneous Costume Items

394. Pair of boots

A pair of traditional woman’s boots of leather, felt, and wool from Lhasa. The soles are completely covered with a piece of light-coloured leather which turns up all round to form a 3 cm wide strip with a thick blue cord edging to which the uppers are stitched. The lower part of the uppers are of red felt. Above this is a 3.5 cm wide band of green felt which appears V-shaped when the boots are viewed from the front. The remainder of the uppers, which are open down the back for a distance of 18 cm are of dark red homespun wool.

Purchased in 1909 from Captain Friis, but bearing a hand-written English text on the soles. “Women’s shoes from Lhasa, Tibet.” One of the boots has the added line: “Wm. Christie, C. & M [?] 690 Eighth Ave., New York, U.S.A.”

Height: 38 cm; length: 24 cm; width: 9.5 cm
Accession no. C.1539 a-b

395. Cape

A full-length pleated cape of yellow silk lined with dark red homespun wool. Woven into the yellow silk are round decorations executed in silk threads of the same colour. These are 26.5 cm in diameter and each depicts two stylized
**Nagas.** At the top of the cape in the centre of the wearer’s back is a panel of silk brocade with a pattern of squares and hexagons in dark blue, dark red, light blue, gold, and light green. A circle in the centre of alternate hexagons depicts a Garuda on a dark blue silk background. The remaining hexagons display Nagas on dark blue silk. This panel measures 68 cm across the bottom and is 45 cm long. At the top it is gathered into pleats as is the yellow silk of the rest of the cape. All along the top edge of the cape where it lies across the shoulders and down the front on either side over the wearer’s chest is a broad panel of silk brocade edged with soft grey-brown fur. This panel is 185 cm long and 22 cm wide. In addition to the fur edging, it is framed with a 2 cm wide strip of black velvet which is separated from the silk brocade panel by three narrow rows of silk stitching, one white, one green, and one yellow, forming tiny chevron patterns. The silk brocade, in various reds and purples, bears eleven flower-shaped designs, each with a Naga on a red silk background. On top of the brocade geometrical patterns of squares, diamond shapes, and triangles have been formed.
with lengths of blue and white cord which are attached only at the edges of the brocade panel and at the points where they meet in the centre; otherwise they lie loosely on the brocade. A thick line of white silk threads runs down the centre of each group of blue cords, giving the appearance of seed pearls. The dark red woollen lining is edged with dark red silk.

From H.C. Retshand Christensen.

Length: 149 cm

Accession no. R-144

396. 10.33 Coat

A long-sleeved full-length coat of yellow silk with four large round embroidered decorations in gold metallic thread, one on the breast, one on the back, and one on each sleeve. These decorations are 40 cm in diameter and each consists of a round abstract "shou" symbol surrounded by two "yungos. Each of these stylized
10.34 Two young Tibetan ladies having their picture taken against a painted backdrop by a street photographer in Lhasa. The photographer, crouched at lower left, is arranging things and giving instructions. The ladies are dressed in what might be called “modern Tibetan” style: Tibetan dress topped off by dark blue Chinese cotton jackets. Photo: Schuyler Jones, Sept. 1986.

dragons has a blue glass eye and a number of polished round glass decorations in various colours set at intervals along its length. The coat is lined with patterned silk consisting of narrow chevrons in dark red, white, yellow, and salmon pink.

From Uffe Refslund Christensen.

Length: 138 cm; sleeves, across from cuff to cuff: 194 cm

Accession no. R.442

397. Pair of boots

A pair of boots belonging to a lama’s costume. The soles consist of two layers of leather stitched together with cord. Most of the foot is covered with a layer of white corded canvas-like material. This rises to a point 9.5 cm high above the heel. As it goes forward on either side of the foot, it curves downward along the ankle to a point 5 cm above the sole and then rises again on either side of the instep to a point 11 cm high before dropping down toward the toe where it forms a point which is bent sharply back from the toe of the boot. The ankle and instep of the boot are covered with yellow silk brocade which is 7.5 cm high round the ankle and back of the boot but which rises in a triangle 18 cm high at the front. Over the instep a vertical opening 1.5 cm wide and 18 cm long has been cut, thus providing a glimpse of a flower-patterned piece of
silk brocade to show. The legs of the
boots are of dark red wool with a 8.5 cm
wide strip of orange felt round the tops.
These boots come from the monastery
Ganden Chobdel Ling.

From Uffe Refslund Christensen.

Height: 45 cm; length: 25 cm
Accession no. R.413 a-b

398. Cloth binding used during
meditation

Described in the accession register as a
“meditation binding” this is a piece of
red and grey woollen cloth and as be
bound round the body and knees of a
monk when seated in the “Padma position”
during meditation. Not seen.

Height 17 cm; width 8 cm
Accession no. R.410

399. Lama “crown”

A Lama “crown”, rigs-bka', five pointed
arch-shaped headgear. Not seen.

Accession no. C.1351

400. 10.35 Hat

Gesar Barde's hat, worn by Rinchen
T'Hargye, who was born in Nang-chen,
Kham, Tibet, in the year 1884. The hat is
made of lightweight white canvas,
edged with black cloth, and decorated
with a red cloth panel on the front. There
is a plume of peacock feathers 46 cm
high rising from the top of the hat and
two white cloth wings spreading out to
the right and left from the bottom of the
hat. Attached to the tips of these “wings”
are bunches of cloth streamers 35 cm long in white, yellow, green, red, and black. More cloth streamers are attached to the top of the hat so that they trail down behind. These are some 40 cm long and are in white, blue, red, and black. A variety of objects have been attached to the red cloth panel sewn on the front of the hat: a brass disc 5 cm in diameter representing the sun is at the top. Beneath it is a piece of white conch shell, 6.5 cm from tip to tip, shaped and polished to make a crescent, representing the moon. Below this in the centre is a brass disc 9.5 cm in diameter with three sun symbols hammered into its surface. On the left of this a small carved wooden model of a saddle has been attached. On the right is a miniature bow and arrow of iron. Directly below the large brass disc is a round decoration consisting of five cowrie shells with a red glass bead in the centre, resembling a flower. To the left of this is a coin, held in place by a blue glass bead sewn on through a hole in the centre of the coin. To the right is a rectangular piece of iron 2 cm wide and 7.5 cm long pierced with fifteen small holes. Across the bottom front of the hat are twelve bunches of small shells, three in each bunch. Below this is a row of seven cowrie shells.

Height: 72 cm; width: 65 cm

Accession no. R.413

NOTES:
2. Ibid.: 684.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.: 684.
8. From notes made by Prince Peter for an exhibition of Tibetan costumes held in the National Museum, Copenhagen, in the Autumn of 1952.
12. This is presumably a reference to David Macdonald, a British Trade Agent, who lived for more than twenty years in Tibet.
13. Tsarong, whose original name was Dasang Dadul, was also known to Freddy Spencer Chapman, and in his book Lhasa: The Holy City, Mr Chapman gives another version of this same story on pp. 80-1. Tsarong died in a Chinese prison in Lhasa on May 14th, 1959.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year: 12. He publishes one of Spencer Chapman's photographs of an "official" wearing the costume on p. 15.
18. For an illustration of a similar belt, musket ball pouch, and powder horn pouch, see Rockhill's Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, Plate 23 and, for a brief description, p. 713. See also Filchiner, 1910: Plate 81 and Pott, 1951: Plate XXIX.
19. See Waddell's The Buddhism of Tibet: 479.
20. See Richardson's Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year: 21.
22. Other sources say that Glang-dar-ma was murdered in AD 842.
23. It is said that the king was murdered to prevent him from accumulating yet more evil deeds which would prolong his stay in hell. In other words, the deed was done for his own good.
In Tibet turquoise is considered to be the epitome of aesthetic quality and the word for it, *gyu*, is used as an adjective when admiring anything of beauty, not just things which are blue as lakes, flowers, and the sky, but also horses’ manes and, in stories, emphasis is given to the beauty of supernatural beings such as goddesses, by describing their hair or their bodies as being of turquoise blue. Berthold Laufer writes that “As jade is the recognized jewel of the Chinese, so turquoise is the standard gem of the Tibetans”, and again “with the majority of the [Tibetan] people, turquoise is favorite, coral and amber rank next”.

Turquoise is a mineral of aluminium and copper, or, more precisely, it is a phosphate of aluminium containing small quantities of copper and iron. Being opaque its value lies in its colour. Its hardness is 5 to 6, about the same as glass, and it is therefore easily worked. In many traditional societies in North America and Asia it is greatly valued for its mystical properties and religious significance. The finest quality stone is reckoned by some to come from North-Eastern Iran, but the concept of quality is a cultural variable. By the standards of the international market Tibetan turquoise is considered to be “of mediocre quality, most of it being greenish in colour”, and Berthold Laufer writes that “in the mountains to the north of Ta-tsien-lu in western Sze-ch’uan a turquoise of inferior quality and a sickly green is obtained”. Most Tibetan turquoise is said to come from the eastern half of the country, but little information is available from published accounts regarding specific locations. One source, however, reports that:

“There were four important sources of turquoise in Tibet, the most significant being near a small town 400 miles north-east of Lhasa and an area in the Gangchen mountains of Ngari-Khorsum in Western Tibet. Other areas where the stone would be found were Draya and Derge in Eastern Tibet. Some stones are also thought to have been imported from Iran”.

The above quote may have been derived in part from Sarat Chandra Das who writes that the finest Tibetan turquoise are obtained from a mine in the Gans-can mountains of Ngari Khorsum in Western Tibet.

In every place where the stone is known to occur there are evidences of its exploitation in
prehistoric times. It was, for example, much used by royalty in ancient Egypt, the source being Sinai. In the Americas there is archaeological evidence to show that turquoise was an important trade item in prehistoric times.

It is interesting to note that both early written accounts and more recent anthropological fieldwork reveal that interest in the stones invariably involves both admiration for its colour and beliefs about its healing and/or protective powers.

Joseph E. Pogue in his well-known monograph on turquoise writes:

"The men in most parts of Tibet wear an earring in the left ear. In northern Tibet it is a large gold, silver, or brass hoop about 5 cm in diameter, set with a coral or turquoise bead. Among the pastoral tribes of central Tibet the men frequently suspend from their left ear, in addition, a pendant of gold or silver adorned with coral and ending in a hoop, on which is fastened a circular or heart-shaped plaque set with turquoises. A single piece of turquoise is often tied to the right ear, and this ornament is abundant throughout Tibet, even among the wealthy people in the most civilized parts of the country. The officials in Lhasa and other parts of central Tibet usually wear in their ears a plain gold hoop, to which is fixed a long pendant adorned with pearls, corals, and turquoises. Among other ornaments of Tibetan men are finger rings of chased silver, many set with turquoise or coral beads ... The only Tibetan men who wear ornaments on their hair are members of the pastoral tribes. Upon their queues, which are usually of false hair wound around the head, they string turquoise-set finger rings and rings of ivory, or attach a strip of red cloth bearing large perforated turquoise beads and small charm boxes set with the same material.


11.3 Cat. no. 437. Hair ornaments.
"The Tibetan women wear earrings of gold and silver which are commonly set with turquoise. A favourite style in central Tibet, Chamdo, and other districts, consists of a silver hoop over 2 inches in diameter, on the front of which is a heart-shaped plaque thickly studded with bits of turquoise".6

In Tibet turquoise is used to enhance the beauty and value of not only jewellery, but also religious objects such as amulet cases, prayer wheels, and butter lamps, personal accessories such as tinder pouches, knife and sword hilts and sheaths, and pen cases. The Tibetan collections in the National Museum contain a large number of objects decorated with turquoise.

Red coral is also much sought after by Tibetans who value it for its attractive colour as much as for its amuletic qualities. Polished round and drop-shaped red coral stones are used, like turquoise, to enhance the appearance of ga’u, prayer wheels, and brass, bronze, copper, and silver temple vessels. Tibetan jewellery commonly incorporates round polished drum-shaped beads of red coral in a variety of sizes. Therefore, in response to popular demand large quantities of red coral were imported into Tibet over the centuries, much of it apparently coming from Italy and finding its way along trade routes into Tibet through Russia and India.

The jewellery catalogued in this section are individual pieces acquired from a variety of sources. Additional items of decorated artefacts are to be found, listed separately, as part of some of the complete costumes in the chapters devoted to Costumes and Accessories and Other Personal Accessories. In his notes, Prince Peter writes that some of the jewellery he purchased for the museum came from the late Lhu-Ling Lha-cham Kusho, a lady who was married to Lhu-Ling Kunga, son of a nobleman from Tsang Province. She thus married into the Shigatse nobility, as her husband belonged to the Panchen Lama’s family. He also remarks that “the Patug woman’s headdress” was purchased from Tess, the eldest daughter of Tsarong Shape. Unfortunately, such information is not always linked with museum records and it is therefore difficult to match his notes with individual items in the collection.
Bracelets

401. Bracelet

A silver bracelet, oval in section, and hollow. The silver tube of which the bracelet is made is 1.3 cm in diameter and is much worn. The silver, which is 2 mm thick at most, is worn through in several places, notably on the outer ends, but also there are smaller holes on the inner surface. The outer surface is decorated with an incised repetitive design, the details of which are badly worn. The number 121 has been engraved in the centre of the inner surface of the bracelet.

Diameter: 8.2 cm
Accession no. R.668

402. Bracelet

A solid heavy silver bracelet with dragon or possibly Naga head ends and a simple design, much worn, of parallel lines over much of its length. For most of its length the thickness of the bracelet is 8 mm to 1 cm, but the heads on either end are 1.5 cm across.

Diameter: 7.5 cm
Accession no. R.669

403. Bracelet

A solid heavy silver bracelet with dragon or Naga heads on each end. Much worn and very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 402.

Accession no. R.670

404. Bracelet

A plain brass bracelet 1 cm broad, 4 mm thick, and 16.5 cm long, as measured along the curve.

Accession no. R.283

405. Bracelet

A plain brass bracelet 7 mm broad, 6 mm thick, and 18 cm long, as measured along the curve.

Accession no. R.284

406. Bracelet

Bracelet made of a round copper bar 7 cm in diameter and 21 cm long round which lengths of flat nickel wire 1 mm wide have been wrapped diagonally so tightly as to cover the bar entirely.

Accession no. R.285

407. Bracelet

A bracelet 3.5 cm wide made from part of a white conch shell by removing the top and bottom ends of the shell and smoothing down the remaining ring. The sides of the bracelet are not straight as the shell ring is a segment of the original cone-shape of the conch.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Diameter: 5.5-8 cm
Accession no. B.3021

408. Bracelet

A bracelet of greenish-white stone. Not seen.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Diameter: 8.2 cm
Accession no. C.1343

409. Bracelet

A brass bracelet with flaring ends decorated with incised cross-hatching. Not seen.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. B.3007

Rings

410. Finger ring

A finger ring of bone, shaped to make a roughly triangular section. Inner diameter of ring: c. 2.5 cm. Outer diameter: c. 3.4 cm. Thickness: varies from 7.3 mm to 6.5 mm. Undecorated, but on one side there are two notches, roughly opposite each other, each about 1.5 mm deep. Outer surface of ring is smooth and pale brown in colour. Inside of ring is rough and dark brown in colour.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Diameter: 3.4 cm
Accession no. B.3002
411. Finger ring
Brass finger ring with round crown setting holding a circular, dome-shaped polished piece of glass 1.75 cm in diameter, with bright red, dark red, and a single light blue area showing on its surface.
Diameter: 2.25 cm
Accession no. R.150

412. Finger ring
A small brass finger ring with a bright red glass “stone” on either side of which has been set a small light blue pierced glass bead. The red “stone” is set in a round metal collar, the small blue beads are set in little drop-shaped metal mounts.
Diameter: 1.7 cm
Accession no. R.151

413. Finger ring
A brass ring with three pieces of polished blue glass, a large piece in the centre, with a smaller piece on either side, in bezel mounts.
Diameter: 2.5 cm
Accession no. R.152

414. Finger ring
Brass finger ring with “flower” motif, each of the six petals decorated with a small pale blue drop-shaped glass bead and a small round glass bead of the same colour in the centre. On either side of the “flower” where the ring joins the setting there is an additional drop shaped blue glass bead.
Diameter: 1.75 cm
Accession no. R.153

415. Finger ring
Brass finger ring very similar to Cat. no. 414 except that the small round stone set in the centre of the “flower” is not a blue glass bead, but is a red translucent stone, perhaps a ruby. Stone appears too clear and too pinkish to be a garnet.
Diameter: 1.75 cm
Accession no. R.154

416. Finger ring
Brass finger ring with “flower” design 2.25 cm in diameter formed of small drop-shaped stones set in brass cups. The “stones” are, all except three which are of light blue glass, dark red in colour and very much like garnets in appearance except that several, if not all, have tiny bubbles in them indicating that they are glass. There are twelve “stones” all together, three blue and nine red.
Diameter: 1.75 cm
Accession no. R.155

417. Finger ring
Brass finger ring with thirteen small red and blue stones set on a rectangular brass platform 2 cm square. The central “stone” is a round polished dome-shaped piece of dark red glass 1 cm in diameter. Around it, set in each of the four corners of the platform is an oval drop-shaped bright red glass bead. In between each of these are two little round light blue beads, eight in all.
Diameter: 1.75 cm
Accession no. R.156

418. Finger ring
A brass finger ring with a red coral bead set in a metal collar around which are set small round metal beads. The red coral bead is 1.1 x 1 cm wide.
Diameter: 2.2 cm
Accession no. R.277

419. Finger ring
Brass finger ring with a single red coral bead 1 x 1 cm in size set in a metal collar round which are set small metal beads. Very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 418.
Diameter: 2.1 cm
Accession no. R.278

420. Finger ring
A brass saddle-shaped finger ring made so as to fit any finger by bending the overlapping ends of the ring to the required shape. A small round brass collar has been brazed onto the ring in the centre of the “saddle” and into this has been set a piece of dark green turquoise. The outer metal surface of the ring has
been marked for decorative purposes by striking it with a punch to produce neat rows made up of many uneven crescent designs set close together.

Accession no. R 279

421. 11.4 Finger ring

Large brass saddle-shaped finger ring made with overlapping ends so that the ring can be adjusted to fit different fingers. A fragment of turquoise is set inside a round brass collar in the centre of the "saddle". The outer metal surface of the ring has been decorated with geometric designs hammered into the brass components, front to back of saddle ring.

Diameter: 1.7 cm

Accession no. R 280

422. 11.4 Finger ring

A brass ring consisting of a copper strip bent to a circular form, the two ends of which have been brazed to the back of an Indian one anna coin. The coin has been ground down so as to make a smooth shiny surface but retaining the undulating rim characteristic of the coin. Date not visible, but probably George VI and from the 1940s. The copper ring itself has been neatly wrapped with tight layers of very fine cream-white silk or wool yarn to make it fit a smaller finger.

Accession no. R 281

423. 11.4 Finger ring

A ring cast in or plated with some kind of white metal resembling silver. It has a polished piece of oval glass of a turquoise colour.

From Rolf Gålgberg.

Diameter: 2.2 cm

Accession no. R 549

Strings of Beads, "Rosaries", and Necklaces

424. "Rosary"

A short "rosary" consisting of thirteen round, though asymmetrical, polished agate or amazonite beads of pale brown to reddish brown colour strung on a pale green silk or very fine wool cord with a large knot between each bead. At the ends the cord is neatly wrapped with a very fine wire or metallic thread in order

to splice it to a double length of pale reddish-brown silk cord which is knotted together near the beads and then again toward the end so as to leave a four-strand section c. 16 cm long in between. The smallest bead is c. 7 mm in diameter, the largest, 15 cm. One bead is broken on one side with a concave polished fracture 9 mm across.

J. Munthe-Brun, who obtained it in Delhi, described it as an "agate bracelet".

Accession no. R 5019

425. "Rosary"

String of seventeen round drum-shaped earthenware beads with deep vertically fluted surfaces. Most of the beads show traces of gold paint. Each bead is 2 cm in diameter and 1.8 cm high. At each end of the string there is a small dark red bead and a black carved wooden tubular bead. The latter also show traces of gold paint. The beads are strung on woolen yarn or cotton cord.

Described by J. Munthe-Brun as a "necklace of wooden beads. Fibrer"

Length: 15 cm

Accession no. R 5019

426. Necklace

A silver gilt necklace consisting of fourteen plaques, eleven of which are rectangular (measuring 5 x 4.5 cm), while one is round (6.5 cm in diameter), and two irregularly-shaped (7 x 4.5 cm). Each plaque is joined to the one next to it by a hinge, except the round one which joins the two irregularly-shaped plaques
on either side of it by silver-gilt hooks. On each plaque is a Bodhisattva 4 cm tall fashioned from silver-gilt and red coral or red glass and surrounded by a rectangle of round blue glass discs resembling turquoise, each in its own silver-gilt wire setting. Below each of those on rectangular plaques is a row of drop-shaped stones in red glass resembling red coral.

Prince Peter appears to have purchased this in Paris in 1975.

Diameter: 25.5 cm
Accession no. R.705

Earrings

"An earring is worn in the left ear by the men in most parts of Tibet. In the Kokonor it is a large gold or silver hoop about 2 inches in diameter set with a coral or turquoise bead ... Frequently a little strap passes over the ear and takes the weight of the earring off the lobe of the ear ..."

"The only Tibetan men who wear ornaments on their hair are to be found among the pastoral tribes, where a large queue, usually of false hair, is worn in addition to their full suit of tangled locks. On this queue, which terminates in a tassel of black silk and frequently reaches to the ground, they either string finger rings ... and rings of ivory, or they sew on a narrow strip of red cloth big pieces of turquoise and small charm boxes ..."

It might be added that archer's thumb rings, usually made of jade, are also used as hair ornaments in this same manner.

427. Earring

Man's large earring in the form of a ribbed brass rod bent into a circle with a 1 cm gap where the ends of the rod fail to meet. Soldered (or brazed) onto the outer edge of the circle is a drop-shaped piece of polished turquoise 1 x 2 cm in size in a oval crown setting of brass. Just above the stone is a decoration consisting of four little brass spheres. A piece of red string 14.5 cm long is attached to the mount supporting these, the other end being tied in a loop so that the string can be attached to the brass ring to go over the wearer's ear.

Diameter: 4-4.5 cm
Accession no. R.149

428. Earring

A nobleman's earring, fashioned on a base of brass wire bent to form a near circle 3 cm in diameter at the top with a shank c. 11 cm long running through a succession of small beaded gold collars interspersed with bands of thin polished lappets of opaque blue glass resembling turquoise. These are set in mastic round the shank. One third of the way down from the brass circle at the top is a pearl. There are four bands of these blue glass lappets altogether and six gold bands of varying thickness. The ornament terminates with a round piece of opaque blue glass which tapers to a point, the base of which is set in a gold collar. A finer version of this same type of ornament is Cat. no. 431 (Fig. 11,5) where the brass wire is gold and where the opaque blue glass lappets are turquoise. Otherwise, the two are very similar.

Overall length: 18.5 cm
Ref.: Tucci, 1967: 50
Accession no. R.255

429. 11,5 Earring

A Lhasa nobleman's earring. This is nearly identical with Cat. no. 428, except that one lappet of blue glass is missing from the bottommost band.

Accession no. R.256

430. 11,5 Earring

A Lhasa nobleman's earring. Nearly identical with Cat. nos. 428 and 429.

Accession no. R.257

431. 11,5 Earring

Man's earring ornament made of heavy gold wire with a copper core bent to form a near circle 3.5 cm in diameter at the top, leaving a shank c. 11 cm long running through a succession of small beaded gold collars interspersed with thin polished lappets of turquoise set in mastic
round the shank. One third of the way down is a pearl. There are five sets of these turquoise bands altogether and seven gold collars of varying size. The ornament terminates with a pointed piece of opaque blue glass set in a gold sleeve. This last, which might be regarded as a turquoise substitute, is the correct form for this earring. One piece of turquoise from the uppermost band is missing.

Length: 17 cm
Accession no. R.276

"In Lh'asa and other parts of central Tibet ... officials usually wear a plain gold hoop to which is fixed a pendant about 3 inches long, in the middle of which is a large pearl; in this pendant are set turquoise; the lower end is enameled a turquoise blue."

432. Earrings
A pair of pendant silver earrings with imitation red coral beads of glass threaded onto a length of silver wire bent to form a hook at the top. Soldered onto this top hook is a silver flower in the centre of which is a polished bright red glass bead. Below it are three glass beads, two of a pinkish colour imitating red coral on either side of a transparent glass bead decorated with red and yellow spots. A small silver tube with flaring flower petal ends has been threaded onto the silver wire base between each of these beads. See also Cat. no. 433 below.

Purchased at Kumbum in Qinghai Province by Rolf Gilberg.
Height: 7 cm
Ref.: Olson, IV, 1975: 102
Accession no. R.546 a-b

433. Earrings
A pair of silver earrings, each decorated with four glass beads: two red, imitating red coral, one blue, imitating turquoise, and the fourth, in a small silver flower setting, in green. A silver wire has been bent into an oval shape and onto this base two thin U-shaped silver shells, one on either side of the wire, have been set and soldered together to make the final form of each earring.

Purchased at Kumbum in Qinghai Province by Rolf Gilberg.
Height: 5.2 cm
Accession no. R.547 a-b

434. Earring
A large earring consisting of a circle 4.2 cm in diameter of heavy brass wire 1 cm short of a complete circle, with one end decorated with a small brass "flower", the other end plain. Onto the brass wire circle a brass pendant in the shape of a drop with a triangle at the tip has been brazed. The pendant is set with turquoise, jade, and malachite chips. The drop shape is edged by small brass beads which have been brazed onto a drop-shaped collar which holds the turquoise chips. In the centre of this is set a smaller drop-shaped collar, also edged with brass beads, holding a piece of turquoise. The decorations on the lower triangular-shaped portion have been similarly made.

Length: 4.7 cm; width: 2.5 cm
Accession no. R.282

435. Earring
A traditional man's earring made of a silver beaded ring with a plaque mounted on the edge decorated with three large and three smaller turquoise stones. A seventh stone is set near the opening in the ring. Not seen.

From missionaries serving along the Tibetan border.
Dimensions: 5.2 x 5.4 cm
Accession no. C.2096

436. Earring
A man's earring consisting of a ring of ribbed brass to which is attached a drop-shaped decoration with ten small pieces of polished turquoise set in mastic in a ribbed brass setting.

From missionaries serving along the Tibetan border.
Diameter: 3.5 cm
Accession no. C.2097
Head and Hair Ornaments

437. 11.3 Hair ornaments

A pair of women's hair ornaments in gold and turquoise, for wearing in front of the ears on either side of the face. Made of gold with polished turquoise stones set closely together and covering nearly all the gold surface. The back of the ornaments are entirely covered with finely worked sheet gold. A small iron ring behind the topmost drop-shaped turquoise decoration has a cord attached for fastening to the hair. A large iron C-shaped hook mounted on the back top half of the ornament also has a cord attached to it and this passes down to a gold ring on the back at the bottom tip of the ornament. A matched pair. Such ornaments are sometimes described as "earrings", but they hang on either side of the face in front of the ears, suspended from black woollen strings of yarn by hooks attached to the hair. In Pal's book *Art of Tibet* similar ornaments are not only described as "earrings", but the picture showing them has been printed upside down.

Height: 12 cm; width: 3.5 cm

Ref.: Pal, 1990: 255; Harrer, 1952: opp. 180; Essen & Thingo, II: 283

Accession no. R.249 a-b

438. Hair ornament

A Lhasa noblewoman's hair ornament consisting of six gold plaques set with small polished irregularly shaped turquoise stones arranged to form flower patterns. The gold plaques are connected by four groups of twelve strings each of pearls. At the front there are two parallel gold plaques, 8.5 cm long and 1 cm wide, with pointed ends. Between these, at the front, is a red cord for fastening the ornament to the hair. The two plaques are separated from each other by eight pairs of red coral beads (one detached and in envelope with loose pearls), each pair in turn is separated from the next by a single pearl. The gold plaques each bear seven groups of small polished turquoise stones, three of which are arranged as flowers, and four of which are arranged as petals. Attached at regular intervals down the outer edges of the two plaques are twenty-four strings of pearls, twelve on each plaque. These in turn are attached to two more bar-shaped gold plaques, one on either side of the first pair, each of which are 10.5 cm long, 1.5 cm wide, and pointed at either end. White cords for attaching these to the wearer's head are attached to the corners. The entire surface of each of these plaques is covered with three parallel rows of small polished turquoise stones. Attached down the outside edge of each of these plaques are fifteen strings of pearls which join onto two square gold plaques, each 4 x 4 cm in size, and each completely covered with neat rows of small polished turquoise stones, the central ones being arranged in flower form. The entire arrangement of plaques and pearls is of a shield shape with rounded top and pointed bottom. Between the two square plaques, which are arranged so as to make diamond shapes, are two small turquoise stones, set in gold and placed in the centre of a string of pearls. The ornament as a whole would cover much of the top of the wearer's head. There is an envelope with the ornament on which is written "perle til R.250". This contains two red coral beads, although only one seems to be missing from the ornament itself, and seventy-four pearls, plus one round pale pink bead unlike anything on the ornament.

Length: 22 cm; width: 20 cm

Accession no. R.250

439. 11.6 Headdress, Pat'h

A noblewoman's headdress of pearls, red coral beads, and turquoise formed of three curved components, two of them 42-43 cm long, arranged in a Y-shape, and the third, 36 cm long, of a U-shape, fitting into the branches of the Y. As the whole ornament is quite heavy, these components may be of metal, but as they are completely covered with red felt, green silk, and pearls, it is not possible to say. The lowest visible layer covering these is of bright red felt. Next, but on the inward facing surfaces only, they have been partly covered with pale green silk. The remainder of the surfaces are entirely covered with rows and rows of pearls, so close together that the un-
derlying red felt can only be glimpsed here and there. At the top of the “horns” formed by the upper part of the Y four large drum-shaped red coral beads have been attached, two on each horn. Down in the V of the Y there are four more. Another two are attached on either side of the triangle formed by the three main components and, finally, there are two attached to the bottom stem of the Y, making fourteen large red coral beads in all. Between each is set a piece of turquoise, and two extra pieces are set in amongst the pearls on either side halfway between the tips of the horns and the notch of the V. The central triangle is open, but decorated with three strands of pearls, with jade and red coral beads, and three 1 cm long carved pieces of jade all attached at their lower ends to a single flat piece of carved jade. From the bottom of this a single strand of pearls with an amethyst and a turquoise bead drops down and is fastened to the green silk underside of one of the main components by a hook. On the underside the two horns are not covered with pearls and the surface is mostly the green silk. Two black cords, attached to the top cross members toward the upper right and upper left sides of the central triangle, have hooks on their ends for fastening the ornament in place. At the bottom most point of the triangle there is a plaited cord of pink and green silk to which is tied a third hook, this one fastened to the back of a small gold plaque set with four polished pieces of turquoise. Length: 45.5 cm; width: 33 cm

Ref.: Harrer, 1952: opp. 125, 180; 1953: 81-4; 1955: 5, 15
Accession no. R.251

11.6 Cat. no. 439. Headdress, Pat’h.

440. 11.7 Hair ornament

An ornament from what was probably a string of similar ornaments for a woman’s hair decoration or headdress. It is a slightly flattened oval with ends tapering nearly to a point, pierced through
from end to end for stringing. This type of ornament is a popular one in Tibet. The body is of a white metal, much worn. It has been made hollow, but is filled up with dark brown or black mastic into which has been set an unevenly shaped piece of turquoise, flat and polished on its upper surface.

Length: 3.5 cm; width: 1.8 cm; thickness: 1.2 cm

Ref. Rockhill, 1895, pp. 692

Accession no. R.697

441. 11.7 Hair ornament

An ornament similar to Cat. no. 440 above except that it is made of gold and set with two small and one large turquoise. It is held in place by triangular gold clips. The ornament has been made with great attention to fine detail by a skilled goldsmith.

Length: 3.8 cm; width: 1.8 cm; thickness: 1.8 cm

Accession no. R.697a

Dress Ornaments

442. 11.8 and 10.18 Costume ornament

A Tibetan noblewoman's dress ornament for formal occasions. It is worn hanging from the left shoulder down across the left breast to the waist. In assembling this ornament the starting place appears to be a long string of dark green jade beads, each separated from the next by a single pearl, with groups of three large red drum-shaped coral beads at intervals. This string is 150 cm long and consists of seventy dark green jade beads, ninety-two pearls, and twenty-three large red drum-shaped coral beads. All the remaining elements making up this elaborate confection are attached to this string of jade, pearls, and coral beads. The main element consists of thirty-three strings of matched pearls, some 30 cm long, tied side by side to a knotted collar of white silk cords. This in turn is fastened to the main string at the top centre where there are three large red coral beads. The thirty three strings thus hang down through the centre of the main string. Instead of hanging in a bunch they lie side by side, spread out so that they just touch each other, making a shimmering fall of pearls 10.5 cm wide and 30 cm long, gathered to a point at top and bottom. This dramatic effect is achieved by passing each of the pearl strings through small holes in the base of three gold ornaments, one at the top, one at the bottom, and one in the centre.
The surfaces of these gold ornaments are entirely covered with cloud and lotus petal designs worked into the gold and settings holding pearls, opaque turquoise-coloured glass, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. The ornaments at top and bottom are 11 cm long and 4.5 cm wide. They are very similar and consist of an eight pointed star with triangular "wings" to the right and left, terminating in three points set with two rubies and an emerald. The points of the star are also set with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. Each ornament is set with seven diamonds, eight emeralds, and eight rubies. The central ornament is a square with scalloped edges set as a diamond shape. It measures 7 x 7 cm and is very similar in size, workmanship, and decoration to the top of the amulet box listed as Cat. no. 155 (Fig. 11.12). It is set with sixteen emeralds, seventeen diamonds, twenty rubies, and one hundred and fifty-two pearls. At the bottom all these pearl strings are gathered together to pass through a large red coral bead. Below this is a square cut citron measuring 2 x 2 cm in a gold mount 1.1 cm high. Below that is another large red coral bead to which is attached a flower-shaped gold ornament set with turquoise-coloured opaque glass, two emeralds, three rubies, and a diamond. This has a gold hook on the back to which is attached a red silk cord that passes through a red coral bead. By means of this hook the bottom of the main string of jade beads and pearls is lifted up some 10-12 cm to form a graceful downward curve on either side with a 7 cm length of double strand jade and pearls in the centre. At the bottom of this a red silk cord through a red bead provides a fastening for the lower central ornament which consists of a finely carved pale green oval jade plaque, 5 cm wide, 3 cm high, and 3 mm thick, with holes pierced through as part of the design. From the lower edge of this plaque hang five strings of beads and pearls, each 10-11 cm long, no two of which are exactly alike, but the topmost bead on each is round (except for a red coral bird on the centre strand) and is either carved coral or green jade. The next bead on each is a d2l (except on the central strand where it is a round pale blue marble-sized piece of agate). The d2l, four in all, are 1.2-1.4 cm long and 1.1-1.2 cm in diameter with "eye" patterns. The pupils are black on all but one, where they are white. Below this, on two of the strands there is a dark green jade bead, on two others, a red coral bead, and on the central one, a large pearl. Below this there hang four strings of matched pearls, each string being 6.5 cm long and consisting of fifteen to eighteen pearls. On one string there are only three strands of pearls. Each strand ends with a red glass, orange coral, green jade, or amethyst bead. There are four remaining ornaments to be described: one attached to either side near the top of the main string of jade beads and pearls, and one on either side, lower down, also attached to the main string. The upper pair consist of pearls and pink quartz beads strung together to make an 8 cm long decoration with a gold hook at the end. These make it possible to position and hold the entire ornament in place. There is also a hook, which takes most of the weight of the entire ornament, at top centre made fast by white silk cords to the central red coral bead. The final two components of the ornament consist of two strings, one on either side, fastened to the main string at a point opposite the lowest of the three gold ornaments on the central pearl strings. These are 28-29 cm long and are made up of pearls, pink quartz beads, jade, and various small glass beads. The quartz, jade, and larger glass beads are set between clusters of pearls. Each of the two strings ends with a 2.2 cm wide and 14.5 cm long arrangement of small matched seed-pearls with a vase and flower design formed of small glass beads strung in with the seed-pearls. As mentioned, this is worn hanging from the left shoulder so that it passes down across the left breast to the waist. In some photographs where this type of ornament appears to hang down from the right shoulder it is evident that the photograph has been reversed, i.e., the wrong side of the negative was printed.

Overall length: c. 65 cm

Ref.: Cutting, 1947: opp. 237; Olson, 1, 1983: 63.

Accession no. R.253

443. 11.9 and 10.18 Costume ornament

Ornament for a lady's costume made up of seven strings of carved jade, polished calcite, red coral, red glass, seed-pearls, pearls, and other materials attached to two flat half circle or rounded triangle pieces of carved green jade bearing lotus designs which, in size, shape, and decoration, are similar to the pierced gold plaques on Cat. no. 444. The strands
of beads, pearls, coral, etc. are attached to these by means of small holes near the edge of the jade plaques. On one of the jade plaques, two of the three strands end with a small green jade fish, the third with a polished heart-shaped piece of green banded calcadony. On the other one, two of the three strands end with small pieces of green jade in pendant form, the third ending with a small hook. The two flat carved green jade plaques are held together by one of these strands made up of mixed beads and seed pearls. When the ornament is laid on a flat surface and spread out it has the shape of an H with the bar extending out on either side of the vertical lines.

Height: 29.5 cm; width: 39.5 cm
Accession no. R.292

444. Costume ornament

One of a matching pair of hanging belt decorations for a woman's costume, consisting of a gold button 3 cm across with a repoussé flower and relief design. Attached to this is a 15.5 cm length of silver chain to which is fastened a pierced gold ornament, 5 x 3 cm in size, of intertwined leaves, stems, and flowers. From this hang four silver chains, two of which are 41 cm long, the other two being 35 cm long. The longer two end with ribbed silver wire fastenings from which hang a pair of drop-shaped gold ornaments resembling flower buds. The central shorter pair each end with pierced gold ornaments, roughly diamond shaped, decorated with lotus motifs. At the bottom of each of these is a gold ring from which hangs a tassel, one pink, and one pale green. The tassels, bound tightly round the tops with fine gold and silver thread, are 37 cm long.

Accession no. R.275a

445. 11,10 Costume ornament

A hanging belt decoration virtually identical to Cat. no. 444.

Accession no. R.275b

446. Costume ornament

A disc of green glass with dark swirling patterns giving the appearance of malachite. The piece, which is convex on either side, has been set with an ornate silver rim, held in place by an edging of V-shaped silver tabs on both sides of the rim which have been bent over against the glass disc. The disc is pierced through from edge to edge by a single hole.

Described by J. Munthe-Brun; who obtained it in Leh, as a “green stone in brass setting”, and by the museum as “green agate in brass ... setting”.

Diameter: 3.5 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm
Accession no. B.3010

447. Ornament

A long silver filigree pendant with a turquoise decorated hook at the top. Attached to the hook is a chain with five round links. Below this are two filigree
plaque joined by two chains and a cord with two blue and three red beads. From the lower and larger plaque, which is decorated with three turquoise stones, five small implements hang from twisted rings: ear pick, tweezers, awl, and a tooth in a silver mounting. Not seen.

Obtained from missionaries who served along the Tibetan border.

Length: 38 cm; width: 6.5 cm
Accession no. C.2092

448. Costume ornament

A double drop-shaped decorated silver plate with a copper bar fastening on the back and a small silver ring attached to one end. The silver plate, which is possibly for a belt, is edged with a ribbed silver frame joining two areas completely covered with swirling patterns in silver filigree. Each drop-shaped half of the decoration has three large curving patterns resembling 6s or 9s in shape, the remainder of the surface being covered with small 9s in silver wire. Two small turquoise stones, one in the centre and the other at the top, complete the decoration. The copper bar soldered across the back is bent upwards into a G-shape at either end, forming two sharp prongs for attaching to leather or cloth.

Obtained from missionaries serving on the borders of Tibet.

Length: 6.5 cm; width: 4.7 cm
Accession no. C.2095

449. Brooch

Brass brooch in the shape of a wide, slightly domed ring decorated with leaves and flowers. On the back a thin iron pin is attached to one edge. Not seen.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Diameter: 4.5 cm
Accession no. B.3005

450. Bead

A turquoise blue glass bead. Not seen.

From missionaries who served along the Tibetan border.

Length: 1.5 cm; width: 1.2 cm
Accession no. C.2098

451. Costume ornaments

Two costume ornaments each made of two boar’s tusks. Each pair of tusks have been joined together to form a near circle, the joints being covered by a strip of metal, one brass, one tin, decorated with three polished round blue beads in bezel settings.

Described by J. Munthe-Brun as “a pair of bracelets”.

Diameter: 10 cm and 11.5 cm, respectively
Accession no. B.3020
Amulet Cases

“Amulet cases” or “charm boxes” (ga’u) are sometimes found listed in catalogues under “jewellery” while at other times they are classified as “religious objects”. They serve both purposes, but it should be noted that, strictly speaking, it is the contents of the ga’u which are of religious significance, not the ga’u itself. The contents are often missing in those ga’u found in museums or private collections, as they have been removed prior to offering the box for sale.

W. Zwalf writes:

“A very common popular religious object is the portable charm or amulet case (gahu), consisting of red leather or cloth packets or wooden and metal boxes. Those found in foreign collections are usually made of metal, some with openings to show an image and some without; their contents include printed or written charms, objects blessed by a lama, fragments of a monk’s robe, relics, and images. Images of Tara [are] very common, for she [is] thought to work quickly against misfortune and disease. Women in particular [wear] them on necklaces but both sexes [carry] them, particularly for protection on a journey, suspending them for greater efficacy, both in front and back, on straps that [pass] over one shoulder and under the opposite arm”.9

W. W. Rockhill also commented on these ga’u:

“Around their necks most Tibetans wear charm boxes (gawo) of wood, silver, copper, or leather, in which are carried charms against the various accidents which may overtake them. These charms are usually unintelligible or meaningless sanskrit words . . . or sometimes a copy of a short canonical work, as, for example, the ‘Diamond cutting sutra’ (Dorje chöd-pai do). A bit of the gown of a saintly lama, a little of the tsamba left over from his meal and which has been molded into a small disk, on which is impressed the image of a god . . . are also frequently kept in these gawo, together with painted images of some god or guardian saint, also a piece of peacock’s feather, supposed to keep off moths”.10

452. Amulet case

Silver ga’u, square in general shape, but with an added triangle on each side, giving the appearance of a second square offset on top of the first so as to produce an eight pointed star. The entire upper surface of the case is covered with rows of small polished pieces of turquoise divided from each other by thin silver bands, between which the turquoise “seeds” are set in black and sometimes red mastic. Two of the triangular additions to the container are supported by silver struts attached to the side of the box. Behind each of the other two there is a silver tube 3.5 cm long and 1 cm in diameter, to take a carrying cord (missing) so that the container can be worn on a necklace or attached to the front of wearer’s costume. The empty compartment, which measures 5.5 x 5.5 x 1.70 cm, is closed by a somewhat crudely shaped piece of thin sheet iron which appears to have been cut from a tin can.

Length: 6.5 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 2 cm
Accession no. R.168

453. II, II Amulet case

Rectangular copper ga’u. The front is covered with repoussé images, the back with incised designs. In the centre of the front is a 4.8 cm high Buddha seated on a lotus throne. Around him are arranged various symbols: the bell, the crossed dorje, the lotus, and clouds. Above the central Buddha figure three beings support a reclining Buddha. Various other figures are shown in the different postures of the Buddha. On the back there is a 5.5 cm high incised rendering of the Conch Shell symbol.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, 1900, who described it as being “from the eastern Himalayas”.

