

MINISTERIE VAN ONDERWIJS, KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPEN

MEDEDELINGEN VAN HET
RIJKSMUSEUM VOOR VOLKENKUNDE, LEIDEN

No. 8 en 9

INTRODUCTION TO THE TIBETAN
COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM
OF ETHNOLOGY, LEIDEN

BY

DR P. H. POTT



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
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LIST OF SERIES FORMING THE TIBETAN COLLECTION

- 1: Von Siebold Collection, bought in 1837. Cf. p. 5.
- 2: donation made by H. de SCHLAGINTWEIT, 1859.
- 904: bought, Peking 1892.
- 1119: Möwis Collection; bought in 1897. Cf. p. 5.
- 1383: bought, Berlin 1903.
- 1572: bought, Amsterdam 1906.
- 1630: bought, Amsterdam 1907.
- 1632: bought, Berlin 1907.
- 1650: bought, Amsterdam 1908.
- 1774: bought, Berlin 1911.
- 1786: bought, The Hague 1911.
- 1804: bought, The Hague 1911.
- 1840: bought, Amsterdam 1913.
- 1842: bought, Darjeeling 1913.
- 1860: bought, Berlin 1913.
- 1943: bought, Calcutta 1917.
- 1949: bought, Amsterdam 1917.
- 1994: bought, Calcutta 1920.
- 2065: bought, Utrecht 1925.
- 2095: bought, Frankfurt a.M., 1926.
- 2220: bought, The Hague 1930.
- 2285: donation made by Mr. B. Heldring, Amsterdam, 1934.
- 2286: donation made by Mr. B. Heldring, Amsterdam 1934.
- 2500: donation made by Mrs. Klaauw-Bruins, Leiden 1942.
- 2504: donation made by Mr. D. van Manen, The Hague 1942.
- 2556: bought, The Hague 1944.
- 2572: bought, The Hague 1946.
- 2586: bought, Amsterdam 1946.
- 2674: bought, Amsterdam 1947.
- 2714: bought, Amsterdam 1948.
- 2739: Van Manen Collection; bought in 1948. Cf. p. 5.
- 2740: Van Manen Collection (paintings); bought in 1948. Cf. p. 5.
- 2767: donation made by Dr P. H. Pott, Leiden 1948.
- 2778: bought, Amsterdam 1949.
- 2783: donation made by Dr. J. Hooykaas, The Hague 1949.
- 2798: Mrs. M. Groskamp-Voûte Collection: bought in 1949. Cf. p. 5.
- 2800: plaster cast made in the museum, 1949.
- 2822: donation made by Mrs. M. Groskamp-Voûte, The Hague 1949.
- 2845: bought, London 1950.
- 2851: bought, London 1950.
- 2855: donation made by Mrs. de Clercq-van Weel, Amsterdam 1950.
- 2890: donation made by Mrs. Prof. J. J. L. Duyvendak, Leiden 1950.
- 2920: bought, London 1951.
- 2939: bought, London 1951.
- B 25: loan, Miss Eliz. Scharten, 1936.
- B 55: loan, Miss A. W. Henny, 1941.
- B 76: loan, Mr. F. C. Dijkers, 1949.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TIBETAN COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY, LEIDEN

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INTRODUCTION

The Tibetan collection of the National Museum of Ethnology may not be particularly large, but it includes a number of objects of importance, and it certainly also merits attention in its entirety. The purpose of this publication is not so much to give an extensive catalogue of the whole collection, but rather to draw attention to what is important in it, and also to give a general impression of its nature and size.

The visitor to the museum will, by consulting this publication, receive an answer to most questions that may arise, while by far the greater part of the objects on display are illustrated in this booklet. As we have to deal with products of a culture which will not be immediately comprehensible to everyone, it was necessary by way of introduction, to speak at some length of the country's history and of that remarkable type of religion and its manifestations which one generally calls Lamaïsm. Meanwhile we shall avail ourselves of any opportunity to point out special details and theories, which have, as yet, not received due attention, so that also the reader who is more at home in these matters may, here and there, yet find something new. To help the uninitiated, an index is appended which at the same time can serve as a kind of alphabetically arranged directory, and a guide through the maze of unfamiliar names, which we cannot dispense with.

In the course of time several catalogues of Tibetan collections have been published, among which we can distinguish two groups, those of a general ethnographical, and those of an iconographical character.

Among the first, the old but excellent catalogue by W. W. ROCKHILL,

Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet,¹ takes first place. A catalogue of the same type appears to have been issued recently on the Tibet collection of the Newark Museum, New Jersey, of which I have only seen the second volume dealing with ritual objects.²

The number of catalogues of iconographic collections is much greater, and in many respects they are also more interesting. GRÜNWEDEL's³ catalogue of the Uchtomsky collection remains a handbook of greatest merit. A few years later an extensive catalogue was published by DENIKER⁴, containing excellent reproductions. Later Alice GETTY published her great work on her own collection, which soon ran into a second edition,⁵ and which can also act as handbook. In 1935 the catalogue of the Tibetan collection of the Musée Louis Finot in Hanoi appeared. This collection is also mainly iconographic, supplemented by some objects used in ritual.⁶ The William B. Whitney Collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York supplied the materials for the work by Antoinette K. GORDON,⁷ which will satisfy neither the student of religion nor the art expert, as it suffers from over-systematization on an unscientific, if practical, basis. If we extend our field to Lamaïst China, we may also make use of four important surveys of published pantheons, viz. by PANDER,⁸ GRÜNWEDEL,⁹ W. E. CLARK,¹⁰ and PETER.¹¹

¹ ROCKHILL, W. W., *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, based on the Collections in the United States National Museum*. Report Smithsonian Institute 1892-93, pp. 669-747, 52 pls.

² *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and other Lamaïst Articles in the Newark Museum*, vol. II: Prayer and Objects Associated with Prayer, Music and Musical Instruments, Ritualistic Objects. Newark 1950, 8vo, ills.

³ GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*. Leipzig 1901, 4to (also in French translation).

⁴ *Oeuvres d'art et de haute curiosité du Tibet, bronzes, peintures, sculptures; Art et religion, bouddhiste et taoïste, formant la première partie de la collection G.* Paris 1904, 8vo.

⁵ GETTY, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism, their history, iconography, and progressive evolution through the Northern Buddhist Countries*. Oxford 1928 (2nd. ed.), 4to, ill.

⁶ PASCALIS, C., *La collection tibétaine (du) Musée Louis Finot*, Hanoi 1935, 8vo, ill.

⁷ GORDON, Antoinette K., *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaïsm*. New York 1939, 4to, ill.

⁸ PANDER, E., *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, I, 2/3. Berlin 1890, fol.

⁹ OLDENBURG, S. F., *Sborenk isobrasjiniï 300 burchanov po alborn asiatskavo museja*. St. Petersburg 1903, 8vo, ill. Bibliotheca Buddhica, vol. V.

¹⁰ CLARK, W. E., *Two Lamaïstic Pantheons*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1937, 2 vols., 8vo. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series, vol. III.

¹¹ PETER, F. A., *The "Rin-ḥByun"*, Introduction to an unpublished Tibetan Iconographical Work, JASB, Letters IX, 1943, pp. 1-28, ill.

Furthermore there is a number of treatises on Tibetan painting. The oldest separate publication on such a collection is by VAN MEURS,¹² of importance only for its illustrations; next the outstanding study by G. ROERICH,¹³ in which use has been made of excellent material. Recently the enormous work by TUCCI¹⁴ was issued. This beautifully illustrated handbook is of the greatest importance for the specialist.

There are many more publications which depict or discuss Tibetan objects, but it would occupy undue space if we were to mention all of them here. I would like to make an exception for the publications on objects in the Musée Guimet collection. Several of these pieces, mainly paintings, have been made known in various publications, mostly by BACOT and HACKIN.¹⁵ We may further mention some publications by GRÜNWEDEL and RIBBACH¹⁶ on what is in German museums. Much material from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna was published as illustrations to BLEICHSTEINER's *Die gelbe Kirche*.¹⁷

¹² MEURS, W. J. G. van, *Tibetan Temple Paintings*, Amsterdam 1924, 4to. Reprinted with an introduction by P. H. Pott, Leiden 1952, 4to.

¹³ ROERICH, G., *Tibetan Paintings*. Paris 1925, 4to, ill.

¹⁴ TUCCI, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Rome 1949, fol.

¹⁵ BACOT, J., *Collection tibétaine de M., exposition temporaire au Musée Guimet*. Ann. Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 35-71;

BACOT, J., *L'Art tibétain*. Ann. Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 191-220;

HACKIN, J., *Notes d'iconographie tibétaine*, Mélanges d'Indianisme Sylvain Lévi, 1911, pp. 313-328;

HACKIN, J., *Sur des illustrations tibétaines d'une légende du Divyāvādāna*. Ann. Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation, XL, 1913, pp. 147-157;

HACKIN, J., *Les scènes figurées de la vie du Bouddha dans l'Iconographie tibétaine*. Mémoires concernant l'Asie Centrale, II, 1916, pp. 1-116;

HACKIN, J., *Documents tibétains de la mission J. Bacot*. Bull. Archéologique du Musée Guimet, II, 1921, pp. 29-38;

HACKIN, J., *Guide-catalogue du Musée Guimet; Les Collections bouddhiques*. Paris 1923, 8vo;

BACOT, J., *Décoration tibétaine*. Paris 1924, 4to. (also German edition: *Kunstgewerbe in Tibet*, Berlin 1924, 4to);

HACKIN, J., *Mythologie du Lamaisme*, in: *Mythologie asiatique illustrée*. Paris 1928, pp. 121-162;

LINNOSSIER, Raymonde, *Les peintures tibétaines de la collection Loo. Études d'orientalisme Linossier*, I, pp. 1-97;

GROUSSET, R., *Les civilisations de l'Orient*. Paris 1930, Vol. IV, part II (pp. 245-287).

HACKIN, J., *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet*. Paris 1931.

¹⁶ GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Padmasambhava und Verwandtes*, Baessler Archiv, III, 1912, pp. 1-37;

GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas)*, Baessler Archiv, V, 1916, pp. 137-228;

RIBBACH, S. H., *Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft*, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, V, 1917, 64 pp.

¹⁷ BLEICHSTEINER, R., *Die gelbe Kirche*. Wien 1937, 8vo. 272 pp., 83 pls.

In the Netherlands there are a few interesting collections. Apart from that of the National Museum of Ethnology, we may mention the Museum of Asiatic Art (*Museum voor Aziatische Kunst*) in Amsterdam, where some select pieces are to be found, which have been reproduced in VISSER's *Asiatic Art in Private Collections in Holland and Belgium*. A noteworthy collection is also that of the Ethnological Museum (*Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde*) at Rotterdam, which has become the possessor of the Bianchi and Oldman collections. Of the Bianchi collection FRIEDMANN wrote a catalogue; ¹⁸ it contains copious iconographic material in the form of innumerable bronzes. The other collection comprises many cultic objects of the ordinary and the t antric ritual, and utensils used in every-day life in the monasteries.

Let us now consider the collections of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, and the way they have been formed. A number of objects have already been published in various short essays. If we now only pay attention to articles or catalogues which purported to deal with the collection more or less as a whole, excluding detailed studies on single pieces, we should mention two descriptions in periodicals, and one special exhibition catalogue. The first publication is by H. H. JUYNBOLL, in which he tried to give a general idea of the collection as it was in 1914. ¹⁹ Some ten years later it was followed by an article from the pen of W. F. STUTTERHEIM in a Dutch periodical. ²⁰ Both articles present a very incomplete picture of the collection as it is now, and the choice of the illustrations was unsatisfactory in both cases. The paintings were the subject of a special publication, viz. the catalogue issued on the occasion of a special exhibition held at the turn of the year 1948-1949, under the name of *Goden en Demonen van Tibet*. ²¹ In this catalogue a number of paintings are discussed and depicted. However, this catalogue is now sold out and hard to obtain, and anyway it only dealt with a small part of the collection.

The nucleus of the collection as a whole may be said to be due to three

¹⁸ *Tentoonstelling van Chineesche en Tibetaansche Kunst*. Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, Rotterdam. 18 December 1938-22 Januari 1939, 8vo, pp. 17-48, pls. 14-28.

¹⁹ JUYNBOLL, H. H., *Mitteilungen aus der tibetanischen Abteilung des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums, Leiden*, in: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, III, 1914, pp. 243-252. The abominable illustrations inserted in this article have been prepared from plates intended to be published in a periodical, which the then director of the museum planned to start in the same year that the extensive Tibetan collection of Mr. M owis was acquired, but which never went to the press. See *Jaarverslag* 1897-98, p. 5.

²⁰ STUTTERHEIM, W. F., *De Tibetaansche Afdeeling in 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden*, in: Elsevier's Geill. Maandschrift, Mei 1922, pp. 314-318, ill.

²¹ *Goden en Demonen van Tibet*, Catalogus (van een) Tentoonstelling in het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde te Leiden. December 1948-Maart 1949, 8vo, 48 pp., 8 pls.

collectionneurs, who formed their collections with a fifty years' interval between each of them.

In the first place there was the well-known doctor and Japanologue Ph. F. B. von Siebold,²² from whose collections the present-day National Museum of Ethnology originated. He himself describes his collection as: "A complete collection of Lamaïst idols, religious utensils and musical instruments from Tübet, and in use in the temples of the Kalmuks and Burèts, a Mongolian tribe north of Lake Baikal which professes the Lama religion". Unfortunately he does not say how he obtained his collection. It consists of a considerable number of very small paintings which, in general, can not lay claim to any artistic merit, and a fairly large quantity of objects used in ritual and in monastic life, plus musical instruments, amulets and printing blocks (series nr. 1).

The second collector was Paul Möwis, a well-known art dealer and butterfly-collector of Darjeeling, who, in 1897, sold to the museum a large collection of utensils, and also dance-masks and a number of bronzes (series nr. 1119).

The third collection, acquired in 1948, was formed by the well-known General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Johan van Manen. Actually it consists of two collections. One of these he formed for himself; it comprises besides a very great number of paintings, also many objects of strictly ethnographical interest (series nrs. 2739 and 2740). The other, which he helped to bring together, excels in its beautiful and precious objects of various kinds (series nr. 2798).

In an appendix to the present work I have given a biography of this remarkable Dutchman. I did so for several reasons. In the first place because the man Van Manen is of sufficient interest to warrant such a study, but also because in this manner I am enabled to make known material that may otherwise not have the chance of being published in the near future, but nevertheless forms an important part of the ethnographic collection: I mean a number of biographies by Tibetans, written in the vernacular on Van Manen's request, and only partly translated. These texts contain a rich store of data which certainly deserve closer study.

The *pièce de résistance* of the Museum's collection is formed by a small, but extremely important group of objects from Gyantse, which fell into the hands of the Younghusband expedition to Central Tibet. We may reasonably assume that they at the same time represent the oldest specimens of Tibetan

²² For a description of Von Siebold see: SIEBOLD, W., *Ein Deutscher gewinnt Japans Herz; Lebensroman des Japanforschers Philipp Franz von Siebold, 1796-1866*. Leipzig 1943, 8vo.

art in the Museum (series nr. 2845). They comprise a number of halo-fragments of more than life-sized figures, a bronze reliquary, and a bronze book-cover, all examples of particularly fine bronze-casting, decorated with engraving, beautifully gilt, and inlaid with small stones.

Through the peculiar way in which the collection was formed, it is fairly prolific, and also contains many old pieces. In this respect it has an advantage over collections that resulted from special expeditions. In the course of its formation many good pieces could be brought together. When, in the spring, the Tibetan caravans brought their wool to Kalimpong, the conductors were as often as not prepared to sell their utensils and ornaments if they were offered a sufficiently high price for them. In this manner the best collections of handsome pieces were formed in the course of the years in places like Kalimpong. Other objects were bought in Calcutta, partly from the art-dealers there. In the latter case one is frequently confronted with the question whether the objects are genuine. Once in a while one can even definitely point out falsifications. These are, of course, not on display in the museum, nor are they dealt with in our publication.

So the formation of by far the greater part of the collection took place at the Indian side of Tibet. This is interesting in many respects, as many collections, particularly of bronzes, were formed in China. After the Chinese revolution broke out in 1911, many Lamaïst monasteries fell into decay, and their possessions were scattered. Collections like that of the Musée Louis Finot in Hanoi, the Bianchi collection in Rotterdam, and the Verbert collection at present in Amsterdam are the result of these happenings, and so are many smaller private collections. This adds to the interest of the Leiden collection, even though the provenance of most of the pieces can not be precisely stated.

When dealing with the museum's Tibetan collection, we include territories that, geographically speaking, do not form part of Tibet, e.g. Bhutan, Nepal, Ladakh and Lamaïst China. We are, however, concerned with an area possessing a common culture, and for our purpose this grouping together of the areas mentioned is justified. As to Nepal, many bronzes were made by Nepalese craftsmen on orders from Tibetan monasteries or potentates, so that it is often hard to say whether such an object comes from Nepal, or from Tibet itself. In cases like this it is advisable not to attempt too clear-cut delimitations.

There is no purpose in giving exhaustive descriptions of all objects of the collection; in this book I shall confine myself to a general analysis of each class of objects, while drawing attention to striking details and points of interest which have, so far, not been noticed. Next the especially important

pieces will be described at greater length, as far as this is necessary, considering that the pieces of greatest interest all figure in the illustrations. Using the illustrations as a guide, one can use the index to find the desired information in the text.

Thus the whole Tibetan collection will be described, with one important exception, viz. the museum's enormous collection of block-prints and manuscripts, which have not yet been studied at all. They were also acquired by Johan van Manen, but unfortunately have not been described so far. As a catalogue of these works demands many years' labour, and the collaboration of several experts, it seems better to publish it later as a separate volume. A rapid survey has already brought to light several interesting texts. It is to be hoped that this collection will be subjected to a detailed study.

Usually a full bibliography is appended to a work of this kind. In this case, however, I think it advisable not to do so. Literature on Tibet is already very copious, but also very hard to oversee, so I prefer only to make a choice out of the publications I am familiar with, while being led by purely practical considerations. As often as possible I have referred to existing bibliographies, and have grouped the materials according to the subject-matter. Further, one should bear in mind that, apart from scientific treatises and accounts of travels, there are always works of fiction available, which portray Tibetan life better than any detailed study could. I do not mean the fantasies one finds in novels of adventure — even Sherlock Holmes visited Tibet! — but descriptions of Tibetan life as given by Sven Hedin and Lama Yongden.²³ General information need certainly not always be given in a dry or uninteresting manner, and the works to which we referred give a truer picture of Tibetan life than any others we know.

²³ HEDIN, Sven, *Tsangpo Lama's Wallfahrt*, 2 vols. Leipzig 1921-23, 8vo;
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TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION

- N.B.: An extensive bibliography was published by Robert FAZY: *Essai d'une bibliographie raisonnée de l'exploration tibétaine*, in: Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Amis de l'Extrême Orient, II, 1940, pp. 3-22; almost all books and articles published before 1920 are mentioned in H. CORDIER's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. IV and supplement.
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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Interest in Tibet is, in general, fairly great. This is mainly due to the isolation of the country, which caused it to lead a life of its own while remaining inaccessible to occidentals, interested travelers as well as scholars. These circumstances alone were sufficient to impart an air of mystery to Tibet, and certain other facts and fancies have even added to it.

The number of accounts of attempts, successful or otherwise, to journey through the land and visit Lhasa, the holy city *par excellence*, is already considerable, and is increasing every year. What the reader demands of such works is unfortunately all too often a blood-curdling tale of the cruelties suffered by peaceful Western travelers at the hands of the ignorant but fanatic populace, not infrequently incited by unscrupulous priests; or else stories about the supernatural accomplishments of the great mystics who are said to inhabit the country. Such an attitude does not exactly favour an unprejudiced view, and attempts to gain that view are further hampered by certain speculations which attribute a special function to the land of Tibet. Thus for theosophists Tibet is the true Holy Land, where the so-called Mahâtmas dwell, who exert their influence on the events of this world when they consider it necessary, while further leading a peaceful life in their impenetrable mountain regions. The Roman Catholic missions have always been interested in Tibet, and from the very beginning missionaries have been surprised by the great resemblance between the Lamaïst ritual and that of the Catholic Church. Many explanations of this resemblance have been ventured, either by considering it the work of the devil, or by trying to trace the famous long-nosed teacher of Tsoñ-kha-pa, the founder of the Lamaïst hierarchy; he was then supposed to have come from the West, and to have been responsible for all elements in this strange country which one held to be derived from familiar European originals. This theory has fared no better than the notorious mystification by Nicolas Notovitch, who caused great commotion in the entire Christian world by his book "La vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ". In this work he published the text of a kind of fifth Gospel, which he claimed to have found in a Tibetan monastery, and which gives a totally aberrant picture of the life of Christ.

Such theories have hardly contributed to the formation of a scientifically justified representation of Tibet. The number of scholars who have really thoroughly occupied themselves with this country is still relatively small, and not all their publications, although often excellently documented, can claim to be quite readable. Besides missionaries it is mainly representatives of the British government who have gathered important data on their voyages to the high dignitaries of Tibet.¹ The stories of their travels usually do not yield much that is new. How fortunate it would have been if we could have made use of the materials gathered by a person like the Dutchman Samuel van der Putte, who, in the seventeen-thirties, twice traversed Tibet and spent a considerable time at Lhasa, enjoying the full confidence of the Lamas. This material was lost through an all too scrupulous carrying-out of his last will; what remained was finally destroyed by military action in 1940.²

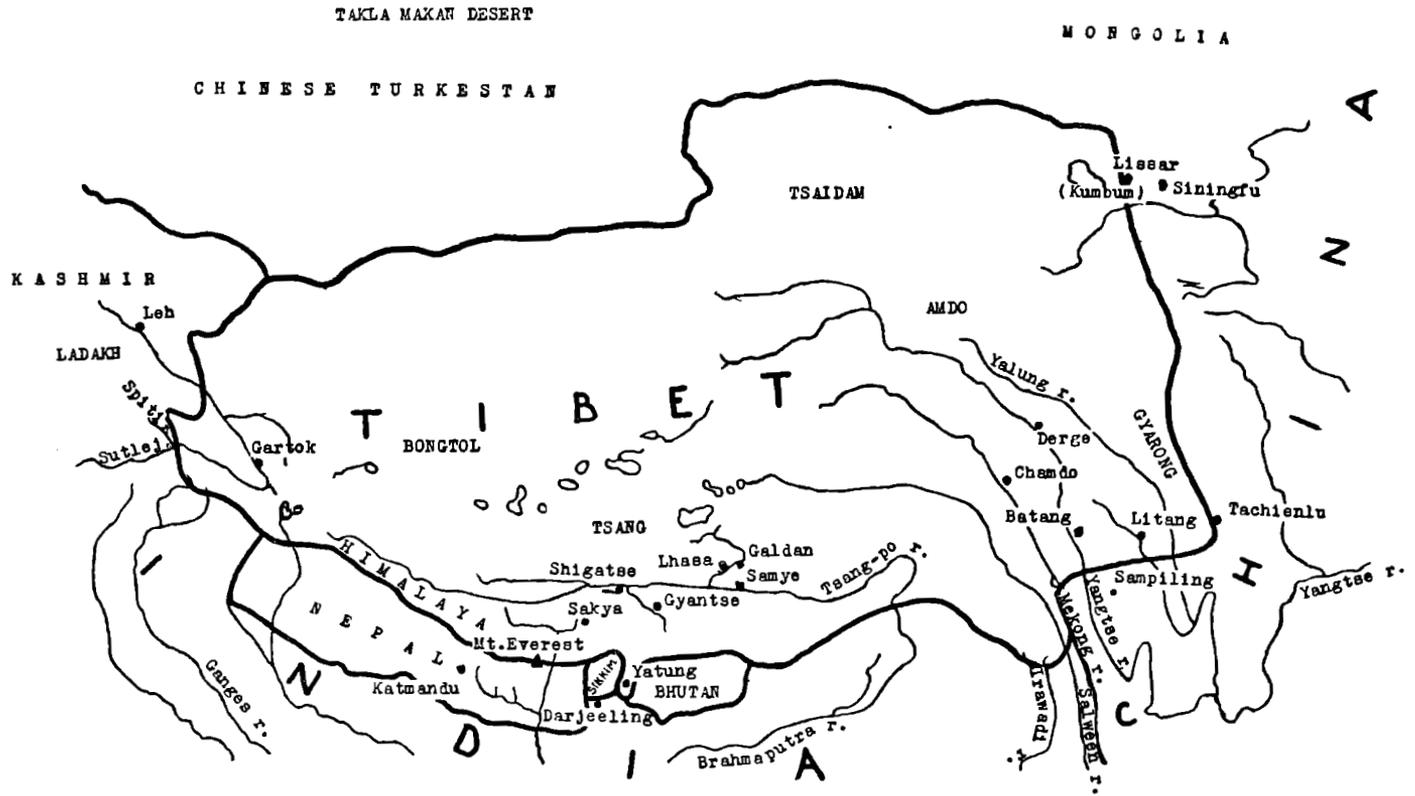
The political developments of the last years have again drawn Tibet into the orbit of world-wide interest.

As knowledge of the country and its relations with its neighbours is frequently lacking, a brief summary follows here to elucidate several points which might otherwise be hard to understand.

The country as a whole is a mountainous plateau, enclosed on almost all sides by high ranges with tremendous peaks, or by vast deserts. On the highest peaks are the sources of Asia's great rivers: the Hoang-ho, Yalung and Yangtse which flow into China, the Mekong which courses through Further India, and the Indian rivers Brahma-putra, Indus and Sutlej. The population of Tibet mainly inhabits the valleys of these rivers. Here corn can be cultivated, which is one of the main foodstuffs and is also needed for paying taxes in kind. In the eastern area, along the Chinese frontier, we do encounter a number of nomadic tribes, the so-called Ngolok, who make a living of cattle-raising and brigandage. They constitute a serious threat to any traveler who should attempt to make the journey from Kumbum to Lhasa without awaiting a strong force of travelling-companions. North of Tibet stretch the deserts of Takla Makan (Tarim basin) separated from

¹ Here I have not taken account of the reports by the so-called *paṇḍits*, spies trained and sent by the Anglo-Indian government to reconnoitre the Tibetan area. These reports have been fundamental for our knowledge of the geography of the country, and have also greatly contributed to the information on its population and religion. This group of *paṇḍits* counted men like Sarat Chandra DAS among its members.

² A detailed account of the life of Samuel van der Putte is given by P. J. VETH, *Ontdekkers en Onderzoekers*, Leiden 1884, pp. 58-94; cf. F. W. STAPEL, in: *Cultureel Indië*, V, 1943, pp. 25-29.



Tibet by the lofty Kuen Lung mountains and Gobi; the marshes of Tsaidam are a formidable obstacle in the north-east, while the mountain ranges in the south, west and east also greatly hamper the contact with the surrounding countries.

The main communications are the routes from Siningfu to Lhasa and from Tashienlu to Lhasa (from China), the route from Darjeeling via Gyantse to Shigatse and Lhasa, and the one from Leh, in Ladakh, via Gartok to the Indus valley. In addition there are several lesser roads via Nepal and Bhutan, but they are only used by native traders.

The geographical constitution of the country does not favour national unity, and this is, in fact, almost entirely lacking. The population is divided up into little groups, headed by rGyalpos, petty rulers with autocratic powers, who often bitterly attack one another, in armed combat as well as by magical practices. From time to time one of these rGyalpos succeeded in extending his power by force of arms over a larger area. Among the best known of these is King *Sron-btsan-sgam-po*, who died *circa* 650 A.D., and who brought not only Tibet, but also parts of Nepal and China under his sway. He even managed to obtain a Chinese and a Nepalese princess as consorts, and we may assume that the consent to these marriages had to be extorted by military force. The two princesses were Buddhists, and in this way the Buddhist religion first penetrated into Tibet. Although King *Sron-btsan-sgam-po* supported Buddhism, it is mainly to his descendant *Khri-sron-lde-btsan* that Buddhism owes its opportunities in Tibet. He lived some one hundred years after *Sron-btsan-sgam-po*, and the interval had been highly eventful. Immediately after *Sron-btsan-sgam-po*'s death in 653 his empire collapsed when the Chinese sent a military expedition to Lhasa, where the ruler had started on the construction of a palace on the so-called Red Hill. Lhasa was captured by the Chinese, and the palace destroyed. However, the Chinese eventually had to retreat in their turn, and under the reign of King *Khri-sron-lde-btsan* the tables were turned, and Tibet attacked China in 763, even capturing the Chinese capital. This feat also remained an isolated event: the Tibetans too had to yield up the conquered territory again.

King *Khri-sron-lde-btsan* was the protector of Buddhism in Tibet, and on his request the great magician Padmasambhava came to Tibet from the far-famed monastery of Nālandā. He founded the oldest monastery of Tibet, at Samye, where to this day about 4000 monks have their dwelling.

After having experienced a very favourable period under this king, Buddhism prospered even more under King *Ral-pa-can*, who reigned from 806-841. His religious fervour was even so great as to induce him to take

measures which made him many enemies. They plotted against his life, and finally assassinated him in 841. He was succeeded by his brother gLan-dar-ma, who turned out to be a great adversary of Buddhism. He, too, was so immoderate in his actions against his opponents that, after a reign of only three years, he was also murdered.

The death of this ruler really entails the downfall of the old dynasty, and with it of the central power in the land.³ The united petty kingdoms again fall apart into a kind of conglomeration of communities headed by robber barons. Then in the eleventh and twelfth century, slowly but surely a new force begins to occupy a place beside this brigand nobility, viz. the great monasteries, represented by their abbots. Large monastic communities, unknown in the 8th century, flourished in great numbers towards the end of the 12th, some of them comprising several thousands of monks. These communities can only exist if they are assured of an income. This largely consists of taxes in kind, which the surrounding population generally has to pay directly to the monastery. Frequently the large monasteries are also situated on spots which favour intensive trading activities, and the inmates certainly took advantage of this to increase their revenue. In addition there are the emoluments due to the monks for service rendered to laymen on all the important occasions of a man's life — and, of even greater importance, at his death.

These monasteries constitute the centres of Tibetan cultural life. Within their walls the various objects of religious significance were shaped which in the West are generally designated as Lamaïst art. The word Lamaïst is really an abusive term, comparable with the word "Papism" for Catholicism, and is therefore undesirable. Still, it is not easy to find a satisfactory substitute. "Tibetan Buddhism" has too narrow a meaning, for the same form of religion is also encountered in China and in some parts of India. As we do not intend discussing the correctness of a name, we shall only define what we mean by its actual use. We are confronted with a very remarkable form of Buddhism, and when we observe the manifold curious beings who have gained a place in the vast system of divinities characteristic of Lamaïsm, we certainly have reason to wonder whether such conceptions still have any connection with the original teaching of the Buddha, which in first instance was an ethical doctrine.

The nucleus of the preaching of Çākyaṃuni, the Buddha (i.e. the Enlightened One), who lived *circa* 560-480 B.C., was formed by the "Four Holy

³ On the genealogies of the early kings of Tibet see TUCCI's fundamental article: *The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition*, in: *India Antiqua*, a volume of Oriental Studies presented to Prof. J. Ph Vogel, Leiden 1947, pp. 309-322.

Truths", viz. of sorrow, of the origin of sorrow, of the conquest of sorrow and of the way which leads to the conquest of sorrow, namely the Eightfold Path. Whoever, after many existences on earth, is able to pursue the Eightfold Path to the end, trusting the doctrine and acting in accordance with the rules of Buddhist mysticism, can, after deep meditation, attain the stage of liberation called *nirvāṇa*. He who has achieved this state is called an *arhat*, i.e. "Venerable".

In the first centuries A.D. a new soteric teaching comes into being, which founds itself on the original dogma of the Buddha, but explains it differently. The new teaching declares that whoever is capable of attaining the supreme salvation, the state of an *arhat*, for himself, can voluntarily abstain from it by taking the vow of a *bodhisattva*. In this case one does not set oneself the goal of becoming an *arhat*, who only strives after his own liberation, but rather a future Buddha, named a *Bodhisattva*, whose highest aim is the salvation of all mankind. The adherents of this new doctrine called it *Mahāyāna*, i.e. the "Great Vehicle" and gave to the old teaching the name of *Hīnayāna*, the "Little Vehicle". The *Mahāyāna*-doctrine greatly prospered in Bengal, where Nālandā was one of its great centres of studies. Although the difference between the two forms of Buddhism is formulated dogmatically, it probably found its origin in a mystic distinction long present in Buddhism. This mystical trend gained more and more ground, and in the *Mahāyāna* one observes the development of a mystical-occult variation, in which the believer tries to attain Buddha-hood in *one* life, through a complicated ritual, and practices which come dangerously close to sorcery. All kinds of meditation and contemplation play an important part in this method. In its most elaborate form we call it Tantrism, and it was this special form of Buddhism which was considered to be the highest wisdom at Nālandā in the days of Padmasambhava, and was introduced by him into Tibet. This mystical Buddhism needs an orderly system of divinities who function as symbols, and are utilised in meditation. Their representations are, therefore, not works of art, or expressions of the creative urge of an untrammelled artist, but instruments used in meditation, and for that reason subjected to a rigid code which prescribes their form in all details. For this very reason the art of Tibet has undergone very few changes, which makes it extremely difficult to date Tibetan works of art.

Tāntric Buddhism experienced a Golden Age in the 12th and 13th centuries, in Tibet as well as in Java and Sumatra and in China. In 1270 the great Chinese emperor Khubilai Khan was initiated according to a tāntric ritual by the abbot of the monastery of Saskya. After the termination of the rite the emperor endowed the abbot with secular powers over the part of

Tibet that had gradually come under Chinese domination. For 75 years the priest-kings of Sasya wielded this power, until in 1345 prince Chanchub Gyaltzen made himself master and founded a dynasty, the Sitya, which ruled for 300 years, for Tibet a period of peace and prosperity. In 1635 the dynasty's power is broken by the ruler of Tsañ, but six years later he is defeated by the Mongol prince Gushi Khan, who delegates the secular rule in Tibet to the so-called Dalai-Lama.

The position of this dignitary needs to be examined in some detail.

At the beginning of the 14th century a boy is born at the spot where nowadays the huge monastery of Kumbum near Lusal is situated. His name was Tsoñ-kha-pa, the "Man from Onion Valley". He became a monk, and soon proved himself to be an excellent debater and a great enemy of the malpractices and deviations from the sacred precepts which had penetrated the Buddhism of Tibet. He founded two new monasteries, Gah-Idan and Sera, and became the leader of a new sect, the dGe-lugs-pa, i.e. the Virtuous Ones, also called the Yellow-caps, from their dress. This great reformer was almost deified after his decease. In his birthplace a monastery was founded, inhabited by thousands of monks; the two monasteries founded by him, Gah-Idan and Sera, enjoy a great reputation up to this day. Among his pupils two were favoured above the others. One of them succeeded Tsoñ-kha-pa in the monastery of Gah-Idan, the other founded a new monastery near the fortified town of Shigatse, the monastery bKra-šis-lhunpo. The spiritual authority especially of this disciple, dGe-'dun-grub, was held in high esteem, and when, after his death, a monk in the Drepung monastery near Lhasa gained a like authority, he was held to be a re-incarnation of dGe-'dun-grub.

The Buddhist believes that after death the spirit leaves the body and enters an intermediate world, the *Bardo*. In this world the spirit sees many visions, of which some attract and others frighten it. These propel the spirit in a certain direction, until on the fortieth day after death it unites with the embryo in the uterus of the female being, which will bring it forth again as an earthbound individual. Priests of particularly great spiritual power are believed to be able to decide for themselves in what form they will be reborn. It is clear that this rebirth takes place some 10½ months after death.

When the second great priest also died a search was instituted for a third incarnation. He was found in the person of bSod-nam-rgya-mtso, who became known for his zeal in converting the Mongols. It was he on whom the Mongol king Altan Khan conferred the title of Dalai-Lama, the "All-comprising" lama, so a purely Mongol title, which was posthumously also given to his two previous existences.

It was therefore a purely spiritual title, and the fact that the Dalai-Lama also enjoyed temporal powers is due to the ruler of the Ulöt Mongols who, in 1641, invested the fifth Dalai-Lama, bLo-bzañ-rgya-mtso, with them.

He, known as 'The Great Fifth', did not wield the secular power personally; neither did his successors, with the exception of the 13th (the predecessor of the present) incumbent. bLo-bzañ-rgya-mtso delegated the worldly government to Sañ-gye-rgya-mtso, whom we might call the Prime Minister. It was he who built the huge Potala-palace, some 300 metres long and 150 metres high, on the Red Hill, the same place where once the palace of king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po had stood.

The fifth Dalai-Lama paid a visit to Peking, where he was received as an independent ruler. The construction of the Potala-palace, a work of many years, was not yet completed when he died in 1680. His minister managed to keep his death secret for nine years, until finally events occurred, which demonstrated that the Dalai-Lama had long since entered a new corporal existence.

The result was that now a re-incarnation had to be found among boys of eight or nine years old, that means, among boys who had already lived for several years among the people, and not in the strict seclusion of one who was to be invested with the powers of a Dalai-Lama. The consequences soon became apparent. About the year 1700, the 6th Dalai-Lama came of age, but he showed little inclination for his religious dignity; on the contrary, he has become known mainly for his love-lyrics. As he was not to be allowed to give way to his amorous sentiments, but yet could not suppress his natural emotions, various conflicts arose, which disturbed Tibet in the first years of the 18th century and which supplied the Chinese emperor K'ang-hsi with a pretext to intervene in Tibetan affairs. In 1706 the Chinese captured, and soon afterwards killed, the 6th Dalai-Lama, Tsans-dbyans-rgya-mtso. The emperor of China, K'ang-hsi, then proposed a candidate for his re-incarnation. In the meanwhile the council of Tibetan priests had, however, made their own choice, and although at first the emperor tried to enforce the election of his candidate, he had to abandon this policy when in 1718 a Chinese military action against Tibet ended in a complete failure. K'ang-hsi then showed greater moderation, and supported the other candidate, i.a. by sending him a Chinese bodyguard. Actually this amounted to a strengthening of his own influence in Lhasa. In the mean time he looked out for new possibilities to extend this influence, and indeed they soon offered themselves.

In 1750, while the 8th Dalai-Lama was still a minor, the Tibetan regent was assassinated, in all probability by the *amban*, the Chinese "viceroys".

Great commotion was the result, and the *amban* was in his turn killed by the Tibetans. The result was a Chinese expedition against Lhasa, which greatly strengthened the Chinese hold on Tibet. But for the extension of China's influence in Tibet the relations between Tibet and Nepal were of even greater importance.

In 1769 the Gurkhas conquered Nepal and established a war-like dynasty in the country, which in fact did not hesitate to increase its power. In 1774 Nepal attacked Sikhim, then a dependency of Tibet.

In 1788 trouble arose between Nepal and Tibet itself, culminating in a Nepalese expedition against Tibet in 1790-1791. The Tibetans called in Chinese aid, and a Tibetan-Chinese army took the field. The Nepalese army, already weakened by disease, finally suffered a signal defeat in 1791. In Lhasa the Chinese erected an inscription to commemorate the event, but also left part of their troops in Lhasa, thereby again increasing their powers.

While this experience imbued the Nepalese with a mortal fear of China, the latter country became suspicious of Britain, as it divined British policy as guiding the Nepalese action. For this reason it hermetically sealed the Tibetan frontier for all occidentals. This could be carried out fairly simple through the geographical situation of the country, and the simple inhabitants were easy to incite against foreigners, who were accused of enmity towards their religion.

At the same time China tried to exert greater influence on the choice of the succeeding Dalai-Lamas. Ch'ien Lung presented a golden urn to be used in drawing lots for the names of the candidates, while the drawing itself was to be done by the Chinese *amban*. A remarkable fact is that all subsequent Dalai-Lamas died shortly before or after coming of age, thus causing the power of the regents to remain very great.

While the Chinese influence was continually increasing fresh troubles took place in Tibet, which China utilized in order to incorporate certain regions of eastern Tibet in its own western provinces. In 1863, for instance, the hostilities between Derge and Nyarong offered it an opportunity to annex the latter territory.

Meanwhile Britain also started to interest itself in Tibet, not only for economic reasons, but especially with a view to protecting the northern frontier of India. It knew that Russia, too, was interested in these regions, and wished to perpetuate the state of balance.

For surveying and for pure espionage Britain made use of its "paṇḍits" i.e. inhabitants of India who were specially trained for this kind of work and then made journeys through Tibetan territory. Several of them are famous: Sarat Chandra Das, Nain Singh, and others. Russia, on the other

hand, by preference made use of its subjects the Buddhist Buryats, for this kind of work. In one respect it had a great advantage over Britain, viz. that these people, as Buddhists, were to a certain extent subjects of the Dalai-Lama, and were therefore not viewed with suspicion. For its purposes Russia made good use of the offices of Agvan Dorjiëff, co-educator of the 13th Dalai-Lama, but since 1885 also in the employ of the Russian Secret Service.

In order to understand the part played by this wily man, we must for a moment consider the Asiatic political scene at the end of the last century, on which Tibet was to play an active part round the turn of the century.

In the eighties British imperialism began to make itself felt in Asia. In 1888 it sent an army to Sikhim and placed this region under its direct rule. Soon after Britain commenced discussions with China in order to obtain a market in Yatung, on the border of Sikhim and Tibet. In 1890 an agreement on this point was reached, which was supplemented in 1893. At first China did not co-operate in putting it into effect. In the same year, 1893, the Sino-Japanese war broke out, which demonstrated how slight China's actual power was, and resulted in the peace of Shimonoseki (1895), by which Korea was detached from China and was drawn into the Japanese sphere of influence.

In 1897 Germany grasped the opportunity to occupy Kiao-chao. The various events provoked revolutionary movements in China, the so-called Boxer revolts of 1899 and 1900, during which the German ambassador was murdered. The great powers decided to intervene, and sent an army, with only Russia abstaining.

Russia exploited the situation to gain influence in Manchuria, but this action placed Russia and Britain in sharper opposition to one another. This is immediately apparent in the Yangtse treaty of October 16, 1900, between Germany and Great Britain. The two countries guaranteed China's integrity, but in effect this treaty was clearly directed against Russia. This treaty was followed by negotiations between Britain and Japan, leading to an agreement reached on January 30th, 1902, on mutual assistance in the case of an armed conflict in Asia. It was clear that this agreement also held a direct threat against China, and Russia attempted to parry the blow by signing a treaty with China only a few months after (April 8, 1902), whereby it entrenched itself still further in Manchuria.

Nor did Russia leave it at this, but elsewhere it also tried to build up resistance against British power, through four distinct actions:

1. In the first place Russia planned a railway which would connect Ashabad with the Baghdad railway via Teheran, by which Russia would be connected

with the Persian Gulf. Britain correctly assessed this threat, and occupied Kuwait, the terminus of the Baghdad railway, on January 22, 1902, so one week before the signing of the treaty with Japan.

2. When the Persian railway plans were frustrated in this manner—in addition they were extremely costly—Russia prepared to extend its railways from Samarkand to the frontier of Afghanistan. Britain replied by building the railway to Kandahar, on Afghan territory, thereby forestalling the Russian designs.

3. Meanwhile Russia tried to cause unrest in the North-West Frontier territories of India. To this purpose it operated from Pamir by means of secret agents who crossed the frontier and incited the population against the British government. Here, too, Britain acted without delay: the still independent tribes of the “hill-states” were brought under direct rule in the first years of the 20th century, and a more effective frontier control was instituted. It is in this sphere that the action of Rudyard Kipling’s well-known book “Kim” finds its background.

4. Finally Russia tried to bar the way to Britain in Tibet. For this purpose it held a few trump cards, for it could make use of its Buddhist subjects, who enjoyed the complete confidence of the authorities at Lhasa, and among them was the most important personage of the Buryat Agvan Dorjiëff.

As a highly cultured Buddhist he had attained an important position in the close entourage of the 13th Dalai-Lama, who was born in 1876, and had, until his 20th year of age, been prepared for his future task by a kind of council of educators. One of these was Dorjiëff, and the influence he exerted was great, and remained so until the failure of his policy became apparent. By that time, however, the drama had already run its course.

As the Dalai-Lama’s coming of age approached, the critical years for him did so too. It was an undeniable fact that all Dalai-Lamas since the eighth had died before or just after their majority. This could no longer be a mere coincidence.

During the life of the thirteenth Dalai-Lama, however, his relatives kept a close watch to prevent any unforward happenings, and when, in spite of this, he fell seriously ill, all measures were taken to find the guilty person. In these days the abbot of the monastery of Ten-gye-ling acted as regent; he had delegated the secular powers to this brother, who acted as Prime Minister. Now it came to light that this minister had presented the Dalai-Lama with a pair of boots, in which a piece of paper had been concealed, inscribed with a magic sign, which was thought to have caused the illness. The consequences were frightful. The minister was put to torture, but survived for two years; his brother, the regent, was not ill-treated, but died

after only a few months. In addition the entire family fell out of favour, with the direst results to them.

But for the Dalai-Lama too, the consequences were serious: he lost the services of an honourable regent, who also wielded great spiritual authority and by whose death the Dalai-Lama incurred the enmity of the Ten-gye-ling monastery, and of a Prime Minister who had managed practically all the affairs of state.

The Dalai Lama, on the other hand, proved to be a capable man, and devoted himself entirely to his new task, showing a certain predilection for the actively governmental matters. He soon had to take important decisions, and at this juncture had a man like Dorjiëff as adviser by his side.

It is 1895-'96, and the conflict of interest between Britain and Russia is assuming sharper forms. Towards the turn of the century Britain is beginning to be seriously perturbed about the ever-increasing Russian influence in Tibet, which went hand-in-hand with a certain anti-British attitude. A number of times Britain tries to improve the relations with Tibet by suggesting that a British mission be sent, but permission to do so is refused. After this, even letters are returned without reply, and so Britain finally decides to extort an agreement by force. For this purpose it sends an expedition to Tibet in 1903, which is to make contact with the government. It soon becomes apparent that this cannot be achieved by negotiation, whereupon the mission is transformed into a military expeditionary force, which occupies Lhasa in 1904. The British, however, do not find the Dalai-Lama in the capital, as he had made an escape, through the territory of the Mongols, to Urga, the residence of one of the other high dignitaries of Lamaïsm. As it was not Britain's intention to occupy Tibet, what would only increase the difficulty of defending the Indian frontier, it signs a treaty with a council of priests in Lhasa, by which it obtains certain trading advantages and the payment of a tribute, but otherwise does not put too severe demands. Thereupon Britain withdraws its troops to a spot near the frontier, thus causing a vacuum by which China now tries to profit. Russia cannot act at the moment, as it is involved in a conflict with Japan, which soon leads to the Russo-Japanese war. When the peace of Portsmouth ends the war, Japan has gained a victory, and has acquired Manchuria as its sphere of influence.

China opened its new policies by declaring the Dalai-Lama to be deposed, a declaration to which the Tibetan population did not pay much attention. Meanwhile the Dalai-Lama had left Urga and taken residence in the monastery of Kumbum, where he bided his time, and tried to gain new allies. The news from the Russo-Japanese war had shaken his faith in

Russia, and in the policy pursued towards Britain so far. While Dorjiëff retreated to the background and finally left for Russia, the Dalai-Lama contacted Teramoto, a Japanese Buddhist living at Kumbum, who was not unknown to the Japanese Foreign Office. Through this intermediary an agreement with Britain was prepared. In addition, the Dalai-Lama made use of another Russian Buddhist, Zerempil, to smuggle arms to the various monasteries in the eastern frontier regions, thus building up a zone of resistance against China, that had declared him deposed and was hard at work strengthening its power in Lhasa. For this purpose China sent a new *amban* to Lhasa in 1905. This officer travelled from Tatsienlu to Batang, but was murdered *en route* by excited monks. China replied by sending a punitive expedition, which dislocated the entire, carefully built up, resistance movement, as the events caused the resistance to start too soon. It was punished by a dreadful massacre, carried out by the notorious general Chao, whom China had ordered to Tibet. The entire population of Batang and Litang was exterminated, and the remaining monks of the monastery of Sang-po-ling suffered the same fate after having defended their monastery against Chao's army for nine months. The events that took place there are beyond description.

Once he had inspired the utmost terror, Chao slowly advanced, taking care to establish his communications, and safeguarding them by having Chinese colonists settle along his route. Gradually he approached Lhasa, while the Dalai-Lama's position was becoming continually more precarious. The latter then decided to make one more attempt at improving his position, namely by making a personal appeal to the Buddhist Manchu emperor in Peking. This decision was taken in 1908.

In the same year China reached an agreement with Britain which settled the Tibetan question, as Britain recognized Chinese suzerainty in Tibet, and on the other hand obtained the right to open markets at Gyantse—which was also to be connected by telegraph with India—and Gartok. This treaty had already been prepared in 1905, but in 1908 it is worked out in greater detail.

So the Dalai-Lama was faced by a *fait accompli*, and it is no wonder that he did not achieve anything with his visit. Even more serious was the death, during this visit, of the young emperor, and soon after of the empress-dowager, accompanied by symptoms of poisoning. These events rendered the whole visit to Peking meaningless, and the Dalai-Lama decided to return as soon as possible to Lhasa in order to save as much of the situation as was still possible. As he approached Lhasa this proved to be very little, and not without reason the Dalai-Lama feared the movements of general

Chao, who was gradually approaching Lhasa. The Dalai-Lama had, in fact, hardly re-entered Lhasa, before he had to make a second escape. This time there was only one course left to him, as a consequence of the development of world politics.

In 1907 the relations between Russia and Britain had undergone a complete change. It was, in fact, the period preceding the first world war, and the great powers were beginning to align themselves in the two groups which were soon to oppose one another. The great reversal of Russian politics towards France and Britain necessitated a revision of Asiatic policy, and so in the same year Britain and Russia agreed to recognize the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, and to abstain from any intervention in the affairs of that country. From then onwards there could be no question of using Russia against Britain. Furthermore the Russian power had seriously suffered after the Russo-Japanese war.

As general Chao approached Lhasa, and already thought to have the Dalai-Lama in a trap, the latter managed to evade his enemies, and after a dramatic flight reached Indian soil, where he found refuge near the frontier town of Darjeeling. Although the British government received him courteously, it abstained from all intervention in the conflict as a consequence of the agreement with Russia, to the great disappointment of the Dalai-Lama himself, who was now forced passively to await what the future would bring. This waiting did not last too long, however, for in 1911 the revolution broke out in China, depriving the Chinese in Tibet of their lines of communication and forcing them to a hurried retreat, during which they were severely harrassed by Tibetan monks and laymen. Once the most serious disturbances were over, the Dalai-Lama could return to the Holy City in 1912 and again take up his abode in the palace of Potala.

There he was faced by a situation which was far from simple. He immediately became involved with the leaders of the great monasteries of Drepung and Ten-gye-ling. The monks of the latter institution were his sworn enemies since their abbot had lost his life after the alleged attempt on the Dalai-Lama's life in 1895.

The other monastery, with an enormous number of monks (4 to 5000) is mainly inhabited by Lamaists of the Sino-Tibetan frontier areas, and they were too much in favour of a Chinese suzerainty for the Dalai-Lama's liking. As authorities like the leaders of these monasteries make up the so-called Parliament of Tibet (not to be compared with a European parliament; it is a council made up of spiritual and temporal dignitaries) it was almost unavoidable that the Dalai-Lama by-passed this Parliament as much as possible in matters of government.

In these matters he was soon faced by great difficulties, in particular when it came to financing several new projects, above all the army that was to be created. A second serious difficulty was caused by the lack of a middle class out of which a corps of civil officials could be recruited.

These two weak points have determined, and, we may say, frustrated, the entire development of Tibet in the 20th century.

Since 1912 the Dalai-Lama always attempted to create a balance of power between China and Britain, in order to ensure a safe existence for his country. China attempted to regain the ground it lost through the revolution by renewing its recognition of the 13th Dalai-Lama. He, on the other hand, deliberately turned for aid to Britain, and in 1913 discussions were opened at Simla, the summer residence of the British Viceroy of India. In 1914, just before the outbreak of the first World War, these negotiations resulted in an agreement between Britain, Tibet, and China. The most important decision was the partition of Tibet in two parts, Inner and Outer Tibet; the first was the contested frontier region between Tibet and China, and was to be placed under Chinese rule; the second remained under the rule of the Dalai-Lama, with a purely symbolic recognition of Chinese suzerainty. For the rest the negotiators agreed to accept the boundary of 1727 as frontier between Tibet and China.

After the negotiators had, with great pains, come to this result, trouble immediately started, as China refused to ratify the treaty, and the Dalai-Lama refused to accept the bipartition.

This was the situation when war broke out in 1914. Britain had to devote all its attention to Europe, China and Tibet kept up the bickering over the eastern Tibetan regions. In 1917 the Chinese made a raid into Tibet, but were repulsed with losses. A state of equilibrium then set in, which persisted after the termination of the war. China made a few attempts to recapture its position in Tibet by sending missions, but now there was Britain to form a counterweight.

Nevertheless, the Dalai-Lama remained anxious: what would happen *if* Britain were to give up its position in India? The best course seemed to be the formation of an army, but Britain refused to help by supplying arms. This task was then readily undertaken by Japan. The army, though, had to be paid, and this necessitated the introduction of new forms of taxation, thus giving rise to fresh difficulties. Now and then disturbances took place in Tibet, when the great monasteries resisted the new measures, for an army is not popular, for religious as well as for financial reasons.

Unfortunately the Pan-chen Rin-po-che, the abbot of the important monastery bKra-ñis-lhun-po (Tashi-Lhumpo) near Shigatse and one of

the highest spiritual authorities, became involved in these conflicts as an adversary of the Dalai-Lama, and had to leave Tibet, going to China. He died in 1937 in the monastery of Kumbum near Lushar, Tson-kha-pa's birth-place, where he had taken up his abode during the last years of his life. According to a tradition dating back to the days of the 5th Dalai-Lama, who is conceived to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara, the Pan-chen Rin-po-che, or Tashi-Lama as he is called in European literature, is recognized as an incarnation of the dhyāni-buddha Amitābha, Avalokiteçvara's spiritual father. In purely spiritual appreciation the Tashi-Lama may be reckoned to rank higher than the Dalai-Lama. Nevertheless such a spiritual conception is adaptable to political use as soon as this might be thought advisable, and so a conflict between authorities like the Dalai-Lama and the Tashi-Lama can only be disastrous.

When the 13th Dalai-Lama died in 1933 it could be said that he had managed to preserve a certain measure of independence for his country by pursuing a balance-of-power policy between England and China. But, as a matter of fact, such a policy can only be conducted as long as such a balance of power is actually attainable by the mere existence of such powers of almost equal strength.

And this is the reason that the policy kept up by the Dalai-Lama during his life in his 13th existence, could only fail, as it did at the moment when England gave up its position in India. For a moment it seemed as if the happenings of 1910 would be repeated, but for those who were able to discern the main lines of historical development in Tibet, it was clear that this would not be the case. And so Tibet follows once again the inevitable course which will make it a part of China.

For some decades it seemed as if the historical current could be bent in a direction leading to independence; but after the happenings in 1950 we know that this only was an interruption of the current of historical predestination, which cannot be bent by the strong will and energy of a single diplomat, however strong he may be. What will be the consequences for the country and its inhabitants and for that most interesting culture we know as Lamaism, we cannot predict. We have to leave this to the future, but we do this while faced with a truly bleak prospect!

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE LAMAÏST PANTHEON

Whoever has some knowledge of Buddhism as we find it in Ceylon, and as we think we can trace it in the ancient monuments of India, is astonished, and perhaps even indignant, when he makes acquaintance with the Buddhism of Tibet. The reason is, that he is confronted by beings which he never encountered before, and which seem to be incompatible with the real teaching of the Buddha. In the first place there are the demonic beings, suspiciously like those figuring in the Çivaïte pantheon, and even appearing to be directly borrowed from it. Then there are the figures with many arms and heads, who are both strange and incomprehensible to him. If one were to ask a Lama what is the meaning of these figures, one would receive an absolutely unsatisfactory answer. The demonic creatures are the protectors of the Doctrine, who pursue, and destroy, the enemies of Buddhism. In this way one gets the impression that these beings were only invented by unscrupulous priests, in order to hold the ignorant populace in the grip of fear. ¹

Were one to enquire after the meaning of the many-armed and many-headed figures, then one is answered by a legend which certainly explains the present form, but gives no clue to the manner and the reason of its origin. Such legends are obviously secondary explanations, meant as a reply to the questions of people who, for whatever reason, may not be informed of the true meaning of the figures. We shall presently come to deal with some of these legends in greater detail.

Serious students have long since ceased to be satisfied by such explanations, and have tried to offer better ones. In doing so, they were soon struck by the fact that several figures appear to be derived from other religions, and then incorporated, in a more or less subordinate function, in the huge Lamaïst pantheon.

The explanation for this phenomenon is sought for in the very form in which Buddhism reached Tibet.

¹ KOEPPEN, C. F., *Die Religion des Buddha*, II, p. 33.

