

LADAKH STUDIES**No.8 December 1996** ISSN 1356-3491**CONTENTS**

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भारत का राजपत्र The Gazette of India

असाधारण

EXTRAORDINARY

भाग II—खण्ड 1

PART II—Section 1

प्रतिष्ठान से प्रकाशित

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

सं० 24] नई दिल्ली, मंगलवार, मई 9, 1995/वैशाख 19, 1917
No. 24] NEW DELHI, TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1995/VAISAKHA 19, 1917

इस भाग में निम्न पृष्ठ संख्या दी जाती है जिससे कि यह अलग संकलन के रूप में रखा जा सके।
Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation

MINISTRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS

(Legislative Department)

New Delhi, the 9th May, 1995/Vaisakha 19, 1917 (Saka)

The following President's Act is published for general information:—

THE LADAKH AUTONOMOUS HILL DEVELOPMENT
COUNCILS ACT 1995

No. 1 of 1995

Enacted by the President in the Forty-sixth Year of the Republic of
India

An Act to provide for the establishment of Autonomous Hill
Development Councils and an Inter-District Advisory Council
in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the Jammu and
Kashmir State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1992, the
President is pleased to enact as follows:—

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

1. (1) This Act may be called the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Councils Act, 1995.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Government may by notification in the Government Gazette appoint and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act.

(3) It shall extend to the whole of the districts of Leh and Kargil in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Short
title,
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and
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ment.

EDITORIAL

I am sorry this issue of *Ladakh Studies* has been so delayed, although that has allowed it to grow to a much larger size than its predecessors; I am grateful to all my informants and contributors. The principal reason has been that I have repeatedly postponed it in the hopes of being able to announce the publication of and send out fliers for *Recent Research in Ladakh 4 & 5, 6 and 7*. RRL 4 (Bristol) & 5 (SOAS) are being financed as a joint publication partly by SOAS partly by IALS, forming a volume of 429p. plus illustrations. RRL 6 (Leh), funded by a loan from Bristol University Alumni, will be 375p. and includes 6 papers in Ladakhi, three of which also have full English versions and three have long English summaries. However Motilal Banarsidass have repeatedly disappointed us with printing delays. At last (Christmas 1996) I hear that both have been printed and should be available in the spring. Initially Thierry Dodin also negotiated with Banarsidass for the publication of RRL 7 (Bonn) but now he hopes to publish soon in Germany, in time for the colloquium in June.

Other reasons for delay are that I wished to include firm information, now available, about the next Colloquium to be held at Aarhus, Denmark, on 5-8 June 1997, and that I myself have been working in Uganda for three months this year with much consequent writing involved.

In 1997 the IALS will be ten years old. In 1987 I proposed its formation at the Herrnhut colloquium as a vehicle for getting grants for the Bristol one. Since then I have been your secretary, editor and treasurer — too long, but I was reluctant to saddle anyone else with the financial and editorial problems. Now I hope that publications will be up to date by the time of the Aarhus colloquium, and though we are at the moment in debt due to a loan for publishing the proceedings of the Leh colloquium, our publications should now begin to earn useful revenue and the subscription has been raised, though still quite modest.

I have enjoyed doing this and am grateful for your tolerance of the delays in publication, but it is time that someone else with fresh ideas and enthusiasm took over. Also I have lots of other research, papers and the odd book or two which have had to have a back seat for this period and which I should like to take up again. I shall resign at the next colloquium, so the election of one or more successors will be on the agenda there, and I suggest that it will be helpful if some discussion of possibilities and willingness takes place beforehand.

Henry Osmaston

NEWS

RECENT RESEARCH ON LADAKH 4 & 5 Bristol and SOAS colloquia

RECENT RESEARCH ON LADAKH 6 Leh Colloquium

Motilal Banarsidass have just informed me that both these books are printed and should be available soon in UK (or in Delhi for Asian residents only). You should have already received fliers including order forms for both of these but additional copies are enclosed which may be of interest to your friends and colleagues, or your institution's librarian. Fully paid up members of the IALS (two year sub. paid at or since the Bonn colloquium) are entitled to a discount of £3 on their first copy of each book, but orders must be sent through me please for confirmation.

Orders by non-members may be placed directly with the relevant university office (post-free), or through a bookshop (the former is better for the IALS finances).

THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM RECENT RESEARCH ON LADAKH 7

University of Bonn, June 1995

This colloquium was organised very competently at Sankt Augustin near Bonn by Thierry Dodin and Heinz Räther to whom we owe great thanks, and attended by about 70 participants, including 6 Ladakhis and 6 other Indians. A report by John Crook follows, together with a list of papers presented. Arrangements for publication of the proceedings (*Recent Research on Ladakh 7*) are progressing well; Thierry Dodin hopes to have RRL 7 published by UKAS (Uimer Kultur und Anthropologische Series) at Ulm in Germany ready for the next colloquium.

A general meeting of the IALS was held during the 7th Colloquium at Bonn. The Hon. Sec. presented a report and accounts, the latter showing that though solvent, the association had insufficient funds to publish the proceedings of the 6th colloquium [subsequently a generous loan of £2200 from the Bristol University Alumni has funded this publication]. The Ladakh branch of the IALS has banked a modest surplus from the 6th Colloquium to provide initial funding for the next colloquium there.

The following decisions were agreed:

1. To improve the finances of the IALS and provide for the cost of publications, the subscription should be raised from the existing figure of £5 for an indefinite period to an annual subscription of £5, paid for two years at a time (i.e. £10) whenever possible, to reduce paperwork (full-time students half rate; R50 p.a. for Indian nationals resident in India, payable to Abdul Ghani Sheik, Hon. Treasurer, Leh Committee). It was further agreed that Ladakhi members might opt to pay no subscription, but accordingly would not receive personal copies of *Ladakh Studies*.
2. The following members were elected to the permanent committee, with the particular aim of reducing its mean age:- Maria Phylactou, Pascale Dollfus, Smriti Srinivas, Ravina Aggarwal, Peter Marczell, Thierry Dodin, Martijn van Beek. We welcome them warmly. [Subsequently the following long-serving members resigned from the committee: Professor Taube, Professor Dendaletche, Professor Schuh. We are grateful for their past support]
3. The location of the next colloquium was discussed. Although some westerners were keen to have it at Leh again, Ladakhis were, not surprisingly, less enthusiastic. Those of our members resident in the USA offered to investigate the possibility of holding the next colloquium there. [Subsequently that proved to be impossible, and we are grateful to our colleagues at Aarhus

for filling the gap. However we hope that it may be possible to have the 9th colloquium in the USA, see below].

8TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON LADAKH STUDIES Aarhus, Denmark 5 — 8 June 1997

The 8th colloquium of the I.A.L.S. is scheduled to be held on 5—8 June 1997 at the Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, Aarhus University, at Moesgaard, a few miles south of Aarhus in Denmark. We now invite proposals for papers, panels, posters or other presentations, and wish to gauge interest in participation.

Anyone interested in participating is asked to pre-register by returning the attached form NOW, and (if applicable) to submit a short (max 250 words) abstract for a paper, both as hard copy AND IF POSSIBLE either on disc (IBM compatible) or by e-mail.

Only those who are pre-registered can be sure of receiving future communications regarding the colloquium, accommodation etc. We are expecting that the colloquium fee will be about \$50. We also expect to be able to offer financial support for travel and stay to a limited number of participants from South Asia.

A pre-registration form is enclosed at the centre of this newsletter. Please send all communications to:

**Dr. Martijn van Beek, Department of Ethnography & Social Anthropology,
Moesgaard, 8270 Hoejbjerg, DENMARK.**

Tel:- + 45-89-42-46-70

Fax:- + 45-86-27-07-08

e-mail:- etnomvb@moes.hum.aau.dk ('IALS' as subject please)

THE 9TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON LADAKH

We hope to hold this in the USA in 1999. Mick Khoo based on the Dept. of Astrophysics, Boulder, Colorado, and later Kim Gutschow based at the Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard, have offered to investigate possibilities of location and funding, and to contact our other members who are in the USA. All those interested should contact them.

THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL SITUATION IN LADAKH

On 9 May 1995 the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Councils Act 1995, was passed in a hurry, bypassing the usual procedures, to head off a threatened resumption of civil unrest. The first page of it is reproduced here, and the entire gazette notice was printed in *Ladags Melong*, for Summer 1995. It is an enabling act, and as anticipated only Leh District subsequently took up the option of establishing a Hill Council, while Kargil (with Zangskar) retained its previous status. For the consequent elections, Leh District was divided into 26 constituencies; Ladags Melong also has a full list of the 26 elected members of whom 22, all Congress I candidates, were elected unopposed; also of the four nominated members. Four members were elected to be executive councillors, headed by Thubstan Chhewang, lately head of the Ladakh Buddhist Association. The Council are now slowly, and with occasional checks, finding their way forward in their unaccustomed responsibilities.

The road over the Zoji La to Srinagar is open to traffic during the summer and relieves the pressure on the still rough and high Manali road. This year there were shortages of food in spring owing to the late opening of the passes after heavy winter snow. The number of tourists continues to grow, mostly entering by road from Manali or by air, though a few come via Srinagar.

Nubra, Da Hanu and Rupshu are open to tourists, though access to the former remains

difficult. There have been protests in Rupshu at environmental damage being caused by vehicle-borne tourists and army personnel on 'leave' who bring power-boats to rescue their windsurfers and disturb the nesting of endangered bar-headed geese. In the first summer (1994) 100 foreign tourists a month were camping at Korzok on the lake-shore of Tso Moriri and a deputation of nomads lobbied the DC in Leh about the disturbance and damage to grazing. This spilled over into the national press which highlighted the conflict of interests between the J & K Tourist Department, desperate to find an alternative to the former attractions of Lake Dal, and the conservation wing represented by Alok Chandola and others. Sian Gibson describes what it was like before in this newsletter.

Friese, Kai 1994 "Tso Moriri. The floodgates open: a remote lake endures its first tourist season". *India Today*, Oct15, 1994, p.243.

AUDIOVISUAL PRODUCTS

A digital recording of nuns chanting, monastic horns and ritual in Chuchikjall convent, Karsha, Zangskar, is available in CD (No. 195 104) or cassette form (75 mins), with an introductory booklet by Kim Gutschow, from Polyglobe Music, P.B. 844, A-6023 Innsbruck, Austria (fax: 05-12-39 43 84, price ?, but 10% of the proceeds goes to the convent).

The winter in Zangskar is shown in an outstanding film *Behind the Ice-wall*, with the same theme as that of Föllmi's attractive book (1990b), the true story of the winter journey of two young Ladakhi children to boarding school in Leh. While vividly illustrating the physical hazards and hardships involved in the journey, it also has many scenes of winter life in Zangskar, which inspire in the mere summer visitor like myself conflicting feelings, trying to balance the attractions of the peaceful and relaxed tempo of winter life against the constraints of the cold. A letter I received from Punchok Dawa, rGyalpo of Padum, said that last winter had been exceptionally cold, as it was at Leh also. The film also explores the social problems of the up-bringing and education of children in modern Zangskar, and the problematic choice of sending them out of the valley for years of education elsewhere. Everyone interested in present-day Ladakh and especially Zangskar should try to see this film. Produced by Peter & Harriet Getzels, directed by P.Getzels and H.Gordon, shot by Naresh Bedi, consultant Kim Gutschow. European distributors: UFA Non-fiction Production GmbH, Diana-str. 21, 14482 Potsdam-Babelsberg, Germany (00-49-331-7060406); may be available as a video from Discovery Communications, 7700 Wisconsin Ave., Bethesda, Maryland 20814-3579, USA; in UK it should be released as a video in early 1997 in "World of Geo" series (Prime Time Vision Assoc., London, 0171-935-9000).

I have heard that Air India also sponsored the making of a film of the *chadur* in 1994 by a group led by John Barry, but I have no details.

An impressive video of shamanic ritual *Der Dämon im Stein* (by Wolf Kahlen, Ehrenbergstr. 11, D-14195 Berlin, Germany) was shown at the Bonn symposium. Another, *Ladakh — ein Wintermärchen* (Prof. Jaroslav Poncar, Fachhochschule Köln, FB Foto, Betzdorferstr. 2, 5000 Köln 21, Germany), portrayed the winter ceremonies, especially those of Losar, New Year. An entertaining one, *Dor-Low is better* (Dr.Bonzagen, Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK Amsterdam, Netherlands, tel: 31-20525-2626, fax:-2086), compared Swiss Alpenhorns with Ladakhi monastic horns, *dung.chen*. Both kinds of horn were played at Phyang Gonpa, and an outline was given of the Ladakhi musical notation, both verbal (*dor — zhung — tsa.kra — nhi — dor*) and symbolic. Further information on all three is also available from Thierry Dodin.

For information on the video *Ancient Futures: learning from Ladakh* see the section on the Ladakh Ecological Development Group.

Adrian Shiel (Sonam Ling, 22 King Edwards Road, Malvern Wells, Worcs. WR14 4AJ UK) is compiling a listing of films and photographic collections which contain significant

material on Ladakh. Whereas films and videos up to the present will be included, the great increase in still photography in the last two decades has made him restrict cover of this to before 1974, with particular emphasis on the earliest material. He would be grateful for information from members or others and hopes to contribute a report to another issue of *Ladakh Studies*.

INTERNET

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If other members with e-mail addresses will inform the editor, they will be listed in future supplements. Possibly they may be made available through Thierry Dodin before then, as he proposes to set up an IALS web site on the Internet. Details will be available from him. My own e-mail connection is still 'in hand' but will I hope be running by publication date.

HimNet, a clearing centre for information and contacts about the Himalaya, run for two years by David Spencer at Zurich, has unfortunately closed as he found the growing workload too time-consuming.

South Asia Gopher (SAG), a collection of information resources on South Asia, is now accessible from the network through Gopher or by direct connection to the library at Colombia University, USA. It will eventually include a listing of the worlds top library collections on S.Asia with direct links to their on-line catalogues; electronic text archives; software for displaying and printing S.Asian languages and fonts; teaching resources; and a fully searchable International directory of S.Asian scholars. (*from Mot. Banarsidass newsletter*).

DRUKPA KARGYUD TRUST

This trust has been formed to finance the Ladakh School Project in Ladakh. The aim is to build and run an innovative new school, which will offer a well balanced programme of academic study and vocational skills with an appreciation of indigenous culture, traditions and community values. It will also provide a teacher training programme. It enjoys the patronage of H.H.the 12th Gyalwang Drukchen Rinpoche who recently attended a reception in London in aid of the trust, hosted by Lord Weatherill. The school is to be built on land near Shey Gonpa, and has the support of the District Council. Further information is available from Mrs. Rosie Marsh, DKT Ladakh School Project, Little Thurlow Green, Haverhill, Suffolk CB9 7JL.

NUNNERY, SCHOOL & HEALTH PROJECT AT LINGSHED MONASTERY

Geshe Ngawang Jangchup is organising and seeking help and funds for a project to help his remote home village and monastery of Lingshed, on the route between Zangskar and Lamayuru. A nunnery has been inaugurated with 20 nuns but at present these have to live in their home *khang-chung*, so the Project hopes to build a central communal convent and

to establish a school there for women; two nuns have been sent to Dharamsala nunnery for training as teachers at Lingshed. Education and facilities in traditional health and medicine, especially important in this village which is isolated for many months in winter, are being promoted. Contributions in aid of this will be welcomed.

The Geshe is based at 139 Cozy Apts., 8th main, 12th Cross, Malleswaram, Bangalore - 560003, INDIA, but besides giving teachings and seminars (attended by numerous western visitors) at Lingshed he also travels extensively in the west giving teachings and will be in UK for 3 weeks sometime during Feb - July 1997 (contact John Nightingale, Box & Rose Cottage, Capton, Dartmouth, Devon TQ6 0JE; tel 01803-712-579).

LADAKH STUDIES 9

Contributions are invited for *Ladakh Studies 9*, though at present we do not know who will be the editor or when it will appear. Contributions of all sorts are welcome: short papers, book reviews, news, appeals, current research projects, requests for information, warnings, changes of address, e-mail addresses, letters, photos etc. Copies of or information about publications for inclusion in the bibliography are best sent to John Bray, 8 Glendall St., Brixton, London SW9 8AJ.

Papers should not exceed five pages of double spaced 12 pt text, including figures, on A4 paper without prior agreement by the editor; figures must be fair-drawn and completely ready for reproduction; references should be in the style used in in this issue; in any case it is best to consult the editor first. Any item longer than half a page should if possible be sent on disc; the editor will advise on acceptable formats (IBM/Mackintosh).

NEWS OF MEMBERS

Tsering Dalha has just taken part in a film based on Heinrich Harrer's book *Seven Years in Tibet* which the producer wished to film in Ladakh. Unfortunately the Indian Government was nervous of Chinese reactions and refused permission, so it has been filmed in the Andes, complete with replica Potala, 250 imported Tibetans and countless Peruvian extras.

Martin Mills' thesis on Lingshed gonpa will be finished in February and he has a part-time lectureship at St. Andrews teaching comparative religion.

Kim Gutschow has a Junior Fellowship at Harvard, several papers in press and will be in *purdah* for the next few months writing her thesis on Zangskar.

Mick Khoo has a research post at the Dept. of Astrophysics, University of Colorado, Boulder, and will be working on ethno-astronomy.

GOLD-DIGGING ANTS

Michel Peissel, whose books on Zangskar and other parts of the Himalaya have fascinated some readers and irritated others, claims to have verified Herodotus' story of gold-digging ants in the Himalaya. It has long been suggested that the 'ants' were really marmots; apparently marmots were colloquially called 'mountain ants' in ancient Persian whence Herodotus obtained his story, but without having a sufficiently precise knowledge of the language. Now Peissel claims to have obtained special military permission to visit the Dansar Plateau (precise location not clear; Deosai Plain?) in Baltistan, accompanied by Sebastian Guinness (heir to the brewing fortune), where they 'observed marmots burrowing down to dark, gold-bearing strata of sand at a depth of some 3ft. The Minaro people collected the gold 2,500 years ago and continued the practice until recently when military activity restricted access to the region, according to Prof. Muhammad Yousuf Husainabadi, a Balti scholar' (*The Times*, 4 Dec 1996). One might think that this gold could be obtained in much larger quantities by the admittedly greater effort of mining the sandy layer; but perhaps as in Tibet there is a traditional disapproval of mining that only marmots ignore.

MOHAMMED AKBAR LADAKHI

On 28 June 1996, Mohammed Akbar Ladakhi passed away at the age of seventy. Until his death Akbar Ladakhi served as Executive Councillor on the first Ladakh Autonomous Hill council, Leh, crowning a long and illustrious career in Kashmiri and Ladakhi administration.

A prominent leader of the Muslim community in Leh district, Akbar Ladakhi served as President of the Ladakhi Muslim Association during the difficult times of the recent agitation which began in 1989. It was in no small measure thanks to his moderating influence that a peaceful solution, acceptable for all communities, was found to the communalization of local politics in this period.

While his important role in contemporary politics is well known, Akbar Ladakhi was also highly regarded for his tremendous knowledge of Ladakhi traditions, history and folksongs. An accomplished poet himself, several of his writings were published in Srinagar when he was studying there in the 1940's. It was in that context that he acquired the nickname 'Ladakhi'.

Akbar Ladakhi served Ladakh and the state of Jammu & Kashmir in a number of capacities, including as Assistant Commissioner, Kargil. His long experience in administration and politics was an important asset for the new administrative set-up for Leh, and will be sorely missed.

For many members of the IALS, Akbar was a great source of information. The range of his knowledge was formidable, while his wit was feared as well as entertaining. His death is a great loss for Ladakh, as well as for those of us who study there.

M.v.B. & K.B.B.

LAMA KUSHOK BAKULA Celestial Ambassador & IALS Patron

As he sat cross-legged on a lofty chair at the crowded Gandantegchinlen monastery at Dalkha hill here on the Mongolian New Year Day, a steady stream of devotees passed him by, offering him traditional Buddhist scarves and money. He blessed them by placing his nimble palm on their heads. It continued for nearly two hours by when his hand should have started aching. All this was nothing unusual for Lama Kushok Bakula, India's ambassador in Mongolia, who has got used to such adoration from the faithful. But for the trappings of a chauffeur-driven limousine with the tricolour flag fluttering from its bonnet, the 77-year-old ambassador, who is always attired in ochre robes, could pass off as a mere lama.

Ever since his posting here in 1989, Lama Bakula has been trying to combine his spiritual and diplomatic posts withut one overlapping the other. Lama Bakula is held in high esteem in Mongolia as he is considered the 20th reincarnation of Arhat Bakul. That he is the recipient of 'Geshe Charampa', the highest degree in Buddhist studies, also adds to his ecclesiastical standing. Since Buddhism was not allowed to prosper during the Communist period and monastery after monastery was destroyed, there were not many qualified in Buddhist scriptures to perform religious responsibilities when Mongolia became democratic in 1990. Naturally enough, the Buddhists of Mongolia looked up to Lama Bakula to provide them with spiritual leadership. With his long experience as head of the Pethub monastery in Ladakh, this was a god-sent opportunity to him.