Length: 10.5 cm; width: 8 cm; thickness: 1.3 cm
Accession no. R.236

454. Amulet case

Rectangular copper ga’u. The central feature of the repoussé ornamentation on the front is a demon holding the wheel of life. On the back a 9 cm high crossed dorje symbol has been incised. This ga’u appears to be virtually identical to the one shown in Antoinette Gordon’s book The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism.11
Amulet case

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, 1900, who describes it as being "from the eastern Himalayas".

Length: 10.5 cm; width: 8 cm; thickness: 1.1 cm

Ref.: Gordon: 1939 and 1959

Accession no. R.237

455. 11.12 and 10.18 Amulet case

A noblewoman's gold rectangular ga'it, the upper surface thickly encrusted with pearls and stones. There are eight leaf-shaped turquoise-coloured glass pieces, mounted in pairs on either side of two flower designs in pearls and two flower designs in diamonds. In the centre a lotus in diamonds is surrounded by eight petals of turquoise-coloured glass. Set between the petals are round rubies and emeralds. Twelve square-cut emeralds and sixteen round rubies, together with eight diamond flowers, eight single diamonds and c. two hundred pearls complete the stones set on top. The edge of the box is scalloped, each point being set with a stone: emerald, ruby, diamond, ruby, emerald, in that order. Between the stones, where the top of the box is visible, it is completely covered with a layer of thick gold plaques with deeply incised lotus leaf and flower designs. The 2 cm high sides of the box are covered with geometrical patterns in gold filigree. The box has concave sides and is closed at the back by a tightly fitting silver lid which is not hinged or attached in any way, but simply presses into place. Behind the top and bottom points of the jewelled rectangle which is mounted on the box itself are two gold tubes or cylinders, the uppermost one ringed at either end by a band of small round stones, ten at each end, alternating emerald, ruby, emerald. This tube takes the cord from which the box hangs round the neck. The cord could also be passed round the rim of the box, threading through smaller rings set on each
side, but it only passes through the top-most cylinder. The cord itself is strung with six large red coral beads, 2.5 x 2.5 cm. Between these is a cluster of pearls, ten in all, on either side of a long tubular or barrel "etched agate" bead of a kind most highly prized by Tibetans and known by them as dZi. There are four of these, each dark brown to pale brown in colour with a white or off-white design etched into the bead. Two of the beads have three "eyes" each (white circles on the dark surface); the other two have two each. The dZi beads are 4 cm long and 1 cm in diameter. The fastening for this cord is a British India silver two anna piece dated 1890. The cord on which all these beads are strung is 14 cm long. The actual compartment made to hold amuletic materials, is empty, and measures 7 x 7 cm.

Length: 10 cm; width: 10 cm; thickness: 2 cm

Accession no: R.252

456. 11,13 Amulet case

Silver coloured rectangular metal box with a hammered black iron back. Mounted on the top edge of the box is a white metal tube made to take a cord or strip of cloth so the box can be hung round the neck. This tube, 5 cm long and 1.25 cm in diameter, is made of four rings, each 1 cm wide, soldered side by side with a narrow ribbed ring in between each and an additional one on either end so that there are five of these smaller rings altogether. A similar device has been mounted on the bottom edge,
except that there are only three of the larger rings and, instead of a tube open at either end, the ends have been closed with drop shaped white metal ornaments. Of the three large rings, the centre one has a small ring with a round polished turquoise stone set in it soldered onto its lower surface. The rectangular surface of the amulet box has a ribbed white metal edge all round with a second rectangle of the same metal set 1 cm inside this outer frame; together these serve to frame a central rectangle 4.5 x 5.5 cm in size which is completely filled with fine filigree work. There is a drop-shaped turquoise stone 1 x 1 cm in size set in the centre with, just above it, a second small green stone little larger than a pebble. In each corner of the box, set in the frame described above, there is a small polished and rounded turquoise stone 0.25 cm in diameter. A ragged strip of dark blue cloth c. 85 cm long has been run through the tube mounted on the top edge of the box for hanging round the neck.

Length: 7.5 cm; width: 6.75 cm; thickness: 2 cm

Accession no. R.301

457. Amulet case

Large silver ga'ri which is closed with a copper back that slides inside the outer silver case. The sheet silver front has been worked in high relief to show the Eight Glorious Buddhist Emblems with the Wish-Granting Jewel in the centre above a god of the skies. A pair of large silver loops have been set on either side to take a cord or strap for carrying. The number 50 has been engraved on the bottom of the outer case.

Height: 18.2 cm; width: 14.2 cm; thickness: 7.2 cm
Accession no. R.564 a-b

458. 11,14 Amulet case

A large silver and copper ga'ri; rectangular, but with a trefoil top. The silver front of the box is covered with lotus flowers, stems, and leaves. Among these are the figures of three lama teachers. A Nagas appears on either side of the central opening, through which the amulet would be seen. At the bottom of the opening two deer are shown, one on either side of The Wheel of Law. The sides of this silver cover are engraved with geometrical designs. Unusually, the silver cover is locked in place on its copper box by three silver brads which pass through holes in the sides of the cover; two at the top and one at the bottom. The ga'ri is empty. Four silver lugs, two on each side, are to take the strap or cords for wearing round the neck.

Height: 18 cm; width: 13.8 cm; thickness: 6.5 cm
Accession no. R.565 a-b
459. **11,1 Amulet case**

A gold, silver, and copper ga' u given to Prince Peter by the 14th Dalai Lama. The front is of openwork silver with a profusion of lotus blossoms, leaves, and buds in high relief. Across the bottom of the front is a row of lotus petals, also of silver. Set into recesses in this front surface are eleven gold plaques, one, the largest of them, framing the glass-covered window which affords a glimpse of the image inside. The ga' u, the central gold plaque, and the window are all with arched trefoil tops. The gold plaque placed at top centre is a Wish-Granting Jewel symbol; that in the bottom centre a Monster Mask. Each of the other eight gold plaques represents one of the Eight Glorious Emblems. The large central gold plaque surrounding the small window has a row of lotus petals across the bottom and the remainder of the surface is covered with lotus blossoms and leaves in high relief. Three small drop-shaped turquoises are set in the upper part of this plaque: one above and one on either side of the trefoil arched window. This silver and gold front is made like a box lid so that it fits down over the copper sides of the ga' u. Underneath it is a second lid, this time of copper plate with a roughly cut rectangle in its centre to accommodate the small glass pane which fits inside the window. The silver and gold cover is held in place by five silver-headed pins (one missing) which are splayed open on the inside of the ga' u. The back of the ga' u is closed by a copper plate (bearing a large raised Tibetan character) held in place by a flanged edge which slips inside the ga' u. The image inside the ga' u is of Sakyamuni Buddha with gold-painted face and blue hair. The figure is very heavy, but details of it cannot be seen as it has been tightly wrapped with a piece of patterned yellow silk brocade which has been stitched in place, leaving only the Buddha's head visible. The figure is 9.5 cm high. Inside the ga' u it is held in position by a surrounding packing consisting of a white badak, a presentation scarf.

**11.14 Cat. no. 458. Amulet case.**

460. **Amulet case**

A copper ga' u, rectangular but with a trefoil top, with silver gilt openwork cover decorated with the Eight Glorious Emblems set amidst lotus flowers, stems, and leaves. The central opening, also rectangular with a trefoil top, is edged with silver heading and closed with glass. Behind the glass, is a gilt bronze image of Sakyamuni Buddha seated on a lotus throne, with a bowl in his left hand, and his right in the witnessing mudra. The image is surrounded by pieces of coloured silk. The cover is held in place by five brads which pass through the edge of the cover and the sides of the copper box. Four lugs, two on either side of the box, are to take the cords by which it is worn round the neck. The number 55 has been engraved on the bottom edge of the silver cover. The box contains numerous auspicious objects which are described in the Accessions register, but it was not opened for examination during the preparation of this present catalogue.

Height: 15.5 cm; width: 11.8 cm; thickness: 5 cm

Accession no. R.567 a-p

461. **Amulet case**

A copper ga' u, rectangular in shape, but with a trefoil top. It has a silver front decorated in high relief with the Eight Glorious Emblems placed round an irregularly shaped piece of green stone in

**11.15 Cat. no. 468. Amulet case.**
a bezel setting. Across the bottom of the
front of the box is a Monster Mask face
and hands. Four copper lugs, two on
each side, have been attached to take
the cords or strap needed to wear the
box round the neck. The number 52 has
been engraved on the lower side of the
box.
Height: 13.5 cm; width: 10.5 cm; thickness: 4 cm
Accession no. R.568 a-b

462. Amulet case
A rectangular silver ga’în with copper
back. The front of the box has twelve
creatures on it in high relief, each in its
own square frame: horse, sheep, monkey,
bird, dog, pig, rat, ox, tiger, hare,
dragon, and snake, representing the
months in the Tibetan calender system.
These frame an empty square opening
where an image would have been dis-
played, but the ga’în is empty. The sides
of the box are engraved with lotus flow-
ers, leaves, and stems. On either side of
the box is a silver loop to take a strip of
cloth for hanging round the neck. The
number 54 has been engraved inside the
box.
Height: 8.5 cm; width: 7.8 cm; thickness:
2.5 cm
Accession no. R.569 a-b

463. 11,16 Amulet case
Square silver ga’în with copper back. The
total front surface of the ga’în is cov-
ered with symbols in high relief. In the
center is a magic circle or magic square
containing numerals set out in nine
spaces, arranged so that the sum of the
three numerals in each line (vertical,
horizontal, diagonal) equals fifteen.
These numbers are:

4 9 2
3 5 7
8 1 6

Round this is a border of eight lotus
petals, each one bearing a different
mystic trigram, representing the four
quarters, the intermediate directions be-
tween each of them, and their elements.
This is framed by a square in which are
the animals associated with each month
of the year. This, in turn, is contained
within a square frame on which are dif-
ferent symbols: a Hand, a Crescent
Moon, a Flaming Sword, a Lotus, a Ritual
Dagger, the Sun, etc. The outer square
border, which is held in the grip of a
monster, contains a densely packed as-
sortment of symbols: the All Powerful

11,16 Cat. nos. 463-4 and 476. Amulet
cases.
Ten, a Chorten, Trident, Ritual Dagger, Arrow, an Elephant, a Dorje chopper, etc.

Dimensions: 9.5 x 9.5 x 3.8 cm
Accession no. R.570 a-b

464. 11,16 Amulet case
Silver ga'Ur with fitted copper back. The front surface of the outer case is covered with repoussé designs depicting the Eight Glorious Buddhist Emblems surrounded by swirling vines and tendrils. In the centre is a rectangular opening, 2.6 cm long by 1.2 cm wide, with a small oval at the top. The case is shaped like an arched doorway, pointed at the top, with the arch curving down to form shoulders on either side. The copper back and the silver sides of the ga'Ur are plain. The bottom and left side have become partially separated from the front of the ga'Ur at its lower left corner. On the left side are two silver loops to take a cord or strap so that the ga'Ur may be worn across the shoulder. Those on the right side are missing.

Height: 10.5 cm; width: 8 cm; thickness: 2.9 cm
Accession no. R.571 a-b

465. 11,17 Amulet case
A small ga'U with gold front and sides and an iron back, which has been soldered shut. The ga'Ur has an arched trefoil top and a small glass-covered window, also with trefoil arch. Around the window and covering the entire front surface are Buddhist symbols hammered into the gold: the Endless Knot, Conch Shell, Vase, Two Fishes, Wheel of Law, etc. The ga'Ur contains a small clay image of Sakyamuni Buddha, which is held in place against the glass of the window by a surrounding packing of blue silk. Some green silk is also visible at the top of the window.

Height: 7.5 cm; overall width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 2 cm
Accession no. R.572

466. Amulet case
A rectangular metal ga'Ur the top of which is set with one hundred and fourteen pieces of irregularly shaped polished turquoise set for the most part to form floral patterns. Two pieces of turquoise are missing and four more are loose. In between the patterns made by the turquoise the surface of the box has been covered with filigree. Four silver rings on the back have been mounted so as to form a tube through which a carrying cord can be passed. The back of the box, which appears to be of brass, is tied shut with a length of purple cotton ribbon and the knot has been sealed over with a dark red mastic resembling resin. The seal used has imprinted a lotus pattern in the mastic. The number 64 has been engraved on the back of the ga'Ur.

Dimensions: 7.2 x 7.2 x 2 cm
Accession no. R.573

11.17 Cat. no. 465. Amulet case.

467. Amulet case
A silver ga'Ur, pointed at either end, with a brass back. The top is edged with silver beading. Inside this is a band of raised patterns, edged on the inside by another border of silver beads enclosing a strip of twisted silver wire decorations. The central panel is covered with loops and crescent patterns of filigree round a polished piece of green stone. Six other polished stones, set in drop-shaped mounts, are on the cover, five green, one blue. Mounted on the top edge are five silver rings set close together to form a tube to take the cords for wearing round the neck. A similar set of rings bound round by twisted silver wire and enclosed at either end by silver points has been placed on the bottom edge. The box is empty.
Height: 9 cm; width: 10.2 cm; thickness: 2 cm
Accession no. R.574 a-b

468. 11.15 Amulet case
A silver hexagonal ga’u cover (back missing). The surface of the box is covered with narrow flat silver plaques with a ribbed surface, alternating with lengths of twisted silver wire. Six blue-green stones are set on the cover, one at each corner. In the centre is a raised area, also hexagonal, covered with fine foliate patterns in filigree and decorated with three red coral beads. At the top edge four silver rings, set side by side to form a tube, have been mounted to afford a means of hanging the box round the neck. At the lower edge is a similar device consisting of three rings, but the tube is closed by a faceted silver point at each end. The number 120 has been engraved inside the box.

Height: 12 cm; width: 11 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm
Accession no. R.575

469. 11.18 Amulet case
Large round silver ga’u with plain brass back. The front is entirely covered with decorations consisting of a dozen concentric circles fashioned from silver wire to form a succession of beaded circles between which are set rows of figure 8 designs, the symbol for elephant tusks, and other devices. The innermost circle, surrounding a round piece of polished red coral in a gold setting in the centre, has been decorated with gold wire forming floral patterns. Just above the red coral a drop-shaped setting has been made in gold to take a stone, now missing, although traces of fragments of a red stone or red paste can be seen in the setting. Four silver rings are set on the top edge, and three are set on the bottom; the upper set forming a tube to take the cord for wearing the ga’u, the lower three are decorative, the tube being closed with silver points on either side, but on the bottom of the centre ring another smaller ring has been placed to take the cord. The number 59 has been engraved on the back near one edge.

Diameter: 11.4 cm; thickness: 2.2 cm
Accession no. R.576 a-b

470. 11.19 Amulet case
Round silver ga’u 1 cm thick and 7.5 cm in diameter. The front is decorated with a dozen concentric circles fashioned from silver wire to form chevron and figure 8 designs in repeating patterns round the centre, which is set with a semi-round piece of turquoise 0.6 cm across. Round settings of silver wire have been placed at four irregularly spaced points round the outer edge, but there are no stones in them. Two T-shaped devices, made of silver tubes 1.5 cm long with points projecting from either end and a third point set on the tube at right angles, have been placed opposite each other on the edge of the ga’u. Two silver loops have also been mounted on the edge to take the cord by which the ga’u may be worn across the shoulder. Unlike most ga’us, the back of this one appears not to be removable. The number 60 has been engraved on the back.

Diameter: 7.5 cm; thickness: 1 cm
Accession no. R.577 a-b

471. Amulet case
A silver ga’u. Not seen.

Height: 11.5 cm; width: 8.8 cm; thickness: 1 cm
Accession no. R.578

472. 11.20 Amulet case
A round silver ga’u with silver wire and bead decorations set in concentric cir-
cles round a small oval piece of turquoise set in the centre. The back, unusually, is closed with a silver plate. At the top edge of the box are two silver rings wrapped with twisted silver wire and set with three pointed bolt ornaments. Lower down, on either side, is another ring. These are to take the cords for hanging round the neck. The number 61 has been engraved on the back.

Diameter: 7.7 cm; thickness: 1.2 cm

Accession no. R.579 a-b

473. 11.21 Amulet case

Large round silver ga’u with an undecorated surface except for a crossed Dorje or Vajra, 7 cm across, symbolizing equilibrium and almighty power. In the centre of this is set a lotus, which is considered to represent the union of Dorje and lotus to symbolize the supreme truth. In the centre of the lotus is a polished round blue glass bead 0.7 cm across. Unlike most ga’u where the back is flat and fits flush inside the outer case, this one consists of two equal hemispheres fitting closely together along a silver beaded edge around the circumference. It has been made so that there are no flat surfaces, both the top and bottom are slightly convex. Three silver rings have been attached to either side. The outer pair are attached to the bottom or back while the central ring is attached to the top or front, thus serving the double purpose of providing a means of wearing the ga’u on a cord and of fastening it shut. The number 57 has
been engraved on the back near one edge.

Diameter: 11.5 cm; thickness: 6.5 cm
Accession no. R.580 a-b

474. 11.22 Amulet case
A large round hand planished silver ga’iu with crossed thunderbolts in relief on the top with a turquoise stone in crown setting in the centre. The amulet box is made in the form of two shallow bowls, one inverted over the other. Round the lower edge of the top half is engraved a band of Wish-Granting Jewel symbols. The lower half of the ga’iu is of plain silver. The two components of the box are attached by a hinge consisting of three silver rings set together on the top edge of the ga’iu (as worn). The two outer rings are attached to the bottom half of the ga’iu, the one in the centre is attached to the top. The hinge action is formed by a silver tube which has been slipped through the rings and hammered over at either end to hold it in place. On the opposite, lower, edge of the top half of the ga’iu a ring with a drop-shaped ornament holding a turquoise stone has been set. When the box is closed, this ring falls between two other rings set on the edge of the lower component. Extending out to the right and left from these rings is a silver cone round which are five small beaded silver rings. The cones are terminated with faceted drop shaped silver decorations. The number 58 has been engraved on the bottom of the ga’iu.

Height: 19 cm; diameter: 14.5 cm; thickness: 7 cm
Accession no. R.581 a-b

475. 11.23 Amulet case
A lozenge shaped ga’iu of silver made with front and back components of equal size. The back is plain, but the front is decorated with two trefoil patterns, one at the top and one at the bottom, each filled with foliate designs in relief and placed so that the apex of each pattern meets in the centre, dividing the front surface into four areas, two decorated, and two plain. The front is hinged onto the back by means of four silver rings mounted close together on the top edge of the ga’iu, two on the front half and two on the back. The outer pair of rings are soldered onto the front; the centre pair on the back. The hinge action has been achieved by rolling a piece of sheet brass into a tube, slipping it inside the four rings, and then hammering the protruding ends over so as to form a retaining flange at either end. To the bottom edge of the ga’iu three rings are attached close together. The centre ring is soldered onto the top half of the ga’iu, the rings on either side of it to the bottom half. These latter two rings each hold a silver cone encircled by narrow rings of beaded silver and terminated with a faceted drop-shaped silver point. The number 66 has been engraved inside the lid.
11.22 Cat. no. 474. Amulet case.
11.23 Cat. no. 475.
Amulet case.

Overall height: 10 cm; width: 8.7 cm; thickness: 4 cm.
Accession no. R.582 a-b

476. 11.16 Amulet case

Round silver ga’u with a hammered copper back. The front is decorated with a floral design in a circle 2 cm across, set between an inner and an outer circle of silver wire fashioned with a bead pattern. The repoussé flowers, eight in all, are raised so that they stand up half a centimetre, forming eight mounds round the centre. The central circular opening is empty, but intended for the display of an image, possibly a round stamped cake of tsampa. A pair of silver loops have been set on either side to take a strap or cord so that the ga’u may be worn.

Diameter: 8.3 cm; thickness: 3 cm
Accession no. R.583 a-b

477. 11.24 Amulet case

Round silver ga’u with domed top. The top and sides are covered with repoussé designs: lotus flowers and petals, and leaves and vines. There are no paper strips of prayers in the box. The top and bottom are attached to each other by a short silver chain of small round links attached to silver eyes set in the sides. The number 70 has been engraved on the inside of the box.

Diameter: 6.2 cm; height: 4.5 cm
Accession no. R.584 a-b

478. Amulet case

Small square brass ga’u with lid. The bottom of the case is decorated with raised ornamentation and nine blue stones forming a cross. At both sides of the case are feathers and through one of these there is a string holding two round red and eleven white glass beads. Not seen.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Dimensions: 5 x 3.2 cm
Accession no. B.3023

479. Amulet case

A small round empty copper ga’u with a back made of a rough circular disc of copper which has a greater diameter than the ga’u itself. This backing piece is held in place by two strips of brown cotton, one on either side. Each strip has been threaded through a pair of holes in the copper back, one pair on either side, and then drawn up through a small brass ring on either side of the ga’u and tied in place. The front of the ga’u has a circular opening 2 cm in diameter. Around this are three small drop-shaped metal settings for turquoise or red coral, but they are empty.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Diameter: 4 cm; diameter of back: 4.5 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm
Accession no. C.1344
480. Amulet case

A *ga'u* with eight points or corners on its top surface. Decorated with turquoise set in two rows along the edge and a rosette in the centre. Not seen.

From missionaries who served along the Tibetan border.

Accession no. C.2093

481. 11.25 Amulet case

A rectangular brass *ga'u* with small irregularly shaped pieces of turquoise set in rows on the front. Attached to the *ga'u* is a cord on which are strung eight imitation red coral plastic beads, two yellow plastic beads, two barrel-shaped plastic beads with a pair of narrow white bands on either side of a broad black band, and two imitation *dzis* beads with white line and “eye” patterns in black glass on a clay core base. The *ga'u* box is 4.5 x 5 cm in size and is closed at the back with a rectangle of sheet tin, simply pressed into place. An inverted V of brass has been soldered onto each of the four sides and these, like the top of the box, have been set with small pieces of polished turquoise, giving the effect of a box with eight corners, or two squares, one on top of the other, the uppermost turned 90 degrees in relation to the one below.

From missionaries who served along the Tibetan border.

Length: 7.3 cm; width: 7.5 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm

Accession no. C.2094

482. 11.26 Amulet case

A silver *ga'u*, rectangular in shape, with a brass back and a small rectangular window backed by a glass pane. Around the window opening the front of the amu-
let case is decorated with pierced repoussé patterns of vines and leaves up the sides and with treasure symbols across the bottom. Four small silver loops, two on either side, provide a means of attaching the ga'u to the wearer's costume. The brass plate used to close the back has been decorated with a simplified form of the All Powerful Ten monogram. The small glass window allows a glimpse of a miniature painting on canvas of The Green Tara inside the case. She is sitting at ease on a lotus with her right hand extended in varada mudra and her left in vitarka mudra. Entwined round her arms are the stems of blue lotuses which bloom at her shoulders. The painting, which has a red border round it, is 4.2 cm high and 3.5 cm wide.

From Cyril R. Andresen.

Height: 5.5 cm; width: 4.7 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. R.135

483. Amulet case

A rectangular copper ga'u with rounded top and incised brass and copper sliding cover. Engraved on the cover is an abstract rendering of the All Powerful Ten symbol with Crescent Moon and Sun above. Case contains cloth intended to protect the amulet itself, now missing.

From Princess Marie.

Height: 5.5 cm; width: 3.8 cm; thickness: 2.5 cm

Accession no. C.6024

484. 11,26 Cat. no. 482. Amulet case.

11,27 Silver container

Small silver bead-shaped container, round in cross-section, but tapering abruptly toward either end. The container, possibly a ga'u, consists of two equal parts, the larger ends of which fit together over a thin silver band set inside and closely fitting, but unattached to either half. This serves to hold the two parts together as one is pressed over the other, the band being prevented from slipping out of place on the inside by the shape of the container. The outer ends of each half of the container is pierced with a small hole. The container is decorated all over its outer surfaces with engraved representations of the Eight Glorious Symbols set in the midst of flowers and leaves. The number 65 has been engraved on the thin silver band inside the container.

Length: 6.5 cm; diameter: 4.5 cm

Accession no. R.638 a-b

Woman's Chatelaine

485. 11,28 Chatelaine

Noblewoman's cruciform chatelaine consisting of three flat silver chains 2.25 cm broad and 12.5 cm long decorated with sheet gold overlaid with gold wire filigree in Triratna form and set with oval shaped turquoise beads arranged in Padma flower form. The three chains meet in the centre where they are attached to the
Costume Decorations

486. Costume decoration
A belt decoration of beads and seed-pearls, a double strand for most of its length, but merging into a single strand toward the ends. The length of double section is c. 79 cm. Throughout the entire length of the piece the white seed pearls are invariably arranged in double parallel strands c. 2 cm long, each section of pearls separated from the next by three beads, mostly two red coral with a bead of contrasting color in the middle, usually green (turquoise, jade, glass) but sometimes red (mostly glass), while two are black and white glass and one is yellow. A small white metal hook terminates the chain at one end, while a small white metal hook with a tiny turquoise ends the other.

Overall length: 141 cm
Accession no. R.287

487. Costume decoration
Woman's beaded belt decoration consisting partly of a double strand of twenty-four bunches (five strands each) of small amber-colored beads, each bunch separated from the next by three beads, e.g., two red coral and a gold bead, two red coral and a green glass bead, two red coral and three small gar-
11.29 In his book *The People of Tibet* Sir Charles Bell describes this picture as being of a "Tibetan silversmith in Lhasa engraving a charm box". Actually the man, who holds a pair of tweezers in his right hand, is selecting turquoise stones to decorate the box. Photo: Sir Charles Bell, 1920. Archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

NOTES:

1. Lauffer: *Notes on Turquois in the East*: 6, 10f.
3. Lauffer, op. cit.: 18.
4. Kim Yeshi: Precious Jewels of Tibet
6. Pogue, op. cit.: 78.
8. Ibid.: 691.
11. The "amulet box" shown with other "ritual objects" between pp. 10-11.
dZi BEADS

In addition to turquoise, there is another stone which is highly valued by Tibetans, both for its beauty and for the amuletic qualities it is believed to possess; in particular it is considered to have the power to protect its owner from illness and injury. It is therefore worn both as an ornament and as an amulet by all who are fortunate enough to possess it. This is the dZi bead. There are several examples in Prince Peter’s collection, notably on R.252 (Cat. no. 455, Fig. 11.12) and R.253 (Cat. no. 442, Fig. 11.8). He also purchased some imitation dZi which are to be seen on U.2094 (Cat. no. 481, Fig. 11.25).

The term dZi, a Tibetan word, is used to describe a type of dark brown or black agate barrel bead with certain white line and circle patterns. Real or “pure” dZi are highly-prized by Tibetans and neighbouring mountain peoples. Although the best-known examples of these beads have been found in Tibet and turn up in neighbouring Himalayan areas such as Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, Nepal, and Northern India, similar beads have also been found in Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. In various publications the term for these is written Szi, gZi, tzi, ze and no doubt in other ways, in addition to the form I use here. In Tibetan it is written gzi, but pronounced dzi. In notes taken in Tibet I wrote Se or Zhe, not then having seen the word in print. In conversations with Dr Gelek of The Chinese Centre of Tibetan Studies in Beijing I rendered his pronunciation of the word as Zuh. The Tibetan-English Dictionary by Sarat Chandra Das, defines the word as meaning “shine, brightness, clearness, splendour”.

At present the origin of these dZis is unknown and the beads have yet to be dated satisfactorily. The techniques required to produce white line geometric patterns in black or dark brown stone, or of achieving a similar result by producing a dark pattern on white stone are understood in theory, but in practice are so difficult to replicate, at least to the standard required in order to satisfy the discerning eye, that only imitations of “pure” dZi are now being made and most if not all of these are in materials other than agate. It is suggested by some that “pure” dZi may not have not been made these past two or three thousand years. Scarcity and demand have driven up the price of the most sought-after beads to surprising levels; a single one may command as much as £1,500.

In describing dZi as being man-made I am following the Western view. It is obvious even to the untrained European eye that dZi are artefacts; they appear to be of a hard fine-grained stone or perhaps of glass, most of them are from two to six cm long, they are round in cross section and taper slightly toward the ends. They usually have a smooth and sometimes a highly
polished surface, are perforated longitudinally, and bear surface patterns which we recognize as the work of a human hand.

The Tibetan view of dZi is very different. They see them as being entirely the products of nature: their shape, colouration, surface finish, surface patterns – even the longitudinal perforation – are regarded by them as natural. Nor do they consider them to be of geological origin. In their view they are or were actual living things which “became like stone” when first seen or touched by a person. The beads are also regarded as having supernatural qualities and attributes, protecting the person who wears them from accident or illness. Aesthetically dZi are greatly admired by Tibetans and are considered, quite aside from their protective powers, to be most beautiful and valuable possessions.

My attention was first drawn to dZi in the Barkhor Bazaar in Lhasa where I saw offered for sale a variety of dark-coloured long barreled beads with distinctive geometric patterns in white. They were all similar in appearance, varying in size from one to two inches in length, but were fashioned in a variety of materials. Some were of black glass with lines of white glass forming the pattern. Others were of milk-chocolate-brown plastic or epoxy resin with white line designs in the same material. It was clear from the numbers seen and the variety of materials employed that these were all attempts to replicate some original type that was both desirable and not readily available.

Before long I saw what I took to be two “original” dZi. They were chipped and worn, each about 2.5 cm long, and they were on a string round the neck of a Tibetan man. His asking price for the pair was 1,300 yuan, or about £1,300. But, having said that, he really was not interested in selling as he needed them for protection. They guarded him against evil, illness, and injury.

He had no objections to my photographing them, but reached over and carefully turned the beads so that the “eyes” would show in the picture. Among the onlookers was a Tibetan youth who volunteered the information that “these are very holy. They are insects. When you first see them on the ground they are moving. Then they turn to stone.”

Although I closely examined a number of these beads in Tibet, I was unable to determine conclusively whether they were white beads with a dark pattern or dark coloured beads with white patterns. As I was to learn later, both kinds exist.

In the little monastery on the eastern side of “Iron Mountain” near the road to Norbulinka on the west side of Lhasa, I fell into conversation with a monk and we were soon talking about dZi beads.

“If the bead has eight to ten eyes, then it is very valuable and has special powers to protect,” said the monk. “If it has less then it is just considered very beautiful and desirable to own.” According to Dr Gelek the most valuable dZi are called talu. “They are round and are very expensive.”

for which the average tourist would probably not pay two shillings. I soon discovered that the price was not high because a foreigner was asking, it was low because the dZi were in such poor condition.

My next informant was an elderly stall holder in the market. He had what appeared to be two “original” dZi on a string round his neck. In colour they were black or very dark brown with a smooth glassy surface and white to creamy-white lines forming circles (“eyes”, in Tibetan, chimi, an “earth eye”, not a human one) or running round the beads in bands. I asked if he would sell them. Yes, he might. The price? 8,000 yuan, or about £1,300. But, having said that, he really was not interested in selling as he needed them for protection. They guarded him against evil, illness, and injury.
When asked where such beads came from, the monk speculated that they were “found in the ocean.”

Next day in a street stall near the Jokhang Temple I bought some imitation dZi for the Pitt Rivers Museum, two of dark brown plastic with white line decorations, and two of black glazed porcelain with white glaze line patterns. The vendor did not appear to know where they were made, but offered these views about “real” dZi beads:

“They are worms. You find them in the ground. When you see them, they turn to stone. Their value depends on how many eyes they have. The most valuable ones have nine eyes. One like that may cost 10,000 yuan (£1,600), but they are very rare. Most cost 5,000 yuan.”

On another occasion in Lhasa I met a man with two dZi beads strung on a cord together with two large red coral beads and eighteen smaller red coral beads. One, 3.2 cm long, appeared to be a very dark brown hard polished stone with a white band round each end and a white eye inside a white circle in the centre. Rotating the bead revealed that there was another eye inside a circle on the other side. For this he wanted 1,500 yuan. The second dZi was the same size and similar in appearance, except that the two eyes were set off-centre and partially encircled by white lines. Asking price: 1,300 yuan.

By way of illustrating that these prices are not confined to Tibet’s capital, I found that at Kumbum Monastery near Xining in Qinghai Province the price for half a dZi, with the broken end rounded off and smoothly polished was 700 yuan or nearly £150. In 1992 in an Afghan shop in Vienna I found a dozen or so long-barrelled dZi-type beads of a kind which are sometimes known as pumtek. These have alternating black and white zig-zag lines circling the bead at right angles to the main axis. The asking price for half a broken one was £8, but the white areas looked muddy on all of them and, in general, the beads lacked a convincing appearance, giving the impression that a good wash in warm water and detergent would alter their appearance considerably.

One further dZi bead incident may be mentioned, this time from Peshawar. In an Afghan shop in Saddar Road in the cantonment I found two, both imitations, but better quality than any I had seen in Lhasa.

“These,” confided the shopkeeper, “come from Afghanistan. They are very rare and valuable. They will protect you from all illness and accident. They are alive, and when not being worn must be kept in a box of saffron powder. They live on this powder and if deprived of it for two or three months, they will die.”

The beads were of black and white glass, very skilfully made, with the glass applied over what appeared to be a kaolin core. I asked the price. The figure he quoted, at current exchange rates, was £1,400. Hearing this, I abruptly switched from English to Dari.

“They are made of glass,” I pointed out. “They are not alive and they don’t eat saffron powder. They are fakes.”

“No, no!” he said, unruffled by this new development. “I got them from an old man who came across the border from Jalalabad.” He leaned forward and tapped one of the beads for emphasis. “Paid a thousand rupees each for them! They are the real thing.” He rummaged round and got out some “dead” ones to prove his point. They were, to my eyes, merely poor quality imitations. The “live” ones had a shiny polished surface, the “dead” ones had a matt finish and a dull lustre.

An hour later in the Qissa Khwani Bazaar in the old city I purchased two examples of these glass dZi for the equivalent of £1 each, much to the disgust of one young bystander who, when at a safe distance from the vendor, remarked that I
polished surface, are perforated longitudinally, and bear surface patterns which we recognize as the work of a human hand.

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The beads were of black and white glass, very skillfully made, with the glass applied over what appeared to be a kaolin core. I asked the price. The figure he quoted, at current exchange rates, was £1,400. Hearing this, I abruptly switched from English to Dari.

“They are made of glass,” I pointed out. “They are not alive and they don’t eat saffron powder. They are fakes.”

“No, no!” he said, unruffled by this new development, “I got them from an old man who came across the border from Jalalabad.” He leaned forward and tapped one of the beads for emphasis. “Paid a thousand rupees each for them! They are the real thing.” He rummaged round and got out some “dead” ones to prove his point. They were, to my eyes, merely poor quality imitations. The “live” ones had a shiny polished surface, the “dead” ones had a matt finish and a dull lustre.

An hour later in the Qissa Khwani Bazaar in the old city I purchased two examples of these glass dZi for the equivalent of £1 each, much to the disgust of one young bystander who, when at a safe distance from the vendor, remarked that I
was being cheated and had I been more clever could have got them for half that price.

By way of comparison, in the Pitt Rivers Museum there is an imitation dZi (Accession no. 1927.10.25) which was acquired in Sikkim in the 1920s. It is of dark brown glass, partly translucent and partly opaque with lines and circles inlaid in white glass. It has seven eyes. It was obtained from a Lepcha and the description reads: "... imitating an old Indian barrel-shaped agate bead with white inlay."

Another barrel bead in the museum (Accession no. 1971.15.566), this time of dull brick-red opaque glass, has a dZi design painted on its surface in yellow. It was obtained by A. J. Arkell in November, 1934 "... from a pilgrim from Timbuctoo" at El Fasheer in the Sudan.

Technically, dZi beads form a special category within a much larger Asian group usually described as "etched agate" and the techniques thought to have been used to produce the patterns on them have been described by archaeologists in articles about "etched cornelian" beads.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary agate is "one of the semi-pellucid variegated chalcedonies, having the colours arranged in stripes or bands, or blended in clouds ..."

The same source tells us that chalcedony is "a crypto-crystalline sub-species of quartz ... having the lustre nearly of wax, and being either transparent or translucent. In modern lapidary work called variously agate, cornelian ..."

Cornelian or carnelian is, according to the OED "a variety of chalcedony, a semi-transparent quartz, of a deep dull red, flesh, or reddish white colour ..."

In other words, agate is a chalcedony. Chalcedony is a quartz, and cornelian is a variety of chalcedony.

In 1895 William W. Rockhill published his Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet in which he remarked that
"I have seen in certain portions of Tibet (Miri, near Shobando, for instance) the men wearing necklaces of coral beads and a substance which I believe is onyx, and which is called by them "dzी." He then refers the reader to his Diary of a journey which had appeared a year earlier, where he noted that:

"In the necklaces these Miri men wore I noticed, besides coral and agate beads, long cylindrical beads of a black and white stone, the white forming circles or bands, both longitudinal and circular. They said these beads were of dzī and were found in their country, and were very valuable, a well marked one being worth thirty or forty ounces of silver. The Chinese make imitation ones but they are easily detected, said my informants. I am inclined to think, however, that this substance is a composition, for I have never heard of agate or onyx so regularly marked. The son of the Miri Pönbo had a whole necklace made of these dzī."

In that same Diary (p. 103) Rockhill records a purchase of beads at Kumbum Monastery on March 8th, 1891 for the collection he was making for the Smithsonian:

"Today was a market-day at the temple and I bought a few odds and ends for my ethnological collection, among other things some large agate beads such as the T'u-fan and Fan-tz women wear on the cloth bands hanging down their backs and fastened to their hair. They come from the Tung-lu (Liao-tung, probably), and are called in the trade Han manao (Chinese cornelian?)."

These are probably not dzī, but it is a pity that he does not describe them.

Some other European travellers who followed the illustrious Rockhill observed dzī beads, a few even passed comment on them, but most failed to notice them at all. One who did was David MacDonald who travelled in Tibet in the 1920s. He noted that "along the cord by which the Gau is suspended are strung beads of agate and coral, the former being cigar-shaped a couple of inches long. If these agate beads have certain markings which are considered lucky they are very expensive indeed. Sometimes if genuine stones with these marks are not available, imitations are used."

In 1913 Dr Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) published his monograph on turquoise, much of which is devoted to a discussion of the term sē-sē. In his research into early Chinese and other manuscript references to the use and importance of turquoise he came across this term which, in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty (AD 7th to 10th centuries), is described as a valuable ornament, a kind of precious stone. As other writers had speculated that sē-sē was turquoise, Laufer, with a view to testing this idea, analyses their contributions both thoroughly and critically and goes on to turn up references to sē-sē in a number of other historical books and manuscripts. He concludes that sē-sē must be "a much scarcer and more valuable gem" than turquoise for in the Annals of the Five Dynasties (AD 10th century) it is recorded that "as regards the best quality of these beads, a single one is bartered for, or has the exchange value of, a noble horse." Laufer concludes that sē-sē cannot be turquoise, but is left unsure as to what it was that it might be, though he does arrive at some tentative conclusions.

I first read Laufer's paper when in search of information about the importance of turquoise in Tibetan culture. When I came to that part of his study where he introduces and discusses the term sē-sē it occurred to me that these might be dzī beads and the more I read, the more convinced
I became that this might be the answer to the problem which had puzzled him. But Dr Laufer was not an easy man to puzzle, particularly in regard to matters Oriental. He led four major expeditions to the Far East (1898-1899, 1901-1904, and then Tibet and China, 1908-1910, and finally China in 1923). In the course of these expeditions he acquired major ethnographic collections. He also was noted in the academic world for his remarkable linguistic skills. In addition to most Western European languages, he had a sound practical knowledge of Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian. In the light of all this, equating dZi with sé-sé, when Laufer did not do so, may be altogether too easy. It seems unlikely that Laufer was ignorant of the word dZi, or that he was unaware of the significance of dZi beads in Tibetan culture, though he does not discuss them. It is, however, curious that despite the laudable thoroughness and impeccable scholarship with which he examined Tibetan textiles, art, and attitudes toward turquoise he ignores dZi beads entirely. He even shows portraits of Tibetan women who are wearing some striking examples of dZi beads, but in the captions where he describes both dress and jewellery he makes no mention of the beads. This is all the more difficult to understand when we note that in making his field collections he actually purchased dZi beads and took them back to the museum in Chicago.

Laufer concludes that the term sé-sé is not a Chinese word and that it has been used at different times and in different regions of Greater Central Asia to refer to different precious stones, the term being borrowed to denote any beautiful and precious thing. He is of the opinion that in Iran and Afghani-

12.2 Close-up of the dZi beads, Cat. no. 455. See also Fig. 11, 12.
stan the term was used for the balas ruby of Badakhshan and in Tibet for the emerald. As regards China he writes "If I am allowed to express a personal opinion, I may say that this kind of sê-sê possibly refers to onyx," and he suggests that the word survives today in the Tibetan word ze. He refers the reader to p. 692 in W. W. Rockhill's Ethnology of Tibet. Then Laufer writes: "In regard to Tibet a plausible interpretation may be offered, and the Chinese transcription sê-sê referring to a jewel greatly prized by the ancient Tibetans seems to be traceable to a Tibetan word." At this point, having arrived very nearly at what seems to be the answer (onyx is, after all, a variety of quartz which is allied to agate) Laufer goes off on a new tack by suggesting that ze might refer to the emerald (cf. Chinese se-se).18

Even allowing for the fact that turquoise was a special interest of his, one might expect that dZi would have come rather forcibly to Laufer's attention when he came to discuss the price of a turquoise necklace which contained two or three dZi beads. For example in the caption for his Plate II, Woman from southern Tibet, he states that "... all the ornaments worn by this woman were acquired for the Field Museum," and here is his description of what she wears round her neck: "gold amulet box (gau), the surface being filled with a network of designs formed of gold filigree and inlaid with seven choice turquoises of first quality; necklace composed of large turquois, amber and coral beads ..."

Difficult as it often is to satisfactorily identify anything from even a good photograph, it is perfectly plain that the largest and most prominent beads visible in the picture are neither turquoise, amber nor coral. Two are dZi and the third appears to be of naturally banded agate. The "large turquois" is nowhere to be seen.17

From the evidence which Dr Laufer presents I am inclined to believe that sê-sê and dZi are synonymous. What gives me pause is that Dr Laufer must have had very good reasons for not arriving at the same conclusion. If the two are synonymous, it is particularly interesting to note how important and valuable these beads were considered to be, not only at an early period in Tibet, but also in neighbouring regions of Inner Asia, as shown by surviving records of early chroniclers and historians.

One thing appears to be certain: Ebbinghouse and Winsten are in error when they state that Laufer "was not personally acquainted with dZi and knew them only from others' reports as beads, possibly onyx, worn by some Tibetans."19

In 1932 K. de B. Codrington published a note on Tibetan Etched Agate Beads observing that according to Tibetan traders they are "truly natural beads, taken from the earth as they are, untouched by hands. They are of great antiquity, for
they are no longer found nowadays; hence their price."

He goes on to note that glass imitations are very common "and can be bought in the bazaars anywhere, even Calcutta." He concludes that the glass imitations are of Central European manufacture, long a major source of many types of beads found in Africa and Asia. This suggestion has not, as far as I know, been supported by subsequent research, except for the example of "Venetian glass copies in non-representational colors" illustrated by R. K. Liu, and the suggestion by the French traveller Migot that copies may have been produced in Germany (see below).

F. Spencer Chapman, an unusually astute observer who has provided us with full and accurate descriptions of so much of Tibetan material culture, had only this to say about dZi: "The charm-box is held by a short necklace of large stones, usually alternate corals and agate or black glass beads with wavy white bands".

