

PHOTO ARCHIVES

REFLECTED PICTURES

VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF NEPAL AT THE VOELKERKUNDEMUSEUM IN ZUERICH MAJAN GARLINSKI

Sometimes it is indispensable to look back for the future. I would like to give a short overview on the processes in the fields of Visual Anthropology at the Voelkerkundemuseum of Zürich University, particularly since 1991, when Michael Oppitz became director of the museum, as his extensive experience and keen sense for pictorial documents paved the way for Visual Anthropology at an institutional level. Although I will concentrate on the period of the nineties, the previous years should also be covered if we are to understand the paradigmatic changes. Geographically I will focus on the Himalayas, with particular attention to Nepal.

Between 1972 and 1990 aspects of the Himalayan cultures were presented in six different exhibitions at the Voelkerkundemuseum. The most important of these was the great 1984 exhibition *Nepal - Leben und Ueberleben* (Nepal - Life and Survival)¹. It was, like most of the other five, realized by Martin Brauen. The above mentioned exhibition was completed by a remarkable Nepali film program which gave, as a representative sample, a close idea of what has been produced since 1964. The schedule included five Nepali feature films and fifteen ethnographic documentaries². While the Nepali features, which were formally influenced by the Indian Hindi-movie tradition, gave an inside view of such conflict loaded socio-historical subjects like caste rules in a changing world, many of the documentaries concerned rituals or ecology. Seen from a formal point of view, they range from commentary guided, impressive, short audio-visual documents like *Himalayan Shaman of Northern Nepal* (1966) by John & Patricia Hitchcock to the densely interwoven, 224-minute long film *Shamans of the Blind Country* (1980) by Michael Oppitz. With the single exception of B. B. Shrestha's four films - *Funeral and Festival*, *Wedding Rituals of Nepal*, *Religious People of Nepal* and *Festivals of Nepal* (1983) - all were realized by Westerners like Corneille Jest, Pitt Koch or Michael Allen.

To include an "indigenous" documentary in the program was already something unusual but to present five Nepali feature films was, paradoxically, an extraordinary event. Not only because the films were shown for the ever first time in Europe but because until then indigenous feature films had seldom been regarded as social-cultural documents which might also be read ethnographically. Of course one needs a deeper knowledge and

subtlety to derive an ethnographic gain out of "indigenous" features than one would need for documentaries made with Western eyes for an occidental public. Generally and by definition, the latter category are more closely related to the 'real' world. This observation may be briefly exemplified by two films, which were screened in Zuerich. Both deal with the subject of the living goddess Kumari. One is Michael Allen's documentary, entitled *The Living Goddess* (1980), and the other is Prem Basnet's feature film *Kumari* (1977). Michael Allen described, more or less chronologically, the ongoing Newari ceremony by following the ritual performance up to the point where the young girl, representing the goddess Kumari, was "enthroned". Prem Basnet's feature, on the other hand, dealt with the life of the young lady Shova after she had to resign as a Kumari. According to the myth she will bring disaster upon her lover, as everyone who falls in love with her will have to die before his time. *Kumari* can be read as a psychological love-story speaking less of the glorified side of a Kumari and more of the fears and the loneliness of the real person behind the ritual mask. By presenting the rather unknown side of the Kumari cult, which could hardly be shown in a documentary, he scrutinized this tradition from an inside perspective. Ambros Eichenberger, a renowned Swiss critic, acclaimed Prem Basnet's film as the best of the whole program, which was in all very well attended. *Kumari* was also warmly welcomed by Nepali critics and intellectuals but it was not a commercial success in its country. This was probably due to the particular filmic language the author tried to develop by combining narrative Newari ways of storytelling with Western film traditions without neglecting completely audience taste for Hindi movies. *Kumari* is also a very good example against the popular opinion that all filmic languages are international. Fortunately not all of them are. If one tries to keep good relations with the own culture than it seems obvious to look for original formal answers for the subjects one is treating in film. Therefore also the feature is relevant as an ethnographic document.

Only once an entire presentation was exclusively dedicated to the studies of historical, ethnographic photographs. In 1982 Martin Brauen presented at the exhibition *Fremden Bilder* (Images of Strangers) an excerpt of the great British exhibition *Observers of Man* where the public could see photographs from the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.³ Nevertheless the Voelkerkundemuseum holds an impressive collection of its own. Following Dario Donati (1997), it came together mostly in the time from the end of the last century, till around 1940. Especially during the period of director Hans Wehrli (1917-1941) it grew considerably. But in the following decades the photographic collections did, due to lack of personal and finance, remain fairly in a state of disorder.

Concerning the moving pictures the situation was quite similar: various 16mm films and video tapes were included in the collections of the different cura-

tors. On the other hand, students did in the early eighties initiate a publicly accessible video collection, based on recordings of television productions. Concerning the Himalayas many of them dealt with Tibet and/or Buddhism, like Norman Dyhrenfurth's *Tibetische Totenfeier* (Tibetan Funeral Rites) (1982) which was shot in Nepal's Khumbu region, or *Tibet - The Bamboo Curtain Falls* (1981) by Norman Carr, who compiled a documentary by using a lot of archival material to tell the recent story of Tibet. The archival work, which demands continuity and concentration, came to a temporary halt around 1989 with something like two hundred titles.

Generally, one can conclude that Visual Anthropology at the Voelkerkundemuseum was a marginal affair till the late eighties, a question of individual interests but with no real long-term idea and without any substantial direction, at least on the institutional level.

This may seem surprising if one takes into consideration the fact that the Zürich University was, at least at that time, one of the rare institutions worldwide which had at its disposal its own professional video department, called TV University.

Periodically theoretical and practical courses in ethnographic film were offered. In the meantime a new students' group, interested in those questions, emerged. We discussed concepts, organized film screenings, launched small video productions and invited visiting lecturers. One of the highlights was a guest seminar with Michael Oppitz at the Voelkerkundemuseum in 1990. His presentation made us aware that Visual Anthropology comprises more than ethnographic film, video, photography or audio-visual communication. It includes *all* forms of pictorial representations of cultures which ethnographers were and are studying. The second highlight was, in the same year, the international seminar *Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalayas* which was hosted by the Voelkerkundemuseum and organized by Martin Brauen. It was again complemented with a film program.