We have already said that Buddhism was introduced into Tibet under King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, who married two Buddhist wives, viz. a Chinese "princess", and a daughter of King Aṃṇuvarman of Nepal; but the impulse towards a further development of this Buddhism, which until then had only lain dormant, was first given by his fifth successor, King Khri-sroñ-IDe-btsan (755-797), who invited the great philosopher and magician Padmasambhava to Tibet. This invitation was certainly not only inspired by the King's desire to aid Buddhism, but rather by his hope that Padmasambhava's supernatural powers would overcome the less accomplished magicians within his realm. Be this as it may, Padmasambhava succeeded in laying the foundation for a further development of Buddhism in Tibet, by adapting it, in a certain measure, to the special circumstances prevailing in the country; for instance various practices of the Bon-po religion were incorporated into Buddhism. His adherents constitute the sect of the Red-hats, who gradually came to hold opinions that were bound to evoke resistance. This reaction was first led by Atiṇa, the paṇḍit from Magadha (982-1058), and, much later, by Tsoñ-kha-pa (1357-1419), the great reformer of Buddhism, who founded the order of the virtuous, and led the corrupted Buddhism of Tibet back again to the right track.

Such is, in brief, the generally held opinion on the development of Buddhism in Tibet; but it, too, is open to several objections, in the first place on account of the activities attributed to Padmasambhava. We must begin by admitting that we know very little indeed of the Bon-po religion of Tibet before the advent of Buddhism. The Bon-pos were profoundly influenced by Buddhism, even to such a degree that their religious representations e.g. on *thankas*, are scarcely to be distinguished from Lamaistic ones. This shows how very hazardous it would be to try and explain incomprehensible figures by referring back to a source of which we know next to nothing. In addition, the occurrence of demonic beings in the Buddhist pantheon is anything but restricted to Tibet: we also meet with them in the antiquities of India, Java, and Sumatra, and even of Burma. This is already sufficient reason to reject an explanation as outlined above.

Finally, attention should be drawn to three other facts. In the first place there is the peculiar character of the demonic figures, which appear to be borrowed from certain mystic Çivaïte sects, such as the Çaivasiddhānta. In the second place such beings never occur singly: they always form groups, which occupy a clearly defined place in the pantheon. So there was no question of arbitrarily adopting these figures because this was the surest way of rendering them harmless, but, to the contrary, they were subjected to a carefully considered, systematic arrangement.

And finally, we observe that these beings occupy anything but unimportant places in the pantheon. If these demonic creatures were really only "protectors of the sacred Doctrine", converted demons from other religions, who, because of their bloodthirsty nature, were, after having been tamed, only suitable for the rôle of bogey-man to frighten the enemies of the religion, then one cannot understand why in several monasteries they were assigned a place comparable to the holy of holies, which was furthermore kept jealously closed to the non-initiated — this would surely be an anomaly if they were only protectors! The explanation has been ventured that the Lamas themselves were rather ashamed of the presence of these figures, or else that they wished to safeguard the uninitiated from danger — one never could tell whether a demon might not break loose if he got the chance — but such a theory can hardly be maintained. We are also faced by the remarkable fact that these demonic creatures were very often said to be special forms of the great *bodhisattvas*, and such a viewpoint is quite incompatible with the above-mentioned theories.

We may also make a few remarks on the purge said to have been carried out by Tsoñ-kha-pa. Padmasambhava is often represented as having paved the way for a kind of corruption of Buddhism, and Tsoñ-kha-pa and his adherents as having got rid of the corrupting influences. It is undoubtedly true that Tsoñ-kha-pa instituted a strictly ritualistic form of worship, and stressed obedience to the monastic rules, but his activity certainly did not lead to a disappearance of the demonic figures from the pantheon, nor to a termination of their cult. We need only read his biography² to see that for him, too, the demonic beings have their own function: Yamāntaka appears to him, and he attaches Yama, in a special form, to the monastery of Gah-Idan which he founded.³

Apparently the theories advanced so far are not satisfactory; so what course should we pursue? It will be best to return to Padmasambhava, and the opinions he represented.

It is significant that he was summoned to Tibet from Nālandā. Nālandā was the great monastery - cum - university of India, that was the same for Buddhism as the monastery of Monte Cassino in Italy was for Christianity in the Middle Ages. From near and far monks came to study at Nālandā, and many rulers founded buildings there to house their own subjects. The inscriptions related to these edifices have been brought to light by archaeology, and form one of our most precious sources of information; an example

² This can now best be consulted in: TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 418 e.v.

³ GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 72, pl. 48.

is the inscription due to the Sumatran ruler Bālaputra, of the middle of the 9th century. ⁴

At that time the fortunes of the great monastery were at their highest level. It is under the powerful protection of the Pāla-kings, the great champions of Buddhism in Bengal, and it numbers its pupils by thousands. It was a cosmopolitan centre of studies, the focus on which all spiritual forces and influences converged, and from which an unending current of knowledge and learning issued forth to all corners of the civilized world.

The list of manuscripts, collected by the well-known Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang at Nālandā, shows that in the 7th century the dominant influence was Tantrism, taught by famous scholars like Dīnāga and Ālabhadra, who had the Yoga-doctrine, as expounded by Asaṅga, as their starting-point.

Now the head of this monastery, Āntaraṅgita, was, in the second half of the 8th century, invited by King Khri-sron-lde-bstan to convert Tibet, in co-operation with Padmasambhava.

In order to understand the activity of men like Padmasambhava it is therefore necessary to know the principles of the doctrine of Yoga, which was the basis of Padmasambhava's Tantrism.

These teachings are only to be understood if one recognizes the fundamental unity of the cosmos, that is to say, that the structure of the macrocosmos we call the World, is reflected in the microcosmos Man, but also in the cosmic system we call a pantheon, and which is, in principle, inseparable from the macrocosmic pattern. They correspond to one another in the way they are built up, and observations made of one of the cosmic systems, may elucidate the structure of another; even more striking is the notion that actions carried out in one cosmic plane can call up reactions in another. These theories form the nucleus of the underlying mysticism of tāntric Yoga, which employs numerous symbols, and is thus far from simple to the uninitiated, sometimes even appearing as a veritable maze. But not only does this school employ symbols, it also projects its doctrine into the biographies of saints, and also into points of dogma. This is done in such an ingenious manner, that we wonder whether mystic speculations were not actually the basis of the dogmatically fixed religion of salvation. ⁵

Within the human microcosmic pattern two systems are to be recognized,

⁴ See BOSCH, F. D. K., *Een oorkonde van het groote Klooster te Nālandā*, TBG, LXV, 1925, pp. 509-588.

⁵ A further discussion on this subject would be beyond the scope of the present publication. A more detailed *exposé* is given in my *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 116sq.

which also show a difference in mystical development, and are analogous to soteric doctrines of a Çivaïte character, like the Çaivasiddhānta. One system is rectilinear, and is situated between the coccyx and the crown of the head; it comprises six centres of force, one above the other. Technically speaking, the lowest centre generates power, which is carried upwards in several stages until it reaches the highest centre, thus causing supreme bliss to be attained.

The second system is that of the "lotus of the heart", which is represented as an eight-petalled lotus-flower, situated in the cardiac region, and forming the centre of the qualities of man. Now one first devotes oneself to the mystic practices that employ the "rectilinear" system; by this means one purifies oneself stage by stage, thus at last reaching a very high level, at which one learns completely to master the senses. Once one is capable of achieving the highest summit, one voluntarily retires, viz. to the "heart-lotus". The aim of the subsequent mystic development is not only to suppress, but utterly to annihilate the human qualities which constitute the personality, the "I", and which have their seat in the "heart-lotus". This annihilation is symbolically represented by the cemetery, in which the human body decays. For each of the eight human qualities, for each of the eight petals of the heart-lotus, a cemetery is substituted. Each of these eight cemeteries is inhabited by a number of demonic creatures, who help the process of annihilation. So, although they are demonic and frightening for the uninitiated, they are the faithful assistants of the mystic, and help him in attaining supreme enlightenment, what is only possible after the "I" has been completely destroyed. The Çivaïte mystical doctrines of salvation had fully developed this system; the Buddhist soteric cults borrowed it, retaining the outward forms of Çivaïsm. Nevertheless it was also adapted to specifically Buddhist teaching, and the figures of Buddhism's own pantheon were made to fit in. In brief, the Mahāyānic doctrine of salvation is as follows: while the adherent of Hīnayāna tries to attain the state of an *arhat*, and thus his own supreme salvation, the Mahāyānist holds that one should voluntarily renounce *arhat*-hood on the moment one is capable of attaining it, and then should take the *bodhisattva*-vow, which implies that instead of aiming at one's own salvation, one will strive after liberation for all creatures and prepare oneself for Buddha-hood. The remarkable feature is that it is precisely this *bodhisattva*-vow which marks the characteristic distinction between the two schools, while it is also just the eight great *bodhisattvas* who may be connected with the eight-petalled lotus of the heart. As, on the other hand, also the eight sacred cemeteries with their demonic inhabitants symbolize this lotus, the

ring is closed, and it becomes clear why demonic figures are ascribed to the eight great *bodhisattvas* as being their special aspects. ⁶

In this way, many points already become clearer. We now know that the demonic beings play a very important part in the higher stages of the development of the mystic, and this also makes it understandable why these beings may not be beheld by, or explained to, everyone. It also explains one of the strange forms of religious observances one encounters in Lamaïsm. The best name for it would be: *tântric cult*, i.e. a cult which employs attributes derived from the demonic gods and their habitat. In accordance with sympathetic reasoning, i.e. the idea that similarity efficaciously affects that to which it is similar, the mystic tries to stimulate the inward process of the decay of the "I" by outward actions which bear a certain likeness to it. For this purpose he identifies himself as much as possible with the demonic beings that dwell in the cemeteries: he wears their attributes and ornaments, and acts like he supposes them to do. Now this contained the germ of the corruption of *tântric Buddhism*: many concepts which were meant to be purely symbolic, and which had to be spiritually experienced, finally degenerated in actual practise, becoming observances that were extremely repulsive, to put it mildly, for the uninitiated. Now we may also better understand the activity of the reformer Tsoñ-kha-pa, who showed the way back to a purely spiritual conception of the symbol, without rejecting the symbol itself.

Finally this type of mysticism is characterized by the peculiar ideas on the origin of the cosmos. These may best be studied in the *Yantras*, line-drawings depicting the universe, on which the mystic has to concentrate his thoughts. The point of departure is the *bindu*, the point, and at the same time the germinal nucleus, from which the cosmos originates through the disintegration of the male and female principle. In this way the mystic evolves his picture of the universe: starting in the centre he builds up the picture by expanding it outwards in a continual clockwise movement. The supreme salvation, however, is only attained when the male and the female elements re-unite, and the whole world resolves itself again into the single point (*bindu*): the pattern is retraced in an anticlockwise direction, until the centre is reached. One can follow this process excellently in the *Yantras*: the building-up process by the way the picture is drawn, the reversed movement by the way the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, ⁷ are added. Although

⁶ This matter is extremely complex. I have dealt with it in my *Yoga en Yantra*, and there set forth how I reached my conclusions. It is not practicable to reproduce the arguments again here.

⁷ Particularly the so-called *Çricakra*, with which I have dealt in my "*Yoga en Yantra*", pp. 43 e.v.

the entire process can be most clearly demonstrated in these linear *Yantras*, it may also be traced in the various forms of meditation with which we have become acquainted.⁸ This concept also explains the so-called *maṇḍala*-offerings, in which the picture of the universe is "sacrificed".⁹

The fact that the union of the male and the female principle could also be experienced in one's own cosmic sphere, is one example of the ritual developments of what was meant to be taken symbolically, which could give rise to excesses. The artistic portrayal of this kind of union should therefore certainly not be called unedifying or offensive; to the contrary, it is meant as an expression of the supreme reality, and should be regarded as such.

By means of the foregoing remarks we have now drawn a great number of the amazing figures of the Lamaïst pantheon into our discussion. To sum up, we may say that demonic figures, especially when they occur in groups of eight, play a part in Buddhist mysticism, and that the rôle of protectors of the Doctrine, which has been assigned to them, is quite secondary, and only serves to supply the uninitiated with an explanation for the occurrence of such strange beings in the pantheon.

While making these general remarks, we should devote some attention to another remarkable phenomenon in the Lamaïst pantheon, viz. the multiple figures. They have aroused no less interest than the demonic beings have; nor is this to be wondered at, for the Lamaïst pantheon has very complicated figures indeed of this type. The strange thing is that Tibetan art has succeeded in giving these forms a certain naturalness, so that we can not call them "monsters". Let us take the many-armed figures as an example: in general the upper-arms have merged, so that the lower-arms radiate outwards, as it were, like a fan. Multiple heads, also, are generally grouped in such a way that only one head occupies a predominant position, and the others are to a certain extent merged into the profuse ornamentation.

If we make a somewhat closer examination of such figures, our attitude generally does not remain one of amazement alone. Many attempts at an explanation have been made; the solution has been offered that the multiplicity of arms or heads meant to depict the great power of the figure portrayed, or else that it was a means of connecting the figure with all the attributes and weapons assigned to him. In general, however, one has failed

⁸ I.a. the one described by Pozdneëff, quoted by BLEICHSTEINER. There the mystic in a vision sees the dissolution of his own body (microcosm). So in this case the representations of destruction and of return to the "point" (*bindu*) have merged.

⁹ WADDELL, L. A., *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 401 e.v.

to observe the figures attentively. Let us therefore take one example, in order to show what, in our opinion, explains this multitude of heads and arms.¹⁰ In this case, too, the legends connected with the figures are no help to us, as they are clearly of a secondary character.

One of the clearest figures is the eighteen-armed Padmanarteçvara, who is surrounded by eight goddesses, each of normal appearance. In this case it is clear that the figure originated through multiplication, i.e. through the merging into one of a group of nine separate figures, viz. one in the centre, surrounded by eight on the various points of the compass.

A perhaps even more striking example is furnished by the demonic being, Hevajra. He is generally depicted with eight heads, sixteen arms, and surrounded by eight demonic goddesses. In his eight right hands he holds drinking-bowls made of human skulls, each of which contains a different animal, all sometimes employed as vehicles by various divinities. The eight left hands also hold skull-bowls, containing eight different divine beings. Here again it is obvious that the figure of Hevajra is the result of the merging of eight separate forms.

In all cases when the number of heads and the number of pairs of arms correspond in a multiple figure, one is justified in assuming it to be a multiple figure. This explanation sometimes even holds good when there is no such correspondence. As an example I may cite the familiar eleven-headed Avalokiteçvara. His legend is well-known: Avalokiteçvara, the compassionate, descended into hell, converted the sinners, and set them free; he then led them to Sukhāvati, the paradise of his spiritual father Amitābha. To his sorrow he noticed, however, that for every sinner he converted and set free, there was always immediately another to take his place. His head split into ten pieces out of sorrow and despair in observing the extent of evil on earth, and the utter hopelessness of attempting to save all mankind. Amitābha changed each piece into a head, replaced them on the shoulders of his spiritual son Avalokiteçvara, and added his own head to them. In this way the *bodhisattva* came to have eleven heads instead of one, with which to concentrate on the best means for achieving the salvation of humanity. So this legend offers an explanation for the large number of heads, but otherwise it is a typical example of a secondary legend.

If we wish to gain an acceptable explanation, we should first consider what Lokeçvara's position is in the pantheon. It appears that Lokeçvara is surrounded by the eight *bodhisattvas*, while he is also a member of the

¹⁰ I discussed this question at somewhat greater length in "India Antiqua" a volume of Oriental Studies, presented to Prof. Vogel, 1947, pp. 284-290.

triad, placed vertically one above the other, of Buddha, Vajrapāṇi (in demonic form), and Padmapāṇi-Lokeçvara. The figure below shows this situation on the right, while the eleven-headed Avalokiteçvara has been placed on the left, from which it immediately becomes apparent that the 11-headed form had its origin in the merging into one of the eleven separate figures: the nine heads of the *bodhisattvas*, the demonic head of Vajrapāṇi on top of that, and finally the head of Buddha forming the summit. ¹¹



We have now reviewed a number of questions which demanded an explanation. It has become clear that the strange shapes in the pantheon largely play a part in the life of the mystic. This does not imply that they are of no importance in the life of the ordinary mortals; to the contrary, for

¹¹ This theory finds support in an iconographic text, which describes the manner in which the eleven-headed and thousand-armed Avalokiteçvara should be portrayed. Eight arms belong to his Dharmakāya manifestation, forty to his Sambhogakāya manifestation, and 952 to his Nirmāṇakāya manifestation (Cf. p. 46) I explicitly state that the figure given above is a *reconstruction* I drew up myself, and not an existing Lamaist picture. However, this does not imply that no such picture actually exists.

on the moment of death, man is confronted with these creatures. Tibetan texts say that directly after death the spirit enters a new sphere, before looking for a new body in which it will be re-incarnated. This sphere, the *bardo*, the intermediate world between death and rebirth, holds many sore trials for the spirit; it is not without reason that a well-known Tibetan saying runs: "Who knows how to behave, will always live without trouble, even in the *bardo*". As soon as the spirit has freed itself from the body, it starts on a strange journey. Immediately after it set itself free it intuitively experiences the supreme reality; this experience is momentary, like a flash of lightning. If the spirit is capable of grasping it, it attains *nirvāṇa*, the supreme salvation. If not, forms appear of great beauty and of tremendous strength. The first seven days these forms are peaceful, but from the eight day onwards they become terrifying and demonic. The Lama who leads the death rites, tries to advise the spirit, and to show it the way leading to a favourable rebirth; but if one has not, in one's life-time, learnt anything about the *bardo*, the spirit can hardly profit by this advice. Terrified, pursued by a fiendish gang, it senselessly rushes round in this sphere, until it finally imagines it sees a cave or a palace where it can find a shelter. Actually this is only the deceptive appearance of the uterus of the woman who is to renew his connection with the earth again. Therefore it is of the greatest importance to be informed on the *bardo* before one's death, and to become acquainted with the appearance of the beings that dwell there. And what better way of doing so, than by portraying them as realistically as possible, and not only the creatures themselves, but also all the paraphernalia with which they are usually supplied!

CHAPTER THREE

ART

Although the art of Tibet may be amenable to aesthetic criteria, it resolutely resists any attempt to introduce a chronological perspective. There can hardly be any question of 'older' or 'younger' art, as in general, as far as we know, the works do not date back further than the 18th century. Although it is a fact that the older pieces usually differ from the younger by a rather more careful execution and, in the case of the paintings, by a more distinguished and mellowed colouring, yet these differences are qualitatively too slight to refute the general principle that Tibetan art, taken as a whole, presents itself to us as an unchanging entity. One of its characteristics is its *agelessness*. An old painting may fortuitously have been excellently preserved, while a younger one can have suffered so much from adverse circumstances, that one might easily draw the wrong conclusions.

Another general characteristic of Tibetan art is that it is *nameless*. It is very unusual for a work of art to be signed, in fact it is really only mural paintings in monasteries that bear a signature, and even then we mostly do not come to know of the painter's name by the signature, but by data in the monastery's *dKar-c'ag*, the extensive survey of the main sights of the monastery and of its origin. Such *dKar-c'ag* are printed for the benefit of pilgrims, and sometimes yield very interesting material.¹ Thus in a number of monasteries the painters of the most famous pieces are known, while there are also traditions on the origin of the styles, in which generally two types are distinguished, and connected with two artists. It is said that, in the reign of king Devapāla Çrī Dharmapāla, statues and paintings were wrought at Nālandā, in the style of the Nāgas, by two men, father and son, called Dhīmān and Bītpalo. Their bronzes are classified as "Eastern Bronzes", the father's paintings as "Eastern Paintings", the son's as "Paintings from Madhyadeça (i.e. India)". Apart to men like Hasarāja of Kashmir, and the school of artists founded by Rin-c'en bzañ-po at Guge in the course of the 10th century.²

¹ On these sources see Tucci, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, pp. 150sq.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 271 sq.

However, all these traditions are of little help to us when we study a collection of paintings and bronzes such as we find in museums. The distinctions always apply to works of a considerable age, and these are very seldom represented in museum collections. The collection we are dealing with possesses only one painting to which we may attribute great antiquity (1943/3), and this piece has, indeed, some remarkable peculiarities of style and colour. Unfortunately it is so heavily damaged that its value is relatively slight.

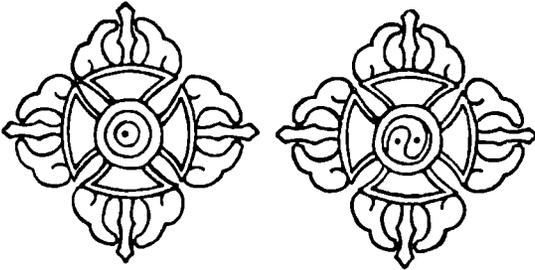
Nor is it possible to classify the material according to certain schools. This does not mean that there *are* no schools in this art; but the difficulty is that, to be able to draw up such a classification, one should collect the works on the spot, and thus register the typical traits of a certain school. As it is, most pieces have reached us without any indication as to their provenance, so that by this time any attempt at making a classification is bound to fail.

We do know the provenance of some of the bronzes: the beautiful old figures which are fragments of halos, the reliquary, and the magnificent manuscript-cover, together forming the nucleus of the collection, come from the dPal-khor-Choide monastery at Gyantse. They are among the finest bronzes we know of, and show the typical traces of the influence exerted on the art of Tibet by the Pāla art of Bengal in the 8th-11th centuries. Generally speaking, Tibetan art may be said to be the logical prolongation of the art of Bengal in the days of the Pāla dynasty (750-1060 A.D.), but subjected to special influences from the surrounding countries, in the first place Nepal and China, but also Kashmir and Central Asia. As influences from the two latter areas are only noticeable in old works, particularly in paintings, we shall confine ourselves to indicating what was due to Nepal and China.

Nepalese influence has been extremely great. It was Nepalese artists who taught the Tibetans, and who often also made objects for the Lamaïst monasteries in Tibet and China. Bronze articles especially are due to them, and thus it is no wonder that a Chinese Lamaïstic bronze can hardly be distinguished from a piece from Nepal. The resemblance is so great, that it can not be sufficiently explained by the traditional fixation of the art alone; a predilection for the special Nepalese *style* was instrumental in making Nepalese artists go to China to do commissioned work, which was to be an enduring inspiration to the art of these Lamaïst centres. If these bronzes do not bear an inscription, there is only one peculiarity by which one can distinguish Chinese from Nepalese Lamaïst bronzes - in other respects making such a distinction is a hazardous undertaking. This pecu-

liarity lies in the decoration of the bronze's pedestal-plate. This is the bronze plate which shuts off the hollow space on the under-side of the lotus-seat, by which a compartment is left in which, when the bronze is dedicated, the paper strips with *mantras* are placed. Now this plate often bears an engraved decoration, consisting of two crossed *vajras*, with a circle over the intersection. In Nepalese bronzes this circle contains a smaller circle, often placed excentrically, in the Chinese two interlocking commalike figures and two dots, the well-known Yang-and-Yin symbol (see figure).

The bronzes are generally made according to the "lost wax" technique (*à cire perdue*). This consists of first making a wax model, with a clay centre, of the statuette that is to result. This wax model is completely worked out into all details, and then covered with damp clay, a few openings being left. The entire mass is then dried and baked, causing the clay to



become hard and the wax to melt and run away through one of the openings. Molten bronze is then poured in, and it fills up the space left by the wax. The outer mould of clay is then broken away, leaving the cast bronze statuette, which sometimes still contains parts of the clay core.

In the places where the openings had penetrated the clay mould, the bronze still needs to be touched up; for the rest it assumed its definite shape as it was cast in the mould. As the clay mould has to be destroyed in order to allow the statuette to be extracted, the whole process has to be repeated when the next statuette has to be made, so that no two bronzes are ever completely identical, each being modelled anew.

Sometimes permanent casting-moulds are used for making bronzes. Statuettes made in this way need more refashioning after they have been cast — the moulds leave join-marks — and the chased ornamentation is also added later. The shape of such bronzes is also often less finely rounded, in order to make them leave the matrix easily. Typical examples are the tablet-shaped bronzes which were made in China in the Ch'ien-lung period,³ and the numerous stiff statuettes of Amitāyus from Nepal.⁴

There is practically nothing yet known about the alloys of bronze used. The colour varies from light chocolate-brown to almost black, and some

³ Bronzes of the Ch'ien-Lung period are practically always dated, and thus easily recognizable as Sino-Lamaistic work; e.g. 2783/1; 2800/1.

⁴ Cf. 904/8-10; 2504/8; 2855/1.

bronzes with time acquire a usually blue-green patina, what gives them a certain dignity. When elaborate works have to be cast, the bronzes are frequently made in parts, which are then joined together by tenons. Figures like Yamāntaka are sometimes cast in five or more parts.⁵ Such a procédé is also practised in the case of other bronzes, especially the larger pieces. The head and arms are then cast separately by the *à cire perdue* method, while the front half of the body is cast from a mould. The parts are then pieced together, a bronze plate forming the back of the statue.⁶ The lotus thrones are generally also cast separately, probably in permanent moulds. The final result of such a procedure is sometimes a rather strange mixture, perhaps not very satisfying to our aesthetic sense, although certain component parts of such a whole may well reveal great craftsmanship and artistry.

Most bronzes are gilded after being cast. Various processes were used, not all of them known to us. For example, we can not state with certainty how the beautiful gilt was applied to the ancient bronze statuettes and objects, on which the gilt layer has kept its fine, warm colour. The modern pieces, especially the Chinese-Lamaïst bronzes, are subjected to an amalgamizing process. The bronze is first cleaned in a nitric acid bath, and is then heated and rubbed with mercury, what creates an amalgam. Gold-leaf is now stuck on, again forming an amalgam with the foundation after renewed heating, and the high temperature causes the remaining mercury to evaporate. This treatment causes the layer of gold to adhere firmly to the bronze, and finally the gold is burnished. Such statuettes generally show a gold lustre which is rather cold, like polished brass.

Another method, probably much older, employs a layer of lacquer to attach the gold layer. The gold, powdered and mixed with honey, is rubbed on to the foundation of red or black lacquer. As the gilding does not become very firmly fixed by these means, it soon wears away. Bronzes which have been gilded in this manner therefore frequently show bare patches.

The older bronzes look as if they had been treated with a tincture or tinsel, but the procédé employed is unknown, and not to be traced. All we can say is that real masterpieces have been created, particularly through the beautiful contrasts between the gilt and the un gilt parts. Very fine examples are the bronzes from the dPal-Khor monastery of Gyantse, which possible date from the 15th or 16th century.

In the first place we should mention the magnificent reliquary or manuscript-box, which in its shape and its glorious colouring reminds one of reliquaries of the late Middle Ages (2845/1; Plate II). The chromatic effect

⁵ Cf. 1786/5, 7; 1119/73.

⁶ Cf. 2739/64; 1943/5.

of the gilt contrasting with the dark bronze and with the foundation of dull gilt bronze plates, decorated with delicate tendril motifs, is heightened by the rosettes of little red and blue stones, and by the red, cameo-like, stones, in which a Gaṇeṣa is carved, entwining his trunk round a little blue stone set in the centre of the red one. The sides and the lid are decorated with bronze figures that were cast separately and riveted on to the bronze plates. They closely resemble the Pāla art of Bengal. The piece is one of the finest bronzes of Tibet, and it clearly testifies to the high level the art of Gyantse attained during its 15th century golden age. The magnificent "book-cover" from the same monastery shows a similar, equally profuse, ornamentation (2845/2; Plate IIIa). Here, too, figures in *haut-relief* have been applied, also partially gilt in a special manner, and similar cameo-like rosettes with Gaṇeṣa-figures form part of the decoration; unfortunately a few of them are missing. The manner of execution proves it to have been made contemporaneously with the reliquary. The subject of the rilievo is very remarkable, and may perhaps serve as a clue to the dating of the pieces. The upper surface namely consists of a gilt bronze plate, completely decorated with tendril motifs, and divided by a "Greek" border into a centre-piece and a broad-edge. The centrepiece shows, between standing *vajras*, five separate figures, each sitting on a throne. Various animals occur in the pedestals of the thrones, and as all the figures, except the central one, represent Buddhas with their hands in the several traditional poses (*mudrās*) they are easily identified as the four dhyāni-Buddhas. The remarkable thing is that the centre figure does not represent a Buddha, but a "yellow-hat" priest, sitting on a lion throne, with his hands held before his breast in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, and wearing the tall, pointed cap. So he occupies the place of Vairocana, and is also characterized by the latter's throne and position of the hands, and is only distinguished from this dhyāni-Buddha of the centre by his high cap and the absence of the *ūrṇā*. Still, I think we may take this centre figure to represent Tsoṅ-kha-pa, even though his attributes are missing, which are usually represented on lotuses beside his shoulders: a sword at the right and a book at the left. It is now obvious that this piece must date from after Tsoṅ-kha-pa's canonisation. Perhaps a further indication as to the date is to be found in the decoration of the band that surrounds the centre panel. It bears several bronze decorations, wholly or partly gilt, such as the jewel motif in the corners, the *kāla*-head motif in the centre of the sides, and four divinities along the upper edge; the lower edge is decorated with four priestly figures. Now the latter prove actually to depict only two priests, each rendered once normally and once, as it were, as reflected in a mirror, but this has been done in such a way that we are

inclined to consider them as portraits of historical personages: they are alive, and not pure stereotypes. Our conclusion would be, that two dignitaries of the church are portrayed, who successively governed the monastery from which this "book-cover" has come, so that the latter must date from the early period of the monastery's history. Thus we would arrive at the middle of the 16th century as the probable period of its origin. Another peculiarity is the striking contrast between the magnificently decorated outside of the "book-cover", and the plain inner side, which bears an extremely primitive painting of three demonic beings, and is undoubtedly of much later date.

The bronzes were not only gilded, but often painted as well. It was a general practice to colour the hair of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Tārās blue, and of demons red; the tails and manes of lions and other animals ridden on by divinities were usually coloured a brilliant green.⁷ The faces of the various figures were mostly also carefully painted. Finally bronzes were frequently decorated with little inlaid turquoises. This inlay was employed particularly for the jewelry worn by Bodhisattvas and Tārās; sometimes the *ūrṇā* was also rendered as a small turquoise.

In connection with the bronze statuary, we may be permitted to make some remarks on sculpture in wood, stone, and clay. They are much rarer in European collections, and are often heavily damaged. The collection with which we are dealing includes some interesting wooden statuettes, i.a. an exceptionally fine figure of Tson-kha-pa, with a finishing of gold-lacquer, on which originally the face was painted, now largely effaced (1840/1, Plate XIb); and a very expressive statuette of Vajrapāṇi in demonic form, painted and inlaid with turquoises (2739/56, Pl. XIVA).

Other figures in wood represent *sthaviras* and princes of the church, as do the clay statuettes.⁸ A special form of these are the tablet-shaped figures for amulets, which closely approach the clay-tablets which are so well-known from the amulet-cases. They are larger, however, and modelled in the round, not in relief, as the other tablets are.⁹ The only figure in stone the collection comprises represents Gaṅ-c'en mc'od-lña, the god of Mount Kangchenjunga. It is possibly made of stone from this mountain, of such notoriety to mountaineering expeditions.¹⁰

⁷ Cf. 1572/1; 2714/3; 2798/25, 27.

⁸ Cf. 2739/54, 58, 88.

⁹ Cf. 2739/52, 52a, 53, 54.

¹⁰ Cf. 2739/66; Plate XIIIId. Cf. RIBBACH, S. H., *Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava*, Jahrbuch der Hamburg. Wiss. Ausstalten, XXXIV, 1916, p. 32, pl. I. On the mountaineering expeditions: R. SKUHRA, *Sturm auf die Throne der Götter*, (± 1950), pp. 93-129; on the name of the mountain: *The Himalayan Journal* IV, 1932, pp. 198-214.

A third general characteristic of Tibetan art is its *subjection to rigid canons*. Above all the objects made had to be suitable for ritual use; beauty was a secondary consideration, and by no means an essential matter. The artist is not inspired to his work by the creative urge, but by the desire to shape objects which are to be used in meditation. In fact, the very act of making them is already a meditationary exercise. This subjects the art to rigid rules; any freedom would entail an incorrectness, rendering the object unsuited for its destined purpose, or disturbing the meditation. Therefore, when we see and admire a work of art of this type, we should, above all, know how and why it came to be just so as it is.

At his work the artist was guided by fixed codes. In texts the forms of the objects have been laid down once and for all, and when we now see the finished work, we ought really also to know the text which decided its appearance, if we are fully to understand it. This applies with particular force to the paintings, and now and again we indeed have the text which supplies the desired information. Such is the case with the very delicate painting of Padmasambhava's paradise (tib. *Zāns-mdog-dpalri*, nr. 2798/5). In the *gSol-'debs li'u-bdun-ma* we find the following description,¹¹ which is a practically complete guide to our painting: "The holy mountain of *Zāns-mdog* (copper-colour) has the shape of the heart. Its base is set in the realm of the king of *nāgas*, its middle part shines in the domain of the *dākinis*, and its summit reaches the world of *Brahmā* (*Brahmāloka*). The eastern side of the glaring summit of the holy mountain has the colour of crystal (white), the southern side is (*vaiḍurya*), the western side is red, and the northern is green. The palace is clearly seen from the outside and the inside. It has four sides and eight corners. Its top and lower part are adorned with precious stones. There is a courtyard and four kinds of enclosures of different colours corresponding to the four kinds of deeds. The walls are made of brick. The balconies are ornamented with five kinds of jewels. The archways of the four gates are beautifully ornamented with different kinds of precious stones and all the religious symbols. There are wishing trees, and fountains of *amṛta*. Rainbows of five colours gather like clouds from the outside and inside. The atmosphere is filled with the light of lotus flowers. One obtains great bliss by the mere remembrance of this place.

"Inside the palace there is a throne with eight corners, adorned with curious jewels. On the stalk of the blossoming and undefiled lotus sits

¹¹ Quoted from the translation by G. ROERICH, *Tibetan Paintings*, pp. 76sq.

Padmasambhava, who has accumulated in himself all the Sugatas.¹² According to his decision, he shows himself benign, charitable, powerful or fierce. Although his body and colour, his attributes and ornaments are only visional, his brightness is greater than the light emanated from a thousand suns. His brightness is higher than the mountain itself. The world is fully penetrated by this "incarnation of the heart". The veins of his eyes look round like the sun and moon. The actions of the Merciful One are swifter than the lightning of the sky. His thoughts are deep as the depth of heavens. Because of his compassion for the living beings, he labours for the sake of the world. He has a smiling face of beautiful appearance. The sound of his voice is similar to the roar of a thousand thunders. The place is filled with the sound: ri, ri, ri, due to the reciting of the deep mantras.

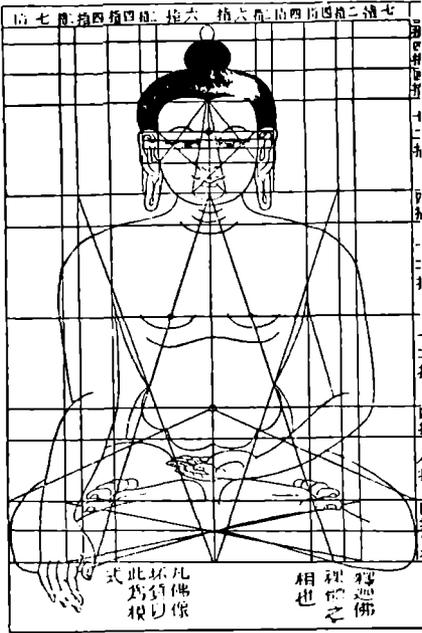
"On the four sides and on the eight corners of the "Great Incarnation" the five kinds of Sugatas, subduing the fierce demons and performing the four kinds of deeds, are seated on thrones, which are erected on crouching demons. On thrones of lotus flowers, with four petals and four sides, are seated demons and *ḍākinīs* adorned with all the necromantic attributes, who pass their time in enjoyment, adorned with beautiful ornaments. The four-sided courtyard of the palace and the encircling walls are full of *ḍākinīs*. Gods and goddesses are gathered in multitudes, like clouds. They perform different kinds of *tāntric* offerings from the outside and the inside. On the balconies of the precious palace the sacrificing deities are gathered like clouds. The world is filled with the offering of the six kinds of earthly good and pleasures. They honour the Sugata with offerings to the bodhisattva Samantabhadra. At the four gates of the palace are seen the the four king-guardians, who are assisted by the eight classes of deities slaves, and messengers, and are crushing the demons and the heretics into dust. *Hūṃ!*"

This text is a good example of a description of the images that should be evoked by whoever sees the paintings, in this case of the paradise of Padmasambhava. It was absolutely impossible to depict all the details, but even those which were not shown, do belong to the total image, and may therefore not be neglected. When reading such texts one has to learn to distinguish what is, and what is not, capable of being rendered in a painting, and this calls for some practice.

Not always, though, are we fortunate enough to know exactly what text was followed by the unknown artist when he made his work of art. In

¹² Sugata = *dhyāni-buddha*. Cf. for this remark that in Padmasambhava the essence of all the *dhyāni-buddhas* is united: GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Padmasambhava und Verwandtes*, Baessler Archiv, III, 1912, p. 6 sq.

general fewer problems are raised by paintings of scenes from the life of Buddha and his previous incarnations, and of the biographies of the great Mahāyānic and Lamaïst saints, than by works depicting groups of deities. When one sees a biographical painting, one knows at once what kind of text to look for, but in the other case it is often only a happy chance that guides us in the right direction. We shall return to this point when we come to speak of the subjects of the paintings (*thankas*).



Having demonstrated that the artist cannot exercise free choice in the way he composes his work, we may add that he enjoys no greater freedom in the designing of each separate figure. There are minute rules as to how each figure has to be drawn. The drawing is frequently executed on a foundation of ingeniously arranged horizontal and vertical lines, as in the example given here, which is taken from a Chinese Lamaïst text. In the same way prescriptions are given for the correct drawing of important parts of the body, e.g. eyes and ears.

These precepts are certainly not drawn up from the artistic point of view, or as purely technical guides: they are based on a certain conception of the build-up of the universe.

For the design a number of measures are employed. The basic unit is the span (*tāla*), i.e. the distance between the tips of the thumb and the forefinger of the open hand with the fingers spread. This equals the distance between the tip of the chin and the edge of the hair. This span is subdivided into twelve *āṅguli*, or "fingers". In the composition of a statue certain larger measurements are applied, for instance the *navatāla* or "nine-span" system. According to this system the standing figure is divided into nine parts, each one span high. This division of the body into nine "spheres" presents an undeniable analogy to what was held to be the structure of the macrocosmos. The great universe and the human frame had to correspond to one another. Thus the precepts for the correct drawing of human figures had a deeper meaning than only that of an aesthetic law.

This is also immediately apparent when we study the directions for making the materials, for weaving and preparing the cloth, for the choice of

a suitable time and place to carry out important stages of the work, and the rules for the purity and spiritual development of the artist.¹³

As a particularly good example of the way such a text regulates the design of very complicated figures of the Lamaïst pantheon, we may here give a summary of the precepts for depicting the eleven-headed, thousand-armed Avalokiteçvara, one of the best-known figures, whom we have already mentioned. The precepts are given in a Chinese Lamaïst text, the *Tsao Hsiang Liang-tu Ching*, dating from the thirteenth year of the reign of emperor Ch'ien-Lung, i.e. 1748. It was printed by order of Chang Chia Hu-t'u-K'e-t'u, one of the highest Buddhist dignitaries in Peking; according to the colophon, Wang Ai-Yuëh from Ho-Shuo carved the printing-blocks. The text, the title of which may be translated as "The classical scripture on the measurements for the making of statues", is attributed to Çāriputra, the favourite pupil of Buddha. In an appendix it gives the following directives for the most complicated form of Avalokiteçvara:¹⁴ "There is another type of representation, viz. the eleven-headed and thousand-armed Avalokiteçvara. The measurements of the body are the same as for the standing image of the Buddha. The head *en face* is of the same size as a Buddha-head, 10 *āṅguli* high, and with a kindly expression. The subsidiary head at the right side is blue, the one at the left is red; the width of these subsidiary heads is equal to one half of the frontal head plus 1 *āṅguli*, measured to the tip of the nose. Of the following (higher placed) heads, the centre one is 8 *āṅguli* high and of yellowish-white colour, with frowning brows; the heads to the right and left are yellow and orange-red respectively, while their width is equal to one half of the frontal head, plus six lines.

"The frontal head of the third *zōne* is *āṅguli* high; its colour is red, its mien is kindly; the head to the right is green, the one to the left is purple, their width again being equal to one half of the frontal head, with in this case five lines added for the nose.

"The head in the fourth *zōne* is the only fearsome one, six *āṅguli* high, of dark-blue colour, with curling hair, like a lion's; the topmost head is Amitābha's, of red or golden colour. Apart from this head, all have three eyes, while the visible ears of the heads are connected at the sides with the ears of the central heads.

¹³ Cf. on this question: G. ROERICH, *Tibetan Paintings*, Paris 1925, and B. LAUFER, *Dokumente Indischer Kunst*, I.

¹⁴ 造像量度經 text in Van Manen's library, with a rough translation, which, after having been corrected, supplied me with the data. Cf. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 292; *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 21, no. 1419, pp. 936 sq.

“As to the drawing of the arms, one should proceed as follows: from the hollow of the heart (i.e. the spot exactly between the two breast), one traces 6 *āṅguli* upwards, and then one span (*tāla*) to either side; there one puts a dot. Three *āṅguli* above that the top of the shoulder is situated, and the armpit is three *āṅguli* below. From the dot one draws a (semi)-circle on either side with a radius of 50 *āṅguli*. This determines the area within which all the arms must be confined. None of the hands may protrude beyond this circle, even if the arms are stretched. The thousand arms are now divided into eight belonging to the *dharmakāya* manifestation, 40 belonging to the *sambhoga-kāya* and 952 belonging to the *nirmāṇa-kāya* manifestation. In order to draw these correctly, within the circle of the hands six other (semi)-circles should be described, each of them with a radius 4 *āṅguli* shorter than the preceding one. Next, the part enclosed by the last circle (so immediately adjoining either side of the body) is divided into three equal sectors, within which three pairs of the *dharmakāya* hands are drawn with their attributes; the fourth pair is held before the breast, almost touching each other. The following circular area, that is to say the one between the inmost circle and the next, is, on both sides, divided into three, and each one-third again into six parts, while hands are also added to the ends of each arc, and one hand is also drawn in each segment; thus one draws the forty hands of the *sambhogakāya* (of which then also all the attributes are enumerated). For drawing the 952 hands of the *nirmāṇakāya*, the consecutive circular arcs on either side are divided into 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 parts, each again subdivided into 6 parts. A hand is then drawn into each of the segments, with the exception of the lowest segments of the arcs that were divided into 12, 14, 16 and 18 sectors.”

The result may be given in a table as follows:

within the inmost circle:	$2 \times 4 =$	8 arms	(<i>dharmakāya</i>)
first circular area:	$2 \times 3 \times 6 + 4 =$	40	„ (<i>sambhogakāya</i>)
second circular area:	$2 \times 12 \times 6 - 2 =$	142	„
third	„ „ : $2 \times 14 \times 6 - 2 =$	166	„
fourth	„ „ : $2 \times 16 \times 6 - 2 =$	190	„
fifth	„ „ : $2 \times 18 \times 6 - 2 =$	214	„
sixth	„ „ : $2 \times 20 \times 6 =$	240	„

Total 1000 arms.

“In each hand an all-seeing eye is drawn, and next precepts are given for the position of the legs, the shape of the feet, and the ornaments and

dress of the figure, i.a. a description of the antelope-skin over the left shoulder."

This description proves that the designation "thousand-armed Avalokiteçvara" was meant literally, and the *thangka* nr. 2740/16 of the collection shows that such precepts were meticulously followed.

Let us now consider in greater detail the making of these paintings, which are now generally known by the Tibetan name *thangka*.

Usually the paintings are on a rather coarse linen, that is sized with a mixture of chalk and glue. If the cloth is not big enough for the projected painting, some pieces of linen are sewed together before being sized, and then furbished with a stone or shell. After it has been treated in this way the linen bears no trace whatever of the seams. The cloth is then dried, and next the design is drawn on to the cloth. When this is done by free-hand, a pattern of lines is set up first. However, mostly stencils or spray-patterns are used. These are laid on top of the cloth, pricked through according to the pattern, and sprayed with charcoal powder. The resultant dotted charcoal lines are then traced over with Chinese black or red ink. Sometimes a kind of stamp is used: a wooden, or sometimes a metal, matrix bearing the design is pressed on to the cloth. For this purpose the large monasteries of Tibet possess complete series of such matrix-stamps.¹⁵ One such set is very well-known, viz. the one depicting the successive Tashi-Lamas. Prints of this series are reproduced in Tucci's standard-work, "*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*", and the museum collection contains finished paintings of this series,¹⁶ as do other collections, e.g. the Verbert collection, which also includes duplicates and even triplicates of the set. It is interesting to compare various specimens of the same model, and to compare the differences between them. In the first place it then becomes clear that, in spite of everything, the individual capability of the artist has a chance to prove itself in the completed drawing; the facial expressions, for example, may be totally different. One artist succeeds in conferring a certain dignity of expression, another can do no better than carefully to trace the lines of the impress, thus all too often producing an extremely feeble drawing, with the portrayed figure looking more like a doll than like a living personality. There also appears to be considerable freedom in the way the background, the surrounding landscape, may be drawn, and the inscriptions, giving the names of the personages represented, may be found in various places, or be absent

¹⁵ Cf. 2740/145.

¹⁶ Cf. 2740/31-37.

altogether. There is, therefore, a quite considerable scope for the artist's individuality, and the master-hand always shows. As the designs of a set are definitely stereotyped, it is remarkable what variety there still may be in facial expression, even when matrices are employed. All the same one cannot maintain that such sets are real portraits; on the other hand there are other representations of these dignitaries which may actually be considered true portraits, as is, in fact, also shown by the texts.¹⁷

While the drawing is being made, the cloth is stretched in a rough wooden frame by means of a cord, and it remains in this position until it is quite completed. After the draughtsman has done his work, it is the painter's turn, who fills in the colours. In general the draughtsman is not the same person as the painter. For making the paints, mineral and vegetable substances are used, which are ground in a small mortar with a wooden pestle. These paints are also mixed with glue, so that, when they are applied to the cloth, they become one with the sized surface. As both are easily soluble in water, it is obvious that the paintings are very susceptible to damage by dampness: a single drop of water, running down the edge of the painting, may cause irreparable damage.

The Tibetan artist likes bright, sunny colours, like those of the landscape to which he is accustomed. He also has a predilection for gold paint, and the preparing of this paint is a long and complicate process, which is partly kept as a secret of the craft. The older pieces also show a difference between gold and gilt; in the paintings the bodies of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are often "gilt", of a dull tint. The ornaments and other gold objects, on the other hand, are painted in bright gold tinsel.¹⁸

As sacrificial lamps are burnt before the paintings, the old specimens by long use acquire a dark film, feel slightly greasy when touched, and have a very special odour, which enables a connoisseur directly to recognize a good, old work. The film may be so thick that the colours become dull and faint, and the inscriptions in gold lettering, when they occur, may disappear altogether, only showing up again under special lighting conditions.

When a painting has been completed, it is set into a framework of bright Chinese silks. It first has a narrow border of yellow and of red silk, of equal width on all four sides. This is the so-called red-and-yellow rainbow, which symbolizes the force that emanates from the painting. This border is, in turn, set in a broader frame, which is narrowest along the perpendiculars, broader along the upper edge, and much broader again along the lower.

¹⁷ Cf. 2740/1, 4, 5.

¹⁸ Cf. 2798/9.

The top of this silk frame is sewed over to form a seam; through it a thin wooden stick is passed, by which the painting is suspended. The foot has a broad seam, containing a round bar with bronze or wooden knobs at the ends, which serves to keep the painting stretched. To add more weight to the bar, the bronze knobs are sometimes filled with clay. In the lower part of the silk edging sometimes a separate piece of embroidery is set, in some cases part of the breastcloth of a mandarin's coat,¹⁹ symbolizing the primeval waters, out of which the entire cosmos comes forth. For this reason embroidering with a pattern of *nāgas* or dragons, or of lotusses, is preferred.

Finally a thin veil is hung before the painting with frame, entirely covering the painting when it is not in use. This veil is usually of very thin green or yellow silk, sometimes with woven motifs, like the symbol of the Ten Mighty Ones,²⁰ signs of good luck, etc. When the painting is rolled up the veil is usually kept in place by a pair of narrow, mostly red, ribbons, attached to the stick at the top of the edging, and hanging down, at a fourth part of the width on either side, to the bar at the foot. A painting is always rolled up from the foot upwards, that is to say, round the lower bar with the knobs. In order to hang up the *thänka*, two leather thongs are attached to the stick at the top. These same thongs are used to tie up the painting when it has been rolled up.

When the artist has completed his work, his painting has to be rendered suitable for use. A very elaborate ceremony makes it fit to serve as temporary habitation of the divinity involved, and of his entourage (*parivāra*). Tucci has given a full account of this ceremony,²¹ and elsewhere some information has also been given. It may be desirable to devote some attention to it in the present work. The ceremony is called *sgrub-byed*, meaning "preparation", and proves to be a detailed copy of the *prānapraṭiṣṭha* ceremony, known from Hindu sources.²²

After the officiant has effectively purified himself for the rite, holy water is prepared by a method we described at length in a previous publication. For this purpose two vessels are used, one shaped like a dish (or saucer?), the other like a pot. This is further explained in, i.a., the *Ṣṛīcakrasambhāra-tantra*, translated by Kazi Dawa Samdup as follows:²³ "Then the two holy water jars (which should be in perfect accordance with the prescribed

¹⁹ Cf. 2740/2.

²⁰ Cf. 2740/13.

²¹ Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, pp. 308 sq.

²² I.a. in the *Mahānirvānatantra*, chapter V.

²³ *Tantric Texts*, VII, pp. 73 sq.

forms) should be fumigated and sanctified. One is in the inner circle of the altar, and the other on the outer and lower platform of the altar during the rite. The inner pot is called rNamrgyal-būm pa (the vijaya-jar, or entirely victorious vessel). The outer one for use is called Las-thāms-cad-pahi būmpa, the holy water jar for all purposes (*sarvakarma*). The vijaya-jar is to be thought of as containing the entire maṇḍala of devatās and the Las-boom (the karma-pot) to contain only the deities of the Mahāsukha cakra. Both are imagined to contain the vowels and consonants. The Vijaya-jar (rNam-rgyal) contains the 62 devatās. Then having poured water into the conch vessel imagine that all the devatās are merged there in. This is the rite pertaining the holy water jars. Then imagine one's self to be absorbed into the outer Heruka. Think that you perform those functions which the Guru has to perform. The assistant's functions are to be performed by a two-handed Heruka produced from the heart".

SCHLAGINTWEIT gives the following particulars on the actual course of the rite: ²⁴ "The rite Dubjed (*sGrub-byed*), the name of which means "to make ready", is intended to concentrate thoughts. Those who are about to devote themselves to profound meditation, place before them the vase — like vessel called rNam-rgyal būmpa, the "entirely victorious vessel", and a flat vessel called Lai būmpa, "the vessel of the works". There two vessels are not unfrequently traced on the cushions upon which the Lāmas sit during the public religions services. The rNam-rgyal būmpa typifies abstraction of the mind surrounding objects, the Lai-būmpa perfection in abstract meditation. The vessels are filled with water perfumed with saffron and strips of the five sacred colours are twisted round them. A flower or some kuṣa-grass is placed in them. The devotee, fixing his eyes upon these two vessels, reflects upon the benefit to be derived from meditation and is exhorted to intense concentration of the mind".

Taken by themselves these descriptions would not clarify a great deal, if we did not know from other sources that the so-called *Las (lai) būmpa* is either placed on an eight-petalled lotus flower, or yields its place to a set of eight such vessels, which are placed in a circle. The most important part of the sanctification ceremony is yet to come: in accordance with the methods of yoga the officiant's *iṣṭadevatā*, the special divinity who is thought to dwell in his heart-lotus, is transferred by a breathing technique (*prāṇayama*) through the internal channels to the nostrils, and then, through the medium of a flower, brought over to the jar in the centre of the set of sacrificial

²⁴ SCHLAGINTWEIT, H., *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 247; French edition, p. 160. Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 71 sq.

vessels. Thus it becomes evident that the arrangement of these vessels is meant to correspond to the situation of the heart-lotus, within which the *iṣṭadevatā* has his abode. By these means the water in the jar is sanctified, and it may now be sprinkled, as holy water, on an object. Of course it cannot be so applied to a *thanka*, as any moisture would completely ruin the painting. Instead a mirror is held up, and the holy water sprinkled on to the painting's reflection in the mirror. Such use is also made of a mirror when a ritual object has to be repaired: the in-dwelling divinity is invited to leave the object and temporarily to take up abode in the mirror, which is then wrapped up in a cloth. After the repairs have been carried out, the mirror is again placed opposite the object and unwrapped, and the deity is requested to resume his former habitation.²⁵

On the reverse side of the paintings and of the strips of paper which are put inside the core or the pedestal of statuettes, one writes the *mantras*, life-giving formulas. Statuettes contain long paper strips, on which invocation-*mantras* are written or printed. Actually each figure ought to have its own *mantra*, but in practice this was sometimes neglected. The collection includes several printing-boards for such strips. Sometimes the papers are rolled up before being fitted into the statuette's interior. When they are put into bronzes, it is mostly the lotus pedestal that is used as receptacle; in wooden statuettes a special compartment is carved out of the pedestal, and closed with a wooden stopper which bears the impress of the familiar sign of the crossed *vajras*, usually in gold colouring.

With clay statuettes and large bronzes the papers are generally introduced into the interior of the statue itself, often wound round a stick which is decorated with carving and is shaped like a greatly elongated *stūpa*.²⁶

A *stūpa*-design may also be applied to the back of a painting (see figure), and it was a general practice to write a short *mantra* on the reverse of the cloth opposite each divinity. Originally each divine figure had his own *mantra*, or rather *bījamantra* (a sacrificial formula of a few syllables only). Actually one encounters, almost without exception, the formula *om āḥ hūm* opposite all the figures of the pantheon. This formula is only absent from a few older pieces; those bear a different votive formula, which may be much longer.

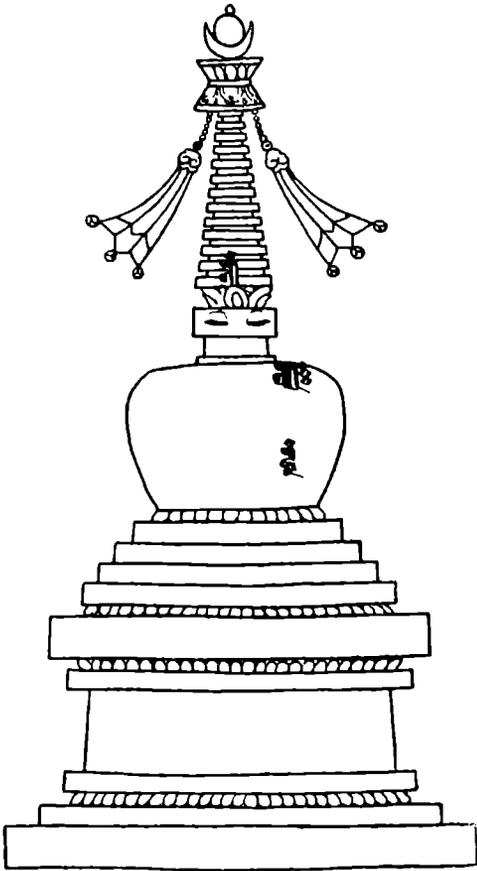
The backs of the paintings at times also show inscriptions of some length, incantations, invocations, in some way connected with the subject-matter of

²⁵ Cf. Johan VAN MANEN, *On making earthen images, repairing old images and drawing scroll-pictures in Tibet*, JISOA, I, 1933, pp. 105-111.

²⁶ Cf. 1994/16.

the painting, or the hand-prints of a lama. Such pieces are greatly valued.²⁷

Finally the backs may bear inscriptions with a different purpose, namely of a more technical character, such as the property-marks of monasteries²⁸ and indications as to where a painting should be hung, e.g.: གཡས་ལོ་ལོ་
“five to the right”, denoting the painting’s position in relation to the central piece.²⁹ From time to time the depicted figure is also indicated, but, as we shall presently see, it is not always desirable to set great store by such annotations. They frequently prove to have been added later, and not always by experts.³⁰



We have now briefly surveyed the main problems in Tibetan art, as far as the portrayal of gods and saints through statuettes and paintings is concerned. Utensils used in ritual or every-day life will be discussed later on, for the Tibetan’s genius for ornamentation may make them to be real works of art.

Before we devote attention to the purely iconographic characteristics of the figures depicted in statuary and painting, we would like to survey a few details of the paintings, and mainly the backgrounds against which the main

²⁷ Cf. the Bardo-painting in the Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam, which I discussed in *De "Ars moriendi" van Tibet*, Phoenix I, nr. 19, 1946, pp. 1-12. This painting also bears a complete prayer, what is not uncommon (cf. 2740/2). Such prayers may be either more personal, as in the examples given here, or purely formal, such as the so-called “Buddhist Creed” (1383/2, 2798/4), which may at times also be written on the front of the painting (cf. 2740/6).

²⁸ Cf. 2740/7, 147, 150.

²⁹ Cf. 2740/4, 5, 31-37; sometimes such an annotation is to be found on the front of a painting, cf. 2740/42, 43, 56-76. Such annotations also occur on statuettes, either visibly (cf. 2739/58), or inside (cf. 2783/1); clay tablets are sometimes also numbered (1786/12-16).