Nearly two decades later André Migot did rather better when he wrote:

"The women's best necklaces offer a good guide to the Tibetan taste in jewellery: enormous lumps of blood-red coral: lovely blue turquoises: huge beads of amber: 'Tibetan pearls', locally known as zi, which are a kind of oblong-shaped agate, olive-gray or café au lait in colour but laced with black or chocolate-coloured veins which generally have a white border and are always roughly circular, so that the stone has something of the same aspect as a human eye. The value of these so-called pearls is determined by their conformation and by the pattern of the veins. The commonest type are oblong, comprising (as it were) two eyes with one ring round each eyeball; if there are two rings, and especially if one of them is slightly scalloped, the stone's value is greatly increased.

"These stones are very hard: a knife makes no impression on them. The best are worth a great deal of money. Unfortunately there are a lot of fakes about. A German traveller took home some genuine specimens and had them copied and manufactured in bulk: so that today Tibet is flooded with imitation 'pearls', all made (in Germany) of plastic."

Meanwhile in 1933 Ernest Mackay had published an article on Decorated Carnelian Beads with a view to reporting how the white line designs had been applied to the surface. In 1930 in Sehwan, Sind on the Indus River about 200 km North North-East of Karachi he had an opportunity to observe the process being demonstrated by a local craftsman who had learned the technique as a young apprentice but had not practised it for some 50 years because of lack of demand for the product.

In brief summary the active ingredient employed was washing soda mixed with water to form a fluid which was then applied to the polished surface of the carnelian with a reed pen. It was allowed to dry before the stone was buried in the embers of a fire which was fanned gently for some 5 minutes. The stone was then removed, allowed to cool, polished briefly with a cloth, and the process was complete, leaving a permanent white design on the red stone. This technique calls to mind Berthold Laufer's quote from a Chinese author who wrote that "the sê-sê circulating at our time are all made from burnt stone."

Mackay subsequently carried out his own experiments and found the results relatively easy to duplicate using carbonate of soda and a charcoal brazier. Those interested in the technical details are referred to Mackay's article.

Etched carnelian beads are of interest here only in so far as they may help to explain (a) the
techniques employed to produce designs on the surface of the beads and (b) to provide evidence that the techniques required are of some antiquity. Geographically and archaeologically these beads belong to South and South-West Asia, rather than to Tibet and Central Asia. Cornelians are, moreover, red in colour and therefore quite unlike dZi. I have never seen etched cornelians either in Tibet or incorporated in Tibetan ornaments in museum collections, but it does seem that the designs on “real” dZi beads have probably been produced using similar techniques.

The techniques required to produce “etched cornelian” beads of the types which have been found at archaeological sites from the Indus to the Tigris were known at a comparatively early time. Mackay mentions the Third Millennium BC.28 L. S. Dubin gives a date of 2,500 BC for examples from the Indus Valley.29

In an article entitled “Etched Carnelian Beads” Horace Beck has pointed out that “there are two main types of these beads. The first type which is much the more usual has the pattern made with white lines on a background of the natural colour of the stone. The second type has the whole surface of the stone whitened and then a design in black made upon it, the whitened surface of the stone forming a white background”.28

He goes on to explain that:

“Beads of type I are made by drawing a pattern on the stone with a solution of alkali (generally soda). The stone is then heated until the alkali enters into it, thus making a permanent white design.

“In beads of type II the whitening of the stone is carried to a great depth and over the whole surface, and a black pattern is made on top of the white”.29

In his experimental work Beck found that reproducing the black designs on the whitened surface of Type II beads was most effectively achieved by the use of a solution of copper nitrate.

It would be interesting to discover by experimentation whether the Type II bead may not be produced on white or cream-coloured agate using a wax-resist technique. This may be altogether impractical for various technical reasons of which I am unaware, but in theory at least, it would be much simpler (given that the desired white pattern is one of lines and circles) to produce a Type II bead by drawing the desired design on a plain white agate bead with hot wax and then immersing the bead in a copper nitrate solution prior to heating. The heating would remove the wax, fix the black areas treated with copper nitrate solution, and leave the white pattern. In other words, instead of painting a very complicated design on the bead with a copper nitrate solution, one could achieve the same effect by drawing a much simpler design in hot wax. One foreseeable problem with this technique could be an undesirable flow of wax over the areas treated with copper nitrate at the onset of the firing process. This might be avoided by threading treated beads on a wire and suspending them in a pre-heated chamber at temperatures sufficiently high to vaporize the wax.

Among the illustrations published by Beck is a dZi type bead which he describes as “a very ingenious imitation etched carnelian” said to have come from a Tang grave in China (AD 7th to 10th century). Beck considers that the bead “is not made of a silicate stone, but of a soft white crystal, probably antigonite serpentine, a white specimen, and the pattern is put on with a brown stain”.30 He goes on to say that “there are three similar beads which I believe to be of painted serpentine, and not etched agate, on a Tibetan costume in the Indian Museum connected with the Victoria and Albert Museum, whilst in another
case in the same museum are some genuine etched agates from Tibet. 31

In one of the earliest published discussions of dZi which I have seen R. Nebesky-Wojkowtitz describes various types of the beads, records Tibetans views regarding their nature, origin, and properties, and notes how they are used as ornaments: "in a type of necklace known as gZi shal four or five gZi are strung together with several red coral beads; and in a type of necklace known as Gau shal they are used to decorate the strings which carry a charm box (Gau)“. 32

In regard to their Tibetan value he notes that "A high number of 'eyes', deep colours and a shiny surface increase the value of the gZi," remarking that the high prices which the beads command ("£30 being paid for one of average quality") have caused porcelain imitations to be made "in India or China". He notes "a certain preference ... for the gZi with nine 'eyes' as they are supposed to protect the owner against dangers such as apoplexy ... harm by weapons ... and the unlucky influence of inauspicious days". 33

Some further descriptions of dZi were published by Eleanor Olson in 1961: "Zi bead, T. gzi, pronounced zi or si. Quartz bead of circular cross section tapering slightly at both ends; smooth brown (café au lait) and cream-colored linear design with seven circles or 'eyes'. The bead is beautifully made, finely bored, and roughly polished. The stone itself, under the brown surface, is cream-colored, like the design. This has been revealed by a recent accidental breakage. It appears that the brown pigment was applied with extraordinary skill leaving the pattern in reserve. The surface is finely fractured". 34

An illustration of this bead is shown in the Newark Museum catalogue (IV, Plate XXXIX: 106).

Olson goes on to note that:

"Zi beads are found in all parts of Tibet from Kham to Ladakh, and in Bhutan. The people pick them up in the grasslands, or while cultivating the earth. Many are of black or olive gray with white circles and lines. They are highly prized and generally believed to be of heavenly origin. The 'eyes' number from one to twelve and the beads are up to three inches long. The number of eyes, depth of color and glossiness of surface determine their value. The women combine zi beads with red corals and pearls, and often wear them on the necklaces from which charm boxes are suspended. Some legends suggest that the beads came in prehistoric times from the direction of Iran or the 'Empire of the Arabs' where the Pön faith is held to have originated". 35

The Newark Museum also has two imitation dZi beads described as being made of a "black glassy substance" which were purchased in Darjeeling in 1955. The catalogue comment on this refers to "the importation of cheap imitations from India, China, and Germany" but gives no reference to the source of this information. 36

In recent years there have appeared some articles and notes on dZi beads in the American journal Ornament. 37 The authors of these have examined and evaluated various observations made by earlier writers. Robert Liu was the first to examine in any detail the types of imitation dZi which commonly turn up in markets in Himalayan regions, other parts of South Asia, and in the hands of dealers and private collectors nearly everywhere. 38 He points out that anyone who can distinguish plastic and/or glass from stone will be able to detect most imitation dZi as imitations in stone "are very rare".

Having noted that "a rather mixed bag of bead types" may be described as dZi, at least outside
Tibet, he raised preliminary questions with a view to establishing diagnostic criteria for the identification of such beads. He considers both banded agate and etched agate types and also notes that surface finish may be an important consideration; some beads have highly polished surfaces, while on others the white line patterns are raised and rather rough due to alkali residue. He considers that on the polished dZi this may have been removed, or that the patterns may have been achieved using a different “etching” technique.

Liu concludes “that etched agates with banding or polygonal cells are most likely ancient beads, originating in India. Those etched agates that are considered tzi beads … are probably of a much more recent vintage, possibly as late as the 19th-20th C, and made in India”. ⁶⁹

Thus in 1952 Nebesky-Wojkowitz concluded that dZi were probably from Tibet and of prehistoric date, though he did emphasize that “until more extensive archaeological work has been carried out in Tibet, nothing definite can be said on the origin, dating, etc. of the gZi”. ⁷⁰ And then in 1980 Robert Liu suggested that dZi may be recent creations, “possibly as late as the 19th-20th C and made in India”. Though they are stated with admirable brevity, I find myself unable to follow his reasons for reaching such a conclusion. What he says is as follows:

“This … line of reasoning is based upon the negligible numbers of etched beads so far found or excavated in China in comparison to the much larger numbers from India, and that these so-called ‘tzi’ patterns occur only in Tibet and now Nepal/India because of Tibetan refugees”. ⁷¹

If I understand Dr Liu correctly, he is suggesting that the beads, originally made in India in the 19th century, were traded into Tibet, eagerly adopted by Tibetans as desirable possessions, and have now been dispersed back into Nepal and India by the spread of Tibetan refugees since 1959.

This is an interesting idea but I am not convinced that a relatively large-scale sophisticated production of the kind required could have flourished in 19th century India without having attracted the attention of some British observer. Dr Liu’s suggestion also ignores the information provided by G. Roerich to Nebesky-Wojkowitz to the effect that Tibetans “had found a number of gZi – together with arrowheads – when they accidentally discovered ancient burials [in north-eastern Tibet]”. ¹² This last, of course, could be part of the mythology surrounding dZi and may therefore perhaps be discounted in the absence of other proof.

Ebbinghouse and Winsten examine Liu’s views on the dating and origin of dZi and also disagree with his suggestion that they originated in India and are no older than the 19th century, remarking that “there is a large, though not conclusive body of evidence to suggest that dZi are of Tibetan manufacture and date from the prehistoric period in that country”. ¹³

In their classification of dZi beads they identify four characteristic criteria: (a) the technique used to apply pattern, (b) the pattern itself, (c) the shape of the bead, and (d) the surface finish on the bead.

With regard to (a) they adopt the Type I (white design on natural stone), Type II (black design on whitened stone), system suggested by Beck for cornelians (1933) and add a Type III (black pattern on natural stone), as well as two variations, A and B, the first being a combination of Types I and II, and the second a combination of Types I and III.

According to Ebbinghouse and Winsten “certain patterns found on etched agate beads are universally recognized by Tibetans as belonging
to 'pure' dZi. These include besides the familiar 'eye' patterns ... a circle and a square ... a double wave form ..., and others'.

Their informants commented on the fact that a good dZi should have a "healthy" shape. "Beads which are too thin ('anemic looking') or are not round in cross section are less desirable".

A highly polished surface, also mentioned by Liu, was singled out by Ebbinghouse and Winsten's informants as a desirable characteristic, together with "deep colors". "Most prefer as close to a true black and white as possible, although some prefer a deep rich brown". It is considered a fault if translucence is detected when the bead is held up to the sun. Chipped or broken beads are inferior as it is considered that their protective powers have been diminished.

Liu pointed out that within the etched agate category those beads which are considered to be dZi have a polished surface. Ebbinghouse and Winsten suggest that this result is obtained by using the technique classed as "Type II", i.e., by the application of a black design on the whitened stone surface.

When it comes to determining which dZi are "real" or "pure" the final word must rest with the Tibetans and the answer to that can only be, any bead which is accepted by them as "real" or "pure".

Ebbinghouse and Winsten concluded that Type II etched agate beads are most likely to meet all the criteria laid down by Tibetans for "real" or "pure" dZi. Admitting that it can be very difficult to distinguish between Type I and Type II beads, they point out that the best way is to examine broken beads. Here they "failed to observe any broken dZi beads which would have been acknowledged as 'pure' dZi which were not Type II etched agate beads".

Altogether the authors examined "several hundred specimens" but presumably only an unknown proportion of these were broken. Some Type I dZi are also "real" or "pure" but, according to Ebbinghouse and Winsten, these are much less common.

In describing the characteristics of Type II beads Ebbinghouse and Winsten use the phrase "Black design on whitened background", not "black design on white background", and, following Beck, they explain that in Type II beads the entire surface has been whitened by application of an alkali solution and subsequent heating and then the design has been applied using, e.g., a copper nitrate solution. Result: dark design on whitened surface. But the authors go on to say that "the agate from which dZi beads were made usually ranges in color from almost pure white to a light yellow brown". This would seem to indicate that the first step described earlier for the making of Type II dZi (whitening the surface of the stone) was not necessary and the craftsman could simply start with the application of whatever solution he was using to produce the dark pattern.

The qualities which Tibetans look for in evaluating dZi vary from one part of the country to another. These qualities include colour, whether the bead is opaque or translucent, and the nature of the patterns. Thus a dZi considered second-rate in one area may be highly esteemed in another. Apparently, however, all are agreed, as Nebesky-Wojkowitz noted in 1952, that deep colours and a smooth highly polished surface are desirable.

Various authors have stressed the importance of dZi in Tibetan culture. There appears to be universal agreement that, according to Tibetan ideas, these beads are highly-prized, much sought-after, and most desirable possessions. The beads are regarded as not only splendidly beautiful to look at, but as valuable protection for the individual. My own limited enquiries in Tibet bear this out.
The earlier writers (Rockhill, Codrington, Beck) all mention with pardonable surprise the cost of acquiring dZi. As far as I am aware, the first writer to have looked beyond considerations of cost, scarcity, and the puzzle of origin was Nebesky-Wojkowitz. In his article “Prehistoric Beads from Tibet”, he provides brief information regarding Tibetan views on the importance of dZi. These data were presumably obtained from Tibetan traders in Kalimpong, though the sources of his information are not always made clear.

In addition to naming and describing different types of dZi Nebesky-Wojkowitz reported Tibetan views on the ability of some, especially those with nine “eyes”, to afford both protection to the wearer and to function in a healing capacity, the idea that they are or were natural living things, and to recount some myths regarding their origins. He went on to say that “besides being reputed to protect their owner against various kinds of evil, the gZi are credited with strong healing qualities and are therefore sometimes ground and pounded together with powdered pearls, silver and gold dust, various herbs, etc. and made into highly prized pills (Ril byi), which are taken as a remedy for a great number of diseases.”

As to their place of origin, Nebesky-Wojkowitz is of the opinion that the “most plausible” Tibetan legend is the one indicating that they came “from the direction” of Iran, or the “Arab world”. Certainly, as the archaeological evidence shows, the technique of making etched agate beads was known in the Tigris-Euphrates region at an early period, but as far as I am aware, no dZi beads have ever been found outside what one might call Greater Central Asia. Indeed, it is not clear to me from the published sources I have seen if any dZi have ever been found and recorded in an archaeological context anywhere.

In the light of the frequently-asserted importance of dZi in Tibetan culture it is interesting to note that in his book Tibet, its History, Religion and People the Dalai Lama’s older brother Thubten Jigme Norbu makes no mention of them. There is even a section in the book devoted to the drawings of Lobzang Tendzin, a Tibetan artist, who has provided seven pages of accurate line drawings showing Tibetan women’s costumes, both front and back views. The artist has paid particular attention to every detail, including jewellery. No less than ninety dZi beads, each carefully drawn, appear in these illustrations, and yet the only comment in the captions is “Their jewelry is mainly of amber, turquoise and coral” (p. 82). It is understandable that a European traveller, particularly one with no special interest in material culture, might fail to detect the mysterious dZi, it is quite another thing for a Tibetan, writing about Tibetan culture, to omit mention of them.

In the meantime, the brief summary account of dZi beads given by N. Gonpo Rong in Der Weg zum Dach der Welt is perhaps worth quoting, as it allows a Tibetan to have the last word:


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NOTES:

2. Personal communication.
3. This is interesting in the light of Schuyler Cammann’s comment that “probably because they live so far from the oceans, the Tibetans customarily think of the sea as the source of wealth, and greatly value its products.” See his *Trade through the Himalayas*.
4. These are very similar in appearance to the *dZi* bead which is illustrated in Diog’s *Scherpaland, my Shangri-La*: 555.
5. Since writing the above I have seen an article by Peter Francis on Pumtek Beads in *Ornament*, 18, 4: 104-5. Some of his illustrations closely resemble the beads I saw in Vienna.
11. Dr Berthold Laufer of Chicago’s Field Museum of Natural History was born in Cologne in 1871 and was educated in Berlin and Leipzig. He went to the United States in 1898 and became Curator of Asiatic Ethnology at the Field Museum. He died on September 14th, 1935. See *The China Journal*, XXI, 4: 148-9.
12. Plate II “Woman from Southern Tibet”; Plate IV “Tibetan woman wearing chaplet set with turquoises.”
13. See note 17 below.
14. Laufer, op. cit.: 45
15. Ibid.: 52.
16. According to Nehesky-Wojkowitz in Prehistoric Beads from Tibet: 131, the Tibetan word *gZi* refers both to the beads under discussion and also to “brightness” or “splendour”. This agrees with the entry given by Sarat Chandra Das in his *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*: 1103.
17. Having said this, there are one or two unexplained discrepancies. I base my remark about Laufer’s purchase of *dZi* on his own statement in the caption to Plate II in his monograph: “All ornaments worn by this woman were acquired for the Field Museum …” This remark conveys the impression that Laufer knew the woman, purchased her jewellery, and possibly even took the photograph. But the identical photograph appears above the caption “A Bhotia woman” in a souvenir album of photographs of Darjeeling taken by J. Burlington Smith sometime during the first quarter of this century. Furthermore the lady in Laufer’s Plate III “A Tibetan woman in Festival Dress”, is also seen in J. Burlington Smith’s album though here, although it is the same woman and the same sitting, it has been printed from a different negative. Did Laufer purchase both the photographs and the jewellery in Darjeeling? Who borrowed the picture, and from whom? If the photographs were taken by Smith it could explain why Laufer does not mention the *dZi* beads. But why would Laufer then say that he had purchased “all ornaments worn by this woman” for the museum? Perhaps it was Smith who “borrowed” the photographs from Laufer without giving credit. Certainly there is one photograph in the album which Smith did not take, and which he publishes without crediting the source. That is the portrait of the Dalai Lama which was taken by Sir Charles Bell in the 1920s. A similar original negative is among Sir Charles’ photographs in the archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.
19. *Man*, XXXII, Correspondence item no. 156: 127.
25. *Notes on Turquoises in the East*: 34.
26. Ibid.: 143.
29. Ibid.: 385.
30. Ibid.: 393.
31. Ibid.
32. Nehesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit.: 131-2. Dr Nehesky-Wojkowitz provides a summary of his 1952 article in his book *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*: 505-7. The *dZi* heads which he illustrates in his article are identified as being from Prince Peter’s collection, now in the National Museum, Copenhagen, but they were not found among the museum’s collections.
33. Ibid.: 132.
34. *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection, and other Lamaist Material in the Newark Museum: Textiles, Rugs, Needlework, Costumes, Jewelry.*
36. Ibid.: 69.
38. Liu, op. cit.: 56-8.
39. Ibid.: 58.
41. Liu, op. cit.: 58.
44. Ibid.: 21.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., I: 21.
49. Ibid.: 22.
50. Müller & Raunig: 353.
Needle Cases

"Throughout northern and eastern Tibet most people carry a needlecase (kabrabon) suspended to a silver or brass chatelaine frequently of elaborately workmanship, to which is attached a short broad leather strap, through which the belt or sash passes... These needlecases are usually flat, bell-shaped, and made of red leather. The interior case can be pulled out by means of a strap or tassel from the cover, which is open along the lower edge".

The type of needle case described above serves to illustrate the ingenious ways in which minor technical problems may be solved using available raw materials and local skills. As needles must be imported and are often difficult to replace away from the towns, they are carefully guarded. The problem was – in the days before plastic or aluminium screw-top pill containers and discarded 35 mm film cassette canisters – how to keep track of such small and valuable tools? Using leather, light canvas, horn, or empty brass rifle cartridge cases, the problem was neatly solved, as the following descriptions show.

13.1 Cat. no. 488. Needle case.

488. 13.1 Needle case

Brass and copper needle case with cover and three compartments. Made of brass tubing or empty rifle cartridge cases held together by copper strips and end pieces braised onto the brass. A leather thong passes through copper loops on either side of the case and cover so that the cover cannot be lost. The leather thong then passes through the square hole in a Chinese cash and when the thong is pulled, the coin slips down to hold the cover firmly in place preventing the contents from spilling out. When opened, each tube is found to contain a section of hollow cane to take the needles. These project up above the top of the larger bottom half of the case for 3-4 cm and the cover must be slipped down over them, providing greater security for the contents.

From missionaries who served on the borders of Tibet.

Height: 10.5 cm; width: 3 cm

Accession no. C.2091

489. 13.2 Needle case

A brass and copper needle case consisting of six brass tubes made in two equal sections and held together by copper strips, one serving as the cover for the
other. When fitted together these form just two compartments for needles, as the centre tube of the three forming the bottom half of the case contains a tightly fitting wooden dowel which projects up 25 cm so that the cover must be fitted down over it, leaving only the tubes on either side free to contain needles. The dowel serves to hold the two halves of the case together, but additional security is provided by six loops, four of copper and two of brass, on the sides of the case, designed to take a cord or leather thong which can be threaded through, pulled tight, and tied at the top, thus preventing the two halves of the case from separating. The brass tubes are decorated, on one side only, with twelve round bobeche patterns, two on each of the six sections of brass tubing.

Described by J. Munthe-Brun as an "amulet case."

Accession no. C.1315

Ref.: Rockhill, 1893: Plate 8, 694 and Müller & Rønning: 179.

Yet another needle case is R.270c (Cat. no. 159). It is described in the R.296 series under Costumes and Accessories.

Tinder and Flint Pouches

491. 1.3.3 Tinder pouch

Metal-bound brown leather pouch, in new condition, for fire-making materials, with iron ring at top for belt-fastening, built-in steel striker at bottom, and three decorated silver plates riveted to pouch cover. The steel, pointed at either end, is 16 cm long and 7 mm thick. Of the three silver plates, two are roughly rectangular (4.5 x 4.5 cm) and the third is round (4 cm in diameter). Each has a bird motif with vine and flower background. The bird on the round plate in the centre is a phoenix, that on the triangular plate to the right, a peacock, and the third bird is a peahen. The pouch contains a quantity of partially unravelled red woolen homespun for tinder. A length of very dark green and pale green silk cord and a short length of red ribbon is tied to the iron ring.

Length: 11.5 cm, width: 6 cm

Accession no. R.822

492. 1.3.4 Personal accessories

A collection of accessories tied together by narrow strips of cowhide, possibly worn as a belt, or attached to a belt.

a. Knife and scabbard. Overall length of knife, 22.3 cm; handle: 10.5 cm; width of blade, 1.5 cm. Blade has two parallel grooves running down from handle nearly to the top, on one side only. Handle made of black horn in its lower half, brass and iron above, with a rectangle of aluminium set in the centre of the brass part and, in the centre of this, a round brass collar to hold a stone (garnet). The scabbard, 15.5 cm long, is of brass with a copper section, 2.5 cm wide, toward the top.

Length: 22.3 cm
b. Leather pouch for fire-making accessories with steel set the length of the bottom edge. The leather flap is decorated with four brass plates: two birds (peacock), one fish, and one round flower-like emblem. The built-in steel handle is 0.2 cm wide, 13.5 cm long and 0.8 cm thick. The pouch, steel, and brass decorations are much worn. Pouch contains tinder and pieces of calcédony/ chert for striking sparks on the steel. The wear on the steel shows that the owner was right-handed. The top of the pouch is concave in shape and has an iron strip decorated with incised geometrical designs running the full length of the flap. There are two rings set in the top and through these there runs a bent piece of heavy wire which serves as a fastening for the leather thongs that attach the pouch to wearer’s belt.

Overall length: 13.5 cm; height: 6.7 cm

c. Carved horn needle case with rawhide cover on lower half and a matching rawhide sliding top on the other. Both cover and sliding top are attached to leather thongs which serve as a belt fastening. When the leather top is slipped off, the black hollow carved horn is revealed. There is one needle in the case. A good example of the neat, serviceable containers which the Tibetans make for small personal items.

d. Two iron awls with wooden handles made in such a way that the handle of one serves as the case for the blade of the other. The wooden handles are oval in section and the awls are set off centre. When the awls are laid side by side with one handle to the left and the other to the right, each awl can be slipped into the handle of the other. In order to prevent them from being lost or pulling apart two holes have been cut at an angle in the side of each handle so that they meet and emerge through the butt. Through these holes pass leather thongs which run from the butt of one handle through the butt of the other, one thong passing up one side of the case and the other up the other side. When the awl case is closed the thongs can be pulled tight, tied to the wearer’s belt, and the awls are safe from loss. The awls are 5-5.5 cm long. The wooden handles are 6.5-7 cm long.

Overall length: 14 cm

e. A thimble made from a section cut from just below the tip of a cow’s horn. Unlike the other accessories in this collection, this appears new and unused. The depressions to take the head of the needle appear to have been made by a modern drill.

Height: 2.2 cm; diameter: 2.5 cm

f. Tip of antelope horn. Colour black, with natural ribs. A hole drilled through the horn approximately halfway down its length takes a thong by which it can be tied to the wearer’s belt. The tip shows no signs of wear. Use unclear.

Length: 10.5 cm

g. Round cast brass amulet, convex on one side, concave on the other. The convex side is smooth and undecorated. The concave side shows twelve animals, symbolizing the different months of the year, set in a circle round the centre, which is marked off into nine squares, each with a number. These are the numbers which make up the magic square:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are considered auspicious as the sum of any three of the numbers, across, down, or diagonally, is 15. In China this magic square has been traced back to the 4th century, when it was regarded as
a symbol not only for China, but the whole universe.

The outer rim is decorated with symbols. A small ring on the rim takes a thong for belt fastening.

Diameter: 5 cm

Accession no. R.316 a-g

493. 13.6 Tinder pouch

A leather tinder pouch with brass and copper decoration, a brass loop for belt attachment, and a steel striker set in the bottom. The front flap of the pouch has a diamond-shaped copper decoration, 1.7 cm square, set in the centre, held in place by an iron rivet which also serves on the underside of the flap to secure an iron hook for closing the pouch. Two triangular decorations in brass openwork are attached by iron rivets to the lower right and lower left corners of the pouch flap. A piece of coarse red-dyed woven material has been placed under each of these so that the red colour would show through the open work. Little of the red cloth remains under the decoration on the right. The right and left edges of the pouch have been strengthened by placing a piece of sheet brass c. 3 x 3.5 cm in size on each side of the pouch, folding it round the end, and securing it with iron rivets. A strip of brass has then been laid on top of these two end pieces across the width of the pouch on the front and back and secured with iron rivets.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 8.5 cm; width: 11 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm

Accession no. B.2991

494. 13.5 Tinder pouch

A leather tinder pouch with brass loop for belt attachment, brass decorations.
and a steel striker set in the bottom. A brass plate 7 mm wide and 8.5 cm long has been set across the top edge of the pouch for strength and decoration. Two iron cotter pins to hold a U-shaped brass handle have been inserted through holes in this plate and down through the top of the leather flap below where their ends have been bent over to secure them. The front of the flap is decorated with an openwork rectangle of brass 3.2 cm wide and 9.5 cm long which has been roughly cut with diamond shapes over its entire surface. Under the flap the pouch itself is edged with plain brass strip. Front and back, the end pieces on the right and left having been folded round from front to back to strengthen the pouch. The steel striker is decorated with foil patterns hammered into the metal.

J. Munthe-Brun

Ass. no.: 11.5 cm; height: 9 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. C.1346

Writing Equipment and Materials

13.5 Cat. no. 494. Tinder pouch.

13.6 Cat. no. 493. Tinder pouch.

496. Pen case

Iron container with cap, resembling a sheathed dagger, but both “hilt” and “scabbard” are hollow and empty. Probably a pen case for a scribe, secretary, or official. When the cap is removed the

are to take the cord which fastens the two parts together. Inside, the case is stoppered by a wooden dowel. There is a quantity of grey powder inside. No pen or other writing materials.

Length: 37.5 cm; diameter: 1.5 cm

Accession no. R.162

495. 13.7 Pen case

Chased silver tubular pen case with dome-shaped ends. The silver decoration is in the form of elaborate swirling vine and leaf pattern amongst which are Chinese characters in gold. At the end of the cap is a metal band and this is matched by a band of the case. These
number 81 can be seen, engraved toward the top end of the case. Cap is 12.2 cm long, case is 31.5 cm long overall. When cap is slipped into place the overall length of the closed case is 36.5 cm. Both the case and its cap have been decorated with a twisted vine pattern made by cutting away the metal so as to bring out the pattern by removing the spaces in between. At the top of the case is a small rigid iron ring which, when the cap is in place, matches a similar ring at the bottom of the cap so that the two can be secured by a cord or thing. The back of the cap and case are also decorated with twisted gold and vine pattern, but little of the design has been made with colored red lines.

Length: 36.5 cm

Ref.: Rockhill: Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet: Plate 29 between pp. 204-1

Accession no. R.662 a-b

13.8 Writing tablets

Five painted wooden writing tablets held together by a 7.7 cm wide leather band. The ends are rounded and the edges are of red lacquer. Three of the tablets have black lacquer writing surfaces on both sides; the other two have only one writing surface each, the other side being decorated with long flowers and leaves on a gold lacquered background. These two, with their decorated surfaces, are the top and bottom pieces of the set. In
498. Tibetan paper

Samples of Tibetan paper consisting of nine sheets altogether. Not seen.

Obtained in Sikkim

Dimensions: 65 x 60 cm

Accession no. C.2087

499. 13.9 Mirror

A hand mirror with a very pale brown slightly curved jade handle with dragon head, lizard, and lotus carved in high relief. The mirror is round and is of modern Chinese or European manufacture. The back of the mirror is entirely covered with decoration. In the centre is a carved round disc of palest green jade 5.2 cm in diameter and c. 0.5 cm thick. In the centre of this is a hole 1.2 cm in diameter. Down in this is a jade wheel with X-shaped spokes which moves freely round in a groove in the disc. It is a captive piece, having been carved from the same piece of jade and carved in situ in such a way that, while it moves freely, it cannot be removed. The remainder of the back of the mirror is covered with decorations set on a layer of fine gold-coloured wire mesh. The jade disc is set
in a gold strip bent into a circle and held in place by a twisted gold-coloured wire circle set on top of the fine wire mesh. All round the jade disc are circles of small dark blue and light blue enamelled flower shapes and ju-i (Precious Jewel symbol). There is also a circle of brass shou (Long Life symbol, Chinese). Each circle is 1.2 cm high. Between each of these are round polished stones c. 6-7 mm in diameter, alternating green (jade) and pale pink (crystal). There are twelve stones and twelve shou. Part of the jade surface on the mirror side of the handle is covered with gold onto which have been applied decorations in dark blue, light blue, and dark purplish red enamel.

Length: 25 cm; diameter: 13 cm
Accession no. R.695

500. Comb

Double comb of wood.
Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.
Dimensions: 8.2 x 7.6 cm
Accession no. C.2065

501. Comb

A bamboo comb, long, narrow, and flat in shape, with thirteen teeth at one end, the teeth arranged with the shortest ones in the centre, forming a crescent-shaped edge. Not seen.
Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 19.5 cm
Accession no. B.2996

502. 13, 10 Medical instruments

A medical instrument used to apply heat to a patient’s skin in selected places as a remedy for pain. The instrument consists of four separate rods of iron and brass. Two of these are the actual instruments and the other two are the handles in which these instruments are inserted. One instrument has a perforated flower-shaped disc at one end. The circular hole in the centre of this “flower” is used to mark the exact spot which is to receive the heat treatment. The second instrument, a rod of iron, rectangular in section with a 4 cm long tip which has been bent at right angles to the rod, is heated in a fire and, when deemed sufficiently hot, is inserted in its handle and the tip is applied to the patient’s skin through the locating hole. The handle on R.456 is an iron rod, square in section, with three brass decorations: a five-pronged thunderbolt symbol at one end, a faceted brass collar at the other, and a Makara head near the centre. Length: 22 cm. For more than half its length this rod is hollow so that it can receive the shank of the instrument with its locating hole. The instrument itself is an iron rod, square in section and straight except for a 4 cm long section which has been bent upwards at 90 degrees for 2 cm, then bent again at 90 degrees for 4 cm where a brass Makara head has been placed, and then bent down for 2 cm before straightening out to end in the round “flower” with its locating hole. The handle of the other half of the instrument has been made in the same way and is similar in every respect.

From Mads Bryld.
Length, R.456 a-b: 33 cm
Length, R.457 a-b: 36 cm
Ref.: Müller & Raunig: 351; Parfionovitch. 1992, 1: illus. 34, 239-40
Accession nos. R.456 a-b and R.457 a-b

503. Medicine box

A triangular box with lid made out of sheet iron, of a kind used by lamas as a medicine box. The box has been made out of a flat piece of sheet iron, the sides having been folded up at right angles and the joins brazed at either end of the base of the triangle. The top edge of the sides has been folded over toward the inside of the box to form a lip or rim 6-7 mm wide. A hole has been drilled in the centre of that side of the box which forms the base of the triangle and a cotter pin inserted to hold a leather thong for fastening to wearer’s belt. The lid is a triangular piece of sheet iron, measuring 12.7 cm on each side, made so as to slide into place under the lip or rim on the two sides of the triangle. In the centre of the lid is an X-shaped brass decoration held in place by an iron rivet and a copper washer. On the underside of the lid the end of the iron rivet has been pushed through an iron strip 8 mm wide and 4.9 cm long. The end of the iron shank has then been hammered flat to hold the iron strip in place; possibly intended as a device to help hold the lid shut, as the iron strip can be moved to the right or left by rotating the X-shaped brass decoration, but there is nothing for
13.10 Cat. no. 502
Medical instruments.

the strip to slot into and, in any case, the lid slides firmly into place under the rim. The metal strip is also too loose on the shank to be an effective latch. A nail set inside the box in the apex of the triangle projects outward at right angles to the sides for 2 cm into the box. It helps hold the apex of the triangular lid in place as the top of the lid slides over the nail and is held up firmly against the rims on either side.

Height: 3.7-4 cm; length of each side: 13.5-14 cm
Accession no. R.148

Metal Boxes

504. Silver box
A silver box with lid. Not seen.

Height: 3.5 cm; length: 11.3 cm; width: 8.3 cm
Accession no. R.656

505. Silver box
Silver box with hinged lid. The edges of both lid and box are decorated with rows of swastikas. Top of lid and bottom of box are raised and rounded. The bottom has incised decorations of flowers with a large swastika set in a frame in the centre. The lid has been fashioned in high relief with a Naga on either side of a victory banner set above a lotus. The outer edge of the lid is decorated with a border of lotus petals. The number 44 has been engraved inside the box on the left end.

Height: 3.7 cm; length: 10 cm; width: 6.4 cm
Accession no. R.657

506. Silver box
Silver box with hinged lid. The top, sides, and ends are covered with repoussé decoration. The lid bears what appears to be a Makara, a mythological sea-monster symbolizing the life-giving power of water. Outside this is a border all round the top of the lid of flowers and leaves. On the front of the box are what look like two dogs. The ends of the box are decorated with butterflies and flowers. On the back are depicted two birds in the midst of flowers. The bottom of the box is plain.

Height: 3.7 cm; length: 9.5 cm; width: 6.7 cm
Accession no. R.658

507. Silver box
Silver cigarette case. Entire top of lid is covered with leaf and vine decorations with some flowers, and in a central rectangle, a dragon, all in repoussé. The bottom of the case is completely covered with incised decorations with a phoenix in the centre against a background of clouds, with leaf, vine, and flower border. Fine workmanship and materials.

Height: 1.4 cm; length: 12 cm; width: 7.5 cm
Accession no. R.659
508. Silver box

A silver box with gilded areas on some features of the lid decoration. The quality of the workmanship and the materials used is such as to make Cat. nos. 509, 511, and 512 appear to be poor imitations. Here one can see the model they had in mind. The central figure on the lid is a phoenix. On either side are deer representing those who heard Lord Buddha preach in the forest. Two parallel rows of flower symbols, alternately in gold and silver, cover all four sides of the box. There is a large swastika on the bottom. Hinged lid.

Height: 4.5 cm; length: 14.5 cm; width: 8.4 cm

Accession no. R.660

509. Metal box

A gilded metal box, possibly of copper, completely covered with relief decoration, except on the bottom where a simpler form of design has been incised with a swastika in the centre. Some sort of gilding has been applied to part of the decorations on the lid. Box and decorations similar to Cat. no. 511. The box has a hinged lid, but it is broken.

Height: 3.9 cm; length: 11.9 cm; width: 7.2 cm

Accession no. R.661

510. Silver box

A silver gilt box with a hinged lid. The gilding is worn off on a few small raised areas on the bottom round the swastika emblem and on the lions and tips of the lotus blossom petals in the centre of the lid. The lid is completely covered with repoussé work in high relief with a border of lotus petal design framing a central rectangle, the main features of which are a lotus blossom above which is a parasol and on either side a lion. The sides of the box are decorated with incised geometrical designs made up of horizontal and vertical lines joined so as to make a step-like pattern. Both the top and the bottom of the box are slightly convex. The bottom has a lotus blossom motif in each corner. A central rectangle frames a swastika. This is a much finer example of workmanship than Cat. nos. 509, 511, or 512. As with the other boxes there are a few flakes of tobacco inside, but this could have been Prince Peter's rather than Tibetan use.

Height: 4.3 cm; length: 11.1 cm; width: 7.6 cm

Accession no. R.662

512. Metal box

A gilded metal box very similar in its general appearance to Cat. nos. 509 and 511, except that in place of two birds on the lid, there are two lions on either side of a parasol with a lotus blossom below. On either side of the parasol is a fish with an arched back symbolizing freedom and the life-giving properties of water. The decorations on the bottom of the box are very similar to those on Cat. no. 509 with a large swastika in the centre. One hinge pin is missing on the lid, otherwise box is in new condition.

Height: 4 cm; length: 11 cm; width: 7.5 cm

Accession no. R.664

Knife and Chopstick Sets

513. 13, 11 Eating set

A tin case holding one small knife with horn handle and two small bone chopsticks. A decoration in two sections has been applied to part of the case toward the top; a shiny dark brown material with geometrical patterns in brownish yellow. Has the appearance of oil cloth.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length, knife: 17 cm; chopsticks: 12.6 cm and 13 cm

Accession no. B.3014 a-d
514. 13/11 Eating set

A wooden case with horn-handled knife and bone chopsticks. The case is of traditional pattern, i.e., seen in section it forms two slightly flattened ovals pressed together. Here it has been carved out of a single piece of wood. The case is elaborately decorated with silver plated copper ornaments to which have been added, here and there, round red coral stones and/or small round turquoise stones. Also added are highlights of green and blue enamel. These applied copper decorations are in three sections. The bottom of the case has been hinged into a silver plated copper sheath so deep the whole surface of which is covered with ornate patterns. Above, in the central portion of the case has been slipped into an open copper tube consisting of a bar plaque 8.3 cm long with a 1.3 cm broad ring at top and bottom, and, between the two, three oval depressions, the central one of which is 3.5 cm high and has a red coral bead in its centre, set between two smaller round turquoise beads. The third section is at the top where a cap or sheath 6 cm long has been fitted over the case. This has a ring for fastening the case to the wearer's belt and there are blue and green enamelled areas immediately below this ring as well as in other places. The knife is 28 cm long and the blade at its widest point is 4.9 cm wide, tapering to a point with a groove on one side only. Length of blade only: 16 cm. The top of the horn handle has been covered with a silver plated copper cap 3.5 cm high which is decorated all over with elaborate designs.
in fine detail and touches of blue enamel. The bone chopsticks are round in section and 22 cm long. Each has a little round silver cap 2.3 cm long fitted over the top end with an incised decoration of small diamond shapes, each diamond having a small circle in its centre.

Length: 30 cm
Accession no. R.690 a-d

515. 13.11 Eating set

A case with knife and chopsticks for attaching to wearer’s belt. The case is made of pale green/grey jade, gold, and silver, constructed of five jade rings, similar in size to archers’ thumb rings, plus a jade end piece to form the bottom of the case. In three places instead of a jade ring, there is one of gold. These are placed at the top, at the centre, and the third one is next to the end jade piece. Where these different gold and jade sections meet, the join is hidden behind a silver ring 5 mm wide. At the back of the case all these silver rings, nine in all, are joined together by a silver strap of the same width as the rings. This strap runs vertically up the back and is c. 18 cm long. Where the strap joins each ring the join is hidden behind a small four-petalled flower outlined in silver, each petal plus the flower centre being set with a small polished stone, red coral alternating with green jade or turquoise. At the bottom of the case the terminal jade piece is flared slightly like the bell of a trumpet and is flat on the bottom. Just above it the lower gold band, 2.4 cm high, bears two jewel horses in high relief, each with a single flaming jewel on his back, standing facing each other and on either side of a design set with red coral and turquoise stones which may be a representation of the Vase – the Container of Treasures, the Fulfillment of High Aspirations. Next come two jade rings, each c. 2.5 cm high, and then another gold band of the same height, this one with two deer, each with a single antler and each facing the Vase. Then come three jade rings, the same size as the others, and finally on top, a gold band 2.5 cm high with an elephant, symbol of royal splendor, on either side of the Vase symbol. Like the horses, the elephants carry the Flaming Jewel on their backs. At the back of this topmost gold band there is a gold dragon 6 cm long, 1.4 cm wide, and 1.8 cm high. In his mouth he holds a gold bead 1.6 cm in diameter. Through a hole in the bead there passes an iron ring for a cord or thong to make a belt fastening. Behind the dragon’s head a hole has been drilled through an iron pin inserted to hold a rectangular iron loop so that a leather strap may be attached as an additional belt fastening.

The knife blade is 1.5 cm wide just below the hilt and is 20.2 cm long with a groove down one side only (left side, as you hold the knife in cutting position). The handle, 13 cm long overall and 2.1 cm wide at the top, tapers to 1.7 cm at bottom. It is oval in section and is made of amber-coloured jade. At the top the handle is rounded slightly and capped with gold onto which has been set a small four-petalled flower which is outlined in gold and set with red coral and turquoise. On one side the jade handle has been engraved with Precious Jewel (Chime, Scepter, etc.) and other symbols, eight in all. The chopsticks are of smooth undecorated ivory, round in section.

Length, knife: 33.3 cm; blade: 20.2 cm; chopsticks: 27 cm
Accession no. R.691 a-d

Knives

516. Knife and sheath

Knife (a) and sheath (b). The knife handle is 18.5 cm long, length of blade: 21.5 cm; width of blade: 3 cm, tapering gradually down to 2.5 cm and then, 4 cm from the tip, tapering abruptly to a point. Characteristically the knife and sheath are slightly concave in profile and the brass tips of both knife hilt and sheath curve upwards to a point. Both the knife handle and sheath are somewhat complex in design and composite in make. The hilt is composed of iron, brass, aluminium, copper, and horn. The top of the blade has set on it two brass plates 4 x 2 cm in size, one on either side, mounted on top of copper sheets and decorated with incised horizontal lines. These two plates are secured to the blade and to each other by an iron rivet which passes through all the components. Above this a succession of narrow bands of copper, aluminium, brass, and copper form a decorative strip adjoining a polished light brown section of horn 6 x
4.5 cm in size. The top of the hilt, the back of which is of iron, carries on the side which shows when the knife is worn on the belt a brass case 4.5 x 10 cm in size, pointed at the top, with a central ridge running from the tip downwards to the horn grip. This brass case has a “window” cut in it, 2 x 3.5 cm in size, which allows a small panel of aluminium, decorated with incised designs resembling swirling clouds or rushing streams, to be seen. Set in this is a 1 x 1 cm brass crown setting for a red or blue stone, but the stone is missing, as are the two that were in similar settings on the sheath. The blade has been elaborately if somewhat crudely decorated by making incised lines in the surface and then filling them with brass. Further decorations have been added by filling round holes with copper. Three of the latter go through the blade and are visible on the back. The designs outlined in brass and encased with copper and brass spots, resemble certain brass and copper (and sometimes silver) temple decorations, or, vaguely, chotename. These cover most of the blade, on one side only, for a distance of 17 cm back from the tip.