A very stimulating film was *Dor - Low is Better* (1988), made by Robert Boonzajer-Flaes, a Dutch ethnomusicologist and film-maker. His film is not only noteworthy because he completely renounces any spoken off-commentary by confining himself to inter- and subtitles, but mainly because of his intriguing approach of bringing similar instruments of different cultures together. To find out how the *dung chen*, which is a giant horn played by the Buddhist monks in Tibet and Ladakh, works, he took two giant horns along to Ladakh. While he tried to play the *dung chen*, the Buddhist monks attempted the two European horns. By using the instruments as a kind of provocation, he and the monks were directly guided to raise important questions which led them to a deeper mutual understanding. In a later film, *Bewogen Koper* (Brass Unbound) (1993), his comparative approach became even more refined. This extraordinary documentary, which begins in the Kathmandu Valley by describing the musical tradition of

brass bands, compares in a very cinematographic and playful way the synchronic and diachronic use of brass instruments in four different countries. *Brass Unbound* can be read as a rare example of *ethnological* documentary and as such marks one end of the spectrum in which edited ethno-films can be located. The other pole is taken by ethnographic documentaries which aim foremost to serve as source material of a second degree. I will try to exemplify this through *Deva and Cinta* (1990), which had its international première on the occasion of the abovementioned seminar. The film was the result of a very close collaboration between the ethnographer Martin Gaenzle, Albin Bieri and myself. The basic idea was to record different shamanic rituals and ancestral cults among the Mewahang and Kulunge Rai of the Sankhuwa Valley in Eastern Nepal. It should have been done in such a detailed way that the ethnographer could carefully analyze the rituals at home in Kathmandu. On the other hand, we had in mind to edit at least one of the rituals for public screenings without neglecting the ethnographer's needs for source material. The double ritual of Deva and Cinta began in the early afternoon and lasted until the next morning. Out of these eighteen hours of ritual performance we recorded ten hours and reduced them to approximately one hundred minutes by fully respecting the sequential chronology of the rituals. If the idea had been only to record the rituals exclusively for conservation and research purposes, then one of the most appropriate ways would have been to use infinite sequences with long and medium shots only; with an inevitably tedious result. But if one has a final, edited version in mind, it is possible to take advantage of the full range of possible shot compositions. The two approaches are obviously incompatible, since one involves the inclusion of material that the other excludes. However, neglecting formal aspects does not necessarily result in a more adequate representation of the perceived reality. If the conflict between form and content is understood as a challenge, than it can provoke creative solutions where the form supports the demands of a holistic ethnographic research in a subtle way.

Apart from the above mentioned exceptions, public screenings were held very rarely at the Voelkerkundemuseum in the period 1972 to 1990. People preferred to rely on evening lectures or slide talks.

The third but not least important highlight was an institutional one: in 1980 the Faculty of Zuerich University accepted Heinz Nigg's thesis on community media, which reflected the possibilities of video as an ethnographic research tool so clearly that ever since then students could submit their seminar 'papers' in the form of a video production. And in the late eighties, with the recommendations of the professors Lorenz G. Loeffler and Karl H. Henking⁴, the Faculty did accept for the first time in Zuerich that a degree could be obtained on the strength of a video production, if accompanied by a written text. *Review of Makai* (1991), a semi-documentary video production on inter-caste relationship in a

Brahmin village in the Gorkha district of Nepal, was the ever first audio-visual licentiate work in anthropology to be accepted in 1992 at Zuerich University.

The time was ready to bring together all the various individual efforts on different levels.

In 1991, one year after his inspiring guest seminar, Michael Oppitz became director of the Voelkerkundemuseum. It was obvious that he, who said, "Over the centuries the visual and the verbal or textual anthropology were without any discussions accepted as equal partners in establishing a descriptive ethnography,"⁵ would improve with his own ideas the progress of Visual Anthropology in Zuerich. And he did it on different levels: he transferred his Magar collection to Zuerich. The collection consists, besides his published written work and the feature long documentary *Shamans of the Blind Country*, of thirty-four hours uncut married prints⁶, which were made in connection with the above-mentioned outstanding ethnographic documentary, seventy-five hours of audio recordings of ritual chants, about five thousand stills and twenty handwritten journals. Moreover he brought along to Zuerich a remarkable collection of historical photographs on shamanism from other regions of the world. His keen interest in Visual Anthropology, especially concerning the interplay between form and content, was also reflected in his seminars. The first one was kept on archival film. Besides his own research, which respects pictorial and written sources as equal partners, he realized exhibitions like *Eine Schamanenruestung aus dem Himalaya* (A Shaman's Gear from the Himalayas) (1997)⁷, or the extraordinary one on the Naxi, entitled *Naxi - Dinge, Mythen, Piktogramme* (Naxi - Pieces, Myths and Pictographs) (1997), which will be referred to later on separately. He also invited guest-exhibitors to present their research in different fields of Visual Anthropology.

But the most important changes were on the institutional level. Michael Oppitz engaged two assistants, Dario Donati and myself, each on a fifty percent basis, to cultivate above all the fields of Visual Anthropology. He encouraged and enabled us to continue research, to teach and to realize audio-visual productions as well as presentations in the form of exhibitions and film programs. Moreover he made it possible to create a comprehensive *Archives for Visual Anthropology* at the Voelkerkundemuseum, which was to be organized in such a way that one could find a picture as easily as one might find a book. This archive was also to be opened to the public.

To find out how archives of the future might look, the Voelkerkundemuseum bought a complete version of the *Cambridge Experimental Videodisc Project on the Nagas of Assam*, which was published after five years' work in 1989 and was one of the first multimedia products ever made. Essentially it is a mobile archive, which combines varying materials (like photos, films, sound recordings, diary notes and photographed artifacts) from different museums and private collections on the culture of the Naga population by means of a

laserdisc and of a particular computer software program. Although recent years have seen the development of computer systems which are more efficient, the Naga experiment remains a feat of pioneering. It demonstrates in an exemplary way not only how one can compare varying ethnographic photos with each other, but also how one can confront them with published and unpublished written source materials. We see here a comprehensive possibility; to relate verbal and visual sources as equal partners in such a way that they complete and increase each other in the transfer of knowledge.

The decision to establish an *Archives for Visual Anthropology* has been based on a twin conviction: one, that social-cultural anthropology will be increasingly confronted with pictorial documents; second, that on the tide of this tendency one has to develop ideas to use these pictorial documents scientifically, to collect them as historical as well as ethnographic sources and to use them to the full. Therefore an archive of this kind should be understood in the sense of an enlarged library and as a place of secondary ethnographic field work. The *Archives for Visual Anthropology* has been built up in two sections which are complementary: one consists of *still images*, like photographs, lithographs, engravings, drawings and paintings; the other one consists of *moving images*, like films, video tapes and multimedia products.