³⁰ Cf. p. 75 on 2740/4 and 5.

figures are placed. We must also make some remarks on the purposes served by the paintings.

In general a painting represents a certain figure of the pantheon, but this figure does not occupy the entire surface of the painting. It is generally placed in the centre, and painted in complete accordance with the precepts. There are also certain technical aids to its portrayal, of which a few of a more technical type have already been mentioned: fixed patterns, spray-stencils, and imprints. But it is also clear that the painting often followed illustrations in manuscripts, and block-prints. This is particularly noticeable in the older paintings; especially when we consider how the background is filled in. The space round the central figure is divided into a number of sections, within which other figures are depicted. One gets the impression that such a painting is the result of the grouping together of several illustrations from manuscripts. The partitioning of the surface into sections makes the total painting rather stilted, and it is mainly the beautiful colouring and the delicacy of design in these older paintings which claim our appreciation.

Sometimes the central figure is not surrounded in this way by various personages, but by biographical episodes. In the older pieces these are also drawn into a frame-work, and only after quite a length of time are they placed against a landscape as background. Originally the landscape is over-full, like the tropical jungle itself: not the smallest surface is left bare. Gradually the Tibetan artist learns the possibilities of space and perspective, undoubtedly under Chinese influence. In particular the manner of drawing rocks is undeniably Chinese, but Chinese influence also shows itself in the rendering of architectural themes, like palaces and garden pleasantries. Only when monasteries are depicted, do typically Tibetan buildings appear. The landscape, on the other hand, is not Tibetan, but Indian, drenched in sunlight, and with the animals belonging to that country; the human figures also wear Indian dress. Only when the Tibetan painter portrays his own ecclesiastical dignitaries does the clothing more closely approach the observed reality. Once in a while one also comes across the real Tibetan landscape, but this is then usually through absolute necessity, for example when one of the hill-gods of Tibet is depicted, who have little to do with Buddhism and even less with the torrid plains of India.³¹

When the artist painted a life-history, he followed a certain text, often adding passages from that text to the painting, by way of explanation. For us such inscriptions are of great value as a means of identifying the subject-matter of the paintings.

³¹ Cf. 2740/95 and 2798/16; only 2740/30 depicts a Tibetan landscape as background to a painting of Amitāyus.

Another aid of this kind is the painters' manuals which some eminent authorities have drawn up. These consist of block-prints, the reverse of a folio-page usually bearing three figures, one beside the other, with their names, and the next folio-page containing data as to the colour, etc. of the figures. A few such manuals have been published, and constitute one of the most important sources of our knowledge of Lamaistic iconography. As the figures are generally printed in groups of three, the side figures are sometimes turned towards the one in the centre, especially when saints are portrayed.

It is remarkable that the paintings themselves usually follow the same arrangement and attitude of the figures, in complete accordance with the printed examples. In general the central figure of a painting is surrounded by his *parivāra*, subsidiary figures. Usually, but not always, they together make up a regular group. In this case again the portraits of saints and religious dignitaries supply us with interesting material; in the first place the series of Tashi Lamas should be mentioned. This series appears to show a somewhat freer manner of placing the figures in the landscape. Various divinities occur in the corners. However, this apparently greater freedom proves to be illusory, for the paintings should not be considered as single pieces, but as component elements of a group, and when we examine the group as a whole we immediately notice that again a definite arrangement has been followed: the central painting places the chief figure in the centre, and the subjects of the paintings at the right-hand side of the set are turned to the left, those at the left-hand side to the right. The same principle is to be observed in the paintings of the eighteen *sthaviras*, the "apostles" of Buddhism. As to the deities depicted in the corners in the Tashi-Lama series, they prove, in most cases, to be connected with the life of the portrayed figure, although we can not always trace what this connection was. Here again an explanation is only possible when we consider the complete set of paintings as a whole. Certain figures may play a part in the life of a saint, but they also form part of a group. When they are painted beside the biography of a saint, the other figures of the group to which he belongs are divided evenly over the other paintings. On the one hand this makes it difficult to explain single paintings, but on the other it opens up possibilities for drawing certain conclusions. If, for example, we encounter a painting on which two of the four Guardians of the World occur, this is in itself a sufficient indication that the painting is not a self-contained unit, but belonged to a group of at least two, and probably three. Thus we sometimes arrive at interesting results.³²

³² I drew attention to this in my preface to the second edition of W. J. G. VAN MEURS, *Tibetan Temple Paintings*, Leiden 1952, which includes a few examples.

So, if we meet with a painting of a central figure surrounded by a number of smaller ones, there are three possibilities, or, as is often the case, combinations of the three:

1. the surrounding figures have a function as *parivāra*, constituting a definite system in combination with the central figure;
2. the surrounding figures play some kind of a part in the life of the central figure;
3. the surrounding figures are partly "supplementary figures".

It goes without saying that this only applies to figures which have a place in the pantheon, and not to actors in the biographical episodes or to the persons who donated the paintings, and may be portrayed on the paintings themselves.

The "supplementary figures" play more or less the same rôle in paintings, as the illustrations in the block-prints of monasteries. The block-prints of certain monasteries³³ have pictures of saints on the first folio pages, and some of the *Drag-gsed* on the last one, while the text itself does not appear to have any connection with these figures, or, at most, with only one of them. As their names are always appended, these illustrations offer materials for the iconographic study of the figures in the *thankas*, and particularly of the "supplementary figures", for in many *thankas* we observe a similar phenomenon: a few saints, or Bodhisattvas and Tārās occur in the top-corners, and a couple of "Frightful Ones"³⁴ in the lower corners, while one can not always trace the immediate relevance of these beings to the central figure they surround.

Now that we have surveyed the general characteristics of the *thankas*, we should devote some attention to a few details that will not be mentioned among the iconographical features.

Buddhas, and many princes of the church, are depicted sitting on a throne. In Tibet this throne is mostly divided into two parts; the pedestal-shaped base and the back; the two parts do not seem to be attached to one another, and even less so as the huge halo surrounding the figures renders the greater part of the back of the throne invisible. In the paintings in our collection this halo is often entwined with peony-like white or red flowers, a remarkable stylistic feature, which may be an indication of the provenance of the paintings. Behind the figures' heads there is a nimbus, practically always

³³ I have not been able to gain any definite information on the provenance of the many block-prints of this type in the museum collection (e.g. 2740/H 4-8), but I believe them to come from bKra-śis-lhun-po or sNar-thañ.

³⁴ Cf. 2740/1, plate XVIIb.

of a dark green, with a lilac-coloured border. The halo also often has a broad border, multi-coloured at the edges, and traversed by golden rays.

The back of the throne really consists of a cross-bar, that ought to be at shoulder-height, but is mostly much higher, borne by two posts, consisting of an ornament of superimposed animals, such as the elephant, lion, and *vyāḷaka* (tiger, usually with wings). This ornament undoubtedly has a symbolic meaning, probably being connected with the elements. As beautiful specimens of this ornament we should also mention the fragments of the large halos from the dPal-khor monastery of Gyantse (2845/5 and 6, Plate VIB), which were originally attached, as described above, to the throne of a life-sized figure. Other such plates show the same motif, although as a subsidiary element of the decoration (2845/3 and 4, Pl. IV and V).

Sometimes a ceremonial umbrella is to be seen above the central figure. This emblem of authority appears to be completely detached from the background, and forms an independent feature. This may also, it appears, be attributed to a local peculiarity of style.³⁵

Sometimes a low table, such as one has before one when sitting cross-legged on the ground,³⁶ is placed before the throne of ecclesiastical dignitaries and saints. This table then bears a number of religious attributes. Easily recognizable are the familiar ritual objects, such as the jar of holy water, mirror, prayer-bell and *vajra*, double drum, etc.³⁷ Their presence in itself is not at all surprising, and this may easily cause one to overlook their presence. Yet they fully deserve our notice, particularly when they occur in a certain combination, or when they are substituted by a special group of objects. For example, their place is sometimes occupied by a set, which is very popular in Tibet, and is known as the *aṣṭamaṅgalani*, the Eight Precious Objects.³⁸

Elsewhere I have tried to demonstrate that these eight precious objects symbolize the eight great *bodhisattvas*, and are closely connected with the symbolism of the mystic lotus of the heart,³⁹ what explains their popularity. Less popular, and of less frequent occurrence in paintings, is the motif of

³⁵ Cf. 2740/16, 30, 102, 106; 2798/8.

³⁶ Cf. 2739/83-85.

³⁷ Cf. 2740/1, 34, 40, 90.

³⁸ Cf. 2740/38. This ornamentation crops up as a decorative motif on all kinds of objects: on holywater vessels (1119/62, 2798/22), on amuletcases (2739/96, 97, 112; 2798/57-59 as a decorative frame for paintings (2740/4, 5), as altar decorations (1/1493; cf. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 119, Pl. 14), and even on aprons made of human bones (2851/1), etc.

³⁹ POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 58 sq.

the *saptaratna*, the Seven Jewels, in Tibet sometimes extended to eight, and once in a while included in the halo of a bodhisattva.⁴⁰

One very often encounters another emblem among the "sacrificial offerings" or attributes of saints and divines, which is known as the *sarvamangalam*-motif. I am of the opinion that this "lucky sign" has not received the attention due to it, for it is really much more than a symbol of good fortune alone. It consist of a dish on which various objects are lying, viz. a mirror, a fruit, an incense-shell, a conch or guitar, and a shawl. It is obvious that this symbolizes the five senses: the mirror represents sight, the fruit: taste, the incense-shell: 'smell, the conch or guitar: hearing, and the shawl: touch. Sometimes these symbols are displayed separately, or distributed over the entire surface of the painting;⁴¹ or else female figures are shown bearing the symbols in their hands, or dancing with them.⁴²

A very attractive arrangement is to be seen on painting 2740/27, on which four out of the five senses are represented as dancing figures with the emblems in the four corners of the painting, while the fifth, the sense of smell, is rendered as a little figure offering incense before the feet of the central figure (Amoghasiddha).

While this is the way the five senses are represented as sacrifices on the paintings of the peaceful deities, it has been replaced in paintings of demonic gods by the *balin*-sacrifice, which consists of a bowl made of a human skull, containing the torn-out eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and heart of an "enemy of the sacred doctrine". In this case again it is obvious that this sacrifice, so demonic in appearance, is actually nothing but the counterpart of the *sarvamangalam*-symbol of the five senses. In painting 2740/18 both symbols occur side by side: the *sarvamangalam*-sacrifice before Padmasambhava in his usual form, the *balin*-sacrifice before his mystic and demonic form.

Although by now the most important and most frequently occurring symbols have been indicated, we have by no means mentioned all of them, nor do we intend to do so here. However, it is worth noting that at times, as far as we can see, incorrect use has been made of some symbols. For example, the symbol of the Wheel of the Law, flanked by two deer, typically is the representation of the deer-park at Benares, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, so that it is only suitable in illustrations of this event.

⁴⁰ Cf. 1943/3. On both sets of symbols also see: WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 389 sq. Cf. POTT, *A remarkable piece of Tibetan Ritual-Painting and its Meaning*, Int. Archiv für Ethnogr., XLIII, 1943, pp. 228 sq.

⁴¹ Cf. 2740/53, 78, 105, 106; 2798/9.

⁴² Cf. J. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d'après des peintures tibétaines*, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale II, pl. V; 2740/27; POTT, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

Nevertheless we encounter it in a portrait of the Buddha with the eighteen *sthaviras*.

Figures of devotees sometimes occur in the landscape that forms the background or the base of a painting; we may not attribute a function to them comparable to that of similar figures in late Medieval European art, for they are not portraits of the donors of the painting, but beings of a different order altogether. The painting represents the spiritual world, which is, indeed, similar to ours in appearance, but nevertheless differs from it.⁴⁴

On the other hand the donors of a painting — particularly of Nepalese works — do figure in the painting, but then always in such a manner that they are separated from the main subject. Usually the men are then portrayed on the (heraldic) right, the women on the left, one behind the other in a row on either side of a sacrifice or of one of the Fearsome Ones, mostly Vaiçrāvaṇa or Mahākāla.⁴⁵

This immediately leads us to the question for what purpose a painting was made. This question is certainly relevant, as it has its bearing on the artistic value of the paintings, and the painting's general appearance testifies to the purpose for which it was created.

A classification of the paintings according to their purpose not only satisfies our desire for some kind of system, but is also expressly mentioned in the texts themselves, e.g. in the *Āryamañjuçrīmūlatantra*.⁴⁶ One may, for instance, order the making of a *thaṅka* as a means of acquiring merit (*puṇya sambhāra*), or for certain magical purposes, in general the gaining of wealth and longevity; in these cases Vaiçrāvaṇa and Mahākāla or Yama usually figure in the lower corners of the painting, which in addition will bear an invocation and a portrait of the donor.⁴⁷

Another purpose is teaching. Such "educational" paintings include the representations of the life-history, *rnam-thar*, of a certain personage, be it saint or church dignitary.⁴⁸ Such paintings are used as illustrations to the teaching given by wandering mendicant friars. Finally paintings are used to invoke certain deities, and this may be considered the paintings' deepest meaning. The saints and their histories, even the biography of the Buddha himself, after all only serve as examples of a good life, but are never more than mere illustrations. On the other hand we have the paintings that are

⁴³ Cf. 2740/20.

⁴⁴ Cf. 2740/27, 46, 50, 98, 107, 151.

⁴⁵ Cf. 1943/3; 2740/29, 90, 107; 2798/10, 11.

⁴⁶ Cf. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 270.

⁴⁷ Cf. 2740/99-101; 2798/18.

⁴⁸ Cf. 2740/19, 91-94.

employed in meditation. Such are the *maṇḍalas*, paintings which are themselves cosmic symbols, with the various deities in their places according to their rank. These *maṇḍalas* are, above all, aids to meditation, and, in the ritual, they function as the abodes of the deities themselves. It is this kind of painting that has entirely to conform to the precepts; each deviation would detract from its usefulness, and is therefore to be avoided.

A *maṇḍala* can also be made of other materials. It may be three-dimensional, and made of rice (the *maṇḍala*-sacrifice), coloured sand, butter, and of a number of separate bronzes that are grouped together in a certain pattern. It may also be painted, either on one cloth or on several, that together constitute the *maṇḍala*. In pictorial art the term is usually employed for a *maṇḍala* represented on one single painting, and immediately recognizable as such by the rigidly geometrical arrangement.⁴⁹ The centre of such a painting is formed by a, usually eight-petalled, lotus, surrounded by a square edifice with protruding gates at the four sides, the whole structure being projected onto one surface. Round it are a couple of lotus borders, a row of *vajras*, and a fiery edge. This circle of flames forms the limit of the actual *maṇḍala*.

Such painting are objects of meditation, *yantras*, active use of which is made during meditationary exercises.

There are also other *thankas*, the painting of which is itself a form of meditation. These paintings are at once the finest and the most fearsome products of the pictorial art of Tibet. It has frequently been remarked that, however fine the other paintings may be in design and colouring, the real inspiration appears to be lacking. This cannot be said of the paintings with purely demonic figures, and, strange as it may seem, these unreal monsters seem nearer to life than the peaceful beings. When one looks at one of those paintings, one feels that the unknown artist has really *seen* these creatures; they have a mysterious life of their own, which is repellent, and yet irresistibly fascinating. Here Tibetan art attains its highest level: by a real mastery of the draughtsman's technique and a sophisticated palette, by a profound spiritual acquaintance with the subject of his visionary painting, the mystic created works which undoubtedly belong to the highest that can be achieved in this field.

They pertain to a world, different from that of the other paintings, namely to the *mGon-khañ*, the dark abode of the demons, the symbolically developed representation of the cemetery where the "I" undergoes its dissolution. It is

⁴⁹ Cf. 2740/20, 38, 39, 149; 2798/4, 5, 10-12. A very full description is given in Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, pp. 318 sq.

the sphere of the well-known tale of gÑan-c'en-dpal-dbyans in the *bTsun-mo-bka'i-than-yig*, which describes how this monk begins his meditation insufficiently prepared, with dire results: ⁵⁰ for years he lived in seclusion in order to prepare himself for the ceremony at which Mahākrodha, the Great Terrible One, would appear before him. When the ritual was finally performed all, at first, seemed to go well: the sacrificial butter boiled evenly, and the lamps smoked without interruption. At last the dreadful features of Mahākrodha loomed up before him. When the magic dagger (*phur-bu*) began to dance, announcing the appearance of the divinity, and other good omens manifested themselves, the divinity's followers began killing many people, after having destined them as sacrifices for Mahākrodha. Then the female counterpart (Çakti) of the god intervened, and demanded that the monk should atone for the sins of the followers. He answered that he was not required to do so, but, as he had let himself be inveigled into speaking, he thereby destroyed the results of his actions. He did not know what to do with the corpses which were being brought up, and the Çakti heaped blame on the followers, who were dissatisfied, and demanded that the Çakti should withdraw. Through the monk's mistake the whole ceremony went awry: the *maṇḍala* became dim, the clarified butter no longer boiled, the smoke of the lamps was sullied, and the demons began to weep. Everything threatened disaster to the monk, and when he tried to escape from the *maṇḍala*, a great whirl-wind arose, which carried him up and grievously injured him.

So, if one wishes to attain the supreme goal by esoteric means, one should thoroughly prepare oneself for the coming trials, so that one will not give up in a panic. A few times such a *ban*-ceremony, has been depicted, i.a. in the classical portrait of rDo-rje-dpal, Vajraçri, the seventh of the Tashi-Lamas. Once again it appears that Tson-kha-pa's reforms did certainly not put an end to the tñtric ideas; and when it is said of the eleventh Tashi-Lama that he was famous for his paintings, ⁵¹ we may take this as specially denoting these pictures, which were made during an exercise in meditation, and based on the symbolism of the heart-lotus, the eight sacred cemeteries, and their demonic inhabitants. ⁵²

A final word as to the technique of this kind of paintings, or rather

⁵⁰ Cf. LAUFER, B., *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig 1911, p. 131; BLEICHSTEINER, R., *Die gelbe Kirche*, pp. 175 sq.

⁵¹ Cf. S. Ch. DAS, *Contributions on the history, religion etc. of Tibet*, JASB, LXXI, 1882, p. 26.

⁵² Compare what was said in Chapter II on this form of mysticism. The paintings I described in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XLIII, 1943, pp. 215-241, belong to this same sphere. Cf. my *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 83 sq., pl. VIII.

drawings, for the procédé resembles drawing rather than painting.⁵³ They are executed in light but brilliant colours on a dark background. This demands a masterly technique, as every line is immutably fixed, and cannot be erased later on. Work of this kind necessitates a long study and preparation.⁵⁴ In principle the procédé is similar to that of the "golden" *thantkas* and the paintings on a red or green surface, with the design in gold or black lines.⁵⁵ Still, the drawings on a black surface are much superior, not only by the harder technique — red, green, and even gold surfaces still permit the use of spray-stencils — but, above all, by their greater inspirational power. The figures on these drawings not only affect the unknown artist who created them, but also us, modern observers, even though our intellect may boggle at their appearance; and this is certainly a proof of their great artistic merit.

⁵³ The Tibetan phrase also is *lha bris*, "writing gods", or *ri-mor bkod pa*, "to place within lines".

⁵⁴ The magnificent gouache drawings in the collection of Dr. J. Bierens de Haan in Amsterdam are also to be considered as preliminary studies of this kind. A few are illustrated in the Catalogue *Goden en Demonen van Tibet*, Pl. VII, nrs. 75 and 76.

⁵⁵ Cf. 2740/13; 2798/2.

CHAPTER FOUR

ICONOGRAPHY

The present publication does not intend to present a complete picture of the whole extensive Lamaïst pantheon, with detailed descriptions of all the individual figures. There are many works which may supply the interested layman with information of this kind; the best is still GRÜNWEDEL's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*.

Nor would it be advisable to describe all the pieces of our collection in full, for the highly traditional character of this art causes the same peculiarities to recur in many works, so that we need not refer to these again and again.

What may be useful, however, is to give a general survey of the Lamaïst pantheon as we encounter it in the collection. While doing so, we shall have the occasion to draw attention to some details which so far have not been clearly recognized or described. In addition, some of the particularly important pieces will now and then come up for a more detailed discussion.

For purely practical reasons I shall arrange the iconographic material in this survey otherwise than GRÜNWEDEL. In my opinion it is better to begin with the historical Buddha, Çākyaṃuni, and then to pass on to the other historical personages: the Indian Saints, the Tibetan saints and divines, and the Tibetan Kings. Next we shall deal with the true pantheon: the dhyāni-Buddhas and other special Buddhas, the bodhisattvas and tārās; finally the demonic forms of the Fearsome Ones, dharmapālas, and the particular tutelary deities of Tibet, concluding with the *dei minores*.

To begin with the historical Buddha. Many sets of thānkas depict the life of the Buddha, e.g. sets of twelve thānkas, each with the Buddha in the centre, usually in *bhūmiṣparçamudrā*, the "earth-touching pose", while episodes from his life are scattered over the entire painting;¹ in the same way histories of Çākyaṃuni's previous existences have been depicted, mostly

¹ Cf. J. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha, d'après des peintures tibétaines*, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, II, pp. 1-116, pls. I-XVIII.

GALESTIN, Th. P., *Iets over Tibetaansche Schilderkunst*, Cultureel Indië, I, pp. 193-208, pls. on pp. 195, 200, 206 and 207; 1842/1.

being derived from the literature of the *Avadānas*.² Such paintings are eminently suitable for being verbally elucidated, and this was actually their purpose: they are in all respects comparable with the *rnam-thars* of saints and church dignitaries. However their character also made them a favourite subject of Western treatises on Buddhist art, thus giving rise to the false impression that depicting Čākyamuni's life-history was one of the main purposes of the *thangka*-painters.³ This is certainly not the case, and in the collection we are dealing with here these biographical paintings are very few in number. Classified according to the episodes in the Buddha's life, they depict his birth, Māra's attack on the Buddha while he is sitting under the bodhi-tree, his first sermon, and the so-called *parinirvāṇa*, i.e. his death.

The birth of the Buddha is rendered in bronze, a large specimen, undoubtedly of Nepalese origin (B 76/10), which completely alligns itself with the artistic tradition of Gandhāra.⁴ It forms a pair with its companion piece, which at first sight looks like the previous bronze as reflected in a mirror. It appears to have the episode of the "seven steps" as its subject, but is not very well executed (B 76/11).

The *māradarṣaṇa* is pictured on a fine gilt bronze tableau, inlaid with separately cast silver and gilt bronze figures, and rosettes of semi-precious stones (2739/1, Pl. VII), also beyond doubt made by Nepalese artists. In the centre of the rectangular tableau the Buddha (actually still a bodhi-sattva) is seated on a lotus throne, in the earth-touching pose (*bhūmi-parṣamudrā*), under the *bodhi*-tree, the trunk of which extends to far beneath the lotus throne, and is surrounded near its foot by four daughters of Māra, who are trying to tempt the Buddha. Māra and several demonic soldiers of his army are depicted in the wisps of cloud that encircle the *bodhi*-tree; the broad edge of the piece also shows these demonic assistants of Māra, in gilt bronze, interspersed with winged celestial beings, executed in silver. The four protectors of the world occur in the four corners of the tableau.

The first preaching and the *parinirvāṇa* are both depicted on the same painting (1842/1; Pl. XVIIb). In the centre the Buddha is seated on the lotus throne, holding his hands before his breast in the *dharmacakramudrā*, the attitude of turning the wheel of the law, which symbolizes the preaching of

² Cf. TUCCI, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 437-534, pls. 100-130. Although they have not yet been identified, the scenes along the border of the maṇḍala-painting 2798/8 may perhaps also be considered as an example.

³ Cf. J. HACKIN, *Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Les collections bouddhiques*, 1923, pp. 70-113, where a discussion of this occupies 17 out of the 43 pages.

⁴ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 16, fig. 7; FOUCHER, A., *L'Art gréco-bouddhique de Gandhāra*, I, p. 306, fig. 154; cf. 2240/9.

the first sermon. The painting lacks the well-known symbol of the wheel flanked by two deer, indicating the scene of the event, the deer-park near Benares. This symbol is familiar enough in Tibet, witness the decorations on the ridges of many temple roofs; it also occurs in paintings, even, at times, being introduced irrelevantly, as we have seen.⁵ Before the Buddha's lotus throne there is a large dish containing five objects, together constituting the *sarvamaṅgalaṃ*-symbol we already mentioned, which represents the five senses. Round this symbolic sacrifice a number of listeners, i.e. monks, princes, and gods, are grouped. This is also not in accordance with tradition, which says that the Buddha first preached his doctrine to five *bhikṣus* who had formerly been his pupils.⁶ In the top corners of the painting we see the Buddha's death, *parinirvāṇa*, on the left,⁷ with the cremation immediately below, and the distribution of the relics on the right. Brief explanatory inscriptions are appended to the various episodes. In addition there occur a few ornamental figures, such as the dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya in the clouds above the Buddha, the hermit with his manuscripts in his cave (lower left), the nāga king offering jewels (lower right), and finally Legs-Idan, the principal of the "Five kings", in the centre foreground. A few details merit special attention. In the first place the dress of the Buddha-figure. This is the stereotyped monk's robe, which Çākya-muni is mostly shown as wearing. It is the classical Indian monk's garb, and as such hardly differs from the apparel of monks and other ecclesiastics from Tibet. The Buddha's dress consists of three separate garments, the *antara-vāsaka*, a skirt-like garment reaching from above the navel to well over the knees, the *uttarāsāṅga*, a cloth, in Tibetan paintings depicted as worn tightly round the chest and the back, just leaving the nipples uncovered, and the *saṅghaṭṭi*, the toga-like upper gown, that is draped over the entire body. In Tibetan paintings the seated Çākya-muni is practically always portrayed with the right shoulder covered by a slip of his gown, this being at variance to the practice in the other countries with Buddhist art.⁸ In portraits of the saints and ecclesiastics of Tibet this upper gown is almost similar to that of the Buddha and the Indian saints; the lower garments, on the other hand, are closer to the monks' dress as actually worn in Tibet, being a short jacket or sleeveless vest, which entirely covers the upper part

⁵ See p. 57.

⁶ *Lalitavistara*, 407-416.

⁷ Throughout I use the words "right" and "left" according to the usage in heraldry, i.e. opposed to the observer, and in conformity with the central figure of a painting.

⁸ Cf. F. D. K. BOSCH in: TBG, LVII, 1915, pp. 97-116.

of the trunk, leaving the arms free. This vest is often handsomely decorated, in paintings as well as in reality. Buddha's *saṅghaṭi*, however, did not remain the original, simple monk's robe; although it is always depicted as red, with a lining of yellow or green, it is covered with a profusion of gold ornaments, thus assuming a very sumptuous appearance.

Let us now consider the Buddha's audience as depicted on the painting. Besides five monks, we observe a number of laymen, probably princes, and two gods, unmistakably recognizable as Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The presence of these two Hindu gods may seem strange, yet it is by no means rare in the paintings. The four-headed Brahmā, regally attired, carries the mirror in both hands, the white-coloured Viṣṇu holds the conch, also in both hands.⁹ This might be an incorrect rendering of the tradition, embodied i.a. in the *Lalitavistara*, that the gods Brahmā and Çakra begged the Buddha to preach the doctrine,¹⁰ but Çakra is a name for Indra, not Viṣṇu.

Among the listening monks, the figure in the left foreground is conspicuous, as being portrayed in the way mKhas-grub-rje usually is, the pupil of Tsoṅ-kha-pa and founder of the monastery of bKra-šis-lhumpo (Tashilumpo); he is depicted in this attitude when, making a *maṇḍala*-sacrifice, he sees his teacher in a vision.¹¹

The rendering of the *parinirvāṇa* gives rise to fewer remarks. The Buddha is depicted in the usual manner, lying on a couch with his head supported in his right hand, and with his sorrowing disciples round him. The cremation, on the other hand, is extremely curious, as it is carried out in a stūpa-shaped incinerator. Here the artist appears to have been entirely confused, for this detail is quite incomprehensible, and is not to be found in any other work. It seems likely that we can solve this riddle, if we bear in mind that, according to tradition, the cremation took place near the *Mukuta-bandhana* caitya. This *stūpa* is frequently depicted in paintings, viz. as forming the background against which the funeral pyre sharply stands out.¹² It would appear that our artist used an insufficiently clear stencil or print, which caused the *stūpa* and the pyre to merge in this peculiar manner.

The distribution of the relics is in no way remarkable; the relics are contained in eight entirely similar urns, of the typically Tibetan *kumbha* shape,¹³ which are placed on a table under a ceremonial umbrella, ready to be distributed to the various princes, standing before the table.

⁹ Cf. J. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha*, etc. pl. V.

¹⁰ FOUCAUX, *Lalitavistara*, trad. p. 344.

¹¹ Cf. 2740/3, 31; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 439, fig. 97.

¹² Cf. J. HACKIN, *op. cit.*, p. 107, pl. XVIII, no. 328.

¹³ Cf. 2739/8, 9.

This is the sole painting that can beyond doubt be identified as depicting certain episodes of the Buddha's life. Perhaps the subject of another painting (2740/13) may be held to be the great miracle of Çravasti, but this is very doubtful. It shows hundreds of little Buddha-figures in all the different poses, with, in the centre, a Buddha in the *bhūmisparçamudrā*, all set against a green background. The central figure is beautifully drawn, but unfortunately the work as a whole is badly damaged. In style and detail it closely resembles one of the "golden" *thankas* in Tucci's collection.¹⁴ The *jātakas* and *avadānas* are also very poorly represented in our collection. Only the *Viçvāntara jātaka*, so popular in Tibet, is represented by one single painting (2740/92). This is the story of the prince whose liberality was such that he gave away his wife, his children, and finally even his eyes to satisfy others, but in the end was recompensed for these actions and received all gifts back again.¹⁵

Besides certain episodes of Çākya-muni's life, there are many pictures of the Buddha in regularly recurring groups, particularly with his two favourite disciples, Mahāmaudgalyāyana and Çāriputra, the eighteen *sthaviras* or elders, and the four guardians of the world, together forming a large group, which is always constituted in the same way. It may be depicted on a single painting,¹⁶ but may also be distributed over several, e.g. over three,¹⁷ five, or even over as many paintings as there are figures in the group.¹⁸ These paintings often vary considerably in quality; besides very delicate paintings (2740/147, Pl. XVIIA), there are also extremely stiff and stereotyped pieces. When the group is distributed over several paintings, the portrait of the Buddha may be repeated. He is then depicted on the centre-piece with the *bhūmisparçamudrā*, accompanied by his two favourite disciples, and on the paintings on either side he may be shown in a different pose.¹⁹ The group also frequently figures in the so-called travelling-altars, little wooden cases, sometimes handsomely painted, and containing a number of painted clay tablets. The Buddha often occurs with his favourite disciples on a single tablet (2798/21, Pl. XVa); sometimes a travelling altar may contain a more extensive group,²⁰ but the above-mentioned arrangement is the most popular. In principle the personages are grouped on the clay

¹⁴ TUCCI, *op. cit.*, pl. U.

¹⁵ Discussed at length in WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 541 sq.

¹⁶ Cf. 2740/8, 20, 77, 97, 147, 119, 1/1468, 1469, 1487.

¹⁷ Cf. B 25/6-8; 2740/78-80.

¹⁸ Compare the magnificent series in the loan-collection French, in the British Museum; cf. 2740/124-139.

¹⁹ B 25/6-8; 2740/78-80, 82, 103, 120.

²⁰ 2739/88; tablet with Buddha and favourite disciples: 1/1489.

tablets in the same way as in the paintings. The guardians of the world are placed in the lower corners, and immediately above them the two figures peculiar to this group: Hva-shaṅ, the well-known “pot-bellied Buddha”, who may be seen in any china-shop, amiably smiling at prospective buyers — but who is not at all such a benign personage, if GRÜNWEDEL²¹ is to be believed, — and on the other side the magician Dharmatrāta, a disciple of Āryadeva. Originally the group appears to have consisted of 16 figures, to whom the two latter figures were subsequently added; they are, in fact, immediately distinguishable from the original sixteen by their different clothing. The “ordinary” *sthaviras* all wear the usual Indian dress; they are, indeed, typically Indian Saints, recognizable by the attributes they bear.²² The collection comprises a few statuettes representing individual *sthaviras*; Rāhula occurs twice, with both hands holding a diadem before his breast.²³ Of greater interest is the clay statuette of Dharmatrāta, also in the collection; it shows signs of having been made by means of a mould-form.²⁴ There can be no doubt as to the identity, for the back bears the inscription: དབང་དག་བསྐྱེན་དཀྱིལ་ཏུ་, i.e. “The upāsaka Dharma (trā)ta”, and the word: གཡས་, i.e. “Right”, what serves to indicate its proper place.

The remarkable fact is that the inscription does not confine itself to giving only the name, but adds the title, so as to underline the fact that the depicted figure is not really a *sthavira*, but an *upāsaka*, an sanctified monk. It is extremely interesting that the statuette clearly shows the knap-sack — it is rather a portable booth or stall — which Dharmatrāta always carries on his back; nor is his tiger lacking, although it looks more like a little dog.

Some paintings of true artistic merit also portray a number of *sthaviras*, viz. Cuḍapanthaka, Piṅḍolabharadhvāja, and Rāhula (2740/7), while sometimes *sthaviras* act as “supplementary figures” in paintings.²⁵ A very fine specimen of this kind is the little Nāgasena-figure at the foot of the thousand-armed Avalokiteçvara, depicted on Pl. XVIII A.

A piece which is interesting in several respects is nr. 2798/7, which portrays the entire group, which in this case is not systematically aranged, but is divided up into separate minor groups, riding on the backs of several large animals, such as lions, dragons, etc.

²¹ GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Die Teufel des Avesta*, pp. 8 sq.

²² Listed in GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, etc. p. 37 sq., pl. 3.

²³ 2739/54, 52a.

²⁴ 2739/58.

²⁵ 2740/42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 105.

What is meant by this type of composition is not quite clear; perhaps the various animals symbolize the countries to which the *sthaviras* travelled in order to preach the doctrine,²⁶ as was their principal task.

In connection with this group we should make a remark on the guardians of the world: it is striking, how often they are coupled with the group of Buddha, favourite disciples, and *sthaviras*. Of course they are also met with every time the cosmic system is illustrated, but in paintings they only occur in these *maṇḍala*-figures, in the group we are dealing with at present, and in one special case, which introduces them as active participants in the depicted scene, namely the story of Subhūti.²⁷ This may remind us to be on our *qui-vive* as soon as we observe one of the *Lokapālas* in a painting, even if it be only one of the four, all alone on a single painting, for in that case there is every chance that the painting is one of a set, depicting the group with which we have just been dealing.²⁸ The same applies to a picture of a Buddha in the *bhūmiśparṣamudrā*, accompanied by the two favourite disciples. Here again the very combination serves to indicate that the painting belongs to a set of three, five, or more.

The Buddha is also frequently represented as figuring in another traditionally determined group, viz. together with the eight *mahābodhisattvas*. In this case he is usually seated in *dhyāni-mudrā*, while all the eight *bodhisattvas* — also Vajrapāṇi, who, in Tibet, is usually depicted in his demonic form — are dressed in completely similar princely garb, only being recognizable by their attributes.²⁹ I have dealt at length with this group elsewhere, so that I need not return to the subject here. We shall come to speak of the great *bodhisattvas* as individual figures later on. The group as such is entirely arranged as a system, and has little to do with the historical Buddha. The reason we refer to it is, that the group can be connected with the *bodhi*, the acquisition of supreme enlightenment by Çākyaṃuni.³⁰ The other portraits of a Buddha in various poses, without clear indications that the historical Buddha Çākyaṃuni is meant, will be

²⁶ Cf. Marco PALLIS, *Peaks and Lamas*, Plates opposite pp. 121 and 420, where we find two *thankas* with a representation of this group which not merely bears a resemblance, but is actually similar down to the smallest details. Probably there was a third companion piece showing the Buddha himself with the favourite disciples.

²⁷ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Mythologie*, etc., p. 189, fig. 160; 2740/35.

²⁸ One restriction has to be made as to Vaiçravaṇa or Kubera, namely that he not only occurs as a *Lokapāla*, but also as one of the group of the Drag-gsed, the eight Fearsome Ones. So, whenever one finds him isolated from his group, several possibilities arise. Cf. 2740/110-114.

²⁹ 2740/11, 149; B 76/19.

³⁰ Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 60 sq., pl. III.

discussed presently, when we deal with the system of *dhyāni-buddhas*.

First, however, we shall have to speak of the other more or less historical figures in the pantheon, in the first place the Indian saints. GRÜNWEDEL not only commences his survey of the Lamaist pantheon with this group, but he also deals with them at particularly great length, supplying a great amount of data, and manifesting his tremendous factual knowledge of this subject. Yet one point is not made any too clear, viz. the way these figures are actually rendered in works of art. GRÜNWEDEL was, in first instance, dealing with a collection formed by Uchtomsky, but the careful reader notices that in this first chapter not a single piece from the collection is used as illustration. Nor is this a mere coincidence, for, as far as I know, the Indian saints never play a leading part in Tibetan art; their rôle is always subsidiary. Even the great figures as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and Asaṅga, who together form a triad, like Vasubandhu, Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti, only occur on paintings of a special type, and even then they occupy a minor place, somewhere near the top.³¹ They are the precursors, from whom the origins of the doctrines may be traced, and who founded the various philosophical schools. In this function they occur in paintings as well as on the title-pages of philosophical texts. GRÜNWEDEL's illustrations are based on these pictures, which do not intend to portray historical personages, actual men of flesh and blood. There is only one apparent exception, for there are paintings which depict these great masters of philosophy as the principal figures, and by way of portraits. Our collection, too, includes a few of these works (2740/4 and 5, 2740/32), which, for example, depict Abhayākaragupta, famous as a ninth-century antagonist of Islam, which was then penetrating into India; but in this case it is not the Indian scholar who is depicted, but the fourth in the list of the Tashi-Lamas. Here lies a source of many misunderstandings.

The facts are, that the Tashi-Lamas possess a hierarchical list, beginning with Subhūti, a contemporary of the Buddha; the second name on the list, Mañjuçrikīrti, belongs to the king of the mystical land Çambhala. He is succeeded by the otherwise unknown figure Legs-Idan-'byed, and the fourth place is occupied by Abhayākaragupta. We are only on historical ground when we reach the eighth name, mKhas-grub-rje, pupil of Tsoṅ-kha-pa and founder of the monastery from which the Tashi-Lamas derive their name — itself a purely occidental appellation.

So actually it is only Tibetan saints and princes of the church whom we encounter as principal figures in paintings. Before we deal with these

³¹ An example is 2798/1: Nāgārjuna (Plate XX1a); 2740/23: Atiça (Plate XVIIIb).

Tibetans, we must first devote some attention to a certain class of Indian saints. This is the group of the 84 Mahāsiddhas. They are all *yogins*, whose miraculous biographies are anything but edifying, and who have, therefore, not always been whole-heartedly included in the pantheon.³² They are depicted as Indian yogins, so often very scantily dressed, usually in not more than the *dhoṭi* or loin-cloth. On first sight they appear to be a very peculiar group, the meaning of which is hard to ascertain. Still, they have certain characteristics which may help us to find an explanation. In the first place we should take their number into account; this number is certainly not arbitrary, as becomes even more obvious when we observe that there was a definite aim to reach this amount, and some of the figures are mere duplicates of others. The number 84 was considered a rather special number, it denoted a totality; 84.000 serves to indicate “innumerable”, in the meaning of “individually indistinguishable”. There are also said to be 84.000 hells; this undoubtedly means, that each mortal has his own hell.³³ The same idea certainly also underlies the concept of the 84 *mahāsiddhas*, and we are strengthened in this opinion by other particulars in the life-stories of these yogins.

It strikes us that with every one of them express mention is made of the way he earned his living, and when dealing with one of them, the 62nd on the list, the text explicitly refers to the “84 trades”.

Briefly, the meaning expressed by the group of the 84 *mahāsiddhas* would be that every individual, whatever his trade, is capable of attaining supreme salvation by following the “short path”.

Pictures of the group are numerous, but in general they do not offer what we would like to see, viz. illustrations of the various trades. In general it is a number of ascetics that is depicted, each differently seated in a landscape, and accompanied by a few disciples or servants.³⁴ There is, however, one highly important exception among the collection’s pieces, viz. an illustrated block-print, with this group as its subject.³⁵ The reverse of each folio-page bears a picture of three of the *mahāsiddhas*, with their names, and on the

³² GRÜWEDEL, A., *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas)*, Baessler Archiv V, 4/5, 1916, pp. 137-228.

HACKIN, J., *Documents tibétains de la mission J. Bacot*, Bull. archéologique du Musée Guimet, II, 1921, pp. 29-38, 1 pl.

TUCCI, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pl. 73.

³³ Cf. Mc GOVERN, W. M., *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, I, Cosmology, 1923, p. 61.

³⁴ Cf. 2740/152; Verbert collection nr. 142, and the illustrations to the article mentioned in note 32.

³⁵ 2740/H 3: རོ་མཚར་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱལ་དྲེགས་སྡིད་གསལ་ལྷོན།

next folio-page there are three columns of text, being the sayings attributed to these *mahāsiddhas*. The print is of great interest, in the first place as it is very clear, and then because it excellently illustrates the various trades. We see the weaver, cobbler, washerman, blacksmith, lumberman, king, food-seller, road-mender, peasant, bird-catcher, pastry-cook, oil-merchant, potter, tailor, pearlfisher, etc., the whole motley array at their labours, giving us a most attractive picture of the way they all pursue their trades and professions. Although the *mahāsiddhas* are usually portrayed as a group, they now and then also occur as subsidiary figures in paintings of demonic and mystic deities,³⁶ while some of the most important are also separately portrayed, e.g. Ḍombhī and Kṛṣṇachārī;³⁷ the latter is said to have introduced the use of tāntric ritual objects carved from human bones.³⁸ Paintings of Heruka also frequently show *mahāsiddhas*, sometimes in great numbers.³⁹

The transition from these figures to the true Tibetan saint Padmasambhava, is not great. As was to be expected, he is well represented in the collection, in bronze as well as on paintings. It is remarkable that the bronzes were obviously made in great quantities, but lack all artistic merit. The single exception is a large bronze (1119/80; Pl. XIa), which, by its profuse decoration, is of an ornamental character. Another piece is also striking by its size and its divergent style, through which it acquires an individuality of its own (2739/63). The more stereotyped bronzes usually represent Padmasambhava with his two wives.⁴⁰ He also frequently figures on the clay-tablets, either alone (2739/51), or surrounded by his eight various forms, this being a very popular motif on paintings (2740/81, 106, 107).⁴¹ Besides paintings of Padmasambhava as central figure, with or without a number of subsidiary figures (2740/41, 90), there are others which depict his life, or certain episodes in it (2740/19, 91); others again portray him in a special form, e.g. as a fearsome ascetic (2740/123), or else in a group, for example among the *dākinīs* (2740/91). One very fine painting has already been mentioned; it was discussed as an exemplè of an illustration to a certain text, viz. the gSol-'debs-li'u-bdun-ma.⁴² Other pieces with artistic qualities are the one I have reproduced elsewhere, which shows him with a small *parivāra* of gods, and also in his demonic aspect,⁴³ and

³⁶ Cf. 2740/29, 51, 122.

³⁷ 1786/12.

³⁸ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.* pp. 163 and 208.

³⁹ Cf. 2740/2; on nr. 2798/3 Kukkuripāda is perhaps depicted above Heruka.

⁴⁰ Cf. 1119/78; 2739/62. On a painting: 2740/116.

⁴¹ Cf. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 24.

⁴² Cf. p. 42, no. 2798/5.

⁴³ *Phoenix* I, no. 9, 1946, p. 3; 2740/18.

the piece which depicts his biography, with brief explanatory notes (2740/19; Pl. XVIIA).

Finally it should be noted that Padmasambhava occurs in many paintings as a subsidiary figure, and at times together with Tsoñ-kha-pa,⁴⁴ an anything but obvious combination, which may serve as an indication of the painting's provenance.

Portraits of Tsoñ-kha-pa are less numerous, although he occurs on many paintings as one of the main subsidiary figures. We already mentioned the "bookcover", on which he is to be seen in the midst of the dhyāni-buddhas, while the magnificent wooden sculpture of the saint has already been mentioned.⁴⁵ In paintings he figures either alone (2740/99, 100, 101), or accompanied by the two principal saints (2740/40, 102). A remarkable fact is that the collection is entirely without representations of his life, although this was an extremely popular subject.⁴⁶

Fourteen paintings are known to exist which are considered to be real portraits of Tsoñ-kha-pa, and are said to have been characterized by him as good likenesses. The paintings in our collection are all stereotyped; a peculiar trait is that the facial expression is often that of a youth (2740/99-101) rather than of an experienced man. This same peculiarity is noticeable on the bronze in the collection, and on the above-mentioned wooden statuette.

One of the better paintings of this kind (2740/3) shows Tsoñ-kha-pa with the two favourite disciples, and in addition Avalokiteçvara and Vajrapāṇi, and two princes of the church, who, remarkably enough, are connected with Tsoñ-kha-pa by means of golden "lines of inspiration". Above him one sees a heavenly scene, with the enthroned bodhisattva Maitreya. The foot of the painting also has some remarkable features. In the middle a sacrificial table, bearing a large quantity of precious objects, is set before the central figure, the lower right-hand corner is occupied by the "great double ruler", i.e. the demonic Yama and his sister Yamī, while the opposite corner again shows the favourite pupil mKhas-grub-rje; he is depicted here in the manner that is customary in the set of paintings of the Tashi-Lamas, where this pupil sees Tsoñ-kha-pa appearing in a vision, and brings him a sacrifice.⁴⁷ The remarkable thing about this painting is that, by its com-

⁴⁴ 2740/11, 98.

⁴⁵ 2845/2, see p. 40, pl. IIIa; 1840/1, see p. 41, pl. XIb; 2798/33.

⁴⁶ Cf. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 417 sq., pl. 88-94, M. A noteworthy specimen in a Dutch collection is the very fine painting illustrated in W. J. G. VAN MEURS, *Tibetan Temple Paintings*, 2nd ed., 1951, frontispiece. The Verbert collection also includes a number of such pictures (e.g. nr. 93). In Rotterdam (Oldman collection) there is a series resembling those reproduced in TUCCI, *op. cit.*, Pls. 95-98.

⁴⁷ The same event is illustrated by nrs. 2740/32 and 40.

position as just described, the figures came to be symmetrically grouped; therefore it is certainly not a picture of Tsoñ-kha-pa with a certain *parivāra*, but only the illustration of one definite episode, probably taken from the life of the so humbly placed mKhas-grub-rje. A point to be borne in mind is that Yama, in this painting, is possibly not depicted as one of the Drag-gsed, the Eight Terrible Ones, but in his function of particular guardian of the monastery Gah-ldan, to which post Tsoñ-kha-pa is said to have appointed him.⁴⁸

It may be pure chance that there are portraits of no other Tibetan saints in the collection; for example, we have no pictures of Marpa and Milaraspa the great poet-mystic, whose biography occurs, in several versions, in the collection of block-prints. Thus we may now turn to paintings of high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Is it again mere coincidence, or is there a deeper reason for the almost total absence of pictures of Dalai-Lamas from our collection?⁴⁹ Such paintings are not quite unknown,⁵⁰ but it does appear to be a fact that the series of Tashi-Lamas enjoyed much greater popularity. A possible cause may be that pictures of the Tashi-Lama set could be widely distributed, as the monastery of sNar-thañ possesses woodcuts, with which prints for such paintings could be made. That this actually did take place on a large scale is proved by the great quantity of such paintings in occidental collections.⁵¹ If pictures of Dalai-Lamas may be considered portraits, albeit in very rare cases,⁵² this is certainly not the case with the set of Tashi-Lamas. In contrast to the Dalai-Lamas, the list of Tashi-Lamas is not strictly

⁴⁸ GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 62, pl. 48.

⁴⁹ Perhaps 2740/94 depicts the 5th Dalai Lama and his history, but the painting is so badly defaced that this must remain a conjecture.

⁵⁰ There are pictures of the first and second (?) Dalai Lama in the Verbert collection, cf.: GALESTIN, Th. P. in: *Cultureel Indië*, I, pp. 198 and 199; of the third Dalai Lama in TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Pl. 69; of the fifth in HACKIN, in: *Mythologie asiatique illustrée*, p. 153, fig. 41. Also see the portrait bronzes reproduced in GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 68, fig. 54.

⁵¹ Specimens of this series, extensively discussed in TUCCI, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 412 (with a complete set of prints from the blocks of sNar -thañ), are also illustrated in *Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris 1928), on pp. 147 sq. (fig. 32-38), and coloured plate opp. p. 120; GROUSSET, R., *Les civilisations de l'Orient IV* (Paris 1930), pp. 264, 266, 267, 272, 274 and 275; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 189 (Pl. 160), 57 (Pl. 45)—this author also gives a full list of the Principals of the monastery of bKra-šis-lhun-po, depicted in the series discussed here, on p. 207, note 55; *Etudes Linnossier*, I, pp. 76-77 deals with a few specimens. Of the pieces in Dutch and Belgian collections I know of nrs. 2740/31-37 in the Leiden collection, many paintings in the Verbert collection (i.a. nrs. 54, 57, 60, 61), and two pieces in the Kleykamp collection, The Hague.

⁵² GRÜNWEDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 80; TUCCI, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.

historical. It begins with a group of four "Indian incarnations", the first of whom, Subhūti, is held to have been a contemporary of the Buddha; the fourth was the well-known Abhayākaragupta, the ninth century opponent of Islam. The famous Saskya- paṇḍita is included in the series as number six, and only when we come to the eighth on the list, do we arrive at the monastery from which the Tashi-Lamas derive their title. It is clear that pictures of the first personages on the list could impossibly be portraits, but the same holds good for the subsequent figures, up to the twelfth and later incumbents. We are justified in stating this, as, on several grounds, we are able to date the group. TUCCI has pointed out that the pieces show an undeniably Chinese influence. Now these Chinese traits in the art of Tibet always come to the fore when Chinese influence also made itself felt in other spheres, and it naturally manifested itself most strongly in important centres like Lhasa and Tashi-lhumpo, where the representatives of the Chinese emperor had their residences. Now the Chinese influence received a powerful impetus during the reign of K'ang-hsi, and it is striking how clearly the paintings with which we are dealing here show typical peculiarities of the Chinese paintings of that period. This is already an indication that the series can not antedate the 18th century. In addition there are two more means by which we can attempt a more precise dating.

We have already remarked that, with a set of this kind, one should not only study the individual pieces, but also the set as a whole. The need to do so becomes even more evident when we observe that at times the entire set is depicted on one single painting.⁵³ If we now examine all the individual pieces, we soon notice that all the figures bearing an even number in the list are turned to the left on the paintings, and all the odd numbers to the right, to the twelfth Tashi-Lama inclusive. He is depicted in two different ways: either turned to the right, or facing straight ahead. This undoubtedly allows us to infer that the whole set was originally grouped round this figure as a centre, and that the group probably assumed its present composition shortly after his death. The later Tashi-Lamas are, in attitude and entou-

⁵³ Good examples are given in A. VON STAEL HOLSTEIN, *On two Tibetan Pictures*, in *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, 1932, pp. 127-150; on one of the paintings the Dalai Lamas, on the other the Tashi Lamas, are assembled. A comparable painting is the one in a Dutch private collection, published by J. L. J. F. EZERMAN, *Tibetaansche Rolprenten*, in: *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 1934, II, p. 88, Pl. XXI. The identification given there is erroneous, for it actually depicts the successive incarnations of Lalitavajra, the Buddhist hierarch in Peking, who, by command of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, had the Mongolian translation of the Kanjur published. All three pieces show the typical characteristics of the modern Sino-lamaistic style of painting.

rage, almost completely similar to the twelfth, who was seated in the centre. They have later been added to the set.

TUCCI, reasoning along quite different lines, reaches the same conclusion as to the age of the pieces. He takes as his starting-point the inscriptions on the paintings of the set, which, however, are lacking on our specimens. These inscriptions each list the figures which are depicted on the several pieces. To the name of the twelfth one single word is added: *maṅgalam*, the word with which every invocation-*mantra* should be concluded. Here again the inference is clear.

Finally, I have remarked above that the distribution of the subsidiary figures over the group may permit us to draw certain conclusions as to its composition, and this is a case in point. A full exposé of this method would unduly lengthen this account, so that I may confine myself to simply stating the fact. Nevertheless, we can add that inscriptions on the back of the paintings expressly indicate the way they should be hung, as it gives their sequence to the right and the left. The precise interpretation of these precepts is not quite certain, however.

Their arrangement and their markedly individual characteristics make it easy to identify the first eleven figures of the series; from the twelfth Tashi-Lama onwards, difficulties begin to crop up, particularly when we have to deal with the pictures — possibly real portraits — of the twelfth and the thirteenth. When inscriptions are lacking, and the presence of other figures also fails to make things clearer, an identification becomes very hazardous. The collection includes a beautiful painting (2740/1; Pl. XVII B), which probably depicts the twelfth Tashi-Lama, Pan-c'en bLo-bzañ ye-šes-dpal-bzañ-po, or, to give the Sanskrit equivalent, Sumati-jñāna-çrībhadrā (1663-1737). It is an exceptionally fine painting, and has all the characteristics of a real portrait ⁵⁴).

The same can be said of two other highly remarkable pieces (2740/4 and 5; Pl. XIX A, B), which raise some problems of identification. It might seem that identification is made very simple by the occurrence of inscriptions on the back: དབྱིག་གཉེན་, i.e. Vasubandhu, and འགྲུ་འོད་, i.e. Çākya-prabha, two great Indian philosophers of the Mahāyāna. At first I did actually hold these to be the subjects of the paintings, but on second thoughts I think this opinion needs revision. In the first place it would be the first time, as far as I know, that an Indian philosopher forms the main subject of

⁵⁴ Cf. the block-print 2740/H4, fol. 1b, central figure; and TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pl. 86.

a *thangka*, and this is sufficient to raise some doubts. Furthermore, the inscription on the back is written in ordinary, clear Uchen-script, which does not permit us to draw any conclusions as to the age of the writing; it makes the impression, however, of having been added comparatively recently, at a later date, say, than that of the painting itself. Probably it is even much later, and gives a wrong identification. If we compare the paintings with the blockprints 2740/H-4-6 in the collection, and above all with the figures on the *thangka* made known by Von Stael Holstein, it becomes very likely that the depicted personages are Legs-Idan-'byed, the third, and Saskya-panḍita, the sixth of the Tashi-Lamas.

This also explains how the misunderstanding could arise. As we remarked, the Indian saints, as subsidiary figures, are always portrayed in the dress of Indian monks, the Tibetan saints in the customary Tibetan monk's garb. Now the first four names on the list of the Tashi-Lamas are the so-called four Indian existences, so that it is quite correct that Legs-Idan-'byed should be depicted in Indian dress. The other peculiarities of the paintings, such as the round cushion, the pile of manuscripts, and the ornamentation of the monk's robe, are all details by which one may be led astray in the identification, but I would still decide, although reluctantly, to abandon the written data on the paintings themselves in favour of the identifications given here. Therefore these fine paintings, which give the impression of being portraits, are to be considered pictures of two precursors of the historical Tashi-Lamas, and all possibility of their being portraits must be excluded. This would also be applicable to personages like Vasubandhu and Çākya-prabha.

The collection also includes two bronzes which appear to represent one of the Tashi-Lamas, in all probability Sumatiçrī-jñāna, the thirteenth on the list, and well-known as author of the mystic text *Çambhalai lam-yig*, the "Road to Çambhala".⁵⁵

Besides the series of pictures of saints and divines we have discussed, there are also a few others in the collection, i.e. a painting that depicts a group of Saskya-pa hierarchs, as appears from the peculiar head-dress the figures wear, but the inscriptions have become totally illegible, and the painting is so seriously damaged that it has become quite meaningless (2740/20). There are also a pair of statuettes of church dignitaries, but because of the absence of any inscription on one of the pieces (2739/59), and the incomplete designation on the other (2739/55), I cannot give any

⁵⁵ Edited by GRÜNWEDEL, in *Abhandlungen der kön. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Klasse*, Band 29. The text itself is also in the collection, as a block-print (2740/H2); cf. 1786/7 (pl. XII d); 2674/6.

further particulars. ⁵⁶ I can only say the same of a few paintings depicting special demonic manifestations of the *siddhas*, which are so markedly divergent from all others I know of, that they cannot be identified with any certainty. One of them may represent Saskya-paṇḍita (2740/104); the other has all the markings of a modern piece, that no longer conforms to the traditional rules; for this reason alone no attempt at identification can be made (2740/117).

In our discussion of the group of saints and ecclesiastics we should not fail to mention the often beautifully rendered members of this group, who occur as "supplementary figures" on paintings of *maṇḍalas* (2798/4, 2740/2). As said above, a *maṇḍala* frequently only occupies the centre of the cloth, the remaining space being occupied by saints in the upper half, and demons in the lower. The sometimes very striking arrangement of the first mentioned group often makes a marked contrast with the severe lines of the *maṇḍala* with its rigid composition. Here Dalai-Lamas and Tashi-Lamas, Saskya-pa hierarchs and rulers of Tibet of the period of Buddhism's foundation, are all gathered together in a variegated throng. At times the names are appended to all these figures, and then such a painting offers most valuable material for comparison. ⁵⁷ In this case, too, there can be no question of portraits, but only of stereotyped representations. As the most prominent of the saints occurring on one of these paintings in our collection is rJe-bstan-pai-nyi-ma, the fourteenth in the series of Tashi-Lamas, who was head of his monastery from 1781-1854, the painting cannot be more than about 100 years old. Therefore, we have here one of the few pieces that can be dated within certain limits; paintings of such a kind offer interesting material for study on this score (2740/2).