The sheath is of similar composite construction with an iron back, a brass front, copper hand near the top, a decorated aluminium strip to show through two “windows” cut in the brass front, and wooden inserts to make the blade fit tightly. Toward the top of the sheath a round brass crown setting 1 cm high and 1 cm across has lost its stone. Below it, cut out of the brass, is a design in the shape of an incense burner, similar to designs on the blade. Below this two “windows” have been cut to allow the incised decorated strip of aluminium to show through. On a finer knife this would be silver. A cut away part of the sheath at the top is filled on the back and sides with a strip of shagreen, but a second piece to go behind the cut-out incense burner is missing. The aluminium strip showing in the lower of the two windows also has a brass crown setting 1 x 1 cm in size with stone missing. At the top of the back of the sheath an iron strap 17 cm long has been mounted with a copper rivet at the bottom and a loop fastened with a copper rivet at the top.

Length: 40 cm
Accession no. R.141 a-b

517. 13,12 Knife and sheath

Knife with brass handle, silver pommel, and silver quillons. Blade, possibly made from a British bayonet, is 25 cm long and 3 cm wide. The brass handle, oval in section, is lavishly decorated with incised designs cut and hammered into the brass in parallel bands between narrow ridges. The pommel is shaped rather like a bishop’s mitre and is elaborately decorated with a pierced screen with floral designs and on the back, hexagonal designs on two overlapping levels. The sheath consists of two pieces of wood encased in a covering of pink silk which has been slipped inside an open metal (?silver) case of elaborate design and workmanship. The sheath is 31 cm long, oval in section, and 5 cm broad.

Length: 37 cm
Accession no. R.144 a-b

518. Knife and sheath

Horn-handled knife in metal sheath. Both knife and sheath are characteristically slightly curved. The knife is 14 cm long; blade: 7.5 cm long and 1.5 cm wide. The knife handle is pierced to take a leather thong which is tied to a plaited cord which in turn is tied to a metal loop at the top of the sheath. The top of the
pommel is covered with a small oval brass plate. The top of the sheath is round with a brass strip 0.75 cm wide. Below this a piece of shagreen 1.25 cm wide is wrapped round the sheath and held in place by two brass strips one at the top edge, the other at the bottom. The lower part of the iron case is plain. A narrow iron strip, held in place at the bottom of the case by a rivet, runs down the back of the sheath. Toward the top of the sheath it is held in place by the three brass strips mentioned above. This is similar to the small knives worn by most Tibetan women on their belts. The needle case R.270c belongs with this.

Length: 16.5 cm
Accession no: R.270a-c

519. 13.13 Knife and sheath

Dagger and sheath. On one side the grip is of bone, on the other it is of black horn. These pieces are attached to the blade by two copper rivets which pass through from one side to the other. On the bone side the grip is decorated with a number of small silver, aluminium, and brass studs. The grip has a curved top and has been built up to a thickness of 1 cm with layers of copper, aluminium, brass, and horn. The top piece is of iron. The end of the blade, filed to a round peg-shape 1 cm long, sticks up above the top of the grip and is decorated with thin layers of copper and aluminium. At its lower end the grip consists of two pieces of brass 1.5 cm thick, one on either side, filed round to match the shape of the grip. The exposed part of the blade is 20.5 cm long and 2.5 cm wide. The sheath is of metal with a wood lining. There is a twisted silver wire decoration round the top below which is a copper collar 3.5 cm long. Round the lower part of the collar is a brass ring. Below that is a 5 cm wide leather-covered section with the leather held in place by turnings of rawhide. The remainder of the sheath consists of a metal tube 15.5 cm long. A metal strap 1.1 cm wide runs up the back of the sheath from top to bottom. It has three rings on it to take the leather lashings and a belt attachment.

From Uffe Refslund Christensen.

Length, overall: 33 cm; sheath only: 24 cm
Accession no: R.416 a-b

520. Knife and sheath

Small knife with brass and copper sheath. The knife hilt is made of black horn, brass, copper, and iron. The top of the hilt is a 0.4 cm thick piece of curved brass. Below this are alternate layers of copper and iron with a brass strip in the centre, forming a decorative feature 1.5 cm wide. Four narrow bands of alternate copper and brass are also used to decorate the black horn part of the grip. Overall length of grip: 8.5 cm; width: 1.5 cm; length of blade: 10.4 cm; width: 1.6 cm. The sheath is a brass tube lined with wood. It is closed at the bottom end by a piece of sheet copper. A copper rod, attached at the bottom of the sheath by an iron pin, runs up the back of the sheath. It is fastened to the sheath at the top by three copper bands which pass round the
sheath, being held in place by aluminium pins. A hole near the top of this copper rod holds two rings, attached to each other by two small brass nuts separated by an aluminium collar. These are for fastening the sheath to wearer’s belt. Length of sheath: 11.4 cm; width: 2.2 cm. Collected by Rolf Gilberg.

Length: 19 cm
Accession no. R.544 a-b

521. Knife and sheath

A knife and sheath of iron and brass. Not seen.

Given by the Denmark-China Friendship Society.

Length: 31 cm; width: 4 cm
Accession no. R.521 a-b

522. Knife and sheath

An ivory handled knife which was acquired in Darjeeling, said to come from Tibet. The knife is in typical Persian-Mogul style and is either from Persia or Northern India. It has a thin blade 4 cm wide at the hilt, but tapering all down its 24.5 cm length to a sharp stiletto-like point. There are traces of gilding on either side where the ivory grips meet the blade. The wooden sheath is partly covered with red velvet which is visible for a few centimetres between an ornate copper top and the plain white metal casing which covers the lower part of the sheath. There are traces of gilding on the copper casing at the top.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 36 cm
Accession no. C.5410 a-b

523. Knife and sheath

A knife with a bone handle and slightly curved blade. The wooden sheath is covered with canvas. Not seen.

 Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 24.5 cm
Accession no. C.5411

524. Knife and sheath

Dagger with a plain double-edged blade and brown wood handle. The sheath is made of black painted wood, pointed at the bottom, and with ornamental silver inlay at both ends. Not seen.

From Mr Skjet.

Length, knife: 31 cm. sheath: 27.7 cm
Accession no. C.1944

Smoking Equipment and Tobacco Containers

525. 13.14 Snuff bottle

A snuff bottle carved out of a single piece of smoothly polished dark green malachite. The material has some lighter green areas and there is a network of natural black lines over much of the surface. There is a silver collar covering the neck and the top of the bottle. The stopper is of conical shape and has a small silver spoon attached. The cone is of carved green stone set in silver and with a small round silver setting at the top which holds a polished piece of light and dark green jade. The stopper fits too loosely into the snuff bottle to be of practical use. The number 88 is engraved on the silver neck.

Height: 8 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 2 cm
Accession no. R.696

526. Tobacco pipe

An iron smoking pipe, rather rough in finish as if made by a local blacksmith. Stem roughly round in section, except for a 14 cm length approximately midway between bowl and mouthpiece, which is square in section.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 37.5 cm; diameter of bowl: 2 cm
Accession no. C.1347

527. Tobacco pipe

A copper smoking pipe with a rectangular section 6 cm long, halfway between the bowl and the end of the stem, which is decorated on three of its four sides with geometrical designs representing flowers and water. The bowl, also of copper, is 1.2 cm deep.

 Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 17 cm; diameter of bowl: 3 cm
Accession no. B.3000
528. Tobacco pipe

A smoking pipe with a small bowl decorated with arched lines. A heavy four sided stem tapers toward the tip and is decorated with two brass bands. Not seen.

Described as being from "Bhutia Basti, Tibet". From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 41 cm

Accession no. B.3015

529. Tobacco pipe

A smoking pipe with a brass bowl and a wooden stem. Not seen.

Described as a "Balti pipe, Tibet" by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: brass tube: 9 cm; wooden stem: 13.6 cm

Accession no. B.3017

530. Tobacco pipe

A smoking pipe of Chinese type with an iron tube stem and a cast brass bowl, the latter with hexagonal faceted sides. Length of brass portion: 3.5 cm. Length of iron tube stem: 16 cm. In order to make the stem fit firmly into the bowl it has been wrapped with a small piece of cloth and wedged in place.

Length: 23.5 cm; diameter of bowl: 0.8 cm

Accession no. R.266a

531. Tobacco pouch

A matt black leather tobacco pouch of irregular form, being a flattened oval at
the top opening and flaring out below that into another oval and then with the main part of the pouch extending downward in a rectangular shape with rounded corners. A leather thong, each end of which is fastened just inside the edge of the pouch opening, is, at its other end, fastened to a carved wooden “fire cup”. This has split into two pieces and is held together only by the leather thong which is tightly bound round the carved wooden knob under the “fire cup”. Also attached to the thong by a cord are two pipe-cleaning implements: a small rod 9.5 cm long with one end hammered out to a spade shape, and a piece of wire 6.5 cm long. The wooden fire cup, which looks very much like the turned top belonging to something else, is 4.8 cm in diameter and 1 cm high.

Rockhill, 1895: Plate 20

Accession no. C.293

532: 13.15 Snuff container

Ram’s horn snuff container. The light brown horn is so curved that it nearly completes a circle. The open end of the horn has been closed with a wooden plug, tightly fitting, and set flush with the end of the horn. The surface of the horn has been smoothed down to remove the ribbed surface so that only faint and very shallow indentations remain. The tip of the horn has been cut off and a hole drilled through near the end to take a split iron pin, the eye of which holds an iron ring 1.5 cm in diameter to which is attached a short length of twisted wire holding a leather thong which is tied round a smooth light brown wooden toggle, 5.5 cm long. The horn contains quantities of pale brown snuff, a good deal of which poured out of two small holes, one near the base of the horn and one half way along the curve, during examination.

Length of horn measured along curve: 55.5 cm.

Accession no. R.293

533. Snuff container

A decorated horn with a copper lined hole at the tip. Said to be a “snuff horn”. Not seen.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 14.7 cm

Accession no. C.2064

NOTES:

1 Rockhill: Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, 695.
CHAPTER XIV

TIBETAN BUDDHIST IMAGES
by Schuyler Cammann
with additional notes and entries by Schuyler Jones

As an introduction to the vast and highly complex assembly of gods in the lama Buddhist religion, we shall begin with individual deities represented in metal images. Then we shall pass on through the clay plaques which often contain simple groups of deities, to give our fullest attention to the painted scrolls, or tangkas, in which whole clusters of divinities were presented in complex interrelated assemblies.

The basic substance of the metal images was bronze. In the simpler ones this was merely ordinary copper bronze, but all the better ones were made of an alloy known as the Five Metals. In this the basic ingredients as always, were copper and tin, but to these were added a little gold, a little silver, and a little iron, to make five, symbolic of the five elements and the five directions, hence All Space and All Matter, thus helping to make the finished image a microcosm of the universe.

Most if not all of these images were probably cast by the "lost wax" process. In this, a lump of clay is first fashioned into approximately the shape of the intended image, but a little smaller. This then serves as the core or skeleton, upon which the finished model is made, by coating it with a heavy layer of wax; then modelling this and cutting it away until it shows all the desired details. This wax figure is then coated with clay; first a light mixture applied with a brush, to make sure that it fills every smallest crevice; then coarser clay, until it makes a heavy outer shell, covering the whole to a depth of several inches. Then the wax is melted out by heating, and the whole mould is baked thoroughly to dry it out, for if the hot metal was poured in and met any moisture it could cause steam to explode the mould and injure the metalworker.

Next, the metal alloy is prepared over a very hot fire in a special long-handled pot, or crucible, and the molten metal is poured into the mould, to take up the space formerly occupied by the wax. After this, the outer clay shell is broken off, and generally the inner clay core is scraped out also. As the mould was usually prepared with one or more thin metal bars passing through both the shell and the core to hold them apart at a proper distance after the wax is melted out, the projecting ends of these bars must then be filed off on the outside. (The inner ends can often still be seen inside the hollow image.) At the same time, they file off the other projections left when the molten metal found its way into the holes left as ducts for the air in the mould to escape as the metal was poured in. If the image was a very

14.1 The Potala seen from the west and (foreground) the road that leads from Lhasa to Norbu Lingkha. Photo: F. Spencer Chapman, 1936. Archives of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
large one, it might be constructed in several parts, each separately made by this process, then fastened together by metal bolts or by soldering.

A few metal images, especially the very small ones, were not hollow cast by the “lost wax” method, but were solid cast in two-piece moulds, also of clay, often previously made metal images. If carefully removed, these could be used again, whereas the single moulds made with the wax were destroyed after the first use, and could never be used again. This explains why the finest lama Buddhist images are so distinctive. Each was a separate work of art, individually made from the beginning.

After the casting is finished, comes the finishing process. Any holes in the casting made by air bubbles are plugged (this accounts for the odd patches of metal in other colours sometimes to be seen when the outer plating wears off), any irregularities in the surface are removed by filing, and the whole is polished and burnished. Next, small details are engraved by hammering with a fine chisel, a process known as “chasing”.

As a last step in the process of assembling the image, small objects such as monastic bowls, swords, vases, nooses made of fine wire, thunderbolts (vajras/dorjes), cups made of human skulls, and other similar objects were placed in the hands of the figures. These are called “attributes”. They not only identify the deity, distinguishing him from others of the same class, but they also help to describe his special function whatever it may be: as a monk, a defender of the Faith, a demon to combat demons, etc. Because these attributes were very small, often merely inserted without being properly soldered, or otherwise securely fastened, they easily fall out and get lost. This is why in any collection of lama things, an image that is totally complete is a great exception. Consequently, when we note “vase gone” or “sword blade missing”, this is not intended to disparage the image, or to describe it as defective, but simply to state the fact that in the long journey from a Mongolian or Tibetan temple to its present place in the museum – after passing through many hands in the process – this or that attribute was broken off, or simply fell off, and was lost.

After the assembly is completed, and a second polishing given, the finer images are often gold-plated by a mercury process, and the finest are set with small seed pearls or chips of semi-precious stones – especially turquoise and red coral, both of which are valued as precious stones by the Mongols and Tibetans. As a finishing touch, paint is applied for the hair; blue for pacific deities and red for the fierce ones, and the features are also painted in colours.¹

As fire-gilding was an important and well-developed technique among Tibetan and Nepali metalworkers and was widely used to embellish the finer pieces of jewellery and devotional images, some additional remarks about it may be in order. Fire-gilding is used to enhance the appearance of more costly objects and involves the preparation of an amalgam of gold and mercury to produce a paste-like alloy which can be spread on areas to be gilded. The gold is filed to a fine powder and then kneaded with an equal weight of mercury in a mortar until an evenly mixed amalgam is obtained. The surface to be gilded is then rubbed with a mixture of chalk and mercury, which serves to aid the gilding process. The gold amalgam is applied to the surface with a cork and pressed firmly down into any recesses. After leaving it for a day or two heat is applied so that the mercury may evaporate slowly, the process


requiring several hours to drive off every particle of mercury. As the fumes given off by the evaporating mercury are extremely poisonous the process should only be carried out in a well-ventilated environment. To ensure that all the mercury has evaporated, the heat is increased considerably toward the end of the process. When correctly done, this leaves a man gold surface on the object. The process can be repeated again and again until the desired thickness of gold is attained. The final finish is achieved by still polishing, that is rubbing the surface with a steel wool under pressure to produce a smooth hard finish which gives the surface its durability. However, the process is slow, requires a relatively large amount of gold, and exposes the metal workers to the danger of mercury poisoning.

Then, when all this is completed, the image is ready for consecration. With the accompaniment of appropriate prayers or chants, the inside of the image is smudged with prayer papers and small offerings consisting of Precious Things and aromatic herbs or powdered incense. Originally small gold images and real gems were used for the Precious Things, but when the monks found that people were opening the images to bolt the contents, they substituted small metal things and ground-up stones or bits of coloured glass.

Finally the box is sealed shut by a bottom plate on which was inscribed the crossed paras or standards (mythic thunderbolts) that are the symbols of the foundation of the world, emphasizing that the whole image is a symbolic universe in microcosm. At this stage it was traditionally customary to paint in the pupils of the eyes, but in practice this had often been done previously, at the time the hair was painted. The fully conse-
crated image was then ready to take its place on a monastery altar, on the “god shelf” of a tent or other private box called ga’tu.

For very poor people, or when a monastery had to make a very large number of images to fulfill someone’s vow, clay was used to make the images instead of metal. The clay images were made as solid castings from heavy two-piece metal moulds, sun dried, and then gilded. They either had a hole bored into the base to receive the dedicatory prayers, or sometimes these were simply dropped in when the clay was mixed to become an integral part of the whole. Clay images of the Buddha of Eternal Life, Amitayus, up to the number of one thousand, set out on parallel shelves to cover a whole wall, were not uncommon in the monasteries of Mongolia twenty years ago.

The various Buddhas were generally made according to a uniform pattern, based on the traditional appearance of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, as he appeared after the Enlightenment, with the caste mark (urna), the protruberance atop the head (ushnishya), and the long earlobes, dragged down by heavy earrings in his youth, when he was Prince Siddhartha. We shall find in the paintings that the various other Buddhas are usually distinguished by complexions of different colours, although any of the Buddhas may alternatively be shown in gold, as the historical Buddha always is. In the absence of distinctive colours the principal means of identification is by the positions of the hands, called mudras. Therefore the cataloguer is obliged to call special attention to these. The recording of mudras is not merely a pedantic exercise in erudition, as some people think.

The historical Buddha, before his enlightenment was a Bodhisattva (a Buddha-to-be), hence the other Bodhisattvas, and the high goddesses who hold the rank of Bodhisattva are customarily shown in the same kind of princely crown and ornaments that are supposed to have been worn by Prince Siddhartha. Sometimes special Buddhas are also shown wearing a princely crown and jewels, in which case they are described as “crowned Buddhas”, but these are usually distinguished by special symbols or attributes to prevent confusion with the Bodhisattvas as such. Also, Hindu gods and goddesses admitted to the lama pantheon as lesser deities (devas and devis) also wear the trappings of a Bodhisattva, but they can generally be distinguished by their smaller size, subordinate positions, and their rôle as servants or attendants, bearing parasols, banners, or vases, etc.

The terrifying figures of the Terrible Ones, Guardians of the Law (dharmapalas), or the converted demons, often shock the Western viewer at first glance; but the reasons for this kind of representation, along with further details about them, will be given when we come to them.

For these, as well as for the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the names tended to vary from sect to sect, or – in the case of minor differences of appearance or function for the same deity – within the same sect. This often leads the uninitiated to say that there are no constant names and each sect has its own. In point of fact, the principal name is still recognized, even though the special one may be preferably used.

There are plenty of analogies for this in the art of other religions. For example, a painting of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child might be hailed by a Roman Catholic as “Santa Maria”, by a Greek Orthodox believer as “Mater Hodegetria”, and by a Russian as the “Madonna of Kazan”. Or even within the Roman Catholic Church community, one finds differences in names according to nationality: “Santa Maria” for Spaniards and Italians is “Saint Mary” to English speakers, and “Sainte Marie” for those who speak French, etc. (corresponding to dialectic differences within Mongolia or Tibet). Finally, we also find in the Occident different names
given to the same saint according to function, such as “Maria Virgine”, “Mater Dolorosa”, “Fons Pietatis”, or “Stella Maris”, all separate names for St. Mary which would be recognized by any good Catholic.

It is part of the cataloguer’s job to call attention to such variations in names or titles when he encounters them, as in accompanying labels, but he is certainly not expected to stress these. His chief obligation is to help make a collection like this one understandable even to non-specialists, and such understanding is best achieved by identifying a given figure by the same name, whenever occurring, regardless of changes of situation or title. When the shape, complexion, or attributes change, requiring a corresponding change of title, that is another matter; but in such a case, it should be identified as “such and such” under a different title. This must be done in order to show clearly that deity’s place in the religion, his relationship to other deities, and most of all, when it is possible to do so, just what he meant to the people who depicted him in images and paintings, and who worshipped him through these.

It is important to remember that the higher and more educated lamas did not feel that they were worshipping the images as such, even though they considered them as something special and sacred; they worshipped the particular deity represented in that image through the means of the image, using the image itself mainly as an object of concentration, or as symbolic of a great unseen spirit which could never be truly portrayed. Thus it would be both convenient and accurate to think of these images as being primarily mere symbols of ideas, not “idols”.

As a last familiar category of lama Buddhist images, we have the figures of high lamas. These were monks and monastic teachers, and all but the highest ones are represented seated on cushion thrones instead of the lotus seats of deities, usually wearing the high-peaked cap which was one of the marks of their high office (their specific rank being measured by the length of the side flaps or lappets). These images of lamas were usually cast to remind their disciples of revered teachers now departed; although even these might be actively worshipped by the uneducated who regarded their wisdom and high position as evidence of divinity, to the point where they spoke of them as “living Buddhas”. Sometimes these are very distinctive portraits which must have been easily recognized; more often the features are more or less conventional with only a distinctively shaped nose, or perhaps a wen to distinguish the subject as an individual person.

This emphasis on human individuality sets these images apart from any of those of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, goddesses, etc. For, in the case of the latter, tradition demanded that the artist should always idealize, avoiding anything to suggest the appearance of an ordinary human being. This was done in order to keep them strictly apart and to stress their role as distinctly above humanity in a superhuman state of being. This accounts for what Westerners often remark as “monotony of features” or “ignorance of anatomy”.

All of the above-mentioned classes of images, though meaningful in themselves, usually acquired greater significance by special groupings, in which several of them with individual symbolic meanings were shown together to make possible new interpretations on higher levels of symbolism. Since the images in this collection, as in most collections, are mostly individual examples from broken sets, it is not possible to stress this point through examples of the images themselves. However, it should begin to be apparent when we come to consider the clay plaques, in Section II, as among these we shall find several groups very clearly and distinctly presented; and it should be abundantly evident in the paintings, discussed and illustrated in Section III, for in them the rich variety of the lama Buddhist pantheon in all its splendid colouring is portrayed in its fullest scope.
I. The Buddha

Sakyamuni Buddha, the historical Buddha Gautama, is usually represented as he was at the time when he overcame the Great Temptation by Mara. Dressed in monastic robes, seated on a lotus throne, he holds his monastic bowl in his lap with his left hand, while his right hand reaches down to touch the earth in the witnessing mudra (bhumisparsa) as he did when he asked the goddess of the Earth to bear witness that he was free from sin. His head has a lump in the centre "to symbolize his abnormally large brain" known as the usnisa. In the common Mongolian convention the hair is rendered by spikes to represent curls and the usnisa is topped by a jewel, a conventionalized pearl. His ear lobes are lengthened, and usually pierced to show where he had once worn earrings when he was Prince Siddhartha before he left the world to become a monk. Between his eyebrows is a small protrubance known as the usnisa. Originally this was a caste mark, though the Buddha renounced caste, but outside of India it was interpreted as symbolizing his "eye of foreknowledge". His monastic robes should be made of patches, as a symbol of poverty, but in the smaller images these are not always indicated. This conventional representation later served as a model for the images of the various other Buddhas, but their hand gestures (mudras) vary, and when painted their skin is represented in different colours to differentiate them.

534. Sakyamuni Buddha. White brass with face and neck painted with gilt and the features in black, white, and red, with blue hair. Small bowl cast in one piece with the rest.

This appears to have been given an incorrect accession number.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiiger in 1950.

Height: 11 cm

Accession no. R.170a

535. A small gilt bronze and copper image of Sakyamuni Buddha seated on a lotus throne with a bowl held in his lap with the left hand, the right in witnessing mudra. Some of the original blue colour applied to the hair on top of the gilt surface remains. The bottom is sealed with a copper plate marked with crossed dorjes. The number 91 has been engraved on the back at the base of the lotus throne.

Height: 5.5 cm

Accession no. R.687

Other Buddhas

536. Bhaisajyaguru, Buddha of Medicine, in gilt bronze heavily gold plated. Holding in his outstretched right hand a fruit of the myroblans, a curative plant. Superbly cast with beautifully chased details.

This piece has not been identified in the collections and the accession number appears to be incorrect.

From Mads Bryld.

Accession no. R.459

The Buddha Amitayus, a form of Amitabha, is shown as a "crowned Buddha" wearing an elaborate crown, high usnisa and many necklaces, etc., all the jewellery generally assigned to the bodhisattvas and goddesses. Like Amitabha, he is seated in meditation, but as "Buddha of Eternal Life" he holds in his lap "the vase of the water of life". As the vase was usually made separately and attached to the hands by a pin in its base, like Sakyamuni's bowl, it frequently falls out, and in most collections, as here, an image of Amitayus complete with its vase is rather a rarity.

537. Amitayus Buddha. A fine gilt bronze statue complete with vase. Tiny stones (turquoise and coral) set into the crown, necklaces and arm bands. He is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, his hands together in his lap holding a vase. Finely chased details on edging of skirt. Excellent condition except for small piece out of top of crown.

Added to the museum collections in 1889.

Height: 17.5 cm

Accession no. Ca.235

538. Amitayus Buddha of copper. It was formerly gilded and the face retains traces of gilding and painting, with some blue left on the hair. The very heavy over-elaborate crown shows superior casting. Vase intact. The base is closed with a plain copper plate.

Found on a Danish rubbish tip. Given by Henry Madsen.

Height: 14 cm

Accession no. C.6115
As one of the Eight Dhyani Bodhisattvas, Maitreya stands as one of the attendants on a Buddha with one hand raised at his chest, the other down, again holding the stems of lotuses which support wheel and vase. Sometimes he holds only one lotus, carrying only one of his three symbols, generally the vase.

As a Buddha (to-be) he is shown as a regular Buddha, with his hands in dbarmacakra mūdra. There is no figure of Maitreya as a Buddha in this collection.

Manjusri, Lord of Wisdom, is represented in many forms, but his consistent attributes are a flaming sword “to cut the cords of ignorance” and a book to teach. In his most usual two-armed form he brandishes the sword above his head with his right hand, while the left hand, in vīrākṣa mūdra, holds the stem of a lotus which carries the book at his left shoulder. In such examples, the sword blade is very frequently broken away. Another simple form (Dharmacakra Manjusri) shows him with his hands together in front of his chest in the dbarmacakra mūdra, holding the stems of two lotuses which support the sword and book at his shoulders. Both of these types are represented in this collection.

539. Manjusri, usual form, in gilt bronze with a very high gold content. Fine workmanship. Lotus and book are missing from left shoulder.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 11 cm

Accession no. Ca. 236

### Bodhisattvas

Maitreya, the Coming Buddha, is usually represented as a Bodhisattva seated in Western fashion on a throne in the Tusita Paradise, where he waits until it is time for him to come down to save mankind, when the teachings of Sakyamuni Buddha, the teacher of the present period, have been forgotten. In this form his hands are in the teaching or discussion mūdra (dbarmacakra) holding the stems of two lotuses, the right one supporting a wheel of the Law, the left a ritual vase (bēlasa) at his shoulders. Atop his head there is sometimes shown a stupa.
540. Miniature image of Manjusri, usual form, probably made for a charm box. In spite of the small scale, the detail is excellent. Fully intact.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 4.5 cm
Accession no. Ca.237

541. Dharmacakra Manjusri in gold-plated copper with bits of amethyst and tiny pearls set into his crown and bodhisattva ornaments. Fine, detailed workmanship.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 7 cm
Accession no. Ca.240

542. Avalokitesvara. Lord of Mercy, shown in gilt bronze with eight arms and eleven heads arranged in five tiers. The first three tiers of three heads each are all in the same mild form. Next comes a single angry demonic head, and finally at the top is the head of Amitabha. Two of the hands are held, palms together, in front of the chest. The two upper arms at the right should be holding a rosary and a sword, but these attributes are lacking. The left hands should be carrying a lotus, a bowl, and a ritual vase; only the vase (kalasa) remains. The figure stands on a round detachable lotus base, the bottom of which is sealed with a sheet of copper marked with crossed dorjes. A magnificent casting in gilt bronze.

Given by Sophus Black.

Height: 16.5 cm
Accession no. R.712

Godesses

In lama Buddhism, the chief goddesses share the rank of Bodhisattva. Hence they are shown with all the crowns and scarfs which characterize the Bodhisattvas themselves, and in spite of trailing scarfs about their arms and shoulders, they are depicted as equally nude above the waist. These higher goddesses, like the Bodhisattvas, can have multi-armed or many-headed tantric forms, or ferocious-looking “angry” aspects. The images in this collection are limited to the mild types, although the “angry” forms are quite frequently depicted among the paintings.

Most of the goddesses frequently represented are different forms or aspects of Tara, “the Saviouress”, a goddess of Mercy or Charity, who is sometimes considered as the consort of Avalokitesvara, or sometimes as an emanation of him, through whom he works his acts of mercy. The forms of Tara most frequently depicted are the Green Tara (Syamatara) and the White Tara (Sitatara). As they are depicted in slightly different poses, with somewhat different attributes, they are not likely to be confused even when shown in images without their distinctive colours.

The Green Tara. She is typically represented with her right hand extended downward, palm out, in a gesture of charity (vara mudra), while her left hand is held up in vitarka mudra, both hands holding the stems of blue (utpalas) lotuses which bloom at her shoulders. She sits on a lotus in an attitude of ease (lalitasana), with her right foot extended outward, resting on a smaller lotus.

543. The Green Tara in a very detailed small image of gilded bronze with hair and other features painted. The crown, urna, and various ornaments are “jewelled” with small blue glass beads. Intact except for the lower stems of the lotuses.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 13 cm
Accession no. Ca.238

544. The Green Tara in miniature, probably made for a charm box. In gilt bronze with a high gold content. A splendid piece of delicate casting, with minute details. She is seated on a lotus throne with her right foot extended to rest on a lotus in front of the throne, her right hand, palm uppermost in vara mudra, rests on her right knee. Her left hand is upraised in vitarka mudra. The base of the figure is closed with a copper plate on which is engraved the crossed dorje symbol.

Accession no. Ca.239

The White Tara differs from the Green one by sitting cross-legged (rajasana) upon her lotus seat, and although she holds her hands in the same way, they are grasping the stems of pink (padma) lotuses. This distinction between the two kinds of lotus is more than a matter of colour, the flowers themselves are different in form. In addition, the White Tara also has a third eye in her forehead, and eyes in the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet. This characteristic
TIBETAN BUDDHIST IMAGES

has led to her alternative name, “Tara of the Seven Eyes”.

Sitapatra, “Goddess of the White Umbrella”, another white goddess, is sometimes explained as another aspect of Tara. She holds a royal umbrella as her most distinctive attribute. This popular goddess appears in a variety of forms, from a millet-one-headed, two-armed form to a highly complicated “angry” aspect with one thousand heads, one thousand arms, and one thousand legs, probably the most complex single figure in the lama Buddhist pantheon. This last is of course too intricate to be presented in a small image, but it is shown in full detail in one of the paintings from Mongolia. In her mildest form she holds in her left hand the handle of the umbrella, which is opened over her left shoulder, while her right hand is extended in a gesture of protection.

The goddess Usnisa-vijaya is rather easy to recognize because of her relative complexity. She has three heads, each with a third eye, her right face scowling balefully. She has eight arms. The first right one holds a double vajra (vajrabhairava) or dorje, shielded by the first left one. Her upper right hand holds an image of Amitabha Buddha, the middle one holds an arrow, and the lowest is extended in charity (kara mudra). Her upper left hand holds a noose, the middle one holds a bow, and the lowest one holds a ritual vase (kalasa) in her lap.

Yi-dam Figures

The Yi-dam are protecting deities with the rank of Buddha, though they are generally shown in Bodhisattva ornaments as “Crowned Buddhas”. Every lama monk chooses one as his special personal protector. They are usually depicted in sexual union with their consorts, which is technically described as “yab-yum, with sakti”, because they are considered as being more powerful and effective if worshipped in that way. They are found in both mild and “angry” forms.

The Dharmapalas, Guardians of the Faith

Dharmapalas are a group of ferocious, demonic-looking deities. Many of them were gods of rival religions, brought into Lamaism as a means of converting or appeasing their followers, or so that they could be tamed and rendered less dangerous; then their powers were redirected against heretics or enemies of the Buddhist religion. Their powerful magic and their superhuman strength as combatants against evil are symbolized by their fierce forms and dreadful expressions, and their general accoutrements of sharp weapons, grinning skulls and licking flames.

Mahakala is a fierce-looking deity derived from the Hindu Lord Siva, one of whose titles was Mahadeva Siva, meaning “Great Time” (“Passing Time overcomes all things”). He is shown in a number of aspects of increasing ferocity, most of them black or dark blue in paintings, because the Tibetans, due to a mistranslation, have understood his name to mean “The Great Black One”. Actually the Hindu Lord Siva was traditionally represented as white or grey.

In his most usual form Mahakala has one head, with a third eye, and six arms. The two principal hands hold in front of his body a chopper and a skull cup full of human blood and entrails. Those are his most constant attributes, and in his rarer, two-armed form, he carries only these. His other right hands hold a skull-rattle and a rosary of tiny skulls, while his other left hands hold a trident-tipped staff or khatvanga, and a cord or noose to bind his enemies. His already horrible appearance is still further increased by a crown of skulls, a necklace of heads reaching to his knees, and a flayed elephant skin across his back.

Underfoot Mahakala tramples upon an elephant-headed god dressed in Bodhisattva ornaments, and holding a skull cup and a carrot or turnip. This vehicle, or vahana, as it is technically called, has been much misunderstood. Actually, the elephant-headed god is Siva’s son, Ganesa. In India, Ganesa was always considered as a remover of obstacles, and hence, by extension, as a creator of wealth; but in Tibet, through misunderstanding, or wrong fusion of these two ideas, he was considered as a demon who created obstacles to plague mankind. Hence he is shown as being overcome by Time which conquers all things. In India, Ganesa’s chief attribute was the end of a broken tusk (his right tusk), but
again misunderstanding this, the Tibetans show Mahakala’s victim with both his tusks intact, holding a root which has a pointed, tusk shape. This is one of the most obvious illustrations of the way in which the rather primitive Tibetans built up their religion by borrowing from the cultures around them, without fully comprehending the elements that they were borrowing.

545. A small figure of Mahakala with three heads and six arms embracing a three-headed sakti, who also has six arms. He and she both hold chopper and skull-cup, but their other attributes have disappeared and four of the tiny skulls have fallen from her crown. A superb miniature casting in gilt-bronze, very heavily gold plated.

From Ingrid Annel.

Height: 7.7 cm

Accession no. C.6209

Kuvera Vaisravana, taken from the Hindu god Kuvera, is very prominent in lama Buddhism, as a god of wealth, believed to be able to obtain wealth for his worshippers. His constant symbol is a jewel-spitting mongoose, which originally was a long purse, then a purse made out of a mongoose’ skin, then a fabulous animal with the property of producing jewels by itself. As King of the North, among the Four Deva Kings, he is also especially revered by the Mongols, who consider their land to be under his special protection. Although his usual form is not exactly benign, it is certainly milder than any of the other dbarmapalas, but he too has his angry aspects.

546. Miniature image of Kuvera Jambhala in his tall crown, Bodhisattva scarfs and jewels, skirt, and Tatar boots. He holds in his right hand a jambhala fruit, and in his left a mongoose. His outstretched right foot rests on an overturned vase. In gold, with traces of pigment for hair and eyebrows. A splendid example of a small casting.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 3.5 cm

Accession no. Ca.241

The figure of Yamantaka is probably the most horrible of all the “Terrible Ones” conjured up by the fertile imagination of the tantric Buddhists. Tradition says that when Yama, Lord of Death, was ravaging the world, the Bodhisattva Manjusri assumed this still more frightful form to conquer him. Yamantaka means “Conqueror of Yama”, but he is also known as Vajra-bhairava. He is shown with a bull’s head, seven other demon heads, and at the top the smiling face of a Bodhisattva, Manjusri’s own. He has thirty-four arms, each grasping an attribute, and sixteen legs, which are shown trampling upon birds at the left, animals at the right, and beneath them gods and men, among them the god Brahma who can be recognized by his four faces, prostrate and naked, along with the rest. Yamantaka clasps his ecstatic consort to him as he moves in a kind of cosmic dance.

146. Cat. no. 548. Small image of Yamantaka.

547. Yamantaka with sakti, in gilt bronze with red paint on hair. The sakti, separately cast, moves loosely in his encircling arms. The ornaments of both were set with small stones, but many of these have been removed. An extremely intricate casting, very well done.

From P. Köbke.

Height: 18 cm; width: 11.8 cm

Accession no. Ca.263

548. 14.6 Small image of Yamantaka, with sakti, in gold, with touches of red paint in the hair, contained in a charm box. Very meticulous casting with all details very precise. The ga’i has a brass front and back and copper sides. The shape of the ga’i is like an arched doorway. Round the sides of the central opening flower designs have been engraved. Across the bottom is a range of mountains. The opening itself, through which the image may be viewed, is covered on the inside by a sheet of glass. The ga’i is opened by a sliding brass panel at the back on which has been engraved the All Powerful Ten monogram. Four Chinese characters have been engraved across the back of the base. The inside surfaces of the ga’i are covered with yellow silk. The base of the image is closed with a copper plate bearing the crossed dorje symbol.

From Vilhelm Sarup.

Height of image: 7.2 cm; height of ga’i: 12.8 cm; width: 8.8 cm; thickness: 3.5 cm

Accession no. C.6210
The *dharmapala* Beg-tse originally seems to have been a local Mongolian deity. Only comparatively recently was he "tamed" and brought into the lama Buddhist pantheon as a protector-god and god of War. He is conventionally depicted in full armour of Chinese style, but instead of a helmet he wears a crown of skulls, behind which rises a mass of red hair. His horribly grimacing face has the third eye. In his right hand he brandishes a sword, the hilt of which is fashioned in the shape of a scorpion so that the blade is really its exaggeratedly large stinger. In his left he grasps a human heart, on which he is usually gnawing. He strides forward on his left foot, as do most of the *dharmapalas*, his left foot trampling a prostrate horse, and his right treading on a man, presumably the horse's former rider.

The goddess Lha-mo or Sri Devi is usually shown in a particularly horrible "angry" form. Blue-black in colour when painted, she has a demon's face with a third eye; is almost naked, except for a scarf and a short tiger-skin kilt, and wears a crown of skulls, and, usually, a necklace of heads. There is often a crescent in her hair, and also in her hair or above her head is a small parasol of peacock feathers. She rides a mule with an eye in its flank, using a bridle and harness made of snakes. For a saddle-blanket she has a flayed human skin with the head still attached.

This collection does not have any full image of her in the round, but it has two metal plaques devoted to her, as well as many paintings of her.

549. Copper plaque in high relief as the front of a solid reliquary, intended to be worn from the neck. This shows an unusual four-armed form of Lha-mo, bearing a trident-tipped skull-staff (*khattranga*), a *phurbu* ritual dagger, a long-handled mirror with pendant scarf, and a noose of cords. Her hair has the crescent moon, but not the feather parasol, and she has a skirt and Tatar boots, while her mule has conventional harness and a cloth saddle blanket. In many ways this is a most unconventional representation, and hence of great value iconographically. The back of the reliquary has an incised inscription in Tibetan. The double or crossed *dorje* symbol also appears on the back.

Height: 8 cm; width: 6.8 cm; thickness: 1.4 cm

Accession no. C.5491

**Sorcerer Gods: Lesser Dharmapalas**

The demoniac god *mGar-nag* (full Tibetan name: *mGar-ba nag-po*) is not one of the principal *dharmapalas*, but he is almost as popular as they are in Tibet, and in Mongolia he is perhaps equally popular and often depicted. He figures in many paintings in this collection, both as a principal and as a subordinate figure.

He is represented with a typical demon's face, including the Third Eye, bushy eyebrows, and red hair, though the latter is often concealed under a hat. He wears the traditional robes and boots of Tibetan royalty, and atop his head he wears a crown of skulls or one of several kinds of special hats. He always rides a large he-goat with long hair and long horns that intertwine toward their tips, usually sitting side-saddle. In his upraised right hand he brandishes a special hammer, and in his left he holds a bellows, showing his traditional connection with the metalsmiths' trade.

**Hindu Gods**

A number of Hindu gods have been assimilated into the lama Buddhist pantheon. Some of the chief ones have been incorporated as important *dharmapala* figures under other names, such as Siva, called Mahakala, or even retaining their original name, Kuvera. Four of them, including Kuvera, function as the Four Deva Kings, protectors of the Four Quarters of the World, or the four sides of the World Mountain, Meru. Also, a larger group of twelve principal Hindu gods and goddesses are sometimes shown as lesser Lamist gods, or *devas*, grouped around a *mandala* in paintings, or placed around plastic mandalas as small sculptures. They frequently figure in larger paintings of the Paradise of Bhaisiyaguru.

550. The Hindu god Varuna, originally a Sky god, later god of the Sea. Since the sea was considered a source of wealth, he has been assimilated as one form of Kuvera, but here he is shown in his original status as a Hindu *deva*, no doubt made as one of a set of the Twelve Devas. In the costume of a *deva*, he
holds in both hands a long snake, as he sits upon a Makara. Handsomely cast in bronze. This is an important piece as it shows that the Twelve Devas were sometimes made in relatively large images, not merely in small-scale ones.

From Mrs Minna Black.

Height: 13 cm; width: 11 cm
Accession no. R.426

Disciples of Buddha

The image of Sakyamuni Buddha, whether a painted one or a plastic sculpture, is often accompanied by smaller figures of two of his disciples, from one of two pairs. Their names cannot be precisely identified without having both members of the pair. In addition to these four, a group of sixteen disciples were grouped together under the name of arhat, described more fully in the section devoted to the painting of them. To these were later added two more "saints" who lived many centuries after the time of Buddha’s earthly teachings, bringing the number of arhats to eighteen.

Great Lamas

Padma Sambhava, one of the founders of Lamaism, who came to Tibet from India in about AD 747 and effected a compromise between Indian Buddhism and the indigenous Tibetan religion Bon, then from a fusion of these created the Tibetan form of Buddhism.

551. 14.7 The Great Teacher Padma Sambhava is shown seated cross-legged on a lotus seat, with his two wives as attendants. Here his characteristic hat has been exchanged for a high crown, but otherwise the image conforms to the usual iconographic conventions. In his right hand he holds a vajra (dorje) in front of his chest, while his left hand holds a skull cup in his lap, and in the crook of his left arm he holds a trident-staff (khatvanga). Behind him is an open backpiece with a detachable combined halo and glory. Though made in Nepalese style, undoubtedly by a Nepali craftsman, such images were diffused widely in Tibet, and were even common in Mongolia, brought back by monks who had gone from Mongolian monasteries to visit Lhasa on pilgrimage.