Dario Donati, who has worked since 1993 on questions concerning stills, devoted himself right from the beginning to the Voelkerkundemuseum's rich collection of historical photographs. This was an enormous work, not only because of the sheer number - thirty thousand pictures - but mainly because he had to identify many of them; their registration was rudimentary and there were often no captions. The problem itself is not bound to a particular time; it can arise with historical, present and also future collections, because the reason of this problem lies, maybe, in its banality: taking pictures can be a pleasure; to select, describe and to file them properly is an exercise only few people like to do. Therefore many people keep their photographs without any detailed captions. In the best case, the author himself can recall location, people or circumstances and make the pictures vivid. But once he disappears, there will be a sudden hush, leaving future researchers with the questionable pleasure of identifying pictures which could have been relatively easily described by the photographer.

After intensive research Donati made a rough inventory of the thirty thousand historical pictures, and once he had found a logic in the existing collection, he subdivided the corpus into four hundred and fifty groups. The whole collection of historical photos is now accessible to the public and can be recalled on computer by different, combined criteria. Finally, Dario Donati and his students presented an excerpt of this collection under the title of *ans licht geholt* (brought back to light) in 1997.

Although none of the Nepal pictures was displayed on that occasion, there are about one hundred historical photos on Nepal with some ethnographic content: on the one hand glass negatives made by the Swiss photographer Martin Huerlimann during his expedition to Asia in 1926/27; on the other hand postcards, probably made at the beginning of this century, which were signed by B. Singh.

But the photo collection on Nepal has grown remarkably in the last two decades, thanks especially to the already quite well filed five thousand Magar pictures Michael Oppitz brought along with him to Zuerich. He faced the archival problem with lucidity and developed, in collaboration with Dario Donati and the museum's photographers Peter Nebel and Erich Frei, a special archival system. The system is based on a form the curators of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris used for their collection. The idea of the latter was to glue the paper print together with the captions, the registration numbers etc. on a pasteboard. Unfortunately these conservators were not aware of the archival problem that this ensemble would deteriorate over time as it was not stored on non-acid archival material. Oppitz's idea was to remake a new paper print which combined on one and the same paper the original picture and on the right side the description together with the technical data, like author, location, number of trip, film and picture etc. as shown below.

Out of the total number of five thousand Magar positives, three thousand, all dealing directly with different aspects of shamanism, have been treated in the above mentioned manner. Each twice: one for present researchers and one for future students. In this perspective a CD-ROM version of the Magar pictures is planned. This would not be a task, because all texts are already stored in a separate textfile on computer. Reading the description, one remarks immediately the quality of the text which adds information we cannot derive directly from the picture and which at the same time refers lexically to the pictorial content. The latter is very important if one thinks about the functioning of digital retrieval systems. Therefore it is indispensable to describe or index each picture as exactly and openly as possible so that the text refers to the invisible and the visible aspects of it without duplicating the picture's content verbally. The way the Magar pictures are archived and classified can be taken as a model.

If the remaining two thousand pictures are treated as thoroughly as those mentioned above, then one would need only a small step to present them in a digitalized form. In this way the material would be accessible for research from various perspectives, if it were presented in combination with a software that would allow an iconographic identification of the picture's content and published on CD-ROM as well as fed into the Internet.

15.11.1978 3/6:35
Taka NW Nepal Foto: M. Oppitz

Nächtliche Séance wider den kindermordenden Geist *ra* mit Man Bahadur, Beth Bahadur, Jaibir und Bhimsen.

Man Bahadur hat seine Trommel in eine horizontale Position gebracht und auf ihr ein paar Stoffkugeln, *ri*, deponiert, die aus dem Besitz der Patientin stammen. Diese Kugeln werden durch sanftes Anschlagen der Trommel in Vibration gebracht und auf der Membrane fortbewegt. Dies ist eine Divinationsmethode: je nachdem, wo die Stoffkugeln von dem Rahmen der Trommel fallen, dementsprechend sind die Zukunftsaussichten für die Patientin.



Taka NW Nepal (15.11.1978; 3/6:35)

Original Text in German: Nächtliche Séance wider den kindermordenden Geist *ra* mit Man Bahadur, Beth Bahadur, Jaibir und Bhimsen. Man Bahadur hat seine Trommel in eine horizontale Position gebracht und auf ihr ein paar Stoffkugeln, *ri*, deponiert, die aus dem Besitz der Patientin stammen. Die Kugeln werden durch sanftes Anschlagen der Trommel in Vibration gebracht und auf der Membrane fortbewegt. Dies ist eine Divinationsmethode: je nachdem, wo die Stoffkugeln von dem Rahmen der Trommel fallen, dementsprechend sind die Zukunftsaussichten für die Patientin.

Translation: Nocturnal séance performed against the spirit *ra* who preys on children; with Man Bahadur, Beth Bahadur, Jaibir and Bhimsen. Man Bahadur has set his drum horizontally. He has placed on it some pellets, *ri*, from clothing belonging to the patient. The pellets will be moved on the drumskin by the vibration of gentle drumbeats. This is a method of divination: the future prospects of the patient depend on where the clothing pellets fall from the edge of the drum.

It would open efficient access to a revealing source of material. If one were to work in a similar way also on the other parts (diaries, sound recordings and film) - something that would involve a huge amount of work and require substantial financial support - then one could, together with the already published corpora, consider the possibility of an *Ethnographic Encyclopedia on the Magar*. Such a precise, densely interwoven, multimedia presentation of the sources would not only reflect various dimensions of Magar cultural life, but would be an extraordinary treasure for research by future generations of social scientists, especially when the Magar will have replaced the naked flame with the electric light.

The project outlined above may seem to be old-fashioned, especially at a time when only the very latest things count, where money is scarce and where cultural projects are financed only when the sponsor derives a social benefit from it. On the other hand, one should learn from mistakes made in the past: actual collections should be developed in as detailed a way as necessary and be made as clear as possible, in order to be more accessible and usable than at present. The envisaged project of a digitalized, ethnographic *Magar Encyclopedia* aims in this direction. At the same time one should not forget, that an archive is finally only a means and not an end in itself: on the way to new insights it corresponds to a bridge between the sources and their users. The modern technique allows the latter to consult various archives in a short time without having to travel. There is, however, the danger that the sensuality of the photography as well as of the quest falls by the wayside.