The painting to which we referred is also of importance because it depicts several of the ancient kings of Tibet, such as Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, 'Od-sruṅ, and others. The first also occurs on other paintings, sometimes figuring in the life of Padmasambhava (2740/19), but the other kings are less easily traced, with the possible exception of the great king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. He is depicted in warrior's dress, as his rôle in the pantheon is that of *dharmapāla*, protector of the doctrine. This makes it hard to distinguish

⁵⁶ This figure bears the following inscription on the back: ལོ་བོ་ རྩ་མཁའ་ལ་རྩ་མོ་

i.e. "West", and "He who is dressed in a horse's hide", a strange name, for which I cannot find an explanation.

⁵⁷ Cf. 2740/22; this piece is illustrated in the *Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling Chineesche en Tibetaansche Kunst* (Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese and Tibetan Art), Rotterdam 1938-1939, Pl. XVIII.

him from other *dharmapālas*,⁵⁸ while the other kings are always easily recognizable by their royal garments and the remarkable head-dress, which is worn to this day by the nobility and petty rulers of Tibet.⁵⁹

The great king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po also occurs, dressed in another fashion, in a quite different context, namely as one of the characters in the biography of the legendary king Gesar, who at the close of his renowned life ascends to heaven and there meets the three *dharmapālas*, one of whom is Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.⁶⁰ This very interesting legend of Gesar — on which A. H. FRANCKE especially has written numerous studies⁶¹ — is the subject of one of the paintings (2740/93), where the illustrations of this tale are grouped round Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po as central figure. The latter is there shown wearing a wide gown and a remarkable head-cloth, from which a small Amitābha-head protrudes; this serves to distinguish him, and obviously alludes to the eleven-headed Avalokiteçvara, in whose statue at Lhasa Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's spirit is said to have taken up abode after his death.⁶² This may conclude our survey of the historical figures in the pantheon, and we shall now turn to the gods.

The theory has been advanced that the pantheon was continually being extended, but a closer examination shows that a rigid system underlies this growth, which had the effect of rendering any arbitrary increase impossible in advance. We see, in fact, how there are always certain definite groups that figure in the pantheon: five dhyāni-buddhas, eight great bodhisattvas, 21 Tārās, 8 Terrible Ones, etc. Such groups must always be considered as a whole.

Another peculiarity of the pantheon also manifests itself, viz. that there are always demonic figures that occur beside the peaceful ones. For example, the so-called Yidam includes the group of the dhyāni-buddhas, but also the

⁵⁸ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, A., *Mythologie des Buddhismus*. p. 45 and cover. The identification of a painting by W. J. G. VAN MEURS in his *Tibetan Temple Paintings*, fig. 14, is incorrect, as I demonstrated in my introduction to the 2nd. edition. This picture, with the same erroneous identification, has also been used by P. ROUSSEAU in his *L'art du Tibet*, in: *Revue des Arts asiatiques*, IV, 1927, p. 30, Pl. VII, 2. Cf. my *Yoga and Yantra*, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Cf. E. SCHÄFER, *Fest der weisen Schleier*, Braunschweig 1950, Plate opp. p. 176.

⁶⁰ The collection of the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde (Geographical and Ethnological Museum) in Rotterdam possesses a remarkable embroidered thanka, depicting Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po together with his predecessor Lha-t'o-t'o-ri, of whom I cannot recall ever having seen another picture.

⁶¹ FRANCKE, A. H., *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga*, etc. Calcutta 1905-1941, 8vo, XXXII & 493 pp. Cf. Alexandra DAVID NEEL and Lama YONGDEN, *La vie surhumaine de Gésar de Ling*, Paris.

⁶² Cf. HACKIN, in: *Mythologie asiatique illustrée*, pp. 159 sq., pl. 44; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 44.

several "mystic" Buddhas, the Herukas or blood-suckers, demonic beings not easy to picture in Buddhist surroundings. Contrasted with the eight great bodhisattvas are the fearsome forms of the *dharmapālas*, who are continually called special manifestations of these bodhisattvas. The same phenomenon strikes us in the group of the Tārās, where the serene and merciful figures of the White and the Green Tārā have their demonic counterparts, such as Bhṛkuṭi, Kurukullā, and the dākinīs.

All are subjected to a closely-knit system of mutual relationships, which is of such an intricacy, that our admiration is roused for the men who evolved it. In the following survey we shall make no attempt closely to follow that system; all we shall do is draw attention to the figures which are represented in our collection. Let us in the first place consider the group of the *dhyāni-buddhas*. It alone could supply enough material for a separate study, and its constitution is so involved, that we are not yet able to present a complete analysis of it, the less so as the form and extent of the group can greatly vary.⁶³

The simplest, and probably the original, form assumed by the group is the one consisting of five *jinās* or meditative buddhas, who are localized one at each point of the compass, with a fifth in the centre. As far as we know the figures themselves in no way differ from representations of the historic Buddha at various periods of his life. Each figure holds his hands in a certain attitude, which can also be connected with these periods in the Buddha's existence. This group was subsequently subjected to a far-reaching classification, which caused each figure to have assigned to him not only a certain direction, but also a certain colour, throne, attribute, and even certain qualities and relation-ships to the other figures of the pantheon. For iconographical purposes the most important are: the pose of the hands, the throne, the colour, and the attribute, as these enable us to identify the several figures. The following diagram summarizes the data:

direction	name	mudrā	colour	throne	attribute
centre	Vairocana	dharmacakra	white	lion	cakra
N	Akṣobhya	bhūmisparça	blue	elephant	vajra
W	Ratnasambhava	varada	yellow	horse	ratna
S	Amitābha	dhyāni	red	peacock	padma
O	Amoghasiddha	abhaya	green	kinnara	viçvavajra

⁶³ Cf. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 336, 349 sq. Their Tibetan names: ROERICH, *Tibetan Paintings*, p. 35 sq; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, pp. 98 sq.

We should add one or two remarks; in the first place as to the poses of the hands. The *dharmacakra-mudrā* is the pose of turning the wheel of the doctrine, Buddha's attitude at his first preaching. Both hands, cupped, are held before the breast, with the back of the left hand held downward, the back of the right hand upward. The middle fingers, and sometimes also the thumbs, touch one another. However, this pose occurs in many variations, this perhaps being caused by the fact that it is hard to see any connection between its name and what it is supposed to represent; the other attitudes are much clearer in this respect.

Among those we first mention the *bhūmisparṣa-mudrā*, the earth-touching pose. The Buddha is held to have assumed this pose when he called upon the earth to bear testimony to the lack of selfishness in his striving for perfection. In this pose the right hand hangs down over the right knee, with the palm turned inwards. Although, according to the name, the top of the middle finger ought to touch the ground, this is often not the case. I know of only one bronze which expressly represents this finger as not only touching the ground, but, judging by its bent position, even pressing it firmly. ⁶⁴

In the *varada-mudrā*, the gift-bestowing pose, the open right hand hangs down with its back against the right knee, an attitude which speaks for itself, as does the *dhyāni-mudrā*, the meditation pose, which has both hands, with the palms uppermost, lying together in the lap. Sometimes both hands are just held in a natural position on top of each other, particularly when the upper hand is also made to hold a bowl, but at times variations occur, with, for example, the tips of the thumbs and the index fingers touching each other, and the first two joints of both index fingers pressed together.

Finally, the *abhaya-mudrā*, the pose of fearlessness, is formed by raising the right hand in a defensive gesture before the chest with fingers joined, the palm of the hand turned outwards, and the fingers pointing upwards.

On the special form of the throne little need be said; the various animals after which they are named are depicted in the pedestal of the throne, on either side of the drapery that hangs down in the middle.

The dhyāni-buddhas are quite frequently rendered in other than their prescribed colours, as they often show the golden tint that properly belongs to the historic Buddha. The attributes we mentioned are usually omitted, only occurring when these meditative Buddhas are portrayed in regal garb

⁶⁴ A bronze recently acquired by Miss Barclay at Kalimpong, now in her collection in Paris.

or in conjunction with their *çaktis*, probably in accordance with the precepts of a certain sect. As these forms are only met with on a five-panelled sacerdotal crown in our collection (2739/22), I shall not go into details.⁶⁵

The dhyāni-buddhas as a group sometimes also occur in paintings as supplementary figures, and in addition on book-covers (2845/2, 2851/2) and as a chased design on ornamental boxes, etc. When they do not figure as a group it is often difficult to make out whether we are dealing with a dhyāni-buddha or with a representation of the historic Buddha.

Among the individually portrayed dhyāni-buddhas, Akṣobhya and Amitābha prove to be very popular,⁶⁶ while they also frequently form part of the entourage of a central figure.

When *Amitābha* occupies the most important place we may also expect to find this dhyāni-buddha's paradise, Sukhāvātī, depicted, although this subject is rarer in Tibetan than in later Sino-buddhist art. Two such pieces do figure in the collection; it is interesting to compare them with a piece in the Tucci collection, as it then becomes apparent that, when a painting was planned, a number of fixed patterns were used, which did not always have their own definite place within the painting as a whole.⁶⁷

Special mention should be made of a particular form of Amitābha, viz. *Amitāyus*, the dhyāni-buddha of long life, who is often invoked, and portrayed in many different ways. He is of frequent occurrence in travelling-altars, on amulets, etc. One can distinguish him from Amitābha as he is depicted as a crowned bodhisattva, and bears in his hands a little jar of amṛta, the water of life.⁶⁸ This jar is of a very remarkable shape, for it is *not* a jug of holy water, but a pot-shaped vessel, lacking a handle and a spout, with a broad rim, over which garlands of flowers hang down on four sides. It is a real *kumbha*, the pot so well-known in Indian ornamentation, where it functions as a kind of cornucopia.⁶⁹ Amitāyus enjoyed great popularity in Peking in the Ch'ien Lung period, witness the great quantity of bronzes, obviously made by Nepalese craftsmen using mould-forms, which bear a Chinese inscription dating them in that age. In general they

⁶⁵ The connection between these dhyāni-buddhas and their attributes is clearly shown by the remarkable stūpa in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, nr. Br. 14. Round the body of the stūpa the dhyāni-buddhas are depicted, and above them, on the harmika (the pedestal of the pole with parasols), their attributes. I hope to have an occasion to deal with the connection between this object and some Hindu-Javanese prayer-bells later on.

⁶⁶ Akṣobhya: 1119/75; 2739/64, 65; 2740/26; Amitābha: 1/1475, 2740/151; B 76/19.

⁶⁷ Cf. 2740/151; B 76/19 with Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pl. 186.

⁶⁸ 1/1483, 2739/52a, 2740/28, 30; 2798/32, 37, 38.

⁶⁹ Nr. 2739/11, a bronze jar for ritual use, offers a fine example of this kumbha.

are devoid of artistic merit. They represent the dhyāni-buddha seated on a high, open-worked throne, with a separately cast halo which can be fitted into the back of the pedestal. The figures are always extremely stiff. The amṛta-vessel is often missing; it, too, is cast separately — probably in order to facilitate the extraction of the bronze from the mould — and can be joined to the main figure by means of a small peg.⁷⁰ Finally, the collection includes a series of four paintings, in which the artist has portrayed Amī-tāyus in endless repetitions, probably as a means of attaining long life by a meritorious work.⁷¹

To return to the group of true dhyāni-buddhas: to this group two other figures are frequently added, viz. *Vajradhara* and *Vajrasattva*, who occupy the highest and second highest places in the system that then arises. They are always shown in a bodhisattva's garb, wearing a crown. They both have the same attributes, the vajra in the right, the ghaṇṭā (priest's bell) in the left hand. *Vajradhara*'s arms are crossed in front of his breast, *Vajrasattva* holds his right hand before his breast, his left hand being placed on his left hip. The collection comprises a few excellent bronzes depicting *Vajradhara* (2739/2) and *Vajrasattva* (2798/31, 87) (Plate XII, a and b). I cannot enter into details on the significance of these members of the pantheon. *Vajradhara* is the *Ādi-buddha*, the primeval Buddha from whom all creation proceeds. Closer study proves *Vajrasattva* to be intimately connected with the bodhisattva *Vajrapāṇi*.⁷² On the paintings in the collection *Vajrasattva* very frequently occurs as a subsidiary figure;⁷³ this fact may well serve as an indication of the sect to which these paintings are to be ascribed. The same applies to the paintings in which *Samantabhadra* is represented as *Ādi-buddha*, viz. as a blue, naked Buddha in conjunction with his *çakti*.⁷⁴ Both motifs are clearly due to the same sect, as they repeatedly occur on one and the same painting.

Subsequent to the dhyāni-buddhas we must mention two other special buddhas, who play a more important part in Tibet than elsewhere: the so-called "medicine-buddha" *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, and the "serpent-king Buddha" *kLu-dban-rgyal-po*.

⁷⁰ Cf. 904/8, 9, 10; 2504/8; 2855/1.

⁷¹ Cf. B 25/1-4.

⁷² This has been dealt with at length in my *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 138 sq. I tried there to reach certain conclusions by drawing the *çaktis* of the various dhyāni-buddhas into the field of study. Their grouping then shows that several re-arrangements must have taken place within the group.

⁷³ Cf. 2740/10, 11, 12, 15, 20, 24, 89, 90, 121, 150.

⁷⁴ Cf. 2740/15, 20, 88, 89, 105, 119; 2798/3.

Bhaiṣajyaguru holds a beggar's bowl in his left hand, which lies in his lap; his right hand, in the *varadamudrā*, hangs down over his right knee, holding a spray of flowers between the thumb and the index (1/1485). He should be accompanied by a suite of eight buddhas in different poses, but no such representation is to be found in the collection. As the beggar's bowl is considered to be his main attribute, the historic Buddha, pictured seated in *dhyāni-mudrā* with the bowl in his hands, which lie together in his lap, is often mistaken for *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, although the latter, as we have seen, holds his right hand in the *varadamudrā*.

One has derived the "serpent-king buddha" *kLu-dbañ-rgyal-po* from representations of the historic Buddha being protected by the serpent king *Mucilinda*.⁷⁵ Actually his function is totally different: he is venerated as a protector against snake-bites, while on the other hand *Mucilinda*, by his protective attitude, is just rendering homage to the Buddha as liberator of the *nāgas* or serpents. Pictures of the "serpent-king buddha" are rather scarce; there is only one painting of him in the collection (1/1476). On superficial acquaintance it is easy to confuse him with *Nāgārjuna*, the Indian saint who is also depicted with a kind of hood or awning, formed by snakes, over his head. The "serpent-king buddha" may, however, be recognized by the remarkable attitude of his hands: they are folded together before his breast, the tips of the raised fingers touching each other.

For completeness' sake we should also mention a group of buddhas which is only depicted in its entirety on paintings, the individual figures being meaningless when removed from their context: the buddhas of the six *lokas*, the six "worlds". They are not infrequently to be seen on pictures of the *bardo*, the intermediate world between death and rebirth (2740/12, 96). They are recognizable by the attributes they bear: the white buddha of the *Devaloka* carries a guitar, the green buddha of the *Asuraloka* a sword, the yellow Buddha of the human world an alarm-staff and a beggar's bowl, the blue buddha of the animal world a book, the red buddha of the *Pretaloka* a box (?), and finally the grey buddha of the *narakas* or hells a flame and a bowl, the symbols of fire and water. They represent the worlds into which the soul of the deceased may be reborn; as to the colours, we observe that they are graded in the same sequence as the colours of the component parts of the symbol of the Ten Mighty Ones.⁷⁶

Among the *Yidam*, the "tutelary divinities", an important place is occupied by the mystic buddhas. They are the focal points of the highest mystic

⁷⁵ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, p. 110, pl. 87, 88.

⁷⁶ Cf. my remarks in *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 65.

experiences. They are of demonic aspect, and are depicted in conjunction with their *çaktis*. On the other hand they lack one important characteristic of the Fearsome Ones and the so-called "defenders of the doctrine", viz. the wildly flowing tresses and the heavy build; in addition their ornaments bear closer similarity to those of the bodhisattvas than to those of the protectors of the doctrine. So they constitute an independent group, and are considered to be fearful manifestations of the supreme buddhas. The best-known are Saṃvara, Heruka, Kālacakra, Hevajra,⁷⁷ and Mahāmāya. The last three are absent from our collection, but there are some very fine specimens depicting the first two mystic buddhas. There are a few bronzes of Saṃvara, among them one ancient piece (1786/5; Plate XIIIc), which is in complete accordance with GRÜNWEDEL's description of this deity.⁷⁸ One of this buddha's most distinctive characteristics is the ornamentation of his head-dress, which always includes the sun-disc and the crescent moon, and also the flaming jewel. These three symbols may undoubtedly be equated with the sun, moon, and flame which overtop the sign of the Ten Mighty Ones. Paintings and painted bronzes of this buddha have the peculiarity that his *çakti* is shown wearing an apron of bones and coloured beads, of a type that is represented in the collection by two specimens (1943/54, 55), but that deviates from the normal, and is unknown to me from other collections.

The *Heruka*-figure is of particularly frequent occurrence in pictures of the *bardo*, the intermediate world between death and rebirth. It is in this context, too, that he is met with in our collection (2740/87, 89). Of much greater interest, however, is the magnificent painting of this divinity surrounded by his various aspects (2740/2; Plate XXIB).⁷⁹ We know from texts devoted to Heruka, that he is held to appear before his adepts in a five-fold aspect, and various mystics, among them Kukkuripāda, have described these five shapes. In the Tibetan book of the dead he also figures in his quintuple aspect. Now the painting, to which every reproduction must fail to do justice, shows Heruka in the centre embracing his *çakti*. The marvellous effect of Heruka's blue form and the light-blue colour of his *çakti* against the reddish-orange background is already sufficient to evoke an atmosphere of awe-inspiring mystery. From the figure rainbow-coloured beams proceed in all directions, each appearing to bear a number of saints, and each terminating in a group of five demonic figures. Presumably we may

⁷⁷ I discussed and analysed this most interesting figure, Hevajra, in my *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 75 sq.

⁷⁸ GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, p. 106, fig. 84.

⁷⁹ The painting with its border is reproduced in the *Jaarverslag* etc. 1948, Pl. 4, opp. p. 3.

hold each group to be a series of five of Heruka's aspects, as contemplated by the mystic depicted on the rainbow that connects the central figure with the group of five. This representation occupies the entire central field of the painting (the name of each personage in that area is appended), while the upper edge is entirely devoted to pictures of saints, the lower edge to those of the Fearful Ones and protectors of the doctrine. That this painting was of exceptional value also in Tibetan eyes is proved by its costly border, the "doorway" of which is formed by the breast-cloth of a mandarin's robe.

Another fine picture of Heruka is the rather small painting (2798/3), of which I have given a reproduction and a full description elsewhere.⁸⁰ Both paintings strikingly demonstrate that Heruka, by his form and ornaments, is more similar to the true Fearful Ones than the other mystic buddhas are: he has the same heavy build, and partially also the same ornaments as these "protectors of the doctrine". In addition he is also frequently depicted in these paintings with wings like an eagle's. According to ROERICH this peculiarity indicates that the painting should not be ascribed to the dGe-lugs-pa, but to the rÑin-ma-pa sect.⁸¹ It may be preferable to say that this trait has been derived from figures in the rÑin-ma-pa pantheon, for there can be no doubt as to the dGe-lugs-pa character of the first-mentioned painting, in view of the groups of church dignitaries and saints it depicts.

None of the collection's paintings of the *bardo* (2740/87, 88, 89) are of high quality, and none can bear comparison with the beautiful piece, formerly in the Van Manen collection, and now in the possession of the Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam. As the separate study I devoted to this latter painting may also serve to elucidate the paintings in the Leiden collection, I may confine myself to mentioning their presence, and refrain from further description.⁸²

We must now turn to quite a different category of the pantheon, viz. the *bodhisattvas*. Whenever *the bodhisattva* is mentioned, this refers to Çākya-muni before he attained supreme enlightenment. For example, a text like the *Lalitavistara*, which relates his sacred history, always refers to him as bodhisattva until the moment of the bodhi. The fact that he was a king's son explains why the bodhisattvas of the Mahāyānic pantheon are always dressed as princes, with long undergarment, clasped by a beautifully ornamented and garlanded girdle, bare trunk with cords across the chest,

⁸⁰ VISSER, H. F. E., *Asiatic Art*, p. 373, pl. 146, no. 266.

⁸¹ ROERICH, *Tibetan Paintings*, p. 37.

⁸² *De "Ars-moriendi" van Tibet*, in: Phoenix, I, 1946, no. 9, pp. 1-12, ill.

armlets, bracelets, and anklets, earrings, and the hair done up in a tall "bun", interwoven with ornaments and encircled by a diadem.

While Hīnayāna acknowledges only one bodhisattva, viz. Maitreya, the future Buddha, Mahāyāna has many, among whom a few appear to occupy a prominent position, while others are only of importance as members of a group. The best-known of such groups is that of the eight great bodhisattvas (*mahābodhisattva*), all of them more or less familiar figures. Often the individual bodhisattvas cannot be identified with certainty; the normal, two-armed forms we encounter among the eight great bodhisattvas cause particular difficulties in this respect. A spray of flowers they carry in either their left or their right hand bears a certain attribute, by which they may be distinguished; but frequently this attribute is either not clearly recognizable, or it has been omitted or gone astray, and then one is faced by a hopeless task. On the other hand, there is no very great need to attempt an identification of the individual members of a standard group, for they derive their function from the very fact of their being constituent parts of that group.

In a more detailed study of the mahābodhisattva-series I attempted to demonstrate that the group as a whole is subjected to a bipartition, in that always the same couples of bodhisattvas are diametrically opposed to one another when the group is arranged in a circle.⁸³ The oppositions are:

Maitreya — Mañjuçrī
 Khagarbha — Kṣitigarbha
 Avalokiteṣvara — Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin
 Vajrapāṇi — Samantabhadra

Therefore, when one of the members of a group can be identified, this diagram permits us also to identify his opposite number. One is, however, often faced by the problem how to arrange the couples when the individuals are not grouped in a circle but, e.g. in a row.

A few of the most familiar bodhisattvas demand some further attention. *Maitreya* is often depicted seated in European fashion with his hands in the dharmacakramudrā. At times he wears the monk's garb of the Buddha instead of the bodhisattva's dress. Probably such representations belong to a series showing the successive Buddhas, beginning with Dipaṅkara, and comprising 24 predecessors of Çākyamuni; among them only Dipaṅkara, Çākyamuni, and Maitreya constitute a triad known to iconography.

Usually Maitreya is shown wearing princely garments, and often holding

⁸³ *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 129 sq. Cf. the figure shown on p. 34 of this study. Cf. 2740/11, 151; B 76/19.

the stalks of two lotusses, which bear the wheel and the jar of holy water by the side of his shoulders.⁸⁴ The identification is beyond any doubt if the diadem formed by his hair contains a stūpa. A special form of the bodhisattva pertains to the monastery of bKra-šis-lhun-po (Tashilhumpo), where he is rendered as a Buddha with a stūpa in his otherwise un-ornamented hair, a little jar of holy water in his left hand, which is held in his lap, and his right hand held in the vitarkamudrā, the preaching pose.⁸⁵ Once in a while Maitreya is shown in a scene from paradise, in the upper edge of certain paintings, i.a. those of Tsoñ-kha-pa,⁸⁶ and in the classical paintings of the 11th Tashi-Lama, Sumatidharma-dhvaja,⁸⁷ he is made to play an active part.

As one of the eight great bodhisattvas Maitreya often assumes a shape which makes identification difficult. He then appears to bear no attribute whatever, there only being the two lotusses at his shoulder, of which he holds the stalks between his hand and his thumb, while one hand is held in varadamudrā, the other in vitarkamudrā. He is depicted in this way in a bronze of purely Tibetan style (1119/77; Plate VIa), and probably also in the beautiful fragment of a halo from the monastery of dPal-khor-Choide at Gyantse (2845/8; Plate VI d). Although this last identification cannot be made with certainty — for the stūpa, otherwise an unmistakable guide, is mostly absent when Maitreya is pictured in this form — there is nevertheless a certain measure of probability in our hypothesis. The fact is, that the fragment in question is the counterpart of another, in which Mañjuçrī can be identified beyond any doubt. (2845/7; Plate VI c).

Now the objection, to a certain extent justified, might be raised that perhaps the original halo bore *all* the eight great bodhisattvas; but even so it is striking that our two fragments very clearly occupied places at an equal height and on either side of the figure whom the halo surrounded. This is demonstrated by the most remarkable fact that both figures have the finest plastic effect at a certain height, and this height is the same for either of them. As one figure is undeniably a Mañjuçrī, it is not improbable, considering the system of binary oppositions which we described, that the other is Maitreya.⁸⁸

We may now turn to the bodhisattva *Mañjuçrī*, who is highly popular in Tibet as well as in Nepal. In Tibet he is revered as the special tutelary deity, and as such is also held to assume the demonic form of Yamāntaka;

⁸⁴ Cf. 2740/44, 142; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, p. 121, fig. 98.

⁸⁵ Cf. 2798/8, 9; 2740/28, 150; Cf. ROERICH, *Tibetan Paintings*, p. 52, pl. 10.

⁸⁶ Cf. 2740/3, 40.

⁸⁷ Cf. 2740/33; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 451, fig. 100.

⁸⁸ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, etc., p. 124, fig. 100.

in Nepal he is the main personage of a legend in which he appears to be of a macrocosmic, but at the same time also of a microcosmic and mystical character.⁸⁹ In Tibet his most popular manifestation is in the Arapacana-form, so called after a mystic alphabet he is said to have initiated. In this form he is seated with his legs doubled under his body (*vajraparyāṅka*), with the flaming sword in his raised right hand, and a book (a palm-leaf manuscript) in his left, which is pressed against his chest.⁹⁰

Mañjuçrī not only figures in the collection in the two forms we mentioned, but also in two others, which are certainly no less interesting. One represents him as Dharmadhātuvāgīçvara, the "Lord of the Sphere of the Divine Word", as we may translate it. In this form he has three heads and six arms, and his çakti is seated on his left knee. This form is particularly popular in Nepal, and in the collection he is, in fact, represented only by pieces from that country, as a bronze (2739/60; Plate XIIc), and as the central figure of a maṇḍala, depicted within a stūpa (2798/11). The latter specimen is also interesting because of the Çivaite divinities like Agni, Varuṇa, Brahmā, Çiva, *et al.*, to whom places have also been granted in the maṇḍala.

Another special form of Mañjuçrī is the bodhisattva as *Kumāra*, a youth. In this form he is seated with one leg hanging down, and showing the usual characteristics of youthful persons in his dress and ornaments, viz.: the hair arranged in plaits, a necklace adorned with tiger's claws, heavy, wheel-shaped earrings, and a loincloth slightly differing from the ordinary type. In all probability this form of Mañjuçrī enjoyed popularity in the great monastery of Nālandā, and from that centre was made known over a wide area.⁹¹ In the collection this shape is depicted in a fine old bronze (2939/1; Plate Xa), which still shows a few traces of paint, and also traces of an inscription on its pedestal, now completely illegible.

⁸⁹ Cf. Sylvain LÉVI, *Le Népal*, I, p. 208; III, pp. 161 sq.; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 89 sq. The classical form of Mañjuçrī is represented in the bronze 2798/35.

⁹⁰ On the Arapacana-alphabet: POTT, *op. cit.*, p. 46, and the literature given there. Representations of Arapacana Mañjuçrī: 1/1477; 904/11; 2798/20.

⁹¹ In my lecture on "*Le Bouddhisme de Java et l'ancienne civilisation Javanaise*", held before the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, I drew attention to the resemblance between a Mañjuçrī-figure from Nālandā, and a silver statuette of this bodhisattva from Central Java, discussed by BOSCH in *Feestbundel van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1928, I, pp. 39-45; the Tibetan bronze in question may be cited as third example of this type. — As to the typically "youthful" traits, I may remark that they also occur in non-Buddhist iconography, e.g. in statues of Karttikeya. A good example is the fine statue of this deity in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan at Benares, illustrated in COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 175.

Vajrapāṇi is almost always rendered in his demonic form in Tibetan art, not only when he acts as “protector of the doctrine”,⁹² but also when, together with Mañjuçrī, he occurs as a secondary figure in a painting.⁹³ A special form of the demonic *Vajrapāṇi* is the serpent-killer,⁹⁴ who also appears to have been popular. We only encounter him in ordinary bodhisattva-form when he figures as one of the eight great bodhisattvas, and on Nepalese bronzes.⁹⁵

The bodhisattvas *Khagarbha* and *Kṣitigarbha* are only to be met with in representations of the eight great bodhisattvas. Their very names sufficiently demonstrate that in first instance they are component parts of a system, and not independent personages. *Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin* also only occurs in this group. Yet the collection possesses a particularly fine bronze statue of him, which did belong to the huge pantheon that Emperor Ch'ien Lung had made for his mother, and that is situated in the Pao-hsiang Lou, a Lamaist temple in the garden of the Tz'ü-ning Palace in Peking's “Forbidden City” (2783/1; Plate VIII). The piece is an excellent example of Sino-Lamaist bronze-casting of the Ch'ien-Lung period; a brief inscription, cast in the lotus throne, characterizes it as such. Inside the statue an inscription gives the bodhisattva's Chinese name, and the number of the group to which it once belonged, viz. number 8.⁹⁶

There can be no doubt that *Padmapāṇi* or *Avalokiteçvara*, the spiritual son of the dhyāni-buddha Amitābha, is the most difficult figure among the bodhisattvas. The ‘lotus-bearer’'s principal attribute is the *padma*, the white lotus, but he is better recognizable by a number of others; in the first place there is the gazelle-skin he wears as a sash over his left shoulder, then the small image of his spiritual father, the dhyāni-buddha Amitābha, in his hair, and finally the jar of holy water and the rosary. Very frequently, however, these distinctive features are partly or entirely lacking, and then identification becomes very difficult. It is, for instance, quite possible that I incorrectly designated the two beautiful fragments of the halos from the dPal-khor-Choide monastery at Gyantse (2845/3 and 4; Plate IV and V) as representations of *Padmapāṇi*, and that they actually also represent *Maitreya*. There seems to be little chance of a definite solution of this problem. So much, at least, is certain, that both fragments, and particularly

⁹² The beautiful statuettes 1949/1 (Pl. XIVb), 2739/56 (Pl. XIVa) and 1650/5; and on the thankas 1/1473, 1489; 2740/53, 118; 2798/8.

⁹³ Cf. 2740/12, 15, 28, 41, 46, 90, 150; 2798/14.

⁹⁴ Cf. 2740/86; 2798/45.

⁹⁵ Cf. 2798/34.

⁹⁶ Also see W. E. CLARK, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, I, p. XI; II, p. 11, Pl. I, A 9.

nr. 2845/3, belong to the finest bronzes of Tibet known to the Western world. They still show the typical features of the *Pāla*-style, with the second piece (2845/4) already tending towards the Nepalese stylistic traditions. Besides this bodhisattva the fragment contains a remarkable motif which is fairly often encountered as part of the ornamentation at the back of a throne (cf. 2845/6; Plate VIb), and which we may call the *gaja-siṃha-vyālaka* motif. It is composed of an elephant, a lion, and a tiger, one above the other, possibly as symbols of the various elements (water, earth, and fire). The other piece has a similar motif, in which, however, the lion is substituted by a *kinnara*, a mythical creature, half man and half bird.

My reasons for identifying the figures in the halos as Padmapāṇi, in spite of the absence of recognizable attributes, and symbols, are to be found in two paintings in the collection, that can be held with greater certainty to depict a special form of Padmapāṇi. The paintings in question are two *thānkas* in Nepalese style, that portray the *Sṛṣṭikāntā* *Lokeçvara* (2286/1 and B 76/20).⁹⁷ There the bodhisattva is characterized by an attitude identical with that of the figures on the halos; beams proceed from all parts of his body, connecting him with twelve surrounding beings, some of which belong to the Hindu rather than to the Buddhist pantheon.

Another typical form of this bodhisattva is *Siṃhanāda*, who is seated on a lion. He is quite often depicted on amulets and in travelling-altars;⁹⁸ the collection includes a remarkable rendering of him in bronze, which was apparently used as incense-burner (1119/73; Plate Xb).

Finally we should mention three other forms of Padmapāṇi which were very popular, viz. the four-armed *Avalokiteçvara*, the eleven-headed *Avalokiteçvara*, and the eight-armed *Amoghapāça*. The *Dalai-Lama* is considered to be an incarnation of the four-armed *Avalokiteçvara*, who is always shown holding his normal pair of hands folded together before his breast, and carrying a rosary in his back-right hand, and a lotus in the back-left. There are very many representations of this form of *Avalokiteçvara*.⁹⁹ The same may be said of the eleven-headed *Avalokiteçvara*, whom we have already discussed at length. Besides the normal forms with eight¹⁰⁰ or a thousand arms,¹⁰¹ the collection also possesses a painting showing him in his mystic

⁹⁷ Cf. BHATTACHARYYA, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pl. LV, no. 52; GETTY, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 63 sq., pl. XXII, No. 2286/1 is illustrated in the *Catalogue Goden en Demonen van Tibet*, Pl. V, nr. 15.

⁹⁸ Cf. 2739/87; B 55/110.

⁹⁹ Cf. 1/1484; 1119/74; 1943/6; 2740/10, 12, 17, 92, 96; 2798/14, 41; as subsidiary figure: 2740/1, 26, 28, 53, 83, 86, 150.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 1119/79 (Plate IX); 2740/38, 39, 140; 2798/12

¹⁰¹ Cf. 2285/1; 2556/22; 2740/15, 16.

form, in conjunction with his Çakti, and with an angry expression on all his faces. Although this painting is very interesting, we cannot go into further details at present.¹⁰²

A less frequently occurring form of Padmapāṇi is Amoghapāça, who is easily recognizable by his eight arms and single head, while he is practically always surrounded by four divinities, viz. the Green Tārā, Sudhana Kumāra, Hayagrīva, and Bhṛkuṭi, so by two pairs of divine beings, one of them peaceful, the other demonic. This form was very popular in Nepal, and also in Java. In the collection it is to be seen on a very old painting, unfortunately badly damaged (1943/3), and again, as principal figure, on the magnificent reliquary or manuscript-case from the dPal-khor-Choide monastery at Gyantse (2845/1; Plate II). This figure is also depicted in a special kind of square amulet, two specimens of which are in our collection (1119/65; Plate XXX-9; 2798/55). Apparently they were made by means of permanent moulds.¹⁰³

Here we must leave our description of the bodhisattvas, and turn to the *Tārās*.

In the Mahāyānic pantheon we may observe, besides the various dhyāni-buddhas and bodhisattvas, their energies or çaktis, represented as female beings, the Tārās. They have the appearance of princesses, with their hair done up in a tall wreath and ornamented with a diadem, and further wearing earrings, cords across their breast, and rings on their arms, wrists, and ankles. The upper part of the body is bare, the lower part is covered by a cloth, held in place by a handsomely ornamented girdle. The type as a whole bears great resemblance to Lakṣmī or Çrī, the wife of Viṣṇu, and representative of the ideal type of queen.

Dress and ornaments resemble those of the bodhisattvas to such a degree, that it is often hard to make out whether a certain figure is a bodhisattva or a Tārā. This is made even more difficult by the Indian ideal of beauty, which tends to make all forms rounded, thus obscuring what we consider to be typically male characteristics.¹⁰⁴ It is not easy to mention a definite distinguishing mark, especially one that could class a figure as a bodhisattva. The reverse, identification as a Tārā, is sometimes made easy by the figure's prominent breasts and the typical form of the female breast-cords.

¹⁰² Cf. 2740/29.

¹⁰³ On Amoghapāça and his entourage: GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, p. 132, fig. 105, 106; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 137 sq.

¹⁰⁴ This has been discussed at length in BOSCH, F. D. K., *De Gouden Kiem*, pp. 249 sq.

The Tārās are usually seated on a lotus throne, with the right leg hanging down, the foot being supported by a little cushion. The right hand rests on the right knee in a special pose, the left is raised before the breast in vitarkamudrā, holding the stalk of a lotus, the flower of which is visible beside the left shoulder; sometimes this flower bears the attribute by which the Tārā can be recognized.

The above particularly applies to the fixed group of Tārās who belong to the dhyāni-buddhas. They may be summarized as follows:

direction	dhyāni-buddha	tārā	colour	symbol
centre	Vairocana	Vajradhātviçvari	white	cakra
E	Akṣobhya	Locanā	blue	vajra
S	Ratnasambhava	Māmakī	yellow	ratna
W	Amitābha	Pāndarā	pink	padma
N	Amoghasiddha	Çyāma Tārā	green	viçvavajra

In Tibetan art these figures are relatively infrequent; the collection possesses one series, which perhaps depicts them (2740/45-50), although in that case it would be with many deviations.

These thānkas show a series of Tārās depicted in the usual manner, with their right hands in abhaya-mudrā, and with the following attributes on the lotus beside their left shoulder: cakra, vajra, conch, wishing-tree, viçvavajra, and umbrella. There is no accordance whatever between their colour and the scheme outlined in the diagram above. In addition there is an obvious bipartition within the group, as there is clearly a difference between the facial expressions: three of the six figures have the normal peaceful expression, while the other three have the fierce, contorted faces of the çaktis of the mystic buddhas. Among these one has an additional third eye in her forehead. In view of these peculiarities the group can not be identified with certainty.

Much more familiar to iconography are the two Tārās who mostly occur together, the *White Tārā* and the *Green Tārā*, who are said to have been incarnated in the two wives of king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po: the White Tārā in the Chinese "princess" Wen-chun, the Green Tārā in the daughter of king Amçvarman of Nepal. Attempts have been made to find a connection between the colour of the Tārās and the complexion of the two princesses, but it is highly improbable that actually any such connection exists.

The Green Tārā entirely conforms to the described type; her right hand rests on her right knee in varadamudrā, and holds a second lotus, which rises

up beside her right shoulder.¹⁰⁵ On unpainted bronzes the presence of the two lotusses is one of her most easily recognizable distinguishing features.¹⁰⁶

The White Tārā can readily be identified by two other characteristics. In the first place, she is never seated with one leg hanging down, but always with both legs doubled under her body. Secondly, she has seven eyes, i.e. apart from the normal pair of eyes, and a third one in her forehead, she also has eyes in the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet. This peculiarity is unmistakable.¹⁰⁷

Both Tārās are extremely popular in art, and both frequently occur as bronzes. Together they often have a place as subsidiary figures on thankas occupying corresponding positions on either side of the main figure.¹⁰⁸

There is another group of Tārās that repeatedly figures on thankas, namely the twenty-one Tārās, who may either be assembled on one painting, or distributed over 21 paintings of similar type. Both arrangements are represented in the collection,¹⁰⁹ and one of the pieces merits a more detailed description, for its beauty as well as for its iconographic importance.¹¹⁰ This painting, nr. 2740/23, reproduced on Plate XVIIIb, has preserved its pristine brilliance of colour to the present day. It pictures the 21 Tārās, and in addition the Green and the White Tārās and the saint Aṭiṣa, accompanied by two members of the Yellow-cap hierarchy. At present we are particularly interested in the 21 Tārās, who are all shown holding a jewel-vase in the palm of their right hand. The leading personage of the group is depicted in the centre of the painting: she is seated, with a blue lotus by her right shoulder, while the minor figures surrounding her all have the usual lotus on their left. Of greater importance is the fact that all figures are not only named, but also numbered. The numbering commences with the central figure, then passes to the figures in the lower half, and finally proceeds upwards on both sides of the painting, so that the even numbers are to the right and the odd numbers to the left of the main figure. This

¹⁰⁵ Sometimes it looks as if the stalk is not grasped, but comes forth out of the palm of the hand. See BOSCH, *op. cit.* p. 252.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 1630/48; 2504/7; 2740/24; B 76/22, as subsidiary figure: 2740/10, 12, 85; 2798/14, 20, 43, 44. Nr. 2740/24 is interesting because of the many figures surrounding the Green Tārā, with among them many *dīi minores*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 1119/76; 2739/53; 2740/25, 98; 2798/17, 18, 36, 39, 40; as subsidiary figure: 2740/28, 30, 39.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. 1/1468, 1472; 2740/26.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. 1/1474; 2740/14, 23, 108; 2740/56-76.

¹¹⁰ Further information on this group in: WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 360, cf. pp. 436 sq; nr. 2740/14 shows great similarity to the piece treated of in detail there.

proves that the distribution of the figures over the painting was subjected to a certain system. On closer inspection a second peculiarity strikes us, viz. that here again the facial expressions show marked variations. There appear to be three types, one with wide open eyes and slightly opened mouth, what gives the impression of contortion (central figure and six others), wide open eyes and closed mouth (nine figures), and the familiar type with almond-shaped eyes and closed mouth (the remaining five). In the first group there is one figure who is in addition characterized by a third eye in her forehead and rather heavier eyebrows. This is Bhṛkuṭī, the "Tārā with the frowning brows". We already mentioned her in connection with the group that usually forms the entourage of Amoghapāṇa.¹¹¹ With Bhṛkuṭī we arrive at a group of goddesses who are reckoned as Tārās, but differ in appearance from the forms mentioned so far, by having many arms, and sometimes also demonic features.

Bhṛkuṭī, for example, frequently occurs in a four-armed form; a much more intricate form is Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the goddess of the victory-bringing skull-protuberance. She has three heads and eight arms, and is not infrequently met with as a subsidiary figure in the entourage of Amitāyus, whose attribute she holds in her normal left hand. Unfortunately we know very little about this figure; she seems to be one of the oldest goddesses of the Mahāyāna. She occurs from time to time on paintings in the centre of a maṇḍala.¹¹²

Closely related to her is *Sitātapatrā-aparājitā*, who has the same appearance, and partly also the same attributes. Her main attribute, however, is the white parasol in her normal right hand. The White Two-armed Tārā, holding a parasol in her left hand, with her right hand in abhaya mudrā, would appear to be a simpler form of the same goddess. She also occurs among the figures surrounding Amitāyus.¹¹³

Finally we should mention a completely demonic Tārā, viz. the mostly four armed Kurukullā. She entirely conforms to the type of fearful deity, dancing on a corpse, surrounded by flames and bearing all the ornaments of the tāntric divinities. She belongs to the entourage of Kubera, the god of wealth, but at times she is also to be observed among the followers of Amitāyus, and even beside pictures of the Buddha.¹¹⁴

The çaktis of the mystic and demonic gods have their own nature and appearance. They are called *ḍākinīs*, and play a most important part in the

¹¹¹ See p. 91. See also 2740/24.

¹¹² Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, pp. 149 sq.; 2740/25, 28, 30, 39, 109; 2798/10, 11.

¹¹³ Cf. 2740/1, 28, 30 (as subsidiary figure).

¹¹⁴ Cf. 2740/28; 2798/2.

pictures of initiations, where they mostly occur in groups of eight. They are depicted as naked, hung with garlands of human heads and strings of beads made of human bones. Sometimes they also wear an apron of such beads, sometimes interspersed with red and green beads made of different material.¹¹⁵ When they are represented alone, it is standing tensely posed on two corpses. Their normal attributes are a sacrificial knife and a bowl made of a skull, and sometimes in addition the *khaṭvāṅga* or magic wand.¹¹⁶ They play a leading part in magic practices where use is made of a kind of diagrams, *yantra*, bearing the name of a *ḍākinī* on each of the eight petals of a lotus, with the main *ḍākinī* in the centre. Such a *yantra*, with the magic book belonging to it, is included in the collection. Elsewhere I have described the type as a whole.¹¹⁷ They also played an important part in the life of Padmasambhava, so it is no wonder they also occur as a group in paintings of this saint.¹¹⁸

Some of these *ḍākinīs* also play a more individual rôle, and have names of their own. Of these *Vajravarāhī* is beyond doubt the most important; unfortunately she does not occur in our collection. Others are Buddha-*ḍākinī*,¹¹⁹ *Vajraḍākinī*,¹²⁰ and the *ḍākinī* Naro-mKha-spyod-ma, who is to be seen i.a. on the painting of Abhayākaragupta, the fourth Tashi-Lama.¹²¹ The favourite spot for *ḍākinīs* to perform their devotions is the cemetery, and in this connection two paintings of *ḍākinīs* are interesting, as they have a cemetery, inhabited by a pair of mahāsiddhas, as background.¹²² For the rest our materials are as yet insufficient for a more precise identification of these figures.

One very special group of *ḍākinīs* should, however, be mentioned: the *ḍākinīs* with animal heads. *Vajravarāhī*, too, has an animal head, viz. the head of a wild boar, but this is only one of her three heads. On the other hand there are series of *ḍākinīs* with one single animal head. They are of particularly frequent occurrence in paintings of the *bardo*, the world between death and rebirth; there a fixed group of 28 such beings is to be seen.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Cf. 1943/54, 55.

¹¹⁶ Cf. 2798/28.

¹¹⁷ 1119/68; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 72, pl. V.

¹¹⁸ Cf. 2740/91.

¹¹⁹ Cf. 1632/10; 2740/148.

¹²⁰ Cf. 2740/55.

¹²¹ Cf. 2740/32.

¹²² Cf. 2740/51, 52.

¹²³ Cf. my article *De "Ars-moriendi" van Tibet*, Phoenix I, nr. 9, 1946, pp. 1-12, in which I dealt with the magnificent painting in the Van Manen collection, now in the Museum van Aziatische Kunst (Museum of Asiatic Art) in Amsterdam.

Two similar creatures accompany the demonic goddess Kālī, viz. *Siṃhavaktrā* and *Makaravaktrā*, the ḍākinīs with the mouths of a lion and of a makara.¹²⁴ The lion-mouthed ḍākinī, *Siṃhavaktrā*, plays an important part in the biography of Padmasambhava, and she, too, is frequently to be seen on pictures of this saint.¹²⁵

We must now turn to another category of gods, viz. the *dharmapālas*, the protectors of the doctrine. Among them the *Drag-gsed* are the most important, the eight fearful forms, held to be manifestations of great bodhisattvas.

I have already commented on this connection with the bodhisattvas, and I have attempted an analysis of the group as a whole in a more detailed study.¹²⁶ As a result I arrived at the conclusion that the group came into being when two other groups merged, that had one figure in common. These two groups consisted of, on the one hand, eight aspects of Mahākāla, and on the other a triad of Mahākāla, Mahākālī, and Yama. This fusion gave rise to a curious combination, in which, however, the deities just mentioned were beyond doubt the foremost members. This appears i.a. by the occurrence of these three gods on a special kind of painting, which is preserved in the monasteries' holy of holies, which I called the *çmaçāna-maṇḍala*. The three figures together constitute the demonic aspect of the Buddhist trinity: *Buddha*, *dharmā*, and *saṅgha*, and at the same time, in mysticism, of the triad: male element, female element, and the product of their union.

Unfortunately we cannot again go into details on this most interesting group, so that we shall have to limit ourselves to listing its component figures.¹²⁷ The group occurs as a self-contained unit in paintings, at times amplified by a few other figures from the *dharmapālas'* regions; its members also act as supplementary figures in paintings of other important demonic gods, such as the Heruka pantheon of 2740/2. The set of the Eight Fearful Ones is generally held to comprise the above-mentioned deities: Mahākāla, Kālī, and Yama, another, also six-armed, form of Mahākāla and Yamāntaka, Hayagrīva, Begtse, and Vaiçravaṇa; sometimes the chief of the group of the Five Kings, of which we shall come to speak presently is substituted for the last-named divinity.

There can be no doubt that Çiva is perpetuated in the *Mahākāla*-figure. The remarkable fact about the group of the Fearsome Ones is that on the one hand they usually bear all the characteristics of Protectors of the Doctrine, but on the other also of gods of wealth; in addition they are held

¹²⁴ Cf. 2740/54; 1/1490.

¹²⁵ Cf. 2740/18, 90.

¹²⁶ Cf. pp. 30 sq.; POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, Chapter IV.

¹²⁷ Cf. B 25/5; 2740/2, 22; cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, pp. 164 sq.

to manifest themselves by preference in an eight-fold aspect. In the two forms of Mahākāla in the Drag-gsed group we see both characteristics, of dharmapāla and of god of wealth, side by side. The second form has the jewel, instead of the rosary made of skulls, as typical attribute; the first form stands on one Gaṇeṣa, the second on two.

The first form is the more popular, for it is frequently depicted as one of a triad, together with Kālī and Yama. In the collection it figures in bronze as well as on thankas, while the second form does not occur individually.¹²⁸ The text-figure shows both forms, after the original picture on



the last page of a block-printing with several illustrations of dharmapālas.

Kālī, or Lhamo, is one of the most terrifying goddesses, with an extremely gruesome history. Actually she is none other than Devī, Çiva's consort. When she is depicted individually, she is frequently accompanied by a number of female followers, viz. the above-mentioned *ḍākinīs* *Siṃhavaktrā* and *Makaravaktrā*, who have the head of a lion and of a makara (a mythical beast, half crocodile and half elephant) respectively.¹²⁹ In addition she is sometimes accompanied by the four goddesses of the seasons, who rather

¹²⁸ Cf. 1650/4; 2798/6: this "White Mahākāla" does occur as a clay tablet in a travelling-altar (2798/60).

¹²⁹ Cf. 2740/54, 115; without followers: 1/1485; 2798/29. On her legend, see POTT, in *Int. Archiv für Ethnographie*, XLIII, 1943, pp. 220 sq., 241.

resemble her, and are seated on the following animals: mule (spring), yak (summer), deer (autumn), and camel (winter).

Sometimes, but not often, Kālī is depicted in an 18-armed form; she then completely conforms to the type of Durgā-mahiṣasuramardini. This is a very interesting form, as it must have arisen through the merging into one of an original eight-nine group, consisting of Kālī and her eight surrounding aspects.¹³⁰

Next in importance to Kālī is *Yama*, of whom we have already said that he, together with Mahākāla and Kālī, is a member of a very prominent triad. It is remarkable that here Yama is depicted as the "Great Double Prince", i.e. together with his "sister" Yamī.¹³¹ As such he is a striking counterpart to the couple Mahākāla-Kālī, what is extremely significant for the understanding of the deeper symbolism of this triad. Yama also occurs in single form, bearing as attributes the skeleton-shaped cudgel and the noose. In this shape he is the typical god of death,¹³² but sometimes he is shown holding the jewel and the bowl made of a skull, and in that case he is obviously a god of wealth in a demonic aspect.¹³³

This "double" character of Yama's reappears in the name of one of the other figures of the Drag-gsed, viz. *Begtse* or *lčam-sran*, meaning "brother and sister". He is one of the most difficult figures to study among the group of the Drag-gsed. On the one hand he is a typical god of war; as such he shows several remarkable local traits, and assumes different special forms among various nations, e.g. that of Daicin Tengri among the Mongols. On the other hand he seems to be the tutelary divinity of a certain region, and as such he can take the place of the war-like mountain god Gañ-c'en-mc'od-lña (Kangchenjunga). He also frequently appears in an eightfold aspect; in paintings of this type the foreground is often formed by the mysterious sacred cemetery (çmaçāna), which we already mentioned as the abode of Mahākāla, Kālī, and Yama. Its details may have been influenced by a legendary tale about *Begtse* and the third Dalai-Lama. The story is, that one night a great number of Mongolian gods and demons, in the magic shapes of camels, horses, rats, yaks, etc. and led by *Begtse*, appeared

¹³⁰ This form of Kālī is not represented in the collection either as a separate bronze, or as figure on a painting. I do know of her as a bronze in the collection of William C. Ohly in London. In addition she figures in the ornamentation of the incense-burner, nr. 2586/2 (Plate XXIV, 3), and on a wooden box, covered with leather, and with brass mountings (1943/74).

¹³¹ Cf. 2798/23; as subsidiary figure: 2740/3, 40.

¹³² Cf. 2798/30; as subsidiary figure: 2740/37, 101.

¹³³ Cf. 2798/15, where he is surrounded by aspects of Vaiçravaṇa or Kubera.

before the Dalai-Lama. He was able to exorcize them, however, whereupon they swore an oath never to harm any Buddhist. ¹³⁴

In appearance Begtse closely resembles *Vaiçravaṇa* or *Kubera*, with whom he is, in fact, frequently depicted, for instance as subsidiary figures in paintings. ¹³⁵

In the pantheon *Vaiçravaṇa* has a double rôle; on the one hand he is one of the four watchers of the world (*lokapāla*), but he is also one of the protectors of the doctrine (*dharmapāla*). In his first-named function he is depicted as a heavily-built figure, clad in armour, and seated on a lion, with both legs on one side (the left), and holding a banner of victory in his right hand, and a rat spitting forth jewels in the left. ¹³⁶

As a *dharmapāla* and one of the eight Fearsome Ones he usually seems to have the same appearance, although sometimes he may be pictured in the variant form of a man riding a white horse. In that case he is hardly distinguishable from Begtse, to whom he appears to be closely related. He then also frequently appears in an eight-fold aspect, thus even increasing the resemblance, so that it is very easy to confuse the two. ¹³⁷

In addition *Vaiçravaṇa* is repeatedly encountered among the subsidiary figures along the lower edge of paintings; it is not to be wondered at that he was so frequently portrayed, for often enough painting a *thangka* was a means of acquiring mundane benefits through religious merit, and *Vaiçravaṇa*'s chief character is always that of a god of wealth, as is made evident by his attribute: the jewel-spitting rat. ¹³⁸

Two most interesting figures belonging to the group of the Drag-gsed have not yet been mentioned. The first is *Hayagrīva*, the god with the horse's head. He is generally easily recognized by the horse's head protruding from the wildly flowing locks of the demonic figure. In the collection there is a beautiful painting of this deity, bearing a long inscription on the back, with his mantra and the Buddhist "creed" (1383/2, Plate XXb). A number of highly interesting monographs have been devoted to *Hayagrīva*, so that

¹³⁴ Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie* etc., p. 81; representations of Begtse; 1/1480, 1492; 2739/67; 2740/9, 28, 141; 2798/13. Cf. BLEICHSTEINER, *Die Gelbe Kirche*, Pl. 36.

¹³⁵ Cf. 2740/33, 53; 2798/6.

¹³⁶ Cf. 2798/25; 2739/52.

¹³⁷ On these extremely complicated relationships see my *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 107 sq., Pl. X. There I have given additional data on the resemblance to the mountain-god Gañ-c'en-mc'od-lña. On paintings we find this form of *Vaiçravaṇa* in 2740/9; Cf. BLEICHSTEINER, *Die Gelbe Kirche*, Pl. 35.

¹³⁸ Cf. 2740/29, 99, 100; 2798/4, 18.

we can confine ourselves to some iconographical notes on the forms in which he appears.¹³⁹

In the first place there is his single form. He then carries as attributes a sword and a noose, although sometimes Yama's skeleton-mace is substituted for the sword. His colour should be red, but on one of the paintings he is coloured green.¹⁴⁰

The most popular renderings of Hayagrīva appear to be those of his "mysterious aspect", in which he has three heads, each crowned by a horse's head, six arms, and eight legs, and is standing on a bunch of snakes. It is in this aspect that he is depicted in bronze, and the Museum of Asiatic Art in Amsterdam possesses a magnificent painting, formerly in the Van Manen collection, of this form.¹⁴¹

A third important aspect is Hayagrīva in the shape of a *phur-bu*, a magic dagger. A few examples are given in Plate XXVI. It is noticeable that all that is left of Hayagrīva is the triple demonic head, sometimes surmounted by a horse's head. The lower limbs are replaced by the triangular point of the dagger, and the body itself by the purely hilt-shaped centre-piece. This is probably a late development, and the older *phur-bus* may have had a centre-piece shaped like the trunk of a body joined on to the head.¹⁴² An indication that it formerly was so, is furnished by paintings which show a group of four "phur-bu" deities, Ratnakīla, Padmakīla, Karmakīla, and Vajrakīla, as members of the entourage of mystic demonic gods such as Heruka. Of all these four figures only the legs are changed into the tips of the daggers; for the rest they have all the normal features of the fearsome gods.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Cf. BOSCH, F. D. K., *De god met de paardekop*, TBG, LVII, 1927, pp. 124-153; GULIK, R. H. VAN, *Hayagrīva, the Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan*, Int. Arch. f. Ethn., XXXIII, Suppl., 1935, 103 pp.

¹⁴⁰ Besides nr. 1383/2, also nrs. 2740/84, 85. These two paintings have many deviant characteristics, in the colour, shape, and sequence of the attributes and in the treatment of the background.

¹⁴¹ Cf. 2767/1; 2798/27; as subsidiary figure: 1/1478, 2740/16, 21, 28, 89, 96; 2798/3. Later I hope to return to the painting in the Museum van Aziatische Kunst. This form of Hayagrīva occurs as an ornament on a bronze octagonal box, where he is surrounded by eight *ḍākinīs*. (2739/18).

¹⁴² A very clear indication is the Javanese *phur-bu*, now in the Batavia Museum, Archaeological Collection nr. 6060, and illustrated in the *Jaarboek van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, II, 1934, p. 118, Pl. 7. Cf. STUTTERHEIM in *Djawa*, XV, 1935, pp. 188 sq. This piece is much older than the Tibetan *phur-bus*, and it shows the *bust*, and not only the head, of Hayagrīva!