Height: 16 cm; width: 9.7 cm
Accession no. R.311

Tsong Kapa, more familiarly called Je Rinpoche, who was born near the western borders of China in 1355, became a great lama teacher and reformer, founding the Gelugspa sect of Yellow Cap lamas. He died in Tibet in 1417. He was considered to have been a spiritual descendant of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, so he has at his shoulders the sword and book which are the chief attributes of Manjusri. They are supported by lappets, the stems of which he holds in his hands in dharmachakra mudra. He wears the usual monastic garb, with tall pointed hat and long lappets extending down on his shoulders.

14.7 Cat. no. 551. The Great Teacher Padma Sambhava.

Other Lamas

In addition to the two most famous teachers, other lamas were often represented, especially the lama reincarnations, known in the West as “living Buddhas”.

552. Miniature image in gold of a high lama (?Second Panchen Lama, 1485-1505) incarnation in high-peaked hat and monastic robes and cape. His right hand touches the top of his throne in bhumisparsa mudra, while the left holds a covered book in his lap. He sits on a
rug over two cushions. Well cast and minutely chased.

Added to the collections in 1889.

Height: 3.7 cm

Accession no. Ca.242

553. Small image of a high lama incarnation, bare-headed. His right hand, in vitarka mudra, is held in front of his chest, while his left rests on top of a small book in his lap. He is seated on a rug over a simple, one cushion throne, indicating a lower rank in the upper hierarchy where rank was indicated by the number of cushions. Prominently a larger hand and other distinctive features indicate that the model was possibly a true portrait. Well cast but very simply finished. Gilt bronze without chasing.

This piece has not been identified in the collections and the accession number appears to be incorrect.

From Mads Bryld.

Accession no. R.458

II. Tsa- Tsa

The term “tsa-tsa” refers to image plaques of mud or clay, usually gilded or painted. Such image plaques provide an element of transition between the three-dimensional sculptured images and the flat paintings. In the first place, although some of the plaques appear in quite high relief, even in these the lines and contours are beginning to flatten, and background designs begin to make their appearance behind the figures. Secondly, in many cases colour is an important element on the plaques, and distinctive body colours provide an aid to iconographic identification of the figures that is lacking in most of the sculptures. Lastly, some of the plaques present significant groups of deities, while others, though made individually, were intended to be set up and displayed in groups, thus forming another link with the paintings in which special groupings of figures somehow related provide new aggregations of meaning.

Buddha

554. Small lead disc with figure of Sakyamuni Buddha on the face, and a Tibetan inscription in relief on the back. Apparently cast in a mold intended for making a clay tsa-tsa, hence listed with these. Described in the accession register as being of silver with Chinese characters on the reverse.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. C.1357

Diameter: 2.2 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm

555. A moulded sun-dried clay plaque on which an image has been made in relief by pressing a mold, probably of brass, down onto a wet lump of clay. Across the top of the image is a row of five small chortens. Below this is Sakyamuni Buddha, flanked on either side by a standing attendant disciple. Below them are three lines of text, not in Tibetan script. At the bottom there is a row of ten small chortens. On the back appear the impressions of half a dozen cereals, one grain is still embedded in the clay. The clay plaque may contain some printed paper charms or amulets; the corner of a piece of paper can be seen protruding from the back. Unpainted plaque.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. C.5436

556. An unpainted moulded sun-dried clay plaque which is so similar to cat. no. 555 that it must have been made from the same mould. According to the donor there is a report from Dr. J. Vogel, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Punjab, stating that the script used on this clay plaque is of an Indian type used between AD 700 and 900. The text is the “Buddhist Creed”.

The plaque was found “near the old monastery at Kalatse in Lower Ladak”.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. C.1357

Bodhisattvas and Goddesses

557. The 4-armed Avalokitesvara (Sadakasari) seated on a lotus, Manjushri brandishing his sword, also on a lotus, and an angry form of Vajrapani standing in flames. A stupa is shown bottom centre, separating the figures. Unpainted sun-dried clay.

From Johannes Prip-Møller.

Height: 4.5 cm; width: 4.2 cm; thickness: 1.8 cm

Accession no. C.5050.
Grand Lamas

In addition to the plaques of Tsong Kapa which were so revered and treated as valued amulets by members of the Yellow Cap sect, stamped portraits of the Dalai Lamas were considered as the ultimate in mementoes by Mongol lamas who had managed to make the pilgrimage to Lhasa, and they were treasured as amulets for the charm boxes.

558. The Great Fifth Dalai Lama seated on a cushion throne, on a small circular plaque of unbaked yellow mud, with his name inscribed in Tibetan script at each side. Possibly made from his excrement, as such plaques were especially valued. A coarse thread is tied around it with a loop above by which it could be hung.

From Dr Carstens.

Accession no. Ca.145

559. Rolpahi Dorje (Lalita-vajra), Grand Lama of Peking, in a peaked hat, seated upon a tall conventionalized lotus. Right hand in vitarka mudra, his left holds a bumps vase in his lap. At his shoulders the symbols of Manjusri. Upper left, Sakyamuni Buddha; upper right, the four-armed Avalokitesvara; lower left, the White Tara; lower right, Acala brandishing a sword as he steps to the right. All five figures gilded, the background and sides painted red. In style and composition this is the subject of a painting here reproduced in low relief in a portable form suitable for a charm box. Moulded red clay square amulet with the figures in high relief and painted in gold.

Lower right hand corner of amulet chipped.

From P. Kóbke.

Height: 5.5 cm; width: 5.5 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. C.966

560. 14.9 Rolpahi Dorje, Grand Lama of Peking, in a peaked yellow hat, seated on a lotus throne. His right hand is in vitarka mudra, in his left is a bowl or vase. Just above his left shoulder is a lotus, and above his right a lotus with sword, the symbols of Manjusri. Above him to his left is the red disc of the sun: above him to his right is the crescent moon. Below him are two lamas, one on the right and one on the left. As they are dressed the same and have the same attributes, they probably represent aspects of Rolpahi Dorje. This clay plaque, which is an arched trefoil in shape, has been fired and painted. The back and edges are in blue; much of the front has been painted in gold, but the clay has absorbed this and the colour is now mostly greyish-brown. The lama figures are a dull yellow.

Height: 8 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. R.585

561. 14.9 A sun-dried clay plaque with an arched top and the moulded images of six figures. As the impression is far from clear, and as the figures are very small, and have been brushed over with a coarse layer of colour, their attributes are either non-existent or not clearly visible. Identification is therefore difficult. At top centre, covered with traces of red colour, is Amitayus Buddha holding in his lap a vase of the Elixir of Life in both hands. Below him is White Tara. To her right, and lower down, is Manjusri, coloured yellow. Above Manjusri is a blue figure with left hand in vitarka mudra, and right hand in the earth-touching witnessing mudra. In the lower right corner of the plaque is a second blue figure, standing with upraised right hand, and left hand holding some attribute. Above him is a yellow eight-armed figure. Lower left corner and upper right corner of plaque damaged.

Height: 6 cm; width: 6 cm; thickness: 1.5-2 cm

Accession no. R.586

562. 14.9 A small moulded, fired, and painted clay tsa-tsa, described as a "temple souvenir" by Prince Peter, with trefoil arched top and rectangular bottom. There are three figures and a small chorten painted a dull dark green colour and framed within a raised border which has been painted red. The figure at the top is the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha. Below him and to the left is the White Tara; on the right is the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijaya with her three heads and eight arms, holding in each hand her traditional attributes. Between the two goddesses is a chorten.

Height: 5 cm; width: 4.7 cm; thickness: 1 cm

Accession no. R.587
Moulds for Making the Plaques

The tso-tsa plaques were made by stamping lumps of wet mud, clay, or damp loess soil with a heavy metal mould, having a stout metal handle at a right angle to the top of the mould, to permit a strong, direct downward motion with the maximum of force and weight. They were deliberately made thick and heavy so that their weight in itself would compress the material and thus impart a structural cohesion, without the need of baking the plaques later to strengthen them.

III. The Paintings

In the pictures the full development of Tibetan Buddhist iconography finally appears, along with the richness of detail that only fine drawing and full colour can give. Here too we find the combining and grouping of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, goddesses and demon protectors in complex arrangements that express rich symbolic meanings, which could not be as graphically conveyed in any other way.

The paintings in this collection vary greatly in size, from tiny examples, scarcely 3.8 x 7.6 cm, to be carried in charm boxes, through the usual hanging scrolls called tangkas, to huge wall panels nearly 120 x 180 cm. A still larger type of painted banner, more than 900 x 600 cm, was used in Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries to be hung down over the front of the main temple
buildings for special festival ceremonies, but these cannot be found in any Western collection because they were too difficult to transport.

With the exception of one or two very modern paintings, done in oils, all of the pictures discussed in this catalogue were done in the traditional medium of ground colours applied to heavily sized cloth. The cloth is customarily a coarse linen with a thick sizing of white lime, polished with a conch shell so that the surface becomes like a plastered wall. The same techniques of painting and the same pigments are used for painting directly on the walls of lama temples, the methods having been invented in India many centuries ago for decorating the walls of cave shrines.

The actual paints are usually ground mineral pigments: the white from ground shells, the red from cinnabar, the finest blue from lapis lazuli imported from Badakhshan in North-East Afghanistan, and the finest green from malachite, with various shades of yellow, orange, and brown from natural ochres. These ground pigments were mixed with light glue and water, then applied with a wedge-shaped stick, similar to the Tibetan wooden stylus, but with a frayed end. The lama artists almost never used a brush like those used for Chinese and Japanese paintings. The paints were too thick for effective work with these.

Very frequently the basic outline was printed by wooden blocks or "pounced". In the latter technique a drawn or printed pattern was placed over the prepared canvas, its outlines pricked with pinholes, and charcoal dust poured or rubbed through the holes. Then the resulting dots were connected by lines, and these outlines were filled in with colours. Using this method, the artist had little opportunity to display his talents, except in the mixing and application of colours and the execution of minor details, especially in the background.

The figures themselves had to be very precisely drawn, according to strict iconographic rules that permitted no deviation. To insure this, the work was usually done by an artist monk, trained in the scriptures, and as he worked, his associates or disciples chanted texts relating to the subject. The artist-monk might be either a permanent resident of a great lamasery or an itinerant painter who wandered from temple to temple in search of commissions. In either case the work was an act of worship, not done for material rewards or honour, so the artist almost never signed his work. (Only one painting in this collection bears a signature). Only rarely too is the name of a patron cited in a dedicatory inscription. Thus we are deprived of one of the chief clues for attributions and dating.

When the painting was completed the artist detached it from its wooden frame, and if it was of medium size, neither too small nor too large, he finished by mounting it in a rich silk frame. When the edge of the painting itself is not painted with thin strips of yellow and red, then narrow bands of yellow and red silk within a much broader frame of blue are used. These three primary colours are considered as "the rainbow colours", the colours of divine emanations proceeding outward from the spiritual subjects at the centre, to influence and inspire the hearts of men. In another sense, this combination of the three basic colours was considered as protective, preserving the holy icon from profanation by the material world around it.

It is often possible for a textile expert to give an approximate date for the fabric in the mounting, as Chinese satin damasks and brocades can often be dated by their patterns; but this is no reliable clue to the date of a painting. Every monastery of any size had a storage room containing a heap of silk offerings from which to draw the material for mounting tangkas. Some pieces
might be centuries old. It is worth noting that fine silks were not sent out from China until their style of decoration or pattern had passed out of fashion there. Thus a comparatively new painting might be mounted in very old silk, or conversely, a valued old painting, after its mounting had become frayed or worn, might be remounted in silks only recently presented, and hence of a much later date.

When the process of painting and mounting had been completed, the finished painting was dedicated, just as the images were consecrated before use, and a dedicatory inscription was often added at the back. Some of the paintings have a brief inscription invoking each of the chief deities mentioned on the back of the painting, behind that particular figure. Because the names of the more secret deities were kept private, lest an unauthorized person might try to invoke them, some paintings have a double backing, a second piece of cloth on which the invocations were written, mounted with the writing on the inside, so the back of the painting appears totally plain. On one such separate backing in this collection, Mr. Haarh found an interesting series of “secret names” for certain well-known deities, probably intended for obtaining special powers through some use of them.

The painting as a whole, after dedication, became an object of special reverence. It was more than a mere portrait, or a collection of related portraits, it was a little holy world of its own. Every proper lama painting has a background consisting of hills and mountains with a river or lake, following the old Chinese concept that a landscape is not a true landscape without having in it both hills and water (shan shui), and above is the sky, complete with the sun and moon. Thus it is a universe in microcosm, against which the gods play out their respective rôles. The placing of the figures, like the representations of the figures themselves, was very strictly determined by set rules, in order to express various symbolic ideas. A few of the simpler ideas conveyed by meaningful groupings have already been explained in the section on clay plaques. Some others will be explained below. We shall not make the attempt to try to explain all the pictures in this way. Partly because it would be excessively repetitious, and partly because in many cases the full meaning is simply not known.

Let us return to the subject of dating the paintings. In the absence of artist’s signatures, and faced with the major obstacle of a strict tradition which kept iconographic forms and patterns unchanged for centuries, some Western students have sought to find a method of dating by style. “Style”, however, is a very unreliable criterion for trying to establish either the date or the place of origin of a lama Buddhist painting, although it does have some slight application, as Professor Tucci demonstrated in his brilliant book Tibetan Painted Scrolls, when he pointed out some of the Chinese stylistic elements of detail as opposed to those from India. Style is an uncertain criterion because many lamaist artists, especially in remote temples, worked in old stylistic forms long after these had been discarded in the main centres, and because itinerant artists carried their individual habits of colouring, etc., widely afield. Lastly, style is an unfit basis for judging place or date of origin because these easily portable scroll paintings were so convenient to carry when rolled that they were taken on long journeys as presents from one abbot or “incarnation” to another, or brought back as precious remembrances from visits to Lhasa or other holy places.

It is also futile to place reliance on dating by the condition of a painting. Some of those in this collection which contain didactic subjects suitable for teaching are especially damaged, as though they had been carried about by itinerant
14.10 Cat. no. 564. Wheel of Life. Photo: Niels Elswing.
14.11 Cat.no.592. Buddha on a tiger with a serpent in his right hand and a skull cup in his left. Photo: Niels E. Lowry.
lama preachers and hung up as subjects for sermons, thus suffering from the wear and tear of travel and exposure. Others were exposed to weather after being looted by Chinese soldiers in the trouble-filled years during the late 1930s. Still others came from ruined temples where, once again, neglect and exposure to weather had done their worst. In spite of the condition of such paintings, some of them are obviously quite recent because of the pigments used. For, one of the few reasonably accurate clues to dating is the use of late pigments, especially those derived from Western aniline products. These permit the classification “recent” or “modern”, meaning works of the twentieth century. Beyond this, no precise dating is possible.

Lastly, there is the question of artistic judgement. How can one classify a given lama painting as “good” or “bad”? Certainly this cannot be done by applying Western standards of aesthetics. It can only be fairly judged by the standards of the lama artists and patrons, who demand above all, exactness to tradition, and skill in the presentation of set subjects. Even within this rigid framework, genius will out, and an artist gifted with special talents can produce what could rightly be called a “work of art” by any standards.

One means of artistic expression used for representing the lama deities was the use of silk appliqué. This technique was allied to painting, because the subjects, and their composition and colouring, were similar; but instead of using paint, the colouring was achieved by sewing scraps of coloured silk in the required pattern against a background of strong cloth. All the nuances of colour were obtained by using silks of the appropriate tints. The only time any paint was permitted was for the features of especially small figures or for the shading of white clouds. The National Museum is fortunate to have acquired a superb example of work in this technique. As it has been carefully preserved, probably only to be displayed at occasional ceremonies, and kept rolled up by its former owner since it was obtained in Peking many years ago, the colours are still fresh and unfaded. At first glance the colours might seem overly bright, even raw, to Western eyes; but they have the intensity so much admired by the less sophisticated Mongols and Tibetans, and thus they make this hanging a perfect expression of native taste in lama religious art.

For a detailed discussion of the Wheel of Life and its significance in Buddhist thought, see I. A. Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism: 100-22.*

The Wheel of Life

At the time when Dr Cammann catalogued the Museum’s collections of Tibetan bronzes and paintings there was no representation of the Wheel of Life among them. In his manuscript he made a note to the effect that Prince Peter had promised to find such a *thangka* for the museum and when he did, it would “be described as the first in the series of paintings, in order that the reader will understand more clearly the system of Karma and rebirths which underlies the Buddhist teachings”. Thanks to a bequest by Prince Peter, the museum now has several, as described below.

564. *Bhavacakramudra*, the Wheel of Life, representing transmigratory existence. The wheel is held by a demon symbolizing the “hideousness of clinging to life”. In the centre are three animals, the pig the snake, and the cock, symbolizing the three cardinal sins: ignorance, anger, and lust. They are shown here devouring each other. The dark half of the circle surrounding them signifies the dark downward path; the lighter half the bright upward path. The large circle around this centre is divided into six sections, illustrating the Conditions of Existence. In the upper half the central section is the Region of the Gods. To the left of that is the Region of Man; to the right is
14.12  Cal. no. 576.
Very large silk appliqué scroll picture of Paldan Lhamo riding her mule across the Sea of Blood. Photo: Niels Elsving.
the Region of the Demigods. In the lower half of the circle the central section shows two Hells, a hot one on the left and a cold one to the right. To the left of this is the Region of Tortured Spirits; to the right is the Animal World. The outermost circle is divided into twelve sections showing the sequence of events which lead to death and rebirth. This general arrangement is characteristic of all Wheel of Life thangkas, except that sometimes the right and left pairs of panels are reversed: the Human World and that of the Tortured Spirits may appear on the right, and the Demigods and Animal World may appear on the left. The painting is mounted on silk panels in traditional colours. The innermost band of silk brocade is red, next is yellow, and finally these are surrounded by dark blue brocade, which in this case, bears shou patterns in silver thread. The dust cover has a broad central panel of yellow, with narrower strips of red on either side.

Scroll, height: 112 cm; width: 76 cm
Painting, height: 60 cm; width: 44.5 cm
Accession no. R.513

565. A Yamantaka mandala painting with Tsong Khapa in the upper left corner, Manjusri top centre, and, top right, a Yellow Hat lama with bowl in left hand, right hand in vitarka mudra. The name of this lama is given in a line of Tibetan text below his picture. In the lower left corner is the Dharmapala Mahakala, Guardian of the Faith, in fierce aspect, with Third Eye and flaming hair, shown as a six-armed dark blue figure trampling an Elephant-headed god. In his upraised left hand is a trident, his middle left hand holds a noose, and in his lower left is a skull cup. In his upraised right hand he holds an unidentified attribute, his middle right hand grasps a double drum, and his lower right holds a chopper. He is surrounded by flames. At lower right is Yama, Lord of Death, a blue bull-headed figure with Third Eye and skull crown, who is together with his sister Yami. He holds a club in his upraised right hand, a noose in his left. Yami holds a trident in her right hand and a skull cup in her left. Enveloped in flames, they are dancing atop a bull who is trampling or raping a human figure below. Two further pictures have been painted at the bottom centre. The one on the right shows Kuvera, one of the Four Deva Kings, with his “ever victorious banner” in his right hand and his mongoose in his left. He is mounted on a white lion with a green mane and tail. To the left of this is the Dharmapala Sridevi – a blue figure with one head and two arms, with the Third Eye, a skull crown, and red hair. In her upraised right hand she holds a staff, in her left a skull cup. She is shown sitting on a mule.

Height: 124 cm; width: 94 cm
Accession no. R.558

Buddhas

The historical Buddha, Ga'utama (c. 650-480 BC) began his life as the son of a petty king in the terai region just south of the Himalayas, in what is now Nepal. His people were the Sakya tribe, and thus, after his enlightenment, the former Prince Siddhartha became known as Sakyamuni Buddha (“the Buddha from the Sakya people”). Scenes from his earthly life have been a popular subject in Buddhist painting everywhere, but the Tibetan Buddhist artists developed special conventions which elaborated on the figures and scenes learned from the Indians to represent it. In addition a rich lore developed around his previous incarnations, and the resulting tales, the Jatakas, have also provided a rich source of inspiration for lama artists.

Sakyamuni Buddha is generally represented in the paintings as a golden figure, shown with various hand gestures (mudras) to symbolize the chief incidents of his life. He is also depicted as the centre of a group of thirty-five Buddhas, “The Thirty-Five Buddhas of Confession”, the thirty-four others being imaginary figures whose names refer to attributes of the Supreme Buddha.

The Supreme Primordial Buddha (Adibuddha) is symbolized under three forms with different names, whose use depends on the sect: Vajradhara, Vajrasattva, or Samantabhadra, for the Yellow Cap, Reformed Cap, and Primitive Unreformed Red Cap sects, respectively.

A group of five Celestial Buddhas, known as the Dhyani Buddhas, are considered to be the spiritual sons of the Adi-Buddha. One of these, Amitabha, is believed to preside over a Western Paradise (Sukhavati), and therefore he enjoys a special cult of those who aspire to join him there, after their death.

In addition, there is a group of Terrestrial, or Earthly Buddhas (Manusri Buddhas), who have successively taken their places on earth as spiritual teachers, af-
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After having passed through a previous succession of lives as Bodhisattvas until they attained full purification. The last of these was Sakyamuni Buddha, who was preceded by Dipankara, and will in turn be followed by Maitreya, when his teachings have been forgotten. This trio, Dipankara, Sakyamuni, and Maitreya, are often shown together, as symbolic representation of Past, Present, and Future.

Two other prominent Buddhas are Amitayus, Buddha of Eternal Life, a form of Amitabha, always shown in Bodhisattva garb as a "crowned Buddha", and Bhaisajyaguru, Buddha of Medicine, who is believed to preside over a paradise in the East.

This by no means closes the list of Buddhas, but it sets the stage for the descriptions of those represented in this collection.

566. Amitayus, Buddha of Eternal Life, is shown in red with crown and Vase of the Water of Life held in both hands in his lap. Above his head is White Tara of the Seven Eyes. Below his throne in the centre is the goddess Usnisa-vijaya with her three heads, each with a Third Eye, and eight arms. In her first right hand she holds a double dorje, shielded by the first left one. Her upper right hand holds an image of Amitabha Buddha, the middle one holds an arrow, and the lowest is extended in charity (vara mudra). Her upper left hand is upraised, the middle one holds a bow, and the lowest holds a ritual vase (kalasa) in her lap. There are one hundred and eight other figures in the painting, all of them emanations of Amitayus. The painting has been executed with skill and careful attention to detail. It entirely lacks its silk borders and wooden scroll rollers, but is in reasonably good condition.

From Werner Jacobsen.

Height: 78 cm; width: 52.5 cm

Accession no. R.554

In addition to the four chief disciples of Sakyamuni Buddha, Ananda and Kasyapa, and Sariputra and Maudgalyayana, who served in pairs as his attendants, Buddha had a special group of sixteen other favoured disciples, generally known as the arbas. To these the medieaval Buddhists of China and Tibet added two more, creating the familiar group of the Eighteen Arbas, called Loban in China. Lama Buddhism, however, did not grant full status to the last two, and usually depicted them somewhat differently from the rest, to keep them distinct. The gestures and attributes of some of these arbas are not very firmly established, and tend to alter from painting to painting; however, the principal ones can usually be recognized and we can identify them here.

567. Sakyamuni Buddha with sixteen arbas and two religious supporters. Here Sakyamuni Buddha is shown in gold seated on a lotus with a bowl in his left hand and his right hand touching the earth in the witnessing mudra. He is attended by two disciples each bearing an alarm staff such as those carried by mendicant monks. In the upper left corner is dark-skinned Ajita in meditation mudra, with his head covered. Next to him is Angaja with fly whisk and incense burner. Next is Bakula with his mongoose, and in the upper right corner is Rahula, Sakyamuni's son, with the crown which he renounced to become a monk. Below these, on either side of the Buddha's head are two figures. That on the left appears to be Vanavasi with a flywhisk. The one on the right has not been identified. The Buddha's two attendants stand on either side of him with their alarm staffs. On the left side of the painting is Kalika holding two golden ornaments. On the opposite side is Pindolabharadvaja, holding a book in his right hand and a bowl in his left. Below him is Bhadra, holding a book in his right hand with his left in vitarka mudra. On the opposite side is Vajripura with his flywhisk in his right hand and his left in vitarka mudra. Below the Buddha is an unidentified arba on the left; on the right is Nagasena with his alarm staff and vase. Lower down on the left side is Cudapanthaka in meditation. Next to him is one of the two later additions to the group of sixteen arbas. This is Hvasang, painted dark brown, with a rosary in his right hand and a conch shell in his left. He is shown "fat and happy" and there is a child on either side of him. In the centre is Kanakavatsa with a jewelled noose. Next on the right is Gopaka, holding a book. On the far right is Abheda holding a stupa. Below him is Dharruatula, the second of the religious supporters, with long black hair. He holds a vase in his right hand from which rises a cloud of vapour. In this cloud is an image of Amitabha. Below Dharmatala is his tiger. Across the bottom of the painting are the Four Deva Kings (Catur Maharaja). On the left is
Virudhaka, King of the South, painted blue, holding his sword. Next is Dhritarashtra, King of the East, playing his magic lute. Next to him is Virupaksa, King of the West, painted red, with a pearl in his right hand and a snake in his left. Finally, in the lower right corner is Kuvera, King of the North, with his banner in his right hand and his mongoose in his left. The painting is in good condition. It is framed in silk brocade, with the innermost silk borders of red, the middle ones of blue, and the outside ones of yellow. The dust cover is made up of a central panel in yellow, with narrower panels on either side in red. The ends of the scroll dowel are fitted with openwork metal caps with dragon designs in the metal. These have been painted in blue, yellow, and red.

Scroll, height: 108 cm; width: 60 cm Painting, height: 55 cm; width: 34 cm
Accession no. R.550

568. Sakyamuni Buddha, seated in traditional manner in the centre, is surrounded by a large number of Buddhas, each seated on a lotus with hands in various mudras. Four temples, each with its Buddha and disciples, are shown. The painting, edged by panels of yellow silk, is in poor condition. In a green-bordered rectangle across the bottom of the painting are three lines of Tibetan text.

From Knud Deichmann Heegaard.

Scroll, height: 117 cm; width: 71 cm Painting, height: 83 cm; width: 58.5 cm
Accession no. R.418.

Amitabha Buddha (in Tibetan Od-dpag-med), “Buddha of Boundless Light”, who presides over the Western Paradise (Sukhavati), which in itself forms a familiar subject for lamaist paintings. He is usually shown as red, except for occasional representations in gold, a permissible alternative for any Buddha. He is conventionally shown seated in meditation (dhyanasana), holding a bowl in both hands in his lap.

569. Amitabha Buddha shown in conventional attitude and traditional red colour, seated in meditation holding a bowl cradled in his lap in both hands. In the upper left corner is the four-armed Avalokitesvara (Sadhaksari), with the hands of the two lower arms held together in prayer and in the upper left hand a lotus; in the upper right a rosary. In the upper right corner is White Tara, or “Tara of the Seven Eyes”. At top centre is a Yellow Hat Lama, probably Tsong Khapa (c. AD 1355-1417) of Kumbum, spiritual descendant of Manjusri, flanked on either side by his chief disciples, Gyalsab-rje and mKhasgrub-rje, who have books in their laps and lean attentively toward the master. Around the principal figure are eight seated figures, the Eight Dhyani Bodhisattvas: Avalokitesvara (Chen-re-zi), Vaijrapani, Ratnapani, Manjusri, Maitreya, and what Dr. Cammann has described as “three less familiar Bodhisattvas who are seldom shown outside of the group”. In the lower right hand corner is Kuvera Vaisravana, God of Wealth, with a “jewel-spitting” mongoose in his left hand and a Banner of Victory in his right. He is King of the North; one of the Four Deva Kings. In the lower left corner is Vaijrapani, Lord of Power shown in angry form, with a blue face and body, the Third Eye, and a tiger skin skirt. In his upraised right hand is a dorje, his principal attribute as Wielder of the Thunderbolt. At bottom centre is a stupa. The painting is in good condition and has been executed with a wealth of fine detail. The painting is edged with a 3.5 cm broad strip of patterned red Chinese brocade. Framing this is a similar strip of patterned orange Chinese brocade. The outer panels are of green Chinese brocade with patterns of clouds and dragons. The painting is covered by a silk hanging made up of three pieces, the central and largest portion of which is of yellow silk with hand-painted flowers. This is flanked on either side by a strip of purple silk. Two ribbons of this same purple silk have been attached at the top so that they hang down over the outside of the cover.

Scroll, height: 126 cm; width: 75 cm Painting, height: 62.5 cm; width: 41 cm
Accession no. R.559

570. The Paradise of Amitabha shows Amitabha seated on his peacock throne in front of a pavilion. He is attended by Padmapani and Vajrapani (mild form), and the other Six Dhyani Bodhisattvas, shown in smaller size below. In the upper corners there are two pavilions, each with a smaller figure of Amitabha. In the lower corners there are two pavilions, each with a smaller figure of Avalokitesvara. At top centre is Tsong Kapa and his two chief disciples. Long use has removed some of the outer layers of paint, exposing the median line.
which the painter first set down to ensure a perfectly balanced symmetry.

From Ms Minna Black.

Scroll, height: 120 cm; width: 67 cm
Picture, height: 60 cm; width: 40 cm
Accession no. R.438

Bodhisattvas

A Bodhisattva is a being who has reached the last stages of spiritual development and is on the way to becoming a Buddha, the most obvious example being Sakyamuni Buddha before the Enlightenment. This is the only definition accepted by the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon and South-East Asia. In Northern Buddhism (Mahayana) to which the Lama faith belongs, the cult of the Bodhisattvas was highly elaborated, and two additional types were recognized: a special class of spiritual beings who have won the right to become Buddhas, but have chosen to stay on earth to help mankind, being able to assume any form necessary for the immediate purpose; and a special group of five deities who were the reflexes or earthly forms through which the Five Dhyani Buddhas could work on earth to help mankind.

This last group are called the Five Dhyani Bodhisattvas, and include Avalokitasvara (from Amitabha Buddha), Vajrapani (from Akshobya Buddha), Ratnapani (from Ratnasambhava), and Visvapani (from Anoghasiddhi).

Another group of Eight Dhyani Bodhisattvas includes the first three from the five just listed, together with Manjusri, Maitreya (who will be the next Buddha), and three less familiar Bodhisattvas who are seldom shown outside of the group.

The Bodhisattvas are always pictured wearing the garment of an Indian prince, recalling Prince Siddhartha who became Sakyamuni Buddha, wearing golden crowns, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, and silken clothes usually consisting of long skirts and flowing scarfs.

Avalokitesvara (Avalokita + Isvara, meaning “Lord”; Tibetan sPyin-ras-gzigs, or more simply Chenrezig). The Lord of Mercy, “spiritual son” or reflex of Amitabha Buddha, he is perhaps the most popular deity of the whole Northern Buddhist pantheon.

In China it became the fashion to represent him as a woman, on the grounds that men are not by nature merciful, whereas women are; and this idea was carried to Japan. Since a Bodhisattva is technically neither man nor woman, but can assume any form at will, the exact manner of presentation did not greatly matter. For convenience, however, Bodhisattvas are generally referred to as “he”.

Avalokitesvara is considered the special patron of Tibet, and his four-armed form is believed to be reincarnated in the successive Dalai Lamas.

571. Avalokitesvara (Sadaksari form), the four-armed manifestation that is believed to be reincarnated in the Dalai Lamas. Above, Sakyamuni Buddha, who first taught the doctrine about Avalokitesvara, according to the Buddhist tradition. This is unusual, as his spiritual father. Amitabha is generally shown in this place. In the lower corners are somewhat smaller pictures of Manjusri, and a fierce form of Vajrapani. Between them a stupa, as Avalokitesvara is often worshipped in the form of a stupa dedicated to him. As was previously mentioned in discussing the tsa-tsa plaques, this trio of Bodhisattvas is frequently found. In this case, the fact that Avalokitesvara, who represents Mercy, is shown larger than the other two, who respectively stand for Wisdom and Power, is usually explained by saying that the whole grouping symbolizes the fact that the ideal character or mental constitution of an individual should contain these three elements, with Mercy or Love in a larger quantity than the others. Competently painted, and in good condition. It is edged with a 2 cm wide border of coarse red cotton. Round this is a 2.5 cm wide border of coarse yellow cotton. The outermost panels are of dark blue cotton. A piece of fine red silk, now much the worse for wear, is attached to the top as a cover for the painting.

Scroll, height: 88 cm; width: 55 cm
Painting, height: 41 cm; width: 31 cm

Accession no. R.187

572. Avalokitesvara, again in Sadaksari form, the four-armed manifestation where his two principal hands are together in an attitude of prayer in front of his chest; his other arms are upraised and he holds a rosary in his right hand and a lotus in his left. At top centre above his head is Green Tara. In the upper right corner is White Tara of
the "Seven Eyes". In the upper left corner is Padma Sambhava with dorje scepter in his right hand, raised in the threatening gesture. In his left he holds a skull bowl in which is a Vase of the Elixir of Immortality. In the crook of his left arm, and leaning back against his lef shoulder, is the adept's staff, the khatvanga, with its usual symbols. In the lower left corner is Manjusri. In the lower right is Vajrapani in "angry" form with Bodhisattva crown and jewels but also a necklace of snakes and a tiger skin kilt, holding a dorje in his right hand. At bottom centre are offerings of red coral, conch shells, and pearls. The painting is in very good condition.

Scroll.
height: 123 cm; width: 81 cm
Painting, height: 59 cm; width: 42 cm
Accession no. 8 357

574. Avalokitesvara, the Merciful Lord, with eight arms and eleven heads. The three lowest heads are supposed to represent Past, Present, and Future, indicating that Mercy is active throughout Time. The next two tiers, of three heads each, indicate that Mercy is active in helping all existing things in the Six Worlds of Rebirth. The tenth head, that of a demon, represents Mercy in its active belligerent form as an enemy of Hate and Injustice. Finally the eleventh head at the top is that of his spiritual father, Amitabha, to demonstrate his spiritual descent. Sometimes the head of Amitabha is shown atop the ushnisha of Avalokitesvara even in his simpler forms. A fanciful story explains this arrangement of multiple heads by saying that the Bodhisattva's head once split into a thousand pieces on contemplating the wretchedness of humanity, and that this condition resulted when Amitabha tried to put the pieces together again. This is a mere rationalization to account for the iconographic detail of the eleven heads, after the original symbolism had been forgotten. White Tara appears at lower left, and Sitatapatra in her simplest form is seen at lower right. It is a somewhat provincial work, but very typical. The silk borders and cover, apparently once in fine condition, are in poor state, the head of Bodhisattva's figure of the Green Tara is surrounded by remnants of royal ornaments, and silken scarfs and skirts, the ancient Indian panoply of a prince. Tara, the Goddess of Mercy and Compassion, has numerous forms, the chief ones being the Green Tara and the White Tara.

574. Green Tara shown sitting on a lotus in the lalitasana attitude, her right foot extended and resting on a lotus. Her right hand is extended, palm upward, across her right knee in a gesture of charity, the vara mudra, while her left hand is held up in vitarka mudra. In both hands she holds the stems of utpala or blue lotuses which are in full flower, one at her right and the other at her left shoulder. Top centre, above her head, is Akshobhya shown in blue in characteristic attitude, holding a dorje in his left hand, which rests in his lap, his right extended downward to touch the earth. In the top left corner is Manjusri, Lord of Wisdom, with his hands together in front of his chest in the dharmacakra mudra. In the upper right corner is the four-armed Avalokitesvara (Sadakasri), Lord of Mercy, with the hands of his two lower arms held in prayer in front of his chest, and the upper ones holding a rosary and a lotus respectively. The large central figure of the Green Tara is surrounded by seven smaller emanations of her. The painting has been skillfully executed in fine detail and is in good condition. It is edged with a 4 cm wide strip of red Chinese bro-
cade with flower patterns. This is bordered by a 4 cm wide frame of yellow brocade, also with flower patterns, and around this are panels of blue Chinese silk brocade with flower patterns. The bottom panel has a rectangle of red brocade 20 x 27 cm in size set in the centre. The cover, now smoke-blackened but otherwise in good condition, has been made up of three vertical pieces of silk; a dark red strip on either side of a yellow panel bearing hand painted flowers in red and green. Two 4 cm wide ribbons of red silk have been fastened to the top of the cover so that they hang down over this central panel, one on either side of the centre.

Scroll. height: 135 cm; width: 81.5 cm
Painting. height: 60 cm; width: 45.5 cm
Accession no. R.555

575. A painting of Tara. It was apparently certified as being genuine by William Christie of New York. Not seen.

Said to have come "from the Tibetan Monastery of Darge, Amdo Province, in Tibet". From Captain Friis, 1909.

Length: 53 cm; width: 25-31 cm
Accession no. C.1538

Sri Devi (Tibetan: dpal-ldan lhmo-mo or more simply lhamo), "The Glorious Goddess". Although this name associates her with Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, in her aspect of Goddess of Fortune, actually Lhamo seems to have been a composite deity, probably having connection with pre-Buddhist Tibetan goddess as well. As the lama Buddhist Goddess of Fortune or Destiny, she has two aspects, both indigenous to Tibet, neither having any direct resemblance to the Indian representations of Lakshmi, in spite of an undoubtable connection. Her two aspects:

(i) The familiar "angry" form, blue or black, with a very evil appearance, accentuated by a crown of skulls and a long necklace of human heads. Aside from these, and a parasol of peacock feathers, in or above her headdress, she is naked except for a tiger-skin kilt. She rides on a mule which has an extra eye in its flank, a harness and bridle of snakes, a saddle blanket made of a flayed human skin (one tradition calls it her son's), a saddle bag-purse, and several pendant dice, symbols of chance or changing fortune. All these features are explained in a familiar legend, which may be only a late rationalization to explain earlier symbols (see Alice Getty. *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. 132-3). Probably originally a goddess of misfortune (the dark aspect of fortune), worshipped and given offerings to propitiate her, this angry form of Lhamo was "tamed" and made a Defender of the Faith (*dbharmapala*), so that she could exert her powers in combat against other demons.

(ii) The "mild" form, hitherto unrecognized by Western students of iconography, as Goddess of Luck or Good Fortune. However she is fully identified by an inscription in Tibetan in a painting of the Assembly of Gods in this collection (R.XVIII-77). She is white, only rarely shown with a Third Eye, dressed like an ancient Tibetan queen, with golden crown, heavy robes, and Central Asian boots. She holds in her right hand an arrow for divination with a mirror attached by silk streamers to its upper feathered end (used for determining the future and for "good luck" magic), while her left hand holds in her lap a basin full of conventionalized pearls and other wealth symbols, to indicate her secondary rôle as a dispenser of riches. When mounted, she rides upon a slender female deer.

As mentioned above, Sri Devi is the alternative title for the goddess Lhamo, and she seems to be the Tibetan counterpart of Lakshmi, the Hindu Sri Devi, Goddess of Fortune, and consort of Vishnu. On the other hand, the almost constant presence of a small figure of the goddess Sarasvati over the head of Lhamo in the paintings in this collection suggests that Lhamo might also have been considered as an aspect of Sarasvati, the Hindu Goddess of Music and Learning, and consort of Brahma. Again, much about Lhamo in her terrible aspect, recalls still another Hindu goddess, the horrible Kali, consort of Siva; and Lhamo is also the consort of Mahskal, the Tibetan counterpart of Siva in at least one of his forms.

Considering these facts, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that Lhamo, as "The Glorious Goddess" of the Tibetans, was really an embodiment of all three of these goddesses from the Later Hindu pantheon, all comprised in a single personification – just as Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the Hindu gods who preside over the Past, the Present, and
the Future, were all together summed up in Mahakala, whose name signifies "Great Time".

576. 14,12 A giant hanging picture of Lhamo in silk appliqué. All the figures and the details of the background were composed by cutting fine pieces of silk and satin damask into the appropriate shapes, and then sewing them onto a background fabric. The only paint used was a slight application of water colours on the white silk that forms the clouds, to indicate their shading. In the centre is Paldan Lhamo in her angriest aspect, riding her mule over the Sea of Blood, attended by her two animal-headed dakinis. In the corners the goddesses of the Four Seasons, riding in smoke and flames. At top centre, the goddess Narasvati, playing her lute; and at the bottom a small figure of Lhamo in her mild aspect, as Goddess of Good Fortune. The subject is quite conventional and we have already met it in a number of paintings, but here it has added force because of the immense size of the principal figure, the unusually fine details shown in the presentation of her and her chief attendants, in contrast to the serenity of the two mild goddesses, and the brilliance of the colours used, which show exceedingly well the gaudy taste of the latter-day Mongols and Tibetans.

From Ms Minna Black.

Scroll, height: 305 cm; width: 160 cm Picture, height: 193 cm; width: 126 cm

Accession no. R.425

The Dharmapalas

Yama (Tibetan: gSin-rje; Mongol: Erlik Khan), "Lord of Death", taken from the Hindu religion where his appearance is less malevolent. In lama art he has several forms, but is generally shown as a hideous blue-black creature with a bull's head, trampling on a bull as it crushes a man below him. Sometimes the human being at the bottom is a woman being raped by the bull. Occasionally he is shown in several forms of different colours, only one of which has the bull's head. Tradition tells that after he went on a rampage of killing, he was overcome by Manjusri who assumed the dread form of Yamantaka for the purpose, after which as a "tamed demon", he was made a protector of the Faith.

The Realm of Yama, as Judge of Hell

577. Yama, a fierce red-brown demon figure, is seated on a throne with a human corpse as a footstool. He is wearing a crown of skulls, a necklace of heads, and also a snake as necklace. He has a sleeveless jacket, a human skin, and a flayed white elephant skin on his back, and a tiger skin kilt. He sits in a pavillion, in the court of which, below him, sits Padma Sambhava. The court and gates are filled with animal-headed figures (with heads of a buffalo, a tiger, an ox, a scorpion, a horse, and a snake; elsewhere there are heads of deer, wolf, lion, tiger, etc.). At the top there are figures of Sakyamuni Buddha, the dakini Nar mk'ha-spyod-ma, Padma Sambhava again, and Green Tara. At the left, enclosed in a rainbow arc, are three of the Lokabuddhas (green, white with lute, yellow with bowl). Below, a blue Lokabuddha and a red one; at bottom centre a brown one, making a gesture of protection to the hell beings being tortured in the graveyard around him. The picture in general shows Yama's minions seeking out victims as lamas try to restrain people from doing things that would lead to an unhappy death in Hell. The tortures below are particularly grisly and vividly, though cruelly, painted. The painting has been done at least partly in oils, and has badly cracked and rubbed away in places. It is a primitive piece of work, but most graphic, and is interesting for this somewhat unusual iconographic form of Yama. Yellow lamas are depicted along with the red, otherwise one might be tempted to consider it a primitive Red Cap painting of the Nyingma-pa school. The painting has a 3 cm wide border of dark red cloth set inside a 4 cm wide border of unbleached cotton. The top panel, which protects the painting when rolled up, is a stained and torn rectangle of lightweight canvas. A similar piece of material, though in rather better condition, forms the lower panel.