Lama Bakula is a big draw wherever he goes in the country. On a Mongolian Airlines (MIAT) flight, this correspondent saw almost every Mongolian passenger queuing up to him in the first class section to get his blessings. Not a day breaks in the capital without a queue of old and young men and women forming at the double-storeyed Indian Embassy on Peace Street to get his blessings. Occasionally security forces have had to be summoned to control the queue. The Ambassador, who seems to be enjoying his posting, is always on the move. There is hardly an *aimak* (province) which he has not visited. Thousands of people throng to hear his sermons. Wherever he goes people offer him money and cattle, so much that he has innumerable sheep, cows and horses all over the country. As is his wont, he would ask the donors to look after the animals themselves. "Once an animal is donated to him, it is assured of a natural death. It will never be slaughtered" said Sonam Wangchuk, the Ambassador's secretary. Lama Bakula recounted the visit of a villager a few weeks ago. He had come to the embassy to seek advice on what he should do with the horses that belonged to the ambassador. Since the 'Bakshe' (teacher), as Lama Bakula is called, had asked him to look after the animals himself, he had been feeding them properly, but because no work was exacted from them they had turned rogues and become uncontrollable. The Ambassador advised him to treat the horses like any other animals and get work done by them. He felt relieved and went back happy. Last year Lama Bakula visited a place called Gobi Aitai. There the people took him to a mountain and asked him to name it as a commemoration of his visit. While naming the mountain "Ratna" he sought a promise from the people that they would not do any hunting on the mountain. Since then the people aver that no animal has been hunted on this mountain.

It may be queer for a lama to be ambassador plenipotentiary of a secular nation like India. "I do not mix my religious duties with my diplomatic responsibilities" said Lama Bakula, who by virtue of his seniority is the dean of the 22 resident diplomatic representatives in Ulaanbaatar. "Personally, I do not like drinking, but I am not against serving liquor at diplomatic parties". With the incessant offerings from the people, the Ambassador has been busy constructing a Buddhist temple in Indian architectural style in Ulaanbaatar, which is expected to cost over US\$1 million. He has already set up an English medium school, which serves the needs of the diplomatic missions here. Lama Bakula represented Ladakh in the Lok Sabha for two consecutive terms and was a member of the Minorities Commission for two terms.

A.J. Phillip, Hindustan Times (via Him.J.)

7TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON LADAKH.

Sankt Augustin, Bonn.

*John Crook**

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In June 1995 the elegant city of Bonn witnessed the seventh international gathering of scholars in Ladakhi Studies coming from India, Germany, Great Britain, USA, France, Hungary, Holland, and from Ladakh itself, to consider a wide range of issues posed by the history, anthropology and development of the territory.

The main subjects discussed came from social anthropology (10 papers), contemporary history (5), ecology and development (2) history (4) folk literature (2) and trades and trade routes. In addition the meeting paid especial attention to Baltistan (resources, culture, commerce and women's studies) providing a new focus on this predominantly Muslim region of Ladakh.

Although to an outsider this list of topics may seem disparate, the scholars found a wide range of overlapping interests tying the different themes together and justifying the common concern of so many with this Indian sub-province. Such common concern emphasises the integrity of culture and historical evolution in the area as a whole; none the less the changing political structure of Ladakh arising from the granting of Scheduled Tribe statuses lay in the background to many of the discussions.

Interestingly, this very integrity became one topic of refined speculation when, for the first time, excellent analyses based essentially in post-modern Western scholarship and ideology surfaced within studies of Ladakh. In particular Martin van Beek and K.B. Bertelsen presented careful studies of the socio-political pressures giving rise to the term "Ladakhi" and the impact on this concept of the Scheduled Tribe application. They showed that identity constructs referring to the groups, communities, religious affiliations and subtle ethnic contrasts in Ladakh have a long and unstable history. In particular, the arbitrary and largely imaginary differentiations that form the basis for "tribal" identifications in the scheduling process are leading to the documented identifications of many persons in a manner that fragments the population of the regions into groups that may be convenient for the governmental process but which have little other meaning. As van Beek points out, such a process tends to undermine the unity of the consensus among "Ladakhis" defining themselves as such. The divisiveness of the process raises concern for the political integrity of so called "Ladakhis" within their own area.

These studies focus on the recent history of politically created social distinctions rather than on the longer term history of the ancient unified kingdom of independent Ladakh with its traditional Tibetan culture and values. It seems Ladakhis themselves, both Buddhist and Muslim, will need to consolidate their own sense of communality if political divisiveness rather than common policies of regional social development is not to emerge. Some Ladakhi participants expressed the view that older traditions carried a greater weight in the consciousness of the people than these newer and largely meaningless paper distinctions. Maybe we have a scholarly storm in a teacup here — maybe not ?

The post-modern perspective in contemporary social anthropology was also present in Ravina Aggarwal's feminist ethnography of Leh market place and in Smriti Srinivas' analysis of an alleged witchcraft death in Nubra. Both studies paid close attention to the discourse and cultural frame of the narratives under discussion, providing welcome and finely textured studies new to our forum.

Other anthropological papers examined religious concepts and activities. John Crook, drawing on the doctoral theses of Sophie Day and Maria Phylactou and the work of Patrick Kaplanian as well as his own study of the monk oracles at Mattho, presented the case for considering the activities of Ladakhi oracles as a form of indigenous psychiatry expressing an integration of older folk narratives with those of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Uwe Gielen discussed death rituals and Bettina Zeisler gave a compelling account of the last

ageing representatives of the tradition of oral recitation of the Gesar saga.

Among historical papers the puzzle of Ladakhi and Bhutanese enclaves in Tibet was sorted out by John Bray while kingship and territory (Peter Schwiager), the origin of the Moravian schools (Gudrun Maier), Moorcroft's memorandum (P. Marczell) and the end of the Ladakhi monarchy (Tsering Samphel) all received careful treatment. A useful paper on calendars by Michael Khoo was presented on his behalf by Henry Osmaston. Abdul Ghani Sheikh discussed Ladakh's relations with Central Asia, the fascinating route to which over the Karakoram was painstakingly described by Janet Rizvi.

Professors Harjit Singh and R.S. Mann discussed recent work on the relations between culture and ecology, a theme likewise taken up for Baltistan by a number of speakers (Mehr Dad, A. Dittman, J. Clemens). In particular, discussion of the role of women in Baltistan revealed unexpected hopes for the future based on an enlightened education policy whereby women are given exceptional opportunities as teachers (U. Sagaster). Reinhard Herdick's detailed treatment from an architectural perspective of the "spatial organisation of a socio-cultural village space" provided the exciting detail needed for the study of many historical and religious sites in Ladakh.

The contribution to the recent history of Ladakh by our Patron, Kushok Bakula, was acknowledged in a useful review by Tsering Shakspo, and P. Namgyal took us on a tour through the political evolution of Ladakh since Indian Independence, a process in which he has played an important role personally. Indeed, in none of these papers did the concept of "Ladakh" pose a problem; the speakers giving it a broadly inclusive meaning anchored in the history of the region as an independent kingdom and political state.

The colloquium included excellent slide and film shows. Ferry Erdmann's investigation into the ancient temples of Spiti and Kinnaur was timely and showed what can be done while leading trekking tours in the mountains. The long sensitive sequences shot by W. Kahlen for his film "Der Damon im Stein" took one into the very heart of a shamanic ritual.

An especially valuable discussion arose from Janet Rizvi's suggestion for the foundation of a research centre in Ladakh itself to provide a base for historical, textual, cultural and musicological records and their study. She also suggested that such an institution could be named after the founder of such research, William Moorcroft. The proposal was warmly received, difficulties acknowledged and enquiries put in train.

On a free afternoon we visited the restored and impressive monastery of Maria Laache overlooking the volcanic crater lake of the same name, and in the evening we were entertained to an excellent supper at the home of Veronika and Namgyal Ronge. We were pleased and honoured by a visit from Tempa Tsering, Secretary for Information and International Relations in the CTA. He had come to Bonn to make arrangements for the visit by H.H. the Dalai Lama a few days later.

Hosted warmly and expertly by Thierry Dodin, Heinz Räther and their colleagues, Sankt Augustin was an enjoyable experience marking further progress in the international development of Ladakhi Studies.

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7th International Colloquium on Ladakh **Bonn/Sankt Augustin, 12-15 June 1995** Papers presented

Aggarwal, Ravina: Haunted Histories: Feminist Ethnography in the Marketplace of Leh.
Beek, Martin van: The Importance of Being Tribal, or: The Unmaking of Ladakhihood.
Bertelsen, K. B.: Early Modern Buddhism in Ladakh: On the Construction of Buddhist
Ladakhi Identity and its Consequences
Bray, John: Ladakhi and Bhutanese Enclaves in Tibet.
Clemens, Jürgen: Resource Management in Astor (Gilgit Wazarat) since the Partition of

- Kashmir. Natural Setting, Utilisation Rights and Modern Impacts on Alpine Pastures and Forests.
- Crook, John Hurrell: The Indigenous Psychiatry of Ladakh.
- Dittmann, Andreas: City and Bazaar in Baltistan.
- Gielen, Uwe P.: A Death on the Roof of the World.
- Grist, Nicola: P'haspun in the Suru Valley.
- Herdick, Reinhard: Exemplary Study of an Ancient Centre of a Village in West Ladakh. An attempt at an Analysis of the Spatial Organisation of Socio-Cultural Structures.
- Khoo, Michael: The Use of Sun and Stars for Calendrical Purposes in Ladakh [read by Henry Osmaston].
- Khoshal, Sanyukta: Rituals and Ceremonies Connected with Agricultural Folk Traditions.
- Mann, R.S.: Culture and Ecology in Ladakh.
- Marczell, Peter J.: William Moorcroft's Pioneering Memorandum on the Letters, Writing, Language and Culture of Tibet and its Vicinity.
- Mehr Dad: Education in Baltistan.
- Meier, Gudrun: The Beginning of Schoolwork - the Moravian Schools in Lahoul and Ladakh.
- Mills, Martin A.: Local Divinities and the Characterisation of Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh.
- Namgyal, P.: Ladakhis: A Micro-Minority Community.
- Riaboff, Isabelle: The Lha, a Fluctuating Zanskari Category; a Statement about Gods.
- Rizvi, Janet: Leh to Yarkand: Travelling the Trans-Karakoram Trade Route.
- Sagaster, U.: Women in Baltistan.
- Samphel, Tsering: Zorawar Singh - Tsultim Nima and the End of Ladakhi monarchy.
- Schwieger, Peter: Power and Territory in Ladakhi Kingship.
- Shakspo, N. Tsering: Kushok Bakula, the Architect of Modern Ladakh.
- Sheikh, Abdul Ghani: Ladakh's Relations with Central Asia.
- Singh, Harjit: Ladakh - An ecological Entity.
- Slupski, Tadeusz: Exploration and Mountainering in Kishtwar and Zangskar Region with a Detailed History of its Exploration.
- Srinivas, Smriti: Witch Possession in Nubra Valley: The Analysis of Social Drama.
- Stobdan, Tashi: Reflections on the Religious, Political and Economic Aspects of Stok Jagir.
- Wangyal, Sonam: Political evolution in Ladakh after Independence.
- Warikoo, Kulbhushan: Hemp Trade Between Ladakh and Xinjiang, 1846.
- Zeisler, Bettina: The Three Creators of "The Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga" and the End of Oral Tradition.

DEVELOPMENT OF CITY AND BAZAAR IN BALTISTAN

Andreas Dittmann

Geographische Institut, Univ. Bonn

Baltistan or Little Tibet has had historical traffic and trade connections of changing intensity with Ladakh since the second half of the 16th century (Singh 1978:94-95). These traditional links were interrupted by the partition of British India and the establishment of a cease fire line between Ladakh and Baltistan in 1947. From that time on, economic and urban development in Baltistan was dominated by the incorporation in the administrative system of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The development of the settlements in the Northern Areas of Pakistan is mainly determined by the dynamic growth of the bazaars. In an area where the secondary sector is missing almost completely, non-agricultural economic growth concentrates totally on the expansion of trade and services. The Karakorum settlements are characterized by an enormous growth of their bazaars. The average redoubling time - measured by the number of shops and workshops - is less than nine years. In some subcenters this figure is even only three to four years after the construction of connecting roads. Research on central place systems in the high mountain area Karakorum has to start with the bazaars, the focus of the current economic development. Here, the analysis of traditional and modern bazaar structures as a mean of determining the centrality has to be in the foreground.

The bazaars of the Karakorum differ in many ways from the conventional character of other

business centers in the Islamic Middle East. The characteristic components of the so-called "typical oriental bazaars" (Dittmann 1970, 1980; Wirth (1974/75)), like the traders' specialization on certain categories of goods, a concentration on categories of goods of one kind or on trade and private services in certain bazaar sections, are largely missing here. On the other hand, certain characteristics of typical oriental bazaars, like the separation of residential and business functions, the side by side of wholesale and retail and especially the division into different bazaar sections, are clearly developed. The obvious lack of some characteristic features of oriental bazaars indicates that the common bazaar definition can not be applied to the stationary trade infrastructure of the larger places of the Karakorum without a second thought. The question to what extent the business centers of the larger settlements of the Karakorum in Northern Pakistan are more comparable to the typical oriental bazaars of the Islamic Middle East or to the business districts of the Indian subcontinent has been discussed in detail recently (Dittmann 1994). While the bazaars of Baltistan - as other bazaars of the Northern Areas of Pakistan - are bazaars in a historical sense, the business centers of Ladakh can not be termed "bazaars" in the defined sense. This is mainly because of the combination of stores and workshops together with residential functions in the same streets and even in the same buildings. However, a very strict separation of the public sector "business" from the private sector "residence" is one of the major characteristic features of the settlements in Baltistan.

In general, it can be noticed that the principles of bazaar development and structure are obviously orientated less strongly on economic but rather on ethno-linguistic factors. In spite of the extensive lack of concentrations on certain categories of goods, the bazaars of the Northern Areas of Pakistan are clearly subdivided in different bazaar sections. These do not primarily follow trades but differently developed tendencies of ethnic-religious segregation. Border and transition zones which were thereby built up are harder to distinguish by outsiders than a trade classification, but are of essential importance for the everyday life of the local people.

The continuous growth of the cities of the Karakorum Mountains has been related to external factors, such as intra- and inter-regional migrations as well as infrastructural modernizations. During an initial stage up to the mid-19th century none of the Karakorum valleys was clearly dominating in an economic or political sense. Hierarchical connections between the different valleys, counties or small kingdoms were quite undeveloped or limited to a minimum degree. In a first phase of extension especially Gilgit and Skardu (Faggi and Ginestri 1977) were promoted to administrative and military colonial headquarters due to their strategic position at the confluence of the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers as well as of the Indus and Shigar Rivers. In the west Gilgit acquired a hierarchical status superior to all the other settlements and became the central place of the so-called "Gilgit Agency" consisting of an area, which today forms the districts Diamir, Ghizer and Gilgit. During that time exchange relations with the surrounding hinterlands initiated a growth of the first bazaar. But, however, these influences were limited to local principalities. At that time economic relations to Baltistan in the East hardly existed due to restricted infrastructural facilities. In early post-colonial times after 1947, during a second stage of extension, the traditional exchange relations of bazaars with the valleys of the Gilgit Agency were further developed and incorporated in the national context. Characteristic phenomena of this development have been the foundations of new bazaar sections in Gilgit (Jamal Khana Bazaar, Khazana Bazaar) as well as in Skardu (Chasma Bazaar, Hameed Garh Bazaar). The replacement of Hindu traders by Pathan traders from the southern lowlands (Dir, Hazara, Swat), by Kashgari traders from the northern lowlands (Xinjiang) or by Balti traders in Skardu also belongs to this period. After the Karakorum Highway was completed at the end of the seventies, the national importance of Gilgit as a major central place of the Northern Areas was manifested.

Townscape and the economic development of Skardu and Gilgit are largely determined by its extensive bazaars. The bazaars seem like a documentation of the surplus of importance of the city, which has been continuously growing for years, compared to its steadily expanding and changing surroundings. This process of change finds its manifestation especially in the characteristic structure of the bazaars, which are composed of several smaller bazaar sections that are separated ethno-linguistically to different extents (Dittmann 1994; 1995).

The following types of bazaar sections can be differentiated:

Type A: Ethnically defined bazaar sections with concentrations on certain categories of goods.

Type B: Ethnically defined bazaar sections without any concentration on certain categories of goods.

Type C: Ethnically heterogenic bazaar sections without recognisable concentrations on certain categories of goods.

The impression is reinforced that the impetus for urban growth is not orientated primarily to mere economic reasons but to the criteria of regional identity. The decision where certain goods are bought or services are requested is not only defined by the criteria of quality and price but by patterns of a religious and/or an ethno-linguistic sense of belonging. The mechanisms which led to the development of these "principle of the bazaars within the bazaar" are not only determined by factors of regional identity but also by a conscious segregation of other groups. These influences are particularly strong where religious distinctions are added to the differences of the respective places of origin - even more so, if they affect ideas concerning food preparation and personal hygiene.

In general, the patterns of customer-trader-relationships in the bazaars of Baltistan are not solely defined by the endeavour to segregate ethno-linguistically and/or religiously - even if the violent clashes, particularly throughout the last years, seem to prove it. A decisive factor is a responsible sense of a common bond of regional identity. This has grown historically as a forming feature of the bazaar development with its characteristic division in the "bazaars within the bazaar"-system and is older than the latest violent attempts of dissociation by different religious groups. Thus, in the bazaars of Baltistan "common central goods and services" on one hand and "regional central goods and services" on the other hand have to be distinguished. While the first can be demanded, theoretically, by all inhabitants of the respective central place or its hinterland, regardless of their religious or ethno-linguistic group affiliation, the specifically regional central facilities are only available for certain groups. Goods in regionally orientated bazaar sections may still be central for customers from a possibly very distant area of the respective surrounding region, while they are not central for customers from regions close by, to whom the same bazaar section is not related.

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Proposal for an INSTITUTE OF LADAKH STUDIES

Janet Rizvi,

(made at the 7th Colloquium, Bonn, June 1995)

To Members of the IALS — three questions:

- 1) There appears to be no tangible memorial to William Moorcroft, the pioneer of Ladakh studies, either in Leh, where he lived off and on for two years from 1820 to 1822, or elsewhere in Ladakh. Isn't this a pity?
- 2) Where am I going to deposit my tapes, papers and photographs when I complete my research, so that they may be readily available to future scholars of Ladakh?
- 3) Ladakh has enriched my life, intellectually, emotionally, spiritually, perhaps to some extent even financially. Is there anything I can do that will go some way towards repaying the debt, and at the same time advance the cause of Ladakh studies, especially among Ladakhis?

If these questions find any resonance in the minds of other members of the IALS, perhaps they might like to consider a proposal that addresses all three of them. This is that we consider the possibility of setting up an Institute of Ladakh Studies, most probably at Leh, which for most of us is the gateway into Ladakh, but anyhow somewhere in Ladakh.

I envisage two main functions for such an Institute. The first is to promote the interaction of visiting and resident scholars in the field of Ladakh studies, both among themselves and with the public. It would be a centre where visiting scholars — who at present may be unaware of each other's presence in Ladakh — could meet for the mutually enriching exchange of news and views; the fruits of their researches could perhaps be disseminated through a programme of public lectures and seminars. There would also be a library, and documentation centre, open to the public perhaps on payment of a small subscription. Properly managed, it would become the repository where a lot of us might eventually like to deposit our research materials. The Institute would establish and maintain links with other like-minded organisations in Leh, like LEDeG, SECMOL, the J&K Cultural Academy, and the Ladakh Institute of Buddhist Studies; as well as with appropriate departments in Indian and foreign universities.

The other function I have thought of might be of more direct and material benefit to Ladakh and its people. Associated with the Institute I propose a fund to endow a number of scholarships/fellowships, open to the residents of Leh and Kargil districts, to pursue any course of study or research related to Ladakh. This could mean investigation into any aspect of Ladakh's history, economy, society, education, religion, language, crafts, folklore, etc.; or it could involve the study of any of the sciences with the potential to be of direct benefit to Ladakh — e.g. medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, veterinary science or engineering. Much thought would need to be given to the rules governing the disbursement of such scholarships, and to ensuring that the fund is administered with the most scrupulous care and integrity.

In the initial stages, the Institute would need to function out of rented premises, postponing the quest for funds to construct its own building until it had established its viability and credibility. Once the decision to construct was taken, perhaps after a couple of years, the Institute's premises might consist of an office, a common-room-cum-seminar-room, and a library. As for staff, I envisage a small number of well paid and highly motivated persons — an Executive Director, a secretary, a librarian and a messenger. Perhaps the first call on the scholarship fund might be to sponsor a recent graduate to take a qualification in Library Science with a view to taking on the job of librarian. The Executive Director would be answerable to a governing body, the constitution of which would again need much care and thought.