While the complete *Magar Encyclopedia* project unfortunately has to wait for a more propitious moment, the *Collection of Moving Images* which has been built up since 1993 was opened already in 1995 with the screening of Robert Gardner's poeto-filmic reflection *Forest of Bliss* (1986) on life and death in Benares. So far this collection consists of a corpus of one thousand five hundred titles⁸ in the sphere of ethnographic documentary film, stored in the form of films and, in particular, video tapes; the latter in the common video format of S-VHS, which has been quite a reasonable solution with respect to financial possibilities and the quality of the recording. But in the coming years all these tapes will be transferred step by step onto a digital video format. Compared with film, which is still the most appropriate archiving material, video is more practicable for teaching and research purposes. But for public screenings one has to respect the gauge: we continue to project films as films and to present videos on TV monitors or, should the need arise, on beamer.

Incorporated into the collection were also married prints and uncited video tapes, which have been placed at the museum's disposal by individual film- and videomakers. In spite of the energy and time that it requires to put such material into the archives and to file it for further research, sequences that are uncut or

discarded for the published version offer an important treasure of audio-visual information which were ignored for a long time. The value of this material in comparison with the final version lies in the fact that the uncut takes are longer and are less tainted with the interpretations of the author. This means that they are closer to the represented reality. The *Archives for Visual Anthropology* tries to take advantage of material which would otherwise be thrown away as a visual source for research.⁹

For analyzing this visual source materials as well as the edited films it is very helpful to have written documents at hand, in published and unpublished form. Field notes, articles or books which document for example the process of the film production, the ideas and the conflicts, hold precious information we cannot derive directly from the films themselves. We are therefore trying to collect various written documents to complete the *Archives for Visual Anthropology* with a well equipped library.

It is not surprising that the core of the *Collection of Moving Images* has been built by the film *Shamans of the Blind Country*; not only because we hold it in different versions and formats, which are completed by its married prints, but also because the film of Michael Oppitz is well documented by written texts such as the pamphlet *Materials on the Making of an Ethnographic Film* (1982).

The film and video titles which have been included in the collection were selected according to different criteria. On the one hand the selection tries to reflect ethnographic film works in a diachronic and synchronic sense; on the other hand it tries to reflect the actual thematic and geographic fields of activity at the Voelkerkundemuseum.

Concerning the content, the selection resulted in the following foci: religion and ritual (especially shamanism); history of the ethnographic film and - mirrored in it - the history of ethnology; portraits of individual ethnic groups; contributions to the understanding of film as a craft and where the medium itself is the subject. The limits are set deliberately broad concerning the question of which film products can be ascribed at all to the realm of Visual Anthropology. Besides ethnographic films in the true sense of the word, the rubric also includes documentaries in general as well as television documentations, docudramas, experimental and essay films; and, last but not least, films with some ethnographic content, realized by indigenous filmmakers which give an inside view of their culture.

In the way the *Collection of Moving Images* strives for extension of the strict limits of an ethnographic film, it tries to quest and to overcome the conventional dichotomy between document and fiction with the idea of enlarging the concept of an ethnographic source.

Regarding geographic orientation there has been a focus on Asia and especially on the Indian subcontinent, including the Himalayas.

Since February 1993, when we started to build up the

new *Collection of Moving Images*, till the end of the year 1997, the Archives for Visual Anthropology grew constantly. Out of the 1500 titles, one fifth were bought and the rest recorded directly from different TV stations.¹⁰ Altogether 150 titles deal with the Himalayas. While the majority of the purchased items are ethnographic documentaries and many of them on the subject of shamanism, the recorded ones are TV documentations for a broader public. In 1995 I gave a seminar, entitled *Nepal in Film and Video*, where we analyzed the ways in which the Himalayas are presented to a European audience. Some of the conclusions seem quite noteworthy: compared with other regions of the world, the Himalayas are predominantly present in geo-cultural TV programs. Concerning Tibet most of the films are on Buddhism and/or the country's uncomfortable political situation. As if the films on Tibet's issues could not live without the authority of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, he appears in almost every TV documentation which is included in the collection. What the Dalai Lama is for Tibet, the Himalayan mountains are for Nepal. It is the exotic that attracts us today: TV documentaries have joined the coffee-table books. This is not astonishing if one looks more closely at the conditions of production. Most of the TV teams spend less than one month in the Himalayas. Before the biases they have brought with them can be confronted with the perceived reality that might lead to new conclusions and to a different perception, they already have left the place. The technically clean, beautiful pictures are often sterile and cannot tell the story they should in an intelligent montage. While the visuals are often flat, the commentative sound is overloaded: by the pleasing music and by a too-present voice-over. Both still have to glue the story together as if there were neither any direct cinema, nor any ethnographic films where the subjects themselves had the voice to speak for themselves. In the fifties, where light, sound synchronic cameras did not yet exist, many film-makers knew how to combine the quality of pictures, music and commentary to a stimulating ensemble.

Most of the outstanding ethnographic films and documentaries we have recorded for the *Collection of Moving Images* have been broadcast by ARTE. In recent years, television companies have become increasingly important for the production of films in the fields of ethnography, where they are often looking for a collaboration with ethnographers. If the latter are not misused to fulfill an alibi function then the results can sometimes be quite convincing. A good example is the BBC / National Geographic co-production *The Dragon Bride* (1993), which was directed by Joanna Head. She was assisted by the ethnographer Carroll Dunhan. This ethnographic documentary is a witty film about the polyandrous marriage system of Humla's Nyinba community in northwest Nepal. There, no bride is more desired than a woman born in the year of the dragon, which in this case means that a fifteen year old girl is going to marry five brothers. The film worked with