Scroll, height: 158 cm; width: 66 cm Painting, height: 81 cm; width: 51 cm

Accession no. R.184

578. Painting of Yamantaka with sakti, showing "The Terrible One" with his
bull's head and thirty-four arms, each holding an attribute, and his sixteen legs trampling birds, animals, and men. In his principal right hand he holds a thunderbolt chopper; in his principal left a skull cup of blood. His sakti also holds a skull cup of blood, in her left hand. Both Yamantaka and his sakti are shown in characteristic black colour. This Dharmapala is the fearful form of Manjusri, which he assumed in order to conquer Yama. Having succeeded in this, he joined the ranks of protector deities. In addition to his horned bull head, he has seven other demon heads and, at the top, the contrastingly serene and smiling face of Manjusri. He is surrounded by a halo of flames. At top centre is Manjusri holding aloft in his right hand the sword of wisdom. In the top left corner is the Great Lama Tsong Khapa, spiritual descendant of Manjusri, hence he is shown seated cross-legged on a lotus, his hands in dhar macakra mudra, holding the stems of two lotuses which are flowering at either shoulder. The one at his right shoulder has a sword rising from it; the one at his left supports a book. He wears the yellow hat of the Gelukpa sect. At top left is a seated figure with a monastic bowl in left hand, right upraised in vitarka mudra, the figure has a blue bull's head. In the centre of the front of the lotus throne on which the principal characters appear is Kuvera Jambhala, King of the North, shown here as an Indian deva with crown and necklaces, holding a jambhala fruit in his right hand, and a mongoose in his left. In the lower left corner is a lama seated on a throne, his right hand in vitarka mudra, his left is extended out and downward, palm uppermost, across his left knee in varada mudra. This suggests that he may be a healer. Before him is a table on which are seen a bell, a dorje, a bowl, and other containers. A lama, conspicuously painted white, stands before him, offering a teapot. Fourteen other figures, all but three turned toward the enthroned lama, are arranged across the bottom of the painting. One figure at bottom centre appears to be a Manchu official and behind him is an attendant. Offerings of various sorts are piled up at the bottom of the picture; figures to the right of the Manchu are approaching bearing gifts. A figure in the lower right corner is riding a mule. Another figure leads a horse. The painting is in good condition and executed with a wealth of fine detail. It is bordered by panels of patterned dark red silk, now faded to a cafe au lait colour. Behind this is a coarse burlap backing.

From Ole Wendt.

Scroll, height: 128 cm; width: 65 cm
Painting, height: 79 cm; width: 55.5 cm
Accession no. R.449

The Four Deva Kings

A Tibetan book cover showing Vajrasattva Adi-Buddha, flanked by the Four Deva Kings. All the figures are painted in gold, not in their traditional colours, but they can be easily recognized by their traditional attributes which they carry.

579. Vajrasattva, in the centre, usually white, holds a vajra (dorje) in his right hand and is supposed to be holding a bell against his left hip with the other, but here the bell is not visible. The others are, from left to right: Virudhaka, King of the South, holding a sword in his right hand, and gripping his red beard in his left; Dhritarastra, King of the East, is shown playing his magic lute; Kuvera, King of the North, holds his banner and his mongoose; and Virupaksa, King of the West, with a small stupa in his upraised right hand, and a snake in the other. Sometimes he is depicted holding a pearl in place of this stupa: the two appear to be interchangeable.

These five miniature paintings are excellent examples of small scale drawing. They have been executed on a book cover consisting of a black lacquered wooden panel on top of which a wooden frame 1 cm thick has been placed, so that the paintings are recessed in an area 11.5 x 52 cm in size. The artist has created an elaborate border of curving line patterns framed by straight gold lines on black lacquer round the paintings, and each individual scene is separated from the next by a decorative 1.8 cm wide border of gold flowers and graceful, curving lines. The paintings themselves measure 7.5 x 7.2 cm in size.

The back of the wooden panel and the frame round the recessed paintings have been covered with patterned yellow silk, now much worn and faded. The paintings are protected by six layers of silk sewn together in pairs (yellow and pink; red and pink; and green and pink) to make three covers, one on top of the other. These are held together by one long inner edge of the
Great Lamas

581. Rolpahi Dorje (Lalita-vajra), Grand Lama of Peking, shown preaching to the Manchu Emperor. Originally he was shown wearing an incarnation hat; but for some reason this has been painted out by using the same colour as his halo; possibly because even a Grand Lama would not wear a hat while preaching to the Emperor, or possibly because he had not yet received the elevation at the time of this sermon. His right hand, in vitarka mudra, holds a vase in his lap. In the lower right corner we see the Manchu Emperor with two princes and attendants of high rank. In the lower left corner are fourteen lama monks, painted with great individuality, as though they were actual portraits from life.

In the top centre is Tsong Kapa. In the upper left corner, Hayagriva in simple form (one head, two arms). In the upper right corner is a fierce representation of Tsongs-pa dKar-po, with Three Eyes, wearing a gold crown and a turban with a conch shell, riding horseback. Below is an oracle in full armour, brandishing a raja-tipped staff in his right hand, and with his left holding a sword by the blade. A superb painting of historical value. The painting is bordered by panels of Chinese silk brocade in green and gold.

From Ms Minna Black.

Scroll, height: 125 cm; width: 75 cm
Painting, height: 71.5 cm; width: 53 cm
Accession no. R.439

Padma Sambhava was a Tantric Buddhist teacher in India who came to Tibet in the 8th century (AD 747) and by his magic “pacified” the deities of the indigenous Bon religion, creating a compromise by which many of the Bon deities were admitted into the new Tibetan Buddhism, usually in the role of “protectors”. The resulting faith, popularly known to the Western world as Lamaism eventually spread – after much further development and several reforms – into Mongolia. Padma Sambhava was the founder and chief patron of the Nyingmapa sect, which still survives as the Old or Unreformed Sect.

For further details of his life and his mythical feats and adventures, see Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism: 24-8 and 378-84.

582. Padma Sambhava with his Eight Aspects. At the centre, Padma Sambhava in his usual form, with his distinctive hat and robes, and his magic staff (kbatvanga). At each side of his lotus seat are his two wives. The three figures at each side, above the wives, and the two in the lower corners, are the eight aspects which he assumed in order to complete his work of defeating the Bon gods and winning Tibet for the Buddhist faith. At the upper left is a blue yi-dam form holding a raja in his upraised right hand. He is seated with a white sakti. Below this is a prince with a skull rattle (damar) and a basin of jewels. Below this is a golden Bodhisattva, carrying a kbatvanga in his right hand. At upper right Padma Sambhava is seen as a Red Cap lama, leaning against a cushion with

wooden frame, so that they entirely cover the paintings, and must be turned back like pages to view the paintings. Both the frame to recess the paintings and the silk covers are designed to protect the paintings from damage during the panel's use as a book cover. Both the paintings and the book cover itself are in very good condition.

From Anna Bollerup-Sørensen.

Height of paintings: 7.5 cm; width: 7.2 cm
Length of book covers: 61 cm; width: 17.3 cm
Accession no. C.6194

580. The second half of the book cover has been made in the same way as the first and is also covered with matching patterned yellow silk, which is much worn and faded. The black lacquer panel beneath its layers of silk covers, however, bears only two paintings, one at either end, and the entire central rectangle is taken up with a Tibetan text, painted in gold letters on the black background. The painting on the left shows the historical Sakya Muni Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus throne with a bowl held in his left hand in his lap and his right hand in bhumisparsa mudra. The painting on the right is of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara Sadaksari, a four-armed figure with the two lower arms folded in prayer; in his upper right hand he holds a rosary, in his upper left a lotus. The paintings and the book cover are in excellent condition.

From Anna Bollerup-Sørensen.

Length: 61 cm; width: 17.5 cm
Accession no C.6195
a skull cup in his right hand, making a gesture of protection (abhaya mudra) with the left. Below this he is seen as a prince with a skull-rattle and a bronze mirror; below this as a golden Buddha, in the conventional form of Sakyamuni. In the lower left corner he has a blue three-eyed demoniac form, with an uplifted vajra, greatly resembling Vajrapani, but distinguished from the latter by the lion skin on his back as well as the tigerskin skirt. In the lower right corner he is red-brown, also a three-eyed demon form, but this time heavily clothed, and holding a vajra and a spirit-dagger (phurba) while trampling on a tiger. At top centre is Amitabha Buddha and below him, Avalokitesvara (Padmapani), to indicate Padma Sambhava’s legendary spiritual descent; while at the bottom is Hayagriva, through whom Padma Sambhava traditionally worked in his task of “pacification”, here shown in simplest form, but with his sakti. In the upper corners are high Yellow Cap incarnations, indicating that this was a Gelugpa banner, and illustrating the fact that they respected and revered the founder and patron of what might be considered a rival branch of the faith. Offerings below include two gold vases with peacock feathers, a tray of pearls, two skull cups, one containing blood, the other the organs of the five senses, and two pairs of golden jewels. Though now in rather poor condition, this was a very well painted banner and iconographically it is very important. The painting is framed by panels of dark blue silk with a floral pattern.

Obtained in Leh by Henning Haslund-Christensen.

Scroll, height: 124 cm; width: 67.5 cm Painting, height: 71 cm; width 51 cm

Accession no. C.6182

583. The Paradise of Padma Sambhava. Padma Sambhava is seated in a walled court before a pavilion. In the top story of the tower is Amitabha Buddha; in the second story Avalokitesvara in fourarmed form. On either side of the lotus throne stand Padma Sambhava’s two wives, and in front of him in the courtyard are his eight other aspects, as described above, but on a much smaller scale and less accurate as regards iconographical details. The surrounding scenes seem to show episodes from the life and works of Padma Sambhava before he attained the paradisial realm, as well as the difficulties sustained by others who have tried to join him there since. For example, at upper right we see Padma Sambhava seated on a lotus rising from a lake, surrounded by a rainbow glory within which dance the five dakinis, presumably an allusion to his miraculous birth (his name means “the Lotus-born”). At the upper left corner we see him enthroned in a temple, again with a figure of Amitabha Buddha in its upper story, apparently warding off an attack by demons. At the lower centre Padma Sambhava is holding court in a more terrestrial palace. To the right of this someone is building a ship. Below this, at the bottom, are what seem to be progressive views of the same ship as it advances, strikes an island, and is swept backward to sink. Then a survivor rowing, and the same man, in progressive pictures, or his companions, swimming ashore to the left on logs. At the left centre, four men seem to be riding through the sky toward the paradise on a celestial white horse. First one man falls, then the horse itself tumbles earthward. All these events are doubtless illustrations of some familiar text.

The colours used for this painting indicate a relatively modern date. The work is all free hand, and hence somewhat crude, but the scene is full of animation and very comprehensive in its details. The painting is edged on top and sides by a 7 cm wide border of blue cotton. The top panel is a rectangle of torn dark blue cotton. Across the bottom is a lower panel made up of three pieces of cloth, two blue and one white.

Purchased in Kalimpong in 1950 by Halfdan Siiger.

Scroll, height: 145 cm; width: 66.5 cm Painting, height: 83.5 cm; width: 53.5 cm

Accession no. R.186

584. The Paradise of Padma Sambhava, with surrounding scenes. This is the same subject as the preceding, but it has been done quite differently by another artist, showing the variations that are possible within the framework of a rather rigid tradition.

Again Padma Sambhava in his usual form sits in a courtyard before a palace of Sino-Tibetan style, in the upper stories of which sit Amitabha and Avalokitesvara; but his eight other as-
pects are not shown in the court. Only his two wives are there. Six *dakinis* of different colours dance on the projections of the building above, and three of the outer gates are guarded by three of the Four Deva Kings, the Kings of the South, the East, and the North. The King of the West being understood as guarding the back gate, behind the palace proper. Most of the surrounding scenes are the same, with minor alterations in detail.

The whole has been done with modern oil paints which have cracked badly in places, and peeled off; but like the preceding picture, it is fascinating for its wealth of detail and the abundance of narrative description. The painting is framed by a 3 cm wide strip of red cloth, much faded, all round. This in turn is bordered by a 2 cm wide strip of yellow cloth. Outside this, on the right, left, and part of the bottom, is a 5 cm wide border of blue cloth so faded that it is nearly grey. The cloth panels at top and bottom which hold the wooden dowels by which the painting is hung or rolled up are much repaired with odds and ends of cloth to replace missing originals. The top panel is now a piece of lightweight canvas. To this is attached a piece of red homespun cotton 60 cm wide and 120 cm long as a covering for the painting.

Purchased in Kalimpong in 1950 by Halfdan Siiger.

Scroll, height: 135 cm; width: 77 cm Painting, height: 79 cm; width: 53 cm
Accession no. R.185

Milaraspa, the eleventh century Tibetan poet-saint, was the pupil and successor to Marpa, and one of the founders of the Kargyupa sect. He won lasting fame as the author of a collection of 100,000 songs, the *glu-bum*, which are still remembered and chanted by the Tibetan people.

585. In this painting we see Milaraspa as a teacher, with many scenes from his life. In the centre Milaraspa is preaching to a number of disciples who are painted on a miniature scale. Above, in descending order, a Bodhisattva (not specifically identified), seated in a palace surrounded by a rainbow; a high Yellow Cap incarnation, and the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijaya. Among the many scenes of Milaraspa’s meditations are several showing him with his right hand cupped behind his ear to catch the sounds which provided him with inspiration and later poured out in his songs. The great building at the bottom, which seems to be a palace, has been stripped of its outer walls in order to provide some very detailed interior views.

Once an extremely fine painting with some spectacular miniature painting, this has suffered from wear, like most Tibetan lama pictures, and is badly stained over large areas. It appears to be very old. The painting has a 1.5 cm wide border of red cotton, round which is a 1.5 cm wide edging of yellow cotton. All the other surrounding strips and panels are of blue cotton.

Purchased in Kalimpong by Halfdan Siiger in 1950.

Scroll, height: 150 cm; width: 75 cm Painting, height: 90 cm; width: 59 cm
Accession no. R.183

586. Miniature painting of an elderly Yellow-cap lama, in an incarnation hat, as a “Living Buddha”. His right hand is in *abhaya mudra*, his left holds a book in his lap. Though very simply painted, it has individuality, and was probably a recognizable portrait. Made for a charm box. The belief in the protective power of a picture of a lama incarnation, probably still living at the time, shows the extent to which these men were revered. Painted on paper. Added to the collections in 1900.

From P. Købke.

Height: 10 cm; width: 7.7 cm
Accession no. Ca.267

Comprehensive Diagrams: Mandalas

A mandala is a ritual diagram, used for special meditations or for ceremonies to invoke deities, especially the helpful protectors, though these are sometimes represented in their demoniac forms. The basic pattern, as we shall see, represents a miniature universe, our universe in microcosm, with special emphasis on the central axis or core. This mystic centre is enclosed in a square with four T-shaped gates, this in its turn being enclosed within a larger circle. As a result of this form, as well as because of its use in certain magic rituals, the mandala is
TIBETAN BUDDHIST IMAGES

sometimes popularly called a “magic circle”. Similar patterns are sometimes presented without the outer enclosing circle; such square diagrams are called yantras.

The fundamental basic pattern is first seen on the bronze mirrors of Han Dynasty China, popularly miscalled “TLV” mirrors. See S. Cammann: Suggested Origin of the Tibetan Mandala Painting. The Art Quarterly, 13, 2: 107-17.

The accessory figures above and below the basic mandala are considered apart from it, and sometimes they have no direct connection with what is contained inside it.

For the casual observer in Asia or in the West, the complicated display of minute images in a mandala is merely a confused and bewildering jumble of “little gods.” On the other hand, pedantic-minded scholars who take pleasure in classifying deities and minor forms of deities, would consider it a happy hunting ground. “Delightfully complicated!” they would exclaim, as they gleefully set about trying to name all the figures. But in spite of all their specialized knowledge of the parts, the scholars are usually just as ignorant about the significance of the whole. For the intricate complexity of deities in such a mandala conceals as well as enhances the inner meaning which this, or any other mandala, is trying to convey.

 Basically, the whole mandala diagram is merely a symbolic way of representing this world, or the greater universe, extending outward from a Divine Centre. From this central heart, the divine energy, proceeding outward like thunderbolts (vajra/dorje), flourishes like the petals of a giant lotus, and all its accessory furnishings in the form of rocks and water, minerals and plants, as well as all conscious life – animal, human, even that of the gods (devas) – are also being produced from the Centre.

On this vast stage the Inexpressible Force at the Centre produces an emanation from itself, which the lama artist – bravely trying to picture the unseen – represents as a Buddha or a Bodhisattva. Then this reflex creates other emanations from itself, pictured by the artist as other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas around the centre of the inner lotus. As the process continues these in turn create still more emanations – represented as further Bodhisattvas, devas, or lesser deities – until the whole vast world fabric, or the miniature symbol of it which is the mandala, is densely populated. Having represented all this, and added some minor decorative details, the artist has finished his job, but the basic idea is not yet complete.

Advanced lama students on the path of initiation are taught that this creation from the centre is only the beginning of the process. They learn further that, just as everything has proceeded from the Centre, to it shall all life eventually return. All these emanations from the Inexpressible at the core of the universe will, in time, be drawn back and reabsorbed into the Centre which produced them. Furthermore, since all life has proceeded from the Centre, all living beings will in due time also find their way back to be reabsorbed in it, after they have perfected their karma, so that all the evil in them has been subdued in favour of the good, though it may take some creatures eons to accomplish this.

This was the symbolic message of the rebirths of Sakyamuni Buddha, as told in the Jataka Tales, picturing one perfect being on the long path to self-perfection. For, at the Centre is the blessed condition of Endless Peace, known as Nirvana.

The whole mandala, then, is intended to symbolize an eternal continuing process of Evolution and Involution on a cosmic scale, although only the former is directly represented, and the last step must be inferred in meditation, after the student has been taught to anticipate it.

“The Cosmic Centre is the Source and Destinaton of all being.” This is the message a spiritually-trained lama would see represented in the pattern of the mandala, regardless of the actual figures upon it, or their specific number. If they are very numerous, this is only a symbolic way of expressing the magnitude of the process of Creation, and the vast task involved in bringing all beings back into the Source from which they came. Interestingly enough, this is the same message that the ancient Chinese adepts from another religion were trying to convey when they put a similar pattern on the backs of their bronze mirrors, some two thousand years ago. Though done on a much more modest scale, that too represented the unique importance of the Cosmic Centre.

587. 14.13 A round wooden plaque, carved with a flat bottom and a raised edge round the upper surface, which is recessed.
The bottom of the plaque is painted green; the rim and raised edge in dark red. A circular mandala painting on light canvas, cut to fit the recessed area on the plaque, has been pasted down onto this surface. Avalokitesvara, The Lord of Mercy, “spiritual son” or reflex of Amitabha Buddha, appears in Sadaksari form – the four-armed manifestation that is believed to be reincarnated in successive Dalai Lamas – in a miniature painting in the centre of a central lotus. Round this lotus is the inner square with its T-shaped gates, painted with the colours of the four directions: red signifying West at the top; green to signify South on the right; white indicating East on the bottom; and yellow for North on the left. In Tibetan paintings East is usually blue, whereas it is white in Mongolian Buddhist paintings.

In describing a similar mandala from Mongolia Dr Cammann writes:

“...You will note that there might seem to be some discrepancy here; for we have the following combination:

West
North  South
East

This was not a mistake on the part of the artist. The original mandala from which this ultimately stemmed, perhaps after many hundred copyings, was painted on a ceiling, and if this page, or the mandala itself, is held overhead, you will see that the colours correspond to the true directions."

The inner square rests on crossed thunderbolts (vajral dorje), the ends of which are visible beyond the T-shaped ornamental gates. The crossed thunderbolts themselves rest on top of a lotus, the surrounding greenish circle, and the tips of the lotus petals project out round it. Encircling the
TIBETAN BUDDHIST IMAGES

14.14 Cat. no. 588. A round wooden plaque.

Lotus petals, and just touching their tips, is a black circle down the centre of which is a gold line connecting twelve groups of three small gold circles which represent thunderbolts. Beyond this are encircling clouds depicted in alternating hands of the same colours used in the central square, indicating unity. The painting is in good condition.

Overall diameter of wooden plaque: 19 cm; thickness: 1.8 cm; diameter of painting: 17 cm.

Accession No. R 561

588. 14.14 A round wooden plaque, carved with a flat bottom and raised edge round the upper surface, which is recessed. The bottom of the plaque is painted green; the rim and raised edge are in dark red. A circular mandala painting on lightweight canvas, cut to fit the recessed area on the plaque, has been pasted down onto this surface. In a circle in the centre of a lotus, itself in the centre of the mandala, there is a miniature painting of a green Bodhisattva (the Dhyani Buddha Ameoñosiddhi) with sakti and tiger skin kilt, but the painting is so small that other attributes cannot be seen. The lotus is in the centre of the inner square with a T-shaped gate in each side, painted with the colours of the four directions: red signifying the West at the top; green indicating the South at the right; blue representing the East at bottom; and yellow for North at the left. The blue colour for the Eastern gate seems to have been added, not very skillfully, after the painting was finished, and looks to have been painted over white, as if a Tibetan artist has “corrected” the work of a Mongolian artist. This supposition appears to be confirmed by the fact that the prongs of the crossed thunderbolt on which the square with its gates is resting are normally painted in the appropriate colours for the direction concerned, i.e., red for West, green for South, blue for East, and yellow for North. On this exam-
ple, the East side of the square and its gate have been painted blue, but the prongs of the dorje which extend beyond the square on that side are white. All the other dorje prongs are in their correct colours. The lotus, the square, and the crossed thunderbolts are resting in the centre of a lotus, the petals of which encircle the mandala proper. Eight tiny dorjes, painted in gold, appear in a narrow black circle round the circumference of these lotus petals. Beyond this are eight miniature landscape scenes depicting a “sky burial” with mountains, trees, birds, beasts, and shorten incidents incidental to the dismemberment of a human body by birds of prey. The outermost circle of the painting is of clouds drawn in bands of the same colours as were used for the mandala square. The painting is in good condition.

Overall diameter of plaque: 18.5 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm; diameter of painting: 16.5 cm

Accession no. R 562

Conclusion

The mandalas and the assemblies were probably as close as the lama artists ever came to a public expression of the deepest belief of the high lamas, although it was sometimes hinted at in the less complicated paintings. This was the Great Truth which the most advanced lamas passed on to their chief disciples when the latter had reached the stage where they were ready to receive it, i.e., prepared to accept it in their hearts as well as with their intellects.

This was the fact that all of the manifold gods of the Buddhist pantheon, as pictured in the Assembly of the Gods are only symbols, all of which refer back to one central symbol. Behind and beyond all images and symbols is a single Buddha, and even that Buddha is only the symbol of the One, something inexpressibly greater, which any human symbol is inadequate to convey. What — again using symbolic language — might be called the “Supreme Mind”, Creator and Preserver of all, as well as potential destroyer. In full knowledge of that unity men lose their individual identities and become one with it, at the same time receiving full power to become more complete men.

The high Gelug-pa masters who designed the original Assembly paintings which were so often copied later, or even some of the highest of the Red Cap lamas before them, believed like the highest teachers of other faiths that the “Supreme Mind” symbolized by the name and iconographical form of Buddha, was in essence unpicturable, a compound of Infinite Compassion and the power to destroy. It could be symbolized by Avalokitesvara and the Taras on one hand, and by the Drag-cheds on the other. These two aspects of the One, working together as Positive and Negative Forces could be symbolized by the Yi-dam figures, or by the interlocking commas of the yin-yang symbol, as a more abstract representation of it, or even by the two triangles united to form one unity in the “Star of David”. Regardless of the immediate symbol, the meaning is the same.

Those enlightened ones who had fully appreciated all this after years of study, often accompanied by pain and suffering as well (Tsong Kapa, like many other lamas, suffered from tuberculosis), passed on these truths to their disciples. That is why they were called the Great Teachers. That, too, is why they deserved to be represented in images and paintings, not portrayed as individuals, but as shapers of the Truth, and hence also capable of serving as symbols of the Truth, quite literally “Living Buddhas”.

Full apprehension of the Ultimate Truth was the goal of the yinjas also, hence the lama’s great reverence for the mahasiddhas, those ancient Indian mystics whose life stories were so confused by fanciful legends. And of course that was the reason why the highest reverence was paid to Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, who was the first great teacher who fully apprehended all this and passed it on to other men, in spite of the tradition that he came rather late in a long line of Teaching Buddhas.

This Great Tradition was of course not confined to lama Buddhism. At base, stripped of all their local beliefs and superstitions, and their lofty wordy constructs of theology, all of the highest religions can ultimately agree on one fact, along with the greatest of the mahasiddhas, the highest Hindu gurus, and the Sufi masters of Islam, the fully enlightened lamas could say, as did the Old Testament Prophets, “The Lord our God is One”.
Addenda

589. A small painting on canvas of a male figure seated cross-legged on a lotus. He is dressed in a red robe and wears a crown. In his left hand he holds up a mirror into which he is looking. In his upraised right hand he holds a small drum. In the upper left corner is a lama with a red cap. In his right hand he holds a small drum. In the upper right corner is a seated lama, his left hidden under his robe. In each of the four corners of the painting there is a figure dressed in armour; those at lower left and right in boots, robes, and scarves. Slightly above and to the right and left of the central figure are two more Buddhas, each in identical poses, their right hands raised in vitarka mudra, their left hands lying in their laps. A third Buddha is top centre, his hands before his chest in prayer. The lion and the horsemen are proceeding to the left. Across the bottom centre of the painting are three white yaks running to the right against a distant mountain range. Above the mountains are seven spheres, three black, two red, and two green, which may be pearls. Some features in this painting recall Kusuma: the white lion on which he is seated, the mounted "generals" in each corner, and the "pearls" above the mountains, but there are no other attributes to support such a conclusion. A second possibility is that this is the Dhyan Buddha Vairocana. A fine painting in good condition, mounted as a tangka, but very simply done with borders of tan cotton.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 47 cm; width: 27 cm
Accession no. C.5427

590. Painting of an unidentified Buddha seated on a mythical or fanciful white lion with green mane and bushy green tail, shown walking across swirling brown clouds. The lion is roaring and looking back at the Buddha, whose right hand rests on his head. The Buddha's left arm and hand are hidden under his robe. In each of the four corners of the painting there is a man mounted on a white horse. The figures at upper right and upper left are dressed in armour; those at lower left and right in boots, robes, and scarves. Slightly above and to the right and left of the central figure are two more Buddhas, each in identical poses, their right hands raised in vitarka mudra, their left hands lying in their laps. A third Buddha is top centre, his hands before his chest in prayer. The lion and the horsemen are proceeding to the left. Across the bottom centre of the painting are three white yaks running to the right against a distant mountain range. Above the mountains are seven spheres, three black, two red, and two green, which may be pearls. Some features in this painting recall Kusuma: the white lion on which he is seated, the mounted "generals" in each corner, and the "pearls" above the mountains, but there are no other attributes to support such a conclusion. A second possibility is that this is the Dhyan Buddha Vairocana. A fine painting in good condition, mounted as a tangka, but very simply done with borders of tan cotton.

From Vilhelm Sarup.

Height: 59 cm; width: 41.5 cm
Accession no. C.6212.

591. Two paintings, both attached to a 15 cm wide length of printed cloth so that they hang down from it; each painting with three lappets of printed cloth appended. Each of the two paintings consists of a central figure surrounded by eight smaller subjects. The central painting in both cases is a six-armed blue figure (Vajrapani) with saktri, tiger skin skirt, and three heads, each with a third eye and skull crown. In each case the upper right hands hold dorjes, the middle right hands hold choppers, and the lower right hands an unidentified attribute. The saktri holds up a skull cup in her left hand. The eight smaller subjects, three across the top, one on either side, and three across the bottom of each painting, are, in the painting on the left, all demonesses with the heads of various creatures. In the right hand painting six are female with human heads, and two are male with saktri. In each case the name has been written beneath in Tibetan script. The paintings are water stained and in places a good deal of paint has been lost.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Each painting, height: 35 cm; width: 27 cm
Accession no. B.3013

592. 14.11 An unmounted painting on cloth showing an uncrowned Buddha, naked except for a loin cloth, but wearing the jewels of a prince, sitting on a growling tiger. In his upraised right hand the Buddha holds a serpent whose body coils round the Buddha's back and down over his left arm. In his left hand he holds a skull cup. This may be the Great Adept Dombi Heruka. The painting has been well executed and is in reasonably good condition.

From Torben Huss.

Height: 40 cm; width: 28 cm
Accession no. R.453

593. 14.14 A bronze figure of a fully dressed and crowned Bodhisatva sitting on a lion and holding one end of a book in his left hand, while his right supports the other end from above. His right foot is extended and rests on a lotus; his left leg is
14.14 Cat. no. 593. A bronze figure.

slightly raised in a position of ease. The lion stands on a lotus base. At various places on crown and costume round settings have been made to hold stones, twenty-seven in all, but it does not seem that any of the stones were ever put in place. There are traces of black and gold paint on various parts of the lion and his rider.

From E. Loventhal.

Height: 17.2 cm; width: 11 cm; thickness: 6 cm

Accession no. Ca.262

594. A painting of a "libulous deity" in black and red on canvas. Described in the Accessions register as being "somewhat the worse for wear due to age and dirt". Not seen.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 84 cm; width: 44 cm

Accession no. B.3012
NOTES:

1 Dr Cammann (1912-1991) catalogued part of the National Museum of Denmark's collections of Buddhist bronzes and paintings in 1964. The catalogue was never published, but remained as a typescript in the Ethnographic Department of the museum. That part of it relating to the Tibetan material appears here as a separate chapter. As he did not include measurements in his catalogue, these have been added, together with some other additional information, set in regular type. Since 1964 the Tibetan collections have grown, thanks largely to a bequest by Prince Peter. The museum therefore now has a number of artefacts which Dr Cammann did not have an opportunity to examine. These additional objects have been catalogued by the author of this present volume, who is painfully aware of his amateur status in a highly specialized field. All such additions to Dr Cammann's catalogue are presented in regular type to distinguish them from his research. Critics should bear in mind the fact that (a) Dr Cammann prepared his catalogue in 1964, and (b) that he did not have an opportunity to go over it prior to the publication of this present work.

2 A valuable detailed study of the metals used and the processes involved in the casting of such images is to be found in Aspects of Tibetan Metallurgy by W. A. Oddy and W. Zwalf (eds.).

3 Tsong Khapa's dates are sometimes given as 1357-1419.

4 See Gordon: The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, 105.

5 This quote is from p. 155 of the same manuscript which forms the basis of the present chapter (see note 4).
CHAPTER XV

OTHER RELIGIOUS OBJECTS AND RELATED MATERIALS

The basic plan of a Tibetan temple is not greatly different from that of a Christian church. A flight of steps leads up to the entrance which then leads into the nave from a porch or vestibule. The space inside is interrupted by a number of large round red-painted wooden columns hung with layers of silk banners and at the far end, opposite the entrance, is the altar. This is normally made up of two or more tiers and is crowded with vessels of various kinds filled with offerings of rice, water, flowers, and cakes. In addition there are butter lamps numbering anything from one to one hundred and eight or even on special occasions, one thousand lamps at a time.

Arranged on the higher tiers of the altar above these offerings are musical instruments used in services of worship. Traditionally these include two pairs of cymbals, a conch shell trumpet, a pair of oboes, a pair of long telescopic brass and copper trumpets made in three sections, a pair of trumpets made of femurs, a double-membrane pellet drum, a large round double-membrane frame drum, and a double membrane pellet drum made of two human skulls.¹ Here also will be found libation ewers.

Along the walls to the right and left of the altar are painted wooden racks made like large pigeonholes. These hold silk-wrapped volumes of the Kanjur. As each volume is rather large, measuring some 65 cm long, by 20 cm wide, by 20 cm thick, and as there are one hundred and eight volumes, these wooden racks occupy a good deal of wall space. The racks stand up on wooden legs, and the lowest row of books is normally about one metre above the floor. At Sakye Monastery I noticed that some of the pilgrims in the temple got down on their hands and knees and crawled the length of the wall underneath all the volumes of the Kanjur, presumably thus showing respect and acquiring merit at the same time.

Other temple furniture that should be noted are the low tables belonging to the chief lama or abbot and two other high-ranking officials. These different tables not only stand in special places in the temple, but each holds certain objects according to the rank and rôle of the lama whose place it is. Thus, for example, the table of the chief lama stands in front of the altar on the right side. Placed on it is a “rice mandala” representing the universe. It consists of a bowl of rice on top of which are three beaded rings of different sizes, also filled with rice, making a cone-shaped chöten of rice some 30 cm high. This is topped off with a silver cakra, or wheel of life surrounded by a

¹ Tibetan couple purchasing prayer flags in Barkhor Bazaar, Lhasa. Photo: Lis Jones, Aug. 1986.
flame nimbus. The other objects on the table are a shallow dish of rice, a small hand drum, a bell, a dorje, and a vase for holy water. Similar objects, minus the rice mandala, are placed on the other two tables which face the altar, one at each end of the two rows of seats for monks which are found down either side of the nave toward the entrance. Representative examples of all these objects for the altar as well as other temple furnishings are to be found in the museum’s collections, many of them described individually in this chapter.4

A substantial number of the silver artefacts described here bear engraved numbers, and although this has been done relatively unobtrusively, it should be explained that it is not the practice of the National Museum to engrave metal artefacts in this way. All such items are from Prince Peter’s private collection and were kept in his home in Gentofte until they came to the museum following his death. One may speculate that he had these objects engraved with numbers for identification and insurance purposes.
Temple Lamps

595. 15.4 Butter lamp

Silver butter lamp for temple use. The silver bowl has a flaring rim and is 11.4 cm in diameter. Height of bowl: 5 cm. It is plain on its inner surface, but the outside is completely covered with incised floral patterns between the rim and a band of lotus petal designs round the top of the stem. The silver stem, 10 cm high, is a tapering cone 7.2 cm in diameter at the base rising by irregular decorative stages to the top where it is 9 cm in diameter. The number 5 has been engraved inside the base of the stem.

Overall height: 16 cm

Accession no. R.595

596. 15.7 and 15.9 Butter lamp

Silver butter lamp for temple use. The bowl is decorated with incised lotus blossoms and leaves and has a flaring rim 10.3 cm in diameter. Halfway between the rim and the bottom of the bowl is a raised silver band running round the bowl. The bottom is edged with a similar band. Height of bowl: 4.8 cm. The ornate silver stem has a round base 7 cm in diameter. It is decorated with raised lotus petal designs which form two layers of raised silver ridges round the stem. Height of stem: 9.5 cm. The number 4 has been engraved inside the base.

Height: 14.5 cm

Accession no. R.596

598. 15.5 Butter lamp

Silver butter lamp for temple use. The bowl is of plain silver with a flaring rim 13 cm in diameter. Halfway between the rim and the bottom of the bowl is a raised silver band running round the bowl. The bottom is marked by a similar band. Height of bowl: 6 cm. The ornate silver base is 8 cm in diameter at the bottom and 11.5 cm high. The number 18 has been engraved inside the base.

Height: 17.5 cm; diameter: 13 cm

Accession no. R.597

599. Butter lamp

Chalice-shaped silver butter lamp for temple use with a round bowl set on a stem, both of which are engraved with the Eight Glorious Emblems and other auspicious symbols. The striking similarity between some Tibetan silver altar
furnishings and Christian church silver has been noted by a number of authors. This is a particularly apt example. Height of stem: 10.2 cm; diameter of base: 7.8 cm; diameter of bowl: 11.7 cm

Height: 16.2 cm; diameter: 11.7 cm

Accession no. R.598

600. 15.7 Butter lamp

A silver butter lamp for temple use. The bowl has a flaring rim and is 11 cm in diameter. The stem base is decorated with star-shaped lotus petal designs forming two layers of raised silver ridges round the stem. On the outer surface of the bowl there are three narrow bands of beaded silver, one round the top and bottom, and one midway between the two. Next to each of these is a double row of small silver beads. At the top of the stem there is a rounded disc decorated with lotus flower designs. Height of stem: 10 cm; diameter of base: 6.5 cm; height of bowl: 4.5 cm; diameter of bowl: 11 cm. The number 6 has been engraved inside the base.

Overall height: 15 cm; diameter: 11 cm

Accession no. R.594

601. 15.7 Butter lamp

Silver butter lamp for temple use. This lamp is very similar to Cat. no. 600 above, except that it is larger. The round stem base tapers upward to a band of raised lotus petals, above which is a second band of similar silver ridge patterns beneath a thick silver disc decorated with lotus blossoms. This supports the butter container which has a round flat bottom with sides curving outward to a flared rim. The sides have a raised beaded rim round the bottom and top and one round the centre. Next to this is a band of small silver beads, four in all, as there are two round the central rim, one on either side. Diameter of base: 10 cm; height of stem: 14 cm; height of bowl: 6.5 cm; diameter of bowl: 14.5 cm. The number 20 has been engraved inside the base.

Height: 20.5 cm; diameter: 14.5 cm

Accession no. R.600

602. Butter lamp

A silver butter lamp for temple use, similar in every respect to Cat. no. 601. The number 17 has been engraved inside the stem base.

Accession no. R.599

603. 15.6 Butter lamp

Silver butter lamp for temple use. The bowl has a flaring rim and is 12.7 cm in diameter. Both the inner and outer surfaces of the bowl are of plain silver, except for a decorative band of raised silver beads on the outside up under the flaring rim. The ornate stem is 13 cm high with a base 9.5 cm in diameter, tapering to 2 cm at the top. The number 19 has been engraved inside the base of the stem.

Height: 19.5 cm

Accession no. R.601

604. 15.7 Butter lamp

A large silver butter lamp with silver cover (Cat. no. 605 (Fig. 15.80) for temple use. Round the lower edge of the stem base is a raised band of Precious Jewel symbols in relief. Above this is a band of plain silver. Next are lotus petals in high relief, two layers one on top of the other. Above that is a collar of incised lotus petal designs below a large round silver disc decorated with repoussé lotus flowers. Above this an inverted cone-shaped circle of engraved lotus petals supports the bottom of the lamp bowl. The sides of the bowl are decorated with four repoussé cartouches, each containing two of the Eight Glorious Emblems. These cartouches are set against a background of engraved lotus flowers, stems, and leaves. Height of stem: 19 cm; diameter
OTHER RELIGIOUS OBJECTS AND RELATED MATERIALS

15.7 Cat. nos. 600-1, 604, and 596. Butter lamps.

of base: 15.7 cm; height of lamp bowl: 10 cm; diameter: 22 cm.
Height: 29 cm; diameter: 22 cm
Accession no. R.602

605. 15.8 Butter lamp cover
A large silver domed cover for the butter lamp Cat. no. 604 (Fig. 15, 7). In the top of the cover is a round opening 5.5 cm in diameter. The bottom of the flaring ring which is set in the centre of the cover has been fitted down into this and the protruding edge on the underside hammered over to hold it in place. On the flat rim, which is 3.5 cm broad, around the domed central part of the cover, the Eight Glorious Offerings are depicted against a background of incised vines, leaves, and flowers. Above the rim on the domed top the Eight Glorious Emblems are shown in pairs.
Height: 8.2 cm; diameter: 22.7 cm
Accession no. R.605

606. 15.10 Butter lamp cover
A silver cover for a temple butter lamp. It has a broad rim, a raised central portion, and a flaring ring top 1.8 cm high. The rim and the raised top of the cover are entirely covered with lotus flower and leaf and vine patterns incised in the metal. The flaring ring top is plain. The number 23 has been engraved inside the top of the cover.
Height: 3.5 cm; diameter: 10.2 cm
Accession no. R.626
15.8 Cat. no. 605. Butter lamp with cover.

608. 15,9 and 15,10 Butter lamp cover

A silver butter lamp cover. This is similar to Cat. no. 607 (Fig. 15.9) in size and in decoration. The four small incised medallions on the cover depict flowers. Both the inside and the outside of the flaring ring top are decorated with small incised examples of the *hu-ti* Jewel symbol. The number 22 has been engraved inside this ring top.

Height: 3.3 cm; diameter: 10 cm
Accession no. R.628

609. 15,10 Butter lamp cover

A silver butter lamp cover. This is of the same type as Cat. no. 607 (Fig. 15.9) but somewhat larger and more elaborately decorated. Round the flat rim are eight symbols in relief, one of several groups always presented in combinations of eight, representing precious jewels symbolic of wealth. Some of these, such as the Pair of Scroll Paintings Jewel, suggest that this piece may be Chinese rather than Tibetan. The designs embossed on the bowl are four flowers, between each of which is a symbol representing mythological animals: the Sea Monster Makara, the Tiger, etc. The number 24 has been engraved inside the flaring ring top.

Height: 4.5 cm; diameter: 11.9 cm
Accession no. R.629

610. Butter lamp

A small butter lamp made of cast brass. The top edge of the reservoir is shaped like the tops of copper beer jugs.

15.9 Cat. no. 607. Butter lamp cover; Cat. no. 597. Butter lamp; Cat. no. 596. Butter lamp; Cat. no. 608. Butter lamp cover.
Butter lamp covers.

Height: 1.5 cm; length: 13 cm
Ref.: Müller & Raunig: 139
Accession no. R.265

611. 15.11 Butter lamp

Butter lamp of brass consisting of three parts. The base, which is 21 cm in diameter and 10.5 cm high, stands on six brass feet. All round the base between these feet and the top of the base is a decorative band with partly incised and partly cut out symbols such as lotus petals and the Whirling Ornament – a circle containing three “whirling” lines signifying the ceaseless change which is life. There are also repetitive geometrical designs. On top of the base, and hidden when the lamp is assembled, is an incised sun and moon emblem in which the crescent moon stands beneath a round sun from which flames emerge to represent the sacred light of Buddha. Below this is a three line text and a square emblem measuring 3.8 cm on each side. According to Dr Gravely the inscription reads: “Year passed 1090. Water dragon year, month 3, date 15th lunar day. In the monastery of Ser-s’s Kye; Bliss! Sa-Kya Sage. Rab-jung 15”. In the centre of this is the mystic monogram composed of ten Sanskrit letters, known as the All Powerful Ten, emblem of the Kalacakra system, a Tantric development which reached Tibet together with Buddhism. The lamp which stands on this base is 27.5 cm high with its greatest diameter being 18.5 cm. In shape it resembles two bells, the lower one right side up and the upper one upside down. They are joined in the middle by a brass device resembling the vase emblem. On either side of this there is a Naga. Both the upper and lower parts of the lamp are adorned with monster faces and lotus flowers and petals. The top lamp cover, made in the shape of a chöten, is 22.5 cm high and consists of four stages covered with repoussé designs, patterns, and symbols in open work, each diminishing in size toward the top. The lowest stage bears the Eight Glorious Emblems with a lotus set between each. The next stage is decorated with the Seven Jewels of a Universal Monarch spaced out with a lotus blossom between each. The third stage bears a variety of symbols including the Conch, and the Whirling Emblem. On top, standing on a lotus base, is a solid brass lion, 4.5 cm high, which appears to be Chinese.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, 1900.

Height: 58 cm; diameter: 21 cm
Accession no. R.232 a-c

612. Lamp

A lamp purchased at Kumbum monastery by Rolf Gilberg in 1986. Not seen.
Accession no. R.541

Rice Mandala

613. Brass bowl, base of a “rice mandala” with beaded rings

A shallow round mandala offering bowl with brass sides and a plain white metal bottom. The sides are covered with designs representing the Eight Glorious Symbols in relief, interspersed with lotus symbols and Tibetan characters. With this are two beaded cloth rings, one 15.5
creating a small round stepped tower as a temple offering. In this example a third ring, the smallest of the three, is missing. Also missing: a silver or bronze top with a hollow stem base on which is set a cakra. This would be placed over the topmost cone of rice grains. In more costly examples the brass mandala bowl and the beaded rings would be replaced by highly ornamented bowls and rings in silver or silver gilt.

Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.