Funds: obviously substantial funds would be required to get such an institution off the ground, and considerable effort would have to be put into fund-raising. A notional budget, together with a note of some possible donor agencies as well as a plan for generating start-up funds, is appended to this proposal. Another possibility is to launch an appeal; and for a start I can imagine three groups from whom a good response might be expected: (1) ourselves, and other scholars worldwide with an interest in Ladakh, especially those who have written popular and successful books about the region; (2) the well-to-do citizens of Leh and Kargil; and (3) the 10,000 or so tourists who visit Ladakh every year, many of whom are presumably at least comfortably off, and some of them sympathetic to the objects of the Institute. In addition, some of us may have personal

contacts with the business world, which we might be able to exploit.

If the Government of India, through the Ministry of Human Resources Development, is sympathetic to a request for funds, well and good. Otherwise the involvement of Government would be limited to making available a plot of land on which the Institute building would eventually be built; and to giving the Institute recognition as a registered body, contributions to which would be free of tax.

If enough of us think that this is a feasible project, and worth pursuing, perhaps we can discuss it at the IALS meeting scheduled during the Colloquium.

The above is the text of a proposal I put to the general body of the IALS at its meeting held during the recent Colloquium at Bonn. The notional budget (not reproduced here) envisaged a total endowment of about Rs. 16m. (approx. £320,000 stg. or US \$ 535,000), the breakup being Rs. 3.3m. for capital expenditure, plus a corpus fund of something over Rs. 12m., yielding an annual income of Rs. 1.5m. (if invested at 12%, a not unreasonable expectation in India) to cover the recurring expenditure. A preliminary list was given of possible sources of funding, including international donors, and Indian donors, both Government and private. A scheme for generating the necessary start-up funds to get the Institute going and provide it with credibility as a viable organisation, to underscore the later search for permanent funding, was suggested. This would involve the formation of an association, with membership fees somewhat as follows:

Founder members	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. 10,000
Life members ..	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. 25,000
Corporate members	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. 50,000
International corporate members	...	US \$ 2,500	...	...	...	Rs. 75,000

Only ten members in each category would be enough to generate a sum of approximately Rs. 1,600,000, sufficient to fund the initial phases of the project.

The proposal was in general well received by the members present at the meeting, no substantial objection or modification being offered. The first step towards implementing it, it was suggested, was to canvass support in Ladakh, among the leaders of the Ladakhi community. Mr. Nawang Tsering Shakspo undertook to publicize the proposal on his return to Leh, and I was authorized on my next visit to Ladakh (in September 1995, if all goes according to plan) to discuss it with influential people in Leh and Kargil, and try to get their support.

Assuming I am successful in this, the next step will be to form an association and have it registered under the Societies Registration Act. Once this is done, certificates will have to be obtained from the Income Tax department (so that contributions may be exempt from tax) and the Home Ministry (under the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act, to permit us to receive funds from outside India). Only after the completion of all these formalities will it become possible to think about gathering together the start-up funds necessary to get the Institute off the ground.

The membership of the IALS will be kept informed about progress, either through *Ladakh Studies*, or by sending out circulars. In the meantime, comments and suggestions from members - both those who were present at the meeting, and those who could not attend - would be very much appreciated. It is the sincere hope of those of us involved in the project's preliminary stages that, once these are completed, we may count on the IALS membership for commitments both of money, and of the time and effort that will be needed to bring the Institute into being as an active and vibrant element in the development of Ladakh and of Ladakh Studies.

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Postscript. Janet Rizvi has written to me with the latest news. After preliminary meetings of a group of over 20 of the Leh 'establishment' a 'Foundation Committee' was elected (Mrs. Tadzjin Joldan, Dr. Janet Rizvi, Mr. S.Stobdan, Dr. Mohd. Deen, Mr. Sonam Wangchuk, Revd. Elijah Gergan), and the name and draft constitution were agreed. Later this committee converted itself into the Governing Board and applied for registration under the Registration of Societies Act. A branch has been formed at Kargil.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LINGSHED MONASTERY, LADAKH

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During the course of doctoral field studies on Tibetan Buddhist monasticism, spent in Ladakh between October 1993-March 1995, I had the good fortune to spend some six months living and studying in Lingshed Monastery - named Kumbum (*sku*. 'bum or 'A Hundred Thousand Images') - on the border between Ladakh and Zangskar. As further studies progressed, however, it became increasingly obvious how little information is available in the literature on this large monastery, and that it had (as far as I can tell largely for reasons of geography, since it is located at a considerable trekking distance from both the Ladakh and Zangskar valleys) been missed or at least treated very superficially by most major studies of the region. This seems especially true of its historical aspect. In an attempt to rectify this at least partially, I include here the results of some of my investigations whilst at the monastery. As this was not the primary direction of my research within the monastery, much of the information is fragmentary and any conclusions are intended only to be suggestive rather than in any way definitive. Indeed, any relevant comments or further information on the subject from those who may know more would be gratefully received. At present, the monastery's chief scholar (Geshey Ngawang Changchub) is working on a far more definitive history of the area which will without doubt answer many of the questions raised here, but it will probably not be available (even in Tibetan) for some years.

Lingshed monastery and village is to be found between five to seven days south of Lamayuru, on the path that leads south to Padum (which is itself an equal distance further on). Lingshed is the main village within an amphitheatre of mountains and valleys that run down to the Zangskar River. This set of valleys, called the Trans-Sengge-la area, has its main entrances via the Sengge-la pass to the north, and the Hanuma-la pass to the south (there are also passes to the East, to Zang-la, and the West on the route to Rangdum). The population of the area is in the region of 800, divided into the villages of Lingshed (*gling*. *bsnyed* - possibly *gling*. *shed*), Skyumpada(?), Gongma, Yulchung (*yul*. *chung*), and Nyerak (*nyi*. *rags*). All of these villages, plus the village of Dibling (*grib*. *gling*), to the West, are sponsoring villages (*spyin*. *bdag*) to the main monastery at Lingshed, and contain (with the exception of Gong.ma) ancillary shrine-rooms (*lha*. *khang*), but also *dgon*. *lag*, or 'branch gompas') maintained by caretaker monks (*dgon*. *gnyer*) from the main monastery in Lingshed.

Kumbum, a Gelukpa monastery housing a floating population of some sixty-five monks, belongs to the incarnate Ngari Rinpoche (*mnga*' . *ris*. *rin*. *po*. *che*), presently the Dalai Lama's younger brother. However, since he has (for this incarnation) abandoned his robes and started a family, he holds little administrative sway over the monasteries under him. The monastery does not have any incumbent incarnates (*sprul*. *sku*), nor indeed an abbot (*mkhan*. *po*), its head administrative and ritual post being that of the 'vajra teacher' (*rdo*. *rje*. *slob*. *dpon*). The monastery also boasts the regular presence and influence of a recently ordained Geshey (in this case a *dge*. *bshes*. *lha*. *rams*. *dpa*' , marking the highest scholarly qualification available within the Gelukpa monasticism), Ngawang Changchub, who was born in Lingshed and teaches at the Gomangs college of Drepung monastic university in Karnataka.

The monastery itself shares certain ecclesiastical and ritual duties and resources (especially teaching resources) with various other monasteries in the area, especially those of Karsha (*dkar*. *cha*), Mune (?), Stongde (*stong*. *lde*) and Rangdum monasteries in Zangskar, and Tikse (*khri*. *se*) and Likir (*klu*. *dkyil*) in Ladakh. With the Zangskar monasteries, it shares rites and resources on a reasonably equitable basis (for instance, it requested monks from each of these three monasteries to help in this year's Dosmochey rites in Leh); the monks of Lingshed claim Rangdum as their *ma*. *dgon*, or 'mother gompa'; Likir is the presently inactive throne of Ngari Rinpoche; lastly, Tikse is used as the source of monastic

ordinations in the absence of any visiting incarnate at Lingshed. As we will see, many of these present relations take their beginnings from historical events. There are five main shrines in the monastic complex at Kumbum, to wit:

The main prayer hall (*'du.khang*), at which most prayer meetings (*tshogs*) are held. This contains the statue of the monastery's main tutelary deity (*yi.dam*) - in this case, the divinity *dorje 'jigs.byed* (Skt. *Vajrabhairava*), a form of *Yamanataka*, at the end of the left-hand aisle. This is only placed on view once a year (on the 15th day of the 4th Tibetan month) and non-renounced women are not allowed into this section of the prayer hall.

A side-chapel to this, called the *tsang.khang*, with a small sealed door next to the *yi.dam* statue. This tiny room, usually sealed, is not used for anything, but is forbidden to all non-renounced women. Gaining access to this room was very difficult, as no-one had entered it for some 15 years. The Tashi 'Od Bar (*khra.shis.'od.'bar* - 'Auspicious Shining Light') shrine-room, used mainly for the twice-yearly *nyung.gnas* fasting rite to the Bodhisattva Chenresig. Above the kitchens is a large hall (*cham.pa.khang*) dedicated to the Future Buddha Maitreya. This beautiful room, whose construction began some 15 years ago and whose paintwork was only finished in 1993, is now often used for the building of sand mandalas and tantric initiations. Finally, above the main prayer hall and situated next to the sleeping quarters for visiting *sprul.sku*, is a *lha.khang* housing the Buddhist Canon (*bka'.'gyur*).

I have not included here the shrine-room within the visiting *sprul.sku*'s quarters, which also contains the robes for the oracle (*lha.pa*) for the fierce protector divinity *rDo.rje.shugs.lhan* (the oracle himself, although coming from Lingshed, is an army man living in Choglamsar, and therefore only occasionally visits the monastery) since this is not technically part of the *gumpa*.

The history of Lingshed monastery, in its various forms, is traced back by local oral history to the time of Rinchen Zangpo (*rin.chen.bzang.po*, 985-1055c.e), the famed Translator (*blo.rtsa.ba*) of Buddhist scripture and founder of temples. He and a team of artists and translators were sent by the monk-king Yeshe 'Od (*ye.shes.'od*), who ruled the Western Tibetan region of Ngari (*mnga.ris*), to translate the Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan and return them to Tibet, thus facilitating the greater spread of Buddhist monasticism there. In all Rinchen Zangpo made three journeys to India, and translated 158 texts, many of which now form parts of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. During this time, he is also said to have founded 108 temples and shrines across Western Tibet, including Ladakh and Zangskar. According to oral tradition in Lingshed and its neighbouring villages, the monastery is based on one of those shrines.

Whether this is true will probably remain impossible to confirm, however the monastery does contain what appear to be the remains of shrine room dedicated to the Translator. This room, the *tsang.khang*, contains some rather obscure wall-paintings depicting Rinchen Zangpo, although there were no inscriptions visible. The room is in a state of considerable dilapidation, and seems to be only one area of an originally much larger room which had been cut into in the process of the construction of the present *'du.khang* (one large mandala on the south wall of the *tsang.khang*, for instance, has been literally cut in half by the building of the West wall of the *'du.khang*), and all the walls are covered in mud, which obscures a good many of the paintings.

Whether Rinchen Zangpo or those closely associated with him built a shrine in Lingshed or not, it is unclear whether such a shrine-room would have been the centre of any form of monastic community. Local tradition and certain archaeological evidence point to the existence (possibly prior to the inception of the present monastery, although this is far from certain) of two cave monasteries within the valley, called *bri.gang* and *bag.rten* (the spelling of both is unclear). When I asked about the present monastery's affiliation prior to it being Gelukpa, the monks told me that it belonged to the Drukpa Kargyud (*'brug.pa.bka'.brgyud*), although this seems doubtful, given the early date of Gelukpa involvement in the area. However, the presence of other monastic sites in the valley mean that the possibility of several different monastic communities existing at the one time should not be ruled out.

Gelukpa Order involvement came in the form of Changsems Sherab Zangpo (*byang.sems.shes.rabs.bzang.po*), a disciple of *Tsong.kha.pa*, the founder of the Gelupka order (or, as it was called at the time, the New Kadampa Order, (*bka'.dams.pa.so.ma*). According to the Lingshed monks, Sherab Zangpo was travelling north from Zangskar, and, whilst passing over Hanumala pass (directly to the South of Lingshed), saw a bright shining tantric symbol on a rock where the present monastery now stands. Deciding that this would be a good place to found a *lha.khang*, he had the rock encased within a large *byang.chub* type *mchod.ren* (stupa). This *mchod.ren* is now found within the present Tashi 'Odbar shrine room.

The presence of Changsems Sherab Zangpo is fortuitous since we have a reasonably good idea who he was and where he went. He is known to have spent some ten years teaching and studying in Zangskar, and, according to Petech¹, brought over to the Gelupka the monasteries of Karsha and Phugtal (*phug.thal*), in all probability from the Drigungpa (*'bri.gung.pa*) line of the Kargyud Order². Given this, we can probably place his arrival in the Lingshed area at some point during the 1440s c.e.

The next periods in Kumbum monastery's history are rather murky, and no-one seems to know very much about it that they were prepared to tell me. However, the present status of Lingshed as being affiliated to both Rangdum and Likir monasteries as part of a group of monasteries under the ownership of Ngari Rinpoche tells us much. This ownership dates back to 1779, when the Ladakhi King Tsewang Namgyal (*tshe.dbang.mam.rgyal*) issued an edict donating the monasteries and affiliated lands of Karsha, Mulbhe=3, Phugthal and Likir to the visiting incarnation Ngari Rinpoche (*blo.bzang.dge.legs.ye.shes.grags.pa*), along with lands around Rangdum (near the Pensi-la Pass)⁴. Ngari Rinpoche then built Rangdum monastery as his seat in 1783, and his remains are now kept there. Rangdum had no nearby villages and brought in monks from Karsha and Phugthal monasteries⁵.

What is most interesting here is that Lingshed (along with Stongde) is not mentioned in this edict, implying either that it came under the ownership of Ngari Rinpoche at a later date, or that Kumbum was at the time one of the affiliated under-gompas of the monasteries that were given over to his control.

In general, I would opt for the latter conclusion. The reasons for this are several. Firstly, assuming that Kumbum was an independent major monastery in its own right, it would be very surprising if there was no actual record of its subsequent ceding to Ngari Rinpoche (of course, it may be yet to be found). Secondly, in 1694, after the wars between Ladakh and Tibet of 1681-3, the seven major Gelupka monasteries of Ladakh and Zangskar were placed under the stewardship of Tikse monastery. This list⁶ once again contains no mention of Lingshed. However, we can be reasonably certain that some kind of monastic establishment existed in Lingshed at the time: in the early 1600s, King Jamyang Namgyal (*'jam.dbyangs.mam.rgyal*) communicated regularly by letter with his brother Tsewang Namgyal (*tshe.dbang.mam.rgyal*) in Lingshed, where they had both been brought up. The king's letters are now kept in Lingshed monastery, and contain mention of an active monastic community there at the time⁷. Therefore, that neither the 1694 nor the 1779 edicts give mention of Kumbum monastery implies that either it was not there or, more likely, that it was affiliated to one of the more major Gelupka establishments.

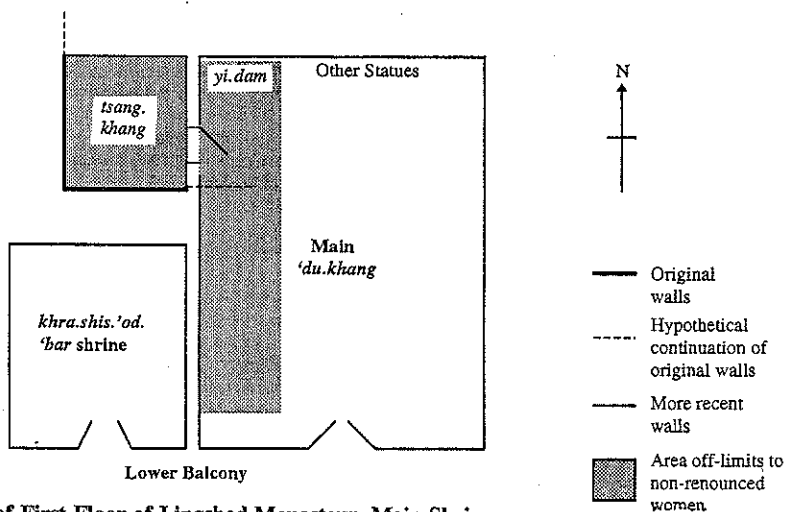
This may seem puzzling, since Lingshed is now a monastery which, at least in monastic complement, is larger than Rangdum. However, there is evidence that this facet of Kumbum is comparatively recent. Whilst researching in the nearby village of Nyeraks (one of Kumbum's sponsor villages, with a small *lha.khang* maintained by the monks of Kumbum.), I was informed by an elderly villager that the people of Nyeraks had not always sent there sons to be monks at Kumbum, and that during his grandfather's time, the monastery's size had expanded considerably, thereby taking control of the *yi.dam* (tutelary divinity) statue which was, at the time, kept in the village of Yulchung. Around this time, all the local villages came under Kumbum monastery. I could not confirm this information, but it does shed light on other facets of Kumbum, and suggests that at some point in the area's recent history, Kumbum went through a radical shift of status, from a small and dependent under-monastery of one of Ladakh's major Gelupka establishments, to a fully

independent monastery in its own right. This would explain why Lingshed is now independent whilst at the same time lacking in an abbot (*mkhen.po*): the same situation applies to the monastery of sTong.lde, which, as Crook, 1994, notes, was an under-gompa of Karsha until about 40 years ago, when it split from its senior monastery over land demands⁸, once again leaving it without an incumbent abbot.

The reason for the change in Kumbum monastery's status is, at the moment, a matter of speculation, although the possibility of a large land donation being given to the monastery, or the presence at the time of an incarnate, or both, are both possible catalysts for such a change. The shift in the seat of the Ngari Rinpoche incarnate from Rangdum to Likir, about which I have very little information, could also have had an influence.

In general, as with much of the history of Ladakh and Zangskar, the number of definite pieces of evidence is few, and the conclusions that one can draw are necessarily speculative. The author hopes that the above shed light on at least a few matters, but is aware of the present paucity of data on the area, and would welcome any suggestions or input.

1. Petech, 1977, *The Kingdom of Ladakh*, p.168n.
2. According to the monks at Lingshed, he was also the founder of Tikse monastery in the Ladakh valley, although Petech states that this was probably his nephew, *dpal.shes.rabs.grag.pa*. The prior affiliation of the monasteries at Phugtal and Karsha is also in some doubt: see Crook, "The History of Zangskar", in Crook and Osmaston, 1994, *Himalayan Buddhist Villages*; also Snellgrove & Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Vol.1, 1980, p.42.
3. Crook, 1994, "A History of Zangskar" (in Crook and Osmaston, p.458) interprets this as Mulbhek (a site near Kargil, which seems to have no Gelukpa affiliation at all) and Mune. The latter seems to be the correct site (and is a Gelukpa establishment), and was confirmed by the monks at Lingshed.
4. Dieter Schuh, "Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentral-Tibet, Ladakh und Zanskar", St.Augustin, 1976. LXXXI.
5. Ibid.
6. The list includes: *lha.khang.dbu.ma* on *rtse.mo* hill above Leh; Tikse; Spituk (*dpe.thub*); Likir; Diskit (*bde.skyid*); Diskit in Nubra; and Karsha (*dkar.sha*); to this Sankar (*bsam.dkar*) near Leh was added later. Equally striking an exception from this list is Phugthal monastery, which may have been excluded following its battle against the Tibetan-commanded Mongol troops during the Ladakh-Tibet War.
7. I have not had an opportunity to see these documents myself, and must thank Geshe Ngawang Changchub, who last examined them, for this information.
8. Crook, *ibid.*, p.458



Map of First Floor of Lingshed Monastery, Main Shrine-rooms.

HISTORIC SETTINGS IN LADAKH GRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION

Pimpim de Azavedo

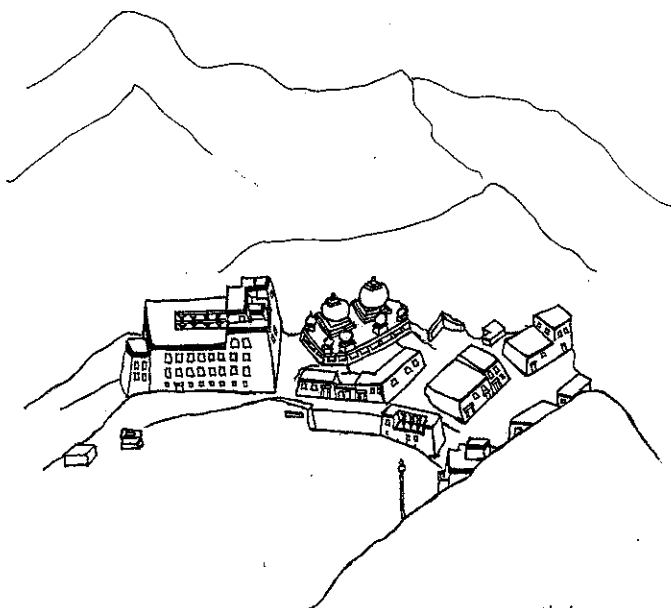
The Portugese artist, Pimpim de Azavedo, works with the Lhasa Historic City Archive Project as illustrator. The Project has collected a dossier on buildings and settings of the Tibetan capital of Lhasa before 1950, to contribute towards the preservation of the little amount of historic substance that is still intact. The dossier will also, in a scientific way, store the information needed for eventual reconstruction of settings as desired.