parallel montage, subtitled the spoken word, used hardly any off-commentary and renounced any kind of interviews. An other ethnographic documentary of a similar style is *Mustang: The Hidden Kingdom* (1994), realized by Tony Miller in collaboration with the ethnographer Charles Ramble. The film tells, in the form of a travelogue, the story of the Tibetan Lama Kamtruel who has been dispatched by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to Mustang, where he should strengthen the Buddhist beliefs of the inhabitants. To accompany the protagonist from Dharmasala up to the capital Lo Mantang in Mustang and back to India allowed the filmcrew not only to document his various meetings with local people but to include, in a kind of cross-cutting montage, archival and recent audio-visual documents on the history of Tibet. Would it make a big difference if we were to know that the basic idea of sending the Lama Kamtruel to Mustang did not come originally from His Holiness the Dalai Lama but from the author of the film? The answer is not straightforward. On the one hand it would make a difference; by holding back an important piece of information the film lets us go on believing that similar incidents and meetings would have taken place without the presence of the film crew. Although this may be fairly right, we might have been told - for example in one spoken sentence at the beginning - that they themselves initiated the expedition to Mustang. On the other hand the question may be regarded as irrelevant because we can, in general, assume that every presented coherence is, ultimately, a constructed one. In this sense the Discovery co-production *Mustang: the Hidden Kingdom* fits very well in a long tradition of ethnographic film-making which goes back to *Nanook of the North* (1922) by Robert F. Flaherty, which is often quoted as one of the first ethnographic documentaries ever made. *Nanook of the North* was not only initiated by Robert F. Flaherty, but it was more or less a complete reconstruction, because at the actual time of shooting the Netsilik no longer lived in the traditional way which the film director wanted to present. Once they agreed on his project, the natives collaborated with Robert Flaherty to develop episodes that demonstrated their traditional life. Today it is a unique document. Therefore the question is, how and for what reason is one to (re-)construct a filmic reality which corresponds in a sincere and adequate way with perceived reality?

In 1994 Martin Brauen realized the exhibition *Irgendwo in Bhutan – Wo Frauen das Sagen haben* (Somewhere in Bhutan – Where Women Have the Final Say). Together with the Swiss television SF DRS the Voelkerkundemuseum followed this production with a film based on the same theme: *Das Tal der Frauen: Erlebnisse einer Schweizer Bäuerin in Bhutan* (The Valley of the Women: Experiences of a Swiss Woman Farmer in Bhutan) (1994). This conventional TV documentary is based on the Swiss woman farmer Tina Joos who leads us as a protagonist from Switzerland to Bhutan, where we share in her participatory observations of

Bhutanese farming women; once in visible form and secondly on the audio track, as many excerpts of her written diary are included in the off-commentary. While she explores the women's way of rural life and work, she develops a close friendship with Dorje Dölma. Subsequently the latter will, at the end of the

film, come to Switzerland to return Tina Joos' visit. With the changed filmic perspective, the commentary in this part is based on Dorje Dölma's diary. Unlike in *Mustang – The Hidden Kingdom*, it is clear from the outset that these farming women in *The Valley of the Women* would have never met without Martin Brauen's



Tollo Sera NW Nepal (18.5.198; 5/a5:32), M. Oppitz

Original Text in German:

Doppelininitiation zweier Männer in Tollo Sera: am Lebensbaum, *da suwa*.

Die beiden Initianden, jeder auf seinem Lebensbaum, während der aktuellen Reinkarnation. Die Schamanen sind alle verschwunden; sie zechen und speisen in den Initiandenhäusern, während die Neophyten still ihre Geburt, *bohsine*, vollziehen. Ausser einigen Kindern und Verwandten, die noch auf dem Festplatz verbleiben, sind auch die Zuschauer abgezogen. Doppelinitionen wie diese sind selten. In Taka kommen sie fast gar nicht vor, in Sera dagegen häufiger.

Translation :

Double initiation of two men in Tollo Sera: on the tree of life, *da suwa*.

The two initiates, each on his own tree of life, in the course of their actual reincarnation. All the shamans have disappeared; they drink and feast in the houses of the initiates, while the neophytes silently undergo their birth, *bohsine*. Apart from a few children and relatives who remain at the site of the ceremony, the crowd has also dispersed. Double initiations like this one are rare. In Taka they happen once in a blue moon, whereas in Sera they are more frequent.

idea of making a film. To visualize processes and concepts of thinking has been one of the core aims of Martin Brauen's ethnological work. Not only by exposing objects and by screening films, as he has continued to do in recent years, for example with his program *Filme aus Tibet - Raritäten aus den Archiven* (Films from Tibet - Rarities of the Archives) (1995), which was co-organised by the Tibet Institute of Rikon (CH) and the Voelkerkundemuseum, or the exposition *Mandala - Der Heilige Kreis im tantrischen Buddhismus* (Mandala - The Holy Circle in Tantric Buddhism) (1992) but also by his attempts to translate words into pictures. The result is remarkable: *Kalachakra Mandala* (1998), a computer based 3D-animation. This seven-minute computer-film on a virtual journey through the Kalachakra Cosmos and its Mandala Palace on the Top of Mount Meru opens new fields of Visual Anthropology.

While there is a long tradition of including photographs in exhibitions, incorporating audio-visual products like film, video or CD-ROM is a recent phenomenon. Unlike still pictures, which can be treated as objects, moving images in an exhibition provoke a contradiction of movements; in a normal exhibition, the objects are fixed and the visitors are moving, while in a traditional film screening, the film is moving and the audience is sitting. To tally these antagonistic movements is hardly possible, unless one reduces the duration of the audio-visual production approximately to the time the average visitor of a museum will spend in front of an object. Another possibility is to screen the audio-visual supplements in a separate room, as sometimes happens at the Voelkerkundemuseum. Otherwise, there is likely to be a negative effect on the whole exhibition because the visitors will be too attracted by the TV or computer screens where they will spend their time instead of visiting the 'real' exhibition, which cannot be taken home - unlike the mobile video tape or the CD-ROM.

I would therefore try, as far as possible, to resist the temptation to include any audio-visual productions directly in ethnographic exhibitions, unless the medium is not itself the subject of the presentation, as it is for example in the case of video-sculptures. Visual Anthropology and exhibitions are anyway in a very close relation. How closely they are interrelated was demonstrated in an exemplary fashion by Michael Oppitz in his latest creation, the exhibition *Naxi - Dinge, Mythen, Piktogramme* (Naxi - Pieces, Myths and Pictographs). It has been dedicated to the extraordinary *dtô-mbâ* culture of the Naxi, an ethnic group living on the fringes of the Himalayas in the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan. Over the centuries the Naxi, who have been at the point of intersection between Tibet in the west and China in the east, have amalgamated their local culture with these neighbouring civilisations. This is especially reflected in their religious tradition, which is known as the *dtô-mbâ*-religion. The *dtô-mbâ* priests are, by tradition, the only ones who can read the peculiar Naxi pic-

tographic system. These pictographs function as codes of the religious oral tradition and as symbols of real objects. One has to know the myths to open this wealth of experience. The challenge of the exhibition *Naxi - Dinge, Mythen, Piktogramme* was to present the pictographs, myths and pieces as interrelated elements of the Naxi ritual world in such a coherent and clear form that the hidden concept became understandable for a Western public. This stringent exhibition with its simple elegance renounced from all spoken words and music.