Height: 4.3 cm; diameter: 17 cm
Ref.: Waddell, 206; Essen & Thingo, II: 263.
Accession no. R.169 a-c

Reliquary

614. 15.48 Bronze chöten
A bronze reliquary in the form of a chöten or stupa. The lower half of the chöten is bell-shaped with a double row of lotus petals in relief round the bottom edge. On top of this is a 3 cm high section which is in the shape of the central portion of a mandala – a square with four T-shaped "gates". This is surmounted by a ribbed cone representing fire. On top of this is an umbrella-like canopy with lotus petal patterns, and finally, the chöten is topped off by a lotus bud. There is a ragged aperture on either side of the bell-shaped base 0.7-1 cm across resembling bullet holes. Bronze or brass stupas in this style are sometimes called Kadampa chöten after the Kadampa sect founded by Atisa and later developed into the Gelugpa order by the great reformer Tsong Khapa. Chöten are symbols of the ultimate attainment. Each part of the structure from bottom to top represents a stage on the road from one’s present existence to the ultimate goal, Parinirvana, and at the same time, the whole represents the universe: earth, water, fire, air.

Purchased in 1939 from Niels Amboldt, who obtained it in Xinjiang when he was a member of one of Svend Hedin’s expeditions.

Height: 20.2 cm; diameter: 10 cm
Ref.: Müller & Raumig, 254; Reynolds, Heller & Gyatso: 70-3; Rawson: 71.
Accession no. Q.468

Dorjes, Bells, and Magic Daggers

615. 15.12 Dorje
A fine quality brass casting of a five-pronged dorje (thunderbolt). Although the accession no. R.228 has been written on the waist of the casting, a second number, 194, has been written on the central prong at one end. This latter number is from the donor’s list: Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire. 1900.

Length: 9.5 cm
Accession no. R.228
616. Dorje
A rather crude casting in brass of a five-pronged dorje. The number 108 has been engraved on the waist of the thunderbolt.
Length: 9.5 cm
Accession no. R.677

617. Bell
A bell (ghanta) of cast bronze with brass five-pronged thunderbolt handle. The bell is of a traditional casting with a band of small dorjes round the bottom. Above, Monster Masks with strings of pearls coming from their mouths. In between each mask is a popular Buddhist symbol; Wheel of Law, thunderbolt, sword. On top of the bell, round the base of the handle, is the mantra Om Mani Padme Hum. Said to have been made in Derge.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire. 1900.
Height: 15.5 cm; diameter of bell mouth: 8 cm
Accession no. R.227

618. Bell
A bell purchased at Kumbum monastery by Rolf Gilberg. Not seen.
Accession no. R.540

619. Bell
A bronze temple bell with a copper rod clapper. Just above the flaring mouth of the bell is a band of decoration consisting of very small dorjes in low relief.

15,12 Cat. no. 615. Dorje.

Above that, just below the shoulder of the bell, is a band of monster masks. On top of the bell are the Tibetan characters for Om Mani Padme Hum. The handle of the bell is in the shape of the traditional dorje.

Height: 15 cm; diameter of bell mouth: 7.5 cm
Accession no. R.672

620. Bell
A bronze temple bell with an iron rod clapper. Decoration in low relief on the bell is very similar to Cat. no. 619. The handle is in the shape of a nine-pronged dorje.
Height: 16.5 cm; diameter of bell mouth: 9 cm
Accession no. R.673

621. 15,13 Bell
A cast brass bell with a five-pronged thunderbolt handle. The surface of the bell is covered with a raised decoration of thunderbolts and representations of the Monster God of the Skies. The number 105 has been engraved inside the bell.
Height: 17.5 cm; diameter of bell mouth: 7.5 cm
Accession no. R.674

622. Bell
A bronze temple bell with detailed decoration in traditional style: dorjes, Monster Masks. Tibetan characters on top round the base of the handle, which is in the form of a nine-pronged dorje, with a crowned Bodhisattva face below. Clapper missing.
Height: 18 cm; diameter of mouth of bell: 9 cm
Accession no. R.675

Magic dagger
The phurbu is a magic or spirit dagger with a triple blade used as a ritual implement in various ceremonies. When a prayer has been uttered the monk uses a phurbu in a gesture which invokes energy and sends the prayer on its way. The phurbu itself is thought to be a form of
Hayagriva, an indigenous pre-Buddhist deity who was brought in to serve as a defender of the Buddhist faith, and it often bears an image of his head or the upper part of his body. He is identified by the fact that there are one or more horse heads in his headdress. According to Waddell the *phurbu* is used by *Nag-pa* who are experts in incantations in a ritual or symbolic stabbing of demons.¹

623. Magic dagger

A large free-standing bronze temple ornament in the shape of a *phurbu*. It has a round bell-shaped base the sides of which are decorated with alternate Tibetan characters and figures in relief. four of each. On top of the base are three horned dragon heads, turned upward with open mouths to receive the point of the *phurbu*. On each facet of the blade is an unidentified standing/dancing figure with the following attributes: two have a round object resembling a bowl in the right hand, one

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has it in the left hand, two are with a rod and streamers in upraised left hand, while one has it in his upraised right hand. Above this are three horned animal heads, then an encircling band of lotus petals, and above that a round copper piece bearing four horned six-armed figures. Next, above a ring of turquoise stones is a band of lotus petals. The next section narrows down to a waist on which are Tibetan characters. Above that is a band of lotus petal designs from which rise three \textit{dharma} heads, each with the Third Eye and skull crowns, probably Mahakala. The end of the dagger handle is in \textit{chape} shape.

From A. H. Eriksen via Werner Christiansen

Height: 149 cm

Ref.: Hummel, 1953, pl. 112

Accession no. R.321

624. Magic dagger

A large free-standing bronze temple ornament in the shape of a \textit{phurpa} or ceremonial dagger, similar in every respect to Cat. no. 623.

From A. H. Eriksen via Werner Christiansen.

Accession no. R.322

625. Magic dagger

A cast brass \textit{phurpa} with the short three-bladed point emerging from the mouth of a \textit{Makara} and a handgrip decorated with incised lotus petals. On the pom-
Third Eye, and skull crown. This is of signs in relief. The pommel is in the form of Hayagriva, one of the pre-Buddhist deities who was tamed and made a defender of the Buddhist faith. He is shown with three heads, the crowns on each joined by brass arches with a single horse head on top. He stands with his right arm upraised, holding a dorje; his left arm is in the corresponding lower position holding an unidentified attribute. Where his torso joins onto the top of the dagger blade is a fourth head, below which are two blue stones. Two other blue stones are similarly placed below the main head above. Obtained in Darjeeling by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 15.17 cm
Accession no. C.5429

Libation Ewers

631. 15.17 Agate ewer

A ceremonial ewer with a body of cloudy dark grey polished agate to which has been added a silver base, top, handle, spout, and decorations. At the top of the silver handle is a Makara head and the silver spout emerges from the mouth of another Makara. The handle is joined onto a silver ring round the neck of the ewer. At the front of this ring an interlocking jewel symbol representing the King’s Earrings spans the distance between the neck and the spout. Above and below the ring is a row of drop-shaped stones, alternately turquoise and red coral. Below the silver neck, set round the top of the agate body, is another row of stones round the ewer. These are round and are alternately turquoise and red coral. Below this, spreading over the top third of the agate surface is an openwork silver decoration of which the central feature on each side is a monster face representing a god of the skies. From the mouth of each, according to tradition, emerge snakes, dragons, vegetation, and clouds, here represented by a fan-shaped spread of silver stems ending in small swirling clouds and lotus buds. These are repeated all round the shoulders of the ewer. On the round silver lid there is a lotus throne on
which sits a small lion in milky pale green jade. He is surrounded by a small low fence of silver wire and held in place by a silver wire that passes up through his body, emerging by his neck where the wire has been twisted into a circle. This lid is attached to the top of the handle by a silver chain 24.5 cm long.

Height: 20.5 cm; greatest width: 14.5 cm
Accession no. R.641

632. Pewter ewer

A tall slender ewer of pewter with a round base, a drop-shaped body and round top with a bell-shaped cover. At the bottom of the handle is a gold-painted Makara. A Makara head, also gold-painted, emerges from the neck of the ewer to grip the top of the handle in his mouth. The spout emerges from the mouth of another Makara head at the front of the ewer. Sitting on top of the bell-shaped cover is a small gold-painted lion. Much of the surface of the ewer is covered with engraved flowers and leaves. A raised drop-shaped surface on either side of the body is engraved with Makaras, Nagas, and garudas. Three Chinese characters are engraved on the neck and two more are stamped up inside the base. The number 116 has been engraved inside the cover and again inside the base.

Height: 36 cm
Accession no. R.642

633. 15,16 Brass ewer

A brass ewer in traditional shape and style with vertical handle and spout decorated with Makara heads. A large drop-shaped decoration on either side of the body of the ewer depicts a Makara in high relief. The dome-shaped top of the ewer has a lotus bud knob set in the centre of a lotus petal design. The lid is attached to the body by a length of brass wire chain. The stem base is covered with lotus petal designs. The body of the ewer has been made by braising together two halves. Base, stem, handle, and top have been separately made and braised onto the body.

Said to be from Serkyen, but obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

15,16 Cat. no. 633. Brass ewer.

Height: 31.5 cm
Accession no. C.5434

634. 15,18 Skull bowl

Bowl made from the top of a human cranium, with brass stand and domed cover. The brass cover has a dorje set in the top and the whole of the outer surface is covered with repoussé designs and patterns, vines, tendrils, leaves, and flowers. Such human skull cups (kapala) were used to offer libations to the gods. Inside the skull are traces of Tibetan characters written in red. The brass stand is triangular with swirling flames represented in sheet brass rising from each of the three sides. At each corner a brass human head has been placed, gazing downwards.

From Cyril R. Andresen.

Height: 23.5 cm; length of cover: 18.5 cm; length of sides of triangular base: 15.5 cm
Accession no. R.134 a-c

635. Skull bowl

A bowl, lined with white metal, made from the top of a human cranium. In the bottom centre of the bowl a rectangular piece of red coral 1 x 1.5 cm in size has been set.

Height: 18 cm; width: 14 cm
Accession no. R.688

15,17 Cat. no. 631. Agate ewer.
636. Skull bowl

A skull cup or bowl lined with hand planished sheet silver and held in place by two silver pins, one at the front and the other at the back of the skull. These have been driven through the bone and then hammered flat and smoothed down on both sides.

Height: 6.5 cm; length: 18 cm; width: 13.5 cm

Accession no. R.689

637. 15,19 Skull bowl

A brass-lined skull bowl with triangular base and oval cover of brass and copper. The bowl is fully lined with plain sheet brass which also covers the lip of the bowl. A 1.5 cm wide strip of brass has been set round the outside rim so that it joins the outer edge of the brass lining. This strip is decorated with two narrow lines of incised oblique lines, between which are found at intervals a number of raised drop-shaped and round crown settings for small stones, all of which are missing. The high-domed and richly ornamented brass cover is lined with a loose insert of sheet copper. When removed, this reveals a quantity of dark brown mastic up inside the top of the cover in which three stones have been set, apparently to add extra weight. The cover is ornamented over its entire surface with various symbols and angry Bodhisattvas in high relief. On the top, rising from the centre of a double dorje, is a 6.5 cm high three-headed Bodhisattva, each head with the Third Eye, skull crown, and waving mass of hair rising to a point. Four angry Bodhisattvas, two with saktri, and each surrounded by flames, occupy much of the lower surface of the cover. Between them are Tibetan letters standing on a lotus base. Twelve round crown settings for stones are arranged between the symbols and decorations, all but four of them empty. The triangular brass and copper base has a death’s head face in brass with pale blue stone eyes at each of the three corners. In the centre of each of the three sides is an angry eight-armed, three-headed Bodhisattva with saktri sur-
rounded by flames. Normally there is a small brass head at each corner on top of a base of this kind, but here two are missing. The remaining one is a monk's head. The hollow space at the base has been closed with two copper plates, one just under the skull bowl and one at the bottom. The 4 cm space between these two has been filled with mastic to add weight.

From Hugo Arenholt.

Overall height: 27 cm; length: 18.3 cm; width: 12.5 cm
Accession no. C.2882 a-d

Other Bowls, Dishes, and Containers

639. 15.21 Stem dish
Shallow silver stem dish, shaped like a tazza, for temple offerings. The actual dish, which is 14 cm in diameter, appears to be made of dark green marble or jade. It is lined with silver which passes over the lip of the dish and extends for 0.5 cm down the outside. The jade or marble dish under the silver is only visible in a 1 cm wide strip round the outside between the silver rim and a decorative band of silver lotus petals each one of which is set with a stone, every alternate one being turquoise, and the ones between of red coral. One turquoise stone is missing. The base of the dish is entirely covered with a disc of plain silver 11 cm in diameter. The ornate stem, 9 cm high, is 6.5 cm in diameter at the base and tapers up by irregular decorative stages to the top where it is only 2.5 cm in diameter. The number 118 has been engraved inside the base of the stem.

Height: 11.5 cm
Accession no. R.592

Holy Water or Life Elixir Vase

638. Copper vase
Copper vase with pierced brass collar decoration set over neck and shoulder. For 'holy water' or 'life elixir'. Used in temples. Loose brass collar decorated round the rim with small four-petal brass flowers, each set with a stone in centre (turquoise, jade), and held onto the collar by brass pins passed through to the inside and bent over. The flowers are set on a field of incised flower and leaf designs. The body of the copper vase is plain. The base is incised with lotus blossom patterns, finishing with a band of geometrical design.

Height: 18 cm; diameter: 10.5 cm
Accession no. R.175

15,19 Cat. no. 637. Skull bowl.
640. 15.20 Stem dish
A silver dish with a round stem base and silver cover. The bottom of the base, which is 7 cm in diameter, is edged by a raised silver rim. Above this is a band of lotus blossom designs. On the sides of the stem are three round abstract shou symbols, each surrounded by a halo of flames. These are set against a background of engraved leaves. The dish itself has a broad flat rim with a foliate edge. The surface of the rim is engraved with leaves, flowers, and petals. The sides of the dish are ribbed; the bottom is round and engraved with three concentric circles of designs. The domed cover has a drop-shaped lotus bud knob at the top set in the centre of a circle of plain silver. Below this is a repousse band of lotus petal patterns above a 3 cm broad band decorated with curving twisted silver wire designs surrounding a number of round and drop-shaped polished stones, some red coral, others turquoise. The lower part of the cover is ribbed and has a foliate edge. Height of dish: 8 cm; diameter of dish: 14.5 cm. The number 110 has been engraved inside the cover and up inside the stem base of the dish.

Height: 15.5 cm; diameter: 14.5 cm
Accession no. R.603

642. 15.5 Stem bowl
A silver stem bowl for holy water. The bottom edge of the round stem base is encircled by a row of small silver skull faces. Above this is a band of plain silver just below lotus petal decorations in raised silver ridges. The sides of the bowl are plain except for a row of skull faces all round the top edge just below the rim. Diameter of stem base: 6.5 cm; height of stem: 8.3 cm.

Height: 13 cm; diameter 10.2 cm
Accession no. R.604

643. 15.22 Stem bowl
Silver stem bowl, decorated on its outer surface with a band of stylised gilded lotus petals round the rim and the two chief forms of the Chinese shou emblem of longevity, hor-tud and hor-yig, repeated twice, each set in the centre of a finely worked gilded cartouche of leaf patterns. Lamas regard the shou symbol as a sign of good fortune. Between each of these gilded cartouches two of the Eight Glorious Emblems have been engraved. The short stem has a band of gilded lotus petal designs round its flared base, matching those round the rim of the bowl. In the centre of the bottom of the bowl on a raised domed surface a Whirling Ornament symbolizing the ceaseless change of life has been engraved. The base of the stem is 9 cm in
15.22 Cat. no. 643. Stem bowl.

Diameter, height: 4.2 cm. The number 35 has been engraved inside the base of the stem. Cf. stem bowl, Cat. no. 644.

Height: 12 cm; diameter: 16.7 cm

Accession no. R.618

644. Stem bowl

Silver stem bowl closely similar in every respect to Cat. no. 643 (Fig. 15.22). A matched pair. The number 34 has been engraved inside the stem base.

Accession no. R.617

645. Wooden bowl

A wooden bowl carved of birch root and lined with plain silver, together with an ornate silver cover. The bowl has been set in a round silver base with an open bottom, so that the bowl rests on a narrow silver rim and its wooden base is visible when the bowl is inverted. The silver rim is held in place by four pins which pass through the sides of the rim into the wooden rim beneath. Two pins are missing. The sides of this silver base curve up round the outside of the bowl for a distance of 3.5 cm. The decorations on the base consist of four clusters of stones, two of turquoise and two of red coral, and four silver cartouches in which are depicted two Nagas, and two Makaras. The round silver cover rises in three stages to form a layered dome topped off by a sphere of lapis lazuli held in place by a silver lotus, the stem of which passes down through the stone to the silver base below. The bottom of the cover consists of a flat rim 1.7 cm wide. Above this rises a rounded stage covered with flowers and monster faces, the latter representing gods of the skies, in high relief. The flowers are set with round red coral and turquoise stones, though a number of these are missing. Above this is another smaller stage similarly decorated with flowers set with turquoise and red coral stones and between these are depicted some of the more important Buddhist symbols: the Umbrella (insignia of royalty), the Vase, the Golden Fish, and the Lotus. The top of the cover is fluted silver rising to a lotus design in the centre of which is set the lapis lazuli sphere, 2.7 cm in diameter. The number 114 has been engraved both on the bottom rim of the bowl and on the underside of the rim on the cover.

Height, bowl: 6.5 cm; diameter: 21.5 cm
Height, cover: 11.3 cm; diameter: 22.4 cm

Accession no. R.606 a-b

646. 15.23 Wooden bowl

A silver and birch-root bowl for temple use, 20.5 cm in diameter. The inside of the bowl is lined with sheet silver, which also covers the lip of the bowl and ex-
tends down over the rim for 1 cm. The base is rimmed with silver as are the lower sides of the bowl, where the silver is decorated with Monster Masks set between alternate coral and turquoise flowers made up of polished stones. The cover is domed with a large lapis lazuli knob on top, rising from a raised lotus petal pattern. The cover is decorated with Monster Mask faces, alternating with twisted silver wire lotus patterns set with red coral and turquoise. Above are four of the Eight Glorious Symbols: the Endless Knot, Umbrella, Wheel of Law, and Comb. Diameter of cover: 22.5 cm; height: 17 cm. The bowl and cover are closely similar to Cat. no. 645 above. A matched pair. The number 113 has been engraved on the wooden base and on the underside of the rim of the cover.

Height: 19 cm; diameter: 22.5 cm
Accession no. R.607 a-b

647. Silver dish
A plain hand-planished silver dish with silver cover. The dish has a round base and both base and the outer sides of the dish are decorated with raised lotus petal patterns in high relief. The number 73 has been engraved on the bottom of the cover.

Height: 11.5 cm; diameter: 20 cm
Accession no. R.609 a-b

648. Silver dish
A plain hand-planished silver dish with silver cover. Similar in every respect to Cat. no. 647. The number 72 has been engraved on the bottom of the dish.

Accession no. R.608 a-b

15,23 Cat. no. 646. Wooden bowl.
it the silver tabs could be bent out against it to hold it in place. This technique is also sometimes used to attach the stem of a butter lamp to its bowl. The high-domed silver cover has three bands of decorations. The lowest band consists of a 3 cm wide succession of lotus petal designs; the middle band is 4 cm wide and is decorated with curling twisted silver wire patterns surrounding six groups of three stones each: drop-shaped polished pieces of red coral and turquoise. Five of the six groups of stones consist of a red coral piece on either side of a turquoise; the sixth group is of three pieces of red coral. On top of the cover is a silver lotus bud rising from a ring of lotus petals. Height of dish: 4.8 cm; diameter of dish: 15.5 cm. The number 111 has been engraved on the bottom of the dish inside the base.

Height: 4 cm; diameter: 9.2 cm
Accession no. R.624

652. Silver dish
A small silver dish with a flat bottom and flaring rim. The sides of the bowl are engraved with three horizontal bands of designs, mostly flowers and leaves. Diameter of base: 6.6 cm. The number 25 has been engraved on the bottom.
Height: 4.7 cm; diameter: 8.5 cm
Accession no. R.623

651. Silver dish
A small silver dish or bowl with a flat bottom and flaring rim. The sides of the bowl are engraved with three horizontal bands of designs; the central band being a rounded ridge encircling the dish. The number 26 has been engraved on the bottom of the dish.
Height: 4 cm; diameter: 9.2 cm
Accession no. R.624

650. Silver dish
A small silver straight-sided dish with a thick round rim and a flat bottom. This looks as if it may have been made of two bracelets, one forming the sides and the other the rim. The sides are decorated with two parallel rows of plain diamond shapes set between three parallel rows of twisted silver wire. These have been bent round in a circle and at the point where they join have been overlaid with a strip of silver decorated with three lotus blossoms, making a ring 6.7 cm in diameter. One open end has been closed with a plain silver disc. On top and all round the edge of the other has been set a tubular ring decorated at intervals with four strands of twisted silver wire which has been wrapped round the tube on top of three elongated oval silver objects. One round disc of silver bearing a flower design has been set on one side just above the silver strip bearing three lotus blossoms which runs down the side of the dish. Diameter of base: 6.6 cm. The number 25 has been engraved on the bottom.
Height: 4.7 cm; diameter: 8.5 cm
Accession no. R.623

653. 15.25 Silver bowl
Plain hand planished silver bowl 2 cm thick with flaring rim and a short round ring base 1 cm high and 5.4 cm in diam-
15.25 Cat. nos. 654, 655, and 653. Silver bowls.

654. 15.25 Silver bowl
A plain hand-planished silver bowl 2 cm thick with flaring rim and a short round ring base. This bowl is similar in every respect to Cat. no. 653. The number 13 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl inside the base.
Height: 6.5 cm; diameter: 14 cm
Accession no. R.612

655. 15.25 Silver bowl
A plain hand-planished silver bowl 2 cm thick with flaring rim and short round ring base 1 cm high and 5.4 cm in diameter. The number 15 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl inside the base. Virtually identical with Cat. nos. 653, 654 (Fig. 15.25), and 655.
Height: 6.5 cm; diameter: 14 cm
Accession no. R.613

656. Silver bowl
A plain hand-planished silver bowl 2 cm thick with flaring rim and short round ring base 1 cm high and 5.4 cm in diameter. The number 15 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl inside the base. Virtually identical with Cat. nos. 653, 654 (Fig. 15.25), and 655.
Height: 6.5 cm; diameter: 14 cm
Accession no. R.614

657. Silver bowl
Silver bowl in abstract flower shape with flat bottom and ribbed sides. The bottom and every other one of the ribs is covered with flower and leaf designs. At the bottom of one rib which, in keeping with the remainder of the pattern, should have remained plain, the silversmith has incised the outline of a flower. Diameter of base: 6.9 cm. The number 31 has been engraved at the bottom of one of the undecorated ribs on the outside of the bowl.
Height: 2.8 cm; diameter: 6.5 cm
Accession no. R.620
659. Silver bowl

Small silver bowl in abstract flower shape with flat bottom and ribbed sides. This bowl is very similar to R.620 in every respect, including size. The number 28 has been engraved at the bottom of one of the undecorated ribs on the outside of the bowl.

Height: 2.7 cm; diameter: 6.5 cm
Accession no. R.621

660. Silver bowl

Small silver bowl similar in every respect to Cat. nos. 658 and 659. The number 30 has been engraved at the bottom of one of the undecorated ribs on the outside of the bowl.

Height: 2.5 cm; diameter: 6.5 cm
Accession no. R.622

661. Silver bowl

Silver bowl with fluted sides and gilded collar of lotus petal designs round the rim of the opening. The sides of the bowl flare outward from a base 7.4 cm in diameter to a maximum diameter of 12.7 cm near the top. They then turn abruptly inward to form a flat top with an opening 7.4 cm in diameter. In the accessions register it is suggested that this may have been used to hold incense sticks in sand. The number 32 has been engraved on the bottom.

Height: 7.3 cm; diameter: 12.7 cm
Accession no. R.635

662. 15,26 Copper bowl

A round pierced copper bowl with lid. The opening is small (11.4 cm) in relation to the diameter of the bowl, which is 23.5 cm, and the top of the bowl is nearly flat, with a broad rounded shoulder. Nearly every square centimetre of the surface is covered with repoussé decorations: leaves, flowers, beads, dragons, the Fish symbol, the Sankha (Conch Shell) symbol, the Lotus symbol, the Endless Knot symbol, the White Parakeel symbol, the Vase symbol (one of the Eight Glorious Emblems symbolizing the treasury of all desires), and the Wheel which leads to Perfection, symbolizing the eight-fold path. On either side of each of these is a dragon. These symbols are in gilt copper which has been very finely worked in great detail and are set out in a 3.5 cm broad band all round the shoulder of the bowl. A similar rounded shoulder at the bottom of the bowl repeats all these symbols but here they are separated by gilt copper lotus designs rather than dragons. The bowl has been made of two shallow bowls, one with a 11.4 cm hole in the centre, being placed over the other one like a lid, and the two being joined together at midpoint and held together by four copper rivets. The elaborate designs are pierced through all over the surface of the bowl except for a circular area 18 cm in diameter at the bottom. This is edged with a 1.2 cm border of continuous swastika designs enclosing a lotus or padma 16 cm across. Round the lid at the top on the shoulder of the bowl is a 2.25 cm broad band of incised decoration with lotus blossoms and leaves. Set on top of this are twelve Tibetan characters in gilded copper spelling out Om Mani Padme Hum twice. On the lid itself is the gilded copper image of an old man sitting down on a lotus blossom with a rosary in his left hand. In his right hand he is holding a vase which he appears to be offering to a bird. He is sitting under a tree whose gilded copper leaves form a canopy over his head. Behind the tree and partly hidden by it is a gilded copper horse. Round this scene is a circle of round polished turquoise stones (one missing) set in little gilded copper cups, forty in all.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, 1900.

Ref.: Lowry, 1973. 41
Height: 12 cm; diameter: 22 cm
Accession no. R.231 a-b

663. 15,27 Copper bowl

A plain copper bowl with dish, or possibly lid, with the number 864 engraved on the bottom. In the museum's Accessions register it is suggested that this may be the cover for Cat. no. 668 and, as such, it certainly fits extremely well, but Prince Peter apparently considered it to be a separate item altogether. Support for the museum's view is found in Cat. no. 669, which is a copper pot similar to Cat. no. 668 with a lid similar to Cat. no. 663.

Height: 4 cm; diameter: 14 cm
Accession no. R.650

15,26 Cat. no. 662. Copper bowl.
664. *15,28* Copper bowl

An oval boat-shaped tin-lined copper bowl with brass ornamentation. The sides of the bowl are decorated with eight perforated repoussé brass rectangles each approximately 6.5 cm square. These have been attached to the bowl with copper rivets and all bear the same image: a face with prominent eyes, possibly representing a garuda. One of them has been put on upside down. Above these, all round the rim of the bowl, which is higher at the ends than in the centre, is a 3 cm wide band of perforated and ornamented brass bearing a succession of round shou symbols. On the rim itself are four prominent round brass heads of some symbolic creature, each with a protruding tongue and two copper horn-like projections on the head. The heads have been set on the rim of the bowl so that they project up above it and at the same time project outwards. The two at the ends of the oval are larger than the two on the sides. The larger heads are 6 cm in diameter and 7.5 cm long. The smaller heads are 4.5 cm in diameter and 5 cm long.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length of bowl: 27.5 cm; overall length: 33.5 cm; width: 18 cm; overall width: 23 cm; height: 9 cm at sides; 14 cm at ends

Ref.: Roth & Ronge, 1989: Räucherbecken I, 4

Accession no. C.5422

665. *15,29* Copper bowl

A copper bowl with a round base 15.7 cm across. The sides of the bowl rise vertically from this base for 1.5 cm and then flare outwards, curving up for 5 cm before flaring out again to form the rim. The only decoration on the bowl is a triangular piece of silver plated copper measuring 5.5 x 5 cm which has been attached to the outside of the bowl by three copper rivets. It points downward. Inside the triangle are three groups of leaf/flower patterns. At the top of this triangle a small ring has been set. This holds a large silver ring 2.3 cm in diameter. The number 7G1 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl.

Height: 7.3 cm; diameter: 23.5 cm

Accession no. R.653

666. Copper pot

A shallow round brass and copper pot with copper spout, handle, and high domed cover. With the exception of the bottom of the pot, every square cm of the surface of both pot and lid is covered with patterns that have been hammered into the metal. On the body of the pot there are two bands of "key" designs, one round the top and one round the bottom. Between these two decorative bands the coppersmith has hammered out six faces with beards and horns, in between which he has placed stylized leaf and vine motifs. The handle, which is made of two sheets of metal, one brass and one copper, is round in shape and
15.28 Cat. no. 664. Copper bowl.

is placed on the pot at 90 degrees to the spout. The spout rises almost vertically from the side of the pot and then curves forward 15 cm above the pot rim. The surface of the high domed cover is taken up with a stylized monster face with brass antennae, open mouth, and mane. From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 7 cm, with cover: 13.5 cm; diameter: 16 cm

Accession no. O.5416

668. Copper pitcher

A round squat copper pitcher with spout and ring-shaped handle. The small short spout rises vertically from the body of the pot and then curves forward. Round the base of the spout is a band of silver-plated copper decorated with flowers and leaves which has been attached to the pot by three silver-plated copper rivets. The lower part of the front of the spout is also covered with ornate designs in silver-plated copper. The sides and part of the top of the spout bear of diamond-shaped designs running round the neck. The number 9C has been engraved on the bottom of the pot.

Height: 13.5 cm; diameter: 11 cm

Accession no. R.649

667. Copper pot

Copper pot with lid and a handle on either side. The body of the pot has been assembled from three pieces of copper. The bottom is a round copper bowl. A second bowl of similar size, but with a round hole 5.5 cm across in its bottom, has been inverted and fitted onto the first and held in place by crimping the two rims together, leaving a projecting rim round the body of the pot. A copper neck has been fitted over the hole at the top and copper handles added, held in place by rivets. A round and slightly domed lid, attached to the pot by an 8.5 cm length of chain, has been fitted into the neck. The pot is decorated with incised vine and leaf patterns, with a band...
406 OTHER RELIGIOUS OBJECTS AND RELATED MATERIALS

669. Copper pitcher

A round squat copper pitcher with lid, very similar in every respect to Cat. no. 668, except that it is slightly larger. The tight-fitting copper lid is also closely similar to Cat. no. 663 (Fig. 15.27).

Round the base of the spout is a U-shaped silver plate, held in place with three copper rivets, and decorated with floral designs in relief. A drop-shaped silver design appears on the lower part of the spout, decorated with a Whirling Ornament signifying the ceaseless change of life. A small silver tip has been added to the mouth of the spout. The handle is a copper ring set on the side of the pot at 90 degrees to the spout. Below it is a trefoil silver design in relief, held in place by three copper rivets. There is no other ornamentation on either pot or lid.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 10 cm; diameter: 15.5 cm
Accession no. C.5424

670. 15.30 Blood cup

Cast brass "blood cup" in the shape of a skull. According to Gravely there is a matching lid which fits on to this, being seated in place by two brass projections on the bottom of the lid which slot into openings on either side of the bowl. The brass lid marked R.229b fits the cup so poorly and its surface has such a different patina that one suspects these two do not belong together. The lid, also of cast brass, has a thunderbolt (dorje) rising from the centre of crossed dorjes, the latter being in high relief.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading. Berkshire, 1900.

Height: 4 cm; length: 7.9 cm; width: 6.2 cm
Accession no. R.229 a-b
671. Copper stand

Small copper stand or base which consists of two pieces of sheet copper cut to a similar pattern except that one has a slot cut down through the centre from the top to a mid point between top and bottom, while the other has a similar slot cut upwards from the bottom to a point halfway between bottom and top. When one slot is inserted in the other the two pieces form a free-standing X-shaped support. The number 8C5 has been engraved at the bottom of each piece.

Height: 7.5 cm; width: 7 cm

Ref.: Olson, 1950. II: 78, plate XXVII.

Accession no. R.652 a-b

672. 15.31 Copper stand

A small copper stand or base consisting of two pieces of sheet copper each cut to a similar pattern so that, like Cat. no. 671, the two pieces slot together to make a free-standing X-shaped support. Similar to Cat. no. 671 in size and shape, but rather more crudely made.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 7 cm; width: 7 cm

Accession no. B.3001

Tea Service Utensils for Temple Use

673. 15.32 Teapot

A large bronze cylindrical teapot for temple use, with lid and base, and a surface which is entirely covered with symbols and images of Bodhisattvas, gods, and goddesses in high relief. In addition to a Naga handle, which is hinged so that it can swing to the right or left, there are two other bronze U-shaped handles toward the bottom of the pot, one at the front and the other at the back. The pot has a crown-shaped top which curves round the back and sides, above the Naga handle. The pot lid is in the shape of a dome with a smaller dome set on top. This in turn is topped by a solid cast bronze sitting lion 8 cm high. The double domes are covered with repoussé offering bowls containing...
conch shells, fish, and pearls. In between these are flowers with small round turquoise stones set in the centre. The surface of the pot itself is covered with images of significance to Buddhism: The All Powerful Ten, lotus petals, flames, and, as mentioned above, gods, goddesses, and Bodhisattvas. Some of the latter are decorated with small round turquoise stones.

The teapot tapers slightly in toward the bottom. The diameter at the top is 22 cm; at the bottom it is 18.5 cm. Set into the bottom of the pot is a round brass plate bearing the crossed dorje symbol. This is normally found only on the bottom of reliquaries, such as chörten, Buddha figures, and Bodhisattvas. It seems that there may be a compartment in the bottom of this teapot containing sacred texts and/or other amuletic materials. This supposition is based on the fact that the depth of the pot when measured from the rim of the opening down inside to the bottom is 41 cm, but when the same measurement is taken on the outside, the result is 48 cm. This suggests a compartment in the bottom which is approximately 5 cm deep.

The pot stands on a round 9.5 cm high base bearing lotus designs.

Given by Else Strandgaard Comant in 1987.

Height: 76 cm; diameter: 23 cm

Accession no. R.551 a-c

674. 15.33 Silver teacup

A small silver bowl or teacup with a short plain ring base supporting a bowl entirely covered on its outer surface with
engraved decorations. Just above the base is a band of lotus petals. Above that are three dragons set against a background of water scenes. The number 11 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl inside the base.

Height: 5.8 cm; diameter: 10.5 cm

Accession no. R.616

675. 15.33 Silver teacup

An engraved silver tea cup or small bowl with a short ring base above which is a band of engraved lotus petals. The sides of the bowl are plain except for four round engraved shou symbols, each surrounded by lotus flowers and leaves. A geometrical "key" design runs all round the top of the
sides just below the rim. The number 12 has been engraved on the bottom of the bowl inside the rim.

Height: 6 cm; diameter: 9.5 cm

Accession no. R.651

676. 15.34 Jade cup

A small translucent pale greenish-brown jade cup with a round silver ring base and a silver rim. The plain silver rim covers the edge of the lip of the cup and extends down into the cup for 1.5 cm. At one point on the top edge of the bowl a triangular piece of jade is missing; the space behind the silver rim has been filled with a dark brown mastic. The number 88 has been engraved on the outside of the silver ring base.

Height: 8.5 cm; diameter: 8.8 cm

Accession no. R.650

Religious Images

677. 15.35 Wooden figure

A carved wooden and partly painted figure with Bodhisattva crown and gold-painted face standing on a lotus base, hands clasped together in front of his chest in the teaching gesture. One end of a carved scarf is draped over the figure's left arm. The remainder curves down across the thighs, crosses just above the knees, and sweeps up over the right hip to the crook of the right arm. The face is painted gold and there are traces of a copper-gold colour on the legs. The crown is also painted gold and there is a dark red line across the lower front of it with a green rosette at each side. The arms and torso were painted gold, now darkened with a good deal of paint missing. The eyes, eyebrows, and mouth have been delicately rendered in fine detail. The remainder of the surface of the figure is of dark brown wood with a shiny patina. A lotus is carved at the figure's right shoulder, the attribute at left shoulder is unclear. The figure has been carved to be viewed from the front only, as the back is just roughly blocked out.

In the Accessions register it is suggested that this may come from Sakya
Monastery in southern Tibet. Obtained in Kalimpong in 1949.
Height: 13.7 cm
Accession no. R.158

678. 15,35 Wooden figure
Carved wooden smiling Bodhisattva figure with crown, and very slender waist, shown standing, with right hand extended downward, palm out, in the vara mudra (charity), while her left hand is held up in vitarka mudra, suggesting that this is Green Tara, but her other attributes, the blue lilies which should be flowering at her shoulders, are not present. At first glance the figure does not appear to be painted, as it has a rather even dark brown patina, but a closer examination shows that all surfaces have been painted. The face and crown are of a somewhat lighter colour and may have been painted gold. A carved black-painted sash curves across the legs below the knees and sweeps up to the left arm and there are black bands on the garment which covers the upper thighs. The remainder of this garment is a dark red colour. The figure is standing on a small square block of wood with deeply incised vertical lines in its front surface, which does not appear to be a lotus.
Height: 13.5 cm
Accession no. R.159

679. Metal sculpture
A brass statuette with a lion, a garuda, four-armed Vishnu, and six-armed Avalokitesvara, on a crescent-shaped lotus base. Not seen.
Said to come from the “Eastern Himalayas”. From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, who writes that it is from the “eastern Himalayas”.
Height: 10 cm
Accession no. R.234

680. Metal sculpture
A copper figure of a goddess standing on a lotus, her right arm upraised and holding an oval object. She wears a skirt and necklaces. On her head is a crown and she is surrounded by two flame halos.
From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, who writes that it is from the “eastern Himalayas”.
Height: 10 cm
Accession no. R.234

681. Metal sculpture
A small brass figure of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, the Prince of Wisdom, seated on a lotus throne. In his upraised right hand he holds the Sword of Wisdom, with a flaming point to dissipate darkness among mankind. In his left hand is a noose. Behind his left shoulder is an open lotus in which rests the text of the Transcendent
683. Buddha figure
A bronze gilt statuette of Buddha seated on a lotus. Not seen.
From E. Loenthal.
Height: 11.4 cm
Accession no. C.970

684. Metal sculpture
Bronze figure of a crowned goddess standing on her right foot on a lotus, her left foot upraised, her crowned head thrown back. She holds an oval object in her upraised left hand. Red paint on her hair. Fine detail and expert chasing.
From Sophus Black.
Height: 9 cm
Accession no. R.711

685. 15.36 Gilded copper nimbus
Two fragments of a gilded copper nimbus or halo which traditionally surrounds Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and images of gods and goddesses in Buddhist iconography. These fragments are from a particularly large and fine image and consist of intertwined lotus leaves, stems, and flowers. The lotus stems form circles to frame images of Buddha seated crosslegged on a lotus throne, each image showing different mudras (symbolic hand poses). On these two fragments there are six Buddha images, varying in height from 4.5 cm to 5 cm. The larger of the two pieces is curved. The smaller piece has a single Buddha image.
Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.
Length, larger piece: 38 cm; width: 7-9.5 cm
Length, smaller piece: 19 cm; width: 10 cm
Accession no. 5414
Ritual Accessories

686. 15.37 Wooden mould

A carved wooden block which is a mould for making *tsampa* dough images (*torma*). Both sides bear intaglio carvings, deeply incised, of human figures, four on one side and five on the other. Since live sacrifice is forbidden in Buddhism, the Tibetans devised ways of providing substitutes. The block is used to make *torma* by pressing *tsampa* dough into the images and setting them out to dry in the sun. A great variety of things, including animals, birds, and people are used in these substitute offerings. Placed on an altar, it is intended that spirits will accept them as the real thing.

Length: 13.5 cm; width: 4.5-4.8 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm

Accession no. R.147

687. Ceremonial staff emblem

Brass *trisula*, representing the three forked flame above the sun disc, the symbol of Simhanadavalokitesuara, Yellow Tara, Jambhala, and Mahakala. At the top of the conical brass socket which takes the wooden staff there is a brass Janus faced skull. Emanating from either side of this are symbolic flames curving upward on either side. From the top of the skull emerges the central and largest flame symbol.

Overall height: 54.5 cm; greatest width: 38 cm

Accession no. R.179

688. Ceremonial emblem

A gilded copper ritual object in the form of a modified triangle (*triratna*) with the image of Buddha seated on a lotus at the bottom; above and to his right is an elephant; above and to his left, a lung-ta (horse bearing the Flaming Pearl or Flaming Jewel); above that the Endless Knot, set on top of which is the Wheel (symbolizing the Eight-fold Path); on either side and meeting above the Wheel are the two Fishes (symbolizing happiness); above that, in the apex of the triangle is the White Parasol which keeps away evil desires. Finally, above the elephant and above the horse there are two images (?Buddha). A copper pin at the bottom centre shows that this was made to stand on top of something. Made to be viewed in the round.

Height: 14.5 cm; width: 8 cm.

Accession no. R.230

689. Fire tongs

Fire tongs with silver inlay fashioned so that the jaws of the tongs form a *Makara* head. At the end of each handle is another *Makara* head, one holding a U-shaped loop of iron which swivels on a pin, and the other with a snake emerging from his mouth. The tongs consist of
two separate components joined together by an iron bolt which serves as a hinge. The handles are round in section. According to Prince Peter such tongs were used in the course of religious ceremonies in the temples.

From Uffe Refslund Christensen.

Overall length: 38.5 cm
Accession no. R.445

690. 15.39 Altar piece

Altar piece. Tshebum, consisting of a silver dish or shallow bowl in which is set a silver vessel adorned with lotus petals which represents the Vase of Immortality associated with the Buddha Amitayus. In the top of this has been inserted a silver drop-shaped emblem with lotus base and a halo of flames signifying the sacred nature of the central figure of Amitayus, Buddha of Eternal Life. This emblem, measuring 10.7 x 7.8 cm has a plain silver back, but the front, partially gilded, is covered with lotus flowers, vines, and leaves surrounding Amitayus, shown seated on a lotus throne. This figure is 3 cm high and 2.5 cm wide. The emblem is 0.3 cm thick and someone has prised part of the plain silver back open, presumably to see what was inside. This has been pressed back into place, but the results of the attempt are plain to see. The Vase of Immortality or Vase of Life's Elixir is decorated with gilded lotus petals. The number 71 has been engraved inside the base.

Height: 23 cm
Accession no. R.676 a-b

15.39 Cat. no. 690. Altar piece.

691. Ceremonial implement, Kangsa kang-lug

A long-handled iron dish, resembling a ladle, the entire surface of which is decorated with gold and silver inlay. At the end of the handle is a five-pronged dorje in silver and gold, 7.3 cm long. The shaft of the handle is octagonal in section, each facet of which is decorated alternately in geometrical and arabesque designs in gold and silver. The main section of the shaft is 36.7 cm long and 1 cm thick. It is joined to a shorter section (attached to the dish) by an iron pin which passes through a hole in a tongue projecting from this shorter section. The ladle itself is 5.2 cm in diameter and 2 cm deep. It has a gilt rim with a band of arabesque designs below it all round the circumference of the ladle. In the bottom of the ladle is a dorje inlaid in gold and silver. On the bottom of the ladle, also in gold and silver inlay, is a lotus blossom. A short inscription in Chinese is engraved on the side of the ladle. The shorter of the two sections of the handle is attached to the rim of the ladle with a lotus motif. The shaft attached to this is round in section and is covered with concentric circle designs in gold and silver. A gilded snake is coiled round this portion of the shaft. A Makara head, decorated with silver and gilt, holds the shaft in his mouth.