¹⁴³ Cf. ROERICH, G., *Tibetan Paintings*, pp. 38 sq., Pl. 6. I cannot go into details on this group, but only remark that this quintet of Hayagrīva and the four other "*kilas*" is the complete counterpart of the five Herukas, and may be considered to be the

Besides the above-mentioned forms of Hayagrīva as a demon with an additional horse's head, one sometimes also meets with a totally different form, viz. Hayagrīva as a human being with a horse's head, dressed in a kind of monk's gown, and playing the guitar. As such he is to be seen as subsidiary figure on paintings. I know of only one Tibetan example, but in Japan, for instance, this form appears to be more familiar.¹⁴⁴

Finally there is the eighth, and most complicated figure, of the eight Fear-some Ones, *Yamāntaka*. With his nine heads, 34 arms, and 16 legs, he is indeed capable of striking terror in the hearts of his beholders. He is said to be a manifestation of the bodhisattva Mañjuçrī, who had assumed this appearance in order to be able to confine Yama to his palace, tame him, and convert him to Buddhism. On paintings of the Drag-gsed he mostly occupies the central position, and is always immediately recognizable by his many arms and legs. There are magnificent bronzes of Yamāntaka, i.a. the beautiful piece in the Bianchi collection, now in the Ethnographical Museum in Rotterdam. In the collection with which we are dealing here, he is not well represented.¹⁴⁵

This concludes our survey of the eight Fearsome Ones. Some mention should next be made of the most important other dharmapālas.

Among these the innumerable forms of Mahākāla are very prominent. Besides the two forms belonging to the Drag-gsed, the main ones are *Mahākāla brāhmaṇarūpa*, and Mahākāla as protector of the tent.

The first form represents Mahākāla as an old *brāhmaṇa*, that is to say: Tāntrist, kneeling on a corpse and blowing a trumpet made of a human femur, while holding a skull-bowl filled with blood in his left hand. This is the form Mahākāla is said to have assumed when he appeared before "Phags-pa" to teach him the *Hevajratantra*, when he had been designated to perform the Hevajra rite for Khubilai Khan. This form of Mahākāla is of rather frequent occurrence as subsidiary figure in paintings.¹⁴⁶ *Mahākāla as protector of the tent* is a two-armed demon, standing on a corpse. Besides the typical attributes of the Fearsome Ones, the sacrificial knife and the skull-bowl, he bears the heavy cudgel which lies over both fore-arms, and which may possibly be equated with the emblem of office of the

demonic aspects of the five dhyāni-buddhas, from whose characteristic attributes the kīla-deities derived their names! A beautiful painting with these deities is in the collection of Dr. J. C. J. Bierens de Haan in Amsterdam; cf. *Catalogus Goden en Demonen van Tibet*, nr. 60.

¹⁴⁴ 2740/24; cf. GULIK, R. H. van, *Hayagriva*, frontispiece, p. 47. In Japanese sources this is called the "Chinese form".

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 1/1471, 1489; 2798/26; B 25/5.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. 2798/1; 2740/109; cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, pp. 63 sq., fig. 151.

“police-lamas”, a magnificent specimen of which is in our collection.¹⁴⁷

Among the other dharmapālas we should mention *Vajrapāṇi*, mostly represented with two arms and holding a vajra and a noose as his attributes; *Yamāri*, shown in conjunction with his *çakti*, standing on a corpse which lies on a bull (and not vice versa, as is the case with Yama), holding the skeleton-mace in his right hand and the skull-bowl in his left. The *çakti* also holds a skull-bowl in her left hand.¹⁴⁸ Finally, a less well-known dharmapāla is Acala, who plays a part of importance in Japan, but only rarely occurs in Tibetan iconography. The collection nevertheless possesses a splendid painting of tremendous demonic force, which shows this four-headed demon, with four arms, bearing a sword, trident, skull-bowl, and knife, and surrounded by eight followers (2798/1; Plate XX1a).

Having briefly dealt with the Protectors of the Doctrine, we must now pay some attention to the group of the “five kings”, sometimes called the “five dharmapālas”, or the “five bodies” (tib.: sku-lña).¹⁴⁹ The chief of the group is said to be incarnated in the Principal of the gNas-c'uñ monastery, who acts as national oracle, and issues directives when a new incarnation of the Dalai-Lama has to be found. When he goes into a trance before prophesying, he has to wear the complete garb of the “five kings”, among which the remarkable lid-shaped hat is immediately recognizable. On paintings the group can also always be identified by this feature; in addition the animals which serve the five kings as vehicles are striking enough: they are a white lion, white elephant, mule, horse, and lion. The four followers usually occupy the corners of the painting, and a sacrifice for the Fearsome Ones is depicted in the centre foreground. In other respects the arrangement of the group may be subject to remarkable variations, with which we cannot deal at present. Here again the group is connected with gods of wealth, as is proved by the presence of the goddess *Maṅgaladīrghāyus*, who sometimes occupies the centre foreground in paintings of the five kings.¹⁵⁰ This goddess rides on a deer, and holds a mirror and a jewel. She is of the peaceful type of the ordinary Tārās.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. 2920/1, Plate IIIb; this form of Mahākāla as subsidiary figure: 2740/36.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. 2714/3; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, p. 57, fig. 45 (upper left).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 1/1470, 1478, 1479; 2674/7; 2740/21, 22; 2798/4.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. 2740/21; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, III, Pl. 53. On the function of the State Oracle: ROCK, J. F., *Sungmas, the Living Oracles of the Tibetan Church*, Nat. Geogr. Mag., Oct. 1935, pp. 475-478, ill. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie*, pp. 182 sq., NEBESKY DE WOJKOWITZ, *Das tibetische Staatsorakel*, Archiv für Völkerkunde (Wien), III, 1948, pp. 136 sq. The collection also possesses an article of dress of the suñ-ma's assistant, viz. the three-eyed cap (1119/71a); cf. ROCK, *op. cit.*, Pl. IIa. I must, however, admit to doubts whether the piece is genuine.

Besides the dharmapālas one has the *lokapālas*, the guardians of the world, who are stationed at the four points of the compass. They are always represented as heavily-built generals in full armour, coat of mail, etc. Individually they are distinguished by their attributes. The diagram gives a summary:

side of the World Mountain (Meru)	Name	attribute	colour
E	Dhṛtarāṣṭra	guitar	white
S	Virūdhaka	makara on helmet and sword	blue
W	Virūpākṣa	caitya and noose	red
N	Vaiçravaṇa	banner and jewel- spitting rat	yellow

The lokapālas occur especially in paintings of the Buddha surrounded by the eighteen elders.¹⁵¹

It lies beyond the scope of this essay to list the numerous gods of purely local importance. We should, however, note that several *dii minores* are of Hinduistic origin. In pictures of scenes from Buddha's life we repeatedly encountered Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and other gods, i.a. Sūrya and Candra, figure in paintings with Nepalese characteristics. The latter gods are easily identified, as they are seated on their waggons, drawn by seven horses. Rahu may always be recognized by his remarkable appearance, as he has a demon's head and a long snake's tail, entirely covered with eyes. All these gods only occur as subsidiary figures.¹⁵²

The major gods of Hinduism, such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeṣa, Ćiva, Varuṇa, and Agni may also be encountered as subsidiary figures on paintings; frequently Nepalese influence is to be observed in works on which they occur. A very interesting specimen is a painting of a maṇḍala, which has a group of Hindu gods, in their purely Indian form, along the lower edge (2890/1).¹⁵³

For completeness' sake I may further mention the various categories of beings that are also known to Hinduism, and that frequently occur on paintings, such as *gandharvas* (celestial musicians), *nāgas*, and *garuḍas*. The *nāgas* have a human body with a cope or awning of snakes above their head, and a snake-like, scaly body and tail instead of lower limbs. The

¹⁵¹ See p. 68.

¹⁵² See, for instance, 2285/1, 2286/1; 2798/11; 2740/19.

¹⁵³ See *Catalogus Goden en Demonen van Tibet*, nr. 41, Pl. Vb. Cf. also 2798/24 (Gaṇeṣa).

garuḍas resemble a bat with a demon's head, a large beak, and bird's claws. Nāgas and *garuḍas* are each other's sworn enemies; they are both to be seen on paintings of the life of Subhūti.¹⁵⁴

This closes our iconographical survey. Our purpose was not in the first place to identify and label each figure we encountered in Tibetan art, but rather to gain an insight into the structure of the complete system we call a pantheon.

As yet we have only reconnoitred the outskirts of the system; but, like any reconnaissance, it gives rise to surprises, so as to form an attractive feature of work in this field, which is lacking elsewhere. It is inevitable that at times we should come to the wrong conclusions, but here again our aim for the present is to discover the over-all pattern, and I think we are beginning to see it with some clarity. Once it has been revealed, the whole system comes to life, and we cannot fail to admire the genius of those who evolved it.

¹⁵⁴ 2740/35; cf. 2740/24, 86, 89.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDUSTRIAL ARTS

Besides the many paintings and bronzes, which together constitute the iconographical material, the collection also includes a large amount of objects we may classify under the Industrial Arts. Actually we ought to choose a more inclusive term, that would also comprise all kinds of articles in every-day use; on the other hand there are objections to doing so, as we would then be forced to use a word with too broad a meaning. The remarkable fact is that the collection is practically devoid of articles of clothing, while on the other hand ornaments are very well represented. As the Tibetan is fond of decorating his utensils in every-day use, and for this purpose favours colour-effects which certainly have a style of their own, there can be no objection to classing these objects under the Industrial Arts.

Where this is technically and economically possible the Tibetan decorates his ritual and profane utensils with coloured stones, turquoises with their beautiful variations of blue-green tints, corals, small rubies, and sometimes even pearls. When precious or semi-precious stones are unobtainable or unfit for use, he employs coloured glass. Nearly always he manages to achieve special effects, and yet at the same time to uphold the old traditions. The ornamentation, on objects of profane as well as of ritual use, is anything but arbitrary. We encounter several familiar Indian motifs, such as the *kāla* head, the *nāgas*, etc. Certain motifs are so deeply engrained in the artistic tradition, that there are objects we cannot imagine without ornamentation of one special type in its own special place. An example is the spout of a holy-water jug. It will always bear a *makara*-decoration near the point where the spout joins the body of the jug. This decoration is very appropriate there.¹ For filling in small, almost square, surfaces, the favourite ornament is the *kāla*-head motif, often very finely executed. This monstrous head has some very stable features. It may be distinguished from the monster's head incorporated in garlands, such as often decorate prayer-bells. In the first case the head has heavy jowls, a big nose and small, beady eyes, hair arranged like a comb, and no lower jaw; a pair of hands appear on either

¹ Cf. 2798/22; pl. XXIIIa.

side diagonally under the head. The type strongly reminds us of the *kāla*-heads of Java. On the other hand, the head incorporated in the garlands is generally of a much feebler composition; it is really not much more than a somewhat decorated point on which to attach the garland, in which none of the obvious characteristics of the *kāla*-head are preserved. Probably this is due in part to the objects that typically bear this motif: the prayer-bells generally do not excel in delicate modelling, and often we even get the impression that the ornaments were impressed on to the wax moulds by means of stamps: here and there the ornamental bands do not join on to one another, or they overlap. ² The monster's head as surface ornamentation is applied to all kinds of objects, such as boxes, fobs, amulets, earrings, etc. ³

One of the most frequently employed types of chased design is the magnificently executed lotus tendrils, used for covering large surfaces. ⁴ They always have that air of luxuriance that accords with their true meaning. Sometimes signs of good luck are added to the copious lotus-vegetation, particularly on amulet-cases and holy-water jars. ⁵ Finally, the so-called wallpaper-pattern is also employed as surface decoration; at first sight it does not seem to have any symbolic meaning, but detailed research may yet yield surprising results. ⁶

For the ornamentation of edges and borders we find the classical designs of the Greek border and the pearl border in use, these motifs apparently being distributed all over the world, and also enjoying popularity in Tibet. ⁷

Whatever design is selected, it always assumes all the profusion of a tropical jungle. Its often extremely audacious colour-combinations impart a provocative, and at the same time full-blooded character to this art. It is just as if the cheerful, carefree nature of the average Tibetan is embodied in the ornamentation, and manages to gain our sympathy for this decorative style, which is undeniably of a baroque luxuriance which cannot tolerate a single blank space or a single moment of repose.

Although the old motifs continued to be applied, yet finally a distinctive popular art came into being, which is far from negligible and contrasts favourably with the decorative arts of contiguous areas, such as Kashmir. Its own characteristics are readily recognized — and appreciated.

² Cf. 1/1519; 2739/25.

³ Cf. 1943/53; 2739/113; 2798/61, 62, 63, 71, 74.

⁴ Cf. 2845/1, 2.

⁵ Cf. 1119/62; 2739/9, 10, 96, 97, 112; 2798/22, 57, 58, 59; B 55/110.

⁶ Cf. 2739/20.

⁷ Cf. 2845/1, 2.

Two particularities strike us in the decorative art of Tibet that require some further comment.

In the first place we observe that, whenever a rather elaborate ornament, such as haut-relief, has to be applied, the ornament is made separately, and later attached to the object with little rivets. An additional advantage of this method is, that it allows the artist to achieve effective contrasts by using metals of a different colour, such as silver, or gilt bronze. Rosettes of semi-precious stones etc. are also made separately and, when completed, applied to the object, often with quite surprising results. Nor is the artist afraid of using several materials in combination, such as silver on gilt or un-gilt bronze, semi-precious stones on wood, etc.

The second remark concerns an element in Tibetan decorative art which has attained a high degree of perfection, viz. the figurative script. For this purpose the characters of the handsome, but not easily legible, Lant^csa-script are employed. This writing must have developed from variations of the Devanāgarī-script of Northern India and Nepal. It is far from simple to decipher such decorative inscriptions, and sometimes the characters seem to be symbols rather than syllables.⁸

Certain characters and combinations occur very frequently and should be discussed at somewhat greater length. Admittedly these are special types of significative ornamentation, i.e. ornaments designed to represent a particular and definite idea or concept; nevertheless they sometimes shed this characteristic and become purely decorative. A remarkable example is furnished by the skull-bowl nr. 1774/1, which bears two renderings of a well-known formula; but one of these inscriptions is written normally, and the other reversed! This surely proves that a symbolic value is no longer attached to this formula, but that it has only been applied as a decoration.

Of the formulas often employed for decorative purposes, we should in the first place mention the well-known: "*om maṇi padme hūṃ*"; much has been written about it, but only little known with any certainty.⁹

Actually the formula has three component parts. The first is the "pranava" om, the mystic syllable, composed of three letters, a, u, and ṃ, and

⁸ This is an extremely difficult subject, and GRÜNWEDEL was on a false track altogether when he wrote his sensational study "*Die Teufel des Avesta und ihre Beziehungen zur Ikonographie des Buddhismus Zentral-Asiens*" (1924), p. II, 46 sq. Besides much that is nonsensical, this work also contains an amount of interesting information, which can, however, only be utilized by insiders, as others would not be capable of separating the grain from the chaff.

⁹ Cf. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 148 sq.

the subject of certain mystical speculations.¹⁰ The second part consists of the words *maṇi padme*, meaning: "Oh, jewel in the lotus"; and finally there is the *bija-mantra* *hūṃ*, which is held to dispell demons. The complete formula is sometimes called a prayer to, or invocation of, Avalokiteçvara, but this mantra's profoundest meaning is to be found in the mystic sphere, where the jewel, *maṇi*, represents the male principle, and the lotus, *padma*, the female. The mantra as a whole is therefore an exclamation pertaining to the supreme mystic union. In my opinion this entails the conclusion that it should not be called a prayer, particularly as it is directly connected with such a peculiar object as the prayer-wheel, after all, is. As is generally known, the drum of the prayer-wheel contains a strip of paper upon which is printed the formula *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, repeated thousands of times. Now it is commonly said that turning the prayer-wheel has, automatically, the same effect as reciting a "prayer". However, this conveys a false impression, viz. that the purpose is merely to let a mechanical contraption perform the prayers, with other words, to use an ingenious method for escaping a duty which is considered an unavoidable nuisance. Now it seems to me that we must consider the use of the prayer-wheel in a different context, viz. mysticism. The aim of mysticism is to attain the supreme union, and this is thought to be made possible by various processes of meditation and contemplation, with the recitation of certain formulas playing a part of importance. This recitation needs to be very expertly performed: if the formula is not repeated in an absolutely correct manner, it loses its effect. When the spoken word can never achieve a truly perfect rendering, the written word is employed as a substitute; as it is less powerful, however, it needs to be repeated many times in order to achieve the same effect. This throws light on the true functions of the prayer-wheel, as a means to help the illiterate to attain salvation.

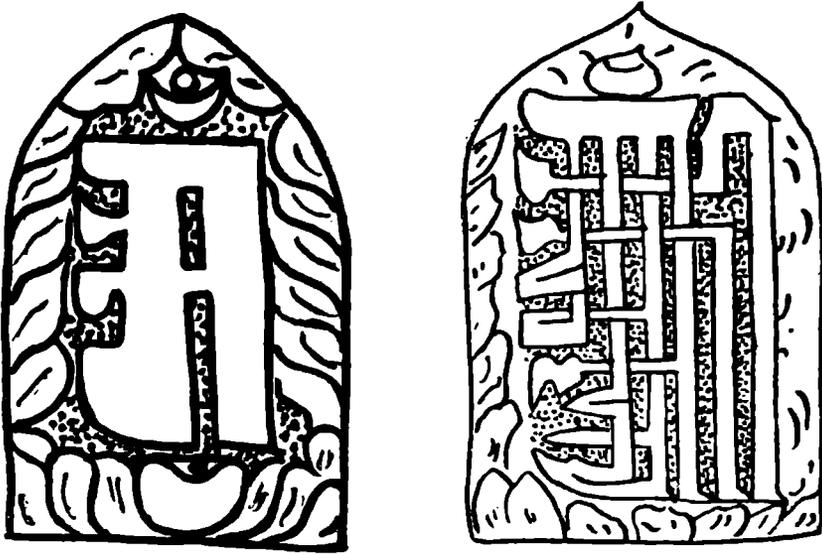
Needless to say, to many, even to those who employ the prayer-wheel, this deeper meaning of the prayer-wheel is unknown, as is the true sense of the recitation of texts. In both cases the devotees are too prone to look for a means of achieving merit or power for their own purposes, that is to say, to turn an instrument meant for mysticism to purposes of magic. This is a very common shortcoming in Lamaism, or rather in t̄antric Buddhism.

In the same way written formulas, as *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, or written *bija-mantras*, such as *oṃ*, or *hūṃ*, are employed as decoration on amulets, etc.

¹⁰ The letters a, u, and ṃ are identified with Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha respectively, representing the male and the female principle and the product of their union. Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 104, and the literature cited there.

Of these formulas the bijamantra ¹¹ “om” is by far the most important for decorative purposes. This mystic syllable figures on all kinds of objects, but particularly on amulets (see figure).

In the literature on the subject this sign is often confused with another, which is often employed in a similar manner and is known as the “Sign of the Ten Mighty Ones” (Skt. *daçākṣarovaçī*, tib. *rnam-bçu-dbañ-ldan*; — see figure). This sign is also of great mystic importance. Its innermost significance is, that it concisely depicts the entire cosmos. It consists of



seven intertwined Lant^sa characters, overtopped by the symbols for flame, sun and moon. Both signs are frequently placed on a lotus pedestal, against a background formed by a leaf of the sacred figtree, representatives of the elements water and fire respectively. ¹²

I do not intend writing a lengthy treatise on the products of Tibetan industrial arts in general. The foregoing pages may serve as an introduction to the following summary of such objects as are included in the museum's collection. Plates XXII — XXXII give a good impression of the diversity of such objects.

¹¹ Bija-mantra means: root of a formula or invocation. They are especially used in the yantras, figures employed in meditation. Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, pp. 10, 11, 13, 35, 64 sq. Examples of objects inscribed with the bija *om*: 1943/26; 2739/99, 100.

¹² Cf. POTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 sq. On various objects: 1119/63; 2739/97, 98; 2740/13 (woven into the silk covering of a thanka). Cf. *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, Pl. 40, and HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 119, Plate 122, nr. 842.

The material can best be subdivided into a number of groups, as follows:

1. objects used in ordinary ritual;
2. objects used in t̄antric ritual;
3. ritual articles employed in every-day life, in magic and divination;
4. articles of every-day use;
5. writing materials and printing blocks;
6. musical instruments;
7. arms;
8. body-ornaments, jewelry.

1. *Objects used in ordinary ritual.*

In the first place this group comprises the articles that are used by the monks and that do not form part of their dress; and in addition articles that have a special function in the temple or at religious festivals.

We are immediately struck by the fact that two important objects, which are characteristic of the Indian Buddhist monk, are not found in Tibet: the beggar's bowl and the alarm-staff. The reason is, that the Tibetan monk is not a mendicant, so that these articles have lost their meaning for him.¹³

On the other hand, two other objects have acquired a much greater importance in Tibet, viz. the *vajra* and the *ghaṇṭā* (prayer-bell). The first, originally the weapon of Indra, symbolizes the method, the second represents the doctrine. So both attributes belong together, and are primarily of symbolic significance. The handle of the prayer-bell is shaped like a half *vajra*. Conversely, the *vajra* of Tibet does not always have the classical Indian form of a five-taloned claw, but often consists of nine talons (eight plus one), the tips of which are joined together.

A *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā* (prayer-bell) that form a pair should be of the same model.

The bell itself is made separately, the handle is attached afterwards. Usually in the middle of the handle there is a god's head, rising out of a *pūrṇakalaṣa*, a pot.

There are excellent specimens of both objects in the collection. Special mention should be made of the beautiful *vajra* 2798/53, which has its entire surface covered with an inlay of little stones.¹⁴

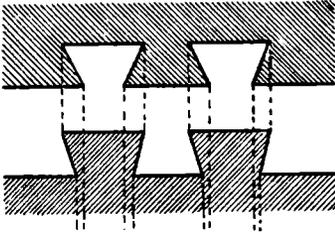
¹³ The beggar's bowl and alarm-staff just mentioned do not occur as individual articles in Tibet; they are sometimes employed as liturgical objects in certain ceremonies. The elaborately decorated beggar's bowl, nr. 1860/2 in the collection, was probably also employed as such.

¹⁴ Four-five pronged *vajra*: 1/1520; 2798/53. Eight-nine pronged *vajra*: 2739/27, 28; B 76/78. Prayer-bell: 1/1519; 1119/30; 2739/25, 26.

While these two articles are still the monk's more or less personal attributes,¹⁵ the following are connected rather with certain ritual actions. In the first place the five-panelled priest's crown, which is worn during certain parts of the ritual, particularly while the holy water is being prepared. This crown therefore appears to have the same function as the beautiful crowns of the Nepalese vajrācāryas and the Balinese pedandas, whom I compared with one another in an earlier study.¹⁶

The five-leaved crown was already mentioned when the group of the five dhyāni-buddhas came up for discussion. Later I hope to return to this subject, in connection with a study on the *vajradhātu*. Two priest's crowns of this type are included in the collection; one depicts the dhyāni-buddhas in the usual manner, the other portrays them dressed as bodhisattvas, with their emblems in their right hand.¹⁷

The holy water is kept, for use in the temple service, in little jugs of a very special kind. They always have a spherical body, placed on a tall, conical pedestal; they have a long, narrow neck with a very wide rim, and a long spout, which proceeds from the lower half of the body of the vessel, and rises straight up till it reaches higher than the rim of the neck. Some peacock's feathers are put into the neck. There is usually a silk covering for the body of the bronze jug.¹⁸ Making the



body demands particular technical skill, as it is impracticable to cast it in one piece. Therefore two hemispherical pieces of equal diameter are cast, which are then welded together. An interesting method is used in order to make the pieces fit firmly together: the edges of both halves are dovetailed together, the protuberances being a fraction wider than the notches. When the dovetails have been fitted into one another, the two halves are joined by welding (see figure). The same method is used for joining together bronze plates.

The same method is used for joining together bronze plates.

A remarkable object used in some ceremonies is the richly decorated pendant the priest wears on his back, 2822/2. A piece of flowered red silk serves as a foundation for all kinds of ornaments of bronze and semiprecious stones. From the lower part a fringe, decorated with beads and knots, hangs down.

¹⁵ I leave out of consideration those articles that are not strictly proper to monks, such as the rosary, the prayer-wheel and the amulet. They will be discussed as parts of the third group; see p. 119 sq.

¹⁶ POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 146, pl. XIV.

¹⁷ Cf. 2739/21, 22; pl. XXIV, 1.

¹⁸ Cf. 1/1499, 1500; 2739/11, 12, 13; 2798/22 (Plate XXIIIa).

I do not know the meaning of this ornament; it is to be seen, as worn, on some of the photos made by J. F. ROCK at the monastery of Choni.¹⁹ Perhaps it is a special kind of emblem of office.

That is certainly the function of the fine ceremonial staff 2920/1 (Plate IIIb). It consists of a wooden staff, both ends of which disappear into iron coverings, square in cross-section, and each with a length of about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire staff. They each hold in place four L-shaped irons, between which the beautiful bronze decoration is attached to the middle of the staff. An iron handle with a ring is fastened on to the back of the topmost covering. Its front side bears a bronze plate ornamented with a bearded god sitting on a deer, and holding as attributes a branch, or staff, and a jewel; this allows us to identify him as, in all probability, Me-lha or Agni.²⁰ The staff as a whole is completely similar to the one illustrated by WADDELL, which comes from the monastery of Sera;²¹ the similarity is so striking, that we even wonder whether it is not one of the two staves shown on Waddell's photograph. They are the emblem of office of the proctor, so each Lama occupying that office inherits them from his predecessor.

The magnificent fan of peacock's feathers is perhaps also an emblem of office. On its front side Sūrya is depicted in his sun-chariot, on the back are two intertwined triangles in the form of the so-called "seal of Solomon". It is undeniably the work of a Nepalese artist, as is demonstrated by its style and execution, and the manner in which the peacock's feathers and gilt are employed (nr. 2798/46; Plate XXIV-2).

Objects of a quite different category within this group are all the many articles to be found on a Lamaist altar,²² ranging from the innumerable large and small sacrificial pots²³ and the, sometimes beautifully decorated, butter-lamps,²⁴ to the so-called altar-ornaments, which may be very delicately executed. In addition we should mention the larger bronze vessels which decorate the temples, but are frequently grotesque rather than beautiful.²⁵

¹⁹ J. F. ROCK, *Life among the Lamas of Choni*, Nat. Geogr. Mag., Nov. 1928, pp. 617, 619.

²⁰ Cf. R. NEBESKY WOJKOWITZ, *Ein Beitrag zur tibetischen Ikonographie*, Archiv für Völkerkunde (Wien), V, 1951, pp. 138 sq.; esp. pp. 143 sq.

²¹ WADDELL, L. A., *Lhasa and its Mysteries*⁴, p. 372; cf. ROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

²² Cf. WADDELL, L. A., *Buddhism of Tibet*, chapter XII.

²³ Cf. 1/1501-1508.

²⁴ Cf. *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, pl. 31, 32; 1119/57; 2798/52, pl. XXIIIc.

²⁵ Cf. 1860/1, 3, 7.

Elsewhere I dealt at length with the so-called altar-ornaments, and observed that in principle this appellation is incorrect, as the objects designated by that name have a deeper significance than simply that of ornament. Convincing proof is offered by the groups of the Seven and the Eight Precious Objects (*saptaratna, aṣṭamaṅgalani*), which are of great importance in mysticism; and the so-called miniature stūpa is also an important object of meditation.²⁶ The museum has some very interesting sets of these Precious Objects. The constituent parts of the set are usually rendered as objects placed on lotus pedestals.²⁷

Sometimes they merge into one complicated figure, the parts of which are subject to definite principles of arrangement.²⁸ The sets in the museum collection consist of the separate objects, placed on bronze lotus-petals. These petals have little bronze stalks, so that they may be joined together to form a complete lotus-flower.²⁹

Some of the utensils have an obvious function, the various kinds of lamps, for example, and the incense-burners. Many of the lamps are of Nepalese manufacture, particularly the large standing oil-lamps on a high, column-like, pedestal, the oil-container decorated with a many-armed Gaṇeṣa-figure, or a Bhairava or another fearsome divinity.³⁰ Another type, of almost equal renown, is that of the attractive jar-shaped lamps, which are to be found in the collection in various shapes and sizes.³¹

The incense-burners are of two types; one kind is suspended by three chains, the other is meant to stand. The latter type is only represented in the collection by one specimen, with marked Mongolian stylistic peculiarities; the other includes pieces of three different styles, viz. the Tibetan, the Nepalese, and the Chinese. This last type is best known from pictures of ceremonies in Lamaistic monasteries, and the specimens in the collection are undoubtedly fairly modern.³² This is not the case with the two other types. The censer in Tibetan style is very interesting, not only as it presumably is an old piece, but especially because the composition of the lamp is an image

²⁶ Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, chapter III.

²⁷ Cf. *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, pl. 27, 28; HENDLEY in: *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XV, nr. 119, pl. 14.

²⁸ Cf. POTT in: *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XLIII, 1943, pp. 228 sq; also compare the ornament on the cornice of the wooden house-altar 2739/86. Sometimes the aṣṭamaṅgalani are also combined in a holy-water jar, or depicted on the body of such a jar or kumbha. Cf. 2739/9, 10.

²⁹ Cf. 1/1493, 1494.

³⁰ Cf. S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 60; cf. 1119/81, 82; 2739/5; B 76/96.

³¹ Cf. S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 305; cf. 1119/60; 2739/4; B 76/48.

³² Cf. J. F. ROCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 607, 613; 2739/8.

of the cosmos (2778/1; Plate XXIV, 4).³³ The representative of the Nepalese type (2586/2; Plate XXIV, 3) is interesting for its ornamentation, which shows an eighteen-armed Durgā, thrice repeated; this form of the goddess is also employed as a decorative motif on other articles, but seems to be rare as an individual bronze.³⁴

Some other objects on the altar have a less obvious purpose. In the first place we observe the miniature stūpa. Originally a funerary monument, it developed into an object of meditation, in which the constituent parts are reduced to the elementary symbols of the five elements. Two formal types may be recognized, viz. the type with the requisite square base and tall pinnacle (B 76/77, Pl. XXIII b), which is closely related to the classical Indian stūpa, and the completely rounded type, with a circular base, standing on a lotus-cushion which, according to WADDELL, is derived from the "mediaeval Indian chaitya". There is a specimen of this type in the collection that entirely corresponds to the one illustrated in Waddell.³⁵

Finally there are also sacrificial vessels with pinnacle-shaped lids, giving the entire object the shape of a stūpa.³⁶

Some remarks have already been made on the use of the altar mirror, which, in its appearance, rather reminds us of a monstrance. It is employed specially when pictures of the pantheon are consecrated, or to serve as a temporary abode for the deity in a painting, during the time the painting has to be restored. Besides this handsome type of mirror, there are also others, which probably serve a more magical purpose, and only consist of a disk without pedestal or handle, and only decorated with a few characters or symbols.³⁷

A very interesting object is the metal strip composed out of the five metals gold, silver, copper, brass and iron, and shaped in the form of a small spoon, of which a few filings are taken and incorporated in the ritual cakes (*tor-ma*) on special occasions. The meaning of this object would not have been clear, if WADDELL had not given an illustration of how it is used.³⁸

³³ Cf. POTT, *Yoga en Yantra*, p. 48, 101. The eight perpendicular lizards, each carrying a jewel, are the counterparts of the eight nāgas.

³⁴ Cf. the box 1943/74. Mr. William F. C. Ohly, in London, possesses a bronze statuette, with inlay of little stones, of this form of the goddess Durgā.

³⁵ Cf. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 262; 2798/54. Other illustrations of such stūpas in GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 12, fig. 5; *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, Pl. 26.

³⁶ Cf. 1119/58.

³⁷ See p. 51; 1119/72; cf. 1/1497; 2739/188.

³⁸ Cf. 2739/90; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 427.

I do not know what the exact function is of the sometimes beautifully decorated boxes, which are frequently encrusted with semi-precious stones and embellished with ivory-carving.³⁹ There is not even certainty as to the use of the magnificent bronze box of Plate II (2845/1), and which must have contained valuables of a religious nature, either manuscripts, or articles of dress of abbots, etc. In calling it a reliquary, we take this word in its broadest meaning of receptacle for objects of high ritual value.

Finally we should mention the remarkable bronze lions, which are used as altar decorations, and seem to correspond with the lions to be seen at the entrances of temples and monasteries in China and Further India.

Perhaps they can best be compared with the lions of the Buddha's "lion throne". They are often very carefully made, and are sometimes of considerable size. The collection has a few good pieces of the commoner, small size.⁴⁰

As last objects belonging to this class I may mention the cupboards, decorated with carving and heavily gilt, used by the upper classes to contain the statuettes of their house-altars. The specimen in the collection has all the marks of a modern work, made by Chinese woodcarvers. The impression it makes is one of showy opulence rather than of artisticity.⁴¹ It combines Chinese and Indian motifs: for the Indian *makaras*, dragons have been substituted, but the typical figure of the combined Eight Precious Objects (*aṣṭamaṅgalani*) has been retained.

2. Articles used in Tāntric ritual.

These articles are of such a special nature, that in practically all cases they are immediately recognizable. They are the same as the objects we encountered as attributes of the demonic figures in the pantheon: the skull-bowls, skull-drums, trumpets made of a femur, sacrificial knives, crowns, magic daggers, bone aprons, etc. All too often a sinister origin has been imputed to these objects: the pieces of bone, of which many of them are made, were said to be bones of enemies of the doctrine, who had been defeated and destroyed, and so forth. A far more correct idea of the meanings of these articles is gained if we compare them with the attributes and ornaments of the demonic figures, and compare the latter again with the officiant who makes use of the tāntric attributes. It then becomes evident that he identifies himself with one of the demonic figures, and also dresses

³⁹ Cf. 1943/74; 2739/17-20; 2798/61; B 76/24.

⁴⁰ Cf. 1119/61; 1774/2; 2739/42, 43.

⁴¹ Cf. 2739/86.

and behaves like these Fearsome Ones. It is thought that by these outward actions an inward process can be promoted. What kind of a process, we have tried to demonstrate in Chapter II.

After these introductory remarks on this category of objects in general, little remains to be said on each individual article. The skull-bowls⁴² are usually mounted on a triangular bronze pedestal, representing the sacrificial fire. The inside is generally finished off in bronze, and they have a lid with a vajra-shaped handle (2065/1; Pl. XXV 5). They are also incrustated with stones, and sometimes even decorated with carvings (2220/1; Pl. XXV 6). Miniature models of such skull-bowls are also made, which sometimes represent not merely a brain-pan, but a half-decayed entire skull, the special skull borne as an attribute by Kālī.⁴³

The companion piece of the skull-bowl, which is carried in the left hand, is the sacrificial knife, belonging in the right hand. There are two specimens in the collection, one of which excels by its perfectly classical form (1943/9), the other by its particularly fine and elaborate execution (1786/10; both on Plate XXV 7).

A certain parallellism is to be observed in the way definite objects have their place in the right or in the left hand: the alarm staff and beggar's bowl, the vajra and prayer-bell, the sacrificial knife and skull-bowl, the magic dagger and its accompanying charcoal-burner or dish, and perhaps also the bone trumpet and skull-drum, all form pairs.

The collection possesses a few extremely interesting "magic daggers" (*phur-bu*), which are surmounted by a monster's head, representing Haya-grīva, who may be recognized by the horse's head that is sometimes added. As these daggers have been subjected to detailed study, I may confine myself to a reference to the published results; only remarking that two types are to be distinguished by the shape of the centre-piece: sometimes it is rather like a barrel (see Plate XXVI), in other cases it is very narrow, with a ring in the middle.⁴⁴

We should also mention the striking similarity of the separate pieces within each group, leading us to assume them to have a common origin. The

⁴² Cf. 1119/69; 1774/1; 2065/1; 2500/1; 2220/1; 2739/16.

⁴³ Cf. 1/1509; 2739/15; 1119/59. Cf. POTT in: Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, XLIII, 1943, p. 237.

⁴⁴ Cf. 1119/36; 1774/4; 2798/66, 67, 68, 69; a *wooden phur-bu*: 1119/37 is interesting in connection with the precept that a real magic dagger should be made of khadira-wood. Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 31, 164; BOSCH, F. D. K., *De god met de Paardekop*, TBG 67, 1927, p. 124-153; R. H. VAN GULIK, *Hayagrīva*. Also see p. 100.

same holds good for various other kinds of objects of this category, particularly the skull-bowls and the bone aprons.

As the dagger (*phur-bu*) is connected with Hayagrīva, we are not surprised that its counterpart, the charcoal-burner shaped like a demon's head with wide-open mouth, is also related to a demonic god, viz. Krodhārāja-malakuta, a special form of Agni. This deity also figures on Nepalese incense-burners.⁴⁵

The last-mentioned pair of objects that to some extent belong together: the trumpet made of a human femur and the drum made of two brainpans, are also represented in the collection, as are the trumpets with mouths shaped like a makara, which may replace the bone trumpet, and the *damaru*, a double wooden drum, which sometimes acts as substitute for the skull-drum. Of this latter article there are also miniature models.⁴⁶

Then there are the crown (1119/71)⁴⁷ and the top of a magic wand (*khatvāṅga*) (1119/40), on the authenticity of which I have my doubts, however.

One of the finest pieces of this category is the bone apron; it is illustrated on Plate XXVII, but should be seen in reality if one is to judge its real merit (2851/1). It has obviously been in actual use; it is fairly old, and presumably all but complete. These pieces have the misfortune that they hardly ever remain as they originally were: practically all are re-strung, the pieces then often being re-arranged in the most peculiar manner because a considerable part of the original is missing. The specimen illustrated, though, is well-nigh complete, as is apparent from i.a. the two side-pieces of the girdle, which terminate in trapeze-shaped endings, and which are very often lacking. By being used the piece has acquired that remarkable smoothness and colour which raises it far above modern aprons of the same material, which make such a theatrical impression because of their shining white surface.

We have already remarked that there are two kinds of bone aprons, viz. the one illustrated, which is made of bone only, and another, in which the bone beads are interspersed with beads of coloured material, usually red and green; the latter type shows marked similarity to the aprons worn by *dākinīs* as *çaktis* of demonic gods.

⁴⁵ Cf. 2095/1; 2798/70; "On some Nepalese Incense Burners, Rūpam, 7, 1922, pp. 13 sq, TAFEL, A., *Meine Tibetreise*, I, p. 182.

⁴⁶ Trumpets made of a femur: 1119/34, 35; 2739/31-33; skull-drum: 1119/38; makara-trumpet: 1/1527, 1528; 1804/1, la; *damaru*: 1119/39; miniature *damaru*: 1/1521, 1522; 2739/34, 35.

⁴⁷ A very fine skull-crown is illustrated in HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XV, nr. 119, Pl. 7b.

Also remarkable is the great uniformity of the carving on the girdles of these aprons. This uniformity is such as almost to force one to conclude that they all issued from one workshop, i.e. that making these aprons was the speciality of a particular monastery. Let one compare the specimen illustrated in this work with those of GRÜNWEDEL, HENDLEY, and TUCCI,⁴⁸ and also with the neck-ornament 1119/70, in which again the same decoration is incorporated.

The bone apron is the most important of the six so-called (tāntric) "ornaments", which are said to have been invented by the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇacārī, who is said to have received such an apron from a dākinī. According to the mystic text *Çambhala-lam-yig* (The Road to Çambhala), such aprons are found in Ratnagiri (Bengal), and emit rays of light at night-time.⁴⁹

Finally, this group includes the masks employed in the so-called "devil-dances", more correctly called mystery-plays, in which the demonic beings appear on the stage in person. The performers do actually identify themselves with the demonic gods, as appears from the fact that they only receive their attributes at the very last moment, and have to return them immediately after the dance. The museum does not possess one single article of the clothing they wear; there are a few interesting masks, which, however, are hard to identify with any certainty. What we can observe is a certain difference of age. An obviously old piece, such as 2739/81, stands out, by its colour and shape, from the more modern group of 1119/42-51; these masks are made of inferior materials, one even being made of tin, and either very recent, or an imitation. Among the objects which have been in the collection for the greatest length of time are a number of casts of masks, made by Herman de Schlagintweit after originals in the well-known monastery of Hemis, near Leh in Ladakh. These are now only of historical interest.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, Baessler-Archiv, V, pp. 206 sq; HENDLEY in: *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, pl. 124, nr. 851 (from Shigatse); TUCCI and CHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 202 (pl.).

⁴⁹ GRÜNWEDEL, *Der Weg nach Sambhala*, p. 88, fol. 12 a 1; cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, nr. 17.

⁵⁰ Cf. 2/1-6. Very much has already been published on the dances: practically every book on Tibet contains descriptions and pictures of them. The oldest illustrations are probably those by H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, first published in *JASB*, 1865, p. 71 sq, and afterwards reproduced in N. NOTOVITCH, *La vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ*², 1894, and in L. A. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 521 sq. The latter also lists the main literature on the subject. On SCHLAGINTWEIT's masks, see H. FRANCKE, in: *Globus* LXXVIII, 1898, p. 1-8, ill. Also see Plate XXV-1 (1119/50).

3. *Ritual objects employed in every-day life, in magic and divination.*

This group comprises in the first place the articles in ordinary ritual use, such as the rosary, the prayer-wheel, and many kinds of amulets and talismans.

There is not one really good rosary in the collection, one which fulfills all the necessary conditions. In practice the rosaries are very often incomplete. WADDELL has given a full list of the various kinds, and traced their connection with certain sects and schools.⁵¹

The prayer-wheel, on the other hand, is very well represented in the collection, and is to be seen in two forms. One is the standing type, having a cylinder which is kept in a perpendicular position by a yoke, or a metal case, and which turns on a vertical axis (1119/56; 1786/9).⁵² The other type is the familiar one, with wooden handle, which forms part of the accoutrement of every Tibetan. It is no wonder it occurs in many models, from the very simplest to the most elaborate, such as those made of ivory, decorated with carving, and inlaid with semi-precious stones.⁵³

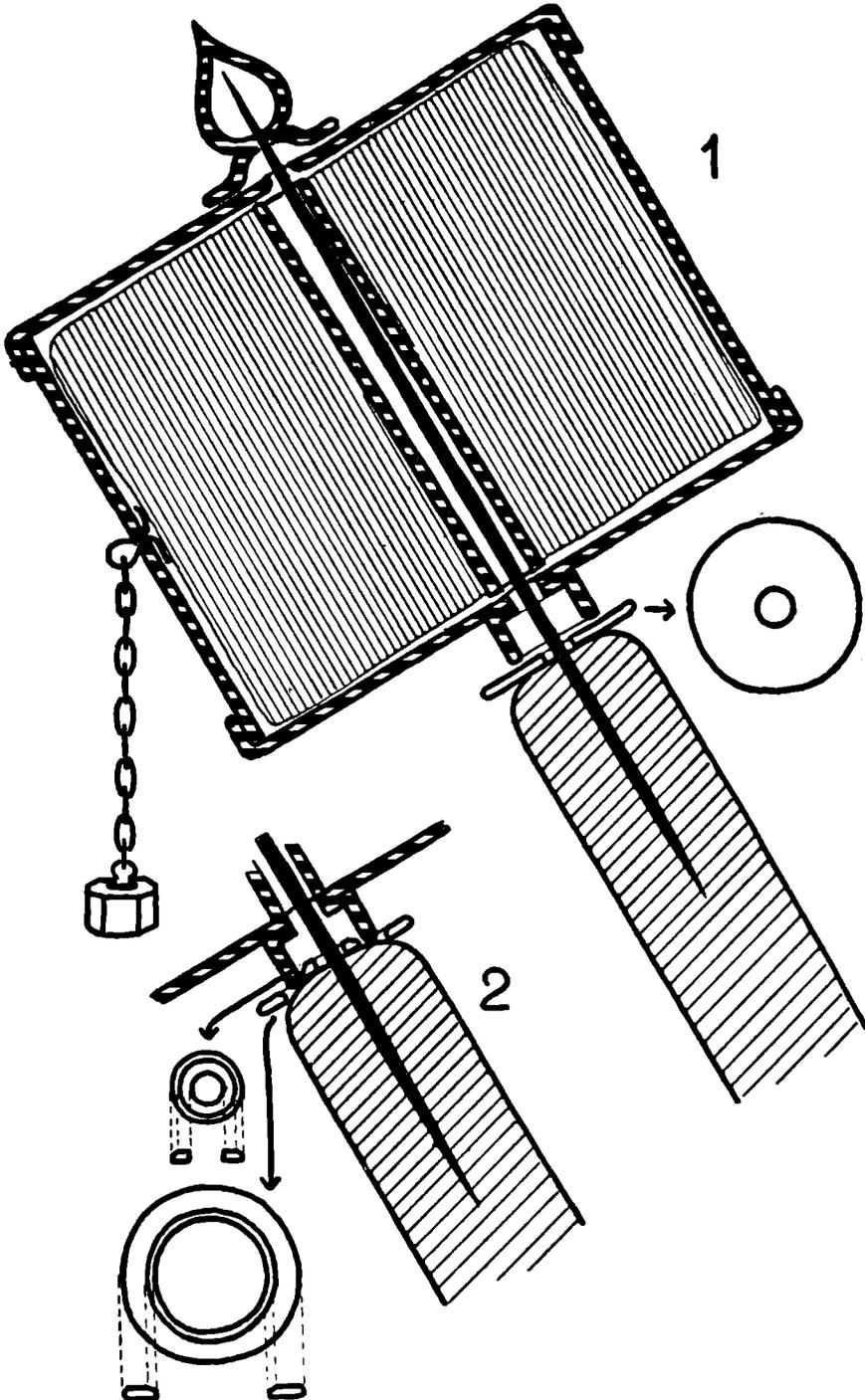
We have already spoken of the true meaning of the use of the prayer-wheel. A few remarks on its construction may be added here. Its nucleus is a long, narrow strip of paper, on which the usual formula "*om mani padme hūm*", many times repeated, is written or printed. This strip is rolled up round a little bamboo cylinder. This roll is always made at least as thick as it is high; it fits into the cylindrical drum, the top and bottom of which clasp the side of the cylinder, and are pierced in the centre. Now an iron rod passes through these holes in the top and bottom and through the bamboo cylinder. Its lower end is firmly attached to the handle, the upper end terminates in a jewel-shaped knob, which prevents the drum falling off its axis. At one point, half way up the side of the drum, a short chain is attached, with a leaden cube at its end. When one makes a turning motion with one's hand, meanwhile firmly grasping the wooden handle of the prayer-wheel, the leaden cube, by its centrifugal force, pulls the drum with its contents round its iron axis (see figure on p. 120).

A small cylinder is attached to the lower side of the bottom of the drum, evidently with the purpose of reducing the friction of the drum against the handle. As this cylinder is of metal, it would gradually cut into the wooden handle, if the prayer-wheel was used frequently. To prevent this an ivory

⁵¹ WADDELL, L. A., *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 202 sq; cf. 1/1535-1537; 1774/3.

⁵² Cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 218. These are actually miniature replicas of the large prayer-wheels in monasteries.

⁵³ Cf. 1/1496; 1119/53, 54, 55; 1994/8; 2739/23, 24; 2798/47-51 (See Pl. XXII-4); B 76/120.



or bone disk is interposed between the cylinder and the handle. After very prolonged use the small cylinder will, however, also cut into, and through, the disk, the final result being that we have two concentric ivory or bone

rings, the smaller with its outer edge faintly conical, the larger conically pierced through its centre, as a result of the cutting process (see figure). When the disk has been worn through in this way, it is replaced by a new one; but the old one, now consisting of two rings, is not thrown away, but kept as a signal proof of the many devotions performed. These rings are, in this case, either fastened to the chain attaching the leaden cube to the drum, or else the strap, by which small amulet-cases are carried, is threaded through it (nr. 2798/60, Plate XXX-2, is an excellent example).

Although I cannot be sure, I am inclined to believe that the little bone or ivory rings which make up some rosaries, also originated in this way, what would explain the high ritual and material value of such chaplets.

A Tibetan may, at a pinch, exist without either rosary or prayer-wheel, but certainly not without an amulet. As life threatens him on all sides, he must be armed, and therefore his first possession is always an amulet, kept in a more or less elaborate box or case. They occur in many models and many sizes.

The simplest form is a page of an old manuscript, or of a printed text, an almanac, etc., folded up small, tightly tied up, and wrapped in a piece of cloth. If at all possible, however, it will be put into a little metal container, which is either fastened with little rivets, or is shaped like a box that can be opened and shut. Preferably a drawing or a clay tablet is added. This is always done when a case is used with a niche in its upper (front) side, which is usually covered with a piece of glass. The clay tablet has its place in the niche behind the glass, the remaining space being filled by the strip of paper, rags, and sometimes other odds and ends, such as coloured stones, grains of barley, etc.

To keep the lid fastened to the box, rings or clasps are attached to the side of each, and through these the cord is passed by which the amulet-case is carried. Smaller boxes usually have these rings attached on either side in such a way as to form hinges, through which a bamboo cylinder is passed as a pivot. The cord by which it is carried can be threaded through this cylinder. To open such a case, one of the pivots has to be removed. This way of joining together the two parts, which is both practical and artistic, is unfortunately being replaced by hinges of Western make, which are riveted to one of the sides.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Cf. amulet-boxes: 2739/97-113; amulet-cases: 1860/5; 1943/26; 2739/91-96; 2798/56-60; B 55/110; HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, Pl. 122, nr. 844; riveted boxes (decorated with various representations): 2572/2; 2739/112.

The amulets may also be contained in beautifully decorated breast-ornaments, so that at first sight one would pass them by as decoration only, if one did not know the meaning of these ornaments.

They are often quadrangular, or based on the pattern of two interlaced squares, with the diagonals of the one bisecting those of the other at an angle of 45°. ⁵⁵ The amulet-cases, that is to say the larger boxes, with a niche in the front, are made of all kinds of materials: wood, bronze, tin, or silver. Attention is only paid to the front; the sides and the back remain undecorated. The silver cases are often beautifully ornamented, and are protected by a cover of red felt. ⁵⁶

The clay tablets contained in these cases are made by matrices; our collection possesses one specimen (2739/47; Plate XXII-2). Such clay tablets may be very delicately executed. In general they portray one figure of the pantheon, once in a while a group. The divinities frequently depicted are Amitāyus, and forms of Avalokiteçvara, but demonic forms are also far from rare. ⁵⁷

A special kind of clay tablets, which may be either perfectly round or square, is made for travelling-altars. They usually depict the Buddha with the eighteen sthaviras and the four Guardians of the World, this group sometimes being supplemented by other figures as well. ⁵⁸

Besides the real amulets, discussed so far, there are also objects which are partly of that nature. We mean the objects which one deposits at a certain place with the idea that by this action one shall enjoy special protection during a particular undertaking, e.g. on a voyage. Of such articles, which on the one hand resemble amulets, but on the other instruments of magic, we should first mention the "*maṇi*-stones", pieces of slate, in which the formula "*om maṇi padme hūm*" is incised, and which are piled up in inaccessible places, mountain passes, etc. by travellers who use this means of expressing their gratitude and at the same of ensuring that their good fortune will persist during their journey. ⁵⁹

Even closer to purely magical implements are the rags and the strips of paper, printed with pictures of animals, such as the "wind-horse", which are to be found in amulets, but are also employed in purely magical practices. ⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Cf. 1/1510; 1119/19, 65, 67; 2739/69; 2798/55; HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, Pl. 114, nr. 793; Pl. 121, nrs. 833 and 835.

⁵⁶ Cf. 2798/56 (wood); 2798/58, 59 (silver). See Plate XXX, 5, 7.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1/1489, 1490; 1119/66; 1632/10; 1786/12-16; 2739/48-52.

⁵⁸ Cf. 2739/87, 88; 2798/21 (Plate XVa).

⁵⁹ Cf. 2739/187 (Plate XXX, 10).

⁶⁰ Cf. printing-block 2822/3; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 411, 132.

Lamaism appears to have borrowed the purely magical implements from the ancient Bon religion. They have been dealt with at length by WADDELL, who has also described divinatory practices and the utensils they require. Many of these objects figure in the museum's collection, such as moulds for making the little cakes of dough, divining-sticks, ⁶¹ horns for magic herbs, ⁶² little gongs with drumsticks, used for invoking demons, ⁶³ magic books, almanacs, and calendars. ⁶⁴

4. *Articles of every-day use.*

A handy guide to this class of objects is still ROCKHILL's *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*. ⁶⁵

The museum's collection is relatively small, although two categories are well represented, viz. utensils for the setting and serving of tea, and articles used on journeys. This is not surprising, as goods of both kinds play a large part in the life of every Tibetan. The tea-bowl, which every inhabitant regularly carries with him, may be a simple wooden bowl, but the more prosperous persons have bowls made of finer wood, with a silver mounting. ⁶⁶ When there are visitors or guests, Chinese porcelain bowls may be used, set on a low, folding table. ⁶⁷

The bowls are covered with a handsome lid, and stand on a tall, broad-rimmed pedestal, which may be of ordinary tin, or of beautifully chased silver, depending on the means of the owner. ⁶⁸ As tea is not only a beverage, but also a food, the tea-set includes a box in which the tsamba-meal is kept; this is mixed with some tea and kneaded into balls, which are then eaten. Such boxes are often beautifully decorated, and can be of great value. ⁶⁹

For preparing the tea itself a wooden churn is used; ⁷⁰ the tea is served in frequently very beautiful teapots, but these fine products of native artistry

⁶¹ Cf. 2739/129-132, Plate XXV-3; cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.* p. 420.

⁶² Cf. 2739/29, 30, and Plate XXV, 4; cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

⁶³ Cf. 1119/31, 32; 2739/152; WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

⁶⁴ Cf. 1119/68; 2740/146; I am not certain as to the purpose of the staff 1119/93; presumably it belongs to this category of objects. The block-prints and manuscripts include many almanacs. Cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 450 sq.

⁶⁵ W. W. ROCKHILL, *Note on the Ethnology of Tibet, based on the Collections in the United States National Museum, Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Washington 1895, pp. 669-747, with 52 plates.*

⁶⁶ Cf. 2739/142; 2798/64, 65; Plate XXXI, 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. 2739/83, 84, 85.

⁶⁸ Cf. 2739/140, 141.

⁶⁹ Cf. 2798/62; also see: M. PALLIS, *Peaks and Lamas*, p. 356, 404, Plates. Plate XXX, 1.

⁷⁰ Cf. 2739/82, Pl. XXXI, 8; cf. ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, (9).

are now gradually being replaced by imported factory-made articles of only slight artistic merit.⁷¹ The Mongolian jugs are of a rather different shape, and often very finely decorated.⁷²

The other class comprises all the objects which are used on a journey, so in the first place utensils which must be able to stand up to rough treatment, and are therefore made of strong materials, and undecorated. For example, instead of the handsome bronze jugs, wooden canisters or horns are used for carrying drinks, or metal flasks. In spite of their utilitarian character, the latter are ornamented, as are the iron pans used on a journey.⁷³ In addition there is the personal equipment: the knife,⁷⁴ flint and steel pouch — often with very fine decoration, and attached to a silver chain⁷⁵ — leather bags, purse,⁷⁶ snuffhorn,⁷⁷ and chalk-box,⁷⁸ in which the constituents of the betel-quid are kept.

Finally the collection possesses a horse's saddle. Apparently these wooden saddles are less practical than handsome; by way of decoration open-work iron plates of a rather fussy design are mounted along the edges of the upper surface.⁷⁹

The museum possesses no articles of dress whatever, so that we must leave this group undiscussed.⁸⁰ Only the *kadag* should be mentioned, the thin silk shawl which plays a part in every visit that is at all ceremonious. These silk cloths show a great variety in quality. They are mostly white or pale blue; the better kind has inwoven patterns of lucky signs or sacred syllables.⁸¹ We know that the Tibetan sometimes makes use of maps or panoramic drawings on his journey, as a number of such drawings have been published. The Museum's collection includes a panorama of one of the great monasteries of Tibet, viz. the monastery of Saskya.⁸²

⁷¹ Cf. 1/1498; 1860/6; B 76/14, and 2739/6, 7. Cf. HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XV, no. 119, pl. 3 and 9; for its use, cf. WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 215, and M. PALLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 291, pl.; cf. 1119/8.

⁷² Cf. 1860/4 (Pl. XXXI, 4), B 55/31, 32.

⁷³ Cf. 1119/2, 3; 1943/7, 8; 2739/79, 80; 1119/1; *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, pl. 89.

⁷⁴ Cf. 1119/7, Pl. XXIXa, 6.

⁷⁵ Cf. 1119/4, Pl. XXXI, 7; 2739/72; *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, pl. 78; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.* pl. 9.

⁷⁶ Cf. 2739/71, 73.

⁷⁷ Cf. 1943/4; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.

⁷⁸ Cf. 1119/6; 2739/110.

⁷⁹ Cf. 1119/20; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

⁸⁰ There are, indeed two caps, as worn by officials, but they are entirely of Chinese manufacture (1119/10, 11).

⁸¹ Cf. 1/1518.