The Naxi exhibition was completed by two video documentations. One was a re-editing of short archival films made by the great American Naxi researcher Joseph F. Rock in the late twenties; the other one, *Der Vogel auf dem Berge* (The Bird on the Mountain) (1997), documented the development of the exhibition itself by focussing mainly on the work of the Naxi specialist Mu Chen, who was assisted by Zhao Xiuyun.

In autumn 1998 a third production, *Naxi Pieces, Myths and Pictographs: an Exhibition Trailer*, was finished. Its function is a double one: as a trial to illustrate the concept and content of the exhibition, it should animate other museums to take it over. Secondly, together with published texts, it should be a reminder of this animating presentation of the Naxi shamanic tradition, where new ways of composing objects, pictures and words were demonstrated in an exemplary fashion.

What we have achieved in the last years has laid the foundation for intensive progress in the fields of Visual Anthropology. Concerning the *Collection of Moving Images* there are still many films on the Himalayas which should be found and included, made both by foreigners as well as the Nepalis themselves. Of course, one should try to do the same with still pictures, with the idea of building up a representative collection on all ethnic groups which would reflect various aspects of traditional and modern cultural life in the Himalayas. Although the Voelkerkundemuseum in Zuerich would have the ability to achieve this goal, there is an even better place: somewhere in the Kathmandu Valley, where it would be right to appropriate an audio-visual study center. First attempts in this direction were already presented in the form of the first-ever *Film Himalaya* festival in Kathmandu in 1994. On that occasion one of the initiators, the editor Kanak Mani Dixit, said: "The films present our world to the rest of the world. It is perhaps time to evaluate those films." In the meantime, the follow-up *Film South Asia* festival was realized in 1997. Many of the participant film-makers did agree to give a (video) copy of their presented films to the festival's library. In this way a small but respectable collection could be achieved. If all professional filmmakers, photographers, ethnographers and custodians of audio-visual collections from all over the world would deposit one copy of their pictorial representations of cultures in the Himalayas, it could become the core for a real audio-visual archive in the sense of an enlarged cinematheque. Such an archive, focused at least in one spot, cultivated in an intelligent manner with modern

communication tools and accessible to all interested people would not only guard the audio-visual heritage but would be also an important foundation for local as well as foreign future researchers.

Notes :

¹ Unlike the exhibitions, which exist only temporarily, their accompanying catalogues remain as references. Therefore they are cited in the bibliography at the end of this article.

² A short filmography is included at the end of this article. The films of the different screenings as well as those which will be mentioned in the course of this article will be listed. For further information please contact either the Voelkerkundemuseum in Zurich or the author himself at the Musée d'Ethnographie, Geneva.

³ Only few pictures from the Himalayas were included. Among them an albumin print portrait of a lady from Tashilhunpo photographed by F. Hoffmann at the end of last century.

⁴ Professor Lorenz G. Loeffler was in those years director of the Ethnological Institute, while professor Karl H. Henking was director of the Voelkerkundemuseum.

⁵ Original in German: "Ueber mehrere Jahrhunderte hin wurden die visuelle und die verbale oder textuelle Anthropologie ohne viel Diskussion als gleichwertige Partner in der Etablierung einer deskriptiven Ethnographie angesehen" (Oppitz, 1989).

⁶ A married print is the positive print of a film including both sound and image.

⁷ This exhibition was completed by a video presentation which documented the public handing over of the shaman's gear by the Gurung shaman Pachyu Yarjung Tamu to the Voelkerkundemuseum, followed by his lecture on playing ritual instruments, especially drums.

⁸ Included are fifty titles from the old U-matic collection the students built up in the eighties. As far as possible, they were transferred on S-VHS tapes. But only a few could be saved because the older magnetic tapes were already flaked off. One has to remember that a video tape last for approximately ten years. In order to keep a video archive all the titles must therefore be copied every decade.

⁹ The huge work of editing archival films as done in former times is now obsolete. Instead one should try to digitalize the rushes, make a precise index of their content and edit the material on CD-ROM or on the internet as already mentioned in the context of the *Magar Encyclopedia*.

¹⁰ To record from TV and to include the recording in a public collection is legal in Switzerland, as long as it is for study purposes and the copyright fees are paid.

Filmography:

Nota Bene:

- all titles marked with one star (*) were presented during the exhibition Nepal - leben und ueberleben in 1984.

- all titles marked with two stars (**) were presented on the occasion of the Seminar : Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalayas in 1990.

a) Documentaries:

Allen, Michael, *The Living Goddess*, Australia/Nepal, 1980, 30'. *

Bieri, Albin; Garlinski, Majan; Gaenszle, Martin, *Deva and Cinta - An Ethnographic Documentation of a Ritual Cycle Celebrated Among the Mewahang and Kulunge Rai of East Nepal*, CH/FRG/Nepal, 1990, 127'. **

Boonzajer-Flaes, Robert & Rens, Maarten *Dor, Low is Better*, NL, 1988, 47'. **

Carr, Norman, *Tibet: The Bamboo Curtain Falls*, GB, 1981, 48'.

Cavillon, Daniel & Cavillon, Michèle, *Un jour à Panaoti (A Day in Panaoti)*, F/Nepal, 1978, 25'. *

Dyhrenfurth, Norman G., *Tibetische Totenfeier (Tibetan Funeral Rites)*, FRG, 1982, 43'.

Flaherty, Robert J., *Nanook of the North*, USA, 1922/75, 65'.

Gardner, Robert, *Forest of Bliss*, USA, 1986, 88'.

Garlinski, Majan, *Eine Schamanenruestung aus dem Himalaya: Eins - Auspacken der Ruestung im Museum; Zwei - Die Trommeln und ihr Spiel (A Shaman's Gear from the Himalayas: One - Outpacking of the Gear in the Museum; Two - The Drums and theirs Play)*, CH, 1997, 44'.

Der Vogel auf dem Berge: Ein Beitrag zur Ausstellung - Naxi: Dinge, Mythen, Piktogramme (The Bird on the Mountain - A Contribution to the Exhibition - Naxi: Pieces, Myths and Pictographs), CH, 1997, 20'.