Length: 71 cm
Accession no. R.258

692. Ceremonial implement, Kangsa kang-lug

This is the companion piece to Cat. no. 691. It consists of a rectangular iron dish or bowl attached to a handle which is similar to that on R.258, except that it is
made in one piece and there are two snakes coiled round the lower part of the shaft. The rim of the rectangular iron dish measures 10.7 x 11.4 cm and the dish is 2.8 cm deep. By a series of four stages it becomes progressively smaller toward the bottom, the last step being round or slightly oval, giving a Mandala-like impression to the shape to the dish. This oval base measures 5.3 x 4.8 cm. Close to the bottom of the dish is a rectangular opening in the side opposite the handle. This leads to a rectangular spout 10 cm long which projects out beneath an elaborate silver and gilt floral decoration attached to the rim of the dish. A similar decoration, but with cloud patterns, is set above the handle on the opposite side. The dish itself is decorated with inlaid silver and gilt dorje designs. In the bottom is an erect dorje 3 cm high, set in the centre of a gold inlaid Trikona, symbol of the three jewels: Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. There is a Chinese inscription engraved inside the dish. The bottom of the dish is entirely covered with designs in silver and gold. On the oval bottom of the dish is a crossed dorje in silver and gold. Both Cat. nos. 691 and 692 are superb examples of the blacksmith's art.

Overall length: 80 cm
Accession no. R.259

693. Leather-covered wooden case
A brass-bound leather-covered wooden case made to hold Cat. nos. 691 and 692. The interior of the case is lined with red silk, now much faded and stained. The two ceremonial implements each have their carved close-fitting nesting places so that they neither touch each other nor move inside the case. The lid is attached to the case by two hand-made brass hinges and the case is closed by two sliding brass latches.

Length: 84 cm; width: 17.5 cm; thickness: 5.5 cm
Accession no. R.260

Miniature Chotens
694. Clay choten
A small sun-dried moulded clay choten of the kind which pilgrims purchase in order to leave at holy places in Tibet.

Described by J. Munthe-Brun as being from "Bhutto Basti, Tibet".

Height: 6.5 cm; diameter: 4.5 cm
Accession no. B.3016

695. Clay choten
A moulded sun-dried clay choten of the kind which pilgrims purchase in order to leave at holy places in Tibet. The clay from which this was made is said to have been mixed with human ashes.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 4.5 cm; diameter: 4 cm
Accession no. C.1356

696. Clay choten
A moulded sun-dried clay choten of the kind which pilgrims purchase in order to leave at holy places in Tibet.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 9.3 cm; diameter: 8 cm
Accession no. C.5413

Incense and Incense Burners
697. Incense
A package of incense manufactured in Kalimpong by Tibetan refugee Tenley Dargay. Printed label on the package reads:

"Made by a Tibetan Refugee: Dear Friends, Highly favoured quality zimpo or Incense making is one of the Tibet's Traditional arts. It is made out of 32 different famously scented substances like Musk, saffron, Nagi White and Red Sandle woods etc. The Excellence of zimpo does not lie only in the materials but also in a centuries old formulation and experience. This combination makes it richer and superior quality, it is now available only at Rs. ... per packet of 50 sticks. If anyone wishes to purchase it in lots or retail may please contact the Manufacturer: Tenley Dargay, Sadutshang Building, 10th Mile, Kalimpong P.O. (Darjeeling)."

The incense is packed in a box wrapped in yellow cellophane.

Length: 35.5 cm; width: 3.3 cm; thickness: 3.3 cm
Accession no. R.700
698. Incense burner

A rectangular incense burner of copper and brass with lid. Not seen.

From Dr F. H. Gravely of Reading, Berkshire, 1900.

Length: 37 cm; width: 7 cm; height: 9.5 cm
Accession no. C.1945

Ref.: Roth & Ronge, 1989: 4/7, Räucherbecken 1

Accession no. C.1945

Books, Printed Pages, and Printed Amulets

701. Calender

A Tibetan Calendar consisting of fifty-six long narrow pages printed on both sides. Not seen.

Prince Peter purchased it in Kalimpong, noting that it was the “official calendar from Lhasa”.

Accession no. R.226

702. Calender

A sheet of paper printed in red and black with what is apparently a Tibetan calendar. Not seen.

From P. Köhke.

Dimensions: 30 x 27 cm
Accession no. Ca.268

703. “Almanac”

A printed paper in red and black ink described as a “Tibetan almanac”. It shows the twelve animals which symbolize the months of the year. Not seen.

From P. Köhke.

Dimensions: 42 x 28 cm
Accession no. Ca.269

704. 15.40 Printing block

A carved wooden block for printing amulets. The text is contained within a frame that measures 19.5 x 15 cm. A large central feature of the amulet is the All Powerful Ten, a mystic monogram made up of ten Sanskrit letters.

Obtained in Sikkim.

Length: 30.5 cm; width: 18 cm; thickness: 2 cm
Accession no. C.2085
705. 15.42 Book cover

A wooden book cover the top surface of which has seven rows of carved designs framing a rectangular panel decorated with carved circular floral patterns on either side of a Vase with the Elixir of Life symbol. Three of the four edges of the cover are plain, but the fourth, an end piece, is also carved. A rectangular notch, 2.9 x 2.2 x 0.5 cm, has been cut in the bottom of the book cover, which has removed some of this carved edge. The under surface of the book cover is not carved, but has been painted red. Much of this painted surface has been worn away leaving only traces of a dull orange-red colour showing.

Obtained in an exchange with the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum in Chislehurst, Kent, 1933.

Length: 70.7 cm, width: 25.3 cm; thickness: 2.9 cm

Accession no. C.4746

706. Manuscript page

A page from the Kanjur, written on both sides with gold ink on black paper. The text has been written within a rectangle.
of lines drawn in gold ink. The text area
is 47.5 cm long and 13.5 cm wide. The
page has been placed in a wooden frame
between sheets of glass so that both sides
can be viewed.

Length: 65 cm; width: 22 cm
Accession no. R.703

707. Manuscript page

A single sheet of coarse yellow paper
with a handwritten Tibetan text on both
sides in black and red ink.

Length: 17.8 cm; width: 7.3 cm
Accession no. R.704

708. Manuscript page

A single sheet with a black painted panel
on each side on which are written five
lines of Tibetan text in gold letters. The
black panels are 25 cm long and 5 cm
wide. Not seen.

From P. Köhke.

Dimensions: 76 x 30.5 cm
Accession no. Ca.271

709. 15.43 Kanjur volume

A wooden block-printed volume of the
Kanjur, consisting of 1,156 sheets printed
on both sides with black ink on coarse
brown paper. The book was printed in
India from wooden blocks made in Lhasa.
The loose pages are all contained between
two protective layers of red cardboard and
tied together with cloth ribbons.

Purchased in Shigatse by Rolf Gilberg
in 1985.

Length: 48.5 cm; width: 11 cm; thick-
ness: 9 cm
Accession no. R.532

710. Block prints

A collection of forty-nine woodblock prints of Buddhist amuletic images and texts.

From Mads Bryld.

Accession nos. R.460-R.509

711. Block prints

A collection of twenty-five woodblock prints in black ink on local paper. These are of various sizes and for the most part are images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, gods, and goddesses surrounded by traditional Buddhist symbols. These are entered as "Found in the Museum in 1989". Of these, more than half are noted down as "perhaps Nepal", and the rest are merely described as being from the "Himalayan region".

Accession no. R."13-R."3"

712. Buddha print

Printed image of a seated Buddha with halo in black ink inside a border printed in red. Not seen.

From P. Köhke.

Dimensions: 56 x 49 cm

Accession no. Ca.270

Prayer Flags

713. Cloth wall hanging
A painted wall hanging, on white cotton cloth, of the Eight Glorious Emblems, also called the Eight Auspicious Symbols, with the Golden Fish, the Wheel, the Endless Knot, the Lotus, the Conch Shell, and the Parasol and Victorious Banner, which seem to be combined in one, and finally the Vase, created by arranging all the other symbols so as to represent its form.

This was made in the 1960s by Tibetan refugees in Sweden, several having been made to place round an altar. From Rolf Gilberg.

Height: 57.5 cm; width: 40 cm
Accession no. R.525

714. Prayer flag
A prayer flag made of red cotton cloth with black ink wood block printing. In addition to a Tibetan text there are three icons: at top centre is a figure which seems to be Vajrapani, though the printing is not clear enough to make identification certain. In the centre is the All Powerful Ten monogram, and at the bottom centre is a chöten.


Height: 58.5 cm; width: 41 cm
Accession no. R.534

715. Prayer flag
A printed cloth flag, bright yellow in colour, with a large number of auspicious signs, images, and symbols such as the All Powerful Ten monogram, the Eight Tregrams, the Magic Circle, the Mandala, sun and moon symbols, and many others. Most of these are arranged round the edges of the rectangle. The centre is occupied by a demon grasping a circle in which are the twelve animals designating the hours, days, months, years, and points of the compass. In the centre of this circle are the nine magic numbers:

4 9 2
3 5 7
8 1 6

At the top centre with a blazing sun on either side sits Manjusri, Lord of Wisdom. Below him, on the right, is Avalokitesvara, Lord of Mercy. Opposite is Vajrapani surrounded by flames.

From Rolf Gilberg.

Height: 58 cm; width: 32.5 cm
Accession no. R.536

717. Prayer flag
Prayer flag: a wood block printing on green cotton cloth; two identical impressions side by side with Lung-ta, the horse with the flaming pearl on his back, in the centre of each, surrounded by lines of Tibetan text. Images of other creatures occupy the corners of each of the two rectangles: top left, tiger; top right, lion; lower left, garuda; lower right, Naga.

From Rolf Gilberg.

Height: 39.5 cm; length: 56 cm
Accession no. R.537

718. Prayer flag
A dark red cotton prayer flag banner printed with eleven identical rectangles of Tibetan text, each with a representation of the Wind Horse (Lung-horse) bearing on its back the flaming jewel or three jewels of the Holy Triad, a lucky talisman. Each printed block measures 26 x 33.5 cm. Along one edge in four places are small bunches of dark red silk yarn which were used to tie the banner in place. Along the opposite edge are tied twelve bunches of cloth strips, two red, two yellow, two dark blue, and two white, plus an additional yellow bunch, one tassel of faded purple cords, one of black, and one consisting of four short strands of dried cloves with short silk tassels, two dark red and two green.


Height: 58 cm; width: 38 cm
Ref.: Gilberg, 1971: 62-4
Accession no. R.535
Amulets

720. Printed cloth amulet
A small printed amulet with black ink wood block printing of text and Lung-ta, a horse carrying a flaming pearl on his back, on coarse cotton cloth. The cloth, which is unhemmed and ragged at the edges, was once white but is now a café au lait colour. The Lung-ta symbol is much used on praise and luck flags.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 19.5 cm; width: 12.5 cm
Accession no. C.5428

721. Brass amulet
A cast brass disc with a circular Tibetan inscription round a plain disc centre 5.7 cm in diameter on one side. On the other side there is a Chinese inscription, also circular, but the central circle is occupied by a sixteen-armed figure seated on a lotus, with an attribute in each of fourteen hands; the two principal hands not being visible, as the figure is shown from the back.

Diameter: 9.6 cm; thickness: 0.8 cm
Accession no. R.695

722. Brass amulet
A round bronze amulet, one surface plain, the other covered with symbols in relief. The disc is slightly concave on the decorated side. In the centre is a lotus flower pattern, each petal bearing a Chinese character. The centre of the flower has been marked off in squares, nine in all, each with a number, forming the "magic square" (Cf. R.535). Round the flower pattern is a band of animal figures, and beyond that another band of symbols. The number 101 has been engraved on the back.

Diameter: 5.2 cm
Ref.: Gilberg, 1971: 62-4
Accession no. R.679

723. Prayer wheel
A cylindrical table prayer wheel of copper with brass trim. This example lacks the spindle and printed prayer roll. The number 10c has been engraved on the bottom.

Height: 19 cm; diameter: 7.7 cm
Ref.: Gordon, 1959, opposite p. 10.
Accession no. R.588 a-b

724. 15,47 Prayer wheel
Metal prayer wheel with ivory handle. Round the top of the handle is a silver ring with the number 74 engraved on it. The canister, heavily embossed all over with the Eight Glorious Emblems, has been made of some white metal which may be silver. In places this has been gilded. The bottom of the canister shows crossed dorjes surrounded by lotus petals. A chain of fine wire links 8 cm long is attached to the side of the canister and on the other end is a multi-faceted metal weight with a flower engraved on each surface. The canister contains a roll of printed prayers sewn up in red cloth. The lid, a stepped dome with lotus bud top, is of the same fine craftsmanship as the rest of the metalwork on this piece.

Length: 29 cm; height, canister and lid: 11 cm; length of handle: 16.5 cm
Accession no. R.589

725. Prayer wheel
Silver prayer wheel with wooden handle. The lid, which is of some white metal, has been fashioned into a stepped dome with a drop-shaped brass top. The lid has suffered some damage; the brass top is bent to one side and the lid folded downwards. Two parallel bands of script have been incised round the canister. On the silver band separating them three settings have been placed for stones, but
only one, a red coral bead, is in place. A chain of round links 9 cm long is attached to a ring set on the side of the canister. To the other end a multi-faceted weight 2.7 cm across has been fastened as a counter weight to keep the prayer wheel turning. The underside of the canister is decorated with lotus patterns. There are no printed prayers inside the canister and the wooden handle, which is 12 cm long, appears to be a recent replacement.

Length: 25.5 cm; height, canister and lid: 12 cm; diameter: 8 cm
Accession no. R.590

726. 15.47 Prayer wheel
Silver prayer wheel with wooden handle. The domed top of the silver canister is surmounted by a lotus bud below which is a silver disc with lotus petal designs. This rests on the domed top which is decorated with raised jewel symbols. Below this is an encircling band of lotus petal designs. The body of the canister has been treated in traditional style with two parallel bands of Tibetan text in raised letters all the way round. The bottom has an outer circle of engraved lotus petals round a central disc displaying crossed dorjes. In the centre of this is a short silver tube holding a hollow wooden stem. An iron shaft, set in the wooden handle, passes up through this wooden stem, through the canister, and on to rest up under the silver lotus bud at the top, thus enabling the “wheel” to rotate. The rotation is maintained by deft movements of the wrist, aided by a multi-faceted silver weight which is attached to the canister by a short length of wire chain. The wooden handle is bound round the top and bottom by copper bands. The number 76 has been engraved on the copper band at the top of the wooden handle.

Height: 30 cm; diameter: 7.5 cm
Accession no. R.591

727. Prayer wheel
A small bone, wood, and copper prayer wheel with a container for holding paper strips of printed prayers made of carved bone. The top and bottom of the container are of copper. The wooden handle, 12 cm long, has a band of copper wrapped round each end. These are held in place by two copper nails. The cylinder contains a strip of prayers. Probably made for tourist trade. From Ms Grethe Lichtenberg.

Length: 19.5 cm; diameter: 3.2 cm
Accession no. R.420

728. Prayer wheel
A brass, iron, and copper prayer wheel with a wooden handle. The lid of the canister has a lotus pattern rising in high relief to support a drop-shaped lotus bud.
15,47 Cat. nos. 724, 726, and 729. Prayer wheels.

At the top. The bottom of the canister has a lotus design in relief and the sides consist of two bands of Tibetan text edged with brass ridges. An iron rod inserted in the handle serves as the axle on which the canister rotates. The wooden handle is 11 cm long and 1.8 cm in diameter. The rotation of the canister, which contains a paper roll of printed prayers, is aided by a lead weight which is attached to the canister by a short length of chain which appears to have been made up from links (six in all) taken from a suit of chain mail.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
1548 Cat. nos. 614 and 733. Bronze chöten with rolls of printed prayers.

Length: 23 cm; height, canister: 11.5 cm; diameter: 7 cm
Accession no. B.3022

729. 1547 Prayer wheel
A prayer wheel of brass, copper, and wood with cloth-wrapped printed paper roll intact inside the brass canister. Unlike most prayer wheels, the metal canister is entirely plain on top, bottom, and sides. Attached to a brass strap round the circumference of this is a copper ring to which is tied a length of cord. A lead weight in which is set a heavy iron wire bent into a loop has been tied to the end of the cord to facilitate the rotation of the prayer wheel. The iron spindle set in the wooden handle passes up through a hole in the bottom of the canister and then through a hollow bamboo tube round which the printed prayers are wrapped. The weight of the canister and its contents rests on the tip of the spindle up under the lotus bud knob.

From Hermann and Robert von Schlagintweit.

Height: 26 cm; diameter of canister: 6.5 cm
Accession no. Ca.136

730. Prayer wheel
A copper prayer wheel. Originally the canister and the wooden handle with its spindle, having become separated from each other, were accessioned separately as C.5412 and C.5415. Now reunited they are registered under the number C.5415. The lower part of the canister is decorated with a single band of Tibetan text, presumably Om Mani Padme Hum, but the letters are extremely crude and difficult to make out. The bottom has a raised lotus blossom design. The top of the canister fits onto this like a lid. It has a matching band of Tibetan text round its circumference and, above that, lotus petals in high relief with a lotus bud knob on top. The round wooden handle has an iron spindle inserted in it; this passes up through a hole in the bottom of the canister and then through a hollow bamboo tube round which the printed prayers are wrapped. The weight of the canister and its contents rests on the tip of the spindle up under the lotus bud knob.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 26.5 cm; diameter: 7.7 cm
Accession no. C.5415

731. Prayer wheel
A copper prayer wheel with gilded ornamentation. Two bands of Tibetan text, one above the other set out in gilded letters, cover the body of the canister. The beginning and end of each phrase being marked by a carved red stone in a round mounting, four in all. The top of the canister is domed with four round gilded shou emblems separated by
leaves, on top of which is a lotus pattern with a gilded lotus bud knob at the top. On the bottom of the canister is engraved the crossed dorjes symbol. The canister contains a paper strip with printed prayers. A lead weight to facilitate rotation is attached to the canister by a length of copper chain. Round wooden handle.

From Egill Rostrup.

Length: 27.5 cm; height of canister: 12 cm; diameter: 7 cm

Accession no. C. 5896

732. Printed text for prayer wheel

A long white ribbon of printed paper bearing three continuous lines of text repeating the mantra Om Mani Padme Hum. This was not found and may have been put into one of the previously empty prayer wheels.

Length: 89 cm; width: 7 cm

Accession no. R. 224

733. 15.48 Printed prayers

Two glass jars containing a quantity of rolled and folded paper strips on which has been printed religious texts. The smaller of the two jars contains eighteen small rolled paper bundles of text plus a number of fragments of red, white, and green cloth. There are also six small paper and cloth packets, some tied with red yarn, some merely twisted shut, which seem empty. In the bottom of the jar there is a quantity of reddish dust mixed with some black and brown ob-
jects resembling seeds. The contents of the larger jar are somewhat different: there is only one piece of light coloured cloth and the remainder of the contents consist of twenty-one tightly rolled and folded packets of hand-written text, eleven of which are tied with yarn. In contrast to the contents of the first jar where all the texts were written or printed on paper, these are written on birch bark. According to the donor, all these materials came from a Tibetan prayer wheel, but prayer wheels are normally filled with a single roll of long narrow paper resembling the paper rolls used in adding machines. The small tightly tied packets contained in these jars are more commonly found in bronze reliquaries such as stupas and images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and gods and goddesses.

From Gerda Hald, 1975.

Accession no. R. 512

734. Mani stone

An irregularly shaped flat stone engraved with the Buddhist mantra Om Mani Padme Hum. Similar stones may be found in great quantities, piled up near particularly holy sites in Tibet.

From Johannes Prip-Moller.

Length: 32 cm; width: 15.5 cm; thickness: 1.5 cm

Accession no. C. 5049

15.49 Cat. no. 735. Mani stone.
735. 15.49 Mani stone
A flat sandstone pebble engraved with the Buddhist mantra *Om Mani Padme Hum*.
From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 15.5 cm; width: 10 cm; thickness: 2.5 cm
Accession no. C.1355

736. Mani stone
A flake of stone bearing part of the Buddhist mantra *Om Mani Padme Hum*.
From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 10 cm; width: 6.5 cm; thickness: 1 cm
Accession no. B.3024

737. Copper plaque
A copper plaque with a repoussé scene depicting a monastery with temples and other buildings, lamas, horsemen, a small lake, prayer flags, and pilgrims. Modern non-traditional piece.
Height: 34.3 cm; width: 27.5 cm
Accession no. R.563

738. Ceremonial stave
An iron "ceremonial stave", or staff of office, square in cross-section, with bronze fittings. There is an iron point at the proximal end and a bronze point at the distal end. Not seen.
Said to have been used in Lhasa by Shengo (monastic proctor) in the Great Bön festival. Obtained in Kalimpong by Halfdan Sjiger in 1950.
Length: 165 cm
Accession no. R.139

739. Potala painting
A painting of the Potala executed in tempera on thick paper by a Tibetan artist.
Obtained in Kalimpong in 1950.
Height: 55 cm; width: 70 cm
Accession no. R.182
740. Ink and stamp

A tin box containing a quantity of sticky red ink for stamping documents. Inside the lid is a paper label: Triangle’s Chinese Stamp pad, Triangle Co., Hong Kong. With this is a rubber stamp with a black wooden handle. The engraved stamp is a 3 cm square enclosing the crossed dorje symbol. The box is tied shut with a length of red silk ribbon and a length of pale yellow silk ribbon.

Height: 3 cm; length: 9.5 cm; width: 6 cm
Accession no. R.407 a-c

741. 15,50 Decorative plaque

Described in the museum accessions register as an altar decoration, this consists of six metal plaques, three of iron and three of brass, attached to each other by copper rivets and soldering. The largest of the brass plaques, set at the bottom of the decoration, has been riveted onto a sheet of copper together with the three iron plaques which have been arranged to frame it on either side and across the bottom. The brass plaque, which is rectangular with an arched top, is decorated with a Vajra in high relief on a background of openwork vines and tendrils. The iron plaques, which are 2 cm wide and 10.5 cm long, and which frame this on three sides, are also decorated with twisting vines in openwork and they closely resemble the metal plates used to decorate riding saddles. Set above the brass plaque is a round brass disc 9.5 cm in diameter with two lamas in high relief. Attached to the top of this is a second brass disc 8 cm in diameter with an offering bowl in high relief. A cloth strap has been attached to the tops of the two vertical iron plaques by a ring on one side and a buckle on the other. A worn and faded rectangle of cloth is attached to the back of the copper plate behind the lower plaque. The entire construction looks more like an equestrian decoration than one intended for a temple altar.

Height: 27 cm; width: 16.5 cm
Accession no. R.157

742. 15,51 Silver box

A round silver box shaped like a slightly flattened oval in cross-section. The top and bottom halves of the box are nearly equal in size. A flange on the lower edge of the top slips down inside the box, holding both together. The base of the box is 6 cm in diameter and is engraved with a lotus blossom. The top is deco-
rated with leaves and flowers in high relief set in a circle which is also 6 cm in diameter. In between these two circles are six bands of geometrical designs (beads and diamond shapes in relief) running all round the cover and the box, three on the top and three on the bottom. The number 69 has been engraved inside the box cover on the lower edge.

Height: 7 cm; diameter: 9.5 cm
Accession no. R.636 a-b

743. 15.51 Silver box

A round silver container nearly oval in cross-section, made as two bowls of equal size, one inverted over the other to form the top. The round flat base of the bottom half is 5.5 cm in diameter. The top is decorated with flowers and leaves set inside a circle which is also 5.5 cm in diameter. Between these two are six bands, three on the top and three on the bottom, each half with a plain band between two others of vines and fruits. The number 68 has been engraved inside the top half near the lower edge.

Height: 7 cm; diameter: 10 cm
Accession no. R.637 a-b

744. Brass container

Large round container of copper with a brass base and brass decorations. The high-domed cover is also of copper with brass decorations. A round brass stand with a short flaring top and a wide flaring bottom has been attached to the bottom of the container with four copper rivets. This base has large repoussé lotus petal designs all round its circumference.

On the body of the container are six brass plaques, held in place with copper rivets, two of laurel leaf shape, one round, and one quasi-oval in shape. The laurel leaf plaques, which measure 16.5 x 6 cm, are decorated with Buddha or Bodhisattva figures seated on lotus thrones, each surrounded by various figures and symbols. The round plaque, 12.5 cm in diameter, appears to show the Bodhisattva Manjushri in violent form. Two round brass discs, 2.5 cm in diameter, with an incised flower design and held in place by a copper rivet through the centre, appear on either side of this plaque. The quasi-oval plaque, 12 cm wide and 11 cm high, on the opposite side bears the image of a monster god of the skies. This too is flanked by four brass discs, two on each side, bearing a flower design. The shoulder of the container is covered with a brass band 2.5 cm wide, held in place by copper rivets. Stamped into this all the way round are *Triratna* ("three jewels") symbols. The neck of the container is covered by a brass collar, 4 cm wide, decorated with flower designs. Two copper handles, one on each side, are held in place by copper rings which have been splayed open like cotter pins on the inside of the pot. Height of container: 27.5 cm; diameter of opening: 29.2 cm; greatest diameter: 32.5 cm. The copper cover has a 2.7 cm wide flange on its lower edge which slips down inside the mouth of the container to prevent it from slipping off. A 0.5 cm wide rim above this seats down onto the rim of the container. Above this the high domed cover rises in a series of decorated bands to a height of 23.5 cm. On top of this a large copper lotus 7.5 cm high and 9.5 cm in diameter has been set to form a knob for the cover. Virtually every centimetre of the surface is decorated with repoussé work in bands of varying widths running round the cover: lotus petals, flowers, leaves, and vines. The lowermost band, 7 cm wide, is set on a rim of lotus petal design. It bears four oval brass plaques held in place by copper rivets. These measure 7 x 6 cm in size and are decorated with Bodhisattva images. Between each, set in the centre of a copper flower, is a stone, two of red coral and two of blue glass, though one of the latter is missing. Above this is a second band, also 7 cm wide, and also bearing four oval brass plaques, two bearing Buddha figures and two with monster faces. Between each of these are four copper flowers, each with a stone in the centre, one of blue glass, one of turquoise, one of red glass, and one missing. Over the top of the cover is a brass lotus disc 14.5 cm in diameter set above a band of lotus petals. The knob/handle of the cover is, as mentioned, a large copper lotus blossom made of two pieces braised together. The number 68 has been engraved on the bottom of the container up inside the base.

Height: 54 cm; height, cover only: 30 cm; diameter: 29.2 cm
Accession no. R.644 a-b

745. Candlestick
Carved wooden candlestick in the shape of a fish rising from the water, its open mouth made to receive the candle, the hole passing all the way down through the block. The wood has been painted dark red and then gilt paint has been applied on top of the red.

Height: 7.5 cm; length: 11.2 cm
Accession no. R.654

746. Candlestick
Carved wooden candlestick which makes a pair with Cat. no. 745, the two being very similar in every respect, varying only in detail. Gold paint applied over dark red.

Height: 7.5 cm; length: 11 cm
Accession no. R.655

NOTES:
1 These musical instruments are represented in the museum's collections and are described in the next chapter.
2 See also L. A. Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet*, Chapter 12: 287-304.
3 Ibid.: 483.
Tibetan music is of two very different kinds: religious and secular. At some unknown date the Tibetans devised a system of musical notation which they used to write down their classical temple music, and examples of such written music are still in use in Tibetan monasteries today. Music plays an important rôle in formal religious ceremonies and in each monastery there are a number of monks trained in the use of traditional Tibetan musical instruments. The “temple orchestra” devoted to the performance of religious music includes no stringed instruments, but is composed entirely of wind and percussion instruments. The National Museum has a number of the more common instruments one would expect to find in Tibet, but the collection is far from comprehensive. As a category, musical instruments are perhaps the weakest part of these Tibetan collections.

Chordophones

747. 16.2 Spike fiddle

A “spike” fiddle with a bamboo resonator and horsehair strings. The neck or spike passes through the resonator, which is made of a section of bamboo. The resonator is covered with animal skin over one end only (the end near the spike), the other end is without cover.


The skin, hair side uppermost, is well covered with short grey hair, though it is thin in several places. The skin has been attached to the resonator by stretching it across the end of the bamboo section and bending it over the side all round, pegging it in place with c. 2 cm long wooden pegs set c. 2-3 cm apart, each approximately the thickness of a matchstick. The excess skin hanging down all round was then cut away c. half a centimetre below the pegs and in a very uneven manner. One can see that the skin was trimmed after the pegs were driven in to hold it in place because knife cut marks are seen in the bamboo round the resonator just below the ragged skin edge. The peg ends stand proud of the skin and resonator c. 2-4 mm. The head of the instrument holds two round carved pegs 10.7 cm long. There are holes for two more, but no pegs. At the head, where the pegs and peg holes are, the neck has been cut so that it is rectangular in section from the end down for a distance of 17 cm toward the body. From that point on it is round in section. The neck pierces the resonator 3-3.5 cm below the skin-covered end, passes through the bamboo section, and emerges on the opposite side, projecting out c. 1-1.2 cm. Round this project-
ing end is looped a 20 cm length of twisted goat's hair yarn of a grey colour. To this two strands of black horse hair are tied. The other ends of the two strands are tied round the peg ends toward the top of the neck. The neck has been roughly carved over most of its surface with grooves and notches, though the rectangular head is carved with X-shaped patterns. The pegs, each c. 1.5-1.7 cm in diameter over most of their length, taper abruptly to less than 1 cm where they pass through the neck. The instrument does not look as if it has been much used. With it there is a small blue cloth bag containing pieces of resin and a bow. The latter is made of a piece of curved cane measuring 35.5 cm from top to tip. It is strongly twisted with two separate bunches of long, grey, dark brown and the other black, set quite close together, though only one can be used in playing the instrument.

Obtained in Sikkim.

Length: 57 cm; diameter of sound box: 11-12 cm

Accession no. C.2084

Aerophones

7-48. 16.5 Oboe

Oboe (ggyangting) with conical wooden shaft, seven fingerholes, brass mouthpiece, and flaring brass bell, the latter being decorated with bands of incised copper overlay. Around the wooden shaft between each of the fingerholes is a brass ring set with a round glass bead, eight in all down the length of the shaft, alternating red and blue. There is one thumb hole on the underside of the shaft. The brass mouthpiece is shaped like a temple vessel (e.g., R.175, Cat. no. 638). The reed is missing. Three blue glass beads are set on metal discs suspended from metal straps on the body of the mouthpiece.

Overall length: 55.5 cm

Ref.: Müller & Rannig: 283 and 388; Essen & Thingo, II: 281.

Accession no. R.104*

16.2 Cat no. 747. Spike fiddle.
16.3 Cat. nos. 748-50. Oboes.

749. 16.3 Oboe

Oboe (tṣa-gling) with brass mouthpiece and bell, seven finger holes and one thumb hole, very similar to Cat. no. 749 (Fig. 16.3) in every respect. These instruments are usually played in pairs.

Overall length: 55 cm.

Accession no. R.164

750. 16.3 Oboe

Oboe (tṣa-gling) with a wooden shaft, seven finger holes, one thumb hole, a brass and copper mouthpiece, and flaring copper bell, the latter being decorated with bands of incised brass overlay. Around the wooden shaft between each of the finger holes is a brass ring with a setting for a glass or turquoise bead. All are missing except one, which has a small round polished blue glass bead in it. The mouthpiece is shaped to resemble a Vase with the Elixir of Life. Four brass straps, each with a small setting for a stone, decorate the vase-shaped mouthpiece. Two stones are missing; the remaining two are of light blue glass. The number 2C has been engraved inside the mouth of the instrument.

Overall length: 58.5 cm; diameter of mouth: 15.5 cm

Accession no. R.645
751. Oboe

Oboe (rgya-gling) with a wooden shaft, seven finger holes, a brass and copper mouthpiece, and flaring copper bell, the latter being decorated with bands of incised brass overlay. Around the wooden shaft between each of the fingerholes is a brass ring with a setting for a glass, turquoise, or red coral bead. There are eight in all, alternating red coral and blue glass, all the way down. One blue and one red are missing. This instrument is similar in every respect to Cat. no. 751 (Fig. 16.3). The number 3C has been engraved inside the bell of the instrument.

Length: 56.5 cm; diameter of mouth: 15.5 cm
Accession no. R.744

752. Trumpet

A large copper temple trumpet with brass ornamentation (dung-chen or rag-dung). The trumpet has been made in three sections and so designed that these sections telescope into one another when not in use.

Length of extended horn: 296 cm; length, telescoped: 167 cm
Accession no. R.743

753. Trumpet

A large copper temple trumpet (dung-chen or rag-dung) with brass ornamentation. Similar in every respect to R.743.

754. Trumpet

A small trumpet of copper and brass (rkaṅ-gling) with a bell in the form of a Makara head. The body of the instrument has been fashioned of three lengths of hand hammered sheet copper which have been folded round and joined to form tubes. The mouth piece, of copper and brass, consists of a copper tube with a thin brass disc embossed with lotus petal designs at the bottom, two openwork brass spheres above, finally ending with a concave brass disc at the top. This instrument is very similar to Cat. no. 756 below, except that here the Makara head has a protruding tongue of thin copper.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 45 cm
Accession no. C.5426

755. Trumpet

A small trumpet of copper and brass (rkaṅ-gling) with a bell in the form of a Makara head.

From J. Munthe-Brun.
Length: 45 cm
Accession no. C.5426

756. 16.4 Trumpet

A trumpet (rkaṅ-dung) made of a femur. A 4 cm long copper sleeve has been fitted over the upper cut end of the shaft to make a mouth piece. At the lower end the condyle and patellar surface has been covered with rawhide, stitched up with a leather thong, and wrapped round with two lengths of 2 mm thick ribbed brass strips. According to L. A. Waddell, “In the preparation of these thigh-bone trumpets the bones of criminals or those who have died by violence are preferred, and an elaborate incantation is done, part of which consists in the Lama eating a portion of the skin of the bone.
otherwise its blast would not be sufficiently powerful to summon the demons."

Purchased in Darjeeling by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length: 34.5 cm

Accession no. B.2990

757. Trumpet

A copper temple trumpet made in two sections so that one can telescope inside the other. Ornamented round its length with four raised brass ribs.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Overall length: 114 cm; length, telescoped: 79 cm

Accession no. B.2999

758. Trumpet

A trumpet (dung-chen or rag-dung) of copper and brass made in three sections, the two smaller of which telescope into the larger, reducing the length of the instrument by 64 cm when not in use. The trumpet has been made of hammered sheet copper, each section of which has been bent round to form a tapering tube. The round mouth piece
and top part of the first section is of brass. The two joins between the different sections of the trumpet consist of a brass collar with a round raised midsection, above which is a silver ring. A third brass collar in the same style, but much larger than the other two, has been placed round the trumpet 25 cm back from the bell. It serves a purely decorative function. Three small copper rings, held in place by cotter pins, are fixed to the horn near its bell.

Obtained in Leh by J. Munthe-Brun.

Length of extended instrument: 117 cm; length, telescoped: 53 cm; diameter of bell: 13 cm

Accession no. B.2998

Membranophones

759. Frame drum

A round double-membrane frame drum (rnga) used by monks of the Red sect. This is probably a chos-rnga or rga-chen which is usually kept in the prayer room of the monastery and which would be played with two drum sticks. The outer surface of the wooden rim is convex in shape and of a dark red colour, but otherwise undecorated. The drum heads are in good condition and are secured to the wooden frame by tacks, some of which have been driven directly through the skin into the rim, while others have been driven through a wooden bead hoop. D-shaped in cross-section, one on either side of the drum, to further secure the edges. The narrow strip between the edge of the drum heads and the wooden bead hoop has been painted green. Three small brass loops have been set into the wooden rim of the drum, more or less evenly spaced apart round its circumference. Each of these loops holds a small copper ring to which lengths of cord are tied.

Obtained from Chimed Rigung Rinpoche.

Diameter: 32.5 cm; thickness: 9 cm

Accession no. R.411

760. 16.7 Pellet drum

A double-membrane pellet drum (damar) of painted wood with carved ivory inlay, used by monks of the Red sect. The shape of the drum is that of two shallow wooden bowls placed together back to back, i.e., joined at their bases, with the two open sides covered with green-stained skin. A heavy woven cotton strip of canvas-like material covered with red silk has been tied round the drum's waist, leaving a double length 12 cm long to serve as a handle. Also attached to this are two cords, one on either side, with a pear-shaped pellet of stitched cloth at the end of each to produce the sound when the drum is rotated. The cloth band is also decorated with two silver death's heads, a silver dorje with a pink coral bead set in the centre, and a brass boss bearing the Whirling Emblem on the handle. The ivory inlays, each surrounded by gold-painted flower designs, consist of twenty-three drop-shaped carved Tibetan characters (the twenty-fourth is missing) and twenty-two flower-shaped ivory inlays. Other bands of inlay set at the outer rim and inner edge of each half of the drum form lotus petal designs. The drum is carried in a round thick padded dark red cloth case (R.412b), complete with protective flaps, zipper closure, and multi-coloured woven silk shoulder strap.

16.6 Cat. no. 761. Pellet drum.
Formerly the property of the second Bhutanese King, this drum was made in Bhutan and was presented by the King to Chimed Rigyel Rinpoche in 1942. He subsequently gave it to Prince Peter in 1951.

Diameter: 20.8 cm; thickness: 10.5 cm
Diameter, case: 24 cm; thickness: 12.5 cm

Accession no. R.412 a-b

761. 16.6 Pellet drum

A lama’s double-membrane pellet drum (damaru or thod-rnga) made from the tops of two human skulls which have been cut so as to make two bowls. The bowls have been placed back to back, fastened together, and the two bowl openings covered with skin to form the drum heads. A length of cloth-covered cords has been tied round the central waist where the two skulls are joined together. The trailing end of this serves as a handle when the drum is in use; it also has attached to it two lengths of dark blue cord, one on either side, each with a bulbous end covered with blue cloth making the pellet. When the drum is held up by its handle and the wrist rotated rapidly to right and left, the ends of these cords strike the drum heads,
producing the desired sound. This type of drum is used by lamas in conjunction with the dorje bell to mark pauses between services.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Height: 17 cm; width: 17.8 cm

Accession no. B.3025

762. Pellet drum

A round wooden double membrane pellet drum (damaru) with painted decoration on the edges showing a row of heads and skulls on a red background. A leather strap round the waist of the drum is decorated with shells and turquoise. The handle ends in a broad shell disc. Not seen.

From J. Munthe-Brun.

Accession no. C.2067

763. Pellet drum

A round wooden double membrane pellet drum (damaru) with snake skin drum heads. The body of the drum has been turned from a single piece of wood. A cord or cords covered with red woollen cloth has been tied round the waist of the drum to provide a handle and to this are attached the cords with their pellet ends for producing sound when the drum is in use. The drum is in new unused condition.

Obtained in Sikkim.

Height: 11.5 cm; diameter: 18.5 cm

Accession no. C.2083

Idiophones

764. Brass bell

A cast brass egg-shaped clapper bell with a ring at the top, an iron clapper, and raised decorations on the outer surface. The number 26 has been engraved inside the bell.

Height: 6.7 cm; diameter: 3.5 cm

Accession no. R.678

Other bells and drums are catalogued in Chapters X and XIV.

NOTES:

1  *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 360.
APPENDIX: SYMBOLS USED ON BUDDHIST OBJECTS

Drawings by Thomas Otte Stensager

SIHOU, a Chinese symbol of longevity derived from the character shou, which means long life. Much used as a pattern on metal objects and on textiles, it appears in a variety of forms. In Tibet it is usually shown in the round or rectangular form and is widely regarded as a symbol of good fortune.

ANCIENT CHINESE TRIGRAMS. The three unbroken lines symbolize Yang, expressed by Heaven.
The three broken lines symbolize Yin, expressed by Earth. The various other combinations of broken and unbroken lines represent thunder, mountain, river, fire, lake, and wind. These Trigrams are found on many Tibetan artefacts.
Various known as THE EIGHT GLORIOUS SYMBOLS, THE EIGHT AUSPICIOUS EMBLEMS, or THE EIGHT LUCKY THINGS, these sacred symbols are: the Endless Knot, the Vase, the Victory Banner, the Wheel, the Lotus, the Conch Shell, the Fish, and the Umbrella.

**THE ENDLESS KNOT** apparently originates from a mark which appeared on the Hindu god Vishnu. In both Sanskrit and Tibetan it is called a noose, and is a symbol of Love and Devotion.

**THE VASE** represents a Holy Water Vase or a Jar of Treasures.

**THE BANNER OF VICTORY** symbolizes the attainment of enlightenment. It is often seen, fashioned of metal, as a cylinder on monastery rooftops. It wards off evil.

**THE WHEEL** may be represented with or without a lotus base and nimbus of flames. It represents The Law and symbolizes the Buddha's place as Ruler of the Universe.

**THE LOTUS** symbolizes life, heart, and mind and thus represents divinity. It is also a symbol of purity.

**THE CONCH SHELL** symbolizes the Word. Imported into Tibet in large numbers, those with a spiral turning to the right are considered especially auspicious. Holy places are always passed on the left and circumambulated clockwise.

**TWIN FISH** symbolizes freedom from restraint, as fish move freely in water. This is associated with the emancipated mental state in which no obstacles are encountered.

**THE UMBRELLA** is a symbol of royalty.
THE SWASTIKA is an ancient symbol, not confined to either Buddhism or Asia. It appears in prehistoric records of Europe and the Americas. In the Bön or Pön religion which was prevalent in Tibet prior to the advent of Buddhism, it symbolized the creation of the world. In Buddhist symbolism that event is represented by crossed thunderbolts, but the Swastika remains as a symbol of good fortune.

THE SUN AND MOON SYMBOL, consisting of a crescent moon and flaming sun, is often found at the top of a stūpa, the sacred structures built to contain holy relics. The flames from the sun represent the sacred light of Buddha.

CROSSED DJORES. This symbol, which is very popular, represents crossed thunderbolts and thus symbolizes the greatest power of the Almighty. It also is symbolic of the Creation of the world. In the ancient Bön or Pön religion of Tibet it was visualized in the form of a swastika.
THE WHEEL and THE WHEEL OF THE LAW. In Buddhism the wheel symbolizes the Word or the Law set in motion. Large gilt brass representations of the Wheel, flanked on each side by gilt metal deer, are often found on monastery roofs above the main entrance, symbolizing Buddha's first sermon and representing the moment when the Wheel began to turn. It signifies the Buddha's role as universal ruler, the wheel turner, spiritual monarch of the universe.

THE MAKARA is a mythological sea monster which represents the life-giving qualities of water. Makara heads sometimes adorn the corners of the caves on temple roofs, as they are considered to have the power toward off evil.

THE BAT is considered a creature of good fortune and happiness. Abstract decorative bat motifs are often found on textiles and other objects, usually five together, in order to represent longevity, good luck, peace, virtue, and a happy death.

THE GARUDA is the winged mythological creature who battles against the dragon-serpent nagas. This ancient figure is part of both Indian and Tibetan mythology, and can be traced through Bon or Bon religion beliefs into Buddhism. One aspect attributed to the Garuda is his ability to bring rain. His image, block printed on paper, and embellished with auspicious texts, is often sold as a charm.
THE ALL POWERFUL TEN MONOGRAM comprising ten Sanskrit characters (O, U, H, K, S, M, L, V, R, and Y) is in the Runa or Lantsa form and is often used as a charm when printed on paper and is also found engraved on metal objects such as grivu. It is usually shown, as here, with the Sun and Moon symbol at the top.

OM MA NI PAD-ME HUM, "OM! THE JEWEL IN THE LOTUS! HUM!". This is the most common mystic phrase in Tibetan Buddhism and it is directed to the patron-god of the country, Padmapani. Merely uttering the phrase is thought capable of stopping the cycle of re-births and sending the individual directly to paradise. It is this phrase which is printed hundreds of times on the paper strips inside prayer wheels.

PRAYER WHEEL. Drawing showing the construction of a prayer wheel.
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<th>Publisher/Details</th>
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