Using old city plans, old and recent photographs, and personal knowledge of and research there, we have created a map that shows every single building of old Lhasa as a line drawing (*A view of Old Lhasa*, Berlin 1995).

Ladakh, like Tibet, faces dangers to its architectural and historical heritage. Unlike Tibet the possibility of openly discussing and influencing the developments exists.

The new project, "The Graphic Reconstruction of Historic Settings in Ladakh", (for example the old town of Leh), is seen as a contribution to the historical record and an effort to slow the process of heritage loss.

For more information please write to: Pimpim de Azavedo, Lhasa Archives Project, c/o A.Brannan, 12 Church St., Keswick, Cumbria CA12 4DT UK; or c/o A.Alexander, Schwartzkopfstr. 9, 10115 Berlin, Germany.



LAMAYURU MONASTERY - LADAKH

THE DOKPA ('BROG.PA) IN LADAKH. REMNANT OF THE ARYANS

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According to the oral tradition preserved among the Dokpa ('*brog.pa*), settlers of the villages Beema, Da (*mda'*), Hanu (*Hanu.than*, *Hanu.bar.ma*, *Hanu.gon* in two hamlets), Batalet and Garkhun claim themselves as the Aryans. The settlement of this group of human beings in a remote corner in Leh district of Ladakh, belonging to Jammu and Kashmir state, may be important for ethno-linguistic study.

The above-said villages are not their original home. They are said to have migrated from the lower southward course of the Said river ie Bruza (pron *duzha*; '*bru.dza*) adjacent to old Iran or Persia. The Bon tradition, which is regarded as the pre-Buddhist faith which prevailed in southwest Tibet, refers to Bruza ('*bru.dza*). The naming Bruza in the old pronunciation had been *buruksa/burksha/puruska*. Broadly this area refers to northwest Ladakh, near Gilgit and Balti in the northwestern Himalayas.

Early home of the Aryans

These oral traditions give an opportunity to focus more light on the early home of the Aryans. By Aryan (derived from the word '*ārya*' signifying 'noble' in English), ethnologists refer to a section of early white men. They are said to have been in Iran (ancient Persia), in Bhāratavarṣa (probably along the Hindukush range), in Greece, Italy, Germany, Balkans, Slavonia (Russia) and in the northeast of Europe like the Celt.

Some scientists dealing with the ethnic history of mankind and their migration in Eurasia suggest that the original home of the Aryan people was somewhere in the south of the Baltic sea in Europe. In that case their migration occurred towards the east, giving rise to the old Persian people. However other scientists hold that the first home of the Aryan people had been probably by the north of the Hindukush range in Asia, and therefrom their migrations were towards old Iran and towards the Sindhu river.

The Sin river

In the local speech of the Dokpa the Sindhu (Indus) is called Sin (a short form of Sina?). Patañjali refers to *sina* in sense of 'stuck fast' with reference to the Pāṇini sūtra iv.2.80. The lexiconic meaning suggests 'a bond' or 'a fetter'. Physically the area is fettered by the river. Also '*sina*', as the Nighantu refers to food, *amanam* derived from the root *sā*, suggests 'store', 'provision', and 'reward or pay' (Monier Williams p.1217). *Sinivāra* means abundant, copious (Rg veda 6.16.37). The river Sin becomes the store of agricultural production in respect of the Dokpa.

It may be added that *sindhu* probably is derived from the verb root *sidh* (*sedhate*) which signifies 'to go, move'. In the Rg veda Sindhu is occasionally mentioned as a roaring river (*nada*) originated from the verb root *nad* (*nadati*) 'to sound, to thunder, to roar'. The Sindhu roars through the gorges of the Ladakh ranges. The Varahasamhitā Brhājātaka elaborates the course of the river. Their preference in choosing the river name 'Sin(a) in place of Sindhu may be an important feature bearing on the indigenous identity of the Dokpa residing in the curved course of the Sindhu-nada, the roaring Indus in Ladakh.

Significance of 'ārya'

Grammatically *arya* derived from the verb root *ṛ* (to go) means 'a goer, a moving one'. The verb root in Vedic language (*ṛ gari* > *reehati*) also suggests 'to go towards'. The significance of tending upward or rising comes from the root *ṛ* also. That presupposes the historical growth in forming *ārya* < *aryā* in the sense of being elevated; 'noble'. Presumably, the primary meaning of *ārya* refers to the people who used to move from one place to another. In English it suggests nomads, who migrate from one place to another in search of better amenities of food, drink and livelihood.

Also, the word *ṛṣi* which is derived from the verb root *ṛṣ* (*ṛṣati*, *anarsa*, to go to move) refer also to the mover or goer. Suggestively, *ārya* and *ṛṣi* had been alternatively applied to the immigrant belonging to the then society. In the *ṛṣi* culture such mobility was both in

physical and mental spheres. It may be presumed that the Arya people were originally nomadic and a branch of them settled on the bank of the Sindhu river. The Bedouin and the Gypsy still hold their nomadic characters having no fixed location of settlement.

Remembrance of Gilgit

The Dokpa recollect occasionally their old home which they had left in Gilgit as their traditional account says. Their present home is not physically far from Gilgit ('*bru.dza*). They feel excited to speak about the account of an old march for hunting from Gilgit to Da (*mda*) on the upper course of the Sin river. The folk tale goes thus:

There had been three brothers with their families in '*Brug.dza*. One of them, in the course of hunting, reached the upper course of the Sin river, where the five villages namely Da, Hanu, Beema, Garkhun and Batalet are now located. That area was then full of wild jungles, and there were many game animals. The hunter and his associates had wooden footwear, as that was in use then, in the upper hills where snow, hard stones, rocks and clay prevailed.

Those wooden footwear were made comfortable by putting cornhusks inside to protect their feet. In following the game they had to run up and down. Some cornhusks fell on the ground. Those hunters then left for home.

After some months they again visited the aforesaid area for hunting. They observed a few plants of corn growing there. They wondered how the corn plants grew there. They had grown from the seeds which had been scattered here and there during their last trip. They were pleased to see that the area was fertile and decided to choose the area for better inhabitation. The upper course of the river Sin has several fountains, springs and nullas for drinking water even now. In due course they migrated from their old home of Gilgit valley. Since then, they have been the settlers in those five villages maintaining their original identity up till now.

In spite of having a comfortable livelihood in their present seat of inhabitation they cannot forget the legacy of their past days. On the occasion of traditional marriage ceremonies, though limited within the inmates of the above-said five villages, the festival songs recollecting their past are displayed as summarised below.

The bride party puts questions: "Who are you? Where do you come from?"

On behalf of the bridegroom party, the oldest person among them responds: "We are the descendants of three splendid brothers. We have come from Bruzha, the *sgo.lidan* corner of Gilgit valley."

Again, the bride party enquires: "What makes you come?"

The opposite party rejoins: "To welcome the girl, whom you care for."

The bride party exclaims: "What have you as a reward (*rin.thung*)?"

The response is simple: "We possess the triangular feroza that the bride loves."

Such ceremonial dialogue still persists in the customary marriage in which reward (*rin.thung*) is offered to the bride on behalf of the bridegroom. The reward is not dowry as it is generally understood. It is regarded as the precious gift on the part of the male partner to his ladylove. The tradition may remind about the old custom of showing prowess to win over the mind of maiden prior to the formal marriage. In the snow mountains to hunt for a triangular turquoise or Feroza (*gyu*) is a tough task because it is a rare gem-stone.

The above emotional articulation in a customary manner for remembering their past home suggests their linkage with the early inhabitants of the present day Gilgit, which is mentioned as Gulgast by the Persian historians.

Who were the early inhabitants?

Several probabilities become suggestive here. Among them, their language or speech-remains may be one of the means to identify such old origins. Despite the subsequent acceptance of the changed environs after a gregarious migration from one place to another,

some speech-remains persist among the immigrants. However, due to the changed climate and weather, their garments may alter, and food habits and other behaviours may be adjusted.

Sometimes there may also be some kind of inadvertent acceptance of other usages and vocabularies when the immigrants come in contact with the local inhabitants, but in the case of the Dokpa the situation was different. They migrated from the previous home to an area where no human settlement had prevailed. Their speech and language traits could not undergo any external change until the Bod and the Khache arrived there. They preferred to seclude themselves in a remote corner which was not easily accessible.

The speech traits of the Dokpa

Some specimens of the Dokpa speech other than their written language (Tibetan or Arabic) are given below.

Vocabularies

- Shina:** *aje* (woman); (?) *zadd* (moon, month); *gianto* (the left side); *catr* (four); *pus/pho* (daughter, girl); *ju* (yes); *nus* (no); *sasje/shajs(r)e* (sister).
- Dokpa:** *mu* (woman); *da* (moon, month); *yam* (the left side); *rnyo* (sister); *catr* (four); *pan* (five); *duh* (daughter, girl); *yea/vera* (yes); *naishe* (no).
- Zanskar Ka:** *chain* (woman); *zlad* (moon, month); *gyon* (the left side); *no* (sister); *bizhi* (four); *naga* (five); *sas/bumo* (daughter, girl); *yod/lagas* (yes); *med* (no).

Sentences

- Shina:** *as hun* (I am); *as hun* (I was); *sbong bus ruken* (I beat an ass); *ju bakshis* (Thank you sir); *tho gore tires kacha han* (Have you cattle at home?); *aso gore dudone hair tregabe hain, bi lasa, tri gaihe hain* (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats).
- Dokpa:** *mu* (I am); *mu mos* (I was); *mumos bong* (I beat an ass); *zhuznu* (Thank you, sir); *poi ta gatar ba bung katuk han* (Have you cattle at home?); *mu gatar zoo theo han, zoomo tria han, bizha pai hans* (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, forty goats).
- Zanskar skad:** *nga yod* (I am); *nga yod* (I was); *sbongburdung* (I beat an ass); *thugjes* (Thank you); *khyerang khangpar tundo palang cham yoth* (Have you cattle at home?); *ngaji khangkar lanto nis pashi sumi thonpa nishurema sumlu yoth* (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats).

In the vocabularies relating to household goods and agriculture many terms used by neighbouring ethnic groups like Zanskar and Shina are found. But the numerical counting words differ completely, eg. *ekam, da, tra, catr* etc.

Apparently they resemble Sanskrit. Presumably, the proto-Sanskrit terms are observed. In this regard Monier Williams has discussed the proto-Sanskrit stage of the speech, which might have been in vogue among the early northwestern inhabitants. Those might be the Abhira and the other tribes as referred to in the Vedas.

In this connection the Dokpa milrigs (*drog.mi*) group profess either Buddhism or Islam. Among the Buddhists the high priests usually visit those remote once a year, or sometimes every two or three years, in turn. Local priests are not available. For the death ceremony and the marriage the Buddhist priest is requested to conduct the occasion on call. The Muslim Dokpa community come under the jurisdiction of the Karghil mosque authorities as liaison. As the result of that a large number of loan words from the Ladakhi dialect of Bodhi are observed. Similarly the Muslim Dokpa follow the Arabic tradition. Consequently the inhabitants of Da are bilingual, but those of the other four villages use only their own language.

In conclusion, the Dokpa group, who themselves are keen to be distinguished from the other ethnic groups of Leh and Karghil districts of Ladakh, require further study.

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A VISIT TO TABO MONASTERY, SPITI

Robert Roaf*

Tabo monastery in the Spiti valley is a thousand years old and is also the oldest continually functioning Buddhist monastery in India. In the middle of the eleventh century it was extensively redecorated at the orders of Ye-she-od the saintly king of Guge. At that time the kingdom of Guge included Western Tibet, Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti.

The monastery's area has recently been increased and new buildings including an assembly hall and a hostel for Buddhist students have been erected. The old assembly hall together with some chapels and stupas is enclosed by an old wall but is within the present complex. Although the exterior of the old assembly hall is unimpressive, the interior is wonderful and inevitably reminds one of Alchi monastery in Ladakh. This is partly because the main interior decoration is the work of Kashmiri artists.

The main temple consists of an entrance hall, the main hall, a cella and an ambulatory. Apart from a large number of painted stucco or clay statues (many of these are of goddesses bearing gifts), there is an outstanding frieze covering several walls and depicting Sudhana's search for enlightenment. Most of the decorations date from the tenth and eleventh centuries, which was a time of great intellectual and artistic activity in Kashmir, Ladakh and Western Tibet.

The monastery owes its survival to its remoteness, although it was slightly damaged in the aftermath of the Dogra invasion of Ladakh in 1837. Although the journey to Tabo is tiring and sometimes frightening, a visit is well worth while. From Kulu one proceeds over the Rohtang Pass as if one were going to Ladakh, but shortly afterwards one turns East along the bank of the Chandra River. As the 'road' is cut into the side of a steep hill, there is always a potentially lethal fall on one side of it. In addition to innumerable hairpin bends there are other hazards — broken-down lorries, opposing traffic, road-mending and landslide repairs, herds of yak and flocks of sheep and goats. Eventually one reaches the Kunzun pass, a cold bleak spot where the driver stops to pray at the small shrine while the passengers shiver. Finally after 9-12 hours one arrives at Kaja where there is accommodation. From there it is 50km of relatively safe but rough road to Tabo.

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[Prof. Roaf is, I think, our senior member; he first visited Ladakh in 1936, on foot over the Zoji La with Marco Pallis (see Pallis 1939 *Peaks & Lamas*, and Roaf in *Recent Research in Ladakh* 5). A fuller account of this visit to Tabo is to be published in the *Tibet Journal*. Ed.]

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TRAVELS OF G.T. VIGNE IN THE WESTERN HIMALAYA, 1835-1839.

Neil Howard*

University of Warwick

Godfrey Thomas Vigne:- *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo, etc.*, 2 vols. Sagar Publications, New Delhi 1981 (first published by Henry Colburn, London, 1842).

Between 1835 and 1839 Vigne travelled very widely in the western Himalaya. He was an extremely observant traveller and his book is a mine of information about many aspects of the geography of the mountains and the life and history of the people there. His Indian travels in total resulted in two books: *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo, etc.* and another on Afghanistan which does not concern us here. They also provided information for an extraordinarily informative map: the *Map of Kashmir, Ladakh and Little Tibet, etc.* from the surveys of G.T. Vigne (and others) by John Wood, published by The East India Company in 1846. I should also mention that his topographical water colour paintings are both aesthetically very good and another source of accurate factual observations.

The peoples of the western Himalaya at that time were undergoing momentous changes in their historical development. The Sikhs ruled the lower hills from the Satlej to the borders of Jammu, and beyond Jammu again towards Afghanistan. Their maharaja, Ranjit Singh, was old; and to many observers the future seemed uncertain. Meanwhile, as a tributary

ruler of the Sikhs, Gulab Singh, the Dogra, of Jammu was building himself a personal empire in the hills to the north and north-east of his capital. Vigne took more than a passing interest in all this, particularly the Dogras' conquest of Ladakh and the threat they posed to the independence of the Baltis; and he was sufficiently interested to keep his knowledge up-to-date after his return home.

Vigne is a useful source who is not consulted as much as he should be. One reason for this may be that he laid out his book in such a way that it is not easy, without very close study, to discover the chronologies and itineraries of his several journeys. He frequently groups together events which took place on different occasions while describing the place where they happened. In other words his descriptive scheme is often geographical, like a guide book, rather than chronological. And he often records his experiences with a casual insouciance which hides the true depth of his understanding of what was going on around him. A further confusing detail is that he calls both Dogras and Sikhs proper, Sikhs.

John Keay, in his book *Where Men and Mountains Meet* (London 1977), was perhaps the first to realise the true importance of Vigne's memoirs and also to draw attention to the fact that, far from being only an artistic and sporting traveller, Vigne was, in part at least, an unofficial envoy and spy for the East India Company. This seems entirely likely; although since the Company was not at war with the Sikhs, and part of the territory through which Vigne travelled was independent of the Sikh empire at that time, it might be more accurate to call him an information gatherer rather than a spy in the narrow sense in which that word is usually understood today. It is worth noting also that Vigne believed (and he seems to have been right) that his presence temporarily preserved Baltistan from an invasion by the Dogras, which would have otherwise taken place earlier than it did. Ahmad Shah, the Balti raja, believed so too. The essentials of Vigne's itineraries are given below. Where page references are given they are to the 1981 reprint: the number (1 or 2) before the comma refers to the volume, and the number after the comma to the page.

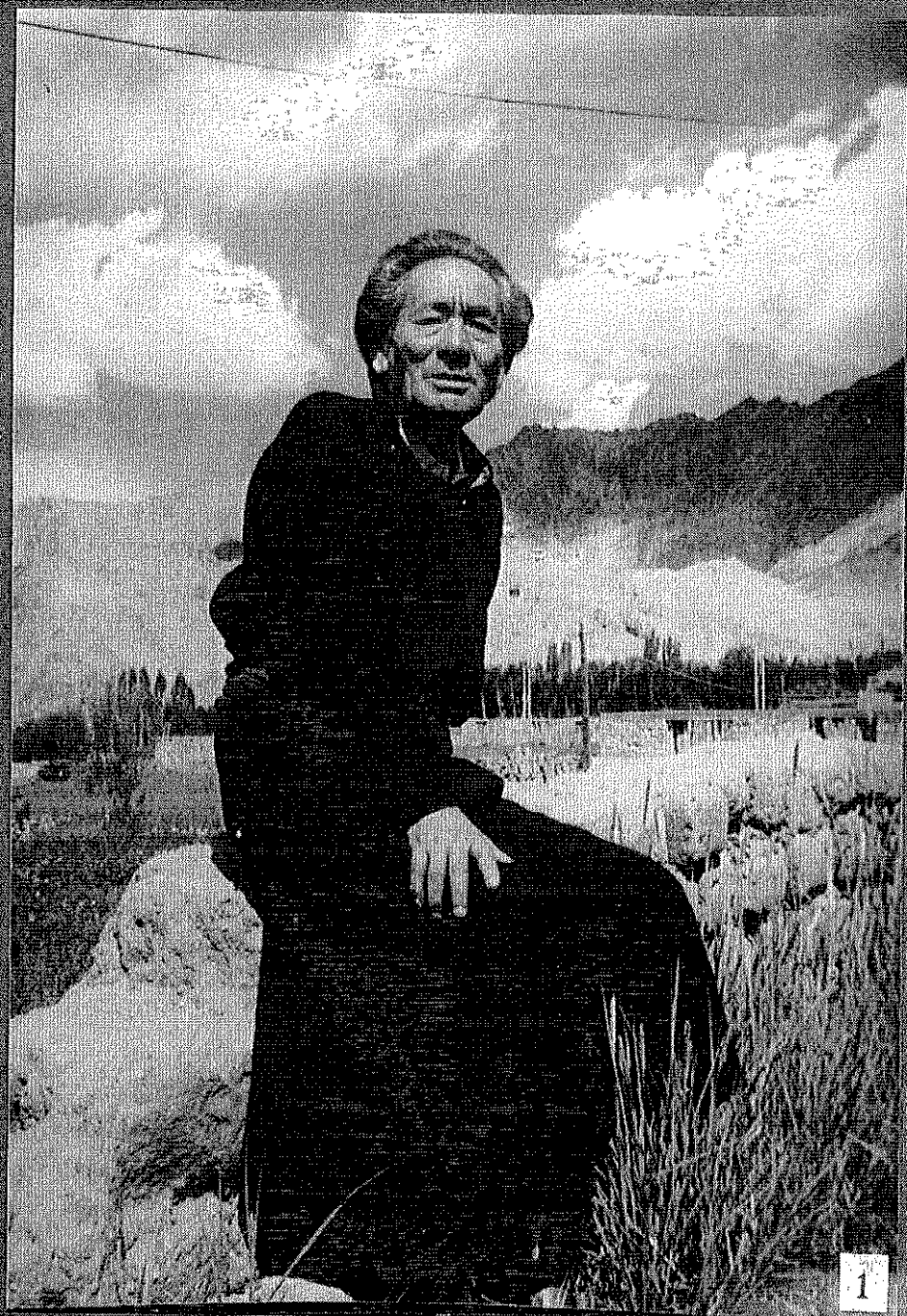
Vigne spent 1834 slowly travelling about north India. During the rains at Sabathu he met the Gerard brothers and at Simla "my friend" Capt. C P Kennedy (1,28). In the first half of 1835 he visited Capt. Wade, the Company's Political Agent at Ludhiana who suggested he visit Skardo in unofficial response to several letters which he had received from Ahmad Shah during the previous six years, requesting a visit from a British representative (2,195)¹. By this time he was well briefed on conditions within and beyond the Sikh empire.

(continued on p.29)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Akbar Ladakhi. *Henry Osmaston, 1989*
2. I.A.L.S. participants in the 7th Colloquium at Sankt Augustin, Bonn. *Janet Ritzi, 1995*
3. I.A.L.S. participants in the 7th Colloquium, Bonn, visiting Maria Laache monastery. *Janet Ritzi, 1995*
4. H.E. Kushok Bakula Rinpoche at World Wildlife Fund conference at Windsor Castle, UK.
(through F.Merritt) *The Times, 1 June 1995*
5. Lingshed Gonpa: the main buildings, those at the back being the oldest. *Martin Mills, 1995*
6. Lingshed Gonpa, the Photang (*pho.brang*) or pavilion, about 100m from the main buildings. A meeting between the monks and villagers to discuss village affairs led by Geshe Ngawang Jangchup. (?) *July 1995*
7. Path along the Lungnak Gorge. Tsultim Angbo of sTongde, his son and ponies. *Henry Osmaston, 1993*
8. The Zangskar Gorge; Byastartsa in the lower third of the gorge. *David Mallon, Jan 1983*
9. The Zangskar Gorge; near Markhala Baw (cave) and Tsepal. *David Mallon, Jan 1983*
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11. South East Kinnaur; Charang Gonpa, founded by Rinchen Zangpo. *Ferry Erdmann, 1994*
12. Spiti; Dankar the former capital. Left on moraine ridge - the Gonpa; right - nonos' houses. *Ferry Erdmann, 1994*
13. Spiti; houses at Kaza; earth pillars (called *hoodoos* in America) eroded in old glacial moraine. *Ferry Erdmann, 1994*
14. Spiti; Ki village and the Gonpa above it. *Ferry Erdmann, 1994*

* Kindly sent to me, but I have forgotten by whom. Please claim and it will be acknowledged in next issue. Sorry! Ed.



L to R: Heinz Räther, Nawang Tsering, Sonam Wangyal, K.Warikoo, Abdul Ghani Sheik, Mehr Dad, Tsering Samphel, P.Namgyal, Täshi Stobdan, Dalha Tsering, Nawang Tsering Shaksपो.



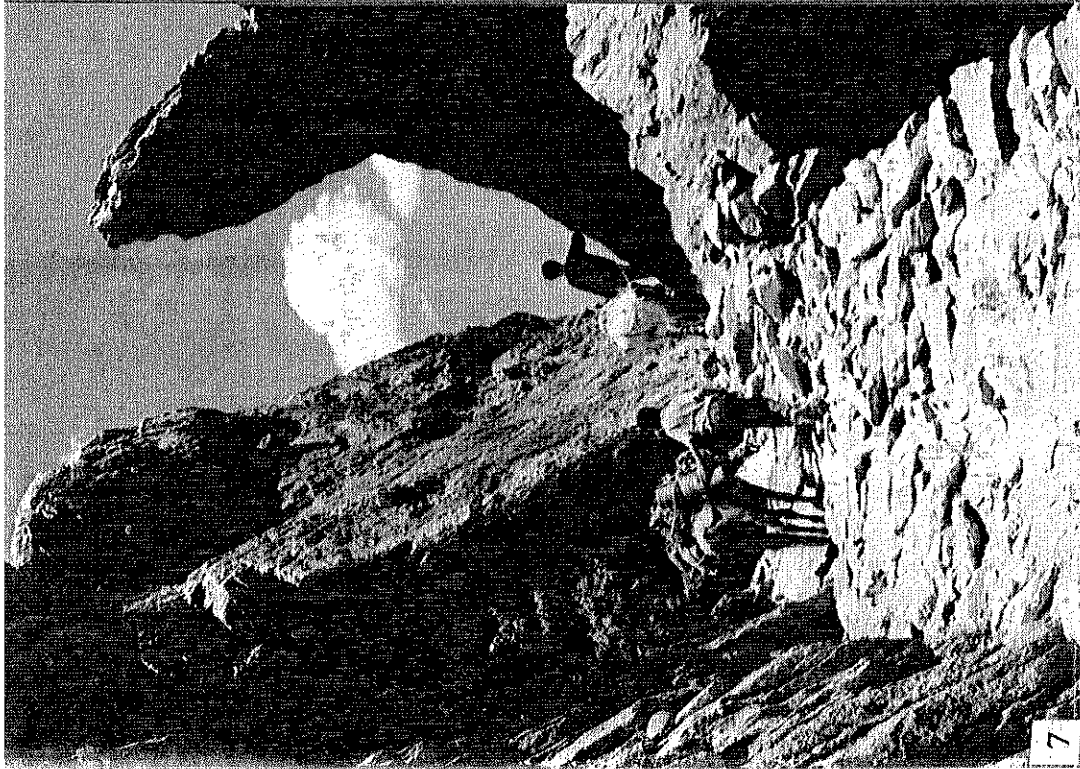
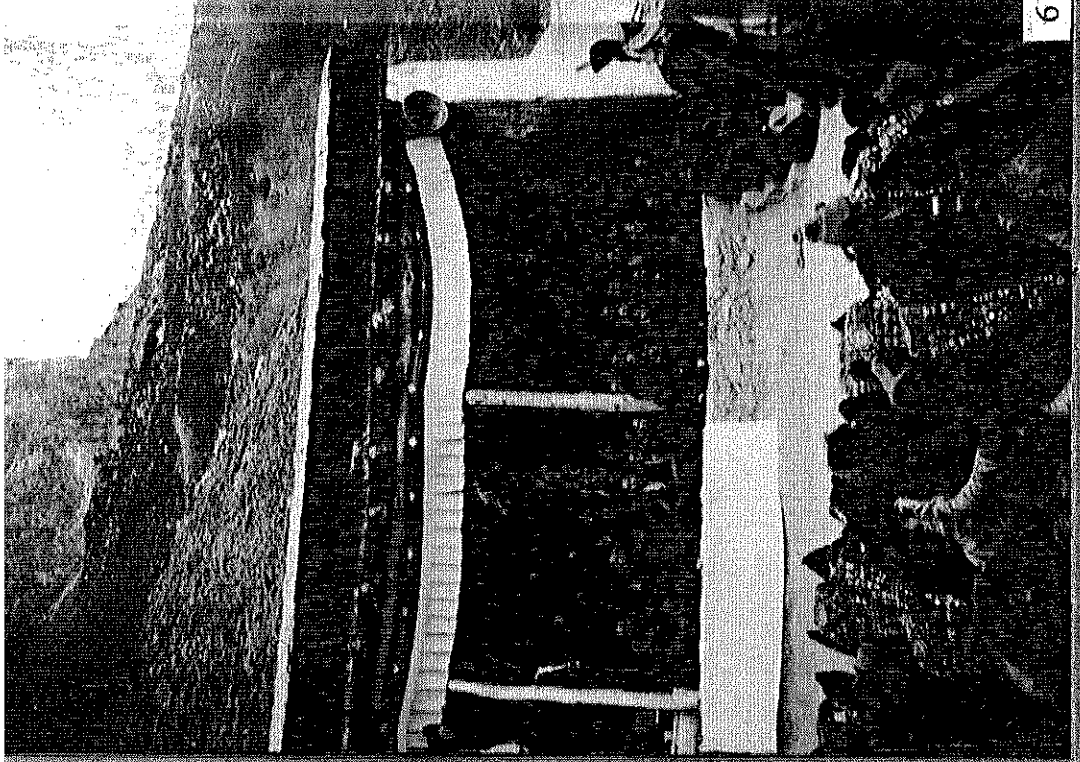
L to R: Harjit Singh, Sonam Wangyal, Ravina Aggarwal, John Bray, Thierry Dodin, Smriti Srinivas, Heinz Räther, John Crook, Maria Phyllactou, Uwe Gielen, Henry Osmaston; (front) Peter Marczell



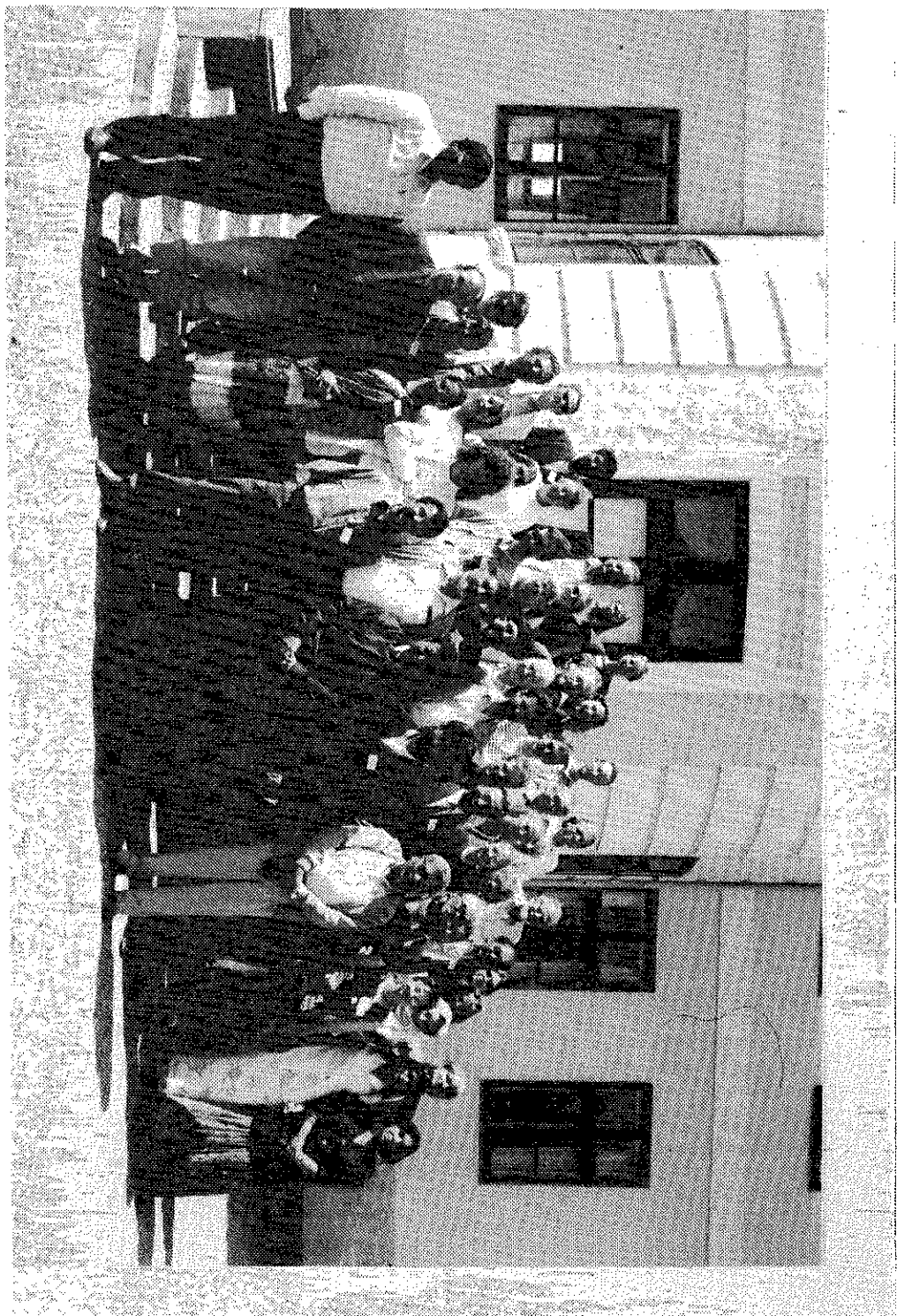


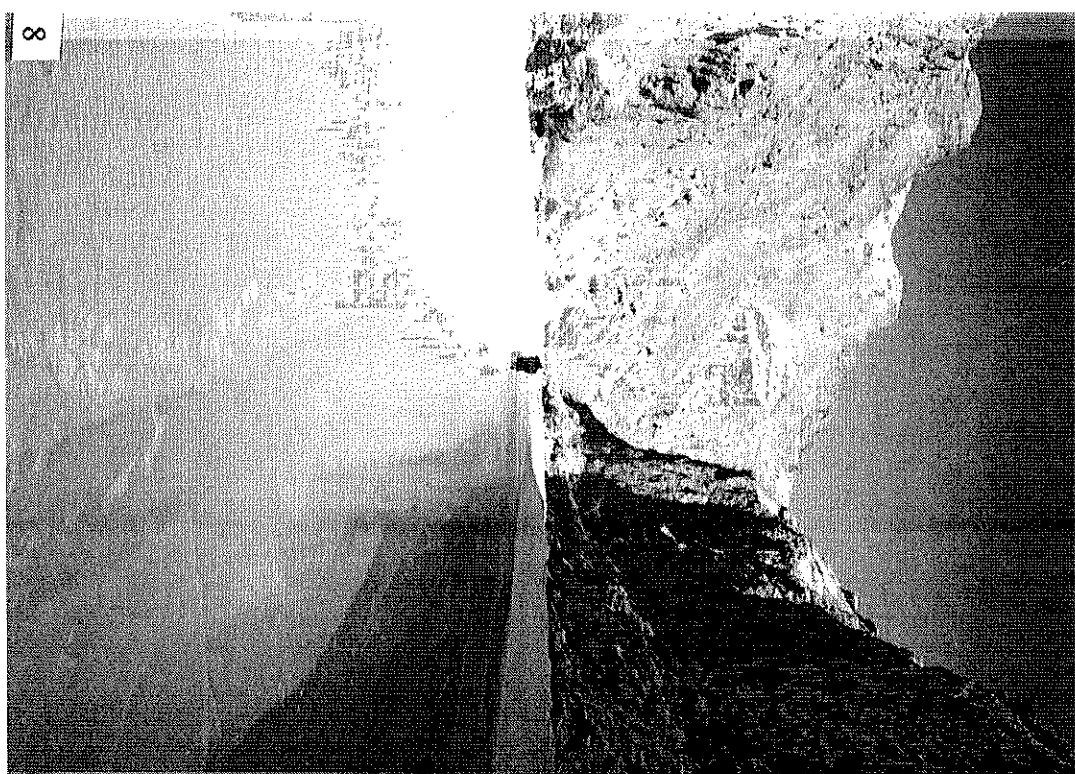
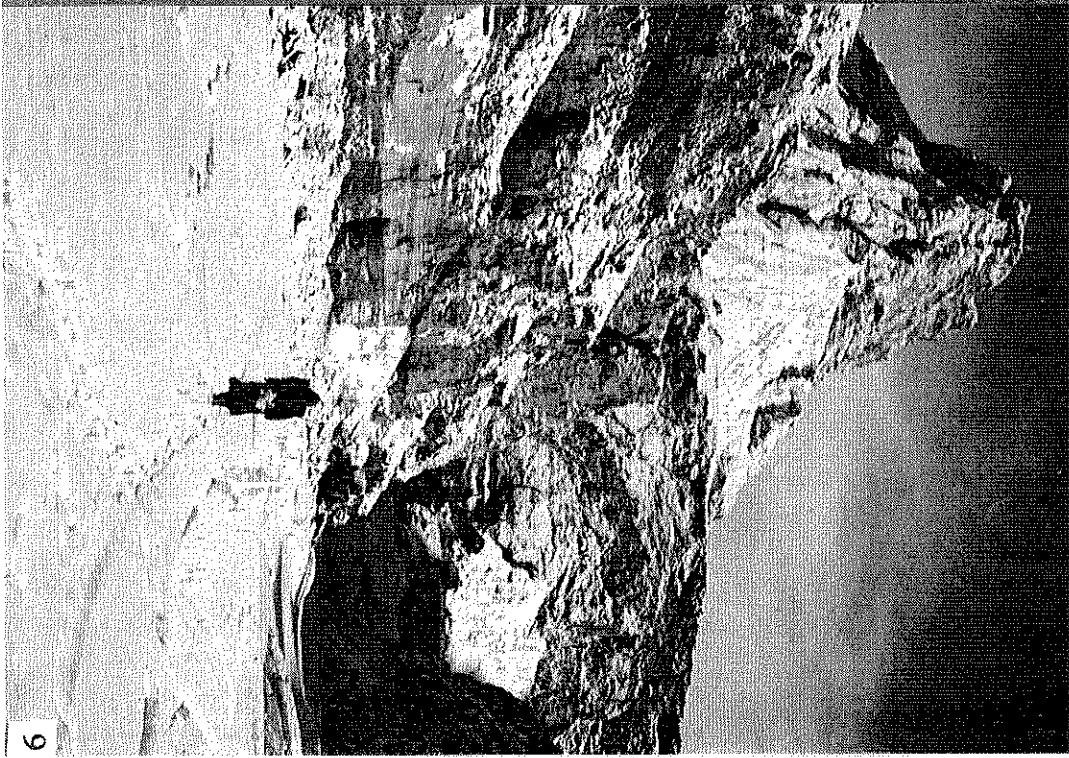
Front L to R: H.E. Kushok Bakula Rinpoche, the Duke of Edinburgh, Head of Taoists in China. Behind, left: Sonam Anchuk, Personal Sec. to K.B.

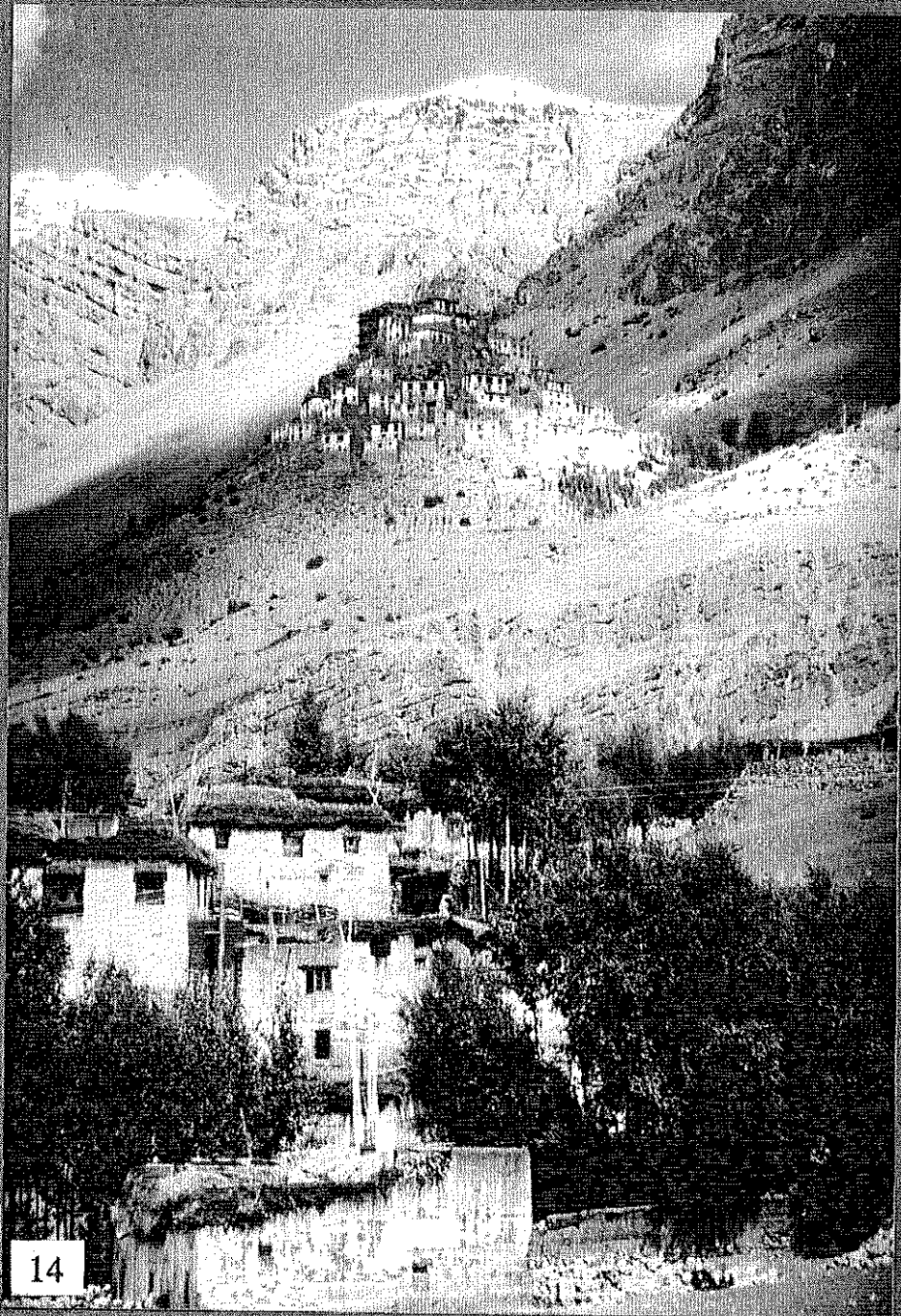












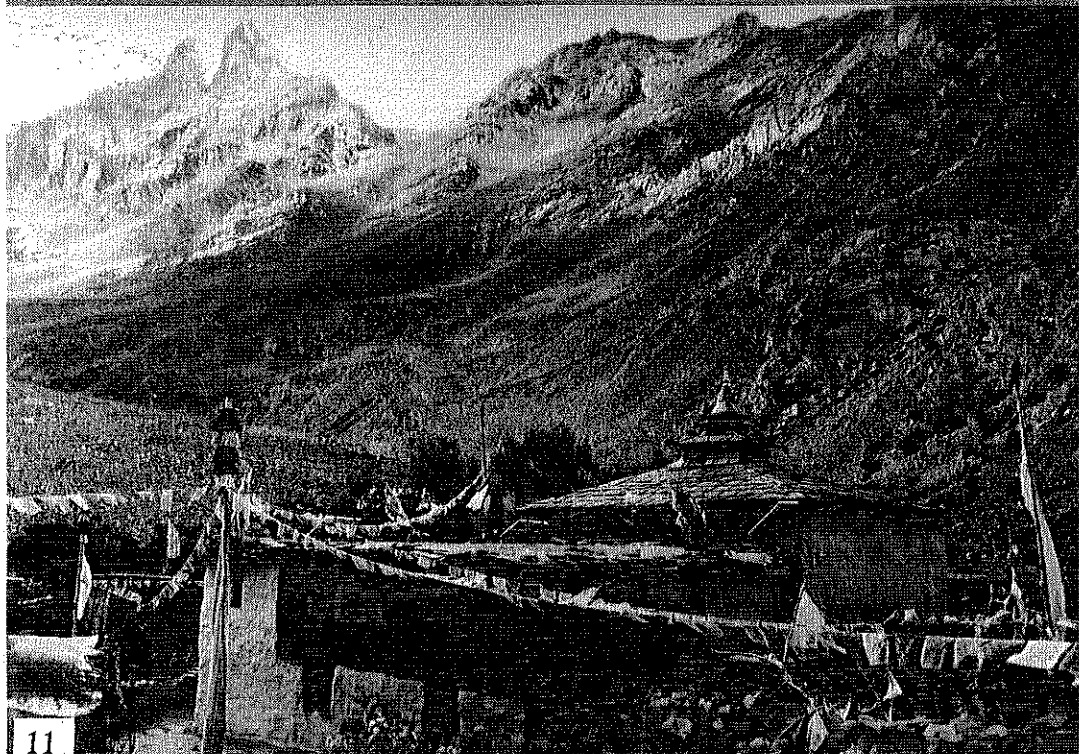
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12



13



Vigne left Ludhiana on 1st. June 1835 (1,51) and crossed the Sutlej shortly afterwards, reaching Nurpur (today in western Himachal Pradesh) on the 16th. (1,136). He made a detour to visit Chamba (1,150). He left Jammu on 4th. July, after Gulab Singh (of whom he had never previously heard) had attempted to hold him up by bureaucratic obfuscation (1,177+220). On 16th. July he crossed the Pir Panjal pass into Kashmir (1,264). The Governor of Kashmir, Mihan Singh, tried to prevent Vigne proceeding to Skardu, thus forcing him to write to Ranjit Singh and Wade; their replies cleared the way for him to continue (2,195-196). He was in Gurais on 31st. August (2,209-210) and reached Skardo on the 6th. September². While he was there he learned of Zorawar Singh's (Dogra) conquest of Ladakh, visited Shigar and Astor (2,306), and then returned to Kashmir, arriving there on the 22nd. October³.

On the 18th. November Vigne met Dr. John Henderson and Baron Hügel at his camp in Srinagar. They erected a memorial inscription to themselves and to other European travellers who had visited Kashmir before them. Henderson left Srinagar a few days later, crossed the Indus at Ohind, was robbed, and fetched up in Peshawar where General Avitabile (in the service of the Sikhs) took pity on him and provided him with supplies to enable him to reach his colleague General Ventura in Lahore. Here he met Vigne and Hügel again who had travelled there by way of Baramulla and the Jhelum river. In February 1836 Vigne was present when Henderson died of fever in Ludhiana (2,104-108).

Vigne spent much of 1836 travelling to Afghanistan, the result of which was his book *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, 1840. But he had left Nassim Khan, a representative of Ahmad Shah who was well-known to Wade from earlier correspondence, in Ludhiana. This may have deterred the Dogras, now victorious in Ladakh, from mounting an immediate invasion of Baltistan.

In 1837 Vigne visited Skardo again. He was on the Wular Lake on the 16th June (see note 4) and he passed through Gurais about the 21st June (2,203). In July he travelled up the Shyok as far as Chorbat and then over the Hanu pass and up the Indus towards Ladakh (2,316-323). When he reached Khalsi the Dogras mysteriously burned the bridge over the Indus, and soon after that his Balti escort was turned back by a party of Dogra soldiers (2,334-338, but read "Dogra" for "Sikh"). He spent a few weeks only in Leh, all the time being obstructed in his desire to explore the country, despite the permission from Ranjit Singh which he carried. Vigne believed that this obstruction was partly, at least, to prevent him reporting to Ranjit Singh on the wealth of Ladakh which might lead the Sikh ruler to demand a larger share of the tribute collected there by the Dogras. Eventually he managed to force his way into the presence of the ruler of Ladakh, whom he names Marut Tunzin (Dnos-grub-bstan- dzin) and whom he knew to be a usurper who had submitted to the Dogras after their victory "in the spring of 1835, at Syru (Suru) near Zanskar". Suddenly, without knowing why the policy changed, he found he was free to go to Nubra (2,340-360). Vigne returned to Skardu, date unknown (2,370); and then travelled, probably through Dras to Kashmir (2,329). Leaving Kashmir at an unknown date, he passed close to Jammu but refused Gulab Singh's invitation to meet him, because of his annoyance, and continued to Lahore where he complained to Ranjit Singh about the discourtesy with which the latter's subordinate, Gulab Singh, and his officers in Leh, had treated him (2,371). The consequence of this was that Ranjit Singh travelled to Jammu to chastise his vassal but was so persuaded by Gulab Singh's protestations of loyalty, and presents, that he gave his permission for the conquest of Baltistan - when there was no Englishman to see it (2,373-374)⁵.

In June (probably) 1838⁶ Vigne left Kashmir to visit Skardo for the final time, with the intention of travelling through Hunza. He was in Shigar with Dr. Falconer while he waited for permission to travel, which he did not get until it was too late in the season (2,380-381). Instead, he spent September in Kapalu, hoping for permission to visit Nubra again, but he was disappointed in this also (2,388-389). In October he travelled via the Dras river, again, towards Kashmir (2,391). On 29 October he painted a picture of Dras fort. Probably it was following that, that he attempted to reach Amarnath but gave up because of the cold

(2,9). In December he crossed the mountains in the south-east of the Kashmir valley, arriving in the Wurdwun valley on Christmas Day, 25th December 1838 (1,210). He believed that an attempt was made to poison him to prevent his travelling by this route (1,354-355).

In February 1839, Vigne visited Nurpur again (1,144) and then Mandi (1,79). On 10th March he recrossed the Sutlej (1,78) for Ludhiana which he left on 30th March to return to England (2,403). (Suppression of the wide-spread rebellion in Ladakh followed; and then the Dogras conquered Baltistan.)

Notes

1. "Notes by Capt. C.M.Wade on Iskardoh, from an agent of Ahmed Shah Gyalpo of Iskardoh" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* November 1835.
2. Vigne's letter from Iskardo dated 10 September 1835, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings* January 1836.
3. Vigne's letter from "Cashmir" dated 23 October 1835, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings* January 1836.
4. Vigne's letter from "Wular Lake" dated 16 June 1837, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings* August 1837.
5. This visit of Ranjit Singh to Gulab Singh took place between 23rd and 29th March 1838, see *Gulabnama* of Diwan Kirpa Ram, trans. S.S.Charak, New Delhi 1977, but, not surprisingly, there is no mention there of permission to conquer Baltistan.
6. The Falconer Papers, The Falconer Museum, Forres, Moray, Scotland; *Item 66*, a letter from Dr. Hugh Falconer, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Saharanpur, to M.P.Edgworth in Ambala, from Kashmir, dated 20 June 1838.

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SOME TRAITS OF BODI SPEECH OF LADAKH (A Field Work Study, 1994)

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The word Bodi/Budi (phonetically transliterated from Bodhi/Budhi/Bod-yig) is the speech used by the Indo-Tibetan residing in Ladakh and western Himalayas since long. According to *La.dwags.gyal.rabs* which was translated by A.H.Francke and subsequently studied by Lucanio Petch, the early migration of the Tibetans from Central Tibet (*Ü-Tsang.Cdbus.gtsang*) occur in the century 10-11 AD. That was the migration of the members of the royal family and their associates. But there had been the access of the Tibetan speaking people in those areas prior to the advent of the Central Tibetan people.

According to the Buddhist source materials in Tibetan many Kashmirian monks had moved to Yar Lung Valley in Central Tibet since the 8th century AD. Moreover some scholars opine that Anu alias Thormi Sambhota was probably an inhabitant of western Himalayas. It is therefore presumed that Tibetan merchants came in contact with Iranian in the west and the Kashmirian traders prior to the confederation of Tibet under Tsang rulers of Yar Lung. *Nam.chang*, father of *Srong.sam.gam.po*, primarily ventured to confederate several nomad chiefs belonging to western Tibet and Central Tibet by the end of the 6th century AD.

The above historical data suffice to hold that *stod.bod.sked*/upper Tibetan was speech unknown to the early inhabitants of northern Kashmir/*mar.yul* (low region of north Kashmir) which was subsequently renamed as Ladakh (*La.dwags*, the grand mountain pass). The naming occurred probably after the advent of *Bod.pa* (inhabitants of *stod.bod*). The merchants of Hor belonging to the western Turkishtan like Khotan (*Li.yul*), and subsequently Yarkhand, were occasional passers by of the region prior to the advent of *Bod.pa*.

The early name of the area in Sanskrit was broadly known as Uttarapatha, the road leading

to Uttarakuru in the northern direction of Bharatvarsa. The Buddhist literature as well as the Sanskrit purana epics (the Ramayana and the Maha-Bharata) occasionally mention Uttarapatha in different context. Panini (4th century BC) as well as the Buddhist text Cullavagga refer to Himavanta for the vast area of the western Himalayas, clad in snow.

The above historical narratives and the geographical account suggest that northwestern Kashmir had multi-ethnic culture since the olden days. The area was therefore called *mang.yul* (the land of many peoples). Even today the *dog.po*, signifying nomads in Tibetan, reside in the lower course of the Sin river, ie the Indus. The word *sin* means roaring. The word Sindhu, as Monier Williams suggests, also refers to the roaring river. It is therefore masculine Nada not feminine Nadi.

However the Bod people entered in that area in the 10/11th century AD. The inhabitants of the northeast Ladakh, extending from Den Chok (*bden.chog*) to the border of the Himachal Pradesh, do not belong to Bod people as their speech is different. In the ancient Indian literature the Yaksa (hoarder) Pisaca who used to eat raw meat are said to have been the residents of that area. Since the advent of a Bodpa ruler in that area, Bodi that is *Bod.yig* became a significant medium of speech among themselves.

In course of the field work among the different sections of the inhabitants of the present Leh Tehsil Bodi is found in admixture with different vocabularies spoken by the Non-Bod.

It is to note that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir has recognised Bodi as the state language. Bodi laid emphasis on spreading the teachings of Buddha among the inhabitants of Ladakh. To a non-Buddhist, Bodi (?) refers to the speech traits spoken by the Buddhists in Ladakh.

Dr Sanjukta Koshal has devotedly studied the characteristics of the Ladhaki language for more than a decade. The present paper is restricted to important traits of Bodi speech with reference to classical Tibetan (*Chos.skad*). A.H.Francke in his *Antiquities of Western Tibet* referred to the spread of central Tibetan monastic culture in Ladakh which was previously seat of Bonpo teachers. According to the Bon (pon) tradition Guge, Purang, and Brudza (Gilgit?) were their important seats prior to the advent of *Bod.pa* in the 10th century AD. Evidently the monastic teachers endeavoured to spread the classical Tibetan (*chos.skad*) as a challenge. The spread of classical Tibetan (*chos.skad*) was not always limited within the monastic level. A peculiar trend could develop in Ladakh in which *Bod skad* was admixed with Zhang Zhung which is said to be the speech which prevailed among the Bon.pos.

By the 11th century Buddhism in Tibet focused in divergent aspects of Buddhism on the basis of four Indian eminent teachers like Padmasambhava, Naropa (Nadapada), Birupa (Virupada) and Atisa Dipankara. Thereby four important Indo-Tibetan Buddhist lineages developed respectively, such as Nyingma (*niñ.ma*, old Tantra school), Ka(r)gyu (*'bkah*, *'brgyud*, commandment lineage), Saka/Satca (*sa.skya*, place named saka) and Kadam (*bka.'gdams*, commandment with prescribed teachings) which subsequently became Gelu (*dge.lugs*, reformed with pure precepts). Some teachers belonging to the above four lineages used to visit *Mar.yul* (the land of slopes) occasionally. As a result of that, many Tibetan vocabularies and expressions which have not been always available in Sanskrit texts (up to 12-13th century AD) were innovated and made use of them in Bodi by the eminent teachers of above-mentioned Buddhist schools of Tibet. For instance:

Ladakhi	English	Sanskrit	Tibetan
gcig.po.rtse	solitary	ekantam	gcig.pur
rkañ.ra*	sound of footstep	caranarāva	rkañ.sgra
sems.rku, bco.scas	winning the mind	monohara	Yid.'phrog.pa
men.ze	clean	suddha	sbyans (ma)
bol.bo	soft	mañju	'Jam.pa
ban.ba	to be wet	adrāyate	riön.pa
šof.cas	disperse	niryata	šoñ

dpun.gtad	helper	sahāya	rogs.pa
'byi.dgos**	article to offer	naivedya	'byin.dgos
hi.lin	astonished	āścarya	no.tshar.ba
fan.cas	to heal	niroga	gso.ba
cub.cad	silent	mannam	sdra.med.par

*an instance of sound simplification

**may correspond to tor.ma

Apart from such simplification of expression regarding the Buddhist scripture in Tibetan, large number of common vocabularies referring to non-religious practice have been collected during my field work among the learned Lamas and lay-persons including some elderly ladies having their devotional attitude and Buddha - consciousness. The Ladakhi common people sometimes retain the old pronunciation in their speech without sound simplification as that is observed in the Utsang dialect of Tibetan. For instance:

Tibetan word	(Utsang) pron	English	Ladakhi
spreu	teu	little monkey	spreu (sreu)
skra	ta	hair	sra
lna	ña	five	śna (hna)
dpuid	tci	spring	spid (pid)
dbañ	wan	power	uañ
		(but dbu head pron U)	
brgyad	gä/jä	eight	gyad

In the course of visiting the *byan.chub.glin* at Hemis it is noted that the learned Lamas who had occasions to go to Tibet in the 4th and 5th decades of our century held the tendency of preserving the classical peace tradition. It is strikingly important as a measure of continuity in lineage of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. In this respect the learned teachers of Central Institute of Buddhist Studies maintain the traditional atmosphere of Buddhist education in spite of local changes in the life style of the inhabitants.

In fine, the Bodi speech used by the Indo-Tibetan inhabitants tends to be diversified by the infiltration of Hindi, Urdu and English. Many army personnel and government officials prefer to speak either Hindi or Urdu. Under this compulsion the Bodi speaker whether engaged in office or in the army tends to abandon their mother tongue. In the primary schools Urdu is generally used. In the higher schools Hindi and Urdu go simultaneously. In the English medium schools preference goes to English. As a result of that Bodi speech (as my data record) is limited among the rural folk, usually above the age group of twenty plus. The elder group above forty years prefer to speak in Bodi for their day to day livelihood, like agriculture, market etc. The monastic environment however encourages people to maintain Bodi as far as practicable for religious purposes.

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AWAITING DEVELOPMENT: LADAKHI CHANGTHANG

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Unable to hold back any longer, I sneezed. A fearful squeak, a flurry of orange fur and the marmots were safe in their burrows. We continued our trek.

Tsering Dalha, our friend and self-proclaimed guide, had sent a message to his nomadic monk brother to meet us at Mahe bridge with horses. Communication, being only by foot in the rugged Changtang, had failed. We had managed the dirt track from Mahe Bridge (Raldong)-to Sumdo with the help of the Rimpoche of Mahe monastery. Forever indebted to Tsering for teaching him English, he honoured us with a ride in his land rover. It can only have been rudimentary English. His driver promptly put a Madonna cassette on for us to enjoy as we bumped along in the monk-mobile. Privileged again by Tsering's teaching

skills, we spent the night on the floor of the tiny Montessorri school at Sumdo. Now, however, we were on our own — completely — carrying all our own gear including tents.

This summer, a small part of the Ladakhi Changtang has been opened to tourists. Open is perhaps the wrong word. According to strict Indian bureaucracy, where one goes and what one does is carefully set out. The current ruling is that tourists must apply for a special seven day permit. This cannot be extended and is purely for an approved route. It is only available for groups of four tourists. To ensure no deviation they must hire a police officer and a guide to accompany them. That we, three Western women and one Tibetan man, were there with no guide, no police officer and no set route was purely thanks to Tsering's cunning.

Tsering is a Tibetan refugee, whose nomadic family, in 1959, fled from the Tibetan Changtang westwards to the Ladakhi part. Many of his relatives still live in this part of Ladakh, carrying on the centuries old way of life. As a boy he was chosen to leave Ladakh to be educated under a scheme introduced by the Tibetan Government in Exile. However, on his return, he found himself unsuited to the harsh nomadic existence and moved to Leh where he undertook a number of jobs. One of which was a guide to the local monastery. He was thus a registered guide and with the help of a Leh based travel agent, he wangled our visit to the Changtang.

Our detailed itinerary is given at the end. In brief we travelled south over the Kamdor La to Peldo and then on past Tso Morari to the Ladakhi village of Korzok, returning by the Kiagur La to Sumdo.

The area is enchanting. From the billowing plain above Tatsang Kuru Tsho, the surrounding ice-cream mountains seem within walking distance. It is unlikely that they have ever been climbed. Below lies the sulphurous blue lake. The Tibetans and Ladakhis here measure the quality of their turquoise by its similarity to the blue of the lake. The air is thick with the smell of mint and an unidentified herb that I recognised as one the Tibetan Amchi doctor was preparing in the Sonamling refugee settlement outside Leh. Silence reigns. Remarkable scenes were not all that was in store for us.

The Tibetans from Sumdo and Chumur were gathered at Ta Tsang Kuru for the annual *nak.nyok*, meaning 'black confusion'. It is an apt title as this is the sorting of taxes and dues. Furthermore, in honour of the Dalai Lama's proclamation that society for all Tibetans in exile and in any independent Tibet should be democratic, horse races celebrating so-called Democracy Day were to be held. There was, therefore, a male representative of every Tibetan family currently at Ta Tsang Kuru. On our arrival the campsite was busy with trade of sweets, biscuits and Chinese trinkets such as knives and crockery. The Tibetan men were not as tea proud as the Tibetan women we had met in Sonamling. Instead of the carefully prepared salt butter tea poured from ornate flasks the size of butter churns, we watched as one man filled cups with tepid tea from simple wooden flasks and another topped them with slices of Amul, the Indian equivalent of Anchor butter.

Sitting in the smoke filled tent, as they teased Tsering about his choice of companions, was for us like children stumbling on an Aladdin's cave. We were both nervous and excited. It was a strange mingling of the modern and traditional. They wore traditional chubas with Western style anoraks. Sherap, a flashy horseman of about forty, sported a hat with a small umbrella attached. His wife, the token woman, there only to trade, wore Indian style dress. Their daughter wore a chuba complete with apron. Wearing an apron symbolises marriage throughout the exiled community. This is a recent adaptation as the apron was previously worn by all women. In the Changtang it would seem that this tradition still survives.

That evening we sat in Sherap's cloth tent sharing Tibetan tea and Tsampa, a kind of roast barley. At the head of the tent was a portable altar to Buddha and various Buddhist deities. Buddhism is at the core of their existence as the horse races illustrated. Scheduled for noon, there were to be three races, a trotting race, a sprint and one in which the rider had to pick up the white scarves of respect. The Rimpoche had a late lunch so they began at two.

Before they began, he blessed their horses and they charged haphazardly round his tent, the riders crying their wishes for his long life. They are not great horsemen. Despite the horses being ornately dressed up as speed steeds, they are more like pack ponies, suitable for the harsh life of the high hills. The wooden saddles are covered with carpets, commonly patterned with the Tibetan auspicious symbols. Their manes and tails are knotted for celerity. Unperturbed by the lack of track, the races were a furious charge for first place.

Visiting the Changtang this summer, an area at present untouched by tourists, with a Tibetan friend well known to the nomads, was a privilege unlikely to be repeated. Wangdok, a business minded nomad, has plans for the Changtang's opening up. He has mapped out an area suitable for tourist tents with, he boasts, a place for their jeeps. His wife is to serve tea while he administers their stay. Tourism is certainly set to change things. The consequences are inevitably mixed. Conditions in the Changtang are harsh. Tsering welcomes tourism as it will bring much needed aid and medicine to the community. However, he also admits that, like Wangdok, people become more money minded and disdainful of their own culture. This is not the only concern. The Changtang is fragile, sparsely vegetated and extreme, ranging from - 40 C in winter to 40 C in summer. It is not vast enough to support even the present population. In 1959, following the Chinese occupation of Tibet, vast numbers of Tibetans, like Tsering, crossed into the Ladakhi Changtang. Each year, people and animals have perished in the vicious winters, many giving up and moving to Sonamling. The effects of tourism to the land could be disastrous.

It is a tragic situation. The area is of such awesome beauty that anyone fortunate enough to be able to visit the area should. It is true that the people would definitely benefit from appropriate aid. Yet, such visits, however cautious and respectful, will inevitably destroy the very essence of what makes the area so striking.

This summer saw a tourist route from Manali opened into the Changtang. In early September, just three months after its opening, crowds of affected nomads converged on Leh to demand that the route be closed. The tourists they claimed wrecked their grazing areas, frightened the animals with their jeeps, left litter and gave the nomads nothing in return. They believed that their very existence was under threat.

Itinerary

Leh — Upshi — Hamnya — Keri — Chumathang (hot spring) — Raldong = Mahe bridge: Government bus on three days a week. Checkpoints at Upshi and Mahe Bridge. Permission needed to go as far as Mahe Bridge; travel further to Mahe forbidden.

Mahe Bridge checkpoint: water available but nowhere to stay.

Mahe — Sumdo: bridge over Indus. Good jeep track, c.12km.

Sumdo: 'Nomad' settlement, in govt. built, two-roomed houses. Permanent population c.200. Small school with 80 pupils. Scarce drinking water.

Sumdo — Zoboshisha — Kamdor La (16,480ft.) — Ta Tsang Kuru: no visible path; steep climb, c.10km. Many river crossings.

Tatsang Kuru Tsho [= Kiagar Tho on AMS map]: Sulphurous lake (no good water). Good camping ground. At time of Nyak-nok 10 tents here and about 60 people. Here we hired three ponies and a horseman to carry our baggage for the rest of the trip. However this site is not permanently occupied and it would be better to hire at Sumdo.

Tatsang Kuru — Peldo: Potentially difficult river crossing, fordable in early morning. Bridge under construction.

Peldo: Good drinking water and open camp site. Two tents at time of visit. North shore of Tso Morari (as on AMS map; properly *Tshomo-riri* = lake-female-round)

Peldo — Korzok: Good track c. 6km.

Korzok: Sizeable Ladakhi village with temporary community of c.300. Monastery with primitive frescos.

Korzok — Ta Tsang Kuru return: same route.

Ta Tsang Kuru — Kiagar La (15,810ft) — Sumdo: Clearly marked jeep track c.9km.

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TREKKING IN SPITI AND KINNAUR

*Ferry Erdmann**

A. the Parvati-Pin route, and B. the Kinnaur — Kailash parikrama

As a cultural anthropologist and Himalaya tour and expedition leader, Ferry Erdmann took a small group to Spiti and Kinnaur in 1994. The trekking routes they followed and places they visited, are well worth reporting about.

In *Ladakh Studies* 6, p. 6-7, Neil Howard presented a practical introduction into Spiti and Kinnaur, and in *Ladakh Studies* 7, p.8-9, he informed us about the Tsarap trekking route in Zaskar. I found these practical articles very valuable and want to follow his initiative. Apart from Harish Kapadia (1993, 1996 and other *HJ* papers he refers to), Somesh Goyal (1990 p.78-87) and the summaries on the back of the Leomann map (1989), I know of no publication on trekking in Spiti and Kinnaur. Therefore, let me add a contribution on this subject from my recent experience on two routes.

Spiti and upper-Kinnaur in H.P. together with Ladakh and Zaskar in J & K, can be considered "Indian Tibet". This strategic border territory is not everywhere freely accessible. Spiti and upper-Kinnaur were off limits for foreigners until 1989, when the Indian Government finally started to provide them with the so-called "Innerline Permits" for these "restricted areas". Afterwards however the actual policy has relaxed. In 1994 the Innerline Permit only remained necessary for the road between Spiti and Kinnaur along the (Chin.) Tibetan frontier, between the Sumdo and Jangi checkpoints (there is another checkpoint midway at Chango). The I.L.P. can be obtained at Shimla, Keylong and Kalpa, but also at Kaza. Entering Spiti from elsewhere, via the Kunzum-la road or, as we did, via the Parvati-Pin trekking route, was allowed without an I.L.P. Kinnaur west of Jangi was also free. In the southern valleys however, we were stopped by the India-Tibet Border Police, when we came too near the (Chin.) Tibetan border beyond Charang, and even the U.P. border beyond Chitkul. Travelling from state to state within India is still discouraged in sensitive areas, if not actually forbidden. The route from Spiti up to and beyond Tso Moriri, which is in J & K, also seems to be a problem.

A. Parvati-Pin trekking route, across the ice from Shiva to Padmasambhava

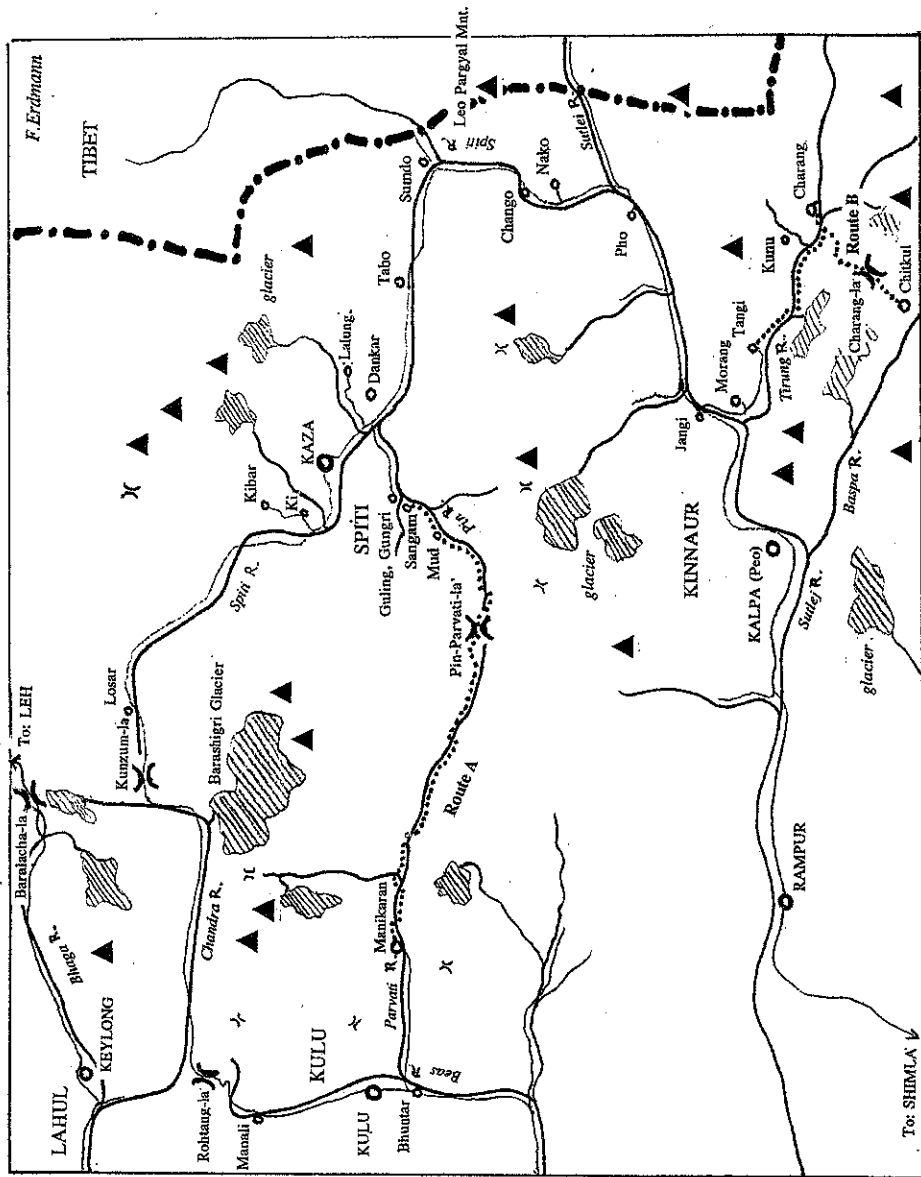
This is a difficult one. The uppermost area of the Parvati valley is full of boulders, the pass is very difficult to find and last but not least it is ice-covered. For horses it is impossible to cross. An experienced guide is absolutely required to find the passage at all and to ensure a safe crossing over the ice during 3-4 hours. In addition, it is essential to determine the right weather conditions, because clouds or snowfall may turn the whole enterprise into hazardous alpinism. River-crossings may cause the usual problems on the rest of the way.

The right time of year is at summer-monsoon's end in September, just before the cold. However, there may be incidental clear intervals during monsoon days from the beginning of June, when the snow has melted.

Guide, porters and provisions may be found in the Kulu valley, e.g. at Bhuntar, from where the bus goes up to Manikaran, the headquarters of Parvati valley. Manikaran is the last possibility for shopping. Here the hike must begin. Porters and guide can be looked for in the two or three more villages passed by in the next two days.

The route: from the end of the road at Manikaran to the head of the road at Guling, it took

HIMACHAL PRADESH: KULU, LAHUL-SPIITI, KINNAUR



us ten actual walking days (usually 5-6 walking hours), while we crossed the pass (which took us eight hours) on the seventh day. Of course one or two days must be added for rest and acclimatization.

Manikaran is a scenic old Shivaite pilgrim's town with interesting temples where sadhu's abound, and there is also a large Sikh gurdwara. Hot springs are the main reason of existence of this settlement at the bottom of a dangerous slope, where the Parvati river is at its wildest just before a cataract.

Pulga, the first stop, is a muddy village, where some freaks have settled down for the cannabis-culture. Best camp is at the PWD resthouse above the village near the jungle.

The next day the intricate meeting of narrow gorges at the confluence of the Parvati and Toss rivers must be passed. Several shrines along the way indicate that it is a pilgrim's trail we are following. Lord Shiva and his lady Parvati seem to have lingered in these parts, and many stories are told about them.

We just follow the beautiful Parvati nala for another three days, while the scenery gradually becomes dominated by pine forest and finally turns into totally barren grazing grounds. Remember after Thunda Bhuj to cross the river by a steel cable and remain on the north bank. Mantalai (ca. 4000m), just before the glacier tongue, is the best spot to stay in order to acclimatize and wait for suitable weather. An hour further southward, the main valley trail ends, and there follows a steep and tricky climb to the east till the "basecamp" at almost 4500m. From here it is two hours across big boulders until one must go over the snow and ice for some four hours, avoiding crevasses. After another two hours of stumbling on rocky ground, one reaches the first Pin river camp site at last. Even by local people the pass is so seldom crossed, that chörten, lhato or even prayerflags are conspicuously absent.

The next three days the trail following the Pin river along the upper pasture lands is easily found. We are in the treeless "Tibetan" high altitude desert world now and the welcome at Mud, the first village, is something completely different. The next day, at Sangam, follows a difficult river-crossing by steel-cable, before reaching the road at Guling with a public bus connection to Kaza. However, don't forget to pay a visit to what is now a Ningmapal gompa at Gungri. One of the temple rooms is of considerable age, although the Dogra's destroyed most of it.

Other trekking routes, between Spiti and Kinnaur

From Pin valley between Sangam and Mud, a trail leads southward over 5100m to the Satlej river just above Jangi. Another one goes straight south all along the southern tributary of the Pin river, crossing 4900m eventually to Wangtu.

From Mane on the south bank of the Spiti river southeast of Dankhar, there is a short (5 days) but difficult route via the high (5600m! not for horses) Manirang pass, and a longer (ca. 1 week) and easier one via Chunsarang pass (temporarily blocked by landslide when we were there). Both trails reach the road at Rupa in the Rupa river valley and reach the Satlej at Shi Asu.

All these southward treks take less than a week, because road transport can be found at an early stage. To organize these treks from Spiti, don't wait till September, which is the time to go, because everybody is occupied harvesting then. For the routes which end up north of Jangi, an innerline permit is required.

B. Kinnar Kailash parikrama, the discovery of Charang Gompa

To the southeast of Kinnaur another trekking route is outstanding. It surrounds the Kinnar Kailash Range, which is by far the highest in the area, reaching nearly 6500m. Best is hiking from Thangi, the roadhead in the Charang (Tirung gad) nala, one hour by bus southeast of Morang. After 5-6 days, crossing Charang (5266m) or Mangsu (5367m) pass, one arrives at the road again in or near Chitkul at the Baspa river. The circuit seems to serve as an alternative to the real Kailash pilgrimage in west-Tibet. However, we met no other travellers at all and found the Charang pass crossing rather difficult. Although it is

not ice-covered, it is too steep for horses and the long and steep southern descent begins with two hours boulderhopping. Again, it is a must to bring a guide who has been there before.

As for the right season, in the monsoon months June-August the pass-crossing possibility is most uncertain, and in the wintertime October-April it is very cold to camp up high and too much snow may be left on the pass. So mid-August/September again and possibly May are best. (Mid-September, there are important festivals in upper-Kinnaur)

Apart from the extremely beautiful old typically Kinnauri "mixed hindu-buddhist" hill-type villages, such as Morang with its Pandava tower and Thangi, one of the most rewarding sights en route is Charang gompa. Tucci (1932 p.57 en 73; 1935 p.12!) himself already suggested its identification as one of Rinchen Zangpo's establishments, but neither he nor anyone after him seems to have actually been there. So it felt as a discovery, when we really found the gompa and indeed can confirm Tucci's suggestion. I presented some slides of the place at the 7th I.A.L.S.-Colloquium in Bonn.

The route: Porters, guide and provisions must be looked for at Morang, although at even Thangi personnel might be found (donkeys too, but they must return before the pass). Provisions must be bought in Morang. From Thangi to Chitkul can be done in four to five days, to which one day for rest and acclimatization must be added. From Thangi to Lambar (village and India-Tibet border police checkpoint) is 3-4 hours, three hours further is another checkpoint, and from there in a sidevalley an hour to the northeast, you see the first Tibetan type of village, Kunu, which is worth a visit. (From the checkpoint one could head straight southwestward to the Charang pass and reach Chitkul at the Baspa river in two days; don't do this, since you would miss Charang village and monastery).

Charang village is another two hours further south. It is not allowed to go west beyond the last ITBP-checkpost at Charang Gompa. A day's rest at Charang may be needed for the purpose of acclimatization. The village and especially the unique 1000 year old gompa, which is actually a nunnery nowadays, are worth it. From Charang another pass, the Mangsu (5367m), leads south to the Baspa nala as well. However, we took the Charang pass (5266m) after all, and it is wise to use three more days for this route, because the continuously steep descent of more than 2000m from the top of the pass to Chitkul is so awful, that a second camp at 4500m, 2-3 hours before crossing the pass is advisable in spite of the cold at such altitude. The scenery and views around make you shiver anyhow.

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The surrounding valleys are (in clockwise order from N) :
in Ladakh (J&K): Suru, Stod Zangskar, Lungnag,

in Lahul (H.P.): Stod Lahul, Miyar,
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Weare, Gary *Trekking in the Himalayas*. Lonely Planet Publications (1986) ■ pp.41-64 describe Kashmir Himalaya: Sindh and Lidder V., Amarnath trek, Haramukh trek, Warvan [Wardwan] V., Kanital V., Boktol [Bhot Khol] P., Krishnullach [Krishnalā] V, Chilung La (a very good description of that complicated pass from Wardwan to Suru), Umasi La, Shingo La [Shingkhun La], Pangi in Chamba, also treks between Zangskar and Indus, via Lingshed and Singi La, and via Ruberung La.

Workman, Fanny Bullock (1859-1925). *Peaks and glaciers of Nun Kun; a record of pioneer-exploration and mountaineering in the Punjab Himalaya*, by Fanny Bullock Workman and William Hunter Workman with map and ninety-two illustrations. New York : Scribner's, ■ Description of the first ascent of Pinnacle (1909), and a tour around Nun-Kun via Shaphad Gl. Fariabad Gl. Barmal Gl. and Sentik La to Suru. The map contains two serious mistakes: in fact Kun is higher than Pinnacle, and Barmal Gl. flows to Kanital, not to Zoj Nai, (see: Bruce, C.G.; Neve, A.)

AJ = *The Alpine Journal*, The Alpine Club, London v.1 (1863) - v.100 (1995)

HJ = *The Himalayan Journal*, The Himalayan Club, Bombay. v.1 (1928) — v.51 (1995)

AAJ = *The American Alpine Journal*, The American Alpine Club, New York. v.1 (1929) - v.37 (1995)

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THE LADAKH ECOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT GROUP

Since the previous director of LEDeG, Sonam Dawa, is now one of the four executive officers of the new Leh Hill Council, he has been succeeded at the Ecology Centre by Abale Lagruk, the chairman, and Lachumir Stobdan. Three of the four Council executive officers are ex-directors of LEDeG, the others being Thubstan Chhewang and Sonam Tundup.

The Ladakh Project, which acts as an umbrella for LEDeG and is still based in Bristol and Berkeley, has itself now got a bigger umbrella still, the International Society for Ecology & Culture (ISEC, to be distinguished however from the Indian organisation with the same acronym, the Institute for Social & Economic Change at Bangalore), also at the same addresses.

ISEC is also acting as an umbrella for the Womens Alliance of Ladakh, a registered society with an office at the Ecology Centre, which now has over 2000 members from 50 villages ranging from Nubra to Da-Hanu. This is primarily for rural women and aims to foster respect for traditional culture and agriculture. It is also responsible for running the scheme for voluntary work on farms, see below.

An excellent video has been produced by John Page, titled *Ancient Futures: learning from Ladakh*, covering similar topics to the book of the same name by Helena Norberg-Hodge — problems of development and of cultural and environmental conservation. This is available from the addresses below for £20/\$30 plus £1/\$1.50 p&p. Between them the book and the video have been translated into over twenty languages ranging from German, Polish and Spanish to Ladakhi, Mongolian and Navajo. Since returning from a trip to S.America over a year ago to collect material for another book, John has been seriously ill; he has our best wishes for his complete recovery.

VOLUNTARY WORK IN LADAKH with L.E.De.G

If you would like to volunteer to work in Ladakh there are possibilities of helping with tourist education at the Ecology Centre in Leh, helping with administrative work, or possibly with other specific projects. However the greatest need at the moment is to find people who would be willing to work on farms.

At the moment young Ladakhis are leaving their farms because agriculture is seen as inferior. They are coming into Leh, the capital, in search of jobs and since these are scarce there are already serious problems with urban unemployment and growing poverty. For Westerners to help with the farming has several immediate benefits:

1. It raises the status of agriculture, since there is a tendency among young Ladakhis to want to imitate foreigners.
2. It helps to relieve an acute labour shortage on farms.
3. It provides foreigners with a deeper appreciation of Ladakhi culture.

We have already placed Westerners in Ladakhi homes (30 in summer 1996) living with the family and, even though they had no particular farming experience, their help was greatly appreciated and they much enjoyed it. They were able to take cows grazing, and to help with the cleaning and cooking and cutting grass.

If you are interested in this type of volunteer work for at least a month, at some time between 1st April and 30th October, please contact:-

The Ladakh Project, The International Society for Ecology & Culture,
21 Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol BS8 4ES, U.K.

Tel: (+ +44)-117-9731575 Fax: (+ +44)-117- 9744853

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P.O.Box 9475, Berkeley, CA 94709, USA

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CHANGE, DEVELOPMENT, TREKKING AND CLIMBING IN ZANGSKAR

Henry Osmaston*
Department of Geography,
University of Bristol

James Crowden has described some of the economic and social changes that are occurring in Zangskar (*Recent Research on Ladakh 6*, in press), but there are others. Besides a nearly daily bus service taking 18 hours for the journey between Kargil and Padum, there is a weekly helicopter service in winter. Though the new road bridge between Padum and Karsha was washed away, that from Padum to sTongde and Zangla is still there though few vehicles use this road. There are many new foot-bridges with steel cables and boarded decks, some in new sites, some replacing traditional ones of twisted twig cables; thus it is now possible to cross the Stod (Doda) river as high as Abran (previously villages on either side were effectively separated except in midwinter), and one can take pack ponies across the Zangla bridge, a considerable convenience when going north to Pigmo, Pishu and Lamayuru. The road up the Lung-nak gorge from Padum towards Phugal and Kargyak is progressing over difficult terrain but obliterating the pack-pony trail up one of the most attractive parts of the trekking route. Crowden questions (RRL 6) whether it is even in the economic interests of the villagers whom it will serve. An improved pack trail might have been better and far quicker and cheaper.

There is still agitation for a road along the Zangskar Gorge, to give all season access between the Indus and Zangskar valleys, at present closed for eight months of the year over the Pensi La. This would be a much more serious and costly engineering problem, with major economic and social effects, some good, some bad. It has political and religious undertones, in that it would provide a rationale for linking mainly Buddhist Zangskar with mainly Buddhist Leh district, rather than with mainly Muslim Kargil district as at present.

The *chadur*, the traditional winter passage of the Zangskar Gorge, has had much wider use and publicity than previously. Since the first recorded passage by a non-Ladakhi, an ascent by James Crowden* in 1977 (1994), there have been occasional passages by Europeans, notably Olivier Föllmi, who made a descent in 1980 and went both ways with his companion Danielle a few years later, and who has given vivid photos and accounts of its dangers (1983, 1989, 1990a). Zoological surveys, partly seeking signs of the last few elusive snow-leopards in Ladakh, prompted David Mallon* and Simon Delany to traverse it both ways in 1982 and Mallon to repeat most of this in 1983 and 1984 (Osborne, Mallon & Fraser 1983; Fraser 1986); also Fraser and Osborne to ascend it in 1985 (afterwards leaving Zangskar eastwards via Shun to Karnak).

Other recorded descents in this period were by Jean Hébras and Annette Fumeron (apparently the first non-Ladakhi woman) in 1981; Dr.Palk in 1982 (a German surgeon who operated with questionable skill in Padum on Föllmi's foot, badly frostbitten on the Markha-Zangla route and eventually requiring evacuation by army helicopter); two Icelanders with two other foreigners in 1983; and in 1984 a Japanese travelling solo, and a group with John Barry of Plas-y-Brenin Outdoor Centre, N.Wales making a film for Air-India.

In the winter of 1994-95 there was a burst of activity. A group of geologists from Oxford University made the first geological survey of the gorge (Searle - who has worked extensively in Ladakh and Zangskar before, Stephenson*, McCarron & Hasall), followed by an exit on ski by the last three over the Pensi La, which they found very arduous in deep soft snow (10 days Padum — Juldo, 6 days Juldo — Sanku); on several occasions they recorded night temperatures of -30°C or below (Stephenson 1995). Steve Berry* of Himalayan Kingdoms trekking agency led a pair of clients up the gorge. John Barry came again, this time leading 7 tourists guided by Sonam Stopgyes of Padum.

Kim Gutschow* has spent much of the last three winters on her studies at Karsha nunnery, and has traversed the gorge three times: in 1994, then in Jan '95 as consultant to a German film crew with helicopter support; the last time in Feb '96.. They made an outstanding film *Behind the Ice-wall* with the same theme as that of Föllmi's attractive book (1990b), the true story of the winter journey of two young Ladakhi children to boarding school in Leh (see separate entry under "Audiovisual products"). Isabelle Riaboff* has also traversed the *chadur* twice.

* IALS member

Although these numerous traverses of the gorge by non-Ladakhis, its traditional annual use by Ladakhis themselves, and the twice-a-winter government postal service by Kargili couriers (until replaced by helicopter) may suggest that it is just a long cold walk, nobody who thinks of undertaking it should underestimate its hardships and dangers. Even Ladakhis themselves sometimes come to grief. In about 1992 a son of Tsultrim Angbo of sTongde suffered a very severely frost-bitten foot, and Föllmi describes finding the skeleton of a woman who had presumably fallen in and drowned (Hébras and Fumeron also found the same skeleton or another near Nierak). I have asked David Mallon to give a short 'guide-book' account in this newsletter which may be of use to anyone planning a trip. Sometimes a rise in river level floods a fixed ice surface and one has to paddle through a slush of ice and water. Where the current is fast most of the river is open water and there is only a narrow band of ice, sometimes only 15cm wide, frozen to one or other rockwall. At the best of times this is precarious for loaded travellers to negotiate; at the worst, rising water, falling water or changes of temperature may detach it and make passage impossible or force travellers to scramble along the steep rock-face or if they are lucky and it is not too deep, to wade along the ice-cold river. The end of the winter when the ice starts to break up in March is the most dangerous time. Always it is vital to keep boots and clothes dry by stripping off first. Föllmi describes this, and how his foot froze to the ice on getting out of the water. He also recounts a traditional story about a former king:

"One day, Singhe rGyalpo was returning to Zangskar by the Chadur with his ministers and his cook. The river was in poor condition and they had to do much rock-climbing. They stopped for the night on a bank not longer than ten paces thinking that the ice would grow firm during the night. But next morning it had broken. They could not even cross the river and were marooned on their bank. A week passed. They could not go forwards or back. Food ran short and they discussed who to eat first. They decided to eat the cook first next day if the ice had not reformed. The cook took up his rosary and prayed all the evening. "*Om ma hum, om vajra pedma sidi hum*". He prayed so hard that a goddess appeared to him and told him to cut his leather bag into narrow strips, to knot them end to end and to tie a stone on one end. He threw the stone across the river and adjusted the cord so that it skimmed the water and slightly checked the current at the surface. This was enough to let the ice reform. Next morning at dawn the cook roused his companions: they could cross. From that day he became the king's oracle." Föllmi's guide Lobsang said that he himself had once been similarly marooned for two days but, inspired by this story, he had put branches in the water to check the current along the bank and the ice had reformed (c.f. Mallon's account, though Lobsang was not one of his party).

A different fortunate ending concluded a similar summer adventure in about 1980. A trekking agency were running inflatable boat trips down the gorge for tourists, through spectacular scenery but with no dangerous rapids or falls. One group landed on the bank for lunch, pulling their boat partly on shore, but sitting just out of sight of it to enjoy a better view. After lunch they found their boat had floated away, released by the daily afternoon rise in river level from melting snow. Even in summer the water is still very cold, the current swifter and deeper, the cliffs precipitous. They could not move. Luckily after two days the villagers at Nimu noticed an empty boat floating downstream, raised the alarm, and the army sent a helicopter which effected a rescue.

There have only been two other successful winter traverses of the whole Zangskar valley: the first by Sheridan, Eliassen and Boehlke in 1981 (Sheridan 1981, 1987), the second by Kingston, Ankers, Bowden and Serle in 1991 (Kingston & Ankers 1991). Both entered over the Pensi La and left over the Kang La, ending in Manali. All these parties found great difficulty in skiing through the deep soft snow and especially dragging sledges or pulkas. This proved to be much slower in the inhabited areas than walking without skis along the narrow trench-like tracks already beaten down by the Zangskaris. Two other parties had to turn back from the Pensi La because of this difficulty: Fraser and Osborne in 1981; and two Austrians with dog teams who had planned to take them down the Zangskar gorge.

The bibliography of mountaineering and exploration in the Zangskar region by Tadeusz Slupski in this newsletter is only a prelude to a full historical account, but in the last couple of decades there has been surprisingly little interest in the fine array of mostly unclimbed peaks in Zangskar itself. Here I will just record some minor ascents. In 1976 James

Crowden and Fiona Lumsden climbed Segali-mentok-ri (c.5,600m) a snow peak clearly visible from and just south of Padum (Crowden 1976); this local name means "Himalayan Blue Poppy Peak" and certainly I found these flowers (which are not very common in Zangskar) in the valley below it when I attempted it with Tim Meehan in 1981. In 1980, with my son Nigel, we climbed Churala (c.5600m), the conspicuous pointed rocky peak above Karsha, whence we had a splendid view of the multitude gathered to greet and hear the Dalai Lama on the Padum plain. There is now a restaurant with this name in Padum. Later I walked up Sultantango (map name, doubtfully correct), a broad and nearly level snow topped summit above sTongde and Kumik (5795m), possibly climbed previously by surveyors.

Padum is growing fast, particularly along the new road from Kargil and towards Pipiting, and many of its inhabitants are evidently prosperous. An electronic muezzin calls loudly several times a day from a new mosque, roofed like many other new buildings with shiny corrugated sheets. There is a satellite communication centre (though letters through the seldom and unpredictably open post office still take a month by airmail to Europe), several new hotels and many new shops. These include some owned by Kashmiris from Srinagar, selling carpets and other fancy goods to tourists, whose numbers have greatly increased, whose horses consume the villagers' grazing resources, and whose camps (for example at Reru) may pollute the village water supply. After two days walking in the confines of the Lungnak valley the tourist's first thrilling and spectacular view of the Padum plain now also frames the dirty diesel powerhouse of the town's low voltage and unreliable electrical supply.

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 Sheridan, G. 1981 *A journey on skis through the western Himalaya*. Alpine Club Lib. pamphlet 624; (also Alpine Ski Club J. ?)
 — 1987 *Tales of a cross-country skier*. Oxford Illustrated Press.
 Stephenson, Ben *Zanskar Gorge winter expedition*. Oxford Univ. Dept. Earth Sci. Expedition report (1995), mimeo 51p. Geological map.

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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR TIBETAN STUDIES

The 8th Seminar of the IATS will be held at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA on 25-31 July 1998. Those interested should contact Prof. Elliot Sperling, Research Inst. for Inner Asian Studies, Goodbody Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ASIAN & NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES

The 35th Congress will be held at Budapest, Hungary, on 7-12 July 1997, organised by the Körösi Csoma Society, and the Eötvös Loránd University. Those interested should contact Tamás Iványi (IACNAS), ELTE - Körösi Csoma Társaság, H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum krt. 4/B, HUNGARY. e-mail: ivanyi@osiris.elte.hu

AN ICE WALK ALONG THE ZANGSKAR:

The *chadur* 1982-84

David Mallon *

Manchester Metropolitan University, U.K.

The Zangskar gorge proper, and with it the serious part of the route, begins just above the Markha confluence at a point known as Lamaguru or Gurundo, where a Zangskar Rinpoche is reputed to have died. From here it is several days on the ice to Hanumur at the northern end of the Zangskar plain. There are no villages en route: only Nierak, lying some way above the river, and Lingshed, several hours away up a side valley are close.

The most essential piece of equipment for the *chadur* is a stout stick or staff to determine the state of the ice by tapping it as one walks. The Zangskaris soon teach the difference between the clear ring of good ice and the hollower sound of ice to avoid. As the cliffs barring the summer route close in above the end of the road to Choksti there is the opportunity to test this and to adjust to walking on the ice. Progress tends to start as a sort of timid shuffle-slide with frequent falls to amuse the other members of the group but technique soon improves. However, great care is needed to avoid falling when near open water as it would be well-nigh impossible to scramble out once in the main current carrying a large pack. Some Zangskaris still wore traditional *jato* of leather and cloth when doing the route but these have to be taken off whenever water is reached, so now most use Indian army gumboots, which grip the ice far better than vibrams and are more useful for wading.

Tents are not much use on the *chadur*; they are difficult to pitch on frozen, rocky ground and cold with frozen condensation. Far better to follow the Zangskaris in using caves which are more spacious and warmer though frequently blackened with the soot and ash of centuries. Those large enough to accommodate a group are well-known to the Zangskaris and are used to divide the route into natural stages, and there are several smaller ones too. There are six notoriously critical stages (*jagha-rtsokpo*) where bad ice is regularly encountered (Trak Mar Yogma, Trak Mar Gongma, Tsa Chu Yogma, Tsa Chu Gongma, Gyalpo Skalzos, and Woma) some of which can be avoided by precarious half-paths across rock and scree, but at others a wait for better ice may be needed. Gyalpo Skalzos is named after a former king (Singge Namgyal?) of Zangskar whose party became blocked for so long that they only survived by eating the leather soles of their boots. According to legend they eventually escaped by soaking their belts in the water, and freezing them to the cliffs to make a path. Tsa Chu means salt water apparently refers to mineral content which lowers the freezing point of the water: we had to wade here on 4 out of six passages.

First above the Markha is Trak Mar Yogma, before Tilat *baw* (cave) is reached at Tilat Sumdo, the confluence with the Chang Chu a major tributary confusingly named the Khuma river on old Survey of India maps (possibly an error for Karnak). The second bad stage Trak Mar Gongma (upper red cliff) lies above, then a mass of snow and ice on the cliffs marks 108 springs (Chumik rGya-dang-gyat). At Paldar Tsomo a double spring gushes from the cliff. This water reputedly never freezes and is so named because the water is believed by the Zangskaris to originate in a lake (*tso*) in Paldar, the region lying south of Zangskar, across the Umasi La. Tsomondo *baw* a large and comfortable cave lies a short way above here. The next section passes Tip *baw*, another large and well-frequented cave, and contains three bad stages, to be passed with care, before arriving below the village of Nierak which lies some way above. Between Nierak and Lingshed Do, the confluence with the Lingshed valley, the route enters a huge snowy canyon known as Woma, last of the bad stages, a 2-3 km section of deep gorge with no alternative cliff route in the event of bad or broken ice, the only possible escape being a 2-3 day diversion via Lingshed. Apart from the Zangskaris the people of Lingshed seem to be the only ones to frequent the gorge which they use to trade with Leh or to collect timber for building. They obtain this in Paldar Tsomo Lungpa where several hundred juniper trees survive. Lingshed-pa come here in search of long straight trunks suitable for the *ka* (central house pole) and solid blocks for lintels or window frames. These are cut, then man-hauled along the ice and back up to the village, several days of back-breaking work away. Then, several

hours above Lingshed Do, the cliffs fall away and the route emerges on to the Zangskar plain.

Throughout the route, the ice varies enormously in type and quality. In places ice extends from wall to wall, as hard and smooth as glass, and solid enough to drive a truck on; in others there is rock-hard rippling ice as though the entire river had frozen in mid-swirl. Expansion raises oval ice blisters with long sloping sides, or forces up large slabs at angles, occasionally forming a jumble of hummocks and sloping blocks to be traversed with care. At other times only a strip of ice runs alongside the open current and this strip may be reduced to a narrow frill of ice stuck to the rock wall, when progress becomes increasingly delicate. Spongy and part-melted ice is another hazard requiring increased tapping of the sticks to navigate safely across. Water flowing beneath the ice often bursts through, flooding the ice to a depth of several centimetres or more and requiring a chilly wade. Where the ice runs out altogether, an alternative has to be sought across the cliffs and rocks at the side. In fact, the main characteristics of the *chadur* are unpredictability and variability, with changes in conditions taking place overnight: channels in the river open or close, good ice suddenly becomes flooded, ice forms, melts or falls into the river. When another party is met the first questions are always on the route and the state of the ice.

Temperatures also vary: during a five-day traverse in 1982, minimum overnight temperatures of -28° and -6°C were recorded. In 1983, -32° was recorded. The length of time needed for the journey varies according to conditions and the pace of the party. On our first traverse, we moved slowly from Leh to Padum through choice, but had to return more quickly. We left Hanumur at 4.30 a.m. in a temperature of -28°C which gave us excellent conditions all the way, except for a rather desperate scramble over snowy cliffs at Trak Mar Gongma, where the ice had gone, and we reached Leh in 5 days. We heard of Zangskaris who completed the route in 4 days.

The following year, conditions were much worse. Winter was unusually cold, several parties had reported difficulties and one group of Zangskaris had to escape by forcing a route up the Chang Chu and over the Cha Cha La. We reached Tip *baw*, at about half way, without too much difficulty, then had a tricky thigh-deep wade on a narrow, submerged ledge of ice. One of the Zangskaris slipped in shallow water and was soon suffering from hypothermia. We stopped in a tiny cave to dry out and recover but next morning, water surging through the ice made the route upstream impassable. On trying to retreat, we found the route downstream also blocked, as the ledge of ice we had used had disappeared into the river, leaving 15 metres of open water between us and firm ground, and cliffs unscalable even by the Zangskaris. We remained stranded for two more days until, following the story of Gyalpo Skalzos, we cut down some small willow trees and froze them to the cliff with water thrown from a pan. By morning enough ice had formed around the trunks for us to tip-toe along them to safety. January 1984 by contrast was mild with little snow. Formation of the *chadur* ice was delayed until the end of the month and several parties of Zangskaris reached Leh by the Jung Lam or in one case via the Singgi La route, where snow no more than knee deep was encountered. Zangskaris say that the *chadur* will be ready after Karsha Gustor festival, but this a rough guide only: in general, January through to mid-February is the optimum period. A long, slippery hike will not appeal to everyone, but the *chadur* has a unique character, and stunning scenery with the waters of the Zangskar a beautiful turquoise, cascading over glittering white ice-rapids wholly unlike the brown-grey flood of most of the year. Casualties on the route seem to be remarkably few, but it is nonetheless a serious undertaking.

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For references to other accounts of the *chadur* see the previous paper in this newsletter by Osmaston.

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John Bray & Henry Osmaston

This bibliography lists new references supplementing those in John Bray's *Bibliography of Ladakh* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1989; out of print) and Supplements 1, 2, 3 and 4 published in *Ladakh Studies* Nos 3, 5, 6 and 7. Entries marked with an asterisk have not been seen by the compilers. Please send references to be included in future editions to John Bray (8 Glendall St, Brixton, LONDON SW9 8AJ) or to Henry Osmaston.

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Neil Howard points out the great difficulties faced by our Ladakhi members in consulting reference material, even when they know, through the bibliography, that it exists. He urges that all authors should distribute copies of their work as widely as possible in Ladakh, both to the various institutions that already exist (LEDeG, SECMOL, CIBS, Cultural Academy etc. and not merely to the Institute for Ladakh Studies when that materialises) and to interested individuals. The ready availability of such examples and sources will greatly encourage the development of an indigenous, but internationally recognised, academic culture for Ladakh studies.

Himalayan Notes, published by the Dept. of Geology, Arizona State University, Box 871404 Tempe, AZ 85287-1404, USA (ed. Dr.Rasoul B. Sorkhabi), is an international newsletter on the earth and environmental sciences of the Himalaya and Tibet. There are twice yearly issues in March and September. Annual sub. for individuals is \$8 (N.America), \$10 (elsewhere); \$10 for institutions. In Europe please contact Dr.D.A.Spencer, Geologisches Inst., ETH Zentrum, CH-8092, Zürich, Switzerland; elsewhere Dr.Sorkhabi. Recent issues have covered a wide variety of topics eg. geology, Himalayan population, tigers, Bhutan's refugees, the Arun III Dam in Nepal, the Bhutias, travel, mountaineering etc.

Himalaya Past & Present, published by Shree Almora Book Depot, Mall Road, Almora-263 601, U.P., INDIA, for the Association of Studies on the Himalaya (ASH) has appeared since 1990 as vols. I, II & III (and probably now IV) edited by M.P.Joshi, A.C.Fanger & C.W.Brown. Though mainly covering Kumaun with papers ranging from archaeology and history to economics and anthropology, there are papers by Tobdan on the history of Kinnaur and Spiti. In Europe contact Joanne Moller, SEAS, School of Social & Political Sciences, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX UK; in America contact A.C.Fanger, Anthropology, Kutztown University, Kutztown, PA 19530, USA.

Bibliography on Tibet. At the IATS meeting at Graz in 1995 it was decided to start an annual bibliography of Tibetan studies. Anyone who has a publication which they would like included should send full details before 31 Jan each year to:-
Ramon N.Prats, Av. Icaria 150, 3-2, 08005 Barcelona, Spain. Fax: -34-3-221-1458

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ལྷོ་ལྗོངས་རྒྱུ་རྩེ་ལ་དཔལ་སྦྱོར་སྤྱོད་ཚོགས་པ།

انٹرنیشنل ایسوسی ایشن برائے لداخ اسٹڈیز

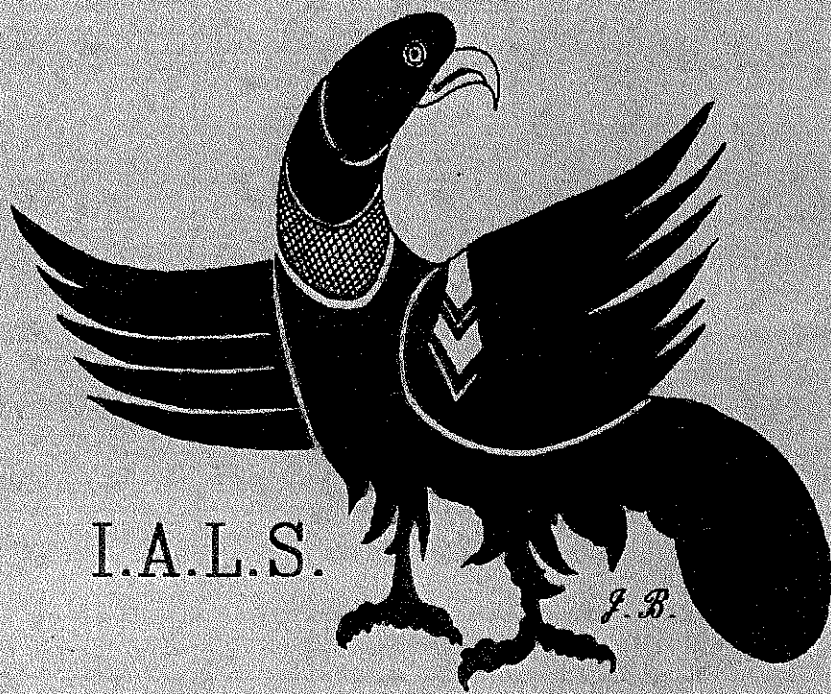
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