Garlinski, Majan & Bieri, Albin, *Review of Makai*, CH, 1991, 76'.

Garlinski, Majan & Oppitz Michael, *Naxi - Pieces, Myths and Pictographs - Exhibition Trailer*, CH, 1998, 16'.

Hitchcock, John & Hitchcock, Patricia, *Himalayan Farmer*, USA/Nepal, 1966, 16'. *

Himalayan Shaman of Northern Nepal, USA/Nepal, 1966, 15'. *

Himalayan Shaman of Southern Nepal, USA/Nepal, 1966, 14'. *

Jest, Corneille, *Dbyar Ston*, France/Nepal, 1967, 17'. *
Spre-lo, F/Nepal, 1972, 45'. *

Tarap: La vallée aux chevaux excellents (Tarap: The Valley of Excellent Horses), F/Nepal, 1967, 26'. *

Kahlen, Wolf, *Der Daemon im Stein (The Demon in the Stone)*, FRG, 1988/89, 110'. **

Koch, Pitt, *Durga Puja*, FRG/Nepal, 1980, 43'. *

Ma Lihua, Gelek, *Northern Tibet of Ten Thousand Li*, Peoples Republic of China, 80'. **

Miller, Tony, *Mustang: The Hidden Kingdom*, GB, 1944, 89'.

Nichols, Sandra, *The Fragile Mountain*, USA/Nepal, 1982, 55'. *

Oppitz, Michael, *Shamans of the Blind Country*, FRG/USA/Nepal, 1980, 223'. *

Pletscher, Marianne, *Das Tal der Frauen: Erlebnisse einer Schweizer Bäuerin in Bhutan (The Valley of the Women: Experiences of a Swiss Woman farmer in Bhutan)*, CH, 1994, 58'.

Rock, Joseph F. (1928/32/54); Garlinski, Majan (1997), *Joseph F. Rock filmt die Naxi: Ausschnitte aus dem Archivmaterial der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: Naxi Taenze – Expedition nach Mi-Nyag - Der Naxi Har-La-Llue Tanz* (Joseph F. Rock films the Naxi – Na-Khi Dances – Expedition to Mi-Nyag – The Na-Khi Har-La-Llue Dance), USA/CH, 1928/1954/1997, 14'.

Sadakane, Ayako, *This is the Great Himalayas*, Japan, 1989. **

Sagaster, Ursula, *Prozession am Asuratag* (Procession at Asuratag), FRG, 60'. **

Schenk, Amelie, *Orakelheiler in Ladakh* (Oracle Healers in Ladakh). FRG (no technical data). **

Schicklgruber, Christian, *Tashigang - Ein tibetisches Dorf zwischen Menschenwelt und Goetterwelt* (Tashigang - A Tibetan Village between the Human World and the World of Gods), Austria, 120'. **

Shrestha, Baikuntha Bahadur, *Festivals of Nepal*, Nepal, 1983, 28'. *

Funeral and Festival, Nepal, 1983, 18'. *

Religious People of Nepal, Nepal, 1983, 20'. *

Wedding Rituals of Nepal, Nepal, 1983, 15'. *

van der Keuken, Johan, *Bewogen Koper* (Brass Unbound), NL, 1993, 185'.

Vohra, Rohit, *The Bononah Festival of the Buddhist Dards in Ladakh*, FRG, 40'. **

Von der Heide, Susanne, *Nari Jhyowa - Das Geheimnis der Goettin* (Nari Jhyowa - The Secret of the Goddess), FRG, 1988, 70'. **

b) Feature films:

Basnet, Prem, *Kumari*, Nepal, 1977, 105'. *

Sharma, Lakshmi Nath, *Badlindo Akash* (Changing Horizons), Nepal, 1983, 165'. *

Singh, Hira, *Ama* (Mother), Nepal, 1965, 150'. *

Hijo, Aja, Bholi (Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow), Nepal, 1967, 165'. *

Thapa, Prakash, *Sindoor*, Nepal, 1981, 165'. *

Multimedia:

Macfarlane, Alan (ed.)

Cambridge Experimental Videodisc Project on the Nagas of Assam, 1989, University of Cambridge.

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Brauen, Martin (ed.),

1982, *Fremden-Bilder - Eine Publikation zu den Aussstellungen: Fruehe ethnographische Fotografie - Fotografien vom Royal Anthropological Institute London; Die exotische Bilderflut*, Ethnologische Schriften Zuerich, ESZ 1. Voelkerkundemuseum der Universitaet Zue-

rich, Zuerich.

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Donati, Dario,

1997, "Voelkerkundemuseum der Universitaet Zuerich", in *L'objectif- subjectif - Collections de photographies ethno-historique en Suisse*, Commission des musées de la Société suisse d'ethnologie (ed.), Société Suisse d'Ethnologie, Berne, pp. 137-145.

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1997, *Ans licht geholt - Fruehe Fotografien aus dem Archiv des Voelkerkundemuseums* (brought back to light - Early Photographies from the Archives of the Voelkerkundemuseum), Voelkerkundemuseum Zuerich: Zuerich.

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1984, "Unser Entwicklungsland" - Nepal im Spiegel seiner Filme ("Our Developing Country" - Nepal in the Mirror of its Films), in *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, p. 51, 23. Mai 1984.

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1997, *Naxi - Dinge, Mythen, Piktogramme* (Naxi - Pieces, Myths and Pictographs), Voelkerkundemuseum Zuerich, Zuerich.

Oppitz, Michael & Hsu, Elizabeth (eds.)

1998, *Naxi and Moso Ethnography. Kin, Rites and Pictographs*, Voelkerkundemuseum Zuerich, Zuerich.

**COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS
AT THE CENTRE D'ÉTUDE SUR LES
RELIGIONS TIBÉTAINES, PARIS
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I. Black and white, paper

This collection has been assembled by R.A. Stein.

Nepal

- 218 photos by M. Peissel, Mustang.
- 74 photos by R. A. Stein, Kathmandu Valley.
- 6 by A. Macdonald.
- 51 by P. Dureuil, 1967, Kathmandu Valley.

Bhutan

- 24 by J.E. Bertrand, misc.
- 80 by E. Von Schulters, 1961, 67-70, Thimpu temples.
- 77 by M. Peissel, 1967, misc.
- 60 by M. Aris, 1973, misc.
- 1 by B. Olschak.
- 16 by P. Khambache, 1970, statues.
- 419 by J. Perrin, 1960, misc.

Sikkim

- 34 by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, c. 1950, music, religion, mediums.
- 275 by R. A. Stein, 1956, Gangtok, sacred dances.
- 11 by J. Bacot, around 1920, Ghoom monastery, sacred dances.
- 13 by Bourguignon-Didier, frescoes.
- 95 by Prince P. de Grèce, 1952, oracle.
- 34 by J. Perrin, 1960, monastery.

Lahul

- 109 by Prince P. de Grèce, 1938, ritual.

Tibet

- 14 by R.A. Stein, eastern Tibet.
- 11 by Cl. Philastre, Nyingmapa statues.
- 18 by A. Palat, Shigatse, Lhasa, before 1950.
- 134 by Richardson, central Tibet, Lho Brag fort, New Year festival in Lhasa, c. 1940.
- 23 by A. Palat, c. 1950.(colour)
- 21 by Turpault, Tibetan objects.

- 7 by S. Karmay.
- 24 by Mele, Southern Tibet, c. 1950.
- 39 by B. Olschak, objects and manuscripts.
- 22 by S. Hummel, Tibet misc.
- 10 by R. A. Stein.
- 22 by A. Koenig, objects exhibited at the Grand Palais, Paris 1977.
- 20 by M. de Berval, Tibetan drawings.
- 40 from the Musée Guimet, Paris, 12 objects, 28 drawings.
- 40 by S. Karmay, Tibetans in exile.
- 72 by L.A. Waddel, drawings.
- 170 by A. Migot, Lolos, Kham & Amdo, Tibetan temples in China, 1940-50.
- 27 by S. Karmay, Tibetans in exile, 1978.
- 60 by R. Demandre, Kham, Manasarovar.
- 44 by N. Thierry, Gyantse, 1991.
- 30 by J. Bacot.

II. Slides (7985 in total)

This collection has been gathered by A.-M. Blondeau.

Nepal

- A. Macdonald, 190 slides, 1960-62, shamans of Nepal.
- P. Dureuil, 54 slides, 1967, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal.
- M. Peissel, 70 slides, no date (but before 1980), Mustang.
- K. Buffetrille, 20 slides, 1990, Solukhumbu.
- K. Buffetrille, 219 slides, 1992, Baudhnath.
- K. Buffetrille, 483 slides, 1996, Baudhnath.

Darjeeling

- M. Ricard, 10 slides, 1974, Darjeeling

Sikkim

- Y. Imaeda, 20 slides, 1975, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh.

Bhutan

- J. E. Bertrand, 60 slides, 1970, Bhutan.
- M. Peissel, 100 slides, no date (but before 1980), Bhutan.
- M. Aris, 240 slides, 1975, Bhutan.
- L. Rault, 25 slides, 1976, Bhutan.
- M. Aris, 245 slides, 1977, Bhutan.
- M. Peissel, 28 slides, 1977, Bhutan
- Mrs von Schulthess, 30 slides, 1977, Bhutan.
- Y. Imaeda, 112 slides, 1978, Bhutan.
- F. Pommaret, 60 slides, 1980, Bhutan.
- F. Pommaret, 270 slides, 1982, Bhutan.
- Y. Imaeda, 81 slides, 1989, Bhutan.
- Y. Imaeda, 113 slides, 1984, Bhutan.
- Y. Imaeda, 178 slides, 1985, Bhutan.
- F. Pommaret, 50 slides, 1986, Bhutan.
- F. Pommaret, 33 slides, 1990, Bhutan.
- G. Van Strydonck, 95 slides 6/6, 1980, Bhutan.

Ladakh

- F. Pommaret, 83 slides, 1976, Ladakh.
- Sonnenschein, 30 slides, 1977, Ladakh.
- C. Valls, 20 slides, 1979, Ladakh.

Himachal Pradesh & other places in India

- Y. Imaeda, 33 slides, 1982, Himachal Pradesh.
- H. Stoddard, 45 slides, 1976, Himachal Pradesh, Dolanji.
- Y. Imaeda, 50 slides, 1979, Dolanji.
- Y. Imaeda, 33 slides, Dolanji, 1979.
- R. Canzio, 315 slides, 1984, Dolanji.
- H. Stoddard, 50 slides, 1976, Dharamsala.
- S. Karmay, 20 slides, no date, India, Tibet.
- P. Kvaerne, 55 slides, 1974, Tibetans in India.

Tibet

- P. Mansier, 33 slides, 1980, Amdo.
- Massin, 208 slides, 1981, central Tibet.
- Vallet, 15 slides, 1981, central Tibet.
- A. Vallat, 59 slides, 1981, central Tibet.
- 60 slides of Tangkas from the Musée Guimet, Paris, 1981.
- G. Truden, 45 slides, 1982, Kalacakra initiation in USA.
- P. Mansier, 99 slides, 1982, central Tibet.
- H. Stoddard, 147 slides, 1984, Amdo.
- S. Karmay, 162 slides, 1987, Tibet.
- S. Karmay, 40 slides, 1987, Tibetans in exile.
- S. Karmay, 132 slides, 1987, Amdo.
- F. Pommaret, 30 slides, 1988, central Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 345 slides, 1988, central Tibet and Amdo.
- S. Karmay, 200 slides, 1988, central Tibet.
- H. Stoddard, 177 slides, 1988, central Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 80 slides, 1989, central Tibet.
- P. Kvaerne, 80 slides, 1989, Bon-Po monasteries, Amdo.
- N. Thierry, 50 slides, 1989, Tibetan ritual objects.
- K. Buffetrille, 100 slides, 1989, central and South-Esatern Tibet.
- F. Pommaret, 50 slides, 1986, central Tibet.
- M.-B. Hannequin, 108 slides, 1986, central Tibet.
- S. Karmay, 93 slides, 1986, Tibet.
- H. Stoddard, 199 slides, 1986, Tibet.
- R. Demandre, 80 slides, 1987, Tibet.
- H. Stoddard, 99 slides, 1989, central Tibet.
- M.-F. Lorton, 250 slides, 1990, central and oriental Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 89 slides, 1990, central Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 208 slides, 1990, Kailash.
- Lortan, 137 slides, 1991, oriental Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 396 slides, 1990, oriental Tibet.
- F. Lagrange, 235 slides, 1993, central Tibet.
- F. Pommaret, 127 slides, 1995, oriental Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 132 slides, 1996, western Tibet.
- K. Buffetrille, 99 slides, 1996, Tsaparang.