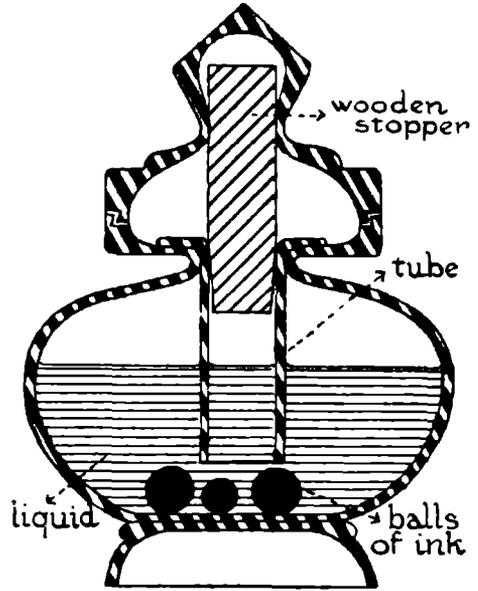
⁸² Cf. 2740/143.

5. *Writing implements and printing blocks.*

As the average Tibetan has not the good fortune of being able to write, the articles of this group cannot simply be classed among the goods in everyday use. We regret having to admit that the most essential implement, viz. the pen itself, is lacking from our collection.

The Tibetan pen is actually not much more than a pointed bamboo stick.⁸³ A number of such pens are kept in bronze pen-cases, sometimes beautifully decorated.⁸⁴ A travelling-inkwell, which one can carry about on one's person, completes the outfit.⁸⁵

The construction of such an inkwell is interesting enough to deserve a more detailed scrutiny. It is illustrated in the accompanying figure. In the first place we observe that even such a simple object has been given a pleasing shape; in addition it has a very ingenious double lid, viz. a wooden stopper, and the snugly fitting edges of the broad neck and of the outer lid. Besides, the tube in the neck, which extends to about half an inch from the bottom of the bronze pot, excludes practically every possibility of spilling if the inkwell is upset. The little pellets of paint which are used in preparing the ink, can just pass through the tube, and then come to lie at the bottom of the pot.



When the pot is shaken, the pellets gradually dissolve in the liquid. The perpendicular tube in the neck of the inkwell also serves to prevent the user from pouring too much liquid into the pot, thus also guarding against spilling. Altogether a construction of admirable ingenuity!

No piece of writing of any importance is complete without the impress of a seal. This form of ratification has undoubtedly been borrowed by Tibet from China, and both countries also make use of the same materials, only Tibetan seals are usually of metal.⁸⁶

⁸³ Cf. ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 29.

⁸⁴ Cf. 2739/45, 46; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 202; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 29.

⁸⁵ Cf. 1119/88, 89, 90; 2739/14 (fig.); WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 202; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 29.

⁸⁶ Cf. 1119/91; an example of a letter: 2740/144.

To the present day manuscript copies are made of the sacred texts. Sometimes the text is written in black ink on ordinary paper, but for special purposes elaborate copies are made, written in gold ink on black, glossy paper several layers thick, what makes it look like cardboard. Transcribing manuscripts is far from simple, and the preparation of paper and ink is governed by special precepts, which demonstrate how much care was devoted to this work. Having a manuscript copied was considered a meritorious action, so its aim was not always to make a copy for private study. That purpose was served by the countless copies on ordinary paper, which also include a number of very beautiful specimens, sometimes embellished with delicate miniatures.⁸⁷

Of many texts printed copies are made, by means of printing-blocks, in which the text of a page is engraved as a woodcut. The monasteries have large numbers of these blocks, and if one wishes to obtain a certain text, one supplies the necessary paper, and the monastery prints the text. This is the normal procedure: there is no trade in new books.⁸⁸

The collection includes a fairly large number of printing-blocks. Some of them are meant for printing a page of text in the way we have just described, e.g. the remarkable block illustrated on Plate XXVII b. It bears the first words of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a kind of Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian glossary, the importance of which for Buddhistic studies was already understood by the Hungarian savant Csoma de Körös, now more than 100 years ago.

It is a curious fact that this block has been in the museum-collection for at least the same length of time.⁸⁹

There are several other blocks, meant for printing *mantras*, consecrational formulas which are kept inside statues and amulets.⁹⁰ Then we have the printing-blocks for making *yantras*, figures destined to be used in exercises of meditation, but often employed in magic, or as talismans.⁹¹ And finally we should mention the blocks with the typical lucky symbols and formulas, which are used in particular to print the papers contained in amulets. A fine

⁸⁷ Later I hope to do justice to this material by making a catalogue. As examples of the manuscripts written in gold or silver letters, we should in the first place mention Prajñāparamitā texts. Cf. 2739/114; 2798/88; B 25/9-14.

⁸⁸ An excellent impression of such a store-house of printing-blocks is given by J. F. ROCK, in *National Geographical Magazine*, Nov. 1928, p. 602.

⁸⁹ Cf. 1/1538; in the appendix also some references to the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and Csoma de Körös are to be found. A brief survey of the life of this remarkable scholar is given by Sven HEDIN, in his *Trans-Himalaya*, III, p. 387-393.

⁹⁰ Cf. 1119/84-87; 2739/115-119, 127, 128.

⁹¹ Cf. 1119/94, 85; 2739/121-125; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 403.

example is illustrated by the figure in the text, made after a printing block at about half size. ⁹²

Very interesting is a little block engraved on both sides, and bearing the pictures of a Tibetan man and woman; it probably represents a petty prince and his wife. As there is no further indication on the printing-block no further interpretation can be made. It is the only piece I know of that has a non-religious subject (2739/126).

6. *Musical instruments.*

The majority of the musical instruments in our collection are those employed in the temple services. ⁹³ Conspicuous among them are the very long temple trumpets, made in separate parts which telescope together. In general they are coarse, only slightly decorated near the carrying-rings and the mouth. A few specimens have an inscription near the mouth. ⁹⁴ Other wind-instruments are a kind of clarinet ⁹⁵ and a small trumpet, which is always used in pairs, and is of the same construction as the trumpets with a makara-shaped mouth employed in t̄antric ritual, and of which we have already spoken. ⁹⁶

Finally we have the conch, sometimes very simply made of a turbinella-shell with clockwise windings, the top of which is sawn off. Other specimens are clasped in beautifully decorated mountings. ⁹⁷

Besides wind-instruments, the Tibetan also has drums and gongs. The latter are almost certainly of Chinese origin, and this applies to the large gongs as well as to the smaller cymbals, which are sometimes arranged on a wooden rack in sets of about ten pieces together. ⁹⁸ The drums are of several types. In the first place the round, flat Chinese drum, with vat-shaped body, and, frequently, painted skin. This kind of drum has to be hung up or placed on a standard before use. The other type has a wooden handle, shaped like a staff, placed perpendicularly onto the body. These drums are sometimes round, but may also be oval, such as the fine old piece shown on Plate XXVIII-1. The handle of this drum is beautifully decorated,

⁹² Cf. 2739/120; 2822/3; see p. 126.

⁹³ All musical instruments illustrated in GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 87, Pl. 71, are included in the collection. Cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Cf. 1/1523, 1524; 1119/29; 2739/38-41; pl. XXVIII, 3-7. F. S. CHAPMAN, *Lhasa, the Holy City*, p. 210, *pl.*

⁹⁵ Cf. 1/1521, 1525, 1526; 1119/28; 2739/37; pl. XXVIII, 2.

⁹⁶ Cf. 1/1527, 1528; 1804/1, 1a; 2739/36.

⁹⁷ Cf. 1119/52; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 204, fig. 82.

⁹⁸ Cf. 1/1530-1532 this peculiar instrument is also to be seen on the above-mentioned plate in GRÜNWEDEL.

in exactly the same way as the phur-bus, the so-called magic daggers. One can just see in the illustration how both drumskins are pierced along the edges and are stretched by a bamboo snare, which is laced through the perforations in a zigzag. This type of drum is beaten with a bent drumstick, having a weighted end covered with leather.⁹⁹

A special kind of drum is the *damaru*, used in t̄antric ritual, and already described.¹⁰⁰ This terminates the survey of musical instruments of a ritual character, as far as they figure in the collection. The collection does possess some other instruments of profane use, viz. a kind of guitar and a horn, such as also occurs in northern India, but unfortunately I cannot give any details on the use or the meaning of those instruments.¹⁰¹

7. Arms.

The arms collection of the museum is limited to swords. These are of three types, viz. the Bhutan, the Lepcha, and the Ngolok sword. The swords of Bhutan are immediately recognizable by the great length of the straight blade, the hilt with fine metal thread wound round it and topped by an open-worked brass knob, the metal scabbard with a ridge over the middle, and the skin of a ray applied as decoration to the middle of the scabbard and the hilt.¹⁰² The back of the blade is perfectly straight along its entire length; the cutting edge is also straight, only bending towards the back at a few centimetres from the tip.

The Lepcha sword, a cutting-sword used by inhabitants of Sikhim, also has a few distinctive characteristics. Its blade is broad, slightly convex in transverse section, and with a tip in the shape of a gothic arch. It has a wooden hilt shaped like a reversed T with a broadened foot. It is usually kept in a wooden scabbard which only covers one side of the sword. This plank is hollowed out, so as to fit the swordblade. A pair of metal clasps keep the sword in its place.¹⁰³ A good sword often has a scabbard with handsome silver ornaments, such as nr. 1119/23, which is embellished with mountings of the *kāla*-head motif, incrustated with little blue stones. Now and

⁹⁹ Cf. 1/1529; 2845/9; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ See p. 117.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 1119/26, 27; M. PALLIS, *Peaks and Lamas*, p. 365, Plate. The Bhutan guitar illustrated there is a larger and finer specimen than the very simple one in the museum collection.

¹⁰² Cf. 1119/21, 22; 1774/9; HENDLEY in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XV, nr. 119, pl. 13c. See plate XXIX, a, 3-5.

¹⁰³ Cf. 1119/23, 24; 2739/77; Plate XXIX a, 2; b4 and 5. On the manner it is worn: Von GLASENAPP, *Indien*, Pl. 38.

again such a sword is in a leather scabbard, but it is doubtful whether that is original.

The third type, the only one native to Tibet, is the Ngolok sword, which also has its own peculiarities. It has a tapering blade and a straight hilt, terminating in a boss shaped like a square of which one diagonal coincides with the longitudinal axis of the hilt. The scabbard consists of a long, gutter-shaped, strip of iron, bent like a U, with the two ends kept together with a clasp. The leather-covered wooden sidepieces, between which the sword-blade is contained, are slipped into this iron framework. The hilt is often silver-mounted, and the metal edge of the scabbard is often decorated with silver incrustation. A typical Ngolok sword has one side of its scabbard decorated with a bonze ornament, inlaid with large stones. This makes a very colourful effect.¹⁰⁴

The swords are worn from belts of narrow leather strips, with bronze ornamentation. In Bhutan also silk belts are worn, decorated with silver ornaments and buckles.¹⁰⁵

I have made no mention of the Nepalese national weapon, the Gurkha dagger or *kukri*, as it cannot be considered as one of the Tibetan arms.

A most primitive weapon is the very broad sword or chopper 2739/78, which is said to be of Lepcha origin, but only has the wooden half scabbard in common with the arms of Sikhim.

8. *Ornaments and jewelry.*

The jewels which the Tibetan, and even more so his wife, are so fond of wearing if their means permit, worthily close this survey of articles in everyday use.

After the remarks on decorative technique at the beginning of this chapter, little needs to be added here; it is better to admire the objects themselves. A few words should, however, be said about the most important kinds of ornaments and jewelry.

In the first place it is to be noted that ornament and amulet are very frequently combined in one object. The amulet-boxes are executed as ornaments, and are also employed as such. In general they are worn round the neck, but attention may be drawn to a remarkable decoration, which must also have a talismanic significance, and which is part of the official dress of certain high dignitaries. Their hair is done up in a special manner,

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 1774/7; 2739/76; *Ergebnisse der Expedition Filchner*, VIII, pl. 84; pl. XXIX, b, 2 and 3.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. 1119/12; 1774/7, 9; 2739/74, 75; plate XXIX, b, 1 and 3.

with an ornament we recognize as an amulet-case incorporated in the hair-dressing. ¹⁰⁶

A clearly-defined group is formed by the various ear-rings and other ear-ornaments, which differ according to whether they are worn by men or by women.

An official wears a specially shaped pendant in his left ear, as a badge of office. Two very fine specimens are included in the collection. ¹⁰⁷ As counterpart, a round earring with a single rosette, mostly made of a turquoise, is worn in the right ear. ¹⁰⁸

Upper-class ladies also wear ear-ornaments, among which are to be distinguished real ear-drops which are fastened to the lobe of the ear, and the more familiar, very fine pendants, which are hung in front of the ear, attached to the hair, and not to the ear itself. Both kinds of ornaments are worn in pairs. A very beautiful pair of the first type, made of silver and decorated with red beads, is in the museum's possession. According to ROCKHILL such ornaments are worn by the women of Batang, in eastern Tibet. ¹⁰⁹ He gives illustrations of ear-rings worn by women, which greatly resemble those worn by men in their right ear, only being somewhat larger, and decorated with an appreciably larger rosette.

Of more importance is the typical ornament that is worn in front of the ear, fastened to the hair. They greatly vary in size; in the collection we came across some of only one inch or so, and others of more than eight inches. ¹¹⁰

It is particularly the magnificent inlay work that makes them attractive, a number of turquoises, and sometimes also semi-precious stones such as corals and rubies being combined with very pleasing effects. These ornaments are very remarkably shaped, and have a peculiarity which makes us wonder whether they have actually always been meant as ear-ornaments. The fact is, that they consist of two parts, which clasp together; one piece is

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 1119/18; WADDELL, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 571, the figure at the extreme right; HENDLEY in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, Pl. 114, nr. 793; Pl. 121, nr. 833. On the way it is worn: F. S. CHAPMAN, *Lhasa, the Holy City*, Pl. opp. p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 2798/77, 78, Plate XXXII, 4 and 5; on the way it is worn, see the various illustrations in F. S. CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, e.g. opp. p. 74, 84, 86, 91, 100, 236; HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, Pl. 122, nr. 841.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. 2798/79 and 80, pl. XXXII, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. 2798/76, pl. XXXII, 3; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, nr. 3.

¹¹⁰ Cf. 1119/16; 1943/53; 2798/75; pl. XXXII, 2; HENDLEY, in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, pl. 114, nr. 789; on the way these ornaments are attached and worn: F. K. WARD, *The Mystery Rivers of Tibet*, London 1923, frontispiece; F. S. CHAPMAN, *Lhasa, the Holy City*, frontispiece and Plates opp. p. 107, 322, i.a.

shaped like a leaf, the other like a circle with a superimposed fleur-de-lys. Therefore it seems likely that originally they were clasps or buckles, and even more so as to this day clasps are used which show some resemblance in shape to these ear-ornaments, only with much slighter relief.¹¹¹ In addition clasps of a different model also occur, among them particularly fine specimens such as the one illustrated in Plate XXX nr. 1. It is executed according to the *kāla*-head motif, surrounded by tendrils, and incrustated with semi-precious stones. Another example is the heavy, but monumental, buckle formed by two massive ovals, inlaid with beautiful stones, illustrated in Plate XXXII, nr. 6. Finally the collection possesses a triple clasp shaped like a leaf, and decorated with small stones and pearls.¹¹²

Of the other ornaments we should mention the bracelets, i.e. the typical C-shaped model, cast in bronze, and the sometimes very broad shell-bracelets. The bronze bracelets may be decorated with silver mounting at both ends, and the mounting may again be inlaid with little blue stones. Presumably the *makara*-head motif was the origin of these decorated terminals, but the ornamentation is not very pronounced.¹¹³

A typically female ornament is the fob or chatelaine, an often beautifully decorated hanger with all kinds of toilet utensils attached. Of these, too, there are some very fine specimens in the collection.¹¹⁴ As last objects of this group we should mention the finger-rings and medallions. The first are usually of silver, with a fairly large, rectangular shield with rounded corners, that follows the curve of the finger, and is inlaid with a number of small stones. There are also rings with an oval shield, also inlaid with stones, which are sometimes cut like cameos. This also applies to the medallions, which often have an edge of little coloured stones round the cameo or the larger central stone.¹¹⁵

This concludes our survey. Actually one can only judge the effect of these ornaments if one sees them worn, i.e. combined with the dress and the wearer. Coloured pictures can, however, give some impression of the striking brightness of this play of colours, which bears testimony to the character of the makers of these ornaments.

¹¹¹ Cf. 2798/84, 85.

¹¹² Cf. 2798/71, 86, 72.

¹¹³ Cf. 1119/13, 14, 15; Plate XXX, nr. 6; HENDLEY in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, pl. 141, nr. 1015; shell bracelet: 2822/4.

¹¹⁴ Cf. 1119/17; 2798/73, 74, pl. XXX, nr. 3; ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, nr. 7, pl. 9, nr. 1.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 1119/92; 2798/81, 82, 83; HENDLEY in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII, nr. 106, Pl. 122 nr. 840; Pl. 114, nrs. 790, 791.

APPENDIX

IN MEMORIAM JOHAN VAN MANEN

PREAMBLE

In August 1948 the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden acquired a fairly extensive collection of Tibetan ethnographica and works of art collected by Johan van Manen, a Dutchman by birth, who died in Calcutta in 1943 and who devoted the greater part of his life to the care and the advancement of one of the most important scientific institutions in Asia, viz. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, which he served as a secretary for more than sixteen years.

During these years he built up a great reputation, especially as a student and scholar of Tibetan culture and religion. Among the possessions he left to his heirs there were large quantities of notes which are of very great value to the Tibetologist.

The whole of his life was devoted to the advancement of learning and as the value of collections should always be seen in relation to the personality and the activities of the collector, it is no more than an act of justice to give here a short summary of the life of Johan van Manen as the servant of Science after giving a description of the valuable material he has left to us.

As I never knew Van Manen personally, I cannot describe him so as to give an impression of what kind of man he was. This does not mean that one cannot make a mental picture of his person; the more so, as Johan van Manen and his work were inseparably one, and therefore cannot be judged apart from each other. To compose this biographical sketch, I had various sources of information at my disposal. One of these sources, a character-sketch written by Frank Netscher and anonymously¹ published, provides us with a clear outline of the years of his "*Sturm und Drang*"-period and the years immediately after, spent in the service of the Theosophical Society.² The portrait accompanying this sketch is a document in itself. An extensive

¹ *De Hollandsche Revue*, 1903, pp. 98 sq.

² There are some errors in this biography, so Mr. W. H. R. van Manen told me, when he drew attention to its existence. Johan van Manen, for instance, was not the youngest son, but the youngest but one.

article on Johan van Manen and his work appeared in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of Saturday July 9, 1927 (Morning Edition), under the title of "*De Tibetaansche Traditie, een verdienstelijk landgenoot en diens belangrijk werk in Britsch-Indië*". A brother, Mr W. H. R. van Manen, of Rotterdam, very kindly supplied me with additional information during a number of conversations we had. More data were provided by various persons who had known Johan van Manen well during the different periods of his life. In grateful acknowledgement of his valuable assistance I wish to mention especially his friend the late Mr C. F. van Aken, who knew him intimately during the years he lived at Calcutta and who paid tribute to Van Manen's memory in a commemorative speech at the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal of April 5, 1943, which was published among the obituary notices in the *Yearbook* for 1944 of this Society, to which I owe also various other details about Van Manen's life.

During this same Indian-period of his life he collected a number of biographies, written in Tibetan and part of which were accompanied by more or less rough translations, written by a number of his Tibetan collaborators with whom Van Manen had formed ties of friendship and common interest in his work, which contain a mine of information from which I was able to borrow many interesting particulars. He was quite right in his conviction, that extremely important material was to be gathered from such stories of the lives of his Tibetan clerks, composed in their own language and written in their own characters. The result is a collection of documents, crowded with ethnographical, sociological and historico-religious data, which after the work of analysing and putting into proper shape has been accomplished, will be gladly received by the orientologists. These men, who each in turn owed a great deal to Van Manen, naturally could not fail to mention their "Sahib" in their works and to describe his manner of living. One of them even added to the interest of his diary by embellishing it with illustrations, some of which were published. All of them — each in his own characteristic manner — bear witness to the deep respect they felt for his learning and energy, for his unfailing kindness, his wisdom and humanity.

Information and details about the last period of his life may be found in the only autobiography which has appeared in print, namely in the life-history of Twan Yang, written in English under Van Manen's own supervision. Twan Yang was a Chinese boy, who served him during his last years as a house-boy. As Van Manen never married and so had no son of his own, the relations between the two grew more like those between father and son, and they seem to have been a source of satisfaction to both. Although this

book does not contain much scientific material, it gives an excellent account of many particulars of the last five years of Johan's life.

Although I had to limit myself to giving an outline of only one side of Van Manen's life, I feel bound to confess, that it was this very side that awakened in me that feeling of warm sympathy for this lonely worker, which is — in the words of KROM — the only justification for attempting to write a sketch of his life.

With more reason than ever, it may be said of Van Manen that it is impossible to separate the man from his work. And by that we do not mean "work" in the narrower sense of the word, but in the sense of the whole of his impulses, ideals and actions, in fact: his life-work. In this respect, I believe, I have been able to understand Van Manen to an unusual degree, all the more so, as circumstances have enabled me to apprehend to the full what the merits of his work are and how much the realization of his plans must have cost him in energy and perseverance. A judgement based almost exclusively on the rather meagre harvest of scientific publications would do an injustice to the person and the work of this man.

Van Manen was no exception to the rule that every man has his faults, and he would have been the first to acknowledge this. But in spite of his faults it may be said, that he was a good and a wise man, and by wise I do not mean — at least not in the first place — that he was a great scholar, but that he had deeply entered into the knowledge of his fellow-men, their strivings and their difficulties.

This judgement makes Hobb's words sound feeble, or rather emphasises them, when he made the following sympathetic statement about Van Manen, saying he was "magnificently unprepared for the littleness of life".

Johan van Manen was born at Nijmegen on April 16, 1877 as the son of Mr R. A. van Manen, Inspector General of the Government's Public Works. His father's position seemed to be a guarantee for the future success in life of Mari Albert Johan van Manen. After having passed through preparatory schools in Zutphen and Haarlem, he was sent to a H.B.S. school — a school more or less like the English Public Schools —, but here the trouble began. He was one of those natures which can only take an interest in, and work at, those subjects which attract them, and for which no working hours are too long, no exertion too great; but starkly ignoring and neglecting all other subjects. Instead of concentrating on his school tasks, Johan van Manen was wrapped up in the study of all kinds of literature, such as translations of the Koran, the sacred books of the Buddhists and the Chinese philosophers. As his favorite studies were philosophy and philology, it is no

wonder that he became a regular visitor of the Haarlem Library. The chief librarian at that time, Mr J. W. Enschedé, greatly influenced Johan's life. Meanwhile, it became a serious problem to his father what to do with the boy. First he passed through some stages of apprenticeship with Mr Enschedé and then worked, as a budding journalist, for the Amsterdam newspaper "*De Telegraaf*". Both attempts ended in failure and so Mr Van Manen Sr. decided that he would let the boy have his head and fend for himself. This proved to be the right solution.

At first he threw himself heart and soul into the study of Latin and Greek, but this was not sufficient to satisfy his inexhaustible energy. This was in the days when theosophy was still in its infancy in Holland, where it had only lately made its appearance. With his disposition and predilections Van Manen was bound to be attracted and carried away by its aims and principles. As moreover he possessed an enormous amount of energy and was free to make use of his time in any way he liked, it was not astonishing that very soon he became secretary to the Theosophical Society. In this function of secretary-librarian and general factotum of this society he found at last sufficient opportunity to satisfy even his voracious urge and energy for work in a sphere where he could give all his sympathy. And so we see him giving himself up, heart and soul, to the work of the Society. As editor of "*Theosophia*", the periodical of the Netherlands Theosophical Society, he takes charge of the issuing of the magazine, contributing articles and fulfilling this task for many years with zeal and conscientiousness.

His devotion and energy are so great, that for some years he remains secretary of the European Theosophical Congresses. Whoever read the *Transactions of the Annual Congresses of the Federation of European Sections of the Theosophical Society* (I, II, III, 1904 — London 1917) will understand what this must have meant. It also seems fairly probable that here again Johan van Manen was the driving force and organizing power. Even though he himself was moving in an international sphere, he understood quite well that not every member of the Dutch Theosophical Society could read the treatises written in English by the leaders of the international movement. He took up the translation of the voluminous standard-work on theosophy: H. P. Blavatsky's "*Secret Doctrine*"; and went on with a number of articles from the English periodical "*The Theosophist*", edited by Annie Besant, which were published in their Dutch translation in "*Theosophia*" and also prepared some other single publications of the Theosophical Society for the press. Special mention should be made of the translation of a few minor works by Annie Besant "*The Seven Principles of Man*" and "*Reincarnation*", which were published in Amsterdam in 1888.

In the same year Annie Besant gave a series of four lectures during a visit to Amsterdam. These were also translated and published by Van Manen. The personal contact between Van Manen and the then leader of the Theosophic movement dates from this period.

However, Amsterdam cannot satisfy him in the long run. His restless nature drives him to go out and see the world; and the moment that a rich Spaniard offers him the post of a secretary, he starts on a series of wanderings to Paris, London, Southern France and then to Egypt, Algeria and Tunis. No particulars about this period came to my knowledge, which is much to be regretted as these years must have been of the greatest importance for the development of his character.

Evidently the urge to visit India, a long-cherished wish, became too strong to be resisted. His study of theosophy had been profound as well as sincere —, but after all it was founded on manuals written by the leaders of the movement, e.g. H. P. Blavatsky, Olcott and Annie Besant. But he lacked first hand knowledge and experience, so he felt the impulse to go to India to visit Adyar, and imbibe knowledge at the very roots of the strongly growing and wide-spreading tree of theosophy. So in 1908 he leaves for Adyar, the headquarters of the Theosophical Society. Before long he is put in charge of the Western Department of the Adyar library as “joint-librarian”. And here he found many things to satisfy his energy and his natural gifts. Besides a great number of books on theosophy and philosophy, the library contained about 16,000 manuscripts, to which Van Manen personally added another thousand. In his search for these he made use of an Indian “manuscript-hunter”, who again and again succeeded in discovering more manuscripts. The almost inevitable consequence was, that Van Manen became the “librarian”.

It was not only that he worked hard himself; he had the gift to stimulate his fellow-workers to give their best to the work they were doing, and never failed to encourage them. Concrete evidence of this is found in a speech, which later appeared in print and which he held in April 1912 on the occasion of the memorial festival held in honour of Śrī Rāmānuja’s anniversary, on the subject: “*On the Value of the Comparative Study of Sacred Books*”. This small document is not only a stimulus for others to become acquainted with the sacred writings and to study them; it is more than that. He shows himself as he is, without reserve, by not remaining a mere spectator who gives his advice impartially, but he openly states his own convictions and ideas, his aims and purposes, with a frankness that awakens sympathy and which is free from all pedantry and conceit. To prove this it is perhaps better to quote some of the most important passages from this little pam-

phlet, which at present has become very rare and difficult to obtain: 3) :

“As I view it, the comparative study of the various religions, the increased means of physical and mental communication, and the general line of progress have unified not only the outer world, but have also unified the field of human thought. More than ever before it has now become true that a touch of humanity makes all mankind akin with one another”.

“All over the world the same beautiful spirit pervades all sacred books; they inculcate the same lessons of sanctity, discipline, humanity, sympathy and purity. If we could only follow these ideals strictly, the earth would be a real paradise at once. We must study for the essence and not for the outward form. The outward form is also an element in the right understanding of the inner spirit, but it is only a means to an end and not an end in itself”.

How clearly the writer explains here his own broad views and how wide are his feelings of love and sympathy for his fellow-beings! And these are not only impulses, but they are firmly founded on the study of the authentic sources. He surely possessed the necessary knowledge to give a concrete form to the thoughts mentioned above. Col. Barwell was right in his judgment when he said: “Had he cared to set himself the task of contributing to some one branch of knowledge by means of an actual book, I believe he might have written a valuable treatise in the domain of Comparative Religion. He was well-equipped for such a task, and certainly would have regarded it from an unusual angle. Being deeply versed in the literature of the subject, he leaned by reason of his own special “make up” to whatever emerged in the form of efflorescence of religious ideas. By reason of that special make-up he would have produced something of originality in the field I allude to”. 4 We may greatly regret that he never cared to do this; perhaps, on the other hand, it is better he never did. He may have been quite capable, through his studies, to write such a work; but his character led him to work in another direction, and his real value and significance lies in that other direction: before everything else Van Manen was as a scholar the “promotor of Science”. This natural disposition was unavoidably detrimental to his productiveness as regards his own work; but who can count all those to whom his aid was of vital benefit in their work, and who shall judge, which of the two modes of working was the more useful and profitable?

We have seen already that soon after his arrival in Adyar he voluntarily

³ *On the Value of the Comparative Study of the Sacred Books*. Bangalore 1912, 8vo.

⁴ *Yearbook of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1943*, p. 188.

undertook a task in which he could help others, viz. the post of assistant-librarian of the Adyar library. The works he published bear the stamp of these activities. We feel the presence of a well-read librarian, who is a pleasant guide to his readers, and shows them the way in a business-like and agreeable manner.

I am quoting here some examples of this; it stands to reason that they appeared in the magazine of the Theosophical Society, "The Theosophist". In 1912 his "*Notes on the Study of Taoism*",⁵ which contains, besides an announcement of the voluminous study by Dr L. Wieger, a warning that Taoism cannot be known simply by studying Laotze's Tao-Te-King. The next year he publishes a short précis, compiled from written sources about the "*Wonder-Tree of Kum-bum*".⁶ It is well-known, that the leaves of this holy tree in the monastery of Kum-bum, the birthplace of Tson-kha-pa, the great Buddhist reformer, are supposed to possess certain peculiarities. According to some they show letter-signs or even pictures of saints, but the various statements contradict each other. We cannot enter more deeply into all this here, but we may draw from this certain conclusions about Van Manen's studies. In the first place it proves that Van Manen, at this time already, was interested in Tibet. A second and equally agreeable conclusion is that he uses his sources with absolute objectivity and is not afraid to refute certain points of view even if they bear the stamp of incontrovertibility, because they are based on the pronouncement of a certain person held in high esteem and admiration. Without any hesitation he rejects the opinion of H.P.B.⁷ as quite untenable and therefore not requiring detailed discussion. Notwithstanding the fact that he was a confirmed theosophist, he was far from blind to the errors of others, whoever they might be. His readiness to serve on one hand and his incorruptible honesty on the other have contributed to the many friendships he found in his own circle.

As one of his best friends we may mention Sir John Woodroffe, who wrote under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon, and the wellknown theosophist

⁵ *The Theosophist*, vol. XXXIII, no. 7, April 1912; 8 pp.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. XXXIV, no. 7, April 1913; 16 pp.

⁷ H. P. B. is the usual abbreviation of the name Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (née Hahn), who founded the Theosophical Society. Born on July 31, 1831 in Jekaterinoslow in Southern Russia, she led an adventurous life during which she travelled widely. She visited America and Hindustan, is said to have entered the holy city of Lhasa in Tibet, and in Egypt met an old Coptic mystic, who initiated her in the old learning of that country. Still later she met a Hindu, who possessed great spiritual wisdom, whom she worshipped as her teacher all her life. In New York, in 1875, together with Colonel Olcott, she founded the Theosophical Society, of which he was the first president. In 1882 the headquarters of the movement were removed to Adyar, a suburb of Madras.

author F. L. Woodward, who was for many years Van Manen's guide in the domain of linguistics. A true friend and comrade to Van Manen was P. C. Jackson, with whom he made a number of interesting journeys. Van Manen was an unselfish and devoted friend; when Jackson went on leave to Europe in 1918, Van Manen did not shirk the difficulties and fatigue of a journey from Darjeeling to Madras — a trip of several days and nights — in order to see his friend off.

But he also was of assistance to his friends in many other ways. When Annie Besant after the death of Colonel Olcott, leader of the Theosophical Society, is attacked in 1913 by the Bishop of Madras, ⁸ Johan van Manen takes up the cudgels for her defence by writing and publishing an extensive apologia. ⁹ Spontaneously he undertakes the onerous duty of defending this most interesting but equally difficult personality. This woman had joined the theosophical movement after a fierce struggle in defence of the truth; there she found the needed rest and before long she was called to the leadership. In all kinds of ways she encouraged and stimulated the work of the theosophical movement. But towards the end of 1913 she publicly entered the political arena. During October and November 1913 she gave a series of enthusiastic lectures on political and social reform and she founded the weekly paper "The Commonweal". Van Manen was an active collaborator. The year after (1914) she bought "The Standard" (a Madras paper) and changed its name in that of "New India". These activities alienated many of her friends from her and in the end she came into collision with the British government, which was even obliged to take measures against her (June 1917).

Even before this, however, serious differences of opinion had already arisen between her and Van Manen. I have no knowledge of the details of the breach between them, but in 1916 Van Manen suddenly leaves Adyar in order to take up his residence in Ghoom, a small village near Darjeeling on the border between India and Tibet. By taking this step he consciously and purposely ends a period of his life in order to take up an other kind of existence in which his studies and no longer his offices play the principal part.

His aim in settling on the borders of Tibet is to take up an intensive

⁸ *An Open Letter to the Christians of Madras by some of them.* Adyar 1913, 24 pp. — This was not the first attack made on the Theosophical Society from that quarter. As early as 1884, at the time of the so-called 'Colombe-scandal' the missionaries made accusations against the trustworthiness and reliability of H. P. B.

⁹ J. van MANEN, *Mrs Besant's Theosophy according to the Bishop of Madras; Answer to an Attack upon Theosophy and some of its Leaders, written and endorsed by the Bishop of Madras and seven Missionaries.* Adyar 1914, 8vo. 119 pp.

study of the Tibetan language; knowing that this study requires the utmost concentration and perseverance, he looked out for the guidance of a thoroughly competent Tibetan teacher. Where could he find a more favourable locality for discovering such a tutor to suit his purpose than in Darjeeling, where the mission schools employed teachers, who besides Tibetan could speak and understand English? So he could go there to try and find such a person and had not to retire into the complete solitude of a Tibetan monastery, like once a Csoma de Körös, who found his way towards and in the Tibetan language by himself, and without help by studying Tibeto-Sanskrit manuscripts. But it is fairly certain that Csoma was looked upon by Van Manen as a shining example, when he made his resolve, for the biography of Csoma de Körös was read to tatters by him.¹⁰

And so we see Van Manen taking up his abode in the small Balaclava Hotel in Jorebungalow in the neighbourhood of Ghoom. In order to find a teacher, he entered into contact with the missionaries of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. His first steps on the difficult path of his studies were set by studying a few primers, published by the Mission, e.g. the first part of the 'Domestic Series', printed in a handpress belonging to the mission, which has a handsome, clear letter. Before long he went in search of a *guru* and through the intermediary of the mission he came into contact with Karma Babu, teacher at the 'Middle English School' at Ghoom. We shall now have to give the reader some information about this remarkable man.

Karma Babu was the son of a Nepalese merchant in Jorebungalow near Darjeeling. He was sent to a convent-school in Ghoom and afterwards to a mission-school to learn English. While his father only knew Nepalese and was practically illiterate, the son grew up to be a typical man of letters, who could express himself not only in his mother tongue, but also in Tibetan, Hindī and English. So at first he is employed in government service as an office-clerk. But then a really unique opportunity arose for him to turn his linguistic accomplishments to a better use. About 1905 the so-called Tashi-Lama, residing at Tashilhumpo monastery near Shigatse, was going to pay an official visit to India. This visit was carefully prepared and directed by the British Trade Agent in Gyantse, W. F. T. O'Connor¹¹ and the Government Health Officer in that place, Dr Stein. They appointed young Karma as assistant and in that function he accompanied the Tashi-

¹⁰ TH. DUKA, *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös; a Biography compiled from hitherto unpublished data.* London 1885. 8vo. 234 pp.

¹¹ The latter has written his memoirs in a work entitled: *Things Mortal.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1940, 8vo. 256 pp.

Lama on this visit, and, what is of special interest for us, he wrote down a detailed report on this trip.¹² During the same period the Prince of Wales — later King George V — also paid a visit to India, and it was arranged that he and the Tashi-Lama were to meet each other at Calcutta. It is difficult to imagine the experiences and impressions this young man Karma must have passed through on this journey, which led him first to the remote North-West frontier of India-proper, and then straight across through the whole breadth of that country to Calcutta. When the Tashi-Lama returned to Tibet, Karma accompanied him to Shigatse. Here he was employed as an instructor and demonstrator of all Western objects the Tashi-Lama had brought with him from the far South, from cameras to bicycles! He was occupied with this work for about ten months.

After two more years in the service of Dr Stein in Gyantse, he obtains a post in the office of the British Trade Agent, Mr Bayley. But he holds this post only for a short time. His ignorance and inexperience lead him into difficulties in consequence of which doubts arise about his political integrity and so he is dismissed towards the end of 1908. After a stay of about a year in Lhasa he returns to his birthplace, and very soon he gets an appointment as teacher at the Middle English (mission) School in Ghoom. For the new missionaries find in him a reliable assistant with an inexhaustable fund of information. Frequently his help is called on for lessons in the principles of the difficult Tibetan colloquial language.

His continuous intercourse with the missionaries does not fail to leave a deep impression on his mind and feelings, so that he receives baptism in 1913. As so often happens, it is only later on that he comes to the full realization of what this step means to him. Therefore in 1920, he returns to his own faith, Buddhism. Naturally this brings him into serious conflict with his employers; but it takes another three years before he receives his dismissal as “headmaster” of the Middle English School in Ghoom. This means his final and total breach with the mission.

But as early as 1916 the mission had brought him into contact with Johan van Manen. When the difficulties multiply, he appeals to his friend for help, and indeed he does not do so in vain. A few months later Karma takes up his appointment as Tibetan Lecturer at the Calcutta University and he keeps the function until his death (about 1935). He expressed his gratitude to Van Manen in verses he dedicated to the latter in his biography.

From this biography we can picture him as a capable, perhaps more or

¹² I hope to find an opportunity to publish certain parts of this manuscript one day. They are decidedly worth reading and the ‘note gaie’ is nowhere lacking.

less pedantic schoolteacher, who had an eye for everything that happened around him and had outgrown his early, original surroundings. Moreover he had an implicit trust and faith in the government he served. In his portrait we find a full confirmation of these traits.

So this was the man who became Johan van Manen's mentor in his study of the Tibetan language. Very soon Van Manen begins to read a number of popular publications, for he has not the slightest intention to limit his study to the spoken language. His chief aim is to learn so much about the written language, that he will be able to read the Buddhist sacred writings in their Tibetan version.

And here Karma Babu soon comes to the end of his knowledge. He knows the language as it is spoken, but with regard to the literary language he himself is in need of a master, who is a greater scholar than himself. But here also the search for a teacher soon comes to an end, for Van Manen finds a second teacher in the person of Gegen Puntsog.

Right at the beginning the conversation with this new master must certainly have been more or less halting. Karma had once more to undertake the part of interpreter. But according to Gegen's statement, Van Manen was able to keep up a simple conversation in Tibetan after six months' training.

Van Manen was very fortunate in finding this second teacher, whom he quite justly always addressed as *Gegen* ('Guru': teacher). Puntsog was born in Lhasa; he lost his parents at a very early age, and became an able copyist, for which he received due training. From the age of sixteen he was employed as a copyist for the Dalai-Lama, but this function brought him into close contact with the numerous intrigues that grow up around a person of this rank; and as he disliked the atmosphere of deceit he gave up his work and started on his travels to find other employment. He wandered from monastery to monastery all over Tibet. But he went wider afield, and also visited Nepal. As all his wanderings were done on foot, and he had day after day to find lodgings or shelter for the night, he came to know the life there to the last detail. As a learned *lama* he was naturally a welcome and honoured guest, gratefully received by his hosts as he was always ready to perform certain ceremonies. It goes without saying that these ceremonies had always something to do with the warding off of disasters and such like. But he also was well-acquainted with a number of mystic ceremonies, the most important of which, the so-called "chöd" (མཚོན་) he described in fairly minute detail.¹³ So he was truly a learned scholar according to Tibetan ideas, and

¹³ See about this the literature mentioned in my *Yoga and Yantra*, p. 85; the word literally means 'sacrifice' (Skt. *balin*).

in this direction his mind had been trained. In this respect he was the very opposite of Karma, who was the true representative of a Tibetan trained in Western culture and on Western lines.

With these two teachers Van Manen devoted himself to the study of Tibetan. At first the three of them used to assemble in the afternoon, at about five o'clock, and settle down to translations. Some very popular works were used as material, as e.g. *Kha-c'e-Pha-lu*, a book on morals and ethics in the sense of *Cāṅakya's Rājanīti*; *Car-gaṅs-rima*, 'the song of the eastern mountains', *sKu-dra-bzo-lugs*, a book on iconography, and the so-called *repartee-songs*. In day-time Gegen applied himself to the copying of texts and the search for manuscripts on religion and history; Van Manen succeeded in bringing together a fairly important collection of these within a comparatively short time.

Although life passed tranquilly by in study, Van Manen began to develop a certain restlessness, an inclination to put the knowledge acquired in this way to more profitable use. What would be more natural than to publish the material that had been analysed and put into shape? Besides he began to feel the need of coming into closer contact with other workers in the field of science, and also the desire awakened to meet his old friends again. And so 1918 becomes the year in which his life for the second time undergoes a complete change.

In the first place he joins the Asiatic Society of Bengal as a "non-resident member", and herewith he makes his entry into the world of science. In the same year he goes first to Calcutta, and from there to Madras to say good-bye to his friend Jackson, who is going on leave to Europe. On this journey Puntsog accompanied him, who later on writes a detailed account of it. In this way it is possible to follow his travels to the smallest detail. Visits to scientific institutions and museums head the list of his activities; the headquarters of the Theosophical Society are not neglected and the "Zoo" and the marine-aquarium in Madras also get their turn. In Calcutta he is hospitably received by Sir John Woodroffe, the able and well-known jurist who, under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon, edited a good many publications on Tantrism.¹⁴ Johan van Manen and Sir John must have been great friends of very long standing. Perhaps it is owing to Sir John's influence that Van Manen comes again to Calcutta in the end of 1918, this time not on a short visit, but to take up the post of acting Librarian of the Imperial

¹⁴ One of the most important text editions, viz. Kazi Dawa Samdup's translation of the *Çricakrasambharatantra*, was announced by Van Manen in a study under the title 'A Tibetan Tantra', in the *Theosophist*, July 1919. — The very rare manuscript of the text itself was discovered by me in Van Manen's library.

Library. November 1918 brought the eagerly desired peace. Everybody who could grasped the chance to go on home-leave, and consequently a number of emergency measures had to be taken to provide in the shortage of personnel. This was the reason for Johan van Manen's appointment to this important post for the time of two years, January 1919. At the end of December he left Ghoom. This time Puntsog did not accompany him but stayed behind (provisionally) in Ghoom in order to continue his task of copying texts and searching for manuscripts. His "houseboy" Nyima however accompanied Van Manen; on later journeys through India and beyond with the exception of his trips to Holland, Nyima went with him everywhere. Van Manen settled down provisionally in the Ongsing Hotel.

Van Manen throws himself energetically into his task. Not only does he carry out his duties as librarian of a great library with great conscientiousness, but he also takes great interest in anything and everything pertaining to his duties.

In a narrower sense we find proofs of this interest in the manner in which he wrote an introduction to the second edition of Cāṇakya's Rājanīti-Śāstram by Pandit Íśvara Chandra Śāstri, which was edited in the Calcutta Oriental Series (No. 2).¹⁵ In more than twenty pages he gives an outline of everything that was published under this head in Western literature, giving proof of being so widely and deeply read in the field of Indian literature, that there could be no doubt about the serious and profound study of the subject the author had made before venturing to publish it. Moreover, the immense number of notes found in Van Manen's legacy give evidence of his serious and far-reaching comparative study of the various existing Indian editions of this text.

Not quite so satisfactory was a minor task which he must have carried out about this same period. It was the arranging of a "Tibetan Index" to go with the work of S.C. Vidyabhuṣana: "*A History of Indian Logic*". It is not a simple index, only of value to the person who possesses the book, but the Tibetan names are accompanied by their Sanscrit synonyms, which makes it also valuable as a vocabulary on technical terms. It must have been a *sacrificio intellectus* to compile this list. It is a great pity that it contains a fairly considerable number of printer's errors.

Besides the announcement of a volume in the series of Tāntric Texts, published by his friend Sir John Woodroffe,¹⁶ a number of treatises written by himself are now brought out, in which he presents his work done in

¹⁵ *Chānakya-Rājanīti-Śāstram* edited by Pandit Íśvara Chandra Śāstri, with a foreword by Johan van MANEN. 2nd ed., Calcutta 1921, 8vo.

¹⁶ *Tantrik Texts* VII: Shrichakrasambhara Tantra. (cf. note 14).

Ghoom. A number of his translations are published in the edita of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which Van Manen since his going to Calcutta became a "resident member". The first of these translations is the འཕྲ་གངས་རི་མེད་མེད་ : (Car-gaṅs-rima), which under the title of: '*Minor Tibetan Texts I: The Song of the Eastern Snow Mountains*' was published in 1919 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series, no. 1426. Besides the text and the translation Van Manen here gives a detailed introduction, varias lectiones, a glossary and many notes. Apart from this excellent study a few other translations prepared by him during the Ghoom period, appear in volume XVII (1921) of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (pp. 287-318): "*Three Tibetan Repartee Songs*", a translation with the text and an introduction of three love-songs, which Karma's wife had dictated to Van Manen. In the notes of this publication the critical element was eliminated for obvious reasons, as here the principal point was the rendering of the spoken word, where naturally the making of a good many mistakes was unavoidable.

In both publications he mentions the assistance his teachers had given him. Moreover he subjected the last study to the judgement of Lama Padmachandra, who about this time was the Tibetan Lecturer at the University of Calcutta. It seems that in these days Van Manen had already become a member of the Senate of this University and had given his advice with regard to Padmachandra's appointment.¹⁷ It must have been also about this same time that the essay '*Khacche Phalu, a Tibetan Moralist*' appeared. In this essay he gives the list and the translation of these didactic poems, which must have attracted Van Manen's interest in connection with his Cāṅakya studies.¹⁸

With this essay he had published the greater part of the material on which he had worked at Ghoom;¹⁹ but in the meantime he had not been idle, nor had his helpmate and friend, Gegen Puntsog.

¹⁷ Padmachandra was appointed at the advice of Van Manen, in conformity with a proposal by Gegen Puntsog and against that of Kazi Dawa Samdup, who wished to bring forward another candidate and whose displeasure Gegen incurred by his opposition. The story of this small intrigue is passed on to us by Gegen. That Kazi Dawa Samdup was a rather formidable opponent, is also told us by Alexandra David-Neel in her *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*, p. 18. Kazi Dawa Samdup has done meritorious work in composing the great English-Tibetan Dictionary and moreover by translating two highly interesting texts: the Çricakrasambharatantra (see note 14) and the Bardo Thodol, the Tibetan book of the dead, edited by W. G. Evans Wentz, London 1927.

¹⁸ The study is part of a complimentary volume presented to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in about 1922.

¹⁹ The last part of the prepared material — the translation of the iconographical text — was to be published years after. See note 35.

The latter had joined Van Manen in Calcutta in order to assist in making copies, and to collect manuscripts. When during the hot weather in Calcutta the heat became too much for Gegen Puntsog's comfort and health, he returned to Tibet (April 1921) in order to do large-scale collecting there of blockprints and manuscripts. The carrying-out of such an expedition should not be taken too lightly, and when Gegen succeeds all by himself and without help to return to Calcutta with a load of this material, it is no more than fair that his achievement received public praise, and that the newspapers devoted some articles to his labour and published his portrait. He wrote a report on his journey, of which a few details may be mentioned here. Provided with letters of recommendation he starts, almost without a fixed plan, along the ordinary route via Gantok to Tashi-lhumpo. At Phari he meets an acquaintance named Thinzen, whom he persuades to accompany him to Tashi-lhumpo, where he gives orders to print the books. It is the custom in Tibet to have the printingblocks in readiness; the future buyer supplies paper and ink and the desired work is printed by the monks after the necessary ceremonial meals have been consumed at the expense of the buyer. This method of course leaves plenty of opportunity for dishonesty and abuses, such as using an inferior quality of paper and ink, carelessness and hastiness in doing the work, so that the prints become blurred, the skipping of considerable numbers of pages and so on. Puntsog really had his work cut out for him before his collection was quite finished. That he had to assist at many festivities and pay a visit to the Tashi-Lama, goes without saying. But the finishing of the printing did not mean the end of the troubles; indeed worse was to come. The transport put a heavy tax on Puntsog's powers of endurance, and after a fortnight of many difficulties, he got his load along the main road safely to Siliguri, whence it could be sent on to Calcutta by rail. After a few days of anxious waiting the books arrived at their destination, whereupon the collection was divided into three parts: one part for the University, another for the Imperial Library, and the third part for Johan van Manen himself.

Now that he had the foundation in a collection of his own of Tibetan blockprints, it is not astonishing that this incited him to enter upon a serious and thorough-going study of Tibetan bibliography.

This was the line of work that certainly suited him best. As a boy he had already had some training in this kind of work and had grown interested in it. But how trifling were the difficulties he had to overcome in those far-off days, compared with those which he had to face now. We possess, it is true, a number of catalogues of the Kanjur and Tanjur collections,²⁰ but there

²⁰ FEER, *Analyse du Kandjour. Annales du Musée Guimet*, tome II.

are still a great many, and often very popular works, such as e.g. the Milaraspa stories, which are not mentioned in them. Van Manen's aim was to collect as many data as possible about these writings, which had not yet been mentioned in the catalogues. Once more he availed himself of the help of Tibetan assistants. In the introduction to his study: '*A Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet*', he tells us the following: "Last spring (1921) a *geshe* of my acquaintance,²¹ residing during the winter months at one of the places of pilgrimage in India, sacred to Tibetan Buddhists, passed through Calcutta on his way to Lhasa. I met him and explained my wants and two months later he returned with two lists of Tibetan book-titles (one of them being properly speaking subdivided into two parts) altogether enumerating 219 titles. I had explained to him the European conception of bibliography, but his list did not, materially, come up to any ideal standard. Nevertheless they proved useful and rich in new names. When I received them, I went over them with my Tibetan teacher, collected notes about them, translated them into English, and made a number of cross-references to the few previously printed lists as far as they were at my disposal."

With this Van Manen gives a short summary of the work to which he must have devoted his spare time during a whole year or more. Before publishing this study he enlarged it materially by collecting as many data as possible in the field of Tibetan bibliography. In tables he gives information about existing bibliographies and where they are to be found; about catalogues of blockprints and many manuscripts in regard of the Kanjur and Tanjur editions as well as in regard of the non-canonic literature, about existing collections of manuscripts and about book-sellers; and at the end he gives a list of Tibetan presses. The whole work developed into a study of about eighty printed pages and was published at the end of 1923.²² It was not received with general and unmixed approval, but it should be remembered that this was only a first effort, as Van Manen himself emphatically explained. But this does not alter the fact that in the translations of many titles a good many mistakes slipped in. This is not astonishing as the lists had apparently been written under dictation. Andrew Vostrikov wrote a long article exposing the shortcomings of this study.²³ Nevertheless the

²¹ As far as I can see, this *geshe* and the man named Thinzen just mentioned, are one and the same.

²² Published in the *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series) (abbreviated: *J. & P. ASB*), XVIII, 1922, pp. 445-525.

²³ A. VOSTRIKOV, *Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII, 1939(-37), pp. 51-76. Dr Andrew Vostrikov made several tours through the Buddhist monasteries of Buriat Mongolia in search of unknown Tibetan manuscripts

study still retains a good deal of its merits, as it gives a clear survey of what exists in the domain of Tibetan bibliography. As such it is an excellent guide for the student who wishes to enter more deeply into this matter. From this point of view it may be judged as a work worthy of a good librarian.

At the moment when he finished this study, — but still before its publication —, the two years of his appointment as “Acting Librarian” had nearly expired. As the end of 1921 the official librarian returned to resume his office and Van Manen took up a new temporary function, e.g. that of ‘Assistant in charge of the Anthropological Section of the Indian Museum’, also in Calcutta; his duties especially comprised the reorganization of the Tibetan collections. But before undertaking his new task he once more paid a visit to Ghoom near Darjeeling.

This time the journey was made in company of his two friends Sir John Woodroffe and P. C. Jackson, Mrs. Jackson, and his two Tibetan assistants, Gegen Puntsog and Nyima. We can only conjecture the real reason for this visit.

At about the same time considerable works for improvement and extensions of the monastery in Ghoom were in progress. The reputation of the monastery had greatly increased through the political events and an energetic abbot had made it his aim and his duty to enlarge the monastery and moreover to erect an enormous statue of the bodhisattva Maitreya. To a certain extent this was a direct imitation of what the Dalai-Lama had done in Lhasa, who after his return from his flight to India, where he found a safe refuge in the immediate neighbourhood of Ghoom, built a huge temple with a gigantic statue in honour of the bodhisattva. In this building the wooden blocks of the newly made Kanjur were stored. The undertaking of such a work as the making of the new blocks and the building of a temple was very expensive and much money was needed; so it was collected in all sorts of ways.²⁴

In Ghoom the same method was adopted: moneys were collected and even circulars with English and Tibetan texts were issued in which requests for financial help were printed. They were sent to persons of whom one might expect, or at any rate assume, that they would take an interest in the work.²⁵ It is very probable that Van Manen gave liberally to the funds

and blockprints. His collections constitute an important addition to the Tibetan fund preserved in the Oriental Institution (formerly the Asiatic Museum) of the Academy of the U.S.S.R.

²⁴ Ch. BELL, *Portrait of the Dalai-Lama*, p. 295.

²⁵ I found a copy of this in Van Manen's library.

showed very great interest in the work. Possibly he was publicly thanked for his generosity on this occasion; there is a passage in one of the biographies which refers to this.

The monastic authorities in Ghoom did not only thank him for the help he gave them, but appealed to him for more assistance; this time for the organization of a trip of about 20 monks from the monastery to Calcutta. This excursion was to take place at this very time, because the Prince of Wales was expected to come to Calcutta and everything was being done to give H.R.H. a memorable and dignified reception. One of the items on the program for the festivities was a so-called devil-dance, performed by monks, and the monastery in Ghoom had been requested to supply the requisite number of dancers. In Ghoom the monks found themselves rather in a quandary. How could shelter and food and so many other things be provided for this group of monks, who spoke no other language than Tibetan, and who understood nobody, nor could be understood by anybody in Calcutta. It was Van Manen who now came to the rescue. It was a peculiar coincidence that just at that time he happened to be in Ghoom. Immediately the authorities there begged him to undertake the organization of this expedition. After some hesitation he accepted the task, as Sir John Woodroffe and Mr. Gole, the private secretary of the Governor of Bengal, strongly supported the request. As usual on those occasions, the trouble and work entailed by the preparations for such a performance were in quite reverse proportion to the performance itself, which, in this particular case, was not to last longer than exactly fifteen minutes. Van Manen had more than his share of all the difficulties and unpleasantnesses which are never absent when organizing performances; but the dance was a success and when it was over the Prince of Wales complimented him personally on the success achieved. Busy days followed, crowded with the work of making preparations for the return-journey of the Lamas. But everything went smoothly, thanks also to the active assistance of Gegen Puntsog and Padmachandra.

When Van Manen entered upon his new function of Assistant in charge of the Anthropological Section of the Indian Museum he moved at the same time into the flat at No. 6, Temple Chambers, Old Post Office Street, one of the most lovely historical spots in Calcutta. From these rooms he had a wide view over the river Hugli and on Fort William, the Victoria and Ochterloney monuments and the Indian Museum. He remained here until his death in 1943. Here he settled down, with his large library, his paintings and art treasures and made of his new home a centre where he received his Tibetan friends and his colleagues. Nyima, his faithful factotum, took upon himself all the domestic duties and responsibilities, and very soon became as well-known in Calcutta as his master.

Van Manen plunged into his new task with all his accustomed vigour. He continued to make use of the help his Tibetan friends could give him in adding to the collections entrusted to his care, as well as in collecting new data. The initiative as far as the first is concerned, was taken by Gegen Puntsog. He proposed to Van Manen to entrust a sum of money to his friend Thinzen — the same whom he had met on his journey to Tashilhumpo —, who was going to Tibet during the hot weather, in order to buy books and ethnographica. Van Manen agreed to this, but it ended, alas!, in failure. For Thinzen proved to be something of a rogue, who, once he was sure of the money, spent it in leading a life of pleasure, and even ran up debts. And when he came back he had only brought rubbish, to the great sorrow of poor faithful Puntsog, who held himself responsible for the misconduct of his friend.

Fortunately not all his acquisitions were worthless. It was Van Manen's invariable custom directly to collect as many data as possible about the pieces he bought, so that he could gauge their value and their significance, and he consulted his Tibetan friends about them as much as he could.

Padmachandra especially was an invaluable adviser in this respect. There is one case which proves this in all its details. — Although Van Manen studied and examined a great quantity of material he published only very little of this work. — There is one report which shows his method of working. During his last visit to Ghoom he was offered a bronze for sale, in all respects a remarkable piece, for it was not Lamaistic but had its origin in the so-called Bon-religion, the pre-buddhistic religion of Tibet about which little information exists. In the publication on this bronze he begins with giving a short but complete list of the existing literature on Bon-religion.²⁶ He follows this up with a description of the bronze itself, and continues with an outline of the information he collected at the place where he bought this piece, and concludes his study with his own observation on it and a statement of Padmachandra's opinion. The whole description shows how this subject fascinated him and how it drove him to take up the study of the most intricate problems of Buddhist Iconography very seriously. It is greatly to be regretted that Van Manen did not publish more on this subject; the first publication justifies this regret, as it is full of promise and interest. He had an observant eye for details and had at his disposal sources of information which we lack when we attempt to pursue the same line of studies. In the notes found in his legacy, we have ample evidence that Van Manen intended to start with an extensive study of Lamaistic iconography.

²⁶ *Concerning a Bon Image. J. & P. ASB, XVIII, 1922, pp. 195-211, ill.*

He evidently meant to use the data he had collected and arranged with Puntsog in Ghoom as the nucleus of this study, so that the material point of view would have preponderated. As we have already seen, this material was later published, while the rest was reserved for later use; only parts of it must have reached the stage of a lecture or of a statement, e.g. a study on the 84 Mahāsiddhas; but this study has not been preserved.²⁷ It is a great pity that no important studies in this field were ever published by him; still we must admit that the reason for not publishing was only too evident.

In the meeting of February 7, 1921, the Asiatic Society of Bengal chose Johan van Manen to be its General Secretary, and here at last he reached a safe harbour. He was to remain in this function for over sixteen years, during which time he gave himself up whole-heartedly to his task.

The importance of this task should not be judged too lightly. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal is the oldest learned society in India; its principal duties lie in the superintendence and control of all scientific research work in India. The secretary is in charge of all the correspondence; he writes the minutes of the council and general meetings; moreover, his duties include the editing of the publications by the society, and he is in charge of the personnel and staff of the society; on all special occasions he has to prepare the work and to work out and explain the proposals that happen to be among the items on the agenda at the meetings, while he is ex-officio member of all special committees appointed on various occasions to recommend measures in special cases. Finally it had become the custom that the General Secretary would automatically become managing Secretary to the Indian Science Congress Association; in that function he was also the editor of the proceedings of this society.

Indeed, this post was no sinecure. Until this time the post of General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal had been an honorary appointment, with the result that it proved to be impossible to find somebody, who could properly fulfil the many and various duties. Meanwhile the arrears in the work kept on accumulating. When Van Manen was appointed, it was decided that the new functionary was to enjoy a fixed salary, so that then it became possible to find somebody who was free to devote all his time and energy to the work of the society. The society could not have chosen anybody more fitted for this post than Van Manen.

He entered on his new task with all his customary fervour. To his common

²⁷ On this subject especially: A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Geschichten der vier-und-achtzig Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas)*. *Baester Archiv*, V, 1916, pp. 137-228. Van Manen collected data from texts and also images, as appears from the notes and collections he left us.

duties were added the burden of a number of other activities. In the first place the library was seriously in need of some attention. During the preceding years it had been more or less neglected; but even worse were the old-fashioned methods used in its management, so that a thorough reorganization was needed and during the first few months of his secretaryship he worked out plans and recommendations; immediately after they had been approved of, the work of carrying out the measures agreed upon was taken in hand.

The arrears in regard of the editing of the society's journal ran into a number of years; but in this case also Van Manen succeeded in making up for these in a comparatively short time. Besides this he had his correspondence to keep up; he exchanged letters with scientists and scholars in various countries.

He was so absorbed by his duties that for many years the annual report contained the following statement, which speaks volumes: "The General Secretary was in office every day of the year, all Sundays and holidays included, except for one single day in the year." That this way of fulfilling his task was much appreciated, goes without saying, but that it prevented him from preparing new and more scientific publications is equally natural, but at the same time regrettable. In the meantime he certainly gave his leisure hours to his own studies; besides he set his Tibetan collaborators to work. While during the first years he himself was occupied with the study on the *Tao-Te-King* and also collected material about the so-called "Wild Men of Tibet", he made his clerks copy important texts, and moreover he encouraged them to compose autobiographies. These latter were of great importance, as these documents contain vivid and surprising written pictures of Tibetan life and Tibetan conditions and circumstances as seen from the point of view of the Tibetan himself. Of part of these productions Karma Babu made rough English translations, which give us a general idea of the importance of these writings, which are still awaiting publication. But these publications can only be taken in hand by persons who are well informed on this subject, if these writings are to be published in a form which offers the best opportunities for students to profit by them. For the rest these writings contain descriptions of charming little scenes from the private life of Tibetans — not excepting the highest authorities of the country — so that they give a delightful survey of the impressions a stranger receives, who, for the first time, finds himself in a more modern society and the manner in which he tries to adapt himself to it.

Van Manen has in this way laid the foundations for a collection of data which are of the highest importance to science. His office prevented him

from arranging the material he collected. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has profited greatly by Van Manen's indefatigable energy. It became a matter of course, that the General Secretary should do all the work, and it was hardly noticed that the task laid on his shoulders might become too strenuous. Public recognition of his merits was shown on February 7, 1926, when the "fellowship of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" was conferred on him. According to the regulations of the Society, there can only be fifty "fellows"; so such an appointment was an honour indeed. This busy life, without even a few days of relaxation, naturally began to take its toll, and when the opportunity offered itself to break away for a short time from the ordinary routine, Van Manen eagerly grasped at it. This opportunity came when his friend Jackson invited him to accompany him on a trip to Nepal.

It is not for nothing that Nepal is called a land of wonders. It lies secluded and sheltered at the foot of the highest mountains in the world; against slopes nestles the capital Kathmandu, which gives in its general aspect and architecture a picture of the great old Indian cities in the period of India's greatest glory. It is governed by a dynasty of intelligent and capable rulers. Strangers are only admitted when their presence can be to the advantage of the country and when they may be expected to maintain order and peace. Scholars and artists have always been welcomed hospitably,²⁸ but others are rigorously excluded; and as the remoteness of the country makes it relatively easy to watch and control the entering of strangers — there is only one highroad, that from Raxoul on the border to Kathmandu —, these regulations are easily enforced. No Europeans can cross the border, except with a special permit of the Raja of Nepal; and the number of permits issued is comparatively small; about a score each year.

So it was a piece of good fortune for Van Manen to be able to go on this excursion, and he must have enjoyed it to the core. It is unfortunate, however, that only few notes about this journey have been found. His servant Nyima has written a kind of diary or journal about it. The road was far from easy and a good deal of physical exertion was necessary to overcome the obstacles; but about his own impressions he says little. Van Manen brought back a considerable number of photographs, which he published many years later, accompanied by a short article, in a not very well-known magazine.²⁹ Gegen Puntsog, his faithful teacher, who had visited Nepal before, did not accompany him on this trip. Gegen had just returned from a journey to Tibet, where he was obliged to pay some visits

²⁸ Cf. the experiences mentioned by Sylvain LÉVI, in the introduction to his *Le Népal*, Paris 1905. *Annales du Musée Guimet*, *Bibl. d'Études*, tome 17-19.

²⁹ *Martin-Burn House Magazine*, Monsoon 1931, pp. 9-18.

in connection with the death of his wife, who lived in the neighbourhood of Ghoom with their three children. Gegen's health was not good either and only a few months later he was struck down by illness and had to be taken to hospital in Calcutta. He was not to leave it alive; on February 22, 1926 he died of tuberculosis. Van Manen, who had stayed at the dying man's bedside until the end came, must have felt this loss very deeply; not only did he lose a highly capable and efficient collaborator, but in the course of ten years and longer a staunch and warm friendship had grown up between those two men; and now this was suddenly cut short by death. Fairly quickly Van Manen found a capable successor to Gegen, but his relations with this new helper never rose to the same degree of intimacy and mutual understanding. A short time before his death, Gegen finished the last chapter of his biography: its chief subject was a visit the King of Belgium paid to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on September 16, 1925. The King travelled incognito and was received at the museum by Van Manen, who showed H.M. over the collections. Van Manen did not forget to direct the King's attention towards the work of his clerks while making some pleasant remarks about their personalities. Besides Gegen, another writer was also present on this occasion, namely Drin-Chen,³⁰ who also put down in writing the story of this visit and even embellished it with drawings. Drin-Chen also wrote the story of his life in Tibetan as well as in Chinese, illustrated with about a hundred pictures. Later on he made for Johan van Manen some sketchy translations into English of various Tibetan autobiographies and moreover copies of manuscripts and drawings. A few of the latter have already been given to the public in the December-number of 1928 of the periodical "India Monthly Magazine", in which an article from Johan van Manen's pen is published, titled: "*The Rope-sliders of Tibet*" (pp. 40-43). It is illustrated with three pictures of this religious ceremony, about which Bell has given us a detailed account and which, according to Chapman, has undergone a change of character now.³¹ This publication has no scientific pretensions and is properly speaking meant as an introduction to the drawings by Drin-Chen. Together with an other, also entirely unpretentious little article, called '*Tibet*', in "The New Outlook" (March 25, 1925 pp. 16 19) these two are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, all that is published by him during the first eight years of his secretary-ship. I purposely exclude here the necrologies and obituary notices of the deceased members of the

³⁰ A drawing representing this visit, and in which the two clerks figure also, is found in Drin-Chen's autobiography.

³¹ Ch. BELL, *The Religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931, p. 127, with ill.; F. S. CHAPMAN, *Lhasa, the Holy City*, London 1933, pp. 313 sq.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, which he had to write as secretary. There is, however, one of these that has a more personal character, namely that on Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man with many amiable qualities and great talents, who was one of the leading personalities of the University of Calcutta as well as of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, with whom Van Manen was long in close contact, through the former's position at the Calcutta University, as well as that of a member of the Society.³² In the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Van Manen regularly made statements about his own work. In this way he secured the cooperation of all active members in collecting material. This applies specially to the '*Wild Men in Tibet*', a subject about which he collected an enormous amount of data, which was set up in type, but never reached the stage of publication.³³

In March 1926 he gives a lecture on "*Some Living Problems of Buddhism*" at the invitation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. In this lecture he does not so much actually consider the living problems of Buddhism but rather the questions which at that period were in the centre of interest for the Buddhologists.³⁴ Hence a question was raised by a member of his audience about his opinion on the problem of the swift rise and decay of Buddhism in India. His answer to this "written" question, also given in writing, has been preserved for us. In a few words he states his opinion on the rise and decay of religions in general; but these very words induced me to mention this incident. They run as follows: "It seems to me that all religion in its essence, and as long as it is a creative and not a traditional or historical force, is a message of liberation, of escape. Liberation from the world, from matter, from the body and generally from finiteness and limitation. In short, it is the proclamation that this world is a prison-house. As a consequence and application of this principle always follows an attempt to introduce decency and order, cleanliness and method in the prison itself as long as one has not yet escaped from it. This attempt produces morality, rituals, symbols, sacraments and all the rest. But as religions evolve further away from their origin and the orderly prison-life becomes shaped into a likeness of freedom or escape, this likeness becomes the chief concern instead of its prototype, and the prison becomes so neat and orderly as to

³² *J. & P. ASB*, XXI, 1925, pp. clxxxii f.

³³ This also reacted unfavourably on the publication of a study by P. O. BODDING, *A Note on the 'Wild People' of the Santals*, which never reached the stage of publication, although it was set up in type to be published in the XXIst volume of the *J. & P. ASB*.

³⁴ Namely, with meaning of the terms *samyak* and *duḥkham*. He corresponded on this subject for many years with other scholars, especially with F. L. Woodward, at that time librarian of the Adyar Library.

assume the aspect of a true home. Now there is a contrast between natural evolution and religion in that in natural evolution the lowest form stands at the bottom and the higher form is produced later. In religion the highest form stands at the top and from the very beginning the process is one of weakening. First a Founder, then apostles, then churchfathers, then scolastics, then the villagepriest or the modernist and the higher critic; a constant diminution of dynamic spirituality. Therefore natural evolution always wins in the end, as it climbs; and religions always lose, as they grow dimmer”.

The year 1926 brought him a pleasant surprise, when the King of the Belgians conferred upon him the order of Officier de la Couronne. Then his health began to give way; but undismayed, he went on with his work, convinced as he was that this work required his presence. Early in 1927, however, he was obliged to give in. An illness compelled him to relinquish his function for a short time and to go to Holland to recuperate. From May 20 till November 20 of that year he is absent from Calcutta. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was exceedingly sorry to have to let him go, but acknowledged the necessity of his departure. Unquestionably Van Manen's health greatly profited by this home-leave. His strength and energy were gradually restored and moreover he made the most of his opportunities to establish contact with various scholars and scientific institutions in Holland, i.a. the Kern-Institute, for which, at the very end of his leave, he gave a lecture on: “*Present-day Nepal*”, in which he told about his journey to that country. During his leave he was also interviewed about his work, of which he gave an outline that was published in the “*Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*” of Juli 9, 1927. This chiefly consists of a description of his life and his work up to that year. At the end of November 1927 he returned to Calcutta, completely recovered and in the full enjoyment of his strength and ready to take up his duties with all his energy. The annual report of 1927 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal expresses itself more or less pithily, where it says: “It is little wonder that his health broke down in the process. But we are glad that this sojourn in Holland, while reducing his waistline, has restored his health”.

A new and busy period opened for Van Manen and his work demanded all his interest and attention. His helpfulness and readiness to assist his colleagues were very praiseworthy. He lent his assistance in every possible way to Professor Caland in the latter's editing and publishing in the *Bibliotheca India Series* of the *Vaikhānasasmārta-sūtram*, and to Foucher with the publication of miniatures from manuscripts. For the Kern-Institute he collected, in a few years time, an important collection of more than 300 sanscrit manuscripts, at present forming the most considerable collec-

tion of sanscrit manuscripts in Leiden. Although he never got down to the publication of his own studies, he undertook the investigation and study of new problems or subjects, which often involved him in an enormous amount of work. It is therefore very regrettable that about all this he only issued statements in the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Towards the end of 1928 he spoke in one of these meetings on the "*Identity of the Tibetan Chāṅakya-rājanīśātra and the nīti-section in the Garuḍa Purāna*". Only adepts in this subject can realize how much preliminary work was entailed by this study.

He also continued his activities on behalf of the collecting of material about the "*Wild Men of Tibet*", a subject which was kept in portfolio, just like so much other material. Yet he still finds time to return to a former study, which he works up to make an article for the first number of the "*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*", entitled: "*On Making of Earthen Images, Repairing old Images and Drawing Scroll Pictures in Tibet*". For this he made use of material he and Gegen Puntsog at the time translated together when they were in Ghoom.³⁵

His later publications show clearly that they were written by special request and were no longer the products of an inner urge to communicate to his colleagues the results of his researches. It was not a question that this urge had exhausted itself, but he could not find a quiet opportunity to sit down and put these results in writing, and it was only through those urgent requests that he was occasionally taken out of his daily rut in order to settle down to writing.

These requests are sufficient proof that he had become a man who was considered to be an authority on a certain branch of science. When a controversy flares up about the etymological explanation of the name of a mountain in Nepal, the Kangchenjunga, it is to Van Manen that an appeal is made for a decisive explanation. From the way he does so, we can gather how deeply versed he was in the literature on Tibet and Nepal, and it fills one with awe to see how many works he quotes in the short paper on this subject.³⁶ It is no wonder that learned investigators and travellers who wished to write about these countries sent their works to him for judgment before proceeding to their publication. This can be stated with certainty in regard of a limited number of works; one of these is the so-called '*Book of the Dead*', translated by Kazi Dawa Samdup and published by W. J. Evans Wentz. Not only did he receive many expressions of

³⁵ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, I, 1933, pp. 105-111.

³⁶ Published in the *Himalayan Journal*, IV, 1932, pp. 198-214.

appreciation from scientists and scholars, but the Indian Government publicly acknowledged his great merit by conferring on him, on June 30, 1930, the order of Hon. Companion of the British Empire, the highest distinction which could be conferred on a non-British subject in India, a gesture which Van Manen appreciated very highly.

Seven years later the Netherlands Government honoured him by conferring on him the order of Officer in the Order of Oranje-Nassau. Meanwhile he received other distinctions among which was one which he prized very highly, viz. his election to the Hon. Membership of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) towards the end of 1933. In this quality of Hon. Member he represented this Society at the festivals organized in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which he had been a secretary-general for ten years. In the same year he paid a short visit to Batavia, where he was warmly received by the Batavian Society.

The journey to Batavia was not only a pleasure-trip, which he was enabled to make as a guest through the hospitable kindness of the Shipping Companies, but was also of great benefit to his health. In this period Van Manen was repeatedly reminded of the fact that he could not do as much as he would like to, so that he was compelled to moderate his activities. In the annual report for 1933 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal we read: "The General Secretary completed his tenth year of office and for the first time during that period was obliged by reasons of health to give up attending the office on holidays and Sundays. This immediately reacted unfavourably; but in previous reports reference has been made more than once to the valuable margin of leisure in the Society's office."

Once more he entered upon a busy period, as the Asiatic Society of Bengal had decided to celebrate the 150th anniversary of its foundation with suitable ceremonies and festivities. This celebration took place in 1934, and on this occasion the Society received the predicate 'Royal'. At the same time Johan van Manen was distinguished by the French Government, which appointed him 'Officier de l'Instruction Publique'. — All these festivities, with the innumerable preparations required for their success and the aftermath of correspondence, must have taxed Van Manen's strength very severely. Moreover his health gave way periodically, until in 1936 an internal ailment compelled him to return temporarily to Holland.

The climate of Western Europe did him a great deal of good, and improved in health and full of courage he returned to Calcutta in October of the same year. His collections of Tibetan printing-blocks and scroll paint-

ings (*thankas*), which he had taken with him to Holland, were lent by him to the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden; some of the paintings were housed in the Museum for Asiatic Art in Amsterdam.³⁷

Although in the annual report the following statement was made: "We are delighted to see him back with us, reduced in figure, but restored in health and as exuberant as ever in learning and good humour", it soon became evident that his health still left much to be desired. It became a struggle between his sense of duty and his strongly diminished bodily strength. So in these last few years little scientific work was done by him. Soon after his return the Archeological Section of the Indian Museum handed over to the Asiatic Society of Bengal 12,000 sanscrit manuscripts. Although undoubtedly he must have been delighted by this important addition to the library, his strength did no longer allow him to be very active in the work of sorting out and arranging this collection. In the monthly meetings he makes some statements, curiously enough about the Heraclites, but that is more or less the last work he did.

He was entirely unwilling to follow the doctor's orders to take meat, with the result that his ailment returned worse than ever and paralyzed his energies.

Shortly after his return from Holland his faithful old servant Nyima died. A few weeks before a Chinese boy, an orphan, had taken over Nyima's duties. This boy, Twan Yang, was treated by Van Manen almost like an adopted son. He taught him to speak, read and write English and educated him in other ways. When Twan knew English sufficiently well, he began to write his own biography, but in English and under the supervision of Van Manen. From this biography we know a little more about Van Manen's personal life during the last few years.³⁸ It seems that in these later years Van Manen felt the need of home-life and companionship more than ever before, and he was less inclined to give up his spare time to the work of the Society. On all sides the difficulties, resulting from a shortage of personnel of a Society which was overburdened with work, made themselves felt. The stagnation in the work grew worse; the control over the lower

³⁷ One of these pieces, with representations of the demoniacal gods from the so-called *Bardo*, described in the Tibetan book of the dead, was described by me in *Phoenix*, I, 1946, no. 9, pp. 1-12.

³⁸ The autobiography of Twan Yang was published under the title: *Houseboy in India*, by John Day Company, New York 1945, 8vo. It contains e.g. an extremely pleasant and sympathetic description of this last period of the life of Johan van Manen with a number of small details which otherwise would never have come to my knowledge.

personnel became less strict and of course the latter took advantage of this circumstance by doing as little as possible.

Things might have gone on unchanged if Van Manen had had only friends among the influential members of the Society to which he had given all his strength and learning. But unfortunately there were people who could not and would not make allowances for failing health and so the struggle continued to the bitter end. As is often the case in such circumstances, it only needed a trifle to bring matters to a head.

One of the Indian members, Dr. Hora, brought in a motion during a meeting in which he drew attention to the fact that tea had been served at this meeting, but that this was not mentioned in the notices. The discussion about this motion became so heated, that its proposer left the meeting. Hobbs, one of Van Manen's friends, says that the whole question was "a storm in a teacup", but it was the beginning of a series of small pinpricks and covert insinuations; as this war was waged with the pen, the General Secretary was in the unpleasant position of whipping boy between the two parties. Whenever it was possible to lodge a complaint about neglect or carelessness, the board was informed of this by letter. When some decision was made or some measure taken which seemed not to be in conformity with the regulations or by-laws, another complaint followed. When the General Secretary was not in his office at a certain hour, a request was made for a strict schedule for the working hours of the staff, etc. etc.

Even a man in good health would have succumbed to these petty naggings, especially as the tone of the letters was often far removed from ordinary civility.

In November 1938 an Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal was appointed for the term of one year, e.g. Mr. Robert Seal. Although now part of the routine work devolved on the younger man, the unpleasant conditions continued unchanged. On the whole,—although not in all cases—these originated from the same source; for Van Manen must have had more friends in the Society than enemies. At the annual meeting, held early in 1939 the President said: "though I know that during the year (1938) he has struggled against ill-health, his never-failing good nature and willingness, his broad views and his most intimate knowledge of the Society's affairs have been valuable assets to our Society. May I express the hope that he may still be with us many years to give us the benefit of his ripe experience and profound knowledge."

This was not to be.

The situation began to come to a crisis, when Dr. Hora had an anonymous

article published, in which he gave vent to a number of complaints in regards to the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the February number of "The Modern Review".³⁹ The first lines already indicated against whom this article was directed. They run: "Up to 1923 under Mr. Elliot's assistant Secretaryship, the work of the Society went well, but since the appointment of the present General Secretary the staff has been considerably increased with a distinct fall in the activities of the Society". Van Manen was appointed in 1923, and it is well-known how he toiled during the first years on behalf of the Society. This complaint was unfair, to say the least of it, and moreover untrue. The article continued to say that the General Secretary had been granted many advantages by the Board, in a manner that was, if not quite illegitimate, in any case indefensible, and therefore, as the Society was an institution subsidised by the Government, this had happened to the detriment of the government's finances.

This last point provoked the Board to great indignation and the author of the article was duly informed of this. At the same meeting of April 24, 1939, where this point was discussed, Johan van Manen was put in charge of the general management and a secretary was appointed to assist him, Dr. Guha, who was to carry out every-day routine work. Van Manen himself was fully aware that he was no longer strong enough; but of course it was difficult at this juncture to tender his resignation. So everything would have ended well, if the affair had not had unpleasant developments later on. The article had come—or most probably been brought—to the notice of the Educational Department of the Government of Bengal. The authorities felt bound to ask the Asiatic society of Bengal to give an account of the manner in which the subsidies were spent, with a request for special information about the pay and the position of the General Secretary. This letter, written on April 21, must have been received by Van Manen, in his function of General Secretary, before April 24. He did not mention it in the meeting on that day, but answered it himself, presumably by curtly refusing to provide the data asked for. But when the assistant Secretary read this letter, he must have become afraid of the consequences this might have for the Society, and therefore he may have kept it back on his own responsibility.

Also he must have given information about this to the Board at the meeting on May 3, 1939. Now Van Manen felt that he had been entirely passed over and ignored, and in June he tendered his resignation as per

³⁹ *The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, by a Member of the ASB. *The Modern Review*, 65, 1939, pp. 104-200. *The Modern Review* is an authoritative monthly, which appears in Calcutta and specialized in articles on political and social problems.

July 1, 1939. His request was granted and he received a gratification, and with this the breach between the Society and Van Manen was complete. His old friends remained staunch, but the younger members, who did not know or wish to know his earlier work were too strong for him.

At the annual meeting of 1940 the President referred to his resignation in a few words, full of sympathy: "Here I would like to make a reference to the resignation last June of Johan van Manen, who for the past sixteen years held the office of the General Secretary. Having been in close contact with him for so many years I am sorry that he is not with us to-day. Let us hope that his health, which had not been good in recent years, will improve and that during his retirement he will be able to carry on his studies resulting in productive work."

These last words have a more or less unpleasant tang. A few weeks before these were spoken, a resolution had been passed in regard of the editing of two texts, which Van Manen had undertaken, in which the wish that the work should be completed was pronounced in the following words: "to write to Mr. Van Manen and fix a time limit for him to complete the works; otherwise the texts to be withdrawn from him and other arrangements made for this publication". Granted that Van Manen had postponed or shirked doing the work, this gesture was not the most pleasant way of arriving at an agreement based on mutual understanding. He was obliged to give up the work.

Life was difficult during these last few years. His health failed him more and more; the daily vexations embittered these years. Through the war his financial circumstances became difficult, so that he had to depend on assistance from his friends. However, he did not give up all work yet. For a few years he worked in the "Censor Office" in Calcutta. Immediately after the outbreak of the war between the Netherlands and Germany he was chosen as president of "The Netherlands National Committee for watching the Netherlands Interests in India", a very suitable choice, as Van Manen was the oldest member of the small Netherlands colony in Calcutta. His work left him a great deal of leisure, and this time he chiefly passed in his own home. Although his best friends kept up their contact with him, still his life during the last few years became rather lonely. Except from his friends Hobbs and Barwell, he found the strongest support and friendship in the members of the various foreign colonies in Calcutta, who were exiles like himself, especially from the Netherlands and French side.

In the summer of 1940 Dr. Guha, a Frenchman, took Van Manen with him to Kalimpong for a breath of fresh air. This stay in the cold mountain

air did him a great deal of good, although the journey itself was almost beyond his strength.

During the last year of his life Van Manen seriously contemplated the possibility of leaving Calcutta and of settling down in Kalimpong in order to use the last years of his life for the completion of his Tibetan dictionary, a: which he must have been working for years, but which remained unfinished. In the early spring of 1943 it seemed that this plan could be carried out; he succeeded in finding a suitable house on the top of a hill above Kalimpong in the shadow of the Himālayas. Preliminary preparations were made for the removal; he gave orders to catalogue his books and to pack them. This was finished in March, and he was quite prepared to start at a moment's notice. But this was not to be.

In the night of March 15-16 he had a stroke of paralysis and early in the morning of March 17 death put an end to this remarkable life. He did not shrink from death; more than once he had used to say in his later years: "death is not an unhappy thing; it means that one has no more to worry nor to fight the battle of life with desires and cravings". In the evening of that same day his friends accompanied him to his last resting place in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery in Calcutta.

EPILOGUE

I have tried in this description to do full justice to the person of Van Manen, as far as I have been able to understand him with the aid of the data at my disposal.

I do not think there is a better way for rounding off this sketch, than by quoting the words in which his friend, Mr. Barwell, drew a picture of him in a speech pronounced in memory of his decease at the monthly meeting of the Royal Society of Bengal on April 5th, 1943: ⁴⁰ "Van Manen was not what the ordinary academician calls a "Scholar". On the other hand he was beyond question a very learned man. His learning had come to him not from the School, but had been acquired in the business of feeding an abundant curiosity as to the nature of truth. To him the acquisition of knowledge in any form was of inestimable value; its advancement something of inescapable concern to us all. He was so modest as to claim for himself very little either in terms of acquisition or towards the common task of advancement for others. But those who really knew him may justly say that in both directions his personal labours achieved more than we shall ever be able to record. That modesty of which I speak defeated us.

⁴⁰ *Yearbook of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1943*, pp. 190-191.

Even the barest acquaintance could see how naturally friendly he was, and how much of his approach to his everyday tasks was informed by a desire to help others in need of that help. His private charities were ridiculously disproportionate to his means; and in cases of an appeal to the heart he was very frequently grossly deceived; but he was never consequentially embittered, for Pity was always at hand to play the advocate with him and to excuse the cheat.

It was far less easy, however, to deceive him in other fields. He was not impressed by the naked insignia of academic success. He was quick to perceive the charlatan, however strongly such a one might have been recommended to his notice as a person otherwise distinguished, and he heartily despised those who used a university or a society less for the advance of learning than for the advancement of self. The fact that he made no secret of these sentiments brought him enemies. But his own capacity for friendship was such as gave him the means of an inward happiness which more than counterbalanced all this. I doubt, indeed, if anyone among us has more markedly deserved a corresponding loyalty from his friends".

A wise and a good man!

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

- I. Mr. Johan van Manen and his Tibetan clerks in the office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The collections brought together by the late Mr. Van Manen form an important part of the Tibetan collection under discussion.
- II. Reliquary or manuscript box, gilt bronze. From the dPal-khor-Choide Monastery, Gyantse. Height: 36 cm. (2845/1)
- III. a. Manuscript cover of gilt bronze. From the same monastery. Length: 77 cm, height: 26 cm. (2845/2)
b. Square iron mace elaborately embossed with bronze ornaments, inlaid with stones. From Sera Monastery (?) Height: 162 cm. (2920/1)
- IV. Part of a large gilt bronze halo representing the bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and the intricate motive of the *gaja-siṃha-vyālaka* symbol. From the dPal-khor-Choide Monastery, Gyantse. Height: 39 cm. (2845/3)
- V. Part of a large gilt bronze halo with the same representation and of the same provenance. Height: 37 cm. (2845/4)
- VI. a. The bodhisattva Maitreya (?), gilt bronze. Height: 19 cm. (1119/77)
b. Fragment of the decoration of the throne of a large statue; gilt bronze, representing the *gaja-siṃha-vyālaka* symbol. One of a pair. Height: 49 cm. (2845/6)
c. Part of a large gilt bronze halo representing the bodhisattva Mañjuçrī. From the dPal-khor-Choide Monastery, Gyantse. Height: 41 cm. (2845/7)
d. Idem, representing the bodhisattva Maitreya (?). Height: 41 cm. (2845/8)
- VII. Gilt bronze plaque, inlaid with stones, representing the Buddha seated under the *bodhi*-tree with episodes from Māra's assault and the temptation by Māra's daughters. Height: 49 cm. (2739/1)
- VIII. Chinese Lamaistic bronze representing the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. From a collection presented by the emperor Ch'ien-Lung to his mother in 1771. Pao-hsiang Lou Temple, Peking. Height: 38 cm. (2783/1)
- IX. The bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara in his eleven-headed form. Gilt bronze. Height: 40 cm. (1119/79)
- X. a. Old bronze with remains of paint and inscription, representing Kumāra Mañjuçrī. Height: 15,5 cm. (2939/1)
b. Copper incense burner in the form of Siṃhanāda Avalokiteçvara. Height: 66 cm. (1119/73)
- XI. a. Elaborately ornamented bronze representing Padmasambhava. Height: 66cm. (1119/80)
b. Wooden sculpture covered with gold lacquer representing Tsoṅ-kha-pa. Height: 38 cm. (1840/1)
- XII. a. Old bronze in Nepalese style representing Vajradhara. Height: 11 cm. (2739/2)
b. Gilt bronze representing Vajrasattva. Height: 14 cm. (2798/31)
c. Gilt bronze in Nepalese style and with inscription on the back, representing Mañjuçrī Dharmadhātuvāgiçvara. Height: 27 cm. (2739/60)
d. Old bronze representing Sumatiçriñāna, the 13th Tashi-Lama. Height: 26 cm. (1786/7)
- XIII. a. Gilt bronze representing Mahākāla. Height: 12 cm. (1650/4)

- b. Gilt bronze representing Mahākālī. Height: 18 cm. (2798/29)
 c. Old bronze representing Saṃvara. Height: 29 cm. (1786/5)
 d. Stone sculpture representing the god of the Gañ-c'en-mc'od-lña (Kang-chenjunga). Height: 19 cm. (2739/66)
- XIV. a. Wooden sculpture representing Vajrapāni. Height: 19 cm. (2739/56)
 b. Gilt bronze of the same demoniacal aspect of this bodhisattva. Vajra lost. Height: 21 cm. (1949/1)
- XV. a. Shrine with plaster effigies of the Buddha and the eighteen sthaviras. Painted wood. Height: 40 cm. (2798/21)
 b. Tibetan manuscript with ornamented wooden covers. Length: 48 cm; height: 9 cm. (2739/114)
- XVI. a. Thaṅka representing the Buddha and the sthaviras. Painting: 69 × 48 cm. (2740/147)
 b. Thaṅka representing scenes from Buddha's life. Painting: 65 × 48 cm. (1842/1)
- XVII. a. Thaṅka representing Padmasambhava and his rnam-thar. Painting: 67 × 45 cm. (2740/19)
 b. Thaṅka representing Sumatijñānaçribhadra, the 12th Tashi-Lama. Painting: 38 × 25 cm. (2740/1)
- XVIII. a. Thaṅka representing the eleven-headed Avalokiteçvara. Painting: 40 × 28 cm. (2740/16)
 b. Thaṅka representing the Twenty-one Tārās. Painting: 66 × 46 cm. (2740/23)
- XIX. a. Thaṅka representing Legs-ldan-'byed, the 3rd Tashi-Lama. Painting: 59 × 40 cm. (2740/5)
 b. Thaṅka representing Diñnāga, the 9th Tashi-Lama. Painting: 59 × 40 cm. (2740/4)
- XX. a. Thaṅka representing the maṅḍala of the Drag-gsed. Painting: 78 × 54 cm. (B 25/5)
 b. Thaṅka representing Hayagrīva, the god with the horse-neck. Painting: 112 × 77 cm. (1383/2)
- XXI. a. Thaṅka representing the bhairava Acala and parivāra. Painting: 105 × 67 cm. (2798/1)
 b. Thaṅka representing the maṅḍala of Heruka. Painting: 93 × 62 cm. (2740/2)
- XXII. 1. Prayer-bell. Height: 23 cm. (2739/25)
 2. Matrix for preparing clay-tablets. Height: 14 cm. (2739/47)
 3. Vajra inlaid with stones. Length: 13 cm. (2798/53)
 4. Prayer-wheel inlaid with stones. Length: 27 cm. (2798/47)
- XXIII. a. Libation jug. Height: 21 cm. (2798/22)
 b. Small chaitya or mchod-rten. Height: 12 cm. (B 76/77)
 c. Silver chalice cup. Height: 11 cm. (2798/52)
- XXIV. 1. Five-leaved priest's crown with representations of the five dhyāni-buddhas. Height: 18 cm. (2739/21)
 2. Ceremonial fan with representation of Sūrya. Nepal. Height: 61 cm. (2798/46)
 3. Bronze incense burner. Nepal. Height: 18 cm. (2586/2)
 4. Bronze incense burner in the form of a cosmic symbol. Height: 23 cm. (2778/1)
 5. Altar box of gilt bronze and ornamented with carved ivory and coloured stones. Length: 16 cm. (2798/61)
- XXV. 1. Mask, demon's head. Height: 27 cm. (1119/50)
 2. Flute made out of a human thighbone. Length: 36 cm; and bronze trumpet. Length: 39 cm. (1/1527 & 1119/35)

3. Matrix for preparing cakes for exorcism. Length: 26 cm. (2739/130)
 4. Exorciser's horn. Length: 27 cm. (2739/30)
 5. Bowl made out of a human brain-pan with brass foot and cover. Height: 30 cm. (2065/1)
 6. Brain-pan decorated with stones and carving. Length: 18 cm. (2220/1)
 7. Sacerdotal knives. Heights: 38 and 30 cm. (1943/9, 1786/10)
- XXVI. 1. Ritual dagger (phur-bu) bronze. Height: 32 cm. (2798/66)
2. Idem, silver. Height: 38 cm. (2798/69)
 3. Idem, bronze. Height: 32 cm. (2798/68)
- XXVII. a. Carved bone apron, used in tântric rites. Height: 75 cm. (2851/1)
- b. Printing block, first page of the Mahāvvyutpatti. Length: 41 cm. (1/1538)
- XXVIII. 1. Ceremonial drum with dagger handle. Height: 74 cm. (2845/9)
2. Clarinet. Height: 64 cm. (2739/37)
 3. Short telescopic temple trumpet. Length: 148 cm. (1/1524)
 4. Telescopic temple trumpet with inscription. Length: 223 cm. (1119/29)
 5. Long telescopic temple trumpet. Length: 312 cm. (2739/41)
 6. Idem. Length: 306 cm. (2739/39a)
- XXIX. a. 1. Primitive chopper or cleaver with wooden sheath. Length: 52 cm. (2739/78)
2. Heavy sword with leather scabbard. Length: 67 cm. (1119/24)
 3. Long sword from Bhutan with handle decorated with filigree work. Length: 84 cm. (1774/9)
 4. Idem, the sheath covered with skin of a ray. Length: 82 cm. (1119/22)
 5. Dagger from Bhutan, the handle covered with skin of a ray and filigree work. Length: 31 cm. (1119/21)
 6. Steel knife with sheath. Length: 27 cm. (1119/7)
- b. 1. Leather belt with bronze plate decoration. Length: 93 cm. (2739/75)
2. Ngolok sword with iron scabbard decorated with bronze ornament inlaid with stones. Length: 58 cm. (2739/76)
 3. Tibetan sword and belt decorated with silver ornaments. Length: 65 cm. (1774/7)
 4. Lepcha sword with one-sided wooden scabbard. Length: 59 cm. (2739/77)
 5. Idem, the scabbard decorated with silver ornament inlaid with stones. Length: 69 cm. (1119/23)
- XXX. 1. Three-fold buckle inlaid with stones. Length: 27 cm. (2798/71)
2. Small bronze amulet shrine. Height: 7 cm. (2798/60)
 3. Chatelaine, inlaid with stones. Length: 39 cm. (2798/74)
 4. Bronze amulet box. Height: 11 cm. (2739/98)
 5. Silver amulet shrine. Height: 12 cm. (2798/59)
 6. Bronze arm-ring or bracelet. Diam.: 6-7 cm. (1119/14)
 7. Wooden amulet shrine. Height: 10 cm. (2798/56)
 8. Silver amulet case. Height: 15 cm. (1119/67)
 9. Gilt amulet with Amoghapāça representation. Height: 6 cm. (1119/65)
 10. So-called *maṇi*-stone: Length: 26 cm. (2739/187)
- XXXI. 1. Gilt bronze tsamba-box inlaid with stones. Height: 17 cm. (2798/62)
2. Wooden tea-cup mounted with silver. Height: 5 cm. (2798/65)
 3. Bronze tea-pot. Height: 22 cm. (1860/6)
 4. Idem. Mongol. Height: 35 cm. (1860/4)
 5. Iron travelling flask. Height: 34 cm. (2739/79)
 6. Iron travelling bowl. Height: 7 cm. (2739/80)
 7. Leather flint and steel pouch with silver chain. Length of the pouch: 14 cm, of the chain: 92 cm. (1119/4)
 8. Wooden tea-churn. Height: 88 cm. (2739/82)

- XXXII. 1. Pair of woman's ear-pendants. Height: 20 cm. (1943/53)
2. Pair of smaller ear-pendants. Height: 11 cm. (2798/75)
3. Pair of silver ear-rings with red pearls. Height: 6 cm. (2798/76)
4. Ear-pendant of an official. Height: 11 cm. (2798/77)
5. Ear-pendant of an officer. Height: 15 cm. (2798/78)
6. Gilt bronze buckle inlaid with precious stones. Length: 13 cm. (2798/86)
7. Ear-ring of a man or a boy. Height: 5 cm. (2798/80)

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LIST OF OBJECTS ILLUSTRATED IN OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND NOT IN THIS CATALOGUE

No.	Publication
1/1477	Juynboll, in OAZ, III, 1914, p. 251, pl. 8
1/1479	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 252, pl. 9
1/1520	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (3)
527/1-6	Schlagintweit, Bouddhisme au Tibet, pls. XI, XXXVII, VIII, XXXI, III, VI
1119/16	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 250, pl. 7 (e & f)
18	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 250, pl. 7 (d)
19	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 250, pl. 7 (a)
30	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (5)
36	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (1)
40	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (4)
45	Verslag van den Directeur van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden, 1897, pl. V, fig. 11
54	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (2)
55	Stutterheim, in Elsevier's Geill. Maandschr. 1922, p. 314, pl. LXVIII (a)
59	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (7)
60	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 246, pl. 3 (6)
61	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 248, pl. 5
64	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 249, pl. 6 (b)
82	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 247, pl. 4
70	Verslag <i>op. cit.</i> , 1897, pl. VI, fig. 14
92	Juynboll, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 250, pl. 7 (g)
1630/48	Stutterheim, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 315, pl. LXVII (a)
2286/1	Catalogus Tentoonstelling Goden en Demonen van Tibet, no. 15, pl. Va
2739/81	Catalogus <i>op. cit.</i> , back cover
2740/18	Pott, in Phoenix I, no. 9, 1946, p. 3
22	Catalogus Tentoonstelling Chineesche en Tibetaansche Kunst, Rotterdam 1938-39, pl. XVIII
38	Pott, in India Antiqua 1947, pl. XXb
40	Catalogus <i>op. cit.</i> , Rotterdam, pl. XIX
2798/2	Visser, Asiatic Art in Holland and Belgium, pl. 147
3	Visser, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. 146
67	Bosch, in TBG LXVII, 1927, p. 124, pl.
2890/1	Catalogus Tentoonstelling Goden en Demonen van Tibet, no. 41, pl. Vb

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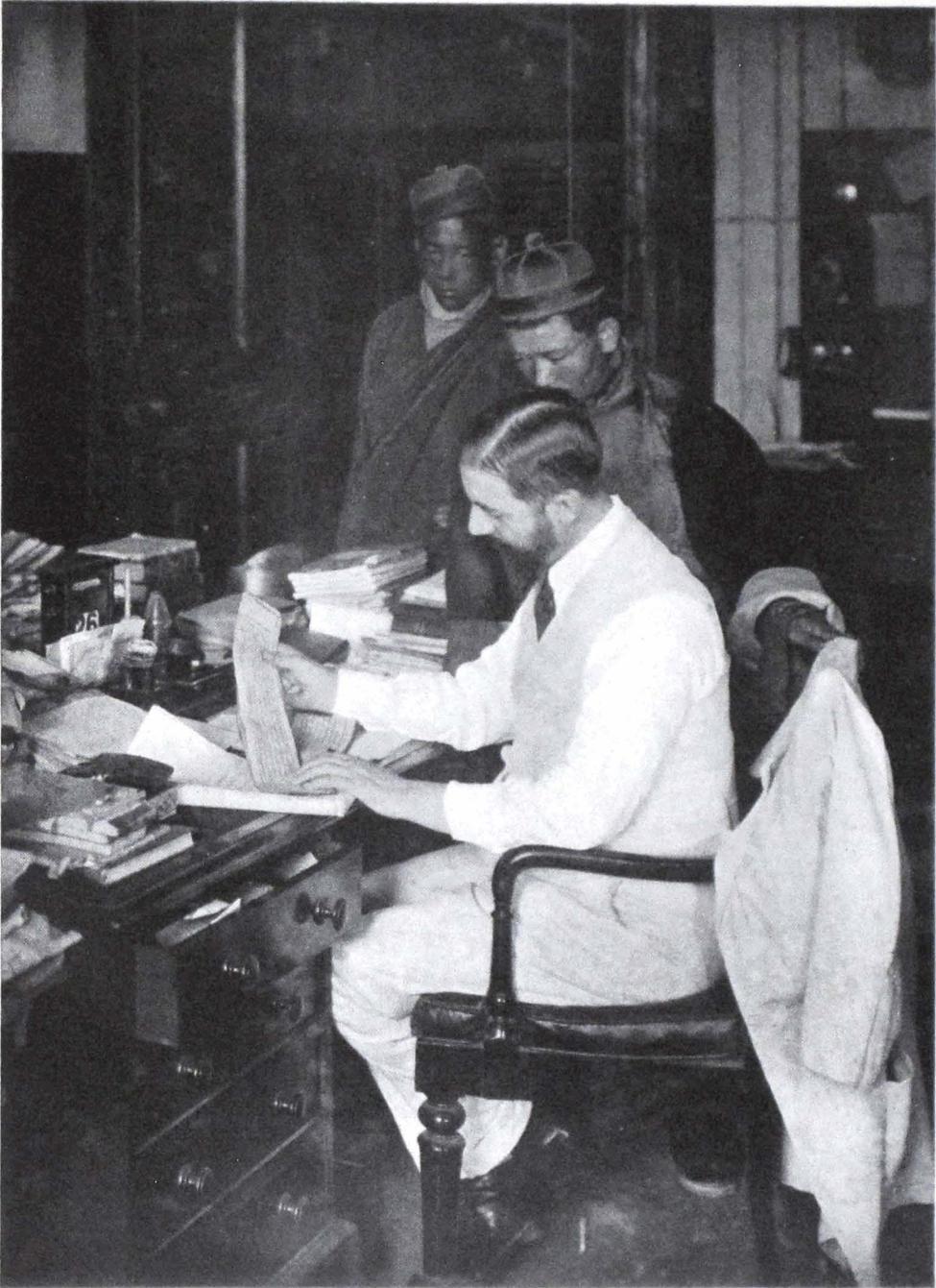
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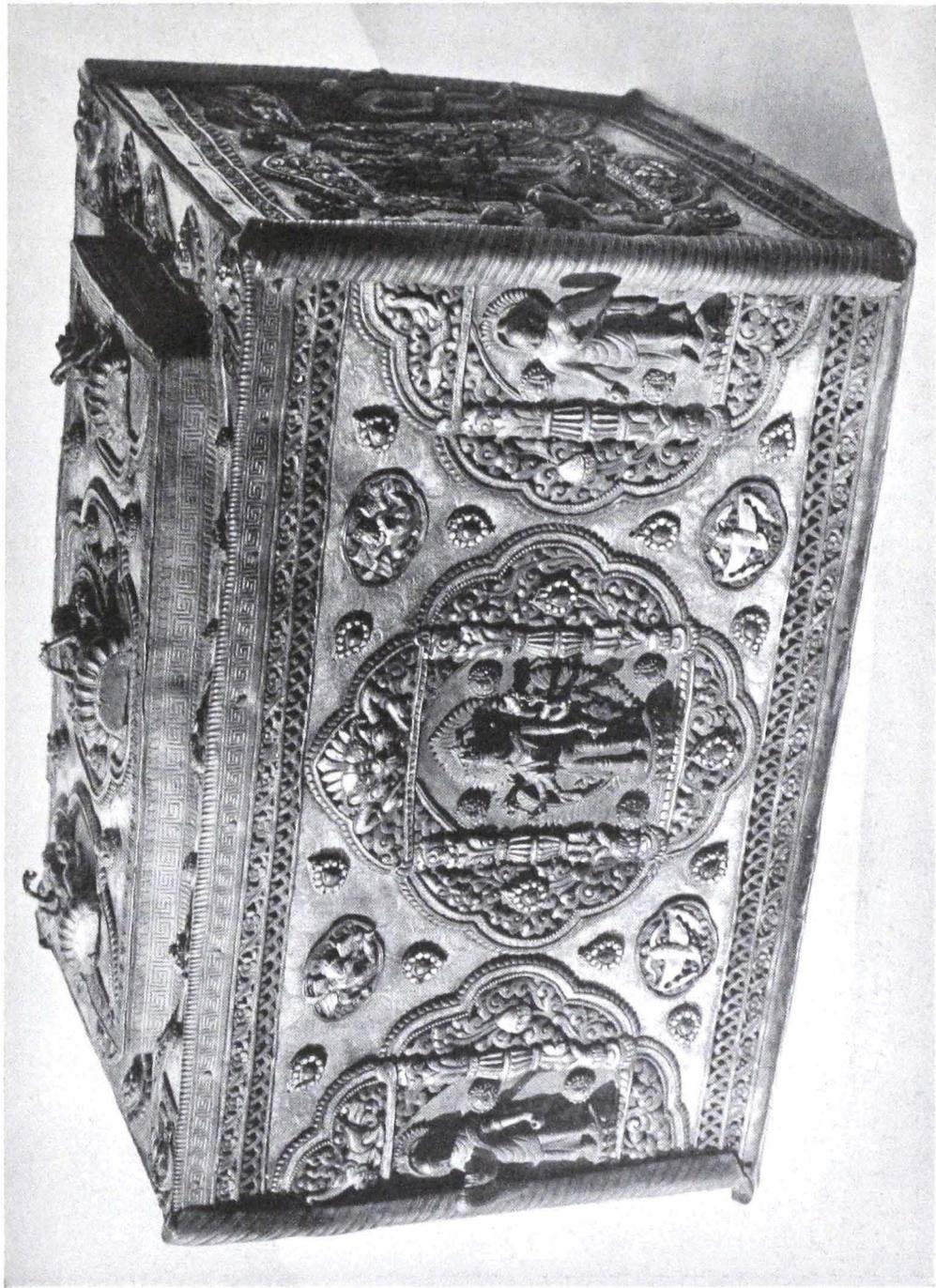
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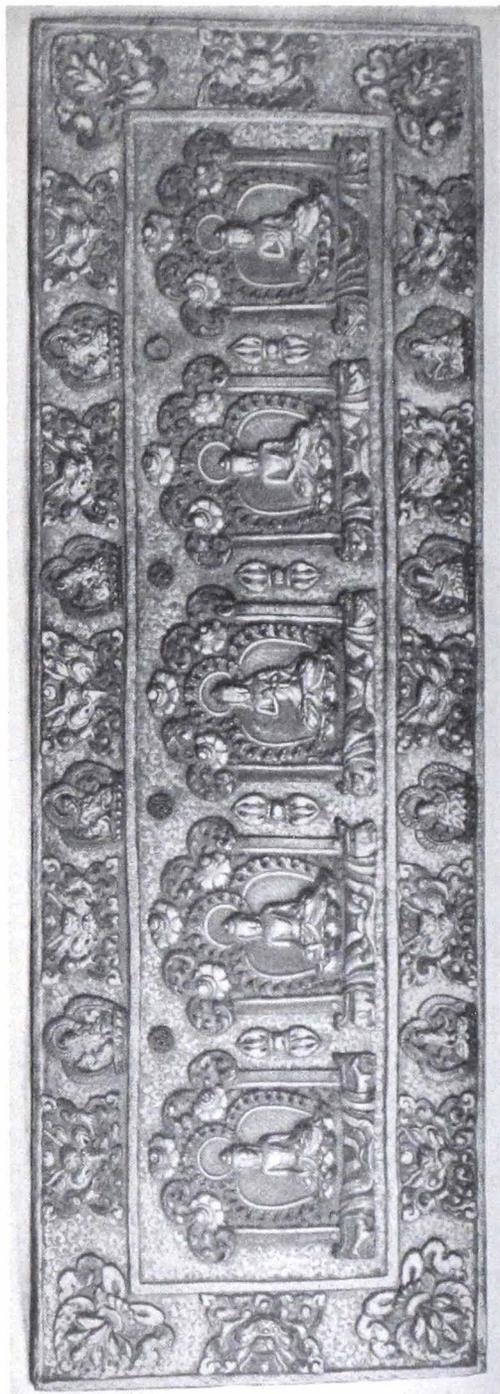
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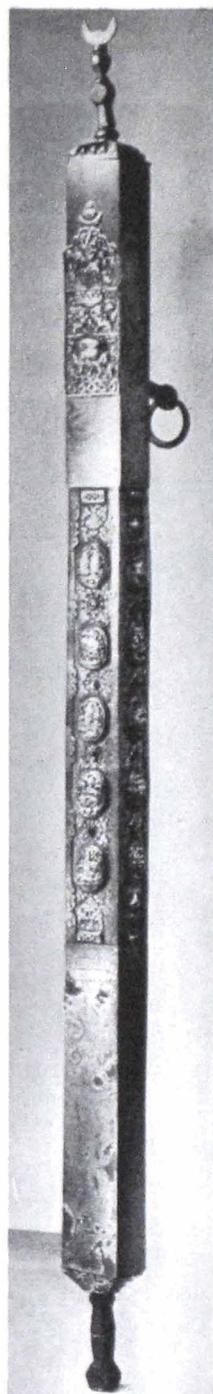


Mr Johan van Manen and his Tibetan clerks in the office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.





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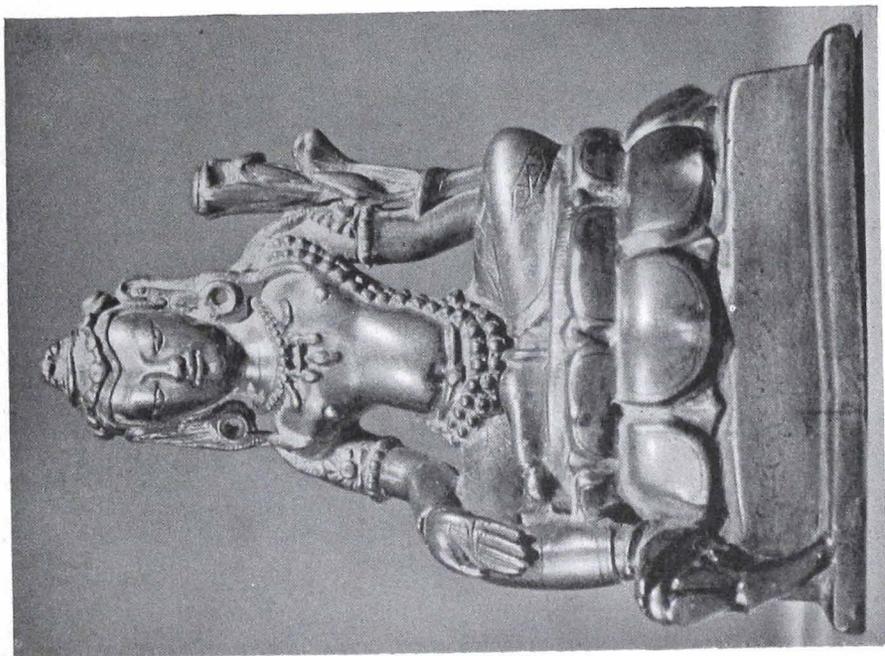


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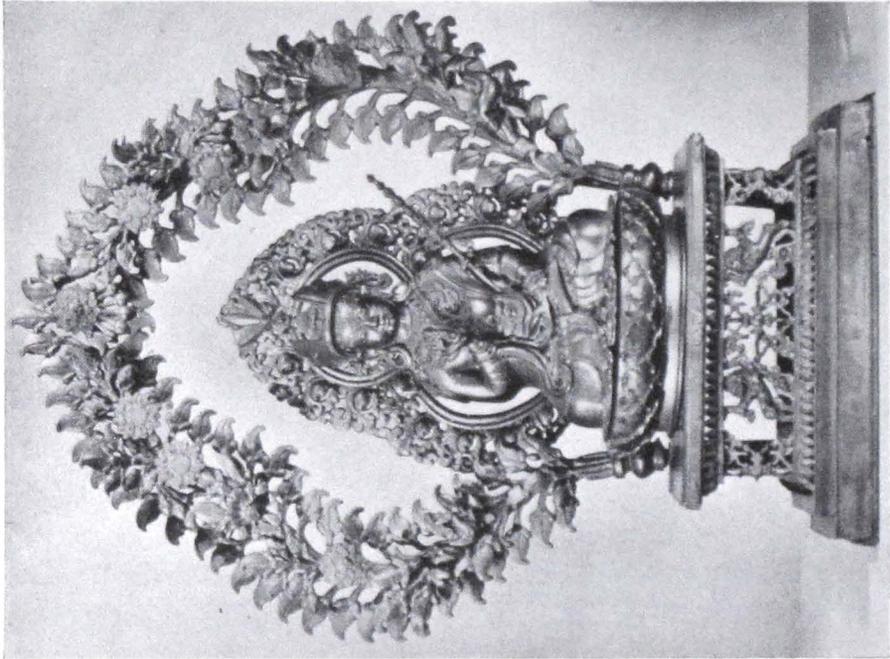




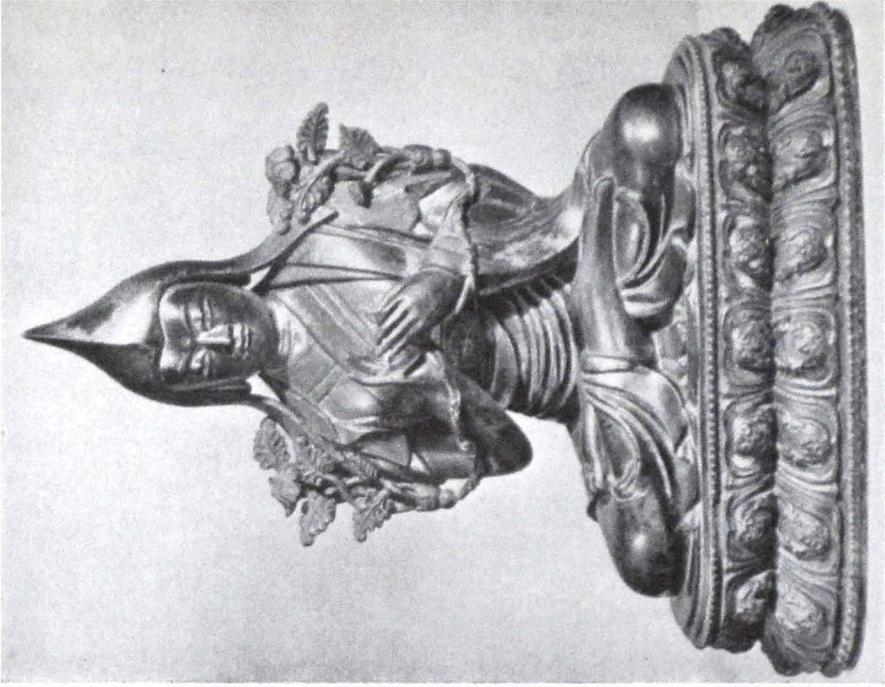
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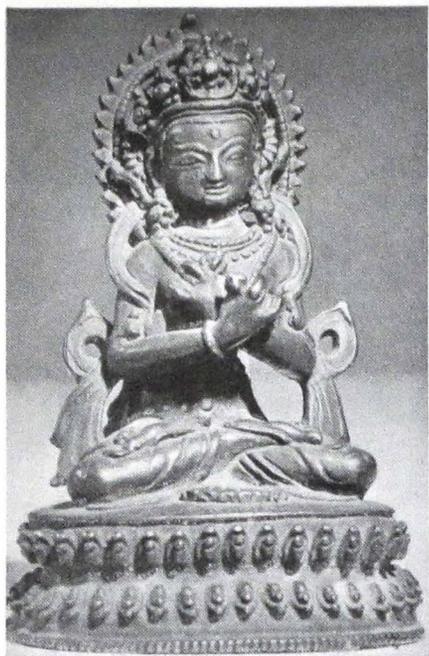
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a: 1119/80



b: 1840/1



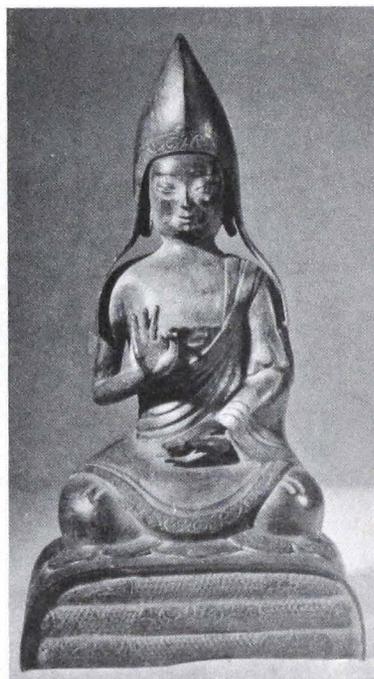
a: 2739/2



b: 2798/31



c: 2739/60



d: 1786/7



a: 1650/4



b: 2798/29



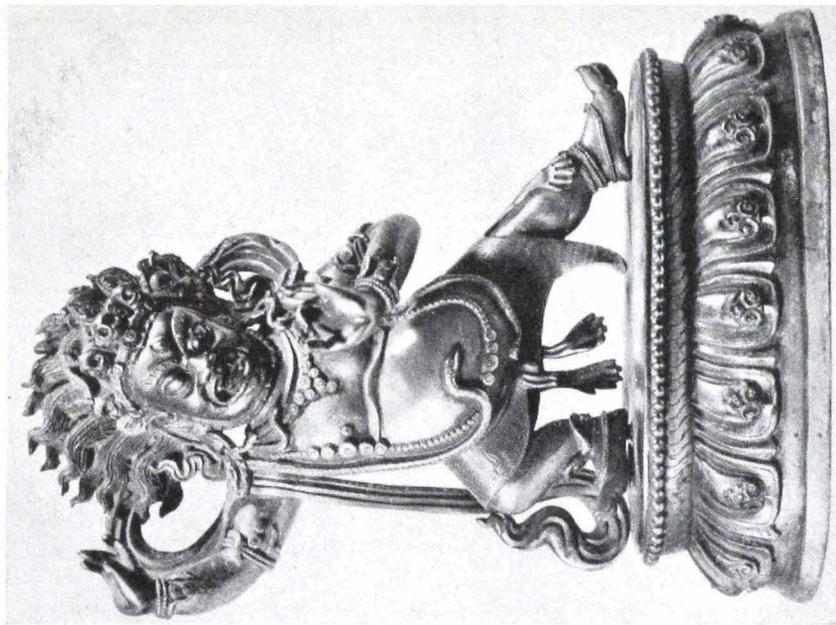
c: 1786/5



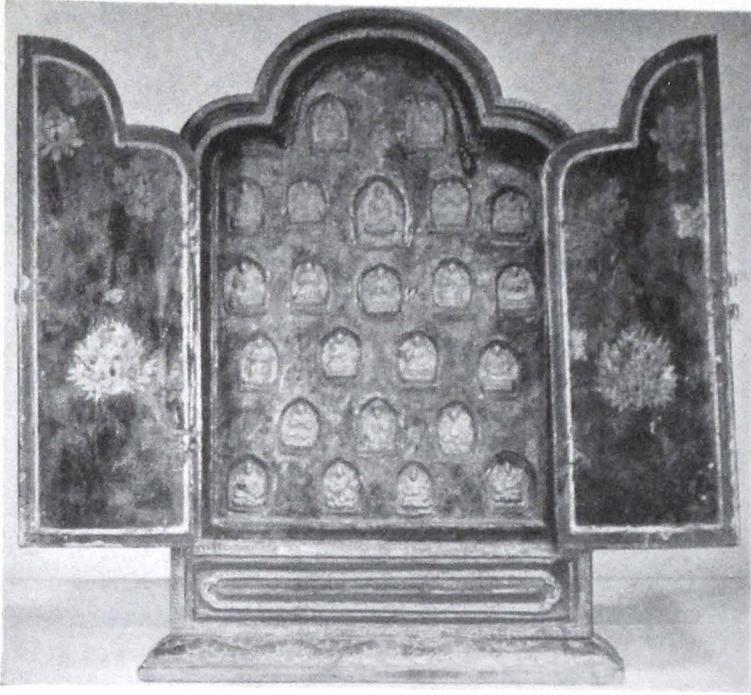
d: 2739/66



a: 2739/56



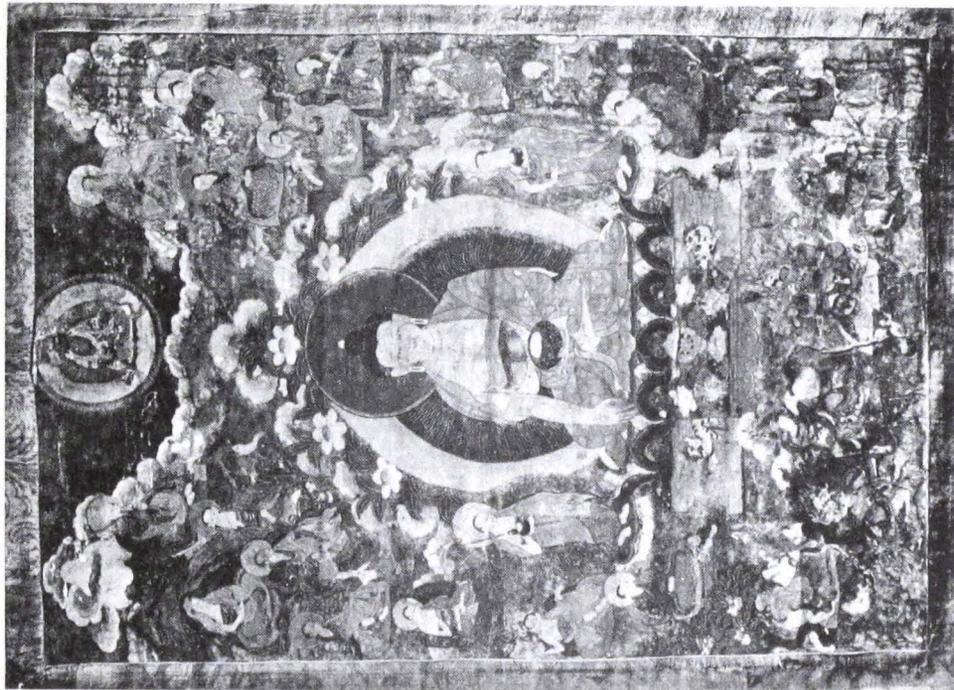
b: 1949/1



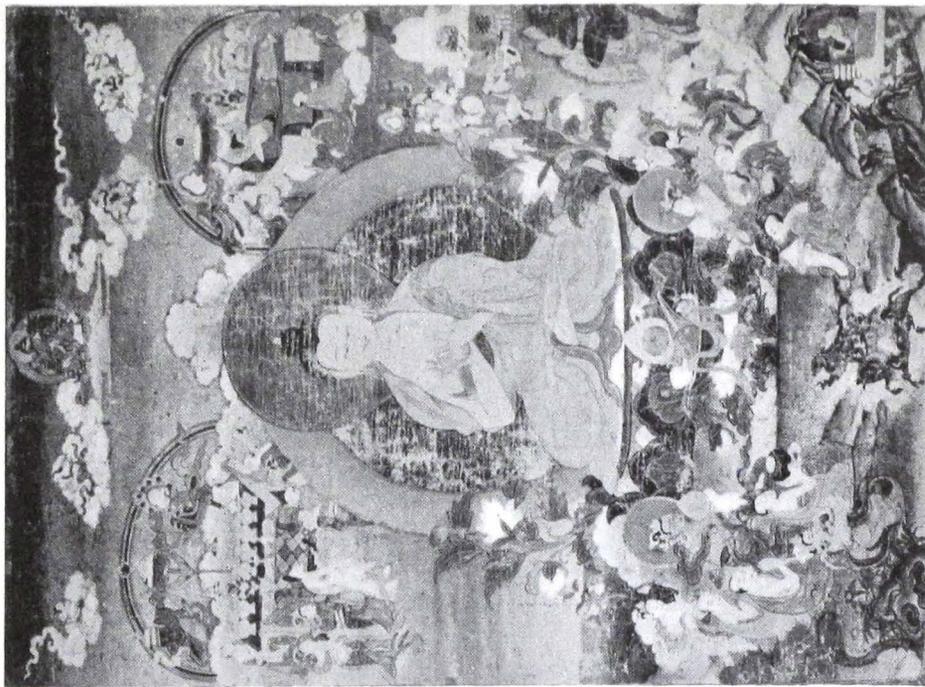
a: 2798/21



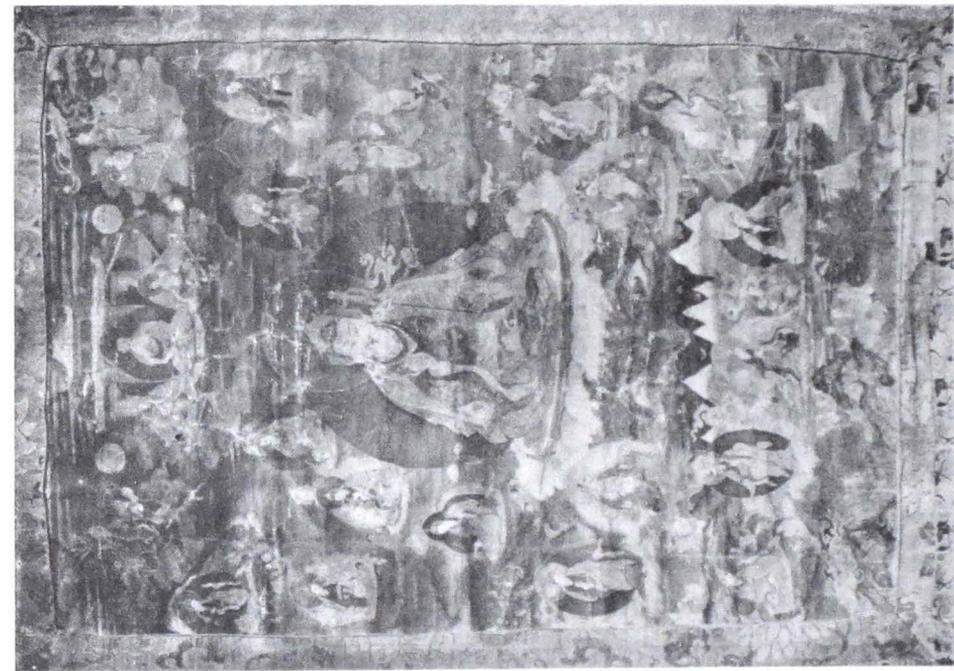
b: 2739/114



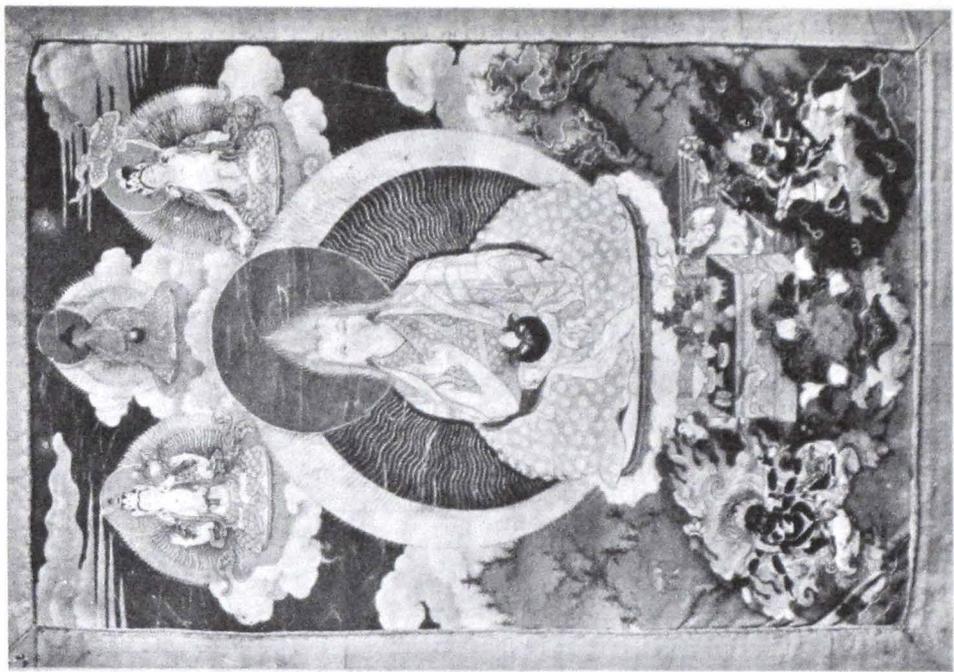
a: 2740/147



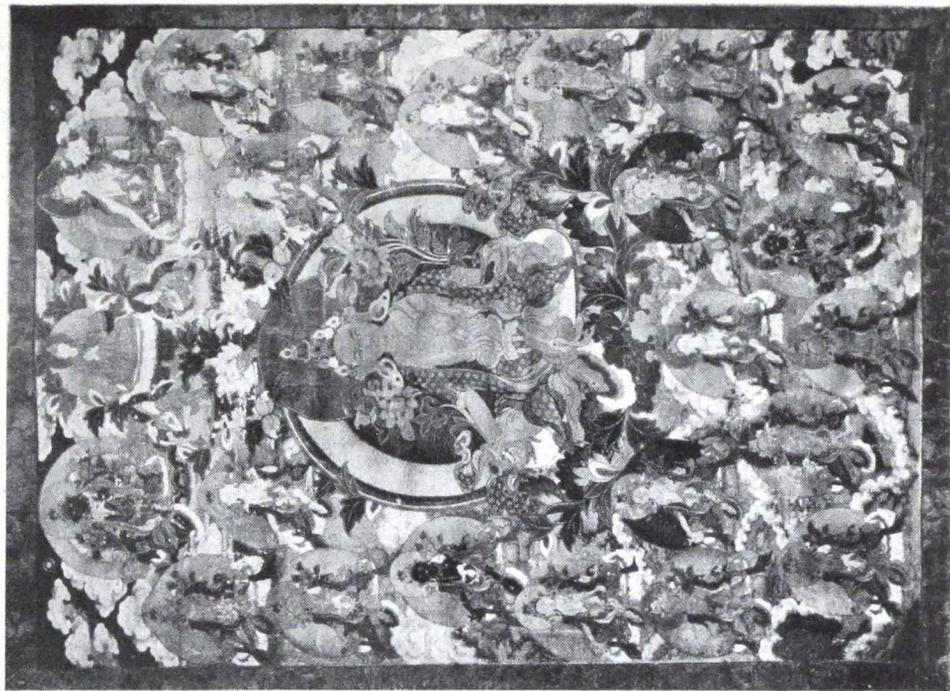
b: 1842/1



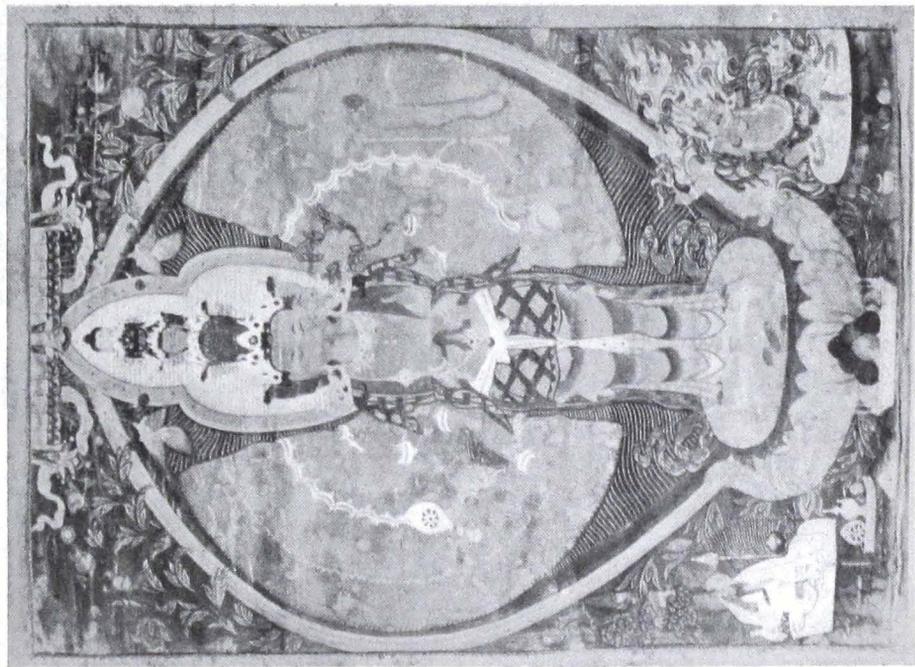
a: 2740/19



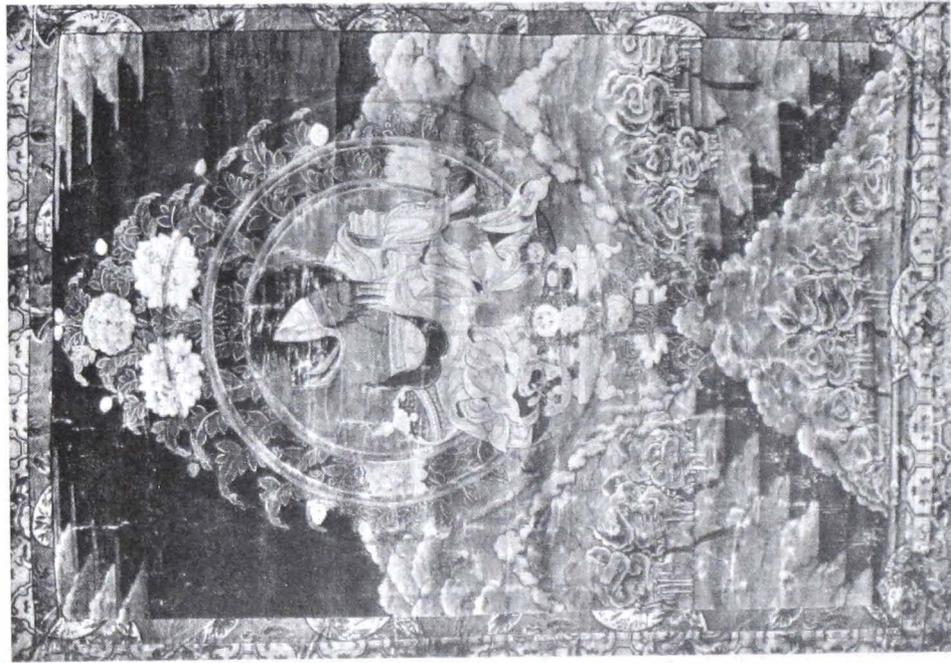
b: 2740/1



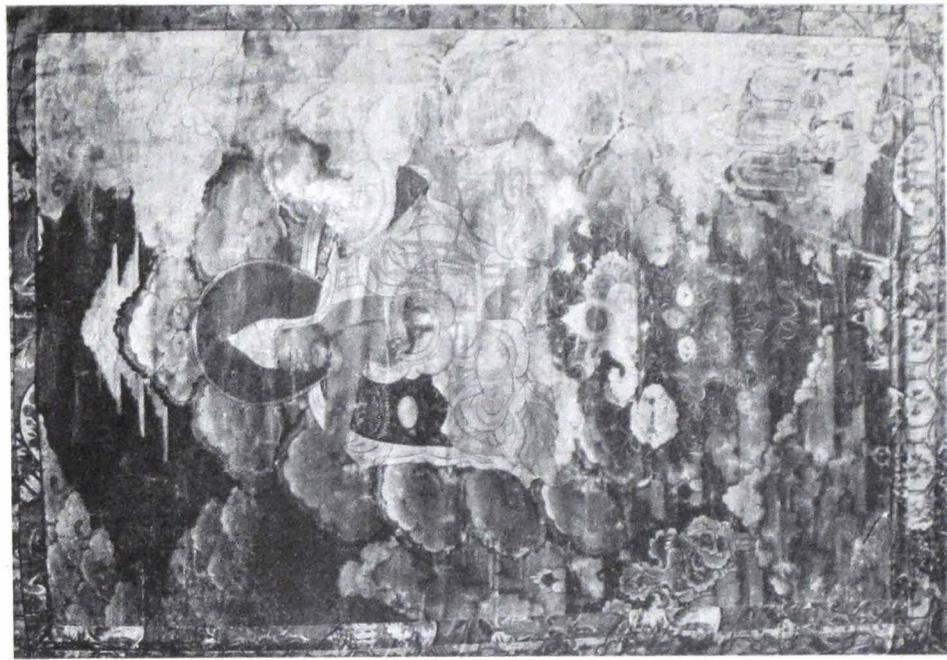
b: 2740/23



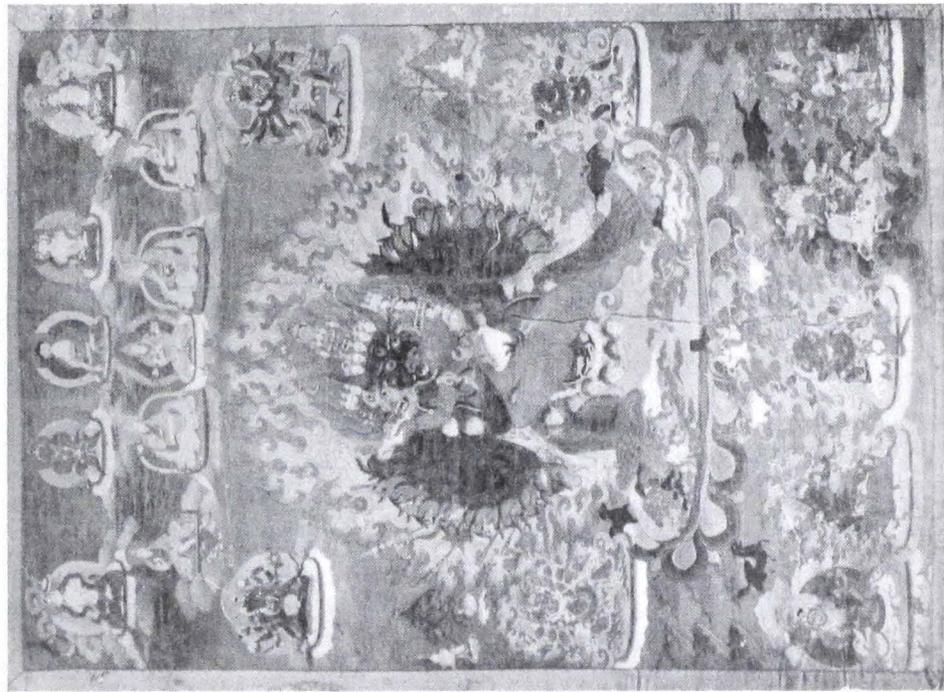
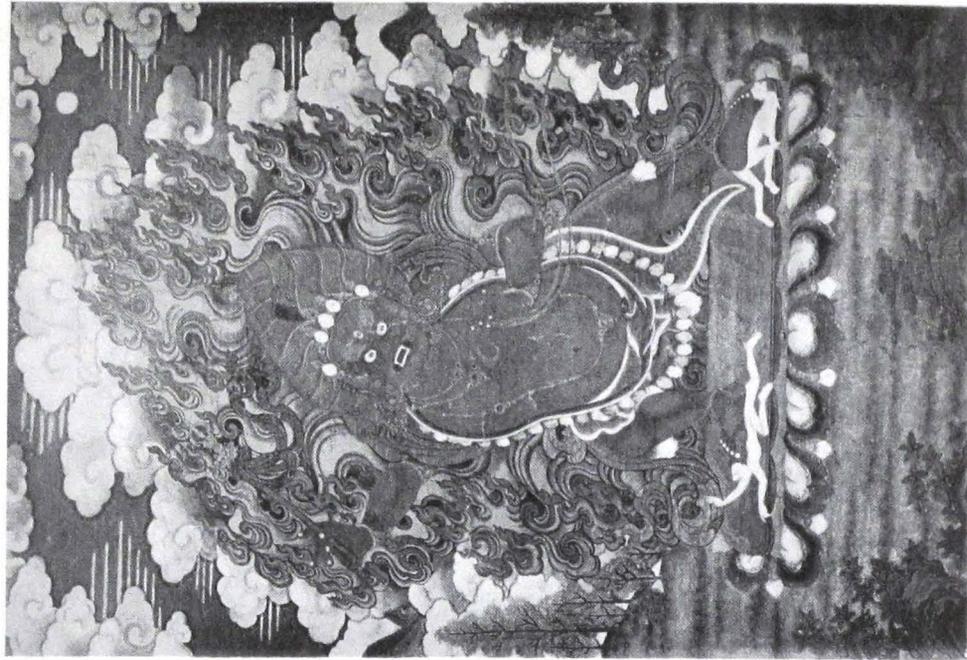
a: 2740/16

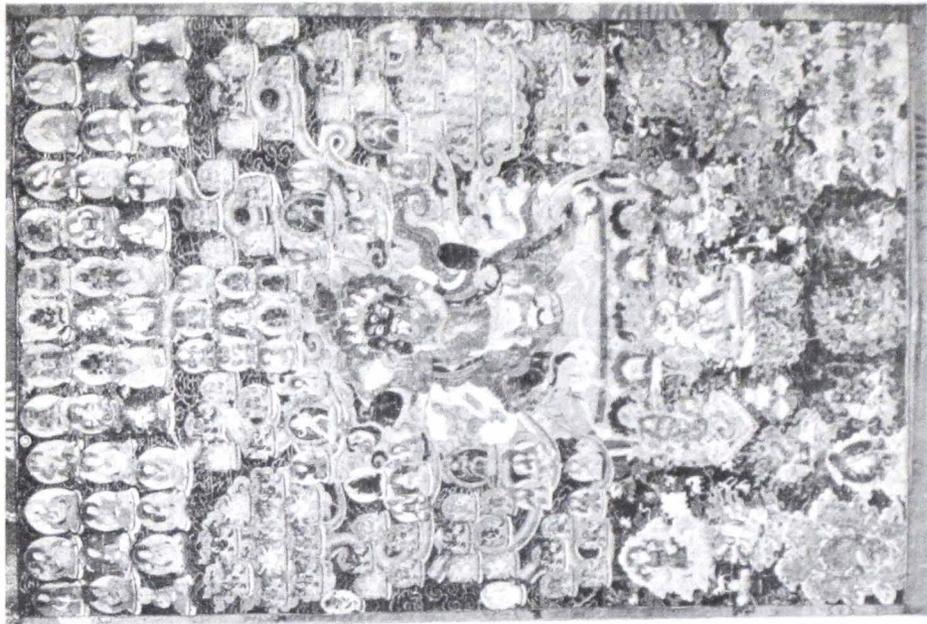


a: 2740/5

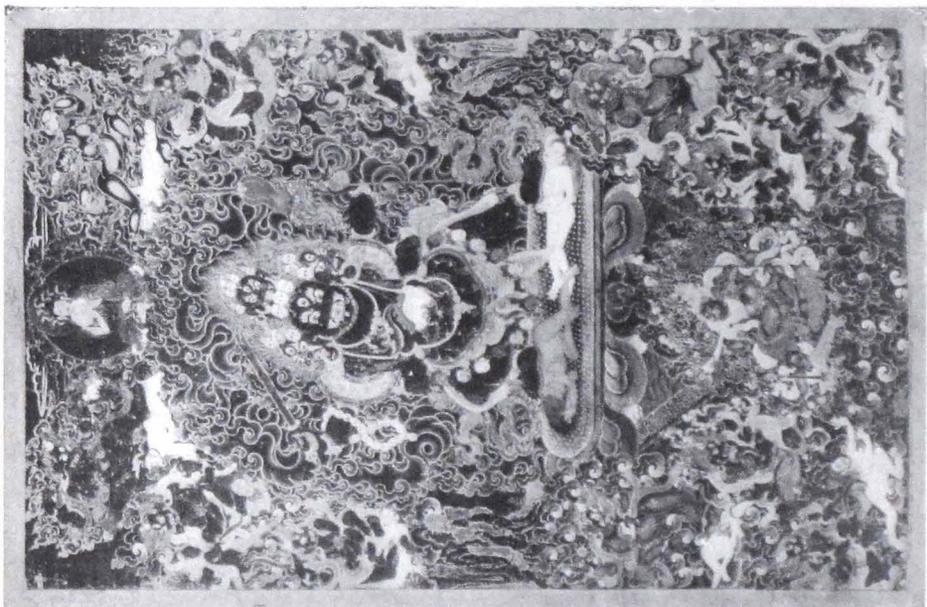


b: 2740/4

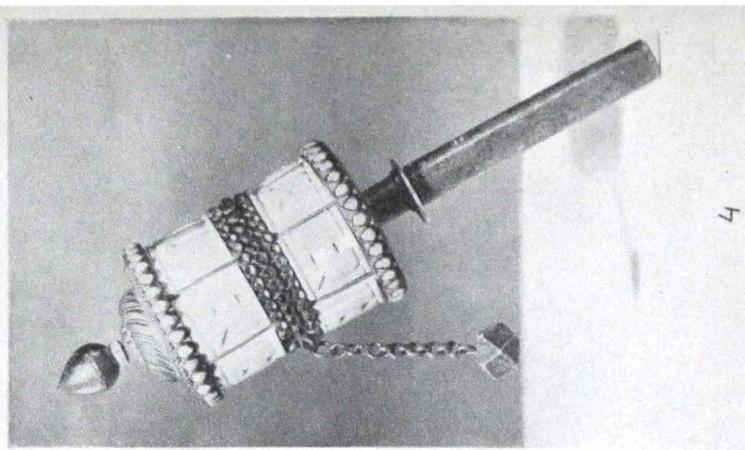
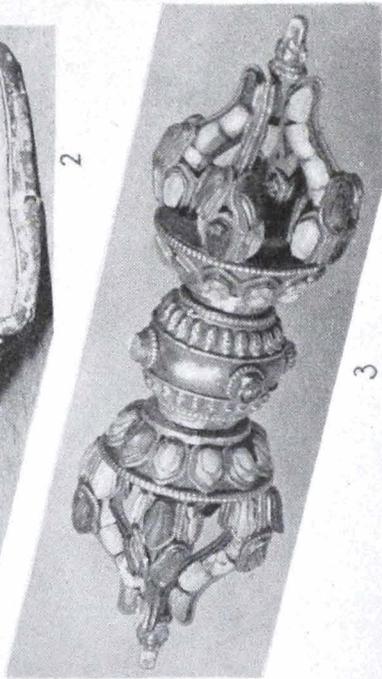
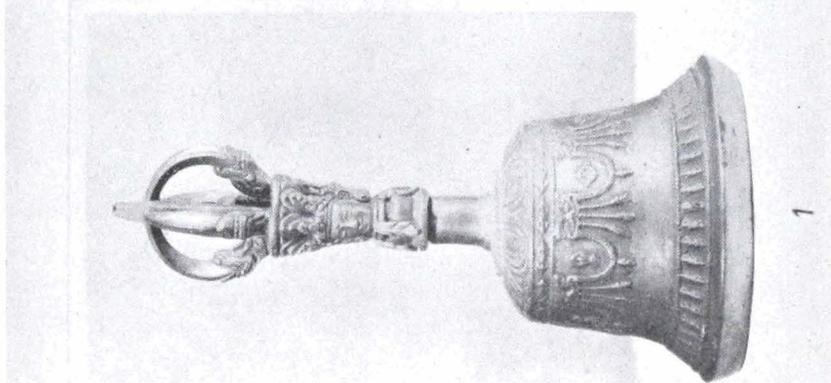




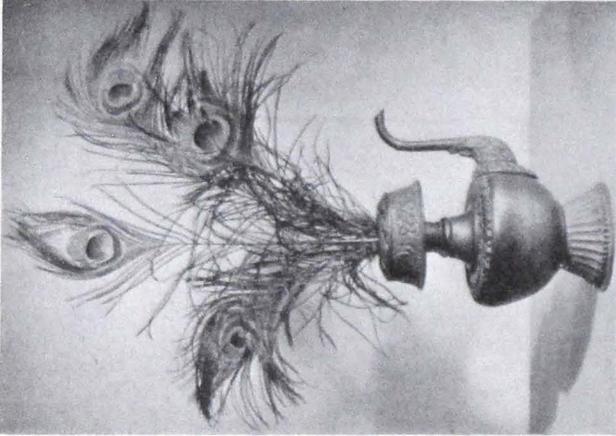
b: 2740/2



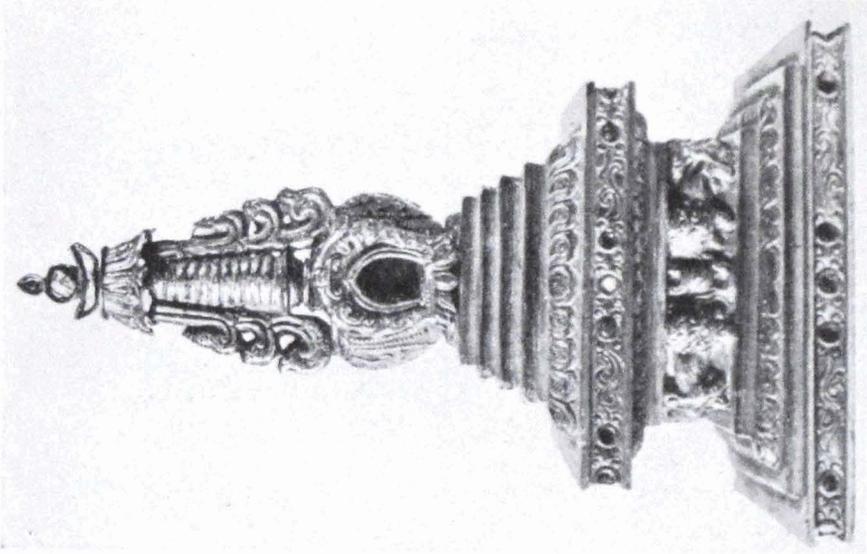
a: 2798/r



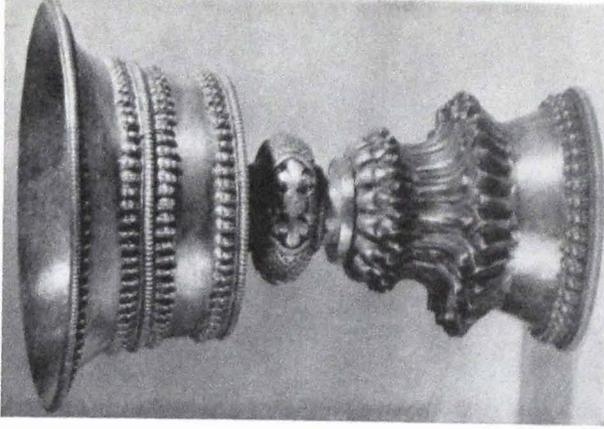
I: 2739/25; 2: 2739/47; 3: 2798/53; 4: 2798/47



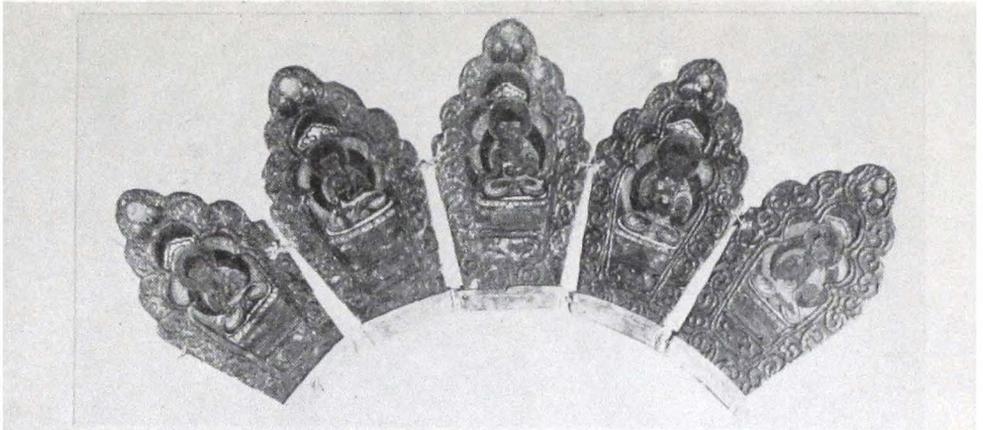
a: 2798/22



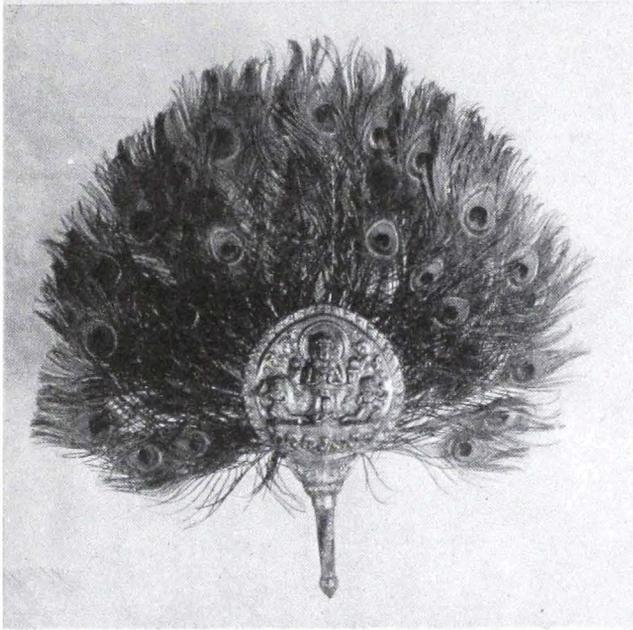
b: B 76/77



c: 2798/52



1



2



3



4



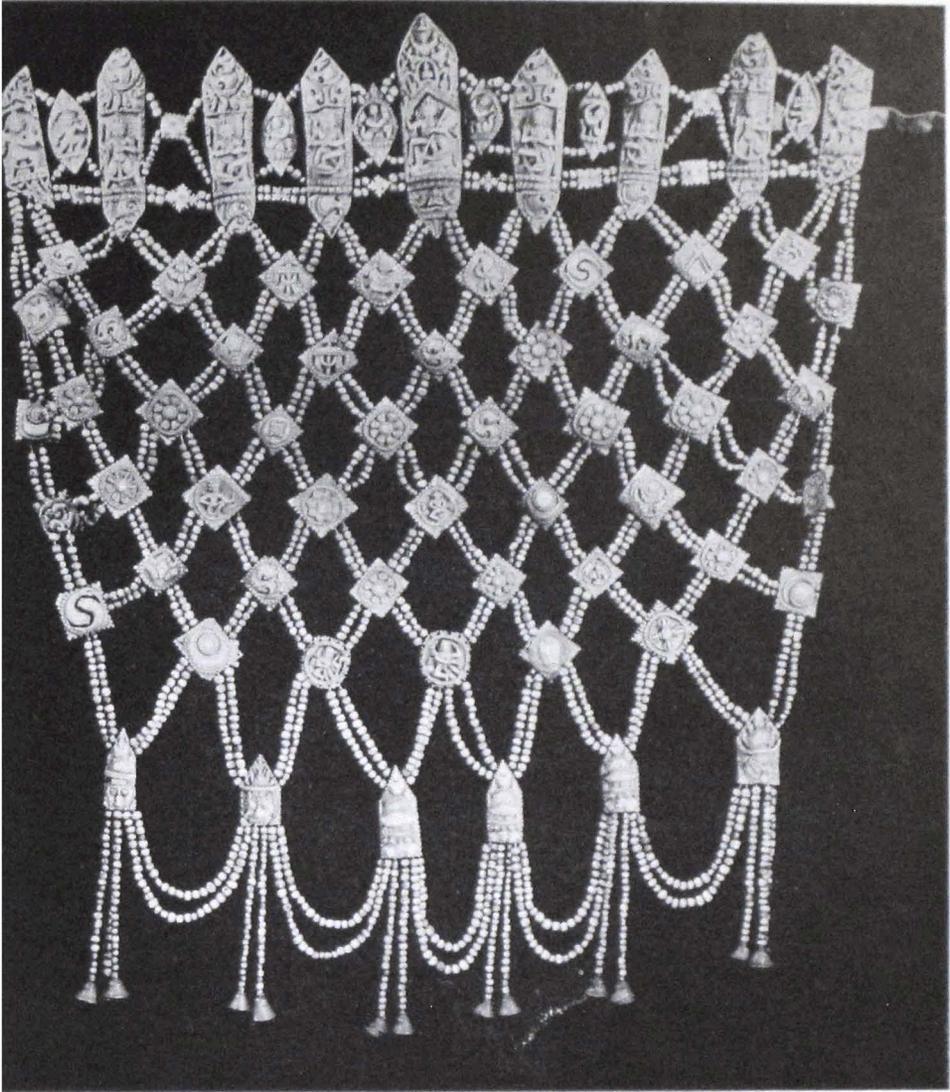
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1: 1119/50; 2: 1119/35 and 1/1527; 3: 2739/130; 4: 2739/30; 5: 2065/1; 6: 2220/1;
7: 1943/9 and 1786/10



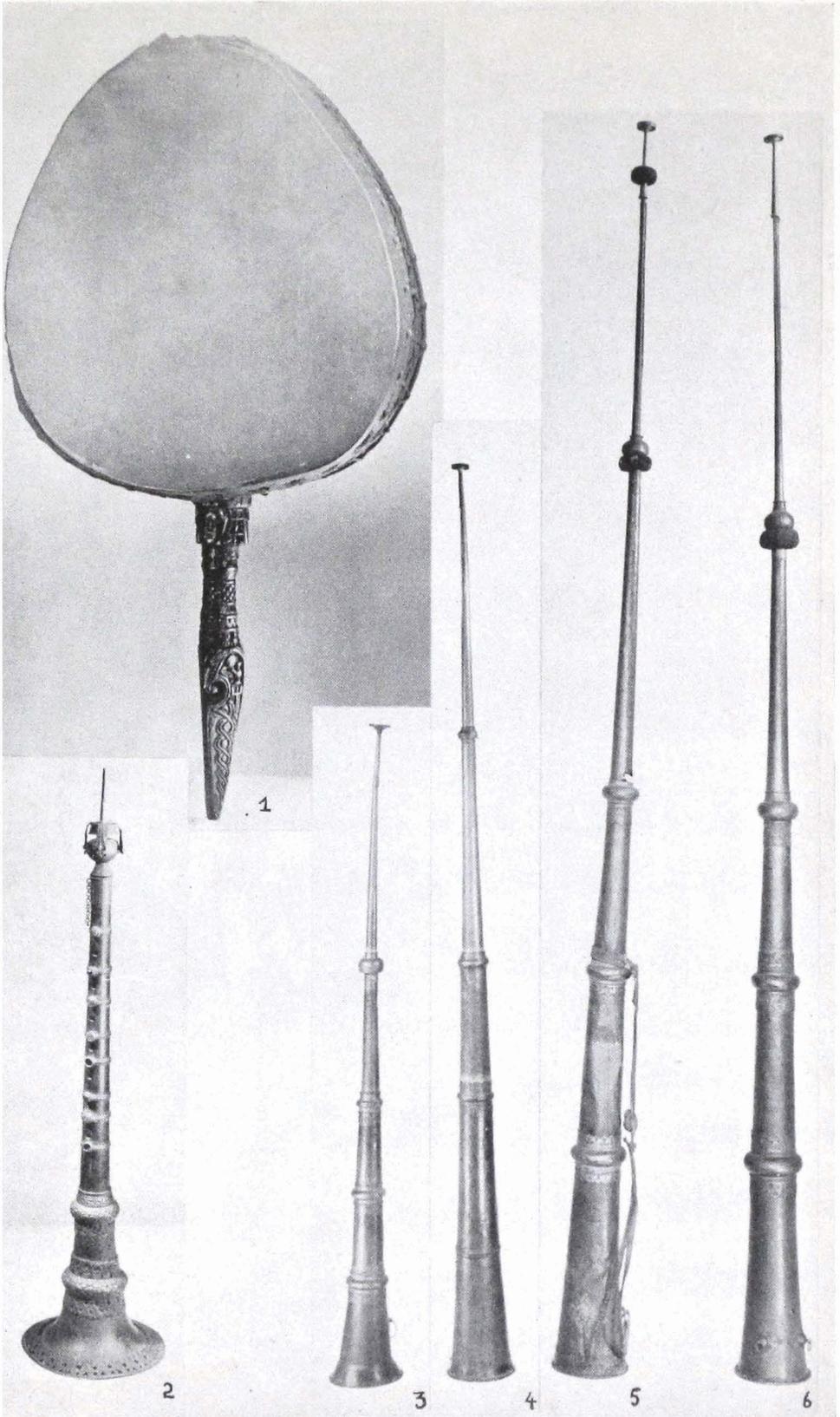
1: 2798/66; 2: 2798/69; 3: 2798/68



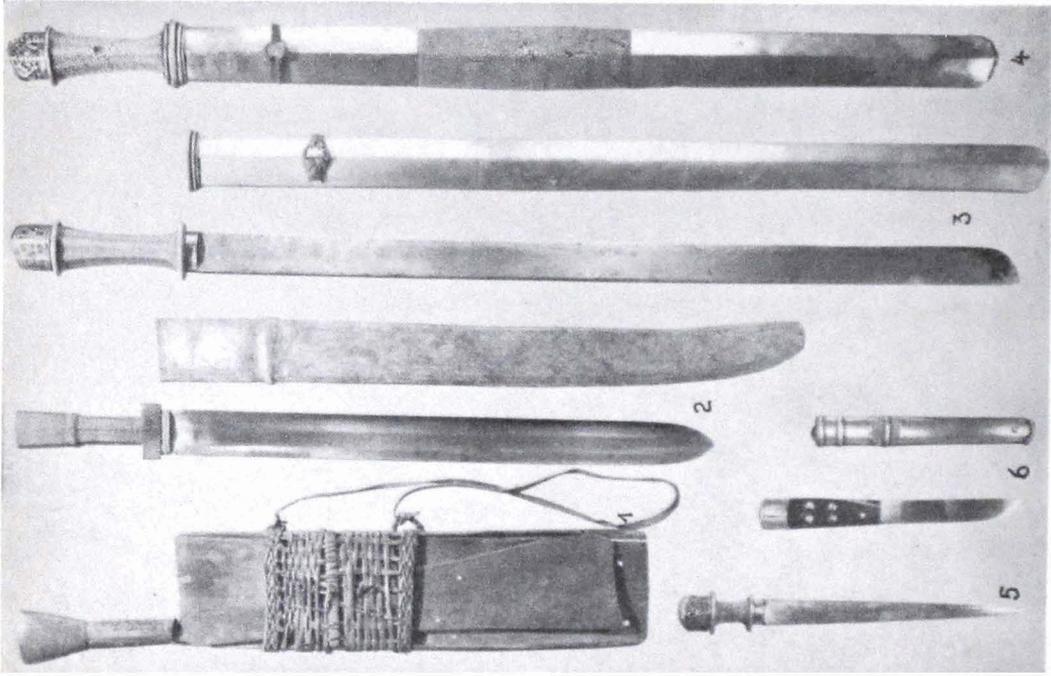
a: 2851/1



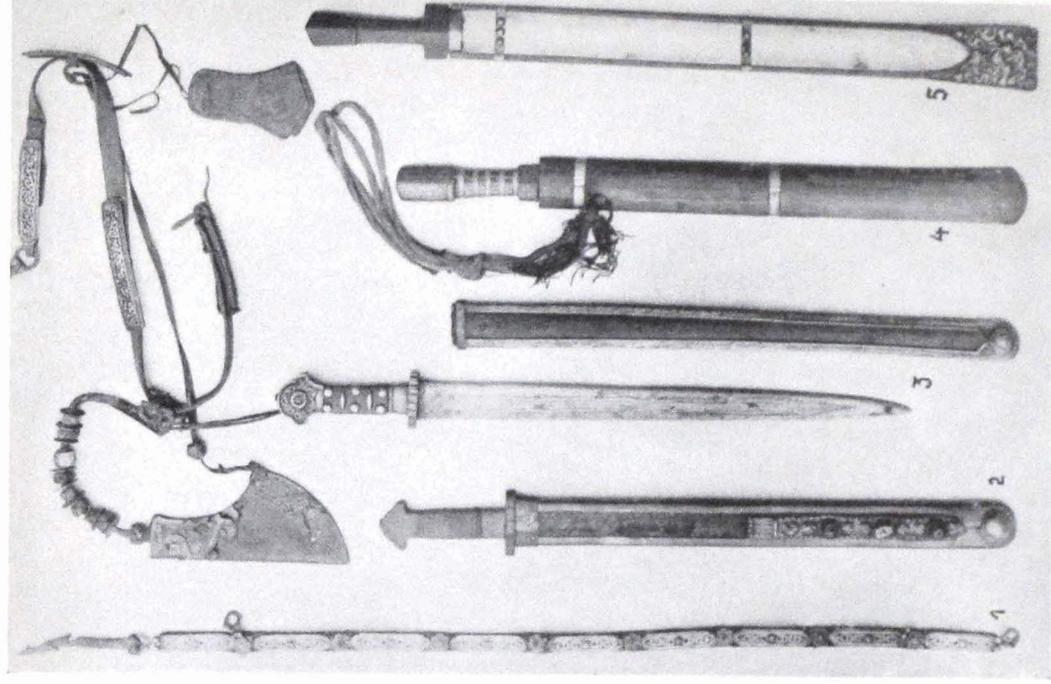
b: 1/1538



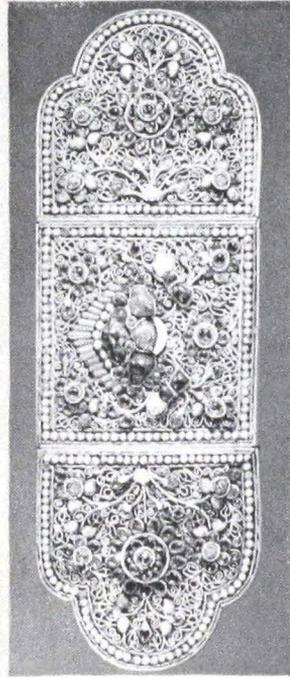
1: 2845/9; 2: 2739/37; 3: I/I524; 4: III9/29; 5: 2739/41; 6: 2739/39a



a: 1: 2739/78; 2: III9/24; 3: 1774/9; 4: III9/22;
5: III9/21; 6: III9/7



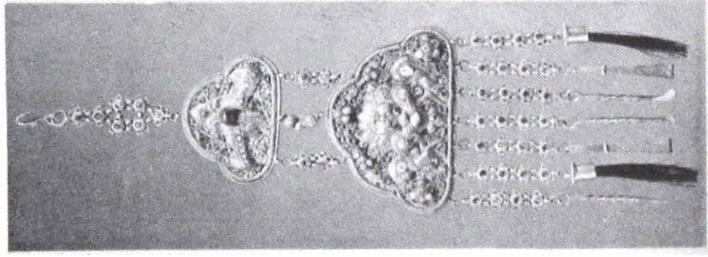
b: 1: 2739/75; 2: 2739/76; 3: 1774/7; 4: 2739/77
5: III9/23



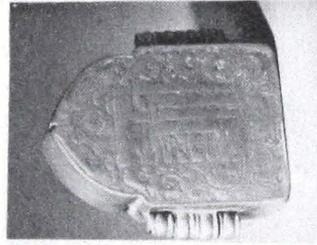
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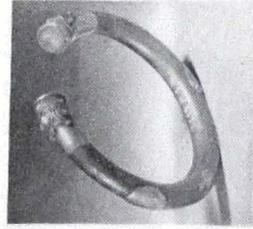
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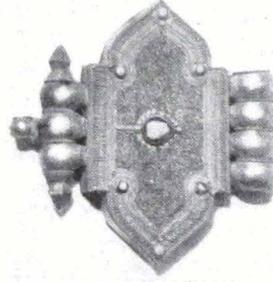
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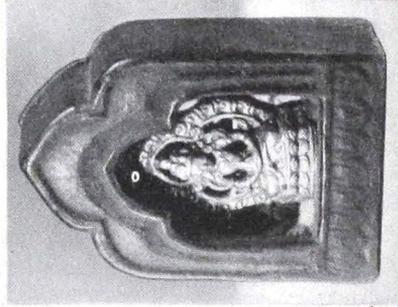
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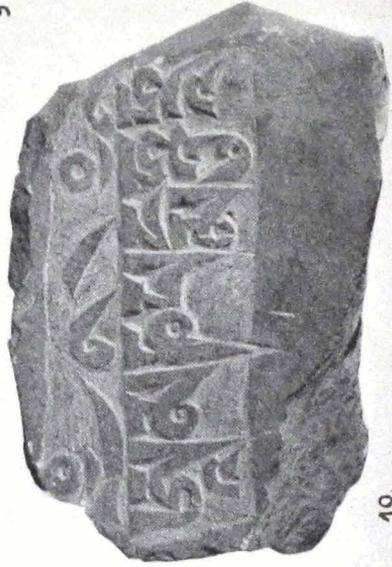
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9

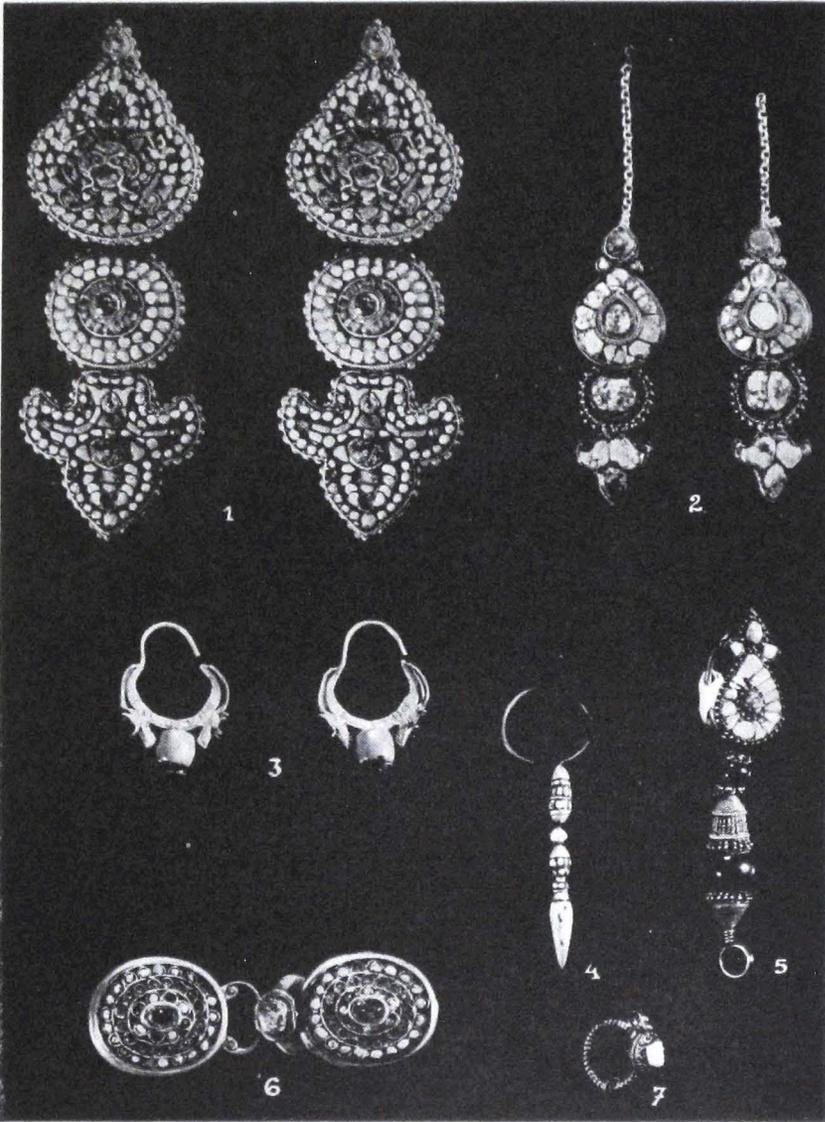


7



10





1: 1943/53; 2: 2978/75; 3: 2798/76; 4: 2798/77; 5: 2798/78; 6: 2798/86;
7: 2798